

# The Persecution and Murder of the Jews, 1933–1945

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The Persecution and Murder of the  
European Jews by Nazi Germany,  
1933–1945

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In cooperation with Yad Vashem

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Volume 2

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The Persecution and Murder of the  
European Jews by Nazi Germany,  
1933–1945

Volume 2

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1938 – August 1939

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## Foreword to the English Edition

*The Persecution and Murder of the European Jews by Nazi Germany, 1933–1945* presents a broad range of primary sources in a scholarly edition. A total of sixteen English-language volumes will be published in this series, organized according to chronology and geography. The series documents the horrific historical events embodied by the terms Holocaust and Shoah. This English-language edition reproduces all the materials in the German edition but has been adapted for an English-speaking readership. Apart from those originally written in English, all documents have been translated from the language of the original source.

The foreword to the first volume of the series detailed the criteria for the selection of the documents. These criteria can be summarized as follows. First, the sources used for this edition are written documents and, occasionally, transcribed audio materials, dating from the period of National Socialist rule between 1933 and 1945. The decision was taken not to include memoirs, reports, and judicial documents produced in the period after 1945; however, the footnotes make extensive reference to such retrospective testimonies and historical accounts. Second, the documents shed light on the actions and reactions of people with differing backgrounds and convictions and in different places, and indicate their intentions as well as the frequently limited options available to them. The volumes include a variety of document types such as official correspondence, private letters, diary entries, newspaper articles, and the reports of foreign observers. The documents within each volume are arranged chronologically.

This second volume in the series contains documents on the disenfranchisement and expropriation of the Jews in Germany after 1 January 1938 and in Austria from the Anschluss of March 1938 until the beginning of the Second World War on 1 September 1939. The documentation ranges from legislation on the Aryanization of the German economy to the narrative of a Jewish prisoner about his experiences in a concentration camp. The notes of a young girl describing her fear of the looming November pogroms appear alongside the account of a Jewish aid organization on the growing number of refugees, and the speech in which Hitler makes reference to the annihilation of the Jews in Europe. Events and developments are thus presented from multiple perspectives.

The series has been generously funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) as a long-term humanities project. The English edition, which is also DFG funded, is a joint project with the Yad Vashem International Institute for Holocaust Research. In addition to the sponsors, the editors are most grateful to the large number of archivists, public officials, historians, and private individuals who have lent assistance to the project. They have provided the editors with advice and comments on sources and with information for the annotations, including biographical details of the persons featured in the documents. Todd Brown, Alex J. Kay, Kathleen Luft, Jennifer E. Neuheiser, and Nicola Varns translated the German-language documents for this second English-language volume in the series. Carol Sykes translated the French and Spanish-language documents. The Italian-language document was translated by Alex J. Kay, and the Dutch-language document by David Lee. Merle Read provided copy-editing services. Ingo Loose assisted with the documents containing Hebrew words and expressions.

Peter Palm and Giles Bennett created and advised on the map in this volume. Alicia Brudney, Joseph Dunlop, Nora Huberty, Priska Komaromi, Ashley Kirspel, Benedict Oldfield, Barbara Uchdorf, Ana Lena Werner, and Max Zeterberg contributed to this volume as student assistants. Johannes Gamm was responsible for database management. The following people contributed to the original German volume as student assistants: Romina Becker, Giles Bennett, Natascha Butzke, Florian Danecke, Vera Dost, Ivonne Meybohm, Miriam Schelp, and Remigius Stachowiak. Andrea Löw and Gudrun Schroeter contributed in their capacity as research fellows.

Despite all the care taken, occasional inaccuracies cannot be entirely avoided in such a source collection. We would be grateful for any notifications to this effect. They will be taken into account for future publications. The address of the editorial board is: Institut für Zeitgeschichte München–Berlin, Edition ‘Judenverfolgung’, Finckensteinallee 85/87, 12 205 Berlin, Germany.

Berlin/Munich/Freiburg/Klagenfurt, April 2018

## Editorial Preface

This primary source collection on the persecution and murder of the European Jews should be cited using the abbreviation PMJ. This citation style is also used in the work itself where there are cross references between the individual volumes. The documents are consecutively numbered, beginning anew with each volume. Accordingly, 'PMJ 1/200' refers to document number 200 in the first volume of this edition. The individual documents are presented as follows: title (in bold type), header, document, footnotes.

The titles have been formulated by the editor(s) of the respective volume and provide information on the date of origin of the document, its core message, author, and recipient(s). The header, placed underneath the title, is part of the document itself. It specifies the type of source (letter, draft law, minutes, and so on), the name of the author, the place of origin, the file reference (where applicable), remarks indicating confidential or classified status, and other special features of the document. The location of the ministries or other central agencies in Berlin at the time, for instance the Reich Security Main Office or the Chancellery of the Führer, is not cited. The header also contains details about the addressee and, where applicable, the date of the receipt stamp, and it concludes with the date of origin and reference to the stage of processing of the source, for instance 'draft', 'carbon copy', or 'copy'.

The header is followed by the document text. Salutations and valedictions are printed, though signatures are only included once, in the header. Instances of emphasis by the author in the original document are retained. Irrespective of the type of emphasis used in the original source (for example, underlined, spaced, bold, capitalized, or italicized), they always appear in italics in the printed version. Where necessary, additional particulars on the document are to be found in the footnotes. In order to enhance readability, letters and words are added in square brackets where they are missing in the original due to obvious mistakes, or where the meaning would otherwise be unclear in the translation.

There is a list of abbreviations at the back of the volume. Uncommon abbreviations, primarily from private correspondence, are expanded in a footnote at the first mention in a given document.

Handwritten additions in typewritten originals have been adopted by the editors without further indication insofar as they are formal corrections and most probably inserted by the author. If the additions significantly alter the content – either by mitigating or radicalizing it – this is mentioned in the footnotes, and, if known, the author of the addition(s) is given.

As a rule, the documents are reproduced here in full. Only in exceptional cases, where individual documents are very long, is the document abridged. Such editing is indicated by an ellipsis in square brackets; the contents of the omitted text are outlined in a footnote. One such exceptional case is the diary of Luise Solmitz, which has survived in both a handwritten version and a typewritten version compiled by Luise Solmitz herself after 1945. Since the handwritten version is very difficult to read and contains lengthy entries that are of limited historical interest, excerpts are documented in the presented volume in accordance with the typescript. However, the first entry that

is included in this volume, from 27 January 1938, is reproduced in its entirety from the handwritten version to give a representative example of the diary. The italicized sections indicate passages that are only found in the handwritten version of the diary. The sections in roman type are from the typewritten version. The author occasionally added retrospective annotations to both the manuscript and the typescript; these are marked with curly brackets: {}.

Undated monthly or annual reports are dated to the end of the month or year that they appear. Only in a few exceptional cases is a deviation made from the chronological organization of the documents: in this volume in the case of the life stories of Jewish émigrés written in 1939/1940 for a competition organized by Harvard University. These descriptive texts, which were written soon after the period covered but nonetheless retrospectively, are classified in some cases according to the date of the events portrayed rather than the date of origin. Where there is any uncertainty regarding the date of the documents or whether they constitute originals or copies, reference is made in the footnotes.

The first footnote for each document, which is linked to the title, contains the location of the source and, insofar as it denotes an archive, the reference number, as well as the folio number(s) if available. Reference to copies of archival documents in research institutions and in the German Federal Archives in Berlin are always made if the original held at the location first mentioned was not consulted there. In the case of printed sources, for instance newspaper articles or legislative texts, this footnote contains standard bibliographical information. If the source has already been published in English in a document collection on National Socialism or on the persecution of the Jews, reference is made to its first publication, alongside the original location of the source. The next footnote explains the origins of the document and, where appropriate, mentions related discussions, the specific role of authors and recipients, and activities accompanying or immediately following its genesis. Subsequent footnotes provide additional information related to the theme of the document and the persons relevant to the content. They refer to other – published or unpublished – sources that contribute to historical contextualization.

The footnotes also point out individual features of the documents, for instance handwritten notes in the margin, underlining, or deletions, whether by the author or the recipient(s). Annotations and instructions for submission are referred to in the footnotes where the editors consider them to contain significant information. Where possible, the locations of the treaties, laws, and decrees cited in the source text are provided in the footnotes, while other documents are given with their archival reference number. If these details could not be ascertained, this is also noted.

Where biographical information is available on the senders and recipients of the documents, this is provided in the footnotes. The same applies to persons mentioned in the text if they play an active role in the events described. As a general rule, this information is given in the footnote inserted after the first mention of the name in question in the volume. Biographical information on a particular person can thus be retrieved easily via the index.

The short biographies are based on data found in reference works, scholarly literature, or the Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names established and run by Yad Vashem. In many cases, the information was retrieved by consulting personnel files and

indexes, municipal and company archives, registry offices, restitution and denazification files, or specialists in the field. Indexes and files on persons from the Nazi era held in archives were also used, primarily those of the former Berlin Document Center, the Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service of the former German Democratic Republic (Bundesbeauftragte für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen Deutschen Demokratischen Republik), and the Central Office of the Judicial Authorities of the Federal States for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes (Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen zur Aufklärung nationalsozialistischer Verbrechen) in Ludwigsburg, the last of these now stored in the German Federal Archives.

Despite every effort, it has not always been possible to obtain complete biographical information. In such cases, the footnote in question contains only verified facts such as the year of birth. Where a person could not be identified, there is no footnote reference. Biographical footnotes are not added in the case of extremely well-known individuals such as Adolf Hitler or Joseph Goebbels.

As a rule, in the titles, footnotes, and introduction inverted commas are not placed around terms that were commonplace in National Socialist Germany, such as Führer, Jewish Council, or Aryanization, but German-language terms expressing ideological concepts of race such as *Mischling* are placed in italics. In line with the circumstances of the time, the terms Jew and Jewish are also used for people who did not regard themselves as Jewish but were defined as such on the basis of racial legislation and thus subjected to persecution. References in the documents to the ‘Gestapo’, an acronym of the German GEheime STAatsPOLizei, and to the ‘State Police’ denote one and the same institution: the Secret State Police.

The glossary contains concise descriptions of key terms and concepts that are repeated on multiple occasions or are related to the events and developments described in the volume.

All primary and secondary sources consulted are listed in the footnotes and bibliography. Where English-language versions of these sources are available, these are included. If a document has already been published in English translation but has been retranslated for this volume, this is indicated in a footnote.

The index includes all names referred to in the volume and all places significant to the content of the respective documents. It also contains organizations and institutions, as well as terms and concepts relevant to the volume.

#### *Note on the translation*

British English is used in all translations into English. Where a document was originally written in British or American English, the spelling, grammar, and punctuation of the original have been retained, with silent correction of minor typographical or grammatical errors and insertions in square brackets to clarify the meaning if necessary.

The spelling, grammar, and punctuation of the translated documents broadly conform to the guidelines in *New Hart’s Rules: The Oxford Style Guide* (2014). Accordingly, the ending -ize rather than -ise is preferred throughout.

SS, Wehrmacht, and certain other ranks are given in the original German, as are titles where there is no standard equivalent in English or where there may be confusion with contemporary usage. A table of military and police ranks is included as an appendix,

along with English-language equivalents of these terms and an indication of their position in the National Socialist hierarchy. In addition, administrative ranks and other terms commonly used in German in scholarly literature on the period are presented in German in this volume and explained in the glossary.

All laws and institutions are translated into English in the documents; the German titles of laws can be found in the index. In the introduction and footnotes, foreign-language terms and expressions are added in brackets after the translation where this is considered important for understanding or context.

If a word or phrase appears in German in a non-German document, the German is retained in the translated text and its meaning explained in a footnote or, if necessary, the glossary. The original spelling of foreign organizations is retained in the footnotes. The titles of published works not in the English language are not translated unless the work in question is of contextual or substantial relevance.

In order to avoid confusion between British and American English, dates are spelt out in the order day, month, and year. Foreign proper names are not italicized. Thus, names of institutions, organizations, and places are written in roman type in the footnotes, but legislation and conceptual terms are in italics.

In the titles, footnotes, and translated documents, place names are written according to the contemporary (English) name or the name commonly used in scholarly literature on the period. This also applies to places that have since been renamed, so, for example, 'Danzig' not 'Gdańsk'. Diacritical marks in languages such as Czech and Polish are retained, with the exception of the names of the extermination camps in Eastern Europe, where they have been removed in order to emphasize that these camps were established by the German National Socialist regime. Hebrew and Yiddish terms are described in the footnotes along with any other words requiring explanation.

## Introduction

This volume documents the persecution of the Jews living in the German Reich during the twenty-month period between January 1938 and 31 August 1939. Within this short timespan, the German Reich annexed Austria in March 1938 and the Sudetenland, the border region of the Bohemian basin with a majority German population, in October of the same year. In March 1939 the Wehrmacht occupied Prague, and on 1 September it invaded Poland, thus unleashing the Second World War.

In the months that passed between the Anschluss and the invasion of Poland, and in a development closely linked to the preparations for war, the National Socialist leadership imposed a state of emergency on the German Jews. Civil servants, government ministers, Party functionaries, and neighbours increased discrimination to the point of terror, intensified economic disadvantages to the level of expropriation, and created a climate of desperation through the heightened pressure to emigrate. They forced tens of thousands of Jews with just a few Reichsmarks in their pockets across the border and drove hundreds to suicide. In the pogroms of 9–10 November 1938, what Joseph Goebbels termed ‘the anger of the people’ was manifested by tens of thousands of SA men (Storm Troopers) wreaking havoc. Hundreds of thousands stood by and watched. That night, almost all the synagogues in Germany were destroyed, and in the following days, more than 25,000 Jewish men were sent to concentration camps, where they were held for weeks, humiliated and tormented, and several hundred were murdered.

The November pogroms and the subsequent political decisions regarding anti-Jewish policy are the main focus of this volume. Other central themes include the persecution of 190,000 Austrian Jews following the Anschluss by Germany, as well as the measures that partly expropriated the assets of the persecuted and partly brought them under state control for the purpose of future expropriation. Finally, this volume documents the forcible expulsion of the Jews from Germany. The expansion of the National Socialist state, the pogroms, and Aryanization transformed forced emigration into a chaotic mass exodus. The effects jeopardized Jewish existence across large parts of Europe.

The persecution of the Czech Jews, who came under German rule on 14 and 15 March 1939 and subsequently lived in the Reich Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, will be documented in the third volume of this edition. Though Danzig was not part of the Reich before the invasion of Poland but rather a Free City under the control of the League of Nations, the situation of Danzig’s Jews is also dealt with in Volume 2, because the Danzig Senate, dominated by National Socialists since summer 1933, enforced numerous anti-Jewish measures based on German policies. In the Memel Territory, which had been part of Lithuania since 1924, antisemitism began to proliferate with German support, beginning in the mid 1930s, long before the Memel Territory was returned to the Reich on 23 March 1939 as a result of serious threats from the Nazi leadership in Berlin.

## *The Situation of German Jews in Early 1938*

At the end of 1937, around 400,000 Jews were still living in Germany; 130,000 had emigrated in the preceding five years. Most Jews lived in large cities, 140,000 in Berlin alone. Occupational bans, boycotts, and the emigration of the younger generations had greatly altered the social structure: by this time, one in two German Jews was over the age of fifty, with one in four dependent on welfare. While there had been 8,000 Jewish doctors at the beginning of the 1930s, by 1937 only 3,300 remained. People who had once been affluent were forced to move into smaller homes and sell their family's valuables.<sup>1</sup> According to the results of the population census of May 1939, barely 16 per cent of German Jews were still employed (in contrast to 48 per cent in 1933), and more than 70 per cent of all Jews over the age of 14 were by now categorized as being economically independent but without occupation.<sup>2</sup> Contact between Jews and non-Jews became rare. Often both groups avoided each other to prevent awkwardness. Almost all associations had excluded their Jewish members. Signs denying entry to Jews were posted at the entrance to many towns and villages and in parks, bathing resorts and restaurants. As literary critic Marcel Reich-Ranicki recalled, 'there were also restaurants where the management preferred to dispense with such signs at the entrance, and instead empty cups were set down in front of those Jews who nonetheless dared to enter these establishments, sometimes with a slip of paper with the words "Jews out"'.<sup>3</sup>

Non-Jews who continued to maintain contact with Jewish acquaintances had to expect animosity. Many Jewish pupils had already left the state schools before they were officially banned from attending them after the pogroms of 1938 (Docs. 16, 46). Either they could no longer endure the antisemitic taunts and spiteful remarks of their Aryan fellow pupils and teachers or their parents could no longer afford the school fees, which were neither reduced nor waived for Jews, unlike Aryan pupils. According to estimates, in May 1938 only around a quarter of all Jewish primary school-pupils still attended state schools.<sup>3</sup> Until the November pogroms, Jews were not generally barred from theatres, concert halls, and cinemas, but in some places, including Leipzig with its large Jewish

- 1 Herbert A. Strauss, 'Jewish Emigration from Germany: Nazi Policies and Jewish Responses', *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book*, vol. 25 (1980), pp. 313–361, here pp. 326 and 341–342, and vol. 26 (1981), pp. 343–409; Hazel Rosenstrauch (ed.), *Aus Nachbarn wurden Juden: Ausgrenzung und Selbstbehauptung 1933–1942* (Berlin: Transit, 1988), p. 70. On Jewish poverty, also see David Kramer, 'Jewish Welfare Work under the Impact of Pauperisation', in Arnold Paucker (ed.), *Die Juden im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland / The Jews in Nazi Germany, 1933–1943* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1986), pp. 173–188; Salomon Adler-Rudel, *Jüdische Selbsthilfe unter dem Naziregime 1933–1939: Im Spiegel der Berichte der Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1974), pp. 158–165. In Hamburg, the share of recipients among the Jews in the winter of 1938–1939 was 37 per cent: Uwe Lohalm, *Fürsorge und Verfolgung: Öffentliche Wohlfahrtsverwaltung und nationalsozialistische Judenpolitik in Hamburg 1933 bis 1942* (Hamburg: Ergebnisse, 1998), p. 49.
- 2 *Berufslose Selbstständige*; a category including those living on their own assets and those in receipt of various pensions and benefits. On the results of the population census, see Peter Longerich, *Holocaust: The Nazi Persecution and Murder of the Jews*, new edn, trans. Shaun Whiteside (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010 [German edn, 1998]), p. 127, and Joseph Walk, *Jüdische Schule und Erziehung im Dritten Reich* (Frankfurt am Main: A. Hain, 1991), pp. 214–215.
- 3 Marcel Reich-Ranicki, *Mein Leben* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1999), p. 69, quotation p. 156; Marion A. Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 38; Adler-Rudel, *Jüdische Selbsthilfe*, p. 28.

community, they were prohibited considerably earlier from taking part in cultural events.<sup>4</sup> In addition to social exclusion, it was above all the emigration of numerous acquaintances or family members that intensified the isolation of those remaining in Germany. Michael Blumenthal, who grew up in Berlin and later became US Secretary of the Treasury, reports that in his family hardly any mention was made of emigration until 1937, but there was indeed talk of the daunting situation of those who had emigrated: 'by early 1938 my parents could no longer avoid the truth. Their isolation from normal German life was nearly total, the degradations and the economic squeeze increased, and there was no longer any mistaking the ominous trend.' By mid 1938, they were 'under the gun'. With a heavy heart, they sold their business for a fraction of its actual worth to a former employee and ultimately emigrated to Shanghai. Victor Klemperer, who stayed in Germany, speculated at the time about his prospects after the end of the Third Reich: 'Probably I would only then face the very greatest loneliness. Because I could never again trust anyone in Germany, never again feel myself uninhibitedly to be German.'<sup>5</sup>

### *Preparation for War and Persecution of the Jews*

As a vague future project, conquest of 'Lebensraum (living space) in the East' was at the centre of National Socialist ideology from an early stage, but it was not until November 1937 that Hitler began to outline a firm strategy for achieving this objective. Due to the guarantees for Poland and Czechoslovakia, Germany's eastward expansion could easily have led to war with Britain and France. For this reason, Hitler's foreign-policy advisor Joachim von Ribbentrop, then German ambassador in London, had tried in the summer of 1937 to approach the goal of expansion towards the East by taking the diplomatic route. The German idea was that the British Empire was to remain inviolate for the time being, and as a quid pro quo the Reich would be given free rein in continental Europe, including expansion to the East. The British interlocutors rejected this idea. However, they did indicate their willingness to consider the demands concerning Austria, the Sudetenland, and Danzig. They continued to follow their course of appeasement, which pursued the objective of integrating Germany, with limited concessions, into a renewed European framework for lasting peace. In a complementary move, US President Franklin D. Roosevelt made it clear in his so-called Quarantine Speech of 5 October 1937 that the United States would not stand aside and tolerate Germany's expansionist efforts and, in the event of war, would side with the British.<sup>6</sup>

- 4 Marion A. Kaplan (ed.), *Jewish Daily Life in Germany, 1618–1945* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 338–339.
- 5 W. Michael Blumenthal, *The Invisible Wall: Germans and Jews. A Personal Exploration* (Washington, DC: Counterpoint, 1998), pp. 356–359; Victor Klemperer, *I Shall Bear Witness: The Diaries of Victor Klemperer, 1933–1941*, trans. Martin Chalmers (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1998 [German edn, 1995]), pp. 305–306 (entry for 23 Feb. 1938).
- 6 Andreas Hillgruber, *Die gescheiterte Großmacht: Eine Skizze des Deutschen Reiches 1871–1945* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1980), pp. 83–84; Klaus Hildebrand, *Deutsche Außenpolitik 1933–1945: Kalkül oder Dogma?* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1990), p. 54; Klaus Hildebrand, *Das vergangene Reich: Deutsche Außenpolitik von Bismarck bis Hitler 1871–1945* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1995), p. 641.

Well into 1938, Hitler still hoped that Britain would tacitly condone the seizure of Austria and Czechoslovakia. However, he was not willing to abandon the pursuit of his goals in exchange for British neutrality. On 5 November 1937, Hitler called together the leadership of the Wehrmacht, Minister of War Werner von Blomberg, Commander-in-Chief of the Air Force Hermann Göring, and Minister of Foreign Affairs Konstantin von Neurath for a secret meeting, at which he informed them of the possibility of war against Britain and France. As his war objective, Hitler cited the ‘solution to the problem of lack of space’. He outlined various plans for the incorporation of Czechoslovakia and Austria into the German Reich as initial steps on the road to establishing Germany’s position as a world power. This, he said, would ‘signify [a] gain of foodstuffs for five to six million people’, on condition that one million people would be forcibly resettled from Austria and two million from Czechoslovakia. The second step, the push towards the East in the direction of the Soviet Union, was to follow sometime between 1943 and 1945, once the German Wehrmacht was sufficiently rearmed and – after a victorious war in the West – battle-seasoned.<sup>7</sup>

In the subsequent discussion, Neurath, Blomberg, and Commander-in-Chief of the Army Baron Werner von Fritsch raised various objections. As a result, all three men were removed from office in the following months. In early 1938, Hitler did away with the post of minister of war and took personal command of the Wehrmacht. He placed the compliant Wilhelm Keitel at the head of the newly created High Command of the Wehrmacht, named Walther von Brauchitsch commander-in-chief of the army, and appointed Ribbentrop minister of foreign affairs. In addition, he dismissed twelve of the highest-ranking army and air force generals, replacing them with younger careerists, and staffed fifty-one other leadership positions in the Wehrmacht with new men.<sup>8</sup>

At the end of 1937, Hitler had removed Hjalmar Schacht from his post as minister of economics after Schacht had expressed increasingly forthright reservations about the extreme level of national debt resulting from the rapid arms build-up. After an interregnum with Göring in charge, Goebbels’s confidant Walther Funk was promoted to the position of minister of economics. One year later, Funk took over – also from Schacht and for the same reason – the additional post of Reichsbank president.

The economic boom in the Reich after 1933 was based on dubious financial policies. In fact, labour, raw materials, and foreign exchange were all in short supply. The concentration of all construction resources on expanding the Siegfried Line fortifications along Germany’s western frontier and developing other military projects brought both residential and motorway construction almost to a standstill. The focusing of all production on war led to shortages in consumer goods, particularly in the supply of butter and meat. At the same time, full employment, overtime, and concealed wage hikes had fuelled

7 Hitler’s remarks were written down by Colonel Friedrich Hoßbach: *The Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, 14 November 1945 – 1 October 1946*, vol. 25 (Nuremberg: Secretariat of the Tribunal, 1947), doc. 386-PS, pp. 402–413; Bradley Smith, ‘Die Überlieferung der Hoßbach-Niederschrift im Lichte neuer Quellen’, *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, vol. 38 (1990), pp. 329–336; Gerhard L. Weinberg, *The Foreign Policy of Hitler’s Germany: Starting World War II, 1937–1939* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities, 1994), pp. 34–43.

8 Karl-Heinz Janssen and Fritz Tobias, *Der Sturz der Generäle: Hitler und die Blomberg-Fritsch-Krise 1938* (Munich: Beck, 1994), pp. 148–158.

private consumption again for the first time since 1929. In response to this dilemma, the government resorted to measures such as pay freezes, compulsory labour service, and propaganda promising a bright future. In addition, it intensified the harassment of Jews with a view to pursuing Aryanization. In the main, however, Hitler succeeded in using his high-risk foreign-policy gamble, the annexation of Austria and the Sudetenland, to obscure the domestic political crisis.<sup>9</sup>

The main problem of the German economy was the shortage of foreign currency. To prepare for war, important raw materials for arms production had to be imported and the Reich grain reserves envisaged by the Four-Year Plan had to be increased to the point where, in the event of war, they would constitute a reliable safeguard against the anticipated British naval blockade. As his speech at the aforementioned secret meeting on 5 November 1937 indicates, Hitler took the question of wartime food supply very seriously. In his view, the Reich had lost the First World War primarily because of the British naval blockade of food. Hunger had then led to mass protests in Germany and thus prompted the ‘stab in the back’ that civilians on the home front inflicted on the combat front, ‘undefeated on the battlefield’. In the coming war, too, only about 80 per cent of the German population’s food requirements could be supplied by the domestic agricultural sector. The remainder had to be stockpiled or taken away from others.<sup>10</sup>

In the early years of National Socialist rule, the economic boom and rearmament had been ensured by means of a financial policy involving so-called Mefo bills, a special system of financing through deferred payment devised by Hjalmar Schacht. Twelve million Reichsmarks of Mefo bills were in circulation by early 1938 and were issued in the name of a dummy company, the Metallurgical Research Corporation (Mefo). In early 1938, when the first bills were due, there was a risk that payment could not be honoured. New financial tricks were thus required – this time in the face of Schacht’s opposition. The possibility of financing the arms build-up over the long term and placing corresponding government bonds in the domestic capital market did not exist, because in 1938 most cash-rich Germans were not willing to voluntarily lend money to the bankrupt National Socialist state. In times of extreme national debt, the Reichsbank even had to buy up Reich bonds on the Berlin Stock Exchange – in July 1938 alone, in the amount of 465 million Reichsmarks – to prevent a stock market slump that would have exposed to the world the domestic loss of confidence in the Third Reich.<sup>11</sup>

9 Dietrich Eichholtz, ‘Rüstungskonjunktur und Rüstungskrise: Bemerkungen zu materiellen und finanziellen Problemen der wirtschaftlichen Kriegsvorbereitung’, in Werner Röhr, Brigitte Berlekamp, and Karl Heinz Roth (eds.), *Der Krieg vor dem Krieg: Politik und Ökonomik der ‘friedlichen’ Aggressionen Deutschlands 1938/39* (Hamburg: VSA, 2001), pp. 98–117, here p. 104; Adam Tooze, *The Wages of Destruction: The Making and Breaking of the Nazi Economy* (London: Allen Lane, 2006), pp. 255–258.

10 Götz Aly and Susanne Heim, *Architects of Annihilation: Auschwitz and the Logic of Destruction*, trans. A. G. Blunden (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2002 [German edn, 1991]), pp. 235–252. On 30 June 1939, the Reich nevertheless 5.5 million tonnes of grain reserves: Götz Aly, *Hitler’s Beneficiaries: Plunder, Racial War, and the Nazi Welfare State*, trans. Jefferson Chase (New York: Metropolitan, 2006 [German edn, 2005]), p. 169.

11 Avraham Barkai, *Nazi Economics: Ideology, Theory, and Policy*, trans. Ruth Hadass-Vashitz (Oxford: Berg, 1990 [German edn, 1988]), pp. 165–167; Albert Fischer, *Hjalmar Schacht und Deutschlands ‘Judenfrage’* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1995), p. 85; Aly, *Hitler’s Beneficiaries*, pp. 42–44; Tooze, *The Wages of Destruction*, pp. 241–270.

The shortages of cash and foreign exchange strengthened the Reich government's determination to subjugate Austria and Czechoslovakia in order to commandeer the treasuries of those countries and confiscate the assets of the Jews. During the preceding years, Jewish businessmen had been ruined or forced to sell their companies, but for foreign and domestic economic reasons those responsible were still hesitant to prohibit the Jews from engaging in all business activity. In 1938 that changed.

In the spring of 1938, tax reductions for people with children and various social benefit payments, such as marriage and maternity benefits, were cancelled for Jews.<sup>12</sup> On 1 March, the Reich Ministry of Economics definitively prohibited the awarding of public contracts to Jewish firms. From 1 April 1938, the Law on the Legal Status of the Jewish Religious Communities deprived the Jewish communities of the status of corporations under public law (Doc. 23). This had serious financial implications, as the communities now no longer had the same tax advantages that were granted to Christian religious communities. Henceforth they had to pay taxes on the communities' properties – synagogues, cemeteries, and charitable organizations. At the same time, the communities' income sharply decreased as a result of the pauperization of their members, while the expenditure for social welfare constantly climbed owing to the exclusion of Jews from public welfare. In addition, this law stripped the communities of the right to impose their own taxes. This arbitrary state measure caused horror among those who worked as employees or volunteers in the communities. They interpreted it as a sign that 'the final hour of German Jewry had come'.<sup>13</sup>

In July 1938 the Law on the Amendment of the Commercial Code was enacted.<sup>14</sup> It banned Jews from the real estate business and property administration, as well as the fairsground trade and peddling. Many formerly self-employed businessmen and laid-off blue- and white-collar workers had sought refuge precisely in these occupations and thus aggravated non-Jewish competitors. With the Fourth Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law, Jewish physicians lost their licence to practise medicine with effect from 30 September 1938 (Doc. 76).<sup>15</sup> A few were allowed to continue working as 'practitioners for the sick' (*Krankenbehandler*) but could provide medical care only to Jewish patients. In Berlin, of the 1,623 Jewish doctors still practising in the summer of 1938, 426 received this disparaging occupational designation. Two months later, something similar befell Jewish lawyers. Under the Fifth Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law, all 1,753 Jewish lawyers who had been allowed to continue practising, thanks to special provisions for

12 Law on the Amendment of the Income Tax Law, 1 Feb. 1938, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, pp. 99–102; Avraham Barkai, *From Boycott to Annihilation: The Economic Struggle of German Jews, 1933–1943*, trans. William TEMPLER (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1989 [German edn, 1987]), p. 117; Joseph WALK (ed.), *Das Sonderrecht für Juden im NS-Staat: Eine Sammlung der gesetzlichen Maßnahmen und Richtlinien – Inhalt und Bedeutung* (Heidelberg/Karlsruhe: Müller Juristischer, 1981), pp. 416, 420, 424, and 426.

13 Kurt Jakob BALL-KADURI, *Vor der Katastrophe: Juden in Deutschland 1934–1939* (Tel Aviv: Olamenu, 1967), pp. 126–127; Otto DOV KULKA and Eberhard JÄCKEL (eds.), *The Jews in the Secret Nazi Reports on Popular Opinion in Germany, 1933–1945*, trans. William TEMPLER (New Haven, CT/London: Yale University Press, 2010 [German edn, 2004]), p. 337.

14 Law on the Amendment of the Commercial Code for the German Reich, 6 July 1938, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, p. 823.

15 Fourth Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law, 25 July 1938, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, pp. 969–970.

war veterans, now lost their licences; 172 received permission to act as ‘consultants’ (*Konsulenten*) and represent solely Jewish clients in the future.<sup>16</sup>

This approach, both merciless and finely nuanced, was in keeping with the two guidelines that Göring repeatedly emphasized after the November pogroms. First, if the Jews were to remain compliant, they must ‘still [have] something to lose’. Second, their forced migration was to be accelerated by stripping them, little by little, of the tangible necessities of life.<sup>17</sup>

In the summer months of 1938, the labelling of Jewish businesses in various cities of the Reich provided the impetus for violent attacks on Jews. Mostly it was members of the Storm Troopers (SA) or the Nazi Party (NSDAP) who threatened Jewish shopkeepers, verbally abused or denounced non-Jewish patrons, and thus contributed to the polarization of everyday life. The local authorities occasionally reacted to the antisemitic sentiment stirred up in this way by issuing anti-Jewish rules that were applicable in a particular area, even before the enactment of corresponding regulations that were uniform throughout the Reich. Standardized identifying marks for Jewish shops had already been devised by that time, but their introduction was postponed for the time being upon Hitler’s intervention.<sup>18</sup> The National Socialist activists therefore limited their actions initially to smearing the shops of Jews with paint to identify them as such. In Berlin, however, Jewish shopkeepers had to put their name in letters 25 centimetres high on the display windows at eye level and to all intents and purposes mark their own premises as Jewish operations (Doc. 120). The SS Security Service (SD) reported that ‘the operations against Jewish shops’ had ‘in many cases advanced the process of the Aryanization of the Jewish businesses’ and ‘the idea to emigrate and the will for emigration have been significantly strengthened’.<sup>19</sup>

The most important regulation to terminate German Jews’ economic activities and bring about their subsequent dispossession had been drawn up in Austria immediately after the Anschluss, before the end of March 1938. At Göring’s urging, it was introduced throughout the Reich on 26 April 1938. It stated that Jews (and, where applicable, their non-Jewish spouses) had to report their assets in detail to the relevant tax authority if the total value exceeded 5,000 Reichsmarks (Doc. 29).<sup>20</sup> The official at the Reich Ministry

16 Barkai, *From Boycott*, pp. 121–122; Fifth Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law, 27 Sept. 1938, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, pp. 1403–1406.

17 Susanne Heim and Götz Aly, ‘Staatliche Ordnung und “organische Lösung”: Die Rede Hermann Görings “über die Judenfrage” vom 6. Dezember 1938’, *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung*, vol. 2 (1992), pp. 378–404, here p. 387.

18 Bella Fromm, *Als Hitler mir die Hand küßte* (Berlin: Rowohlt, 1993), p. 294; Uwe Dietrich Adam, *Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1972), pp. 163–164; Cornelia Essner, *Die ‘Nürnberger Gesetze’ oder die Verwaltung des Rassenwahns 1933–1945* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2002), pp. 246–250; *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels*, part 1: *Aufzeichnungen 1923–1941*, vol. 5, ed. Elke Fröhlich (Munich: Saur, 2000), p. 121 (entry for 29 Jan. 1938); Christoph Kreutzmüller, *Final Sale in Berlin: The Destruction of Jewish Commercial Activity 1930–1945*, trans. Jane Paulick and Jefferson Chase (New York: Berghahn, 2015 [German edn, 2012]).

19 SD Main Office II 112, report for July 1938, published in Kulka and Jäckel (eds.), *The Jews in the Secret Nazi Reports*, pp. 319–320.

20 Hans Safrian and Hans Witek, *Und keiner war dabei: Dokumente des alltäglichen Antisemitismus in Wien 1938* (Vienna: Picus, 2008), pp. 53–58. In the Viennese draft law, the limit above which registration of assets was compulsory was still set at 1,000 Reichsmarks: *ibid.*, p. 55.

of Economics in charge of 'Aryanization matters', Ministerialrat Alf Krüger, author of the book *Die Lösung der Judenfrage in der Wirtschaft* (The Solution to the Jewish Question in the Economy), described the procedure as the 'forerunner to a complete and definitive removal of Jews from the German economy' and, after the registration of assets, estimated the 'seizable' assets of the Jews living in Germany at around 7 billion Reichsmarks. (By way of comparison, the Reich's regular revenues amounted to around 17 billion Reichsmarks in the fiscal year 1938.) The property of non-Jewish spouses and possessions in Germany belonging to Jews of foreign citizenship were regarded as 'unassailable', at least for the time being.<sup>21</sup> However, foreign Jews now had to obtain official permission for purchases and leases, or risk substantial penalties. As a result, foreigners too fell within the scope of German racial legislation.

It is significant that the Regulation on the Registration of Jewish Assets issued on 26 April gave Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan Göring the power to determine how the 'assets subject to the registration requirement would be utilized'. In plain terms, this meant that the German Jews would be forced by the state to invest all their available assets in Reich war bonds. They were not formally dispossessed but rather deprived of the power to control their property. Göring explained the procedure as follows: 'The Jew is excluded from the economy and assigns his assets to the state. He is compensated in return. The compensation is noted in the debt register, and it earns interest at a set rate.' The Jews, 'pensioned off', were to live off this interest (Doc. 146). 'For only then', Göring stated elsewhere, 'is it possible to carry out the Führer's arms programme.'<sup>22</sup>

It soon became apparent how closely interrelated the seizure of Jewish assets was with the national debt and the foreign exchange shortage, which obstructed the preparations for war. Six days before the Jews were required to hand in their declarations of assets on 31 July 1938, Göring ordered the tax offices to examine these forms 'with the greatest expedition' in the search for foreign securities. Then the owners were forced to offer these securities to the Reichsbank for purchase. As a result, many millions of US dollars, British pounds sterling, and Swiss francs flowed into the German war chest in autumn 1938. In the case of the foreign exchange handover as well, the property of the affected Jews was not formally expropriated. They received the officially determined 'equivalent value' in the Reichsmark currency, which had become internationally worthless.<sup>23</sup>

From the perspective of those who were pressing ahead with the economic disenfranchisement of the Jews, Aryanization accomplished three objectives: first, it made possible immediate or future expropriation for the benefit of the German state; second, it served the interests of Aryan medium-sized companies and small tradesmen by limiting their Jewish business competition; third, isolation, humiliation, and exclusion were intended to make life unbearable for Jews in Germany and force them to emigrate.

The goal of all these measures was the rapid pauperization of the Jewish population, yet this very pauperization interfered with the other aim of anti-Jewish policy: mass

21 Secret Decree III Jd. 29/38 of the Reich Ministry of Economics, 25 July 1938, cited in A. J. van der Leeuw, 'Der Griff des Reiches nach dem Judenvermögen', *Rechtsprechung zum Wiedergutmachungsrecht*, vol. 21 (1970), pp. 383–392, here pp. 384 and 387; Barkai, *From Boycott*, p. 113; Aly, *Hitler's Beneficiaries*, pp. 42–43.

22 Heim and Aly, 'Staatliche Ordnung', p. 392.

23 Reich Ministry of Economics (III Jd. 29/38), 25 July 1938: PA AA, R 99 295.

emigration from Germany. Those Jews who still owned a certain amount of assets had the best chances of emigrating, while those who were destitute, in whose expulsion the institutions of persecution had a particular interest, ran the risk of having to remain in Germany. The German government solved its self-created conflict between the objectives of expropriation and expulsion in its own fashion: it combined expropriation with selective and systematic terror.

### *The Concentration Camp System*

After Heinrich Himmler had become chief of the German police in June 1936, he initiated the construction of a new system of concentration camps. By summer 1937, he had closed the protective custody camps (*Schutzhaftlager*) used in the early years of National Socialist rule. Only Dachau concentration camp near Munich remained in place, and he had it substantially enlarged. In 1936 he had the Sachsenhausen concentration camp built in Oranienburg, near Berlin, describing it as a ‘completely new, modern and contemporary concentration camp, which can be expanded at any time’.<sup>24</sup> This was the first in a series of camps of a new type, which were designed for a considerably larger volume of prisoners. In 1938 the Inspectorate of the Concentration Camps moved to Oranienburg. From there it administered all the concentration camps as well as the SS Death’s Head Units, which Himmler vastly reinforced and reorganized, transforming them from guard forces into militarily and ideologically trained units. In 1937 and 1938 additional camps were opened in Buchenwald near Weimar and Flossenbürg in eastern Bavaria. A few months after the Anschluss, the first concentration camp on Austrian territory, in Mauthausen near Linz, followed,<sup>25</sup> and in May 1939 the women’s concentration camp in Ravensbrück was added.

Though the SS initially used the concentration camps primarily to terrorize and intimidate domestic political opponents, this function was pushed into the background with the consolidation of National Socialist dominance. From 1936 the Gestapo, together with the Criminal Police, targeted so-called asocials (*Asoziale*), professional criminals and repeat offenders, people whose work habits and social behaviour did not conform to expected norms. In 1936 and 1937 the Gestapo, with the cooperation of the Criminal Police, sent more than 3,000 beggars, homeless people, prostitutes, and repeat offenders to the concentration camps.<sup>26</sup> Himmler’s Decree on Preventive Measures by the Police to Combat Crime, issued on 14 December 1937, provided a cloak of legality for the arrests

24 Cited in Karin Orth, *Das System der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager: Eine politische Organisationsgeschichte* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1999), p. 36.

25 Florian Freund and Bertrand Perz, ‘Mauthausen – Stammlager’, in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (eds.), *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 4 (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 293–346; Michel Fabréguet, *Camp de concentration national-socialiste en Autriche rattachée (1938–1945)* (Paris: H. Champion, 1999).

26 Orth, *Das System*, p. 47; Falk Pingel, *Häftlinge unter SS-Herrschaft: Widerstand, Selbstbehauptung und Vernichtung im Konzentrationslager* (Hamburg: Hoffmann and Campe, 1978), pp. 70–72; Kim Wünschmann, *Before Auschwitz: Jewish Prisoners in the Prewar Concentration Camps* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014); Nikolaus Wachsmann, *KL: A History of the Nazi Concentration Camps* (New York/London: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2015).

retroactively and, together with the expanded Protective Custody Decree of January 1938, formed the legal basis for Operation ‘Work-shy Reich’ (Aktion ‘Arbeitsscheu Reich’) in 1938. After the employment offices had reported persons who were ‘unwilling to work’ to the Gestapo, Gestapo officials arrested between 1,500 and 2,000 persons in the last week of April 1938 and transferred them to Buchenwald concentration camp.<sup>27</sup> The next mass arrests followed in June and were primarily directed against the homeless, beggars, and those suspected of procurement. This time the Criminal Police, aided and provided with lists by the employment and welfare offices, made the arrests. On the orders of Reinhard Heydrich, at least 200 men who were deemed to be asocials were to be taken into preventive custody in each Criminal Police regional headquarters district (Docs. 31, 88). The number of those actually arrested plainly exceeded the imposed minimum: in total, around 10,000 persons were taken to Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, and Dachau. In both April and June, care was taken to ensure that those arrested were fit for work.

The victims of the ‘June Operation’ also included 1,500 Jews who had criminal records or were known to the police because of minor offences, often from years earlier.<sup>28</sup> In the first few days of the operation, the grounds for the arrests were still completely unclear. No one knew the criteria according to which unsuspecting individuals were suddenly taken away by the police or where they were taken, and the lack of information led to widespread anxiety. It particularly affected the family members and friends of those Jews who were held for weeks in isolation in the Sachsenhausen camp, with no contact with the outside world. In Buchenwald concentration camp, the detainees were at least allowed to give their family members a sign of life after two weeks.<sup>29</sup> Those who were newly incarcerated had to perform extremely strenuous forced labour, which even robust men could not keep up for long.<sup>30</sup> In Buchenwald, where 7,850 persons, including around 1,250 Jews, were imprisoned after the ‘June Operation’, an average of six to eight prisoners per day are said to have died, either as a result of ill-treatment or general exhaustion or because they fell into despair and threw themselves against the electrified barbed-wire fence of the camp.

27 Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie, 1993), pp. 284–286; Wolfgang Ayaß, ‘Asoziale’ im Nationalsozialismus (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1995), pp. 140–147. The Himmler decree, in addition to other documents concerning the persecution of so-called asocials, is published in Wolfgang Ayaß (ed.), ‘Gemeinschaftsfremde’: *Quellen zur Verfolgung von ‘Asozialen’ 1933–1945* (Koblenz: Bundesarchiv, 1998).

28 Saul Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, vol. 1: *The Years of Persecution, 1933–1939* (New York: HarperCollins, 1997), p. 261; Christian Faludi (ed.), *Die ‘Juni-Aktion’ 1938: Eine Dokumentation zur Radikalisierung der Judenverfolgung* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2013).

29 Ben Barkow, Raphael Gross, and Michael Lenarz (eds.), *Novemberpogrom 1938: Die Augenzeugenberichte der Wiener Library, London* (Frankfurt am Main: Jüdischer Verlag im Suhrkamp Verlag, 2008), pp. 46 and 64–65.

30 Ayaß, ‘Asoziale’, pp. 147–165; Patrick Wagner, *Volksgemeinschaft ohne Verbrecher: Konzeptionen und Praxis der Kriminalpolizei in der Zeit der Weimarer Republik und des Nationalsozialismus* (Hamburg: Christians, 1996), pp. 279–292; Stefanie Schüler-Springorum, ‘Masseneinweisungen in Konzentrationslager: Aktion “Arbeitsscheu Reich”, Novemberpogrom, Aktion “Gewitter”’, in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Diestel (eds.), *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der Konzentrationslager*, vol. 1 (Munich: Beck, 2005), pp. 156–164.

The guards often bullied Jewish prisoners in particular. During those weeks, it was reported from Buchenwald:

A Jew, while carrying stones, had taken hold of a stone that weighed around forty pounds. After this he was shouted at, told to just put the thing down and look for a bigger stone. As the Jew was walking away, the guard picked up the smaller stone and hurled it with all his might at the Jew; it struck the Jew on the back of the neck, and he died on the spot. In other ways too, prisoners continually die from the direct consequences of abuse. For example, in July one of the Jewish prisoners died from a double fracture of the renal pelvis, caused by being kicked.

Prisoners who showed signs of exhaustion had to expect the heaviest camp penalties for 'insubordination'. Among the most brutal punishments, inflicted on Jewish prisoners in particular, was the 'gallows': the man selected for torture had his hands tied together behind his back and was then strung up from a tree branch until he lost consciousness.<sup>31</sup>

In the period between November 1936 and the beginning of November 1938, the number of concentration camp prisoners increased fivefold, to 24,000. While predominantly so-called work-shy (*arbeitsscheu*) individuals and career criminals were imprisoned in Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen, in the summer of 1938, 4,155 of the 5,500 prisoners in Dachau were sent there for political reasons. The vast majority were Austrians.<sup>32</sup>

The development of the concentration camps into centres for forced labour was intended to act as a general deterrent and to improve work ethic across the board. This development coincided with the construction projects associated with the plans for a colossal reshaping of Berlin and other cities.<sup>33</sup> In Sachsenhausen and its subcamp Neuengamme, the SS set up a brickworks. Himmler and Oswald Pohl, head of the SS Economic Administration, selected a quarry as the site for the Mauthausen camp, and quarries were also chosen as the locations for Flossenbürg concentration camp and Groß-Rosen concentration camp. The site for the Natzweiler-Struthof concentration camp in Alsace was presumably selected on the basis of a suggestion by Albert Speer, whose attention was attracted by the granite deposits there during a tour of inspection in 1940. Between April 1938 and May 1939, various firms for the economic utilization of prisoner labour came into being under the aegis of the SS. Oswald Pohl's SS Economic Administration Main Office consolidated the production centres attached to the concentration camps.<sup>34</sup>

31 Barkow, Gross, and Lenarz (eds.), *Novemberpogrom 1938*, pp. 69–77, quote p. 75.

32 Orth, *Das System*, p. 51; Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann, 'Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager: Geschichte, Erinnerung, Forschung', in Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (eds.), *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager: Entwicklung und Struktur* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 1998), pp. 17–40, here p. 28.

33 Susanne Willems, *Der entsiedelte Jude: Albert Speers Wohnungsmarktpolitik für den Berliner Hauptstadtbau* (Berlin: Hentrich, 2000), pp. 22–23.

34 At the end of April 1938, the SS set up the German Earth- and Stoneworks GmbH (DESt); in Jan. 1939, the German Research Institute for Diet and Nutrition (DVA); and in May 1939, the German Equipment Works (DAW): Walter Naasner, *SS-Wirtschaft und SS-Verwaltung: 'Das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt und die unter seiner Dienstaufsicht stehenden wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen' und weitere Dokumente* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1998), p. 214; Orth, *Das System*, pp. 48–49; Jan Erik Schulte, 'Das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt und die Expansion des KZ-Systems', in Benz and Diestel (eds.), *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 1, pp. 141–155, here pp. 143–145.

### *'Specialists for Jewish Affairs' in the Police and SD*

The work of the initially small staff of the SD was limited during the first few years of National Socialist rule to the gathering of information about various groups of alleged or actual opponents of the National Socialist regime. Accordingly, the SD men who were in charge of the 'Jewish question' were at first concerned primarily with the surveillance of Jewish organizations and individuals. In the early stage of its activity, the SD had been repeatedly reconfigured. From 1936, SD Office II (Domestic) contained Central Department II/1, which tracked the activities of 'ideological adversaries' of National Socialism. Subordinate to it was Main Department II/11, which kept the churches and Jews under surveillance. Department II 111 investigated the Freemasons, Department II 112 the German Jews, and Department II 113 'denominational political trends', in particular political Catholicism. Department II 112, soon termed the Department for Jewish Affairs, was subdivided into the sections 'Assimilationists' (II 1121), 'Orthodox and Charitable Jews' (II 1122), and 'Zionists' (II 1123). While the leadership of Department II 112 changed several times between 1935 and 1938, Adolf Eichmann, who had worked in the SD Main Office since 1934, remained in charge of the Zionist affairs section throughout. This ensured the continuity of the SD's role in the persecution of the Jews.<sup>35</sup>

Beginning in autumn 1937, Herbert Hagen ran the SD's Department for Jewish Affairs. Alongside Eichmann, the department was staffed by Dieter Wisliceny and Theodor Dannecker. Gathered together in the same organization, therefore, were the four men who substantially shaped the SD's anti-Jewish policies in the occupied and allied countries over the next seven years, including the practices of deportation and destruction. They not only observed but also developed concepts for the speediest possible dissimulation and expulsion of the Jews. During the period preceding the start of the Second World War, this resulted, on the one hand, in promoting Zionism and lending support to efforts to emigrate and, on the other hand, in repressing the strong assimilationist forces present in German Jewry.

Under Hagen's management, Section II 112 laid claim to a 'certain intellectual leadership'. His employees submitted comments on the anti-Jewish measures that were devised by the ministerial bureaucracy. With growing assertiveness, they also intervened with other authorities, as in the case of the 'Guidelines for Dealing with Jews and Jewish Matters', issued in July 1938 by Count von Helldorf, Berlin's chief of police. In the document, von Helldorf enumerated the legal means by which Jews in Berlin could be discriminated against and intimidated (Doc. 68). His stated objective was 'to compel the Jews to emigrate, not simply to harass them haphazardly with no prospect of achieving this outcome'. The directive was preceded by a lengthy discussion initiated by the power-

35 On the organizational structure and development of the Jewish policies of the SD and Eichmann's role, see Klaus Drobisch, 'Die Judenreferate des Geheimen Staatspolizeiamtes und des Sicherheitsdienstes der SS 1933 bis 1939', *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung*, vol. 2 (1992), pp. 230–254; Michael Wildt (ed.), *Die Judenpolitik des SD 1935 bis 1938: Eine Dokumentation* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1995); Hans Safrian, *Eichmann's Men*, new edn, trans. Ute Stargardt (New York/Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010 [German edn, 1993]), pp. 15–19; Yaacov Lozowick, *Hitler's Bureaucrats: The Nazi Security Police and the Banality of Evil*, trans. Haim Watzman (London: Continuum, 2002 [unpublished Hebrew version, 2000]), pp. 21–42; David Cesarani, *Eichmann: His Life and Crimes* (London: William Heinemann, 2004), pp. 39–53.

ful Berlin Gauleiter Joseph Goebbels with the purpose of making Berlin 'free of Jews'. The SD officials successfully rejected Goebbels's expulsion scheme because it was aimed solely at the Reich capital and would deny the Jews further possibilities to earn a living, but without improving their prospects of emigration.

Increasingly, the SD's specialists for Jewish affairs also claimed executive powers, which until then had been the preserve of the Gestapo Central Office (Gestapo). They summoned the representatives of Jewish organizations to report on activities and instructed them to expedite the emigration of the Jews or to make Jewish forced labourers available (Doc. 295). At the insistence of the SD, all Jews who were foreign nationals were removed not only from top positions but also from ordinary employment in Jewish organizations.<sup>36</sup>

At times, confusion arose over the priority of Jewish emigration, as when the Reich Foreign Office advocated curtailing emigration to Palestine because it regarded the founding of a Jewish state, now within reach, as a danger. On another occasion in spring 1938, Himmler briefly took the position that 'Germany [should] not let go of the Jews, its most valuable collateral', in other words, should keep them as hostages.<sup>37</sup> Hitler too hinted at the possibility of hostage-taking when he announced in his speech to the Reichstag at the end of January 1939:

if the international Jewish financiers within and outside Europe should succeed in plunging the nations once more into a world war, the outcome will not be the Bolshevization of the earth, and thus the victory of Jewry, but rather the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe. (Doc. 248)<sup>38</sup>

All in all, over the course of 1938 the SD's specialists for Jewish affairs succeeded in placing the push for emigration at the centre of the government's anti-Jewish policy, thereby avoiding the feared stagnation of the Jewish exodus.

The Anschluss of Austria offered a welcome opportunity to display initiative. Two days after the entry of German soldiers, Eichmann and Hagen travelled to Vienna. There, Eichmann ran the Central Office for Jewish Emigration (Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung), which the SD had called for as early as 1937.<sup>39</sup> (Its workings are described below, pp. 40–41.) It functioned so efficiently that after only a few months it became the model for the Reich Central Agency for Jewish Emigration (Reichszentrale für jüdische Auswanderung) in Berlin and later for the central offices in Prague and Amsterdam.<sup>40</sup> On 24 January 1939, Göring assigned the leadership of the Reich Central Agency to Heydrich, the chief of the Security Police (Doc. 243), and thus helped Heydrich's SS and police organization attain a dominant position in Jewish policy. Heydrich

36 Longerich, *Holocaust*, p. 103; Work Instructions for Subject Area II 112: RGVA, 500k-1-506, published in Wildt (ed.), *Die Judenpolitik*, pp. 156–160.

37 Cited in Longerich, *Holocaust*, p. 102.

38 Heiko Heinisch, *Hitlers Geiseln: Hegemonialpläne und der Holocaust* (Vienna: Passagen, 2005), pp. 77–89.

39 Ulrich Herbert, *Best: Biographische Studien über Radikalismus, Weltanschauung und Vernunft 1903–1989* (Bonn: Dietz, 2001), p. 212.

40 Gabriele Anderl, 'Die Zentralstellen für jüdische Auswanderung in Wien, Berlin und Prag: Ein Vergleich', *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte*, vol. 23 (1994), pp. 275–299; Gabriele Anderl and Dirk Rupnow, *Die Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung als Beraubungsinstitution* (Vienna: Oldenbourg, 2004).

installed one of his closest associates, Gestapo chief Heinrich Müller, as manager of the Reich Central Agency.

In Berlin, Eichmann had not played a pre-eminent role on the SD staff. With his transfer to Vienna, a new stage in his career began. It was here that he asserted his claim that the SD or the Central Office for Jewish Emigration, as opposed to the Vienna Gestapo, should have the final say in all matters of Jewish policy.<sup>41</sup> While the SD had still assisted the Gestapo in the Old Reich and advised it regarding anti-Jewish policy, after the Anschluss of Austria Eichmann and his colleagues were presented with an opportunity to take control themselves. In Berlin they had been generators of ideas for Jewish policy, but in Vienna they became executors of such policy.<sup>42</sup>

Most Jews were less afraid of the SD, which, as an intelligence service, operated more in the background, than of the Gestapo. The Gestapo's officials searched apartments, conducted raids on Jewish institutions, issued instructions to Jewish representatives, and took individuals into 'protective custody'. The Gestapo was *the* central institution of state terror, and the Jews, regarded by the National Socialist authorities as the embodiment of the public enemy, had more to fear than all other Germans.<sup>43</sup>

The precursor of the Gestapo was the Political Police in the Weimar Republic, and Gestapo officials came predominantly from the regular police service, and only rarely from ideologically influenced Nazi special formations. After the National Socialist assumption of power, there had been no extensive purge of the police force, but at the leadership level there were numerous personnel reshuffles. At first the Political Police in Prussia were still under the authority of the *Regierungspräsidenten* (district governors). From spring 1934 it answered exclusively and directly to the Prussian Minister President, Göring. The number of personnel grew quickly: in 1934, around 2,000 police belonged to the Gestapo, in 1938, around 7,000, and in 1944, 31,000.<sup>44</sup> Though it had been the

41 In summer 1939, Eichmann demanded that the head of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna (IKG), Josef Löwenherz, ensure that all applications by Jewish organizations were submitted first to the Central Office for Jewish Emigration; the Gestapo took Löwenherz to task on that account. After a tug of war lasting several days, the power struggle ended in compromise: applications dealing with emigration were to be addressed to the Central Office; the Gestapo had decision-making power regarding the authorization of prayer events and organizational matters: See Josef Israel Löwenherz, *Vollständiger Bericht von Dr. Löwenherz über die Tätigkeit Eichmanns und Brunners in Wien-Prag-Berlin*, ed. Tuvia Friedman (Haifa: Institute of Documentation in Israel, 1995), p. 15.

42 Safrian, *Eichmann's Men*, pp. 29–32; Löwenherz, *Vollständiger Bericht*, pp. 10 and 15; Doron Rabinovici, *Eichmann's Jews: The Jewish Administration of Holocaust Vienna, 1938–1945*, trans. Nick Somers (Cambridge: Polity, 2011 [German edn, 2000]), pp. 42, 51; undated report (receipt stamp of the Chief of the Security Police: 7 Nov. 1938), 'Betr.: Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung in Wien', BAArch, R 58/486, fols. 29–31; report by Hagen dated 16 May 1939, 'Betr.: Jüdische Auswanderung aus der Ostmark', *ibid.*, fols. 52–56.

43 Gerhard Paul and Klaus-Michael Mallmann (eds.), *Die Gestapo: Mythos und Realität* (Darmstadt: Primus, 2003); Robert Gellately, *The Gestapo and German Society: Enforcing Racial Policy, 1933–1945* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Drobisch, 'Die Judenreferate'; Eric A. Johnson, *Nazi Terror: The Gestapo, Jews, and Ordinary Germans* (New York: Basic, 2000); Carsten Dams and Michael Stolle, *The Gestapo: Power and Terror in the Third Reich*, trans. Charlotte Ryland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014 [German edn, 2008]).

44 Holger Berschel, *Bürokratie und Terror. Das Judenreferat der Gestapo Düsseldorf 1935–1945* (Essen: Klartext, 2001), p. 42; Dams and Stolle, *The Gestapo*, pp. 33–34.

traditional task of the Political Police to keep track of enemies of the state, the Gestapo enlarged its range of duties step by step. In the understanding of Werner Best, who, as Heydrich's deputy, repeatedly wrote about the relationship between police practice and the National Socialist programme, the Gestapo was supposed to monitor the 'political health of the German racial corpus' and to use all possible means to combat any 'symptoms of disease' in it. It was from this mandate that the Gestapo derived its concept of acting in a preventive way that was, to the greatest possible extent, free of legal constraints and supervisory authorities. This range of action included the imposition of 'protective custody', the infliction of torture, and, when considered necessary, murder.<sup>45</sup>

In June 1936, when Heinrich Himmler was named chief of the German Police, he transferred the leadership of the Main Office of the Security Police to Reinhard Heydrich, who was already running the Gestapo, and thus made him the chief executive of the Criminal Police as well. In addition to the Criminal Police, the Gestapo could draw on the support of other police authorities to which it was authorized to issue directives. When there were large arrest operations, the gendarmerie, urban police, or municipal police frequently acted on behalf of the Gestapo. Both the Polish Jews deported in October 1938 and those persons arrested during the November pogroms were usually marched off by officials of the Order Police, who did not always perform their task with great zeal.

In addition to the ordinary police prisons, the Gestapo had its own 'in-house prisons' in larger cities. It could also put prisoners into the work education camps (*Arbeitserziehungslager*), which were under its control. In the concentration camps, which were administered separately within the SS organization, the Gestapo men established the rule of terror by means of the Political Departments. Despite its strong position in the National Socialist power structure, the Gestapo was capable of uninterrupted surveillance only to a limited extent. This was due, first, to the scope of its duties, which ranged from the surveillance of communists and Catholic activists to the persecution of homosexuals and the disciplining of millions of forced labourers during the war. Second, the Gestapo faced the challenge of procuring information. It depended on paid undercover informants and volunteer or casual informers. More than half of all the investigation proceedings initiated by the Gestapo were traceable to the latter, and they often soon proved unfounded. Anyone who had once attracted the attention of the Gestapo, even if the original suspicion proved incorrect, had to expect that his or her private life would be scrutinized in the greatest detail and that relatives, friends, and colleagues would be interrogated. The outcome was often 'protective custody' for an indefinite period until the matter was settled.<sup>46</sup>

In autumn 1939, the Jewish policies of the SD and the Gestapo were finally combined in the newly established Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) under the leadership of Reinhard Heydrich, who until then had been the chief of the Security Police.

45 Herbert, *Best*, pp. 163–180.

46 Hans Buchheim, 'The SS – Instrument of Domination', in Hans Buchheim, Martin Broszat, Hans-Adolf Jacobsen, and Helmut Krausnick, *Anatomy of the SS State*, trans. Richard Barry, Marian Jackson, and Dorothy Long (London: Collins, 1968 [German edn, 1965]), pp. 127–301, here pp. 172–174 and 241–247; Wachsmann, *KL*.

### *Jews and Antisemitism in Austria*

At the beginning of 1938, between 185,000 and 200,000 Jews lived in Austria, approximately 165,000 of them in Vienna. Their situation differed from that of the German Jews in two major respects: their share of the population was around four times as large as in the Old Reich (2.83 per cent and 0.76 per cent, respectively),<sup>47</sup> and they were considerably poorer on average. The number of Jews had increased rapidly with industrialization and the growth of the city of Vienna. In 1870, 40,000 Jews lived there, in 1890, around 120,000 and in 1920, approximately 200,000, yet their share of the population remained relatively constant at just under 9 per cent.<sup>48</sup>

During the 1848 Revolution, the Jewish intelligentsia had taken the side of the liberal middle class and fought for universal civil rights.<sup>49</sup> Well into the 1850s, 'commerce provided virtually the only career open to Viennese Jews unwilling to convert to Christianity',<sup>50</sup> but this occupational pattern gradually changed as legal and social barriers fell. In the period between emancipation in 1867 and the year 1910, some tens of thousands of Jews moved to Vienna from the eastern borderlands of the Habsburg Monarchy, specifically from Galicia and Bukovina. The majority of the immigrants were very poor and Orthodox in their approach to Judaism. For the most part, even after moving to Vienna they retained their cultural identity and the style of dress and life characteristic of the shtetl.<sup>51</sup>

Some of them, however, made remarkable progress in their working lives in the Vienna of the so-called *Gründerzeit*, the period of industrial and urban expansion in the second half of the nineteenth century: from small trader to family-owned manufacturing firm to industrialist, from 'rag-seller Jew' to textile manufacturer. Other new arrivals from all parts of the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy now surged into the liberal professions, which had long been off limits to Jews. They became doctors and lawyers, stockbrokers, journalists. Like the Jews in Berlin, Warsaw, or Budapest, the Viennese Jews, in their pronounced desire for education, differed from the Christian majority population. In 1912, one in three Viennese grammar school (*Gymnasium*) pupils was a Jew, three times more than would have been commensurate with the Jewish share of the population. Around 1900, whereas only 5.3 per cent of the Christians in a given age group attended university (excluding the discipline of theology), the corresponding figure among the Jews was 24.5 per cent. In Vienna and at the German University in Prague, they constituted almost one third of the students.<sup>52</sup>

47 The *Jüdisches Lexikon*, published from 1927, gives much higher figures. It estimates the number of Jews at 225,000 in 1930: *Jüdisches Lexikon: Ein enzyklopädisches Handbuch des jüdischen Wissens in vier Bänden*, vol. IV/2 (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1930), p. 633.

48 Steven Beller, *Vienna and the Jews, 1867–1938: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 44; Klaus Hödl, *Als Bettler in die Leopoldstadt: Galizische Juden auf dem Weg nach Wien* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1994), p. 279.

49 Robert S. Wistrich, *The Jews of Vienna in the Age of Franz Joseph* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 26–30; Sigmund Mayer, *Die Wiener Juden: Kommerz, Kultur, Politik 1700–1900* (Vienna: R. Löwit, 1917), pp. 207–233 and 373–374.

50 Marsha L. Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna, 1867–1914: Assimilation and Identity* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983), p. 47.

51 Bruce F. Pauley, *From Prejudice to Persecution: A History of Austrian Anti-Semitism* (Chapel Hill, NC/London: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), p. 65.

52 Brigitte Hamann, *Hitlers Wien: Lehrjahre eines Diktators* (Munich: Piper, 1996), pp. 469–470.

Around the turn of the twentieth century, Vienna was among the European cultural centres that were shaped by the liberal middle class and to a substantial degree also by its Jewish intelligentsia. The Wednesday Psychological Society that gathered around Sigmund Freud, and had many Jews among its members, attained international renown, as did the Vienna Circle, which brought together philosophers and social scientists such as Otto Neurath, Rudolf Goldscheid, Hans Hahn, and Philipp Frank. Numerous Jewish intellectuals found their political home in one of the socialist circles and among the theoreticians of Austro-Marxism, such as Rudolf Hilferding and Otto Bauer. Or they became involved in the social reform movements that championed women's rights, pacifism or improved public education. Hans Kelsen developed his 'pure theory of law' in Vienna; Arnold Schönberg, the twelve-tone technique of composition. In the interwar period, Stefan Zweig regularly invited fellow writers such as Robert Musil, Joseph Roth, and Franz Werfel to his apartment in Vienna for discussions. Jews were decisive in developing private cultural patronage, though this involvement brought some of them to the brink of ruin, including Fritz Warndörfer, the son of a textile manufacturer and the backer of the Wiener Werkstätte design collective. Because of its many Jewish patrons, the Vienna Secession art movement, with which Gustav Klimt, Joseph Maria Olbrich, Ernst Stöhr, and others were associated, was characterized as a *goût juif*, a 'Jewish taste'.<sup>53</sup>

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Austrian antisemitism, based on earlier forms influenced by religious considerations, became a mass movement. Journalists interpreted the stock exchange crash of 1873 and the subsequent crisis as 'requit' for the emancipation of the Jews and polemicized against the alleged robbing of the Christians by Jewish speculators.<sup>54</sup> In 1878 the first Viennese student fraternity excluded its Jewish members because, even if baptized, they were not to be regarded as Germans. Theodor Herzl left the duelling fraternity Albia after the students passed a resolution in 1880 stating that henceforth no Jews should be accepted as members. 'Those who were members already', Herzl reports in an autobiographical sketch, 'were kindly permitted to remain part of the fraternity. I said farewell to these noble youths.'<sup>55</sup> Antisemitism spread rapidly throughout the clubs and associations. In April 1908, for example, the Lower Austrian Gymnastics Association celebrated the twentieth anniversary of its 'de-Jewification' (*Entjudung*) with a 'festive gymnastics display'. In reaction to the discrimination, Jews established associations of their own. For example, in 1883 Jewish university students founded the duelling fraternity Kadimah, whose members were mostly Zionists, in order to defend Jewish honour, if necessary, in duels.

The emergence of the antisemitic Christian Social Association (Christlich-Sozialer Verein) at the end of the 1880s offered a political home to many Austrian antisemites. The leading light of this association, which soon became a political party, was Karl Lueger (1844–1910), later mayor of Vienna. The son of a school caretaker and disabled war veteran, Lueger succeeded in obtaining a doctorate in law. Before he switched to politics,

53 Beller, *Vienna and the Jews*, pp. 14–32.

54 Rudolf Spitzer, *Des Bürgermeisters Lueger Lumpen und Steuerträger* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1988), p. 89; Michael Wladika, *Hitlers Vätergeneration: Die Ursprünge des Nationalsozialismus in der k. u. k. Monarchie* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2005), pp. 184–190.

55 Erika Weinzierl, *Zu wenig Gerechte: Österreicher und Judenverfolgung 1938–1945* (Graz: Styria, 1997), p. 22; citation from 'Theodor Herzls Selbstbiographie', in *Exekutive der Zionistischen Organisation, Theodor Herzl: Ein Gedenkbuch zum 25. Todestage* (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1929), pp. 42–46.

he practised law as an energetic advocate for 'ordinary people'. He contended successfully for the position of mayor of Vienna as a tribune of the people, someone who was familiar with the social adversity that existed in the rapidly growing metropolis. He championed the majority of the city's inhabitants who lived in poverty and was known for making witty remarks, being plain-spoken, endorsing a patriarchal social Catholicism, and delivering unreservedly anti-Jewish speeches. 'The influence on the masses', he asserted in 1899:

in our country, is in the hands of the Jews, the greatest part of the press is in their hands, by far the greatest part of all capital, especially high finance, is in Jewish hands, and the Jews practise a kind of terrorism here that is the worst imaginable. For us in Austria, therefore, it is a matter of liberating Christian people from the ascendancy of Jewry.<sup>56</sup>

Lueger's adversary Georg Ritter von Schönerer (1842–1921) was of a similar political ilk. He too had begun his political career as a liberal in 1875 but shifted his allegiance a few years later to the German nationalist movement. He too adopted the role of populist antisemite. He advocated a racially-based hatred of Jews and found approval particularly among Viennese students. As an anti-Catholic and Bismarck admirer who favoured the idea of Greater Germany, however, he was unable to establish an enduring political movement in the Austria of that time. Lueger, in contrast, emerged as a staunch Austrian, whose antisemitism was built not on racial categories but rather on Christian and social anger against the 'Christ killers' and 'money Jews'. Lueger became a successful Austrian politician and modernizer, and he defined Vienna's politics as mayor from 1897 until his death in 1910. After an election loss in 1907, Schönerer withdrew to his country estate and died in 1921. With their differing approaches, both were among the role models of the young Adolf Hitler, then a resident of Vienna.<sup>57</sup>

Alongside the Christian Social Party, founded in 1891, the Social Democrats were the second great political power in Austria in the late nineteenth century. They too opposed liberalism and, to that end, occasionally allied themselves with the Christian Social Party. Though antisemitic agitation in Austria was the work primarily of the political right, anti-Jewish tones could be heard now and then in the Social Democrats' critique of capitalism, too, such as when Social Democrat publications referred to the 'friendly relations' between 'rabid antisemites' and 'bank Jews' and made use of the cliché of the 'stock exchange Jew'. At times the impoverished *Ostjuden* ('Eastern Jews') also came to the attention of the Social Democrats' *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, which characterized them as a 'quaint apparition in a long, dirty, black silk coat with tails of animals on a velvet cap'.<sup>58</sup> Joseph Roth summed it

56 Cited in Hamann, *Hitlers Wien*, p. 411.

57 Gerhard Botz, *Nationalsozialismus in Wien: Machtübernahme, Herrschaftssicherung, Radikalisierung 1938/39* (Vienna: Mandelbaum, 2008), p. 17; Spitzer, *Des Bürgermeisters Lueger Lumpen*, p. 88; Richard S. Geehr, *Karl Lueger, Mayor of Fin de Siècle Vienna* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990).

58 Peter Pulzer, 'Spezifische Momente und Spielarten des österreichischen und des Wiener Antisemitismus', in Gerhard Botz, Ivar Oxaal, and Michael Pollak (eds.), *Eine zerstörte Kultur: Jüdisches Leben und Antisemitismus in Wien seit dem 19. Jahrhundert* (Buchloe: Obermayer, 1990), pp. 121–140, here pp. 131–133; Robert S. Wistrich, 'Sozialdemokratie, Antisemitismus und die Wiener Juden', in Botz, Oxaal, and Pollak (eds.), *Eine zerstörte Kultur*, pp. 169–180; Pauley, *From Prejudice to Persecution*, pp. 140–149.

up: ‘There is no harder lot than that of Ostjuden newly arrived in Vienna. For members of the Christian Social Party, they are Jews. For German nationalists, they are Semites. For Social Democrats, they are non-productive elements.’<sup>59</sup> From the perspective of the Social Democrats, the political Zionists and the Orthodox Jews who had emigrated from Galicia were relics of bygone times.

The Austrian Jews made a stand against the rampant antisemitism. The strongest force of Jewish self-defence was the so-called integrationists, who banded together in 1886 to form the Austrian-Israelite Union (OIU). Like the Central Association of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith (CV) in Germany, they espoused an awareness of Jewish identity and the right of Jews to defend themselves against antisemitic attacks. At the same time, they tried to bind the Jewish population to a ‘genuine *Austrian patriotism*’.<sup>60</sup> In many associations, notably in the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna (IKG), the Austrian-Israelite Union competed with the Zionists and other Jewish nationalists for the role of opinion leader. While the Zionists made the case for founding a Jewish state in Palestine, the diaspora nationalists regarded the demand for national Jewish autonomy within Austria as the appropriate response to antisemitism.

With the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 that established the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy, Hungarians gained a large measure of autonomy in the resulting multinational state. Contrary to expectations, this development did not alleviate ethnic conflicts. The Czechs, Poles, Romanians, Croats, and Germans now really began the struggle for greater independence, initially with the support of the Jews living in the respective regions. Because the individual nationalist movements intensified mutual hostility and simultaneously became ever more antisemitic, the increasingly isolated Jews finally championed a united, strong Austria more decisively than any of the other minorities. As the historian Werner Cahnman reasoned, the Jews were ‘the only Austrians in Austria’.<sup>61</sup>

After the First World War, the Republic of Austria rose from the ruins of the Habsburg Empire. The new republic comprised only one eighth of the territory once ruled by the Dual Monarchy. The multinational state of Austria-Hungary had numbered 53 million inhabitants; the First Austrian Republic had barely 7 million. The majority of the citizens were German Austrians, and they were convinced that their greatly scaled-down country was not economically viable and that the Treaty of Saint-Germain from 1919 was intolerable. As in Germany, pronounced revisionist tendencies developed as a consequence of defeat in the First World War. In addition, economic hardship increased the dissatisfaction: hunger in the large cities, a dearth of heating fuel, a housing shortage, overcrowded hospitals, an inoperative infrastructure, hundreds of thousands of unemployed people, and tens of thousands of refugees.<sup>62</sup> In addition, the Spanish flu had also swept through Austria in the winter of 1918–1919 and claimed thousands of victims.

59 Josef Roth, *Juden auf Wanderschaft* (Berlin: Die Schmiede, 1927), cited in Wistrich, ‘Sozialdemokratie’, p. 169.

60 The words of rabbi Dr Sigmund Zins at the founding meeting of the Union: cited in Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna*, p. 157.

61 *Ibid.*, p. 170.

62 Spitzer, *Des Bürgermeisters Lueger Lumpen*, p. 84. In spring 1919, there were still around 20,000 to 25,000 refugees in Vienna, most of whom had fled there during the war: Pauley, *From Prejudice to Persecution*, pp. 69 and 79.

In the 1919 elections, the Social Democrats gained a majority. In Vienna, Jakob Reumann became the first Social Democratic mayor to control the fate of the city. Despite the substantial successes that 'Red Vienna' soon achieved in the socio-political sphere, the social tensions, and with them a form of antisemitism directed specifically against the *Ostjuden*, continued to have an effect. In September 1921, the *Wiener Morgenzeitung* characterized the atmosphere:

Since the collapse, the good people of Austria have condensed everything into the little word 'Ostjude'. It is a wondrous expression, which alleviates every pain and takes away every shame. [...] Complaints over the rising cost of bread, and the falling morals of women, over bad railway transportation, the lack of coal, the unruliness of school children and the watering down of milk find their solution: out with the Ostjuden!<sup>63</sup>

The Christian Social Party, whose prominent member Anton Jerzabek was also the head of the League of Anti-Semites (*Antisemitenbund*) used greatly exaggerated numerical data to justify its demand for deportation of the *Ostjuden*. Occasionally such proposals also found a sympathetic ear among the Social Democrats. The housing space thus freed up was expected to benefit homeless Viennese families.<sup>64</sup>

However vehement, Austrian antisemitism, as the historian Peter Pulzer emphasizes, was primarily demagogic and verbally radical. Yet it was not backed up by a politically practicable concept. This situation changed with the rise of the Austrian National Socialists. They incorporated into their propaganda of national revolution the old prejudices against Jews, which had always been kept alive in Austria, and in this way they poisoned the political climate: 'Whatever was unwelcome merely had to be labelled as Jewish. Liberalism thus became "Jewish liberalism", the newspapers the "Jewish press" and the First Republic the "Jewish Republic".'<sup>65</sup>

In 1933 the Austrian National Socialists also saw themselves on the brink of seizing power. Their offensive struck the Jews at a moment of social and political weakness. During the period from 1923 to 1934, the Jewish population of Vienna had shrunk by just under one seventh, because the number of births had sharply declined, and many members had emigrated or withdrawn from the religious community.<sup>66</sup>

In 1932 the Austrian-Israelite Union, eager for integration, had lost its supremacy within the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna to the Zionists, who now assumed important positions in the Jewish institutions. At the university, a stronghold of antisemitism, Zionist student organizations enjoyed an increasing influx of new members and fought

63 *Wiener Morgenzeitung*, 21 Sept. 1921, p. 1, cited in Pauley, *From Prejudice to Persecution*, p. 80.

64 On the demand for the expulsion of the refugees, see *ibid.*, pp. 83–86.

65 Pulzer, 'Spezifische Momente', pp. 133 and 136.

66 Albert Lichtblau, 'Integration, Vernichtungsversuch und Neubeginn: Österreichisch-jüdische Geschichte 1848 bis zur Gegenwart', in Eveline Brugger et al. (eds.), *Geschichte der Juden in Österreich* (Vienna: Ueberreuter, 2006), pp. 447–565, here pp. 501–504; Albert Lichtblau (ed.), *Als hätten wir dazugehört: Österreichisch-jüdische Lebensgeschichten aus der Habsburgermonarchie* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1999), p. 58.

back with confrontational methods against Jew-baiting.<sup>67</sup> The decline of the Union, according to the historian Doron Rabinovici, expressed ‘the failure of the emancipatory utopia in an antisemitic society’.<sup>68</sup> This held all the more true as the Austrian state assumed increasingly obvious totalitarian and antisemitic features after the National Socialist assumption of power in Germany.

In 1933 Federal Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuß dissolved the parliament and continued to govern by emergency decree. He declared Austria a ‘corporate state’ (*Ständestaat*) and banned all political parties, with the exception of the Fatherland Front, in which the Christian Social Party members had joined together with various paramilitary groups. The Austrian Jews were sympathetic towards the Dollfuß regime, especially as it appeared to offer them protection against German expansionist efforts and Austrian ambitions for union with Germany. Dollfuß had banned the Austrian counterpart to the NSDAP along with all the other political parties and he rejected union with Germany. After his assassination in 1934, appreciative obituaries appeared in Jewish newspapers.<sup>69</sup>

Like Dollfuß, his successor Kurt Schuschnigg emphasized his rejection of antisemitism and reaffirmed that Jews in Austria were due the same rights as all other citizens. In 1934 he banned the antisemitic newspaper *Der Stürmer*. That same year, several representatives of the Austrian Jews were appointed to important federal and regional offices.<sup>70</sup> In 1937 Schuschnigg prevented the Salzburg regional government from prohibiting kosher slaughter. Nonetheless, antisemitism distinctly intensified in Austria in the mid 1930s. The Antisemitic League developed an active propaganda campaign, and with increasing frequency Jews had to expect that they would be turned away as guests in Austrian resorts and rejected as tenants by antisemitic landlords. From time to time, the authorities intervened and prohibited the discrimination. But even in the staffing of public-sector entities, there were cases where applicants had to prove their ‘Aryan origin’ or present a baptismal certificate.<sup>71</sup>

Apart from a few sizeable enterprises, Jewish businessmen often owned small trading houses, shops, or small firms or worked as independent tailors, cobblers, or goldsmiths.<sup>72</sup> Among university graduates in Vienna, they represented more than 60 per cent of lawyers and around 50 per cent of doctors.<sup>73</sup> After domestic rioting in February 1932, however, many doctors who were Social Democrats, the vast majority of them Jews, were dismissed from Viennese hospitals. In other occupational categories too, dismissals increased markedly. By 1937, among the 22,600 employees of the City of Vienna, only

67 Werner Cahnman, ‘Materialien zur politischen Lage der Juden in Österreich und in Ungarn’, in Werner Cahnman, *Deutsche Juden: Ihre Geschichte und Soziologie* (Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 2005), pp. 32–49, esp. pp. 33–34.

68 Rabinovici, *Instanzen der Ohnmacht*, p. 42.

69 Pauley, *From Prejudice to Persecution*, p. 263.

70 Dr Desider Friedmann to the State Council, Dr S. Frankfurter to the Federal Cultural Council and Dr Jakob Ehrlich to the Vienna Municipal Council: Hugo Gold, *Geschichte der Juden in Wien: Ein Gedenkbuch* (Tel Aviv: Olamenu, 1966), p. 64.

71 *Ibid.*, pp. 69–70.

72 According to Helmut Genschel, *Die Verdrängung der Juden aus der Wirtschaft im Dritten Reich* (Göttingen: Musterschmidt, 1966), p. 161, the proportion of Jews among business owners of firms in Vienna was twice their share of the population.

73 Pauley, *From Prejudice to Persecution*, p. 214.

154 were Jews.<sup>74</sup> Jewish businessmen were affected by calls for boycotts issued by the Reich League of Catholic Youth in Vienna, as well as appeals of a similar kind by the *Arischer Geschäfteweiser* (Guide to Aryan Businesses) from 1934/1935.<sup>75</sup>

As a consequence of the heightened occupational discrimination, 60,000 persons were already receiving benefits from the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna in 1936. In addition, the absorption of Jewish refugees from Germany placed new demands on the welfare institutions of the Religious Community. Werner Cahnman summed it up in 1938:

Just how bad the economic situation of the Jewish population is in the neighbourhoods most densely settled by Jews, the inner city, Leopoldstadt, Brigittenau and Alsergrund, can be seen solely from the fact that the buildings in these districts of Vienna have around 20 per cent more occupants than the overall average. Renting out rooms and beds is one of the strongest sources of income for the Jews there. [...] The bitterest poverty of many thus exists alongside the greatest wealth of a few, while the broad class of the moderately affluent is destroyed.<sup>76</sup>

### *The Anschluss of Austria*

The idea of union between Germany and German-Austria can be traced back to the revolutionaries of 1848, who embraced linguistic nationalism. Their dreams of a Greater Germany came to nought in 1849 because of the perseverance of the dynasties and ultimately because of Bismarck's 'Lesser German' solution, which excluded Austria. The prospect of a German Empire that would stretch from Bolzano to Flensburg and from Klagenfurt to Liège thus receded into the distance. For reasons of power politics, the Peace Treaty of Saint-Germain, which had been imposed on Austria after the end of the First World War, expressly prohibited union with Germany. The ban conferred new popularity on the Greater German idea of unification.

In the interwar period, German and Austrian interests in unification differed sharply. Since 1918, Austria had been cut off from the Czech industrial regions, the agrarian hinterlands, and the seaport of Trieste. The country was hard hit by the global economic crisis in 1929, and in 1938 it was still suffering from the consequences of decline. The popularity of the idea of Anschluss fluctuated, depending on the economic situation and foreign political power constellations. Only among the monarchists and the communists did it fail to meet with a positive response. In Germany, power-political ambitions made the union attractive. Even in Imperial Germany, many German politicians and economic strategists already regarded Vienna as the 'gate to the south-east'. After the loss of the colonies in the First World War and the global economic crisis of 1929–1933, an economic 'opening' to south-eastern Europe seemed increasingly urgent to them. In 1938 Germany

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., p. 270; Rabinovici, *Instanzen der Ohnmacht*, p. 52.

<sup>75</sup> Gold, *Geschichte der Juden in Wien*, p. 72; Silvia Madereger, *Juden im österreichischen Ständestaat 1934–1938* (Vienna: Geyer, 1973).

<sup>76</sup> Cahnman, *Deutsche Juden*, p. 108. In 1938 Cahnman wrote a book based on his research. The following year he emigrated to Britain and in 1940 to the USA.

had a labour shortage, while in Austria unemployment was high. Germany attempted to gain ascendancy in the Danube region, and the erstwhile capital of the Habsburg Monarchy was able to regain some of its lost lustre in this way.

In 1933, both the Austrian Social Democrats and the members of the Christian Social Party abandoned the Anschluss idea, because it now would have meant the submission of the country to National Socialist hegemony. Federal Chancellor Dollfuß hoped to win Italy as a guarantor power for Austrian independence. In return, Mussolini's representative in Austria demanded that the Austrian state be brought into line with the fascist model and that social democracy be prohibited. By giving in to this demand, Dollfuß suppressed one of the most significant potential allies on the domestic scene in the struggle against German ambitions for Anschluss and simultaneously made himself dependent on Italy.<sup>77</sup> On 25 July 1934 the Austrian National Socialists staged a coup, murdered Dollfuß, and then foundered.

Under the new Federal Chancellor, Schuschnigg, relations between the two states remained tense. The balance between German–Austrian union and preservation of Austrian independence was a fragile one. At the meeting with Schuschnigg at the Obersalzberg retreat on 12 February 1938, Hitler successfully pressed for the Austrian NSDAP to be allowed to act freely within the framework of the Fatherland Front and for the appointment of the Viennese lawyer Arthur Seyss-Inquart as minister of the interior and minister of security.<sup>78</sup>

In view of the growing German pressure, Schuschnigg on 9 March 1938 announced a referendum on the independence of Austria, which was supposed to take place as early as 13 March. When it became evident that, despite all the internal political tensions, the majority of Austrians would heed Schuschnigg's rallying cry 'for a free, German, independent and social, Christian and united Austria', the Reich government threatened to invade. Schuschnigg felt compelled to cancel the popular referendum, and he resigned on 10 March 1938. A few hours later, Seyss-Inquart was named the new federal chancellor. In his final radio address, Schuschnigg declared that he was yielding to force and had ordered the Austrian army not to resist a German invasion. When German troops invaded on the night of 11 March 1938, the majority of the Austrian population greeted them with cheers.

Everywhere in the country, homes and businesses of Jews were looted and searched, with wealthy Jews particularly targeted. Using lists prepared in advance, local National Socialists, sometimes acting jointly with the police, hauled furniture and valuables out of the homes of Jews. At the same time, the 'March Operation', ordered by the highest state and Party offices, began: SS and SA men, as well as policemen, were given the task of 'securing' the assets of the Austrian Jews and seized jewellery, paintings, securities, and carpets in hundreds of homes. The theft of Jewish property turned into a popular sport.

The Viennese Jews especially feared public humiliation in the form of 'scrub gangs' (*Reibparteien*), in which they were forced to scrub the pavements with hand brushes or toothbrushes. Afterwards, to the amusement of the onlookers, the instigators, who were generally SA men or Party members, poured the dirty water over the heads of those they

77 Norbert Schausberger, 'Zur Vorgeschichte der Annexion Österreichs', in Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes, *'Anschluss' 1938: Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1988), pp. 1–20, here p. 5; Weinberg, *Foreign Policy*, pp. 90 and 94–95.

78 Schausberger, 'Zur Vorgeschichte', p. 13.

had humiliated. In Vienna, the pogroms associated with the Anschluss continued over the course of several weeks (Doc. 18). In Burgenland, entire Jewish communities were expelled (Doc. 28). In Graz, four Jews lost their lives during the antisemitic excesses. Four Jews had taken their own lives in January 1938 and five the following month. In March the numbers rose to seventy-nine suicides and there were sixty-two in April.<sup>79</sup> Only after six weeks, on 29 April, did Josef Bürckel, the Reich Commissioner for the Reunification of Austria with the German Reich, intervene. He threatened the leaders of the SA units involved in the attacks on Jews with demotion and exclusion from the SA. After that, the violence subsided.

Jewish professors were driven out of the universities and several of them arrested, among them the 82-year-old scholar of language and literature Salomon Frankfurter. Jewish judges lost their positions, and at the end of March 1938 a 'temporary' occupational ban was imposed on Jewish lawyers. Newspapers and theatres were closed or placed under the control of state commissioners, and Jewish editors, actors, and musicians were dismissed. National Socialist organizations took possession of the premises in which Jewish welfare agencies had worked or Jewish associations had met.<sup>80</sup>

Until then, the Jews had viewed themselves as loyal citizens, not always liked but tolerated to a certain extent and confident that their lives were not in danger. Now, however, for them Austria changed within the space of a few days into a veritable seething cauldron. They saw themselves confronted with unfettered Austrian antisemitism and Austrian National Socialists who had prepared – illegally – over the course of many years for the Anschluss and the day of reckoning. Simultaneously, Germans from the Reich appeared on the scene, people whose ambition it was to show the Viennese how to organize the persecution of the Jews by the state in an efficient manner. The discriminatory measures and laws already in force in the Old Reich were not simply adopted in Austria but rather modified in whichever way appeared suitable at the time. The most important difference, however, was the rapidity of the developments. As Bernhard Kahn, the European representative of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), telegraphed to New York in March 1938, 'what was achieved in Germany in five years in terms of anti-Jewish repressive measures was forced [on the Austrian Jews] within five days'.<sup>81</sup>

In his speech at Heldenplatz (Heroes' Square) in Vienna on 15 March, Hitler announced a referendum that was intended to seal the Anschluss. On 16 March, all associations were prohibited from engaging in any organizational activity prior to the popular referendum. Two days later, Bürckel appointed a *Stillhaltekommissar* ('stillstand commissioner'), who set in motion the *Gleichschaltung* of Aryan associations, clubs, and societies, and the prohibition and freezing of the assets of Jewish ones.<sup>82</sup>

79 Herbert Rosenkranz, *Verfolgung und Selbstbehauptung: Die Juden in Österreich 1938–1945* (Vienna: Herold, 1978), pp. 40–41; Jonny Moser, 'Österreichs Juden unter der NS-Herrschaft', in Emmerich Tálos, Ernst Hanisch, and Wolfgang Neugebauer (eds.), *NS-Herrschaft in Österreich 1938–1945* (Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1988), pp. 185–198, here p. 189; Milka Zalmon, 'Forced Emigration of the Jews of Burgenland: A Test Case', *Yad Vashem Studies*, vol. 31 (2003), pp. 287–323.

80 Rosenkranz, *Verfolgung*, pp. 23–41; Safrian, *Eichmann's Men*, pp. 22–23.

81 Telegram from Kahn to Baerwald, 17 March 1938, JDC Archives, AR 1933/44. 439.

82 Angelika Shoshana Duizend Jensen, *Jüdische Gemeinden, Vereine, Stiftungen und Fonds: 'Arisierung' und Restitution*, ed. Österreichische Historikerkommission (Vienna: Oldenbourg, 2004), p. 76.

The referendum took place on 10 April, the ostentatiously heralded 'Day of the Greater German Reich'. In the evening, the church bells rang for an hour in every part of the new Reich. In the referendum, according to official data, 99.6 per cent of the eligible voters voted for the 'reunification of Austria with the German Reich'. Voter participation was at a level of 99.7 per cent.<sup>83</sup> On behalf of the Catholic Church, Vienna's Cardinal Theodor Innitzer had acclaimed the bloodless Anschluss immediately after the entry of the German troops and appealed to the faithful for obedience to the authorities. Soon afterwards, the Catholic bishops published a solemn declaration in which they 'joyously' recognized the merits of National Socialism and called for a 'Yes' vote in the popular referendum.

This declaration, so useful to the new holders of power, was based on drafts that Reich Commissioner Bürckel had presented to the church leaders. The statement of the bishops disappointed the Nazis' opponents, in particular the Viennese Jews. The latter had expected that Cardinal Innitzer would protect them, because in previous years he had repeatedly criticized the antisemitic attacks made by Schönerer's supporters. The Vatican, too, was displeased by the kowtowing of the local church dignitaries. When he visited Rome in early April 1938, Innitzer had to justify himself to Pope Pius XI and afterwards make it clear publicly that the statement did not condone what was deemed incompatible with God's laws, freedom and the rights of the Catholic Church.

Like the Catholic bishops, the Protestant High Consistory also welcomed the Anschluss in a pastoral letter. On behalf of the 330,000 Protestant Austrians, the churchmen celebrated the 'Führer' as the 'deliverer of all the Germans here, without distinction of faith, from five years of gravest hardship'. Karl Renner, a Social Democrat and the first chancellor of the Austrian Republic, also spoke out and explained publicly why he was planning to vote 'Yes' in the referendum: 'As a Social Democrat and thus a champion of the nations' right to self-determination, as the first chancellor of the Republic of German-Austria and as the past leader of its peace delegation in Saint-Germain, I will vote Yes.'<sup>84</sup>

In Austria, which was named Ostmark following the Anschluss, all the top positions were filled with Reich German and Austrian NSDAP members or persons regarded as politically reliable. At the middle and lower levels of the civil service, major personnel changes were avoided. The Saar-Palatinate Gauleiter Josef Bürckel had been pressing for the incorporation of the Saarland into the German Reich since 1935. When he was appointed Reich Commissioner for the Reunification of Austria with the German Reich in 1938, his closest colleagues followed him from Saarbrücken. Bürckel brusquely asserted his integration policy and made it clear that the former metropolis of the Habsburg Empire was being downgraded to the status of provincial capital.<sup>85</sup> When Hermann

83 Hanns Haas, 'Der Anschluss', in Tólos, Hanisch, and Neugebauer (eds.), *NS-Herrschaft in Österreich*, pp. 1–24, here p. 18.

84 Botz, *Nationalsozialismus in Wien*, pp. 157–170 and 184–190; the statement of the Catholic bishops is reproduced on pp. 164–166; an excerpt from the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, in which Renner publicly announced and explained his vote, can be found on pp. 184–185. See also Walter Sauer, 'Österreichs Kirchen 1938–1945', in Tólos, Hanisch, and Neugebauer (eds.), *NS-Herrschaft in Österreich*, pp. 517–536, here pp. 520–522; Rosenkranz, *Verfolgung*, pp. 24–25.

85 Ernst Hanisch, *Gau der guten Nerven: Die nationalsozialistische Herrschaft in Salzburg 1938–1945* (Salzburg: A. Pustet, 1997), p. 33; Maren Seliger, 'NS-Herrschaft in Wien und Niederösterreich', in Tólos, Hanisch, and Neugebauer (eds.), *NS-Herrschaft in Österreich*, pp. 397–416, here p. 408.

Neubacher, until then general manager of the local residential construction company GESIBA, became mayor of Vienna, he first promised widespread improvements with respect to urban planning. In fact, provision of residential space in Vienna during the following years consisted primarily of expelling the Jews from their homes. Neubacher further attempted to offset Vienna's waning significance after the Anschluss by invoking the city's function as the 'gateway to the south-east'. Eventually, Hitler named him special plenipotentiary for south-eastern Europe.

By the end of 1938, the most important laws in the Reich also applied in Austria.<sup>86</sup> In some instances, however, harmonization was deliberately avoided: for example, the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna, unlike the Jewish communities in the Reich, did not lose the legal status of a corporation under public law, because otherwise the aid money from foreign Jewish organizations would have failed to materialize (Doc. 264). Without these funds, most Austrian Jews would have had no chance to leave the country, and the objective of Jewish policy in Vienna, guided by Adolf Eichmann, at that time was to finance emigration to the greatest possible extent with the resources of foreign Jews.

In February 1939, Bürckel took on the additional function of Gauleiter of Vienna. The office had been held until then by Odilo Globocnik, a long-time activist of the illegal NSDAP in Austria and the Party's liaison to Hitler. Globocnik was dismissed for embezzling Party funds, but soon after the war began, he was appointed SS and police leader of the Lublin district and later became one of the major organizers of the murder of Jews in occupied Poland. Following his appointment as Austrian federal chancellor on 11 March 1938, which had been at Hitler's behest, Arthur Seyss-Inquart officially invited the approaching German troops into the country. From 13 March 1938 until 30 April 1939, Seyss-Inquart had the less evocative title 'Reichsstatthalter in Austria and head of the state government'. The real power resided in Berlin and with Bürckel. The Ostmark Law, which came into effect on 1 May 1939, concluded the administrative integration of former Austria into the German Reich, dissolved the state government, and created seven new Reichsgaue.<sup>87</sup> Seyss-Inquart stayed on initially as minister without portfolio in Vienna before being appointed in October 1939 to serve as the deputy of Governor General Hans Frank in occupied Poland, and in May 1940 as Reich commissioner for the occupied Dutch territories.

### *Aryanization and Expulsion in Austria*

Two men had expedited the interweaving of the Austrian economy with the German one even during the final phase of the 'corporate state': the former 'special envoy' of the Reich in Austria, Franz von Papen, and Hitler's plenipotentiary for economic affairs, Wilhelm Keppler. After the Anschluss, Austria's gold and foreign currency reserves, with a face

86 Moser, 'Österreichs Juden', p. 190; Hanisch, *Gau der guten Nerven*, p. 51; Hans Safrian, 'Expediting Expropriation and Expulsion: The Impact of the "Vienna Model" on Anti-Jewish Policies in Nazi Germany, 1938', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, vol. 14 (2000), pp. 390–414.

87 Law on the Structure of the Administration in the Ostmark (Ostmark Law), 14 April 1939, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1939, I, pp. 777–780.

value of 1.3 billion Reichsmarks, were liquidated, and half of the proceeds flowed into the armaments industry. Keppler was tasked by Göring with accelerating the Aryanization of Jewish companies. In contrast to the booming economy in the Old Reich, where there had been a labour shortage for quite some time, the unemployment rate in Austria was still considerably higher than 20 per cent in 1937. The posting of around 100,000 workers and engineers to Germany encouraged economic harmonization.<sup>88</sup>

In May 1938, experts from the Reich Board for Economic Efficiency began to scrutinize the altogether less modern, less profitable Austrian economy. They regarded it as particularly important to mobilize hidden labour resources in the less productive small businesses. For this purpose, they combined Aryanization and streamlining. After an extensive analysis of the various branches of the economy, around 80 per cent of the Jewish firms were closed down, along with 50 per cent of all retail shops, 83 per cent of the craftsmen's enterprises, and 26 per cent of the industrial firms. Of eighty-six banks, eight remained. Applicable to all branches was the approach that mainly the flourishing firms, in addition to those of strategic importance in economic terms, were to be Aryanized, that is, sold to non-Jewish buyers (Doc. 49). Viewed in this way, Aryanization ultimately pursued three different objectives: first, to transfer to Aryans, on favourable terms, property that had once belonged to Jews; second, to collect the proceeds from these sales to benefit the government coffers; and, finally, to draw the economic and political benefit, specifically through modernizing the Austrian economy at the expense of a group who had 'lost out' to modernization: the Jews.<sup>89</sup>

At first, however, chaos and greed dominated. In the search for property holdings, the Aryanizers had recourse to details that Nazi informers had collected earlier, at a time when the Party was illegal. A few days after the Anschluss, the Vienna Gauleitung of the NSDAP took over Vienna's Non-profit General Construction, Housing and Residential Cooperative. Jews who held leading positions there were dismissed, and the rental agreements of thousands of Jewish tenants were terminated. Around 25,000 mostly self-appointed temporary administrators (*Kommissarische Leiter*) secured for themselves access to Jewish shops and factories. They sold the stock at give away prices to Party friends and interested neighbours.<sup>90</sup>

Göring put a stop to this in order to secure the assets of the Jews for the economy of the Reich, and on 24 April 1938 he arranged for the founding of a state trust organization, the Asset Transfer Office (*Vermögensverkehrsstelle*).<sup>91</sup> Under the guidance of the former

88 Haas, 'Anschluß', p. 6; Norbert Schausberger, *Der Griff nach Österreich: Der Anschluß* (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1978), pp. 463 and 486; Aly, *Hitler's Beneficiaries*, p. 42; Hans Kernbauer and Fritz Weber, 'Österreichs Wirtschaft 1938–1945', in Tólos, Hanisch, and Neugebauer (eds.), *NS-Herrschaft in Österreich*, pp. 49–67, here pp. 49 and 54. The estimates on unemployment in Austria range from 21.7 to 35 per cent.

89 Susanne Heim and Götz Aly, 'Die "Ökonomie der Endlösung": Menschenvernichtung und wirtschaftliche Neuordnung', in *Sozialpolitik und Judenvernichtung: Gibt es eine Ökonomie der Endlösung?* (Berlin: Rotbuch, 1987), pp. 11–90, here pp. 26–30.

90 Rosenkranz, *Verfolgung*, p. 29; Jonny Moser, 'Das Unwesen der kommissarischen Leiter: Ein Teilaspekt der Arisierungsgeschichte in Wien und im Burgenland', in Helmut Konrad and Wolfgang Neugebauer (eds.), *Arbeiterbewegung, Faschismus, Nationalbewusstsein* (Vienna: Europaverlag, 1983), pp. 89–97, here p. 94.

91 Oliver Rathkolb, *Jewish Clients in the Vienna 'Postsparkassenamt': Nazi Loot 1938–1945, 2nd Interim Research Report* (Vienna: Österreichische Postsparkasse, 2000), p. 43.

Gauleiter of the illegal NSDAP in Styria, Walter Rafelsberger, the ‘unauthorized’ commissioners were slowly driven back. The Asset Transfer Office concentrated on small and medium-sized firms and in 1938 seized control of Jewish assets totalling 2 billion Reichsmarks, two thirds of the estimated total property of the Austrian Jews. Large enterprises were Aryanized by Göring’s plenipotentiary in Austria, Wilhelm Keppler.

In summer 1939, the Asset Transfer Office publicly exhibited its results. According to the exhibition, of approximately 26,000 firms that had previously belonged to Jews, between 4,400 and 5,000 had been Aryanized and all the others dissolved. Generally, the non-Jewish buyers could acquire the firms cheaply. However, the price they paid was substantially higher than the amount that was credited to the Jewish owner in a blocked account. The difference flowed into a fund of the Austrian provincial government. From this money, subsidies or loans were granted to National Socialist would-be buyers who lacked sufficient capital to purchase a Jewish firm, and in isolated cases the emigration of Jews was facilitated. If large enterprises were disposed of, the Reich treasury pocketed the lion’s share of the proceeds.<sup>92</sup>

The head of the Asset Transfer Office, Rafelsberger, also developed clear ideas of what should happen to the people who had been dispossessed if they did not emigrate. In October 1938 he submitted his ‘Proposals for the Efficient Conduct of De-Jewification’, in which he suggested the creation of three forced labour camps, each intended to hold 10,000 Jews. These camps were to be financed, he said, by means of a special contribution amounting to 10 to 20 per cent of the proceeds from the Aryanization of securities (Doc. 111). The plan failed because Göring and the Reich Minister of Finance claimed the securities, undiminished, for the Reich.

The second important institution for depriving Austrian Jews of their rights was established by the SD in the form of the aforementioned Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Vienna. It was formally headed by the SD official in the SD Main District Danube, Franz Walter Stahlecker, but in fact it was Adolf Eichmann who organized and determined the day-to-day business. First, using lists that had been prepared in Berlin, the SD had all the leading figures of Jewish organizations arrested, and ordered their office documents to be confiscated and sent to Berlin for evaluation (Doc. 116). On 18 March 1938, the SD and the police occupied the office building of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna and forced the Community officials to stop their work temporarily. On 2 May, when the Religious Community was allowed to resume its operations, many welfare facilities remained permanently closed. Eichmann ordered the compulsory submission of weekly reports and personally redacted the *Zionistische Rundschau*. Speaking to his boss, Hagen, he referred to it as ‘his’ newspaper (Doc. 34).<sup>93</sup>

92 Dieter Stiefel, ‘The Economics of Discrimination’, in Dieter Stiefel (ed.), *Die politische Ökonomie des Holocaust: Zur wirtschaftlichen Logik von Verfolgung und Wiedergutmachung* (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 2001), pp. 9–28, here p. 16; Gerhard Botz, ‘Arisierungen in Österreich (1938–1940)’, *ibid.*, pp. 29–56, here pp. 43–48; Hans Witek, ‘“Arisierungen” in Wien: Aspekte nationalsozialistischer Enteignungspolitik 1938–1940’, in Tálos, Hanisch, and Neugebauer (eds.), *NS-Herrschaft in Österreich*, pp. 199–216, here p. 213. The Asset Transfer Office continued to operate in the Reichsgau Vienna until 1945, though from Nov. 1939 as the ‘Settlement Office’ and later as ‘Section III De-Jewification’ (Referat III Entjudung).

93 Safrian, *Eichmann’s Men*, p. 27; Rabinovici, *Instanzen der Ohnmacht*, p. 100; Friedländer, *Nazi Germany*, vol. 1, p. 244.

Established in August 1938, the Central Office for Jewish Emigration brought together under one roof the various institutions from which Jewish emigrants had to request or buy the most diverse certificates and documents before they could leave the country. Under Eichmann's direction, the officials of the customs, foreign exchange, passport, tax, and expropriation offices worked there in close association to accelerate the emigration of the Jews. Lengthy visits to the authorities, which had occasionally been so time-consuming that the visa had already expired by the time the last official stamp was affixed to a given permit, were completed with dispatch in the Central Office (Doc. 224).

The new institution was financed through the emigration tax that affluent Jews had to pay so as to cover the emigration costs of the poorer ones. In addition, leading figures from Austria's Jewish communities were sent abroad to solicit international aid organizations for foreign currency and to develop immigration possibilities (Doc. 301). In the words of Eichmann's boss in Berlin, Hagen, the Central Office guaranteed 'that the Security Service's approach to handling the Jewish question in Austria was absolutely ensured'.<sup>94</sup> How it operated was conveyed by Hannah Arendt with reference to the transcripts of Eichmann's trial in Jerusalem, recording the impressions of Jewish functionaries from Berlin whom Eichmann had summoned to Vienna in 1938 to view the Central Office:

At one end you put in a Jew who still has some property, a factory, or a shop, or a bank account, and he goes through the building from counter to counter, from office to office, and comes out at the other end without any money, without any rights, but with a passport on which it says: 'You must leave the country within a fortnight. Otherwise you will go to a concentration camp.'<sup>95</sup>

Eichmann's despotic manner, his blatant cheating of the Jewish representatives and the practice of collective liability forced the Israelite Religious Community to cooperate. He set target figures for emigration, raised them repeatedly, and made the Religious Community and the Zionist Regional Association responsible for ensuring that his goals were met. Eichmann ordained that Desider Friedmann, the head of the Religious Community, would be released from the concentration camp only after the Jewish organizations had reached the specified expulsion quota. Eichmann slapped the office director of the Israelite Religious Community, Dr Josef Löwenherz, at their very first meeting. In the Central Office, the SS sometimes used whips to beat the people who were waiting.<sup>96</sup>

94 Memorandum from Hagen, re Official Trip II 112 to Main District Danube, 31 August–1 Sept. 1938, RGVA, 500k-1-625.

95 Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (New York: Viking, 1963), p. 46.

96 Löwenherz, *Vollständiger Bericht*, p. 10; Safrian, *Eichmann's Men*, p. 29; Rabinovici, *Instanzen der Ohnmacht*, pp. 111–113 and 147–151.

### *Strategy for the Anschluss*

Austrians, like Germans, celebrated the Anschluss as a historic deed. With the annexation of Austria, Hitler turned the old idea of Greater Germany, popular since the 1848 revolution, into a reality. The expansion improved the economic position of the Reich: in the short term, reserves of labour, foreign exchange, and raw materials could be mobilized for the armaments industry, and over the longer term, Germany's dominant position in south-eastern Europe could be developed. In addition, the annexation of Austria brought Hitler closer to his goal of breaking up Czechoslovakia. As early as the end of May 1938, he ordered that preparations be made for the invasion of Czechoslovakia on 1 October 1938. Discrimination against the German minority in the so-called Sudetenland was treated as a scandal in German media reports and greatly exaggerated. It offered the pretext for stirring up the existing conflicts during the summer months of 1938 in order to justify a military intervention. The main objective from the outset was the subjugation of all of Czechoslovakia. Protection of the approximately 3 million Sudeten Germans was only secondary and mainly used as propaganda.<sup>97</sup>

The Sudeten German Home Front, founded in 1933 and known from 1935 as the Sudeten German Party (SdP), had been systematically forged into a separatist fighting organization under the leadership of Konrad Henlein (1898–1945). In March 1938, Henlein set up the Sudeten German Freikorps and had it trained by the German SA. Where the persuasive power of nationalistic propaganda was not sufficient, Henlein's followers lent a hand, applying social pressure and using threats. In areas with high unemployment, they enticed the undecided with the promise of a job in Sudeten German companies: Rabbi Friedrich Weiß of Teplitz-Schönau described the mixture of carrot and stick used by the SdP:

The open and secret organization developed its cells and methods of operation everywhere, gigantic banners suspended over the streets appealed for affiliation with the home front, German money was alluring. The building caretakers were good informers, good at paving the way. The young people, with few exceptions, went over to the other side with banners waving. The teachers, especially at the state secondary school, were sympathetic or fell into line.<sup>98</sup>

In September 1938, at the highpoint of the Sudeten crisis, war in Europe appeared imminent. The willingness of the British and French governments to accommodate Germany's cravings for power to such an extent that a military confrontation was prevented actually contravened the approach favoured by Hitler: pocketing all of Czechoslovakia at once.<sup>99</sup> But as a result of the Munich Agreement of 29 September 1938, the German Reich was able to considerably strengthen its position of power to make the rest of Czechoslovakia dependent on Germany and to procure important potential in northern

<sup>97</sup> Weinberg, *Foreign Policy*, pp. 313–377.

<sup>98</sup> Cited in Wilma Iggers (ed.), *Die Juden in Böhmen und Mähren: Ein historisches Lesebuch* (Munich: Beck, 1986), pp. 345–346; Milena Jesenská, *Alles ist Leben: Feuilletons und Reportagen 1919–1939* (Frankfurt am Main: Neue Kritik, 2008), pp. 170–200.

<sup>99</sup> Hillgruber, *Die gescheiterte Großmacht*, p. 85; Weinberg, *Foreign Policy*, pp. 462–463.

Bohemia for German industry. With the First Vienna Award of 2 November 1938, arbitrated by Germany and Italy, the Reich was able to continue the expansion of its hegemony: Poland was awarded the industrial region of Teschen (Cieszyn), until then part of Czechoslovakia, and Hungary received the regions in southern and eastern Slovakia that had a majority Hungarian population.

At the beginning of the 1930s, 24,000 Jews still lived in the region that became the Reichsgau Sudetenland in autumn 1938. While most non-Jewish Sudeten Germans welcomed or cheered the annexation of the region, around 90 per cent of the Jews residing there fled within a few months, as did most of the Jewish refugees who had temporarily found refuge in the Sudetenland after the Anschluss of Austria (Docs. 102, 103). In addition, hundreds of thousands of Czechs, Slovaks, and politically unwelcome persons were forcibly expelled or voluntarily fled from border regions that Czechoslovakia had been compelled to relinquish by the agreements reached in Munich and Vienna. Two weeks after the Munich Agreement, the journalist Milena Jesenská described the distress of the refugees and the completely overwhelmed Czechs: 'In all of Prague, there is hardly a house in which no refugees have sought shelter. And they are the lucky ones, who have someone here. Thousands, however, simply ran out into the unknown.' Because the Czechs were overburdened in this way, she said, it was foreseeable that their anger and feelings of impotence might soon turn against those who were weakest, the refugees. Jesenská predicted that her fellow Czechs, thus driven into a corner, might shove 'even the innocent into the abyss' and that 'our people [could] reach a profound moral breaking point', from which it would 'not easily recover again'.<sup>100</sup>

In many respects, the events in the Sudetenland resembled what had taken place earlier in Austria: Jews and opponents of the Nazis who had not been able to flee were persecuted and harassed – sometimes by Sudeten German neighbours, but above all by Henlein troops and the Gestapo. The latter proceeded in much the same way as in Austria's Burgenland region, arresting Jews and forcing them on to the other side of the non-fortified land border. In addition, by spring 1939, around 10,000 Social Democrats, communists, and Jews from the Sudetenland were taken to concentration camps.<sup>101</sup>

In the period that followed, all the major anti-Jewish measures from the Reich were carried over to the new Reichsgau. The remaining Jews had to register their assets; as in Austria, commissioners administered the Jewish firms, no matter whether the owners were still in the country or had fled. An asset transfer office organized Aryanization for the benefit of local non-Jews and of citizens of the old Reich, who usually had more capital at their disposal. Jewish retail operations were closed down whenever possible, in the interest of the Sudeten German small and medium-sized businesses; the coal mines of the Petschek group were assigned to the Hermann Göring Works; the largest chemical concern in the Sudetenland was taken over by I. G. Farben.<sup>102</sup>

Before the end of March 1939, Hitler achieved his next objective: to crush Czechoslovakia. In response to German pressure, Prime Minister Jozef Tiso (1887–1947) declared Slovakia, autonomous since the Munich Agreement, an independent state. The Czech part

100 Jesenská, *Alles ist Leben*, pp. 211–213.

101 Jörg Osterloh, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung im Reichsgau Sudetenland 1938–1945* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2006), pp. 191–202.

102 *Ibid.*, pp. 344–351 and 406–410.

of the country was occupied by German troops on 15 March 1939, and the next day, in Prague, Hitler proclaimed the establishment of the Reich Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. The elected president of the state, Emil Hácha (1872–1945), remained nominally in office. Power, however, was in German hands: former German Minister of Foreign Affairs Konstantin von Neurath served as Reich protector. The Sudeten German Nazi functionary Karl Hermann Frank (1898–1946) assumed two positions simultaneously, as state secretary and as Higher SS and Police Leader of Bohemia and Moravia. Immediately after the occupation of the country, emigrants, Jews, and Czechs who were known anti-Nazis were arrested in large numbers, and in various places Jews were openly attacked. The next Central Office for Jewish Emigration was established by Eichmann in Prague in June 1939 (Volume 3 of this series covers the fate of the Czech Jews during this period).

In the shadow of the events in Prague, the German Reich annexed the Memel Territory, too, on 23 March 1939. The northern part of East Prussia, with its predominantly German population, had been separated from the German Reich in 1919 by the Treaty of Versailles, initially placed under the mandate of the League of Nations, and then, in 1923, occupied by Lithuanian troops and paramilitary forces. Since 1933, the National Socialist Movement had also gained considerable momentum in the Memel Territory. In autumn 1938, boycott campaigns targeting Jewish shops were on the rise; the Munich Agreement brought a National Socialist coup within reach and caused many Jews to leave the country (Doc. 191). By March 1939, when the region was annexed by Germany, most of the approximately 6,000 Jews who had lived in the city of Memel had already fled. Those who remained behind were subject to the Germans' Jewish policy, and their assets were immediately Aryanized (Doc. 287).<sup>103</sup>

### *Forced Emigration*

Over the course of 1938, it became increasingly clear how difficult the dispossession of the Jews was making the achievement of the other objective, expulsion. The web of compulsory levies, foreign exchange regulations, export bans, and export fees prevented Jews from taking along at least a part of their possessions in order to establish new lives in another country. The target countries, however, refused to grant entry to refugees without means, because they might possibly become a burden on the public welfare system. Shortly after the Anschluss of Austria, almost all these countries tightened their immigration regulations and border controls or introduced immigration bans, which were openly or covertly directed against Jews.<sup>104</sup>

103 Ruth Leiserowitz, 'Memel Territory', in Wolf Gruner and Jörg Osterloh (eds.), *The Greater German Reich and the Jews: Nazi Persecution Policies in the Annexed Territories, 1935–1945*, trans. Bernard Heise (New York/Oxford: Berghahn, 2015 [German edn, 2010]), pp. 136–156.

104 Susanne Heim, 'Vertreibung, Raub und Umverteilung: Die jüdischen Flüchtlinge aus Deutschland und die Vermehrung des "Volksvermögens"', in Gesellschaft zur Förderung zeitgeschichtlicher Forschungen, *Flüchtlingspolitik und Fluchthilfe* (Berlin: Schwarze Risse; Göttingen: Rote Strasse, 1999), pp. 107–138; Susanne Heim, "'Deutschland muß ihnen ein Land ohne Zukunft sein': Die Zwangsemigration der Juden 1933 bis 1938', in Eberhard Jungfer et al. (eds.), *Arbeitsmigration und Flucht: Vertreibung und Arbeitskräfteeregulierung im Zwischenkriegseuropa* (Berlin: Schwarze Risse; Göttingen: Rote Strasse, 1993), pp. 48–81, here pp. 69–74.

Until this point, the Czech government had pursued a comparatively liberal asylum policy. After the Munich Agreement, however, it was no longer willing to take in Jewish refugees, and in October 1938 it began to expel almost all émigrés from Germany and Austria. If they did not comply when called upon to leave the country, the police deported them to the border, usually the Polish one.<sup>105</sup> Similar treatment was endured by the Jews from the Sudetenland, who were forced across the border after the German invasion but sent back by Czech border guards or sent on to Hungary, where they were equally unwanted but still had hope of transit options. Finally, some of them found accommodation on a Danube freighter; most of them were quartered in a camp in the Czech–Hungarian border area.<sup>106</sup> In November 1938, when parts of Slovakia were ceded to Hungary, Jews who had been born in the area that was being surrendered were deported back there by the Slovak Hlinka Guard in the attempt to shift them off into Hungary. Then the Hungarian gendarmerie deported these unwanted people, too, into the no man’s land along the newly drawn Hungarian–Slovak border.<sup>107</sup> Along the western borders of the Reich, the border authorities of the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg passed around among themselves the refugees who had entered illegally after the Anschluss of Austria, until the representatives of these countries agreed at a joint conference in April 1939 to put an end to this practice (Doc. 271).<sup>108</sup>

The more difficult the flight from Germany became, the more chaotic were the forms it assumed. In 1933 approximately 37,000 people had left the country permanently, and in the following years up to 1937 the annual total ranged between 20,000 and 24,000.<sup>109</sup> Around 80 to 85 per cent of the emigrants were Jews. In 1938 the number of refugees increased fivefold: that year, around 40,000 Jews emigrated from the Old Reich and almost 60,000 from Austria.<sup>110</sup> Jews left the country in legal and illegal ways, increasingly by sea. It was ever more uncertain at the time of their departure whether the ships would ever reach their destinations, and whether and where their passengers would be allowed to disembark. ‘The year 1938 added a new term to European geography – No

105 Monthly Report of the European Office of the JDC for January 1939, JDC Archives, AR 33/44, 189.

106 Friedländer, *Nazi Germany*, vol. 1, pp. 265–266.

107 ‘Report by Mrs. Marie Schmolka, Manageress of “Hicem” Prague, on her visit to the camp Mischdorf near Bratislava on November 27th, 1938, and other reports from No-Man’s Land’, published in Peter Heumos, ‘Flüchtlingslager, Hilfsorganisationen, Juden im Niemandsland: Zur Flüchtlingsproblematik in der Tschechoslowakei im Herbst 1938’, *Bohemia*, vol. 25 (1984), pp. 245–275, here pp. 272–275.

108 Hans-Dieter Arntz, *Judenverfolgung und Fluchthilfe im deutsch-belgischen Grenzgebiet: Kreisgebiet Schleiden, Euskirchen, Monschau, Aachen und Eupen/Malmedy* (Euskirchen: Kümpel, 1990); Vicky Caron, *Uneasy Asylum: France and the Jewish Refugee Crisis, 1933–1942* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999); Frank Caestecker and Bob Moore (eds.), *Refugees from Nazi Germany and the Liberal European States, 1933–1939* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2010); Insa Meinen and Ahlrich Meyer, *Verfolgt von Land zu Land: Jüdische Flüchtlinge in Westeuropa 1938–1944* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2013).

109 Strauss, ‘Jewish Emigration’, pp. 326–327; Werner Röder and Herbert A. Strauss (ed.) *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933*, vols. 1–3 (Munich: Saur, 1980–1983); Debórah Dwork and Robert Jan van Pelt, *Flight from the Reich: Refugee Jews, 1933–1946* (New York/London: W. W. Norton, 2009).

110 Estimate of the Jewish Religious Community of Vienna, activity report for the period 11 March – 31 Dec. 1938, CAHJP, A/W 106.

Man's Lands of the Jews', a JDC official reported in January 1939.<sup>111</sup> Jewish refugees aboard ships without landing permission and in the no man's land between countries epitomized the marginalization of the Jews (Doc. 233). The best known of these ships was the *St. Louis*, which set sail from Hamburg in May 1939, carrying more than 900 Jewish emigrants, destined for Havana. There the port authorities refused to let the liner land because corrupt officials had sold invalid visas to the passengers (Docs. 290, 292, 297). After protracted negotiations, the passengers were finally accepted in Britain, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands.

The Gestapo promoted the erosion of intergovernmental relationships by forcing Jews with increasing frequency to cross borders illegally, beginning in summer 1938 (Doc. 305). In reaction to such practices, Switzerland threatened to make visas compulsory for all Reich Germans. In lengthy negotiations, the Swiss and German authorities agreed to mark the passports of German Jews with a red 'J' stamp (Doc. 127) – and thus made it generally impossible for Jews to go unnoticed when entering other countries.<sup>112</sup>

During and after the November pogroms, Jews were in mortal danger in Germany. Emigration, which had been regulated to some degree, now became a stampede. Those Jews who had been arrested and then released from concentration camps only on the condition that they leave the country were willing to take almost any risk. The black market prices for steamship tickets and visas soared, and both commercial and humanitarian efforts to aid those wishing to flee experienced a boom. Under the enormously increased pressure, families felt compelled to separate, so that they could leave the country individually or at least get the children to safety. After the British government had offered in the wake of the November pogroms to accept 10,000 children from Jewish families, offices for the organization of such children's transports sprang up in the Reich within a short time (Docs. 202, 213, 272, 288). Alongside Britain, Jewish children were accepted in the Netherlands, Switzerland, Belgium, and Sweden in large numbers.<sup>113</sup> An initiative comparable to the British children's transports was launched shortly afterwards in the USA. There, however, it failed, due to the resistance of opponents of immigration.<sup>114</sup>

After the November pogroms, Jewish organizations, too, abandoned legal avenues and attempted to get Jews out of the country by every route imaginable (Doc. 260).

111 'No Man's Lands of the Jews', 20 Jan. 1939, JDC Archives, AR 1933/44, 541.

112 Unabhängige Expertenkommission Schweiz – Zweiter Weltkrieg, *Die Schweiz und die Flüchtlinge zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus* (Zurich: Chronos, 2001), pp. 97–110.

113 According to Strauss, 'Jewish Emigration', p. 328, at least 18,000 children emigrated unaccompanied by their parents and were placed in homes or foster families abroad. McDonald Stewart, quoting the statistics of German Jewish organizations, states that before the war, 9,354 emigrated to Britain, 1,500 to the Netherlands, 1,000 to Belgium, 600 to France, 300 to Switzerland and 450 to Sweden: Barbara McDonald Stewart, *United States Government Policy on Refugees from Nazism, 1933–1940* (New York: Garland, 1982), p. 519. On the children's transports in general, see Barry Turner, ... *And the Policeman Smiled: 10,000 Children Escape from Nazi Europe* (London: Bloomsbury, 1990); Wolfgang Benz, Claudia Curio, and Andrea Hammel (eds.), *Die Kindertransporte 1938/39: Rettung und Integration* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2003); Claudia Curio, *Verfolgung, Flucht, Rettung: Die Kindertransporte 1938/39 nach Großbritannien* (Berlin: Metropol, 2006); Vera K. Fast, *Children's Exodus: A History of the Kindertransport* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011).

114 Zosa Szajkowski, 'The Attitude of American Jews to Refugees from Germany in the 1930s', *American Jewish Historical Quarterly*, vol. 61, no. 2 (1971), pp. 101–143, here p. 109.

The byways included the chartering of ships that sailed under a neutral flag and took immigrants to Palestine – unless they were captured first by the British Mandate's naval force, which was tasked with halting illegal immigration.<sup>115</sup> Though the SD, reluctant to endanger the legal approach, officially rejected illegal emigration, Berthold Storfer, who expedited illegal emigration from Vienna and chartered ships for the voyage to Palestine, cooperated with Eichmann in a manner that was hardly covert. The Viennese Zionists criticized Storfer on these grounds, but primarily because he opposed the Zionists' selection criteria for immigrants to Palestine: young, healthy, strong.<sup>116</sup>

In the European countries that were unwilling to accept Jewish refugees permanently but also did not want to deport them to Germany, increasing numbers of refugee camps were established, starting in 1938. This was often carried out on the initiative of, or in cooperation with, the local Jewish communities, which hoped to forestall antisemitic reactions in this way. As a rule, Jewish organizations absorbed the costs and took care of the refugees. For example, the Jewish Refugee Relief in Switzerland set up refugee camps near St Gallen and in Basel. In Britain, the Council for German Jewry took on such tasks. The leading representatives of British Jews had promised the government that they would pay for the maintenance of the German Jewish refugees, but they were no longer able to keep this promise after the Anschluss of Austria. In the Netherlands, the local Jews deposited a sum of money with the government as a guarantee for the upkeep of the refugees. In Belgium, the state provided the facilities for the refugees, and the running costs were borne by the Jewish aid organizations (Docs. 233, 241, 269, 271).<sup>117</sup>

In reaction to the rising numbers of refugees, US President Franklin D. Roosevelt convened an international conference barely two weeks after the Anschluss of Austria. It took place from 6 to 15 July 1938 in the French resort of Evian on the banks of Lake Geneva, where representatives of thirty-two countries discussed possibilities for letting in Jewish refugees from the German Reich.<sup>118</sup> Almost all the delegates expressed their regret that the economic situation in their country did not permit them to accept additional refugees; only the Australian delegate openly conceded that Australia had no race problem and did not want to import one, either. During internal negotiations, only the Dominican Republic, ruled by the dictator Rafael Trujillo, held out the prospect of

115 Dalia Ofer, *Escaping the Holocaust: Illegal Immigration to the Land of Israel, 1939–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Dalia Ofer, 'Die illegale Einwanderung nach Palästina: Politische, nationale und persönliche Aspekte (1939–1941)', in Gesellschaft zur Förderung Zeitgeschichtlicher Forschungen (ed.), *Flüchtlingspolitik und Fluchthilfe*, pp. 9–38, here p. 15.

116 Rabinovici, *Instanzen der Ohnmacht*, pp. 184–193; Gabriele Anderl, '9096 Leben': *Der unbekannte Judenretter Berthold Storfer* (Berlin: Rotbuch, 2012).

117 Christian Eggers, *Unerwünschte Ausländer: Juden aus Deutschland und Mitteleuropa in französischen Internierungslagern 1940–1942* (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), pp. 20–48; Caestecker and Moore, *Refugees from Nazi Germany*; Louise London, 'British Immigration Control Procedures and Jewish Refugees, 1933–1939', in Werner Mosse (ed.), *Second Chance: Two Centuries of German-speaking Jews in the United Kingdom* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1991), pp. 485–517, here p. 502.

118 On the history of the conference, see Salomon Adler-Rudel, 'The Evian Conference on the Refugee Question', *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book*, vol. 13 (1968), pp. 235–274; Ralph Weingarten, *Die Hilfeleistung der westlichen Welt bei der Endlösung der deutschen Judenfrage: Das 'Intergovernmental Committee on Political Refugees' (IGC), 1938–1939* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1981); Tommie Sjöberg, *The Powers and the Persecuted: The Refugee Problem and the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees (IGCR), 1938–1947* (Lund: Lund University Press, 1991).

accepting refugees. Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry and the Reich Foreign Office pointed gleefully to the failure of the conference and asserted that the concern in the democratic countries regarding the fate of the German Jews was merely feigned (Doc. 64).

Even though the participating states at the Evian Conference rejected the further admission of German Jews largely for reasons related to domestic politics and economic policy, the underlying cause was a fundamental, almost unresolvable problem: if countries declared themselves willing to accept impoverished Jewish refugees without any concessions from the German side, then they were aiding and abetting the dispossession and expulsion of the Jews, perhaps not only from Germany but from other states as well. Poland and Romania, for example, had made it plain at the conference that Jewish minorities posed a problem for their countries too, one that the international community of states must address.<sup>119</sup>

Even so, the delegates in Evian founded the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees (IGCR). Its mission was to find options for the settlement of refugees and to negotiate with the German government concerning the emigration of Jews and the (partial) transfer of their assets. At first the Reich Foreign Office in Berlin categorically refused even to receive the director of the IGCR, the American lawyer George Rublee. But Göring and Reichsbank President Hjalmar Schacht signalled their willingness after the November pogroms, because they hoped in this way to alleviate the chronic foreign exchange shortage that plagued the Reich despite all the expropriation campaigns and organized looting. In December 1938, Schacht travelled to London for secret negotiations with Rublee. On the German side, the objective was to make the furtherance of emigration consistent with the 'securing of foreign exchange' and to end the boycott of German goods abroad. After Schacht was forced to relinquish the office of Reichsbank president in January 1939, Helmut Wohlthat took over the conduct of the negotiations.<sup>120</sup> As head of the Department of Foreign Exchange Control in the Office of the Four-Year Plan, he had dealt repeatedly with the dispossession of the Jews. While he was negotiating with Rublee, he was directing, along with Friedrich Flick and the Dresdner Bank, the Aryanization of the Petschek group of companies, in the course of which the Reich took possession of coal pits and industrial enterprises valued at several hundred million Reichsmarks.<sup>121</sup>

The concept that was worked out in spring 1939, named the Schacht–Rublee Plan after the two men who led the negotiations, envisaged that two thirds of German Jews would

119 Eliahu Ben Elissar, *La diplomatie du IIIe Reich et les Juifs (1933–1939)* (Paris: Julliard, 1969), p. 243; Henry Feingold, *The Politics of Rescue: The Roosevelt Administration and the Holocaust, 1938–1945* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1970), p. 35; Marion A. Kaplan, *Dominican Haven: The Jewish Refugee Settlement in Sosúa, 1940–1945* (New York: Museum of Jewish Heritage, 2008); Hans-Ulrich Dillmann and Susanne Heim, *Fluchtpunkt Karibik: Jüdische Emigranten in der Dominikanischen Republik* (Berlin: Ch. Links, 2009), pp. 34–40.

120 On the negotiations between Schacht/Wohlthat and the IGCR, see Feingold, *The Politics of Rescue*, pp. 45–68; Weingarten, *Die Hilfeleistung*, pp. 121–144; Friedländer, *Nazi Germany*, vol. 1, pp. 288 and 315–316; Fritz Kieffer, *Judenverfolgung in Deutschland – eine innere Angelegenheit? Internationale Reaktionen auf die Flüchtlingsproblematik 1933–1939* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 2002), pp. 320–427.

121 Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, 3rd edn, vol. 1 (New Haven, CT/London: Yale University Press, 2003 [1961]), pp. 113–120; Harald Wixforth, *Die Expansion der Dresdner Bank in Europa* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2006), pp. 136–138; Kim Christian Priemel, *Flick: Eine Konzerngeschichte vom Kaiserreich bis zur Bundesrepublik* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2007), pp. 390–431.

be permitted to emigrate within a period of five years. Only the elderly were to remain, and they were to be allowed to live in Germany until their death. Under the plan, the German tax authorities were allowed to retain 75 per cent of the Jews' assets. The value of the remaining 25 per cent was to be paid into a trust fund but released only in return for additional exports from Germany. Further, the plan provided for creating a bond fund abroad for advance financing of the resettlement of German Jews. The money for this purpose was to be raised by relief organizations and wealthy Jews (Doc. 207).

In his speech of 6 December 1938, Göring had already outlined this plan in broad strokes. Among the representatives of the Jewish organizations who were supposed to take care of the financing, the fund was highly controversial, because it would stabilize the German economy at the expense of Jewish assets. A formal agreement between the Intergovernmental Committee and the German Reich never came about. There was solely a confidential memorandum, which Rublee was prepared to regard as a unilateral statement of intent by Germany but not as a joint document.<sup>122</sup> The outbreak of the Second World War rendered the plan void.

### *Registration, Ostracization, and Forced Labour*

At the end of July 1938, compulsory identity cards were introduced for all young men screened for military service and for the entire Jewish population; by the end of the year, Jews over the age of 15 thus had to apply for an identity card, which was furnished with a photograph, fingerprints, and the signature of the card holder (Doc. 72). In correspondence with the authorities, card holders were always required to state the ID number marked on the card and the place code (place of issue). If they visited the administrative offices in person, they were required to point out, unprompted, that they were Jews and present their ID card (Doc. 300). A duplicate of the card was retained by the passport-issuing authority and was placed in the files of the local residents' registry as a means of identification.

In August 1938, the Reich Ministry of the Interior issued a regulation stating that only certain 'Jewish' first names were permissible for Jews from that point on. Jewish men with names other than the officially sanctioned first names had to add the name 'Israel', beginning on 1 January 1939, and women had to add 'Sara' as a second forename (Docs. 84, 86, 90, 181). The mandatory first name had to be recorded at the civil registry office and in the telephone book and used in official correspondence at all times. The next step towards registration of the Jews was the census of May 1939, which had been postponed by one year because of the Anschluss of Austria. On a special supplementary card, each person who was counted in the census had to provide information about the 'racial origin' of his or her four grandparents (Doc. 36). In this way, the statisticians calculated the current figure of 233,973 'Jews by race' in the Old Reich, of whom around 20,000 did not belong to the Jewish religious community; in addition, they

<sup>122</sup> Kieffer, *Judenverfolgung*, pp. 425–426. On the debate about the Schacht–Rublee Plan and the bond fund, see Yehuda Bauer, *My Brother's Keeper: A History of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, 1929–1939* (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1974), pp. 273–285.

recorded the ‘half-Jews’ and ‘one-quarter-Jews’ along with their family members, members of the household, residential addresses, and other personal information. For control purposes, the census takers were urged, for their part, to write down in the records what they knew about the ‘race’ of those who were interviewed. All this information was entered the very same year in the newly established nationwide People’s Card Index (*Volkskartei*), as well as on the local residents’ registration cards, which since 1938 included the column ‘Descent’ at the top.<sup>123</sup> The multiple collection of information about ‘race’ – via ID card, compulsory first names, census forms, and the People’s Card Index – made it difficult for those concerned to avoid registration. And in view of the threatened penalties, attempting to avoid it was risky as well.

The church registers also served as an important source of information to enable classification based on racial considerations. In the registers, it was noted who had been baptized when and where, who had married a Jewish spouse or changed his or her name. After 1933, when the Aryan certificate began to determine professional advancement and personal fates and, moreover, genealogical research came into fashion, the parish offices could barely cope with the abundance of enquiries. Repeatedly, they were also confronted with pleas to let indications of non-Aryan descent go by the board. A decree issued by the Reich Minister of Church Affairs, dated October 1938, therefore admonished the keepers of the church registers to enter complete data and further demanded that they note the Jewish descent of the applicant on any document being issued, even if it was only known to them by chance (Doc. 188).<sup>124</sup> Even in the absence of such prompting, particularly in Protestant regional churches, assiduous individuals got down to work and busied themselves of their own accord with the recording of non-Aryans. In Berlin, for example, under the leadership of the Protestant pastor and archivist Karl Themel, the Old Berlin church registry office, financed by the church, searched the community records, looking for Jews who had been baptized, and compiled a ‘register of baptisms of persons of alien descent’, based on all the church registers in Berlin.<sup>125</sup> The church registry offices that existed in various regional churches passed on their findings to various authorities, including the Reich Office for Kinship Research, which was subordinate to the Reich Ministry of the Interior, but they also furnished particulars to Party institutions, the Reich Institute for History of the New Germany, the SS, and the police.<sup>126</sup> Concurrently, all the entries in the Berlin church registers were gathered in a card file, so that Aryan Christians could prove their ‘racial purity’ with as few complications as possible.

123 Götz Aly and Karl Heinz Roth, *Die restlose Erfassung: Volkszählen, Identifizieren, Aussondern im Nationalsozialismus*, new edn (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch, 2000 [1984]), pp. 54–64.

124 Stephan Linck, “... restlose Ausscheidung dieses Fremdkörpers”: Das schleswig-holsteinische Kirchenbuchwesen und die “Judenfrage”, in Manfred Gailus (ed.), *Kirchliche Amtshilfe: Die Kirche und die Judenverfolgung im ‘Dritten Reich’* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), pp. 27–47, here p. 33.

125 Manfred Gailus, ‘Einführung’, in Gailus (ed.), *Kirchliche Amtshilfe*, pp. 12–13; Aly and Roth, *Die Restlose Erfassung*, p. 85.

126 Manfred Gailus, “Hier werden täglich drei, vier Fälle einer nichtarischen Abstammung aufgedeckt”: Pfarrer Karl Themel und die Kirchenbuchstelle Alt-Berlin’, in Gailus (ed.), *Kirchliche Amtshilfe*, pp. 82–100, here pp. 89–90.

At times, the boom in genealogical research had an oddly amusing effect on outside observers. For example, in April 1938 a Swiss pastor refused to provide information about the lineage of an NSDAP member, informing the requester

that we partly shook with laughter, partly began to doubt the good judgement of the Nordic race, when we saw: not only do you not consider the pathological requirements of the Aryan certificate in the case of the great-grandmother (!!!) to be crazy, but in addition you give a cheer of 'Heil!' for the man who gives the order for such rubbish.<sup>127</sup>

Among the Protestant pastors, those who felt connected to the religious movement known as the 'German Christians' were especially meticulous about recording the non-Aryan faithful. But most members of the Confessing Church, too, complied with the relevant instructions of the church leadership. In February 1939, the regional churches of Thuringia, Mecklenburg, Anhalt, and Saxony excluded non-Aryans (Doc. 262).<sup>128</sup> Only the advisory office run by Pastor Heinrich Grüber attended to the interests of the non-Aryan Protestant Christians, who, though persecuted as 'Jews by race', did not belong to the Jewish religious community and therefore obtained no support from Jewish organizations.<sup>129</sup> However, Berlin's church leaders made no secret of their qualms regarding the Grüber Office (Doc. 267). In the milieu of the German Christian movement, the Institute for the Study and Elimination of Jewish Influence on German Church Life was established in Eisenach in the early summer of 1939. Its objective was to examine church hymnals and the Bible to ascertain whether they included text passages that were the 'expression of an alien race-soul' or contained 'Jewish ideas' (Doc. 307).

In general, the Catholic Church reacted with distinctly greater restraint to the demands of the National Socialist regime, continued to use hymns whose words were now no longer deemed appropriate (Doc. 253), and threatened teachers of religious education with withdrawal of their teaching licences if they removed the Old Testament, decried as the 'Jewish Bible', from the curriculum. Only in isolated cases did individual clergymen participate in the inspection of the church registers to ferret out baptized Jews.<sup>130</sup> The non-Aryan Catholics continued to be regarded as fellow believers, and were not excluded from the church, although they were supported only with reserve. At no point during the National Socialist regime did either Christian church contemplate staunchly and publicly standing up for the persecuted Jews. After the November pogroms, neither the Protestant nor the Catholic bishops protested against the persecution of the Jews.

The registration of Jews took on practical significance, for example in the case of labour deployment. To the extent that economic connections had still existed between

127 Cited in Gailus (ed.), 'Einführung', p. 17.

128 Martin Greschat, 'Die Haltung der deutschen evangelischen Kirchen zur Verfolgung der Juden im Dritten Reich', in Ursula Büttner (ed.), *Die Deutschen und die Judenverfolgung im Dritten Reich* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2003), pp. 320–341.

129 Eberhard Röhm and Jörg Thierfelder, *Juden, Christen, Deutsche: 1933–1945*, vol. 2: *1935 bis 1938*, part 2 (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1992), pp. 259–277.

130 Bernd Nellesen, 'Die schweigende Kirche: Katholiken und Judenverfolgung', in Büttner (ed.), *Die Deutschen und die Judenverfolgung*, pp. 305–319, here p. 309.

Jews and non-Jews, these ties were cut as Aryanization progressed. Although the employment of Jews in the firms of non-Jewish owners was still permitted, whenever possible they were separated from the non-Jewish personnel.<sup>131</sup> Since the summer of 1938, the local and Reich authorities had repeatedly discussed excluding the Jews from public welfare benefits (Docs. 164, 285, 293) or, alternatively, granting them these benefits only in exchange for work carried out. In particular, the Reich Institute for Labour Placement and Unemployment Insurance made various attempts to organize the forced labour of Jews. The intention was to relieve the pressure on the public welfare system and reinforce the pressure to emigrate (Doc. 105). On 19 October 1938, the president of the Reich Institute, Friedrich Syrup, issued a secret decree concerning the labour deployment of Jews. In it, the employment offices were asked to establish an overview of the number and skills of the unemployed Jews and to arrange for their deployment for labour in segregated groups. At this time, Jewish work squads were already being detailed for public works in some cities, including Vienna.<sup>132</sup>

However, the rule that Jews were to be deployed separately from non-Jews proved to be an obstacle, because the prerequisites for separation did not exist in many companies. Consequently, Jewish labour squads were kept busy primarily in the public sector, in parks and gardens, in the construction of roads and canals, with the Reich Railways, or at rubbish dumps. This often meant, however, that the accommodation of the Jewish forced labourers in camps and a guard force for them had to be arranged. In various places, including Hamburg, separate consolidated labour camps were set up for Jewish forced labourers in order to separate them from other persons doing compulsory labour and to oblige them to work off their relief payments.<sup>133</sup> Quite soon, however, labour deployment was no longer limited to Jews who were registered as unemployed and from whom a quid pro quo was to be exacted in return for public aid money; on the contrary, even Jews who were employed were forced to perform labour (Doc. 119). After the Reich Minister of the Interior had ordered that Jews were, in any case, to be excluded from public welfare and referred to Jewish welfare institutions (Doc. 164), it became clear that labour deployment primarily served other purposes: it was both a form of harassment and a way to mobilize all labour reserves in preparation for war. Certificates of exemption could be requested not, for example, from the employment office, but only from the Gestapo. Jews were threatened with imprisonment if they contravened the obligation to perform forced labour. Jews who were forcibly conscripted for labour replaced Aryan workers, who were used for tasks of 'national policy significance', as it was expressed in a decree issued by Göring. By July 1939, there were already 20,000 Jewish forced labourers in Germany, almost all of them men. General forced labour for all Jews was not officially mandated until October 1941, three years after forced labour had been implemented in practice.<sup>134</sup>

131 Kulka and Jäckel (eds.), *The Jews in the Secret Nazi Reports*, p. 435.

132 Wolf Gruner, *Jewish Forced Labor under the Nazis: Economic Needs and Racial Aims, 1938–1944*, trans. Kathleen M. Dell'Orto (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006 [German edn, 1997]), pp. 109–112.

133 Wolf Gruner, *Öffentliche Wohlfahrt und Judenverfolgung: Wechselwirkung lokaler und zentraler Politik im NS-Staat (1933–1942)* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2002), pp. 137 and 205.

134 Gruner, *Jewish Forced Labor*, pp. 8, 19–20, and 30.

## *Deportation of Polish Jews and the November Pogroms*

On 31 March 1938 the Polish government enacted the Law on the Revocation of Citizenship, which was formulated in general terms but was in fact directed against Jews. The government thereby created a method of denaturalizing Polish citizens who had been living abroad for more than five years. In October 1938 a regulation followed under which passports issued abroad entitled the holder to enter Poland only with an endorsement from the relevant Polish consulate. In this way, the Polish government sought to prevent Jews who were Polish citizens living in the German Reich from fleeing to Poland.<sup>135</sup> The German leadership now feared, as State Secretary Ernst von Weizsäcker expressed it to Polish Ambassador Józef Lipski, ‘that as a result of the denaturalization, a clump of 40,000 to 50,000 stateless former Polish Jews might drop into our lap’.<sup>136</sup> To prevent this, the Reich government decided shortly before the Polish law took effect, on the evening of 27 October 1938, to deport 17,000 Polish Jews to Poland. In some cities, the police arrested only men; in others, entire families.

Although most of those targeted were completely taken by surprise when arrested, the Munich police, for example, were able to catch only around two thirds of the people they wanted to deport (Doc. 112). Among the deported was Marcel Reich-Ranicki, who became a victim of this mass deportation at the age of 18. He had no idea why he was suddenly arrested in Berlin, early on the morning of 28 October 1938, or what he was supposed to do in Poland, a country that ‘was utterly alien’ to him.<sup>137</sup> For many of those arrested, the journey ended, for the time being, at the border. Polish and German border guards herded the people back and forth between the lines for days on end. Eventually, they were placed in hastily arranged camps. The largest camp, situated in Zbąszyń (Bentschen), existed until the summer of 1939, because the inmates could neither return to Germany nor enter Poland (Doc. 203).

The family of Herschel Grynszpan was deported from Hanover to the Polish border. After Grynszpan, who was then living in Paris, learned of the deportation through a letter from his sister, he shot Legation Councillor Ernst vom Rath in the German embassy in Paris on 7 November 1938 and critically wounded him. The very same day, the editors of all the German newspapers received instructions to report on the assassination attempt ‘in the biggest way’ and in the process to emphasize the responsibility of ‘world

135 Sybil Milton, ‘The Expulsion of Polish Jews from Germany: October 1938 to July 1939’, *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book*, vol. 29 (1984), pp. 169–199; Trude Maurer, ‘Abschiebung und Attentat: Die Ausweisung der polnischen Juden und der Vorwand für die “Kristallnacht”’, in Walter H. Pehle (ed.), *Der Judenpogrom 1938: Von der ‘Reichskristallnacht’ zum Völkermord* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1988), pp. 52–73; Jerzy Tomaszewski, ‘Letters from Zbąszyń’, *Yad Vashem Studies*, vol. 19 (1988), pp. 289–315; Jerzy Tomaszewski, *Auftakt zur Vernichtung: Die Vertreibung polnischer Juden aus Deutschland im Jahre 1938*, trans. Victoria Pollmann (Osnabrück: Fibre, 2002 [Polish edn, 1998]); Yfaat Weiss, *Deutsche und polnische Juden vor dem Holocaust: Jüdische Identität zwischen Staatsbürgerschaft und Ethnizität 1933–1940* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2000), pp. 195–217.

136 Notes made by the state secretary, 8 Nov. 1938; *Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik 1918–1945*, series D: 1937–1945, vol. 5: *Polen, Südosteuropa, Lateinamerika, Klein- und Mittelstaaten, Juni 1937 – März 1939* (Baden-Baden: Imprimerie Nationale, 1953), p. 102.

137 Reich-Ranicki, *Mein Leben*, pp. 157–160; see also Rudi and Trude Gräber, ‘Fehlgeschlagene Abschiebung nach Polen’, in Charlotte Ueckert-Hilbert (ed.), *Fremd in der eigenen Stadt: Erinnerungen jüdischer Emigranten aus Hamburg* (Hamburg: Junius, 1989), pp. 95–100.

Jewry' for the act.<sup>138</sup> On the night of 7 November, synagogues, Jewish schools, and the shops and homes of Jews were raided and demolished in Kassel, Bebra, and other towns in northern Hesse (Doc. 123), and on 8 November there were similar events in Magdeburg-Anhalt.<sup>139</sup> That day, the *Völkischer Beobachter* almost openly called for a pogrom:

It is clear that the German people will draw its own conclusions from this new crime. It is an impossible state of affairs that within our borders, hundreds of thousands of Jews still control entire shopping streets, crowd the places of public entertainment and, as 'foreign' landlords, pocket the money of German tenants, while other members of their race outside the country call for war against Germany and gun down German officials.<sup>140</sup>

On the evening of 9 November, as was customary on the anniversary of the failed Beer Hall Putsch of 1923, leading NSDAP men assembled in the Old Town Hall in Munich. After the news of the diplomat's death had been announced, Hitler spoke briefly with Goebbels and then left the gathering. Goebbels called on the Gauleiter and SA commanders who were present to make sure that Grynszpan's deed did not go unatoned. The next day, he described the short conversation with Hitler in his diary:

He decides: let the demonstrations continue. Pull back the police. Let the Jews feel the anger of the people for once. That is right. I immediately give corresponding instructions to the police and Party. Then I briefly address the Party leaders along the same lines. Vigorous applause. Everybody dashes to the telephones right away. Now the people will take action.<sup>141</sup>

Towards 10:30 p.m., the gathering in Munich's Old Town Hall broke up, and the National Socialist functionaries in attendance briefed their Gau leaders and Gau propaganda officials by telephone. Everywhere in the Reich, SA men and NSDAP activists were commemorating the anniversary of the Beer Hall Putsch on this evening. Already somewhat drunk, they had certainly also been fired up by the news of the assassination, and in this highly charged atmosphere they were verbally informed of vom Rath's death and told that the Party was not officially calling for anti-Jewish actions but would not quell spontaneous displays of outrage.

138 Wolfgang Benz, 'Der Rückfall in die Barbarei: Bericht über den Pogrom', in Pehle (ed.), *Der Judenpogrom 1938*, pp. 13–51, here p. 15; Jonathan Kirch, *The Short, Strange Life of Herschel Grynszpan: A Boy Avenger, a Nazi Diplomat, and a Murder in Paris* (New York: Liveright, 2013).

139 Wolf-Arno Kropat, *Kristallnacht in Hessen: Der Judenpogrom vom November 1938. Eine Dokumentation* (Wiesbaden: Kommission für die Geschichte der Juden in Hessen, 1988), pp. 19–47; Benz, 'Der Rückfall', p. 17; Alan E. Steinweis, *Kristallnacht 1938* (Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 2009), pp. 22–27; *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels*, part 1: Aufzeichnungen 1923–1941, vol. 6: August 1938 – Juni 1939, ed. Elke Frohlich (Munich: Saur, 1998), p. 180 (entry for 10 Nov. 1938).

140 *Völkischer Beobachter*, 8 Nov. 1938, cited in Elisabeth Klamper, 'Die "Affäre Herschel Grynszpan"', in *Der Novemberpogrom 1938: Die 'Reichskristallnacht' in Wien* (Vienna: Museen der Stadt Wien, 1989), pp. 53–59, here p. 56.

141 Goebbels, *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels*, part 1, vol. 6, p. 180 (entry for 10 Nov. 1938); Uwe Dietrich Adam, 'Wie spontan war der Pogrom?', in Pehle (ed.), *Der Judenpogrom 1938*, pp. 74–93.

Shortly before midnight, the head of the Gestapo Central Office, Heinrich Müller, telegraphed all the State Police offices and regional headquarters, saying that, 'within a very short time', actions against Jews would begin all over the country, and that they were not to be interfered with, though looting was to be stopped. Müller said that 'the most severe measures' were to be taken against Jews found in possession of weapons. Further, preparations were to be made for the arrest of 20,000 to 30,000 Jews – well-to-do ones in particular – in every part of the Reich (Doc. 125). After the synagogues were already ablaze in quite a number of cities, Heydrich sent out an express telex at 1:20 a.m. to the local SD and Gestapo offices, stating Müller's instructions more precisely: care was to be taken that the lives and property of non-Jews were not endangered; in addition, the property of foreign Jews was to be excluded from the devastation. Heydrich reinforced the ban on looting, the instructions to secure archival materials of historical significance and the order to arrest wealthy Jews in particular – 'initially only healthy male Jews who are not so advanced in years' (Doc. 126).<sup>142</sup>

In many places, the SA and Hitler Youth had already been asked on 8 November to ready themselves for 'action' against the Jews. As a result, during the night of 9/10 November, substantial crowds of people quickly gathered, set fire to synagogues, surrounded the buildings where Jews lived, drove the inhabitants into the street, beat them, and smashed their homes to pieces. The fire brigade, as a rule, intervened only to keep the flames from spreading, but occasionally helped to start fires as well: 'Evidently, setting fire to the synagogues was often difficult and succeeded, as in Essen, only after expert assistance from the fire brigade.'<sup>143</sup>

In many places, citizens who were not part of organized groups also joined in with the raids, attacks, and arson, and sometimes they formed cordons of either cheering or horrified spectators (Doc. 131). However, in most cases, the perpetrators were members of the SA, NSDAP, or Hitler Youth. They had been requested to appear in civilian clothing. In numerous cities, especially in north-western Germany, the young offenders did not live in the place itself but rather were brought in by truck from a distance. This prevented both the identification of the assailants by the victims and the potential sympathy of the assailants, should there have been personal acquaintances among the maltreated. Such an approach indicates that there may have been, at least in some places, detailed preparations for the pogroms, especially since every 'pogrom crew', as is reported for the Duisburg area, was equipped with 'carefully prepared lists of addresses'. Jewish and non-Jewish eyewitnesses alike reported in many cases that the youthful offenders were heavily inebriated, and inferred:

So they either got them drunk beforehand in order to get them in the mood for a pogrom – it is known that the consumption of alcohol has a particularly rapid effect on male adolescents – or they stopped off somewhere during the one-hour drive to the scene of the action and gave out free beer.<sup>144</sup>

142 Steinweis, *Kristallnacht*, pp. 50–53.

143 Ulrich Herbert, 'Von der "Reichskristallnacht" zum "Holocaust": Der 9. November und das Ende des "Radauantisemitismus"', in Thomas Hoffmann, Hanno Loewy, and Harry Stein (eds.), *Pogromnacht und Holocaust: Frankfurt, Weimar, Buchenwald ... Die schwierige Erinnerung an die Stationen der Vernichtung* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1994), pp. 58–80, here p. 67.

144 Barkow, Gross, and Lenarz (eds.), *Novemberpogrom 1938*, pp. 357–358.

According to official data, on that night ninety-one Jews were killed, thirty-six people seriously injured, and several Jewish women raped. The actual number of victims, though not known precisely, was certainly higher. In Bremen and the surrounding area, five people were shot dead, including the 78-year-old doctor Adolph Goldberg and his wife Martha, née Sussmann. The murderers were SA men between the ages of 23 and 53 (Doc. 134).<sup>145</sup> In addition, more than 1,000 synagogues were set alight, demolished, or even blown up,<sup>146</sup> and 7,000 to 7,500 shops owned by Jews and at least 177 homes were destroyed and looted. The damage to glass on the so-called Night of Broken Glass was assessed at 6 million Reichsmarks, and the overall loss amounted to 39 million Reichsmarks.<sup>147</sup>

The US consul in Leipzig reported to Washington:

Having demolished dwellings and hurled most of the movable effects on to the streets, the insatiably sadistic perpetrators threw many of the trembling residents into a small stream that flows through the Zoological Gardens, commanding horrified spectators to spit at them, smear them with mud and jeer at their plight ... The slightest manifestation of sympathy evoked a veritable fury on the part of the perpetrators.<sup>148</sup>

The next day, the acts of violence continued, now frequently with the participation of the local population; in some places, teachers led entire school classes to the wrecked homes and shops of the Jews and urged the children to call out antisemitic slogans or applaud the removal of Jews placed under arrest.<sup>149</sup> Almost everywhere, curious onlookers gathered to have a look at the damage or grab another item from the displays in broken shop windows. From Aachen and Essen, eyewitnesses reported that after the looting, the booty was sold in the middle of the street, and shoes and clothes were exchanged for the appropriate sizes.<sup>150</sup> The SD's reports on the mood of the people documented very diverse reactions to the pogroms, ranging from explicit approval of the

145 Wilhelm Lührs, 'Der Pogrom vom 9./10. November 1938', in *'Reichskristallnacht' in Bremen: Vorgeschichte, Hergang und gerichtliche Bewältigung des Pogroms vom 9./10. Nov. 1938* (Bremen: Steintor, 1988), pp. 39–59, here pp. 43–46.

146 Adolf Diamant counted 1,802 synagogues and Jewish places of worship in Germany; around 1,200 of them were destroyed in the National Socialist era, most during the pogroms and a smaller number in the war. For Austria, Diamant was able to identify 95 destroyed synagogues and places of worship in Vienna alone: Adolf Diamant, *Zerstörte Synagogen vom November 1938: Eine Bestandsaufnahme* (Frankfurt am Main: A. Diamant, 1978), pp. xiv–xv.

147 Heinz Lauber, *Judenpogrom: 'Reichskristallnacht' November 1938 in Großdeutschland: Daten, Fakten, Dokumente, Quellentexte und Bewertungen* (Gerlingen: Bleicher, 1981), p. 123; Erhard Roy Wiehn, *Novemberpogrom: Die 'Reichskristallnacht' in den Erinnerungen jüdischer Zeitzeugen der Kehilla Kedoscha Konstanz 50 Jahre danach als Dokumentation des Gedenkens* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 1988), p. 52; Richard J. Evans, *The Third Reich in Power, 1933–1939* (London: Allen Lane, 2005), pp. 585 and 590; Martin Gilbert, *Kristallnacht: Prelude to Destruction* (New York: Harper-Collins, 2006).

148 Cited in Wolfgang Mönninghoff, *Enteignung der Juden: Wunder der Wirtschaft, Erbe der Deutschen* (Hamburg/Vienna: Europa, 2001), p. 197.

149 Dieter Obst, *'Reichskristallnacht': Ursachen und Folgen des antisemitischen Pogroms vom November 1938* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1991), p. 352.

150 Barkow, Gross, and Lenarz (eds.), *Novemberpogrom 1938*, p. 363.

'reckoning' with 'Jewry' to abashed silence to ostentatious professions of sympathy for those who had been humiliated and mistreated. In the foreground was criticism of the destruction of valuable goods and of the tactics employed, viewed by many as barbaric and medieval.<sup>151</sup> However, such criticism did not necessarily diminish Aryan neighbours' interest in acquiring Jewish property at a low price.

In some places, the police also arrested women on the night of the pogroms, but generally released them again after a few hours or the next day. The Jewish men who were arrested that night were first held in sports halls, police stations, and town halls and then transferred the next day, sometimes after a humiliating passage through city streets lined with people, to Dachau, Buchenwald, and Sachsenhausen concentration camps. In the following days and nights, the arrests continued. They affected a total of 25,000 to 30,000 Jewish men. The camps were not equipped for such a large number of prisoners, and conditions were correspondingly catastrophic (Docs. 227, 229). In Buchenwald, guards and Kapos (prisoner functionaries) mistreated Jewish prisoners and tried in this way to extort valuable articles that had been brought along to the camp.<sup>152</sup> In Sachsenhausen, the SS guards, the majority of whom the prisoners estimated to be barely over the age of 20, had a predilection for tormenting overweight Jews, rabbis, and Jewish members of the professional classes, and forced Jewish prisoners to introduce themselves as *Saujuden* (Jewish pigs).<sup>153</sup> In Dachau, at least 185 of the new arrivals died within a few weeks; in Buchenwald, the comparable figure was 233.<sup>154</sup> For the Sachsenhausen camp, a report at the end of 1938 estimated the number of dead after the pogroms at 80 to 90 from a total of 6,000 prisoners: 'Causes of death are: 1. exhaustion, 2. absence of customary medical treatment, medication and nutrition, 3. septic diseases, 4. consequences of freezing temperatures and pneumonia.' An additional mode of death is described for Sachsenhausen as follows: 'Anybody who didn't stand straight enough during drill had to "roll", meaning roll over and over in the sand until he lost consciousness. At such times these unfortunates often bumped against the electrified fence and were killed by the electric shock or by the sentry, who noted that the prisoner had crossed the line.'<sup>155</sup> No reliable figures are available concerning those who became deranged or took their own lives as a result of the detention conditions or the torture.

The mass arrests of Jewish men served two purposes: The first was to get prosperous Jews, pressured by various forms of ill treatment, to transfer their assets to non-Jews. Second, the SD and Gestapo sought to accelerate the expulsion of the Jews from Germany. Most of those arrested were released in the weeks following the pogroms, provided

151 See Peter Longerich, *'Davon haben wir nichts gewusst!'* *Die Deutschen und die Judenverfolgung 1933-1945* (Munich: Siedler, 2006), pp. 129-135; Frank Bajohr and Dieter Pohl, *Der Holocaust als offenes Geheimnis: Die Deutschen, die NS-Führung und die Alliierten* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 37-45; Kulka and Jäckel (eds.), *The Jews in the Secret Nazi Reports*, pp. 353-364.

152 David A. Hackett (ed.), *Der Buchenwald-Report: Bericht über das Konzentrationslager Buchenwald bei Weimar* (Munich: Beck, 1996), pp. 283-287; Volkhard Knigge, Rikola-Gunnar Lüttgenau, Harry Stein, *Konzentrationslager Buchenwald 1937-1945: Begleitband zur ständigen historischen Ausstellung* (Göttingen: Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, 1999), pp. 76-80; Pingel, *Häftlinge*, pp. 91-96.

153 Barkow, Gross, and Lenarz (eds.), *Novembepogrom 1938*, pp. 571, 577, 582, and 587.

154 Schüler-Springorum, 'Masseneinweisungen', p. 162; Orth, *Das System*, p. 53.

155 Barkow, Gross, and Lenarz (eds.), *Novembepogrom 1938*, pp. 487 and 573.

they were able to present an exit visa or pledged to leave the country within a few days or weeks.

In a number of countries, the news of the extreme acts of violence led to a swing in public opinion in favour of Jewish refugees. The British government, with its willingness to take in Jewish children, set an example, and after the pogroms President Roosevelt recalled the US ambassador from Berlin. In general, however, immigration regulations were further tightened after the pogroms. In addition, the increased scramble for departure meant that emigration remained extremely difficult for German and Austrian Jews.

More than any other event before the beginning of the systematic deportations, the November pogroms marked a watershed in the collective consciousness of the Jews. In the preceding years of the National Socialist regime, the Jews in Germany had certainly been subject to victimization of many kinds and frequently also to antisemitically motivated violence on the part of their fellow countrymen, but in most cases these discriminatory acts were localized and more or less predictable.<sup>156</sup> The harassment of the Viennese Jews, which continued from mid March well into April 1938, however, made it clear that pogroms could occur not only in Russia or Romania but also in the midst of sophisticated bourgeois Vienna. After the pogrom night in November, those Jews who had thus far been unwilling to emigrate now feared for their lives. Even Victor Klemperer was left speechless. In his diary, an entry is not made again until 22 November: 'First illness, then the car accident, then, following the Grünspan shooting business in Paris, there came persecution, and since then the struggle to emigrate.' More than a year later, on New Year's Eve 1939, Klemperer noted, looking back at the persecution of the Jews and the first Christmas of the Second World War: 'I believe the pogroms of November '38 made less impression on the nation than cutting the bar of chocolate [ration] for Christmas.'<sup>157</sup>

The pogroms signified a turning point in anti-Jewish policy. In the preceding years the interrelationship between anti-Jewish terror on the part of the Party and SA rank and file, on the one hand, and antisemitic laws and administrative rules, on the other hand, had led to the successive radicalization of Jewish policies and the marginalization of the Jewish minority – although this was not a linear process but rather took place in a carefully considered manner, also based on considerations of expediency. After 9 November, the German leadership cast aside its remaining concerns about diplomatic entanglements or economic disadvantages. The consequences of the pogroms may not have been welcomed by all Nazi functionaries, but they all made use of the surge in radicalization to pursue objectives of their own. Göring may have thundered against the losses inflicted on the national economy by the pogroms, but he rejoiced at the newly created room for manoeuvre. Together with the Reich Ministry of Finance and the Reich Ministry of Economics, he now put into practice the long-delayed 'de-Jewification' of the economy and the dispossession of the Jews. The rapid succession of anti-Jewish measures in the days after 9 November shows that the state and Party institutions had carried out preparatory work in order to strike out in a major way against the Jews at a suitable opportunity.

<sup>156</sup> Michael Wildt, *Hitler's Volksgemeinschaft and the Dynamics of Racial Exclusion: Violence against Jews in Provincial Germany, 1919–1939*, trans. Bernard Heise (New York: Berghahn, 2012 [German edn, 2007]), p. 232.

<sup>157</sup> Klemperer, *I Shall Bear Witness*, pp. 332 and 394 (entries for 22 Nov. 1938 and 31 Dec. 1939).

Within six weeks, all the laws and regulations essential for that purpose appeared in the *Reichsgesetzblatt* (Reich Law Gazette). For the diplomats of the Reich Foreign Office, the international loss of reputation brought about by the pogroms certainly came at an inconvenient moment; nevertheless, the ministry demanded merely that it be involved, should any expropriation affecting foreign Jews take place (Doc. 146). Goebbels, who as Gauleiter of Berlin had long been urging that the capital should be made 'free of Jews', was in any case able to deliver a positive assessment after the extreme acts of violence, which had largely been directed by him. The same was true for the SA: it had been granted the prerogative of striking out, in contrast to the SS, which was enjoined to hold back. The SA's base, which otherwise only rarely had an opportunity to exhibit its own militancy, except during marches, was allowed to demonstrate its old strength and to run riot with regard to the Jews. Only in isolated instances were violations of the ban on looting or crimes ranging to murder punished afterwards.

In some respects, the antisemitic harassment may have come at an inopportune time also for the protagonists of controlled expulsion, such as the SD. But it seized the moment to bring into the discussion its proposals for visibly identifying and ghettoizing the Jews (Doc. 149) and extending to the Reich the Vienna-tested model of a central office for expulsion financed by the Jews themselves (Doc. 243). The responsibility for the systematic expulsion of the Jews and the police control of those remaining behind lay henceforth with the Security Police and the SD. The SD could now prove that its silent methods ultimately accomplished more than the pressure from the streets.<sup>158</sup> The basis for this belief was provided by the pogroms; after all, huge numbers of Jewish men were subsequently directly under the control of the Gestapo and the SS. From November 1938 on, arrests, interrogations, referrals to concentration camps, and expulsions through an expedited procedure were among the traumatic experiences which scarcely any Jewish family was spared.

After the November pogroms, maintaining Jewish religious life became a struggle. Each community strived to find places of worship after the destruction of the synagogues and the confiscation of other communal institutions, to find replacements for the rabbis, teachers, and spiritual leaders who had been arrested and thereafter emigrated on a large scale, and to cope with diminishing numbers of community members. In the small towns and villages, the increased rate of emigration led to the dissolution of many communities. Other communities upheld their adherence to religious life, in spite of the persecution. This was especially noticeable in Lower Franconia. The situation grew steadily worse all over Germany, however, as prayer venues and other Jewish property continued to be confiscated by the German authorities.

### *The 'De-Jewification' of the Economy*

By 1938, around 50 to 70 per cent of Jewish businesses, depending on local circumstances, had already been sold or liquidated. In Heidelberg, for example, 51.5 per cent of the sixty-six retail and wholesale operations that had existed in 1933 were affected. Two

<sup>158</sup> Herbert, *Best*, p. 221.

thirds of these Aryanized firms had been liquidated and one third sold.<sup>159</sup> At the end of 1938, the pogroms provided the opportunity to rigorously implement the 'definitive elimination' of the Jews from the economy, a measure that had long been desired and for which preparations had been under way for months.

On 12 November a discussion, chaired by Göring, about future Jewish policy took place in the Reich Ministry of Aviation. More than one hundred ministers, state secretaries, and top officials, including Adolf Eichmann, participated. Göring declared that the Führer had tasked him with ensuring that the Jewish question be 'settled in one way or another' (Doc. 146). He announced the rapid Aryanization of the economy, with priority given to retail shops because they were most readily visible to the public. The Aryanization of larger enterprises was something Göring reserved for the Office of the Four-Year Plan, which he headed. As in Vienna, firms were to be shut down in those branches of the economy where there was 'an excess' of them. Buyers of Aryanized businesses were to be selected on the basis of objective criteria, Party members given preference only by way of exception, and proceeds from the sales transferred into the state coffers.

The very same day, the government published the 'Regulation on the Atonement Fine on Jews of German Nationality' in the *Reichsgesetzblatt*, levying on Jewish Germans a fine of 1 billion Reichsmarks (Doc. 142). How this sum was to be raised was decided by the Reich Minister of Finance. He converted the 'atonement' (*Sühneleistung*), frequently also known as the 'Jewish penance' (*Judenbuße*), into a property tax of 20 per cent, to be paid in four instalments and 'without special prompting' on 15 December 1938 and 15 February, 15 May, and 15 August 1939.<sup>160</sup> On 18 November 1938 the representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs noted with regard to another in-house speech given by Göring the day before: 'Reich's finances in extremely critical condition. Short-term relief firstly from the billion demanded of Jews and also state profits from Aryanization of Jewish businesses.' The representative of the Reich Ministry of Finance to the Reichsbank feared during these days 'that the Reich won't be able to pay its debts'. Because the money extorted from the Jews was not immediately available, on 23 November 1938 the representatives of the big German banks offered 'to provide the Reich financial administration with a line of credit secured by Jewish securities to be acquired in the future'.<sup>161</sup>

159 According to Barkai, the number of Jewish firms dropped by 60 to 70 per cent during this period: Avraham Barkai, "'Schicksalsjahr 1938": Kontinuität und Verschärfung der wirtschaftlichen Ausplünderung der deutschen Juden', in Pehle (ed.), *Der Judenpogrom 1938*, pp. 94–117, here p. 96; Arno Weckbecker, *Die Judenverfolgung in Heidelberg 1933–1945* (Heidelberg: Müller Juristischer Verlag, 1985), p. 122.

160 Implementing Regulation on the Atonement Fine on Jews, 21 Nov. 1938, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, pp. 1638–1640. The reported assets of the German Jews actually amounted to 7.1 billion Reichsmarks. However, the Reich Ministry of Finance had subtracted the real estate and business assets, and determined that the liquid component totalled 4.8 billion Reichsmarks (savings accounts and securities). The Reich Minister of Finance decreed the 20 per cent property tax on this basis. Right after the war began, he raised it to 25 per cent: Second Implementing Regulation on the Atonement Fine on Jews, 19 Oct. 1939, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1939, I, p. 2059; see also Martin Friedenberger, *Fiskalische Ausplünderung: Die Berliner Steuer- und Finanzverwaltung und die jüdische Bevölkerung 1933–1945* (Berlin: Metropol, 2008), pp. 197–243; Christiane Kuller, *Bürokratie und Verbrennen: Antisemitische Finanzpolitik und Verwaltungspraxis im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2013).

161 Cited in Aly, *Hitler's Beneficiaries*, pp. 47–50.

For the damage incurred during the night of the pogroms, the injured parties were to be held financially liable. If they were insured, the insurance companies paid for the damage, though these payments – in close cooperation with the insurance companies – were confiscated in their entirety and credited to the Reich.

Furthermore, from then on Jews were no longer allowed to operate independent skilled craft enterprises, retail outlets, market stalls, or mail-order businesses (Doc. 143). On 3 December a regulation was issued that prohibited Jews from selling, without a permit, businesses, securities, jewellery, gold, works of art, antiquities, and real estate; if the sale was authorized by the state, the Jewish sellers had to invest the proceeds in Reich bonds, so-called 'Reich promissory notes' (*Reichsschuldscheine*) (Doc. 193). The same day, Himmler's police regulation was issued, declaring the driving licences of Jews invalid. On 5 December there was another cut in the pensions of retired Jewish civil servants.<sup>162</sup>

The meeting of 12 November was followed by a series of discussions, in which the practical consequences of the new course of anti-Jewish policy were considered and organizational measures agreed upon. On 6 December, Göring assembled the Gauleiter in the Reich Ministry of Aviation. In his address, he once again warned the Party representatives emphatically against violent excess and personal enrichment.<sup>163</sup> In addition, he impressed on them that they must not interfere in the Aryanization of the economy and that the proceeds should benefit solely the Reich. He referred repeatedly to decisions made by Hitler during the previous weeks. According to these decisions, there was to be no requirement for Jews to wear identifying markers, at least for the time being, and the setting up of specific residential districts for the Jews was to proceed only gradually and was under no circumstances to be mentioned in the press.

On 9 December, Heydrich and his deputy, the chief of administration in the Gestapo Central Office, Werner Best, announced the planned measures to the heads of the regional State Police offices. On 16 December, the Regierungspräsidenten and Reichsstatthalter were informed of the latest decisions. At the conference in the Reich Ministry of Aviation on 12 November, Heydrich had proposed far-reaching measures, which, though not implemented immediately, would prove to be indicative of future Jewish policy. Heydrich's suggestion that restricted areas be set up for Jews was reflected in a police regulation of 28 November that limited the Jews' freedom of movement in public places. One month later, Göring decreed, in addition to the prohibition on using railway sleeping and dining cars, a 'Jew ban' (*Judenbann*) for certain public buildings. He also ordered the setting up of so-called 'Jew houses' (*Judenhäuser*), in which Jews were to be concentrated in the medium term (Doc. 215). In Berlin, Albert Speer, as General Building Inspector for the Reich capital, had been urging for months that Jewish tenants of large apartments should be forcibly resettled to gain more creative leeway for the plans to erect new buildings (Doc. 101).

162 Seventh Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law, 5 Dec. 1938, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, p. 1751.

163 Heim and Aly, 'Staatliche Ordnung', p. 395.

### *Between the Pogroms and the Outbreak of War*

After six years of National Socialist rule, most Aryan Germans had accepted that Jews could not be part of the *Volkgemeinschaft*.<sup>164</sup> They regarded the ‘emigration’ of the Jews as a situation that did not need further scrutiny or questioning. On 30 January 1939, Hitler announced in his speech to the Reichstag that, in the event of a new world war for which ‘international Jewish financiers’ were responsible, ‘the result will be the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe’ (Doc. 248). With these words, Hitler was not yet formulating a concrete plan for genocide, even though it may seem that way in retrospect. He was ascribing in advance the guilt for an imminent war to ‘the Jews’. With his threat, he increased the pressure at home for expulsion as well as the pressure on other countries to accept the persecuted. He signalled to both the potential countries of refuge and the Jewish organizations, which were following with scepticism the negotiations concerning the Schacht–Rublew Plan, that Jews were not safe in Germany in the long term.<sup>165</sup> Hitler’s speech increased the panic of the German Jews and made it clear to them that in the event of war, they would be the first victims, particularly as the openly but vaguely articulated threats of annihilation addressed to the Jews had been multiplying since the November pogroms and phrases such as ‘final solution to the Jewish question’ were cropping up in the newspapers (Doc. 148).

On 10 December 1938, Heydrich announced the founding of a ‘Reich Association for Jewish Emigration Aid’, which was eventually established under the name ‘Reich Central Agency for Jewish Emigration’ in January 1939 (Doc. 243). The founding came about in the context of a comprehensive reorganization of Jewish establishments in Germany, which was partly imposed and partly co-created by Jewish representatives under duress. After the November pogroms, all the administrative offices and contact centres of the Jewish communities and organizations had been shut down by the Gestapo. In accordance with the precepts of SD Jewish policy and Eichmann’s Viennese model, the organization of Jewry was now to be centralized in the Old Reich, too, and aligned more closely with the objective of forced emigration.

Independently and for other reasons, the Reich Representation of Jews, headed by Leo Baeck (1873–1956), had already been discussing an organizational revamp for several months.<sup>166</sup> As a result of the new legal situation, the Jewish representatives feared a decline in membership: after April 1938, the Jewish communities no longer had the status of corporations under public law, to which all members of the Jewish religious community belonged as a matter of course; instead, they now had to formally join the communities, which henceforth were dealt with under the law governing associations (Doc. 23). The Reich Representation believed that this development could be counteracted by founding a new umbrella organization. While centralization seemed suspect to the persecutors before the pogroms, the SD supported such a step soon afterwards. In February 1939 the Reich Representation was reorganized and became the Reich Association of Jews in Germany, established by law on 4 July 1939 with the Tenth Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law.

164 Bajohr and Pohl, *Der Holocaust als offenes Geheimnis*, p. 43.

165 Longerich, *Holocaust*, pp. 124–125.

166 Otto Dov Kulka (ed.), *Deutsches Judentum unter dem Nationalsozialismus*, vol. 1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), pp. 410–430.

Certainly, the Reich Association differed on significant points from its democratically structured precursor institution. The communities had no voice in matters of the umbrella organization, whose representatives were appointed rather than elected and were answerable to the Gestapo, later to the Reich Security Main Office.<sup>167</sup> An additional major difference from the old organization, which had been built on the basis of religious affiliation, was that from now on, everyone who was regarded as a Jew under the Nuremberg Laws had to belong to the new Reich Association. So-called ‘full Jews’ (*Volljuden*) or ‘Jews by definition’ (*Geltungsjuden*) who had converted to Christianity were also required to belong.<sup>168</sup> The German Jews were thus forced to apply the criterion of race within their own ranks.<sup>169</sup>

Despite the extensive organizational changes, the same individuals who had previously worked for the Reich Representation continued to work for the Reich Association, in the same offices on Kantstraße in Berlin and with the same priorities, though with dwindling room for manoeuvre and under firmer control.<sup>170</sup> Leo Baeck retained the role of president for the Reich Association too; its routine business, however, was handled primarily by Otto Hirsch (1885–1941) and Paul Eppstein (1902–1944). They had to report regularly to the Gestapo and received instructions from it. After every summons to the Gestapo, Eppstein and Hirsch prepared a written record, and in their convoluted, often sterile formulations the power relationships are revealed in a bleak and distressing fashion (Docs. 204, 259, 297).

On the one hand, the employees of the Reich Association were subject to the orders, arbitrariness, and excesses of German police officials, and in case of doubt they bore personal responsibility for the compliance of German Jews as a whole with the demands of the Reich authorities. On the other hand, they obeyed their own ethic of responsibility, their sense of duty, and some were doubtless guided by personal ambition as well. They saw that they were frequently being exploited, yet attempted nonetheless to make the conditions of life as tolerable as possible for those persecuted.

After the November pogroms, the Reich Association had the task of reconstructing the Jewish school system. Jewish school pupils were now permanently prohibited from being taught in state schools. In some cases, Jewish schools had been destroyed during

167 On the history of the Reich Representation and the Reich Association, see Herbert Strauss, ‘Jewish Autonomy within the Limits of National Socialist Policy: The Communities and the Reichsvertretung’, in Arnold Paucker, *Die Juden im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland 1933–1943* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1986), pp. 125–152; Otto Dov Kulka, ‘The Reichsvereinigung and the Fate of the German Jews, 1938/1939–1942’, *ibid.*, pp. 353–363; Kulka (ed.), *Deutsches Judentum*; Avraham Barkai, ‘Von Berlin nach Theresienstadt: Zur politischen Biographie von Leo Baeck 1933–1945’, in *Hoffnung und Untergang: Studien zur deutsch-jüdischen Geschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (Hamburg: Christians, 1998), pp. 141–166; Beate Meyer, ‘Gratwanderung zwischen Verantwortung und Verstrickung: Die Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland und die jüdische Gemeinde zu Berlin 1938–1945’, in Beate Meyer and Hermann Simon (eds.), *Juden in Berlin 1938–1945* (Berlin: Philo, 2000), pp. 291–338; Friedländer, *Nazi Germany*, vol. 1, pp. 60–61; Beate Meyer, *A Fatal Balancing Act: The Dilemma of the Reich Association of Jews in Germany, 1939–1945*, trans. William Templer (Oxford: Berghahn, 2013 [German edn, 2011]).

168 A *Volljude* was someone with three or four Jewish grandparents. *Geltungsjude* was used for people who had converted to Judaism for marriage purposes or for other reasons.

169 Rosenstrauch (ed.), *Aus Nachbarn wurden Juden*, p. 46.

170 Barkai, ‘Von Berlin nach Theresienstadt’, p. 152.

the pogroms; in others, the teachers had been arrested.<sup>171</sup> In addition, the employees of the Reich Association were concerned with accelerating emigration and, with this in mind, retraining the younger Jews in vocational courses. Increasing numbers of Jewish establishments were closed; prominent representatives of Jewry, who until then had regarded it as their duty to maintain Jewish life in Germany – even if only for a transitional period – now emigrated. Jewish schools were transferred abroad; Zionists, who until then had prepared young people for life in Palestine and accompanied them to the Promised Land, now decided not to return to Germany.

Hopelessness and depression spread among those who had no prospect of emigration. In November 1938 there was a marked increase in the number of Jews in the Reich who took their own lives. According to estimates, the figure was between 300 and 500 – the highest level reached since the dismissal of the Jewish civil servants and the boycott in the spring months of 1933, and one not reached again until the beginning of the deportations in autumn 1941. It was most notably those over the age of 50, and more women than men, who lost the courage to face life as a result of the terror during the pogroms and the humiliating antisemitic regulations. Some, still living in their devastated homes, committed suicide along with their spouse or siblings (Doc. 225). The 76-year-old former teacher Hedwig Jastrow took her own life at the end of November 1938. In her suicide note, she made it clear that her death was neither a sudden irrational act nor an accident. She could not bear the humiliation of having to adopt the mandatory name ‘Sara’ (Doc. 181).

Sometimes it was concrete threats, for example, from the Gestapo, or existential fears that made death seem the only way out, but often the cause was general, profound despair. Many of those who ended their own lives under extreme pressure had long been preparing for this step: the barbiturate Veronal, which most Jews used to commit suicide, was difficult to obtain and dispensed only in small quantities, and doctors who could prescribe it were subject to strict controls. The increased frequency of suicide is reported in many private records; it was evidently not uncommon for Jews to know of several cases of suicide or attempted suicide in their circle of acquaintances alone (Docs. 123, 153, 170, 185, 225, 291). In the years that followed, this last resort became an increasingly natural choice.<sup>172</sup>

When the German leadership escalated the conflict with Poland in the summer of 1939 and was ever more clearly headed for war, Hitler’s ‘proclamation’ of January that

171 Joseph Walk, *Jüdische Schule und Erziehung im Dritten Reich* (Frankfurt am Main: A. Hain, 1991), pp. 205–215; Monika Richarz, ‘Zwischen Berlin und New York: Adolf Leschnitzer, der erste Professor für jüdische Geschichte in der Bundesrepublik’, in Jürgen Matthäus and Klaus-Michael Mallmann (eds.), *Deutsche, Juden, Völkermord: Der Holocaust als Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006), pp. 73–86. On the consequences of the pogroms for Jewish school pupils, see Robert Goldmann, *Flucht in die Welt: Ein Lebensweg nach New York* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1996), pp. 70–72; Eva Wohl, *So einfach liegen die Dinge nicht: Erinnerungen von Deutschland nach Israel* (Bonn: Lempertz, 2004), pp. 69–72.

172 Konrad Kwiet, ‘The Ultimate Refuge: Suicide in the Jewish Community under the Nazis’, *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book*, vol. 29 (1984), pp. 135–168; Konrad Kwiet and Helmut Eschwege, *Selbstbehauptung und Widerstand: Deutsche Juden im Kampf um Existenz und Menschenwürde 1933–1945* (Hamburg: Christians, 1984), pp. 194–215; Christian Goeschel, ‘Suicides of German Jews in the Third Reich’, *German History*, vol. 25, no. 1 (2007), pp. 22–45; Anna Fischer, *Erzwungener Freitod: Spuren und Zeugnisse in den Freitod getriebener Juden der Jahre 1938–1945* (Berlin: Textpunkt Verlag Edition Berlin, 2007); Christian Goeschel, *Suicide in Nazi Germany* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 96–118.

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year became a concrete threat for German Jews. On 14 August, Victor Klemperer noted, 'The same tension for weeks, always growing and always unchanged. Vox populi: He attacks in September, partitions Poland with Russia, England–France are impotent.' Some of Klemperer's acquaintances opined, 'He does not dare attack, keeps the peace and stays in power for years. Jewish opinion: bloody pogrom on the first day of the war. Whichever of these three things may happen: our situation is desperate.'<sup>173</sup>

173 Klemperer, *I Shall Bear Witness*, p. 370 (entry for 14 August 1939).



## List of Documents

- 1 On 1 January 1938 Amalie Malsch writes to her son in the USA about waiting to emigrate
- 2 On 5 January 1938 Reichsführer SS Heinrich Himmler orders the expulsion of Soviet Jews from Germany
- 3 On 14 January 1938 the Munich Gestapo notes that Jewish *Mischlinge* with illegitimate children are not forbidden to meet with one other
- 4 On 19 January 1938 the director of the Reich Archives calls on the Reich Minister of the Interior to forbid Jews to use the archives
- 5 On 27 January 1938 Luise Solmitz describes her daughter's social exclusion
- 6 *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 27 January 1938: article on the economic restrictions placed on Jews and the consequences for their emigration prospects
- 7 *Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt*, 30 January 1938: article in which the Relief Association of German Jews promotes the emigration of women
- 8 On 30 January 1938 Rabbi Löwenstamm asks his colleague Max Dienemann for advice on whether a child from a mixed marriage may be accepted into the Jewish faith
- 9 In January 1938 a fifth-year school pupil writes an essay on the subject of Jews
- 10 *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, 3 February 1938: article on the prospects for Jewish youth
- 11 *Berliner Tageblatt*, 3 February 1938: article about the Jews in Poland
- 12 On 13 February 1938 the Oberpräsident of East Prussia writes to the German Council of Municipalities to ask how to deal with Jewish female patients in the Regional Women's Hospital
- 13 *Neues Volk*, February 1938: article about international antisemitism
- 14 On 2 March 1938 Luise Solmitz writes about discriminatory regulations against Jews
- 15 *Völkischer Beobachter*, 14 March 1938: article on the *Gleichschaltung* of the Viennese press
- 16 On 15 March 1938 the NSDAP Kreisleiter in Leipzig reports to the Gauleitung of Saxony on the measures taken thus far against Jews
- 17 David Schapira reports on the mistreatment of Viennese Jews in early 1938 following the Anschluss
- 18 Karl Sass describes the mood in Vienna in the spring of 1938 and the Anschluss of Austria
- 19 On 18 March 1938 Jay Pierrepont Moffat, chief of the Division of European Affairs at the State Department, describes conditions for Austrian Jews
- 20 On 19 March 1938 Hermann Göring commissions Wilhelm Keppler with the Aryanization of the economy in Austria
- 21 On 19 March 1938 the Reichsstatthalter in Hamburg states the terms for the Aryanization of the M. M. Warburg & Co. Bank

- 22 On 23 March 1938 Albert Herzfeld of Düsseldorf gives an account of the Anschluss of Austria and preparations for the plebiscite
- 23 The Law on the Legal Status of the Jewish Religious Communities, dated 28 March 1938, deprives the Jewish communities of their status as corporations under public law
- 24 On 6 April 1938 the Reich Minister of Finance plans additional discriminatory measures concerning the taxation of Jews
- 25 On 9 April 1938 the Vienna Main Office of the SS Security Service documents raids against Freemasons
- 26 *Neue Freie Presse*, Vienna, 13 April 1938: article about anti-Jewish legislation in Hungary
- 27 Jewish Telegraphic Agency, New York, 14 April 1938: reports on the situation of Jews in Austria and reactions in the USA
- 28 On 24 April 1938 Julius Steinfeld describes his efforts to help the Orthodox Jews of Burgenland to emigrate
- 29 A regulation of 26 April 1938 requires Jews to register their assets under penalty of fines and prison terms
- 30 On 27 and 28 April 1938 Luise Solmitz notes her reaction to the instructions for the registration of assets
- 31 *Aufbau*, New York, 1 May 1938: article on the pogroms in Vienna
- 32 *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 3 May 1938: article about anti-Jewish measures in Germany and their significance for foreign Jews
- 33 *Correspondance Juive*, 6 May 1938: article on the persecution and expulsion of Austria's Jews following the Anschluss
- 34 On 8 May 1938 Adolf Eichmann tells his friend and superior Herbert Hagen how he monitors the Viennese Jews
- 35 *New York Times*, 15 May 1938: article on the poverty of the Jewish communities and the demographic consequences of anti-Jewish policy
- 36 Questionnaire on 'racial belonging' for the census planned for May 1938, later filled in by Mr and Mrs Klemperer
- 37 On 31 May 1938 the Berlin Chamber of Industry and Commerce informs the tool manufacturer Fleck & Co. that it is not permitted to train Jewish apprentices
- 38 In May 1938 Felice Schragenheim reflects on her job prospects as an immigrant
- 39 On 1 June 1938 Reinhard Heydrich instructs the regional Criminal Police headquarters to intern so-called asocials and previously convicted Jews in Buchenwald concentration camp
- 40 Memorandum from Munich's municipal building director dated 9 June 1938 regarding the order for the demolition of the synagogue on Herzog-Max-/Maxburgstraße
- 41 On 14 June 1938 Luise Solmitz writes about antisemitic taunts from children
- 42 On 14 June 1938 Reich Minister of the Interior Wilhelm Frick outlines his plans to dispossess the Jews and drive them out of the economy

- 43 *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 15 June 1938: article on the application of German citizenship law for the purpose of excluding Jews
- 44 On 17 June 1938 Paul Strauss asks Frankfurt's Municipal School Authority to exempt his son from attendance at a secondary school
- 45 On 20 June 1938 the SS Security Service considers the role of the Reichsbank and the Schlie Travel Agency in the emigration of Austrian Jews
- 46 On 21 June 1938 the head of the Israelite Religious Community reports on the school situation for Jewish schoolchildren in Vienna
- 47 On 22 June 1938 the US ambassador to Berlin informs his secretary of state about anti-Jewish demonstrations and arrests of Jews
- 48 *Völkischer Beobachter*, 23 June 1938: article about Joseph Goebbels's speech at Berlin's Olympic Stadium, in which he announced new anti-Jewish measures
- 49 On 24 June 1938 the Reich Board for Economic Efficiency makes suggestions regarding the Aryanization of the Austrian shoe trade
- 50 On 27 June 1938 the Viennese Ministry of the Interior and Culture protests against the Gestapo's appointment of Josef Löwenherz as head of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna
- 51 On 30 June 1938 the headmaster of the Chayes Grammar School in Vienna asks the University of Jerusalem to admit Jewish school pupils and students from Vienna
- 52 A former prisoner describes the detention conditions in Buchenwald concentration camp in June 1938
- 53 *Blätter des Jüdischen Frauenbundes*, June 1938: article about the role of women after emigration
- 54 The wine exporter Frederick Weil from Frankfurt travels through Germany in the early summer of 1938
- 55 *Amtsblatt der Stadt Wien*, 1 July 1938: announcement of the segregation of Jewish schoolchildren and the introduction of a *numerus clausus* at middle schools
- 56 Report by the SS Security Service dated 1 July 1938 about preparations for the international refugee conference in Evian
- 57 *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 7 July 1938: article about the contribution of anthropologists and statisticians to the study of the 'Jewish question'
- 58 On 8 July 1938 the NSDAP Gauleiter in Vienna suggests appropriating and auctioning off the property of Jews who have fled
- 59 On 8 July 1938 Max Kreutzberger reports on the Evian Conference
- 60 On 11 July 1938 the board of directors of the Talmud Torah School requests support from the Hamburg school authorities
- 61 On 12 July 1938 the Argentine Ministry of Foreign Affairs instructs all ambassadors not to issue visas to anyone who is unwelcome in their country of origin
- 62 On 14 July 1938 Reich Commissioner Josef Bürckel presents Hermann Göring with his ideas regarding Aryanization in Austria

- 63 On 15 July 1938 a Viennese shoe manufacturer points out to the Asset Transfer Office that the shoe industry is not sufficiently involved in 'Aryanization decisions'
- 64 *Völkischer Beobachter*, 16 July 1938: article on the Evian Conference
- 65 *Wiener Tagblatt*, 17 July 1938: article on the termination of leases to Jewish tenants
- 66 On 19 July 1938 the Israelite Religious Community reports on the work of the various community institutions and conditions for the Viennese Jews
- 67 On 20 July 1938 the Economic Group for Private Banking provides information about measures for scrutinizing the safe-deposit boxes of Jewish customers
- 68 On 20 July 1938 Berlin's chief of police issues guidelines for the discrimination against Jews
- 69 On 22 July 1938 the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna asks the Gestapo to release arrested women from Mattersburg in Burgenland
- 70 On 25 July 1938 Abraham Tauber Rubin of Vienna seeks a sponsor to enable him to emigrate with his family
- 71 *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, 28 July 1938: article on the founding of a Reich Federation of Jews in Germany
- 72 *Hamburger Anzeiger*, 28 July 1938: article on the introduction of the identity card for German citizens
- 73 On 1 August 1938 a provincial office of the German Council of Municipalities asks the central office in Berlin whether public contracts may be awarded to 'half-Jews'
- 74 On 3 August 1938 the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna submits proposals to the municipal administration of the city regarding the accommodation of elderly and care-dependent Jews
- 75 On 3 August 1938 the head of the Swiss Police for Foreign Nationals, Heinrich Rothmund, speaks to the German envoy in Bern about refugees being deported across the unfortified land border
- 76 On 5 August 1938 Hertha Nathorff notes her reaction to the revocation of the licences of Jewish physicians
- 77 Reichs-Kredit-Gesellschaft memorandum regarding a conversation with Hermann Josef Abs on 9 August 1938 about the Aryanization of the leather manufacturer Adler & Oppenheimer
- 78 On 11 August 1938 the Reichsbank is requested to make its director Richard Buzzi available for cooperation with the Central Office for Jewish Emigration
- 79 On 12 August 1938 the head of the SD Main District Danube reports to the Security Main Office in Berlin concerning the illegal emigration of Jews from Vienna
- 80 On 12 August 1938 the Episcopal Ordinariate of Berlin appeals to all German bishops to form aid organizations for Catholics who are regarded as Jews
- 81 On 13 August 1938 Siegfried Gerstle of Munich applies to have his assets converted into foreign currency under the Altreu scheme
- 82 On 16 August 1938 Mrs Marx asks the Pope for help, given the difficult position of non-Aryan Catholics

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- 83 On 17 August 1938 David Heimann, 75, president by seniority of the Jewish Community of Berlin, requests a certificate of urgency for emigration to Palestine
  - 84 A regulation, dated 17 August 1938, forces Jews to adopt the first names 'Sara' and 'Israel'
  - 85 On 19 August 1938 Hildegard Wagener reports on the unforeseen course of a political training evening
  - 86 On 24 August 1938 Luise Solmitz writes about the introduction of compulsory first names for Jews
  - 87 On 24 August 1938 Mr and Mrs Malsch of Düsseldorf write to their son in New York about efforts to emigrate and an imminent occupational ban
  - 88 On 25 August 1938 the situation of Jews in Germany is summed up in a report to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee
  - 89 On 29 August 1938 the NSDAP Gauleitung for the Lower Danube complains to the NSDAP Main Office for People's Welfare about the conversion of a synagogue into a Protestant church
  - 90 *Aufbau*, New York, 1 September 1938: article on the introduction of mandatory first names for Jews
  - 91 On 10 September 1938 customs investigators in Halle accuse Ernst Petschek of using a front man to conceal his shareholdings
  - 92 On 14 September 1938 Adolf Eichmann informs the Security Main Office in Berlin about the expulsion of destitute Jews from Vienna
  - 93 Julian Kretschmer from Emden describes the closure of his doctor's practice in the late summer of 1938
  - 94 On 16 September 1938 the Relief Association of German Jews issues information regarding the conditions for emigration to Bolivia
  - 95 On 22 September 1938 the SS Security Service proposes converting retraining camps for Jews into labour camps in the event of war
  - 96 Meeting in the Reich Ministry of Justice on 22 September 1938 regarding the abolition of tenant protection laws for Jews, and the impoverishment and possible ghettoization of the Jews
  - 97 On 23 September 1938 the NSDAP Kreisleiter in Jena intervenes in the Aryanization of local livestock farming
  - 98 Under pressure from Reich Commissioner Josef Bürckel, on 24 September 1938 the League of Austrian Industrialists revokes the call to dismiss Jewish *Mischlinge* from private businesses
  - 99 Note, dated 27 September 1938, from the Warburg secretary's office regarding a German businessman's offer to sell his company in Argentina
  - 100 Robert B. Lawrence on the Aryanization of his Vienna apartment in September 1938
  - 101 On 6 October 1938 Albert Speer asks the Reich Ministry of Economics to support the mass termination of the leases of Jewish tenants in Berlin

- 102 *Jewish Chronicle*, 7 October 1938: article on conditions for Jews after Germany's invasion of the Sudetenland
- 103 *Selbstwehr. Jüdisches Volksblatt*, 8 October 1938: article on conditions for Jews in the border areas of Czechoslovakia
- 104 On 9 October 1938 Ruth Maier describes the despair of Jewish families in Vienna
- 105 On 11 October 1938 the Reich Institute for Labour Placement in Austria reports to Reich Commissioner Josef Bürckel about the difficulties involved in deploying Jews for forced labour
- 106 On 14 October 1938 the World Jewish Congress analyses the situation of Jews in Europe
- 107 Discussion on 14 October 1938 in Hermann Göring's office about economic preparations for war and the Aryanization process
- 108 On 16 October 1938 Police Sergeant Witzel writes to the Public Prosecutor's Office in Marburg to report on the smashing in of the windows and doors of the homes of Jews in Zwesten
- 109 On 21 October 1938 Adolf Eichmann reports to the SD Main Office in Berlin that 350 Jews are emigrating daily from Austria
- 110 On 27 October 1938 the Reich Minister of Economics informs the foreign currency offices that Jews can no longer claim a tax exemption when exporting foreign currency
- 111 On 27 October 1938 Austria's state commissioner for private industry proposes the creation of labour camps for Jews
- 112 On 28 October 1938 the Munich police note that 568 Jews of Polish nationality were arrested
- 113 Rabbi Arthur Bluhm reports on the deportation of Polish Jews from Krefeld on 28 October 1938
- 114 On 28 October 1938 the Relief Association of German Jews warns of problems regarding emigration to Shanghai
- 115 On 28 October 1938 Cornelius von Berenberg-Gossler learns of the impending deportation of a Jewish female acquaintance to Poland
- 116 Report by the SS Security Service, dated 28 October 1938, about the Austrian Jewish organizations
- 117 Questionnaire from the Reich Representation of Jews in Germany concerning the planned admission of Eva Oppenheim to Australia, dated 31 October 1938
- 118 Gerta Pfeffer describes the deportation of Polish Jews from Chemnitz in October 1938
- 119 The legal advisor to the Central Association of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith, Kurt Sabatzky, reports on boycotts, arrests, and forced labour in Leipzig and the vicinity in the autumn of 1938
- 120 Max Moses Polke reports on the final months of his work as a lawyer in Breslau, which ended on 3 November 1938

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- 121 On 7 November 1938 Ruth Maier describes the anxiety of the Viennese Jews following the assassination attempt on Ernst vom Rath
  - 122 On 8 November 1938 the Nuremberg Gestapo has Adolf Hitler informed about the number of deported Jews of Polish nationality
  - 123 Gerda Kappes tells her mother-in-law about the pogroms in Bebra on 7 and 9 November 1938
  - 124 Joseph Goebbels's diary entries concerning the evening of 9 November 1938 and the instructions for the November pogroms
  - 125 Directives of the Gestapo Central Office for the pogrom, 9 November 1938, 23:55 p.m.
  - 126 At 1:20 a.m. on 10 November 1938, Reinhard Heydrich specifies the instructions from the Gestapo Central Office for the pogrom
  - 127 On 10 November 1938 the Swiss legation summarizes for the Reich Foreign Office the agreements reached on the marking of passports held by Jews
  - 128 Ludwig Goldstein reports on the destruction of the synagogue in Königsberg, Prussia, on 9 and 10 November 1938
  - 129 On 10 November 1938 the Vienna Gestapo reports on the confiscation of a library and the destruction of a synagogue
  - 130 Max Reiner from Berlin describes how he escaped arrest on 10 November 1938
  - 131 Rabbi Arthur Bluhm describes the pogrom in Krefeld and his arrest on 10 November 1938
  - 132 On 10 November 1938 the Security Police submit a request for the denaturalization of Siegfried Gumbel and his family
  - 133 The Gauleiter of Vienna, Odilo Globocnik, reports on the arrest of Jews and the confiscation of their property following the pogrom
  - 134 SA members from Lesum fatally shoot three Jews in their apartments during the night of 9/10 November 1938
  - 135 On 11 November 1938 the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna asks the Central Office for Jewish Emigration to work towards a moderation of the campaign of anti-Jewish terror
  - 136 On 11 November 1938 the Bavarian Minister of the Interior informs the Bavarian Minister President about the conclusion and consequences of the pogrom night
  - 137 On 11 November 1938 SA Brigadeführer Karl Lucke gives notification of the destruction of thirty-six synagogues in Hesse
  - 138 On 11 November 1938 Ruth Maier describes the pogrom and the mistreatment and arrest of Jews in Vienna
  - 139 On 11 November 1938 Reinhard Heydrich orders Adolf Eichmann to travel to Berlin to discuss future anti-Jewish policy
  - 140 On 11 November 1938 Hildegard Wagener expresses her indignation at the violence against Jews

- 141 On 11 November 1938 Reich Minister of the Interior Wilhelm Frick prohibits Jews from owning weapons
- 142 On 12 November 1938 Hermann Göring imposes a compulsory levy of 1 billion Reichsmarks on Jews of German nationality
- 143 On 12 November 1938 Hermann Göring forbids Jews from operating retail businesses and skilled craft enterprises
- 144 On 12 November 1938 Hermann Göring decrees that Jews must cover the cost of damage resulting from the pogrom
- 145 On 12 November 1938 the Bonn resident Marie Kahle and her son are accused of sympathizing with Jews
- 146 Meeting chaired by Hermann Göring on 12 November 1938 regarding anti-Jewish policy after the pogrom
- 147 On 12 November 1938 Cell 08 of the Dornbusch branch of the NSDAP gathers information about wealthy Jews
- 148 Luise Solmitz's diary entries from 10 to 14 November 1938 on the November pogrom and new anti-Jewish rulings
- 149 On 14 November 1938 the SS Security Service presents five badge designs for identifying Jews
- 150 Cornelius von Berenberg-Gossler describes the arrests in his social circle from 11 to 15 November 1938
- 151 On 15 November 1938 the Swiss ambassador in Paris reports on his meeting with State Secretary Ernst von Weizsäcker regarding the expulsion of Jews from Germany
- 152 On 15 November 1938 the Reich Minister of Education prohibits Jewish pupils from attending school with non-Jews
- 153 On 15 November 1938 the apostolic nuncio in Berlin reports to the Vatican regarding the November pogrom
- 154 On 15 November 1938 the Chief of the Security Police informs the Reich Foreign Office about the establishment of a Reich association for the care of Jewish emigrants and Jews reliant on welfare
- 155 *The Times*, 15 November 1938: article on the situation of the Jews in the Reich
- 156 On 15 November 1938 a French diplomat in Berlin analyses the background to the pogroms and the resulting international tensions
- 157 *Norddeutsche Hausbesitzer-Zeitung*, 15 November 1938: article on the requirement to terminate leases with Jewish tenants
- 158 *Marienbader Zeitung*, 16 November 1938: article on the expulsion of Jews from the spa town
- 159 A decree issued on 16 November 1938 bans Jews from wearing uniforms
- 160 *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, 16 November 1938: article on the closure of Jewish businesses and their exclusion from housing cooperatives
- 161 Record of confiscated money, valuables, and furniture of the Jews in Markt Piesting, dated 18 November 1938

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- 162 Express letter from the Reich Minister of Economics regarding the Regulation on the Exclusion of Jews from German Economic Life, 18 November 1938
- 163 On 19 November 1938 a father from Beuthen writes to his daughter living abroad about events during the November pogrom
- 164 On 19 November 1938 Reich Minister of the Interior Wilhelm Frick orders that Jews in need may draw public welfare benefits only in exceptional cases
- 165 *Berliner Tageblatt*: announcement, dated 19 November 1938, on the establishment of separate sales outlets for Jews in Munich
- 166 On 21 November 1938 the Jewish Central Office in Stuttgart writes to the Gestapo to ask that Jewish facilities assisting with preparations for emigration are retained
- 167 On 21 November 1938 the Reich Minister of Economics lists the Jewish assets that are immediately available
- 168 On 22 November 1938 the Protestant Bishop Julius Kühlewein reports to the clergy of the regional church in Baden about the criticism voiced by the Ministry of Education regarding the treatment of the Bible story in religious instruction
- 169 On 23 November 1938 the Reich Minister of Economics and the Reich Minister of Justice regulate the forced sale and the closure of Jewish commercial and skilled craft enterprises
- 170 On 23 November 1938 Fritz Falk, Amsterdam, asks Sam van den Bergh to enable his family to emigrate to the Netherlands
- 171 On 23 November 1938 Ruth Spier describes to her friend Lilo what life is like at the Gehringshof Hachsharah Camp near Fulda
- 172 Conversation on 24 November 1938 between Adolf Hitler and the South African Minister Oswald Pirow about Germany's position of power in the world and the 'Jewish question'
- 173 *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 24 November 1938: article about the role of the Jews in German philosophy
- 174 On 24 November 1938 the Relief Association of German Jews begins to organize the emigration of children to the Netherlands
- 175 On 24 November 1938 representatives of the Reich Ministry of Economics and the big banks discuss the complete dispossession of the Jews
- 176 *Das Schwarze Korps*, 24 November 1938: article about the annihilation of the Jews
- 177 On 25 November 1938 Ernst Englander reports from London on the situation of German Jews and asks that possible relief campaigns be considered in the USA
- 178 On 26 November 1938 a local branch of the NSDAP in Berlin denounces a pharmacist who employs a Jew
- 179 On 25 and 26 November 1938 Cornelius von Berenberg-Gossler learns about the conditions of confinement in Sachsenhausen concentration camp
- 180 *Schlesische Zeitung*, 27 November 1938: article about the discriminatory legislation for *Mischlinge*

- 181 Hedwig Jastrow, age 76, takes her own life on 29 November 1938 so as not to have to bear the compulsory forename
- 182 On 29 November 1938 the SS Security Service reports that the Gestapo Central Office has ordered all Jewish organizations to merge into a single body
- 183 On 29 November 1938 the auditor Max Joseph asks the regional tax director in Berlin for permission to take furnishings with him to Australia
- 184 On 30 November 1938 Leopold Breisacher describes the situation for Jews after the November pogroms to his son, an emigrant in Palestine
- 185 American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee memorandum, dated 30 November 1938, on the consequences of the pogrom in various cities, as well as in Jewish retraining centres and in concentration camps
- 186 On 1 December 1938 the Reich Ministry of Education initiates a discussion about ways to saddle the Reich Representation of Jews in Germany with the costs for separate Jewish schools
- 187 The antisemitic worldview is summarized in the Wehrmacht's guidelines for service training, dated 1 December 1938
- 188 On 2 December 1938 the Office for Kinship Research in Vienna complains about the clergy's lax approach to ascertaining Jewish descent
- 189 *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 2 December 1938: article on the annual meeting of the Reich Institute for History of the New Germany
- 190 On 2 December 1938 the Gestapo appoints Max Plaut as manager of the Jewish Religious Association in Hamburg
- 191 On 2 December 1938 the German consulate general reports on the flight of the Jews from the Memel Territory and its economic consequences
- 192 Erik and Magda Geiershoefer from Allersberg describe how NSDAP functionaries confiscated their property in late November/early December 1938
- 193 A regulation dated 3 December 1938 addresses the forced sale of Jewish companies and the procedure regarding Jewish bonds
- 194 On 3 December 1938 the SS Security Service in Vienna offers the Racial Policy Office photos of emigrants from the files of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration
- 195 On 5 December 1938 the Landrat in Glatz instructs the mayor to provide information regarding the Aryanization of the retail sector
- 196 On 6 December 1938 the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna reports on complications for emigration following the arrest of Jewish men
- 197 On 6 December 1938 Benno Cohn from the Palestine Office in Berlin reports to Georg Landauer on emigration to Palestine and the imminent forced merger of Jewish organizations
- 198 On 5 and 6 December 1938 Luise Solmitz describes her fears of ghettoization and the expropriation of her house
- 199 On 7 December 1938 Gerda Erdmann from Berlin writes to the Pope to suggest ways in which the Catholic Church could solve the Jewish question

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- 200 On 9 December 1938 Cornelius von Berenberg-Gossler records his thoughts about the inhumane treatment of the Jews and its impact abroad
- 201 *Deutsches Recht*, 10 December 1938: article on the right to rescind a contract concluded in ignorance of the 'racial origins' of the contractual partner
- 202 On 11 December 1938 Ruth Maier of Vienna describes bidding farewell to her sister, who is travelling to Britain on a Kindertransport
- 203 On 16 December 1938 Max Karp writes to a relative about the situation of the Polish Jews expelled from Germany and now in the Zbąszyń camp
- 204 Paul Eppstein, summoned by the Berlin Gestapo on 16 December 1938, writes notes on the discussion of the payment of the cost of pogrom damage and the expulsion of stateless persons
- 205 On 17 December 1938 the Warburg Bank asks the Economic Group for Private Banking to simplify the sale of securities belonging to Jews
- 206 Hermann Krips's tax clearance certificate from the Frankfurt tax authorities, 19 December 1938
- 207 *New York Times*, 20 December 1938: article on Schacht's proposals for the emigration of the Jews and the transfer of their assets
- 208 On 21 December 1938 the Reich Minister of Education asks the Reich Minister of the Interior whether the emigration of Jewish university lecturers is to be prohibited
- 209 On 21 December 1938 the Chemnitz Youth and Welfare Office instructs its agencies to stop granting benefits to Jews
- 210 On 22 December 1938 the SS Security Service orders that the scrolls and sacred objects looted from synagogues must not fall into Jewish hands again
- 211 On 22 December 1938 the Jewish Central Office in Stuttgart records attacks on Jews in Bad Mergentheim
- 212 On 24 December 1938 Paul Fürstenberg reminds the Reichs-Kredit-Gesellschaft about its assurances in connection with the Aryanization of his firm
- 213 On 25 December 1938 youngsters from a Kindertransport report on their reception in Britain
- 214 On 27 December 1938 Adele Klinger of Vienna asks the Gestapo to release her husband from Buchenwald concentration camp
- 215 On 28 December 1938 Göring orders the establishment of 'Jew houses', forbids Jews to use sleeping carriages and dining cars, and regulates the status of mixed marriages
- 216 *Deutsches Volksblatt*, Vienna, 30 December 1938: article on the compulsory emigration of the Jews
- 217 On 30 December 1938 Cornelius von Berenberg-Gossler describes the funeral service for his business partner, who died in a psychiatric hospital
- 218 On 30 December 1938 Ehud Ueberall of the Youth Aliyah Information Centre reports on his efforts to place children from Vienna in the Netherlands or Britain
- 219 *NS-Frauen-Warte*, December 1938: article about reactions in Germany and abroad to the November pogroms

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- 220 Karl Sass from Vienna describes his attempts to emigrate illegally in December 1938
- 221 *Der Internationale Klassenkampf*, December 1938: article on the reactions of the German working class and the international bourgeoisie to the November pogroms
- 222 Rudolf Walter reports on the changes to Austrian cultural life after the Anschluss and on instances of mistreatment in police custody in 1938
- 223 In late 1938 the SS Security Service proposes the creation of a Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration
- 224 Fred Rodeck describes the bureaucracy at the Vienna Central Office for Jewish Emigration in late 1938
- 225 Rudolf Bing describes the November pogrom in Nuremberg and his emigration in late 1938
- 226 In 1938 Irmgard Keun describes the emigration experiences of Jews from a child's perspective
- 227 Siegfried Neumann from Berlin reports on his imprisonment in Sachsenhausen concentration camp in late 1938
- 228 The children's book *Der Giftpilz* (1938) explains the term *Ostjude*
- 229 Paul Martin Neurath reflects on sickness and death in a concentration camp in 1938
- 230 *Aufbau*, New York, 1 January 1939: editorial on negotiations on the transfer of Jewish assets from Germany
- 231 On 3 January 1939 Herbert Nothmann from Breslau asks a distant relative for help in emigrating
- 232 On 4 January 1939 Sigmund Geller in Paris attempts to facilitate the emigration of his sons and his wife from Vienna
- 233 *Jewish Chronicle*, London, 6 January 1939: report on refugee camps in different European countries
- 234 On 9 January 1939 the Jewish Central Office in Stuttgart appeals to the Gestapo for the release of sick inmates from Dachau
- 235 At Hermann Göring's request, on 10 January 1939 the Reich Minister of the Interior stipulates that no one be denounced on account of having previous contact with Jews
- 236 On 11 January 1939 the Department of German Studies at the University of Greifswald reports all books in its library holdings declared to be Jewish
- 237 *Völkischer Beobachter*, 12 January 1939: article on a series of lectures at Berlin University, in which renowned academics justify anti-Jewish policy
- 238 Report for the World Jewish Congress, dated 14 January 1939, on conditions for Jews in the Free City of Danzig
- 239 On 16 January 1939 the Reich Minister of Economics instructs municipal pawnbrokers on how to proceed with the jewellery and valuables of Jewish emigrants
- 240 On 17 and 18 January 1939 Nahum Goldmann records his impressions of talks with representatives of the League of Nations regarding legislation on Jews in Danzig

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- 241 *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, 20 January 1939: the Reich Representation of Jews in Germany announces the establishment of a transit camp for refugees in England
- 242 On 21 January 1939 Mrs D., who is looking for an apartment in Berlin, expresses her hopes that leases to Jewish tenants will be terminated
- 243 On 24 January 1939 Hermann Göring orders the founding of the Reich Central Agency for Jewish Emigration
- 244 On 25 January 1939 the Reich Foreign Office outlines to the German representations abroad the importance of the 'Jewish question' for foreign policy
- 245 On 26 January 1939 the mayor of Friedrichstadt writes to the Landrat in Schleswig to approve the sale of Jewish property below its market value
- 246 Oscar Schloss describes his departure from Germany on 26 January 1939
- 247 *Deutsche Steuer-Zeitung und Wirtschaftlicher Beobachter*: article dated 28 January 1939 on the Levy on Jewish Assets
- 248 On 30 January 1939 Adolf Hitler threatens to annihilate the European Jews
- 249 On 2 February 1939 the president of the Viennese branch office of the Reich Institute for Labour Placement and Unemployment Insurance considers using Jewish forced labourers
- 250 On 6 February 1939 Paula Schwab asks the Relief Agency for the Evacuation of Children to arrange accommodation abroad for her son
- 251 SS Security Service memorandum, dated 11 February 1939, regarding Quaker activity in support of Jews
- 252 On 14 February 1939 the Neue Frankfurter Versicherung instructs its agents to cancel the insurance policies of their Jewish clients
- 253 SS Security Service memorandum, dated 16 February 1939, on the demonstrative singing of hymns that console the people of Israel
- 254 After fleeing Germany, on 21 February 1939 Simon Meisner gives Jewish welfare organizations an account of the living conditions in Antwerp
- 255 On 21 February 1939 the SD conveys its approval to the staff of the Deputy of the Führer regarding the establishment of a lectureship for Talmudic studies and modern Hebrew at the University of Berlin
- 256 On 22 February 1939 the Gau personnel office in Vienna advocates the auctioning of stolen Jewish property in Vienna rather than Berlin
- 257 On 1 March 1939 the Chief of the Security Police provides information about plans to register Jews for forced labour in wartime
- 258 On 2 March 1939 the Synagogue Community in Gleiwitz asks the Reich Association of Jews in Germany about the requirements for surrendering precious metals
- 259 Paul Eppstein of the Reich Association of Jews in Germany records a summons to the Gestapo on 7 March 1939 on the subject of emigration, particularly to Shanghai
- 260 On 8 March 1939 Robert Thompson Pell, an official in the US State Department, reports to his superior on the difficulties associated with the emigration of Jews from Germany

- 261 Franziska Schubert describes her efforts to obtain the release of her husband from prison, the attempts at intimidation made by the Vienna Gestapo, and her emigration on 8 March 1939
- 262 On 10 March 1939 Aurel von Jüchen and Karl Kleinschmidt protest against Protestant pastors being instructed not baptize Jews
- 263 Jolanthe Wolff's passport, dated 10 March 1939, with instructions on how German refugees should behave in Britain
- 264 On 10 March 1939 Adolf Eichmann points out that legal discrimination against the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna would result in the loss of foreign exchange
- 265 On 14 March 1939 Luise Solmitz writes about repeated demands for emigration
- 266 On 17 March 1939 Joseph Hyman from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee reports on the employment ban for Jews, returning emigrants and children being detained in concentration camps, and Jewish refugees in Europe
- 267 On 18 March 1939 the Church Chancery in Berlin advises the High Consistory in Vienna to show restraint regarding the Grüber Office, which supports Protestant non-Aryans
- 268 On 24 March 1939 Siegfried Simon of Berlin asks Ruth Kimmel to help his father-in-law obtain an immigration certificate for Palestine
- 269 On 25 March 1939 Simon Meisner describes his experiences in a refugee camp and with the Police for Foreign Nationals in Belgium
- 270 On 29 March 1939 Hanna Kaack of Hamburg endeavours to entrust her son to the care of the Quakers
- 271 On 3 April 1939 representatives of the police and the judiciary in Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Switzerland hold a meeting in Brussels to discuss the illegal immigration of refugees from Germany
- 272 On 14 April 1939 Chaim Selzer of Vienna attempts to obtain a place for his daughter on a Kindertransport to England
- 273 *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*: on 17 April 1939 the Reich Ministry of Economics issues instructions regarding the items that emigrants are permitted to take with them when they depart
- 274 On 18 April 1939 Cornelius von Berenberg-Gossler recounts a visit to the Berlin Gestapo to advocate the emigration of Fritz Warburg
- 275 On 20 April 1939 Otilie Spitzer and Hermann Göbbels write to Adolf Hitler to request a marriage permit
- 276 On 25 April 1939 the Reich Office for Emigration Affairs reports on the course of emigration in the second half of 1938
- 277 A Reich law, dated 30 April 1939, restricts the rights of Jewish landlords and tenants
- 278 On 1 May 1939 Moritz Mailich asks Jos. A. Schwalb to support his emigration to the USA

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- 279 On 2 May 1939 the director of the Talmud Torah School in Hamburg outlines his ideas for a Jewish school for immigrant children in the USA
- 280 On 3 May 1939 the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Vienna reports on the trade in entry visas for Monaco
- 281 On 5 May 1939 Mr and Mrs Malsch of Düsseldorf tell their son Willy in the USA of their growing despair and their hopes of emigrating
- 282 *6-Uhr-Abendblatt*, Vienna, 8 May 1939: report on an antisemitic exhibition at the Natural History Museum in Vienna
- 283 On 14 May 1939 Julius Bernheim of Buchau asks his son Manfred to bring him and his wife to a place where they are safe from antisemitic attacks
- 284 On 15 May 1939 the Audit Office in Frankfurt encourages the mayor to commission the Municipal Welfare Office with the task of systematically rehousing Jews
- 285 On 25 May 1939 the Reich Minister of the Interior and the Reich Minister of Labour regulate the payment of welfare benefits to Jews who live with non-Jews
- 286 On 31 May 1939 Oberregierungsrat Kurt Krüger, Vienna, asks the SS Security Service for its opinion regarding the status of the leaving certificates of Jewish schools
- 287 The SPD in exile reports on the situation of the Jews in the Memel Territory at the end of May 1939, after the German assumption of power that March
- 288 On 2 June 1939 the Brussels-based Aid Committee for Jewish Refugee Children asks the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna for support with the organization of the Kindertransport
- 289 On 2 June 1939 Georg Landauer lists the distribution of 25,000 refugee certificates for immigration into Palestine
- 290 In June 1939 the purser of the *St. Louis* reports on the journey of the refugee ship after being refused permission to land in Havana
- 291 Writing to Stephan Lackner on 4 June 1939, Walter Benjamin expresses his thoughts on the situation in exile and on the suicides of Jews in Vienna
- 292 In June 1939 Eduard and Emma Weil report on the hopes and fears of the passengers aboard the refugee ship *St. Louis*
- 293 On 7 June 1939 the City of Frankfurt passes on the welfare costs for Jews to the Jewish Community
- 294 On 14 June 1939 Bernhard Heun, lawyer in the Personnel Office of the city of Frankfurt, interprets the provisions regarding tenancy agreements with Jews
- 295 On 15 June 1939 Max Plaut, Hamburg, writes to Arthur Spier about being told to report unemployed Jews to the Employment Office and the Gestapo
- 296 *The Times*, 15 June 1939: announcement that Charlie Chaplin wants the proceeds from his new film to go to Jews
- 297 On 16 June 1939 Paul Eppstein of the Reich Association of Jews in Germany notes what he stated regarding the fate of Jewish refugees when he was summoned to the Gestapo
- 298 On 19 June 1939 Felice Schragenheim writes a poem about forced emigration

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- 299 On 22 June 1939 Hermann Ritter informs the Reichs-Kredit-Gesellschaft that the leather manufacturer Adler & Oppenheimer can be bought at a low price
- 300 On 23 June 1939 Jacques Cahn fears that charges will be brought against him after his visit to the Berlin-Schöneberg police station
- 301 On 24 June 1939 Adolf Eichmann reports to Reich Commissioner Josef Bürckel in Vienna on the progress of emigration
- 302 On 27 June 1939 Adolf Eichmann denounces a director of the Dräger company to the Security Service in Vienna for having expressed sympathy for Jews
- 303 In June 1939 the Reich Representation of Jews in Germany is informed that pressure to emigrate is impeding emigration to the USA
- 304 On 3 July 1939 Martin Fuchs asks the mayor of Breslau and the Minister of the Interior for permission to emigrate with continued payment of his pension
- 305 On 5 July 1939 an unknown author reports to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee on expulsions and illegal emigration from the Reich
- 306 On 6 July 1939 the Central Office for Jewish Emigration announces the expulsion of the Jews from Baden near Vienna
- 307 The Institute for the Study and Elimination of Jewish Influence on German Church Life reviews Protestant hymnals in July 1939
- 308 *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 7 July 1939: article about the German philologist Friedrich Gundolf and the Jews as an object of research for German historians
- 309 On 8 July 1939 the Reichsführer SS issues instructions regarding the deportation of Polish Jews across the unfortified land border
- 310 On 11 July 1939 Leo Lippmann describes his efforts to prevent buildings of the Hamburg Jewish Community from being seized by the state
- 311 On 14 July 1939 the Security Service in Linz reports the imprisonment of SA personnel after desecration of a cemetery in the former Czech town of Rosenberg
- 312 On 16 July 1939 Willy Cohn notes that the Breslau Gestapo want to oblige him to research the history of the Jews
- 313 On 19 July 1939 the Gestapo instructs the State Police offices to prevent cohabitation by couples whose marriage applications have been rejected
- 314 Memorandum of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, dated 24 July 1939, on illegal immigration into Palestine
- 315 On 25 July 1939 Siegfried Wolff of Eisenach describes his efforts to emigrate
- 316 In July 1939 the SPD in exile lists the refugee ships that are denied permission to land
- 317 On 4 August 1939 Luise Solmitz comments on the exclusion of Jews from the air-raid shelters
- 318 On 7/8 August 1939 Mr and Mrs Malsch of Düsseldorf write to their son in the USA about forced labour and loneliness
- 319 *Neues Volk*, 8 August 1939: Fritz Arlt reviews the book *The Jewish Question in Romania*

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- 320** On 10 August 1939 Cornelius von Berenberg-Gossler learns of the suicide of a Jewish acquaintance who had emigrated
- 321** On 16 August 1939 Willy Cohn of Breslau reports on his experiences as a historian in the Regional Office for Race and Kinship Research
- 322** On 17 August 1939 the chief public prosecutor in Hamburg promises to release Norbert Arendt from custody if he emigrates within one week
- 323** Writing on 19 August 1939, Cilli Lipski gives her parents and brother little hope of obtaining a certificate for Palestine
- 324** On 24 August 1939 Arthur Löwy asks the Youth Aliyah Advice Centre in Vienna to facilitate the emigration of his son
- 325** On 26 August 1939 Klaus Jakob Langer describes the tense political situation and his fear that a war might prevent his emigration
- 326** On 27 August 1939 the head of the Frankfurt Tax Office proposes that Jews be compensated for their surrendered valuables only after special assessment
- 327** On 28 August 1939 Margarete Korant of Berlin writes to her daughter in the USA about her fear of war and isolation
- 328** Paul Eppstein records his summons to the Gestapo on 28 August 1939 and the instructions for Jews to carry out forced labour in wartime
- 329** At the end of August 1939 Walter Tausk sees his emigration plans threatened by the impending war



# DOCUMENTS



## DOC. 1

**On 1 January 1938 Amalie Malsch writes to her son in the USA  
about waiting to emigrate<sup>1</sup>**

Handwritten letter from Amalie Malsch,<sup>2</sup> Düsseldorf, to Wilhelm Malsch,<sup>3</sup> Long Island (New York), dated 1 January 1938

My dear child! We wrote you a detailed letter the day after Christmas, you've probably received it by now. No doubt the telegram [saying] Papa is home,<sup>4</sup> too, gave you tremendous pleasure. You were surely in high spirits after that. I hope you passed on the news to Uncle Eugen<sup>5</sup> as well. Now we're waiting in anguish for [word from] Stuttgart,<sup>6</sup> it simply has to come. We heard here that the ships are fully booked months in advance, and we plan to inquire in the next few days whether there's really something to it, let's hope not. Then we'll let you know. Alfred wrote to us today, he has gone to London with his wife for good and plans to have his mother etc. follow later. He wrote that you had also written to him to say we would probably be able to leave soon and join you, please God, may it come true. He is a dear, warm-hearted boy; we are very fond of him. Has Franklin answered you? Artur has also written to him. I'd really like to know the actual amount of the second financial guarantee [for emigration]. You even wrote about a third one besides. We naturally have to do our utmost *now* to join you *soon*. We are living in one room in the Steinhardts' apartment, it is completely adequate, of course, pending emigration. The St[einhardts] are very nice to us, as you can imagine, we spend most of our time with them in the apartment, our old friendship has stood the test. You know them too, of course, and were here in their apartment before, when you said your good-byes. We have the room straight on when one comes up the flight of stairs. Dear child, how happy I am that Paula is with me again. She looks very good, thank God, has a good appetite, and likes to sleep a lot. Uncle Ernst<sup>7</sup> also wrote to us today, he's quite satisfied with his new position. How is Uncle doing there, anyway? I'm so very worried about how you're getting along. Why don't you write about this in a bit more detail? Are you living *together* with Marta? Where do you have your meals? Have you run into any acquaintances there yet? If only [we] were just with you, *that is our whole concern now* and all we think about. Ernst can be glad if his wife ever joins him, I'm still not really

1 USHMM, RG-10.086/5 of 13. This document has been translated from German.

2 Amalie Malsch, née Samuel (1889–1942); married to Paul Malsch (see fn. 4). The couple lived in Düsseldorf and were deported to Łódź on 27 Oct. 1941 on the first transport from Düsseldorf. They were murdered in Chelmo in 1942.

3 Wilhelm Malsch, later William Ronald Malsh (1913–1994), only son of Amalie and Paul Malsch, emigrated to Britain around the turn of the year 1935/1936, and from there went to the USA in Jan. 1937.

4 Paul Malsch (1885–1942), sales representative. He was arrested on 10 Nov. 1938, deported to Dachau concentration camp after several days in Düsseldorf prison, and then released on 23 Dec. 1938.

5 Eugen Malsch, brother of Paul Malsch, lived in New York and made efforts from there to help Paul and Amalie Malsch to emigrate.

6 The author means the US consulate in Stuttgart, where Paul and Amalie Malsch had applied for a visa.

7 Ernst Malsch (b. 1887), sales representative, brother of Paul Malsch. He lived in Rathenow, and emigrated to the Netherlands in late 1938 and then to Shanghai via Britain in August 1939.

convinced that it will happen. We're expecting post from you in the next few days; we're eager to read your lovely letter. Some day everything has to turn out well after all and go smoothly, I pray for this every day, and some day God must answer my prayer. Dear child, how are you managing with your underclothes and clothing? Just keep warm, that's the main thing, stay healthy. You've probably bought underclothes in the meantime, haven't you? We've heard nothing more from Irma in ages or from Ilse in M[ünchen] Gladbach.<sup>8</sup> Are Irma and her husband coming there soon? M[ünchen] Gladbach would probably like to come there too, right?<sup>9</sup> Martin wanted maybe to act as guarantor for them, you know, they showed us his letter at the time, in which he said so. So, dear child, do stay healthy, and let's hope we are reunited before much longer. For today, 1,000 hugs and kisses from your mother, who always loves you very much

## DOC. 2

**On 5 January 1938 Reichsführer SS Heinrich Himmler orders the expulsion of Soviet Jews from Germany<sup>1</sup>**

Letter (secret) from the RFSS/Chief of the German Police in the Reich and Prussian Ministry of the Interior (S-V 6 1/38-469-30g.), signed on behalf of the former by Dr Best,<sup>2</sup> as telex to all State Police head offices and State Police offices, dated 5 January 1938 (copy to the Gestapo Central Office (Gestapa) II A 3)<sup>3</sup>

Re: Soviet Russians in Germany.

*Dossier* Decree of the Gestapo Central Office II A 4 1792/36, 24 October 1936.<sup>4</sup>

I ask that the regional police authorities responsible for ordering expulsions from the Reich be instructed to expel from the territory of the Reich all Soviet Russian subjects in their district, provided they are Jews, based on § 2 no. 3 of the Law on Expulsions from the Reich of 23 March 1934 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 213) without further statement of grounds, with a deadline of ten days for departure. Suspensive effect is to be denied to any appeal that may be lodged. If departure from the country does not occur within the time stipulated, the expulsion is to be accomplished by deportation across the border

<sup>8</sup> Now Mönchengladbach in the German federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia.

<sup>9</sup> Sentence as in the original.

<sup>1</sup> RGVA, 501k-3-583, fol. 102r-v. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Dr Werner Best (1903-1989), lawyer; probationary judge in Hesse-Darmstadt, 1929; joined the NSDAP in 1930 and the SS in 1931; state commissioner for police in Hesse, 1933; deputy head of the Gestapo, 1935; head of Office I of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), 1939-1940; head of the administration staff of the Military Commander in France, 1940-1942; Reich plenipotentiary in Denmark, 1942-1945; sentenced to death in Copenhagen in 1948; amnestied and released in 1951; thereafter, lawyer and legal advisor for the Free Democratic Party (FDP) in North Rhine-Westphalia; author of works including *Die deutsche Polizei* (1940).

<sup>3</sup> The original contains some handwritten underlining and the stamp of the Reichsführer SS and Chief of the German Police in the Reich Ministry of the Interior. The telex replicated here was transmitted in duplicate to the Gestapo Central Office (Gestapa) by the Reichsführer SS the same day.

<sup>4</sup> This decree could not be found.

of the Reich. If there are a number of Jewish Soviet Russian citizens residing in the district of a regional police authority, the ordering of the expulsions from the Reich is to be appropriately spread over the period up to 15 February 1938. Holders of Soviet Russian official or diplomatic passports are to be exempted from expulsion.

Gestapo Central Office II A 3 is to be promptly informed by telex every time an expulsion from the Reich is ordered and carried out, with indication of all particulars (surname, first name, occupation, date of birth, place of birth, home address, employer), as well as the date of the expulsion order and the date of departure from Germany.

*Addendum for the State Police head office in Berlin:*

The Soviet Russian Leo *Arinstein* (physician at the Soviet embassy in Berlin), born in Kiev on 3 November 1872 and residing in Berlin-Wilmersdorf, 34 Schaperstr., is not subject to the aforementioned measure for the time being.<sup>5</sup>

### DOC. 3

#### **On 14 January 1938 the Munich Gestapo notes that Jewish *Mischlinge* with illegitimate children are not forbidden to meet with one other<sup>1</sup>**

Memorandum written by the State Police head office (II B he), Detective Chief Inspector Heckl,<sup>2</sup> Munich, dated 14 January 1938

Re: enforcement of the Blood Protection Law; here, denial of the requested marriage licence application.

The government of Upper Bavaria, Inspector *Grötzinger*, made it known in a telephone call on 14 January 1938 that the government office is frequently visited by persons to whom permission to marry has been denied on the basis of the Blood Protection Law.<sup>3</sup> These persons state that the police, when informing them that permission to marry has been denied, tell them among other things that in future they are not allowed to meet with their prospective spouses again, otherwise they will be placed in concentration camps. Those who come round to the office are generally individuals who have an

<sup>5</sup> The decree, which affected around 500 Jews with Soviet citizenship, was issued by the Gestapo in reaction to the expulsion of German citizens from the Soviet Union. However, since the Soviet Jews did not receive permission to enter the Soviet Union, on 28 May 1938 Heydrich ordered that they be sent to concentration camps until they could prove that their emigration was imminent: RGVA, 501k-3-583, fol. 106r-v; Eliahu Ben Elissar, *La diplomatie du IIIe Reich et les Juifs (1933-1939)* (Paris: Juillard, 1969), pp. 231-232.

<sup>1</sup> StAM, Rep. Polizeidirektion Munich, Nr. 7017, Aufn. 6. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Lukas Heckl (1900-1967), policeman; joined the Bavarian Regional Police, 1922; police detective in Munich, 1932; joined the Gestapo, 1937; in Lublin and Drohobycz from 1940; classified as a 'follower' during denazification proceedings in 1948; worked thereafter for the Bavarian riot police.

<sup>3</sup> According to the First Regulation on the Implementation of the Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour, 14 Nov. 1935 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1935, I, pp. 1334-1336), *Mischlinge* of the first degree required a certificate of exemption in order to marry non-Jews or *Mischlinge* of the second degree; generally, these exemptions were denied.

illegitimate child, and it would mean great hardship for them should the child's father or mother no longer be permitted to visit the child. As the persons in question are exclusively Jewish Mischlinge, meeting is not prohibited; only cohabitation, living together without legal marriage, is prohibited.

Grötzinger asks that the officials who deal with the enforcement of the Blood Protection Law be instructed accordingly.

DOC. 4

**On 19 January 1938 the director of the Reich Archives calls on the Reich Minister of the Interior to forbid Jews to use the archives<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the director of the Reich Archives (V10-192/38), (Dr Zi) Ernst Zipfel,<sup>2</sup> Potsdam, to the Reich and Prussian Ministry of the Interior (received on 19 January 1938), dated 19 January 1938<sup>3</sup>

Re: use of archives by Jews and Jewish Mischlinge

Through Decree VI A 13 611/6062 of 20 December 1937<sup>4</sup> concerning the denial of access to records for Dr Hans Goldschmidt,<sup>5</sup> a decision was made in an individual case regarding the granting of a user permit to a non-Aryan. Applications that the non-Aryan Professor Hans Rothfels<sup>6</sup> has addressed to the Reich Archives and the Prussian Secret State Archives concerning the use of archival materials from the nineteenth century, in addition to observations that I have made regarding other cases of this kind, cause me to request henceforth a categorical and general settlement of this matter, which is a meaningful one for the National Socialist state and its intellectual life.

In the Third Reich the influence of Jewry on German cultural and intellectual life has been completely eliminated by legal measures. That is also the case in the field of historical scholarship. No Jew can lecture on German history at German universities and thereby influence the next generation from the standpoint of his alien national character. No Jew can edit a history journal or work as an archivist under contract to the state authority to act as steward of the German nation's body of historical sources. Yet, even today, Jews and Jewish Mischlinge can still work as editors and writers in the field of our history. Indeed, some even receive government contracts and resources for this purpose. Everyone will describe as impossible the notion that a non-Aryan should perform and interpret a Beethoven symphony, a musical drama by Richard Wagner, or a

1 BArch, R 1506/307, fols. 169–170v. This document has been translated from German.

2 Ernst Zipfel (1891–1966), archival director; joined the NSDAP in 1932; from 1938 member of the advisory council of the Research Department for the Jewish Question at the Reich Institute for the History of the New Germany; from 1942 commissioner for archival protection; after 1945 lived in Bad Pyrmont.

3 In the original there are handwritten administrative notes.

4 As *ibid.*, fol. 166.

5 Dr (Julius) Hans Goldschmidt (1879–1940), historian; from 1920 to 1934 historian at the Reich Archives; emigrated to Britain in 1939; killed in London during a German bombing raid.

6 Dr Hans Rothfels (1891–1976), historian; professor in Königsberg, 1926–1934; dismissed in 1934; studied sources at the Secret State Archives in Berlin until 1938; emigrated to the USA in 1939; returned to Germany in 1951; taught at the universities of Tübingen and Chicago; from 1953 co-editor of the academic journal *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*.

classical drama for a German audience. But it is a fact that even today the most important events and circumstances of our national history, from which the strongest influences on our current actions and thoughts can spring, even today are first retrieved from the sources by Jews and Jewish Mischlinge and are presented to the German public from a Jewish perspective. Non-Aryans can still work on the documents on German political and cultural life that are stored in the state archives. By selecting and interpreting the historical source material, Jews have the opportunity to exert influence that is especially dangerous precisely because it is intangible and inconspicuous.

Here, it seems to me, yawns a highly alarming gap in the new order of our cultural life. If leading organs of the [National Socialist] Movement are pointing today to the still astonishing percentage of Jews who represent German businesses, namely abroad, and demanding that this deplorable state of affairs be corrected, I view it as my duty to call attention to the no less dangerous abuse that thwarts a significant portion of the efforts of the National Socialist state leadership to gain, from insight into the German past, strength for dealing with the momentous tasks of the present. To my mind, nothing less than an undermining of the racial policy legislation of the Third Reich must result should the Jews continue to be allowed to use the archives and thus exploit highly prized state and national records.

The special nature of archival work accounts for the failure so far to remedy this shortcoming. This work is done in silence and within a fairly narrow circle, mostly secluded from the everyday events of the present and little heeded by the public. The fruits of this work are usually reflected at first in purely scholarly works, which often affect the broader public only after some time and by means of more popular accounts, biographies, and historical novels, in book form and in the press. It is precisely in this that I see a particular danger. The Jewish historian who, say, first gathers the main features of Prussian administration in the eighteenth century from the acts of state during the reign of Frederick the Great, and then publishes the findings in a scholarly work, perhaps causes no direct harm at first. But since no one can re-examine his selection and treatment of the materials, his work becomes the basis for numerous further interpretations, and his understanding of the sources remains definitive. Aside from this, I regard it as an imperative of national dignity to have German history written only by Germans, and not to allow the Jew to raise an objection, insisting that his scholarly involvement in this field is simply indispensable. But in my opinion the political dangers must not be underestimated, either. One cannot expect that precisely the so-called 'decent Jews' will have sympathy with the German state and people. One must instead assume that they will succumb only too readily to the temptation to assert their influence in the field of history, which has remained open to them by chance and has such great value, and perhaps even to exact vengeance on the nationhood of the host.

From these points of view, it is intolerable that Jews are still allowed today to exploit documents on domestic and foreign history until now unknown to the German people, and that state funds are even spent for this purpose. Even granted that efforts are made to achieve objectivity in individual cases, the fact remains that no approach to the sources can be made without an inherent point of view. An objective presentation of history in the sense of complete detachment from the present-day political and cultural situation was always preposterous, but must be utterly impossible today.

In my view, a remedy can be found only by forbidding Jews and Jewish Mischlinge to use the historical source material contained in the state archives and thus also

implementing the Aryan Paragraph in the area of archival access. The objection that this would occasionally affect Jewish combat veterans cannot be considered valid, since the individuals in question continue to receive their stipends in this capacity and so are financially protected by the state's payment in return. Concerns of an academic and non-material nature and a right to the continuation of the scholarly study of archive sources, with the exertion of influence ensuing therefrom, cannot be justified by the possession of combat veteran status. If the Jew is barred from all other aspects of cultural life, it is all the more important that he be kept from participation in German historical research and the presentation of German history, as the racial and ideological foundation of our national existence.

Accordingly, I venture to put forward a motion, and in consultation with the Prussian Minister President to seek the issuance of an order, to the effect that Jews are to be barred from using the archives except for purposes of family history and research concerning their own national character (with specific limits on time and subject matter).<sup>7</sup>

#### DOC. 5

#### On 27 January 1938 Luise Solmitz describes her daughter's social exclusion<sup>1</sup>

Handwritten diary of Luise Solmitz,<sup>2</sup> Hamburg, entry for 27 January 1938<sup>3</sup>

*Kaiser's birthday, 79 years old. Mr Merutisch [...]<sup>4</sup> saw us before the meal and we had a pleasant time together until lunch. In the evening, Mrs [...]<sup>5</sup> came by, [asked] whether we are willing to lend a few chairs for Käthe Merutisch's [...] birthday (we are invited). Then French dictation with Gis.<sup>6</sup> and Inge, English with [...] Inge, then Pauli [...] worked until 2:30 a.m. on 'our' school-leaving exams; I embellished maths with chit-chat and anecdotes, he, the Pythagorean theorem. The best thing is that the unbeatable Hilde Hünchen [...], who gets nothing but A grades for all her work, 20, 30 times in a row, always, got a C in the last maths test before the school-leaving exam! Mr Rammler [...] was dumbfounded! Major Portz [...] and his dainty princess in Berlin also plan to cross their fingers, and so do Enno and [...]! When I was composing my little essay about [...], the thought of all the splendour that I failed to grasp made my heart swell, I felt [...],<sup>7</sup> how clear, how encompass-*

7 In a circular letter (VIC2237 II.ANG./6062) dated 24 March 1938, the Reich Ministry of the Interior, p.p. Pfundtner, forbade Jews to use the archives 'except for purposes of family history and for research concerning Jewish national character [Volkstum]': LAB, B. Rep. 142/7, Nr. 1-2-6-1.

1 Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 622-1/140, Familie Solmitz, 1, Bd. 31. This document has been translated from German.

2 Luise Solmitz, née Stephan (1889–1974), teacher in Hamburg; married to Friedrich Wilhelm Solmitz (see fn. 9), who was regarded as a Jew under the Nuremberg Laws even after his conversion to Christianity.

3 The italicized sections are from the handwritten version of the diary. See Editorial Preface.

4 Original text illegible.

5 Difficult to read in the original: Vögel or Nägel.

6 Gisela Solmitz, the daughter of Luise and Friedrich Solmitz (see fn. 12).

7 Difficult to read in the original: Nähe (closeness) or Mühe (difficulty).

ing it was, what domains, what marvels, from which it lifts the magic cloak, and which it then incorporates. Delightful, if only one understood what one merely senses.

When I contemplate Ludendorff's profile, his death mask, I think that it thoroughly expresses the ambivalent nature of this man. Brow and nose distinguished, *reminding one of Moltke* [...], the chin weak and receding in an ugly way, lacking strength.<sup>8</sup>

*Gis. has named our outdoor cat 'Kai from the crate' because it lives in the crate, and Fritz<sup>9</sup> goes one step further and calls it 'Hans Kai' and feeds the homeless creature, contrary to all his principles. We ourselves have to laugh [when we see] how the animal-loving human is simply controlled by the animal: 'Humans on a lead!' Recently Kai was in the dining room, had been sitting behind the window seat, which was pushed forward, and had tipped the seat over. I was horror-stricken to think that this could have happened before we went on our summer trip, and the animal would have starved. It is touchingly trustful, obviously from a good home. The people may [...] have died. But we can't give it what it wants: home, oven warmth! {Today, 11 February 1944, it is still with us. And [...]<sup>10</sup> long since dead, run over [...].}*

The German broadcasting service is reporting rumours from abroad, [saying] that Germany is planning the deployment of 150,000 men in Spain and, in addition, a coup d'état in Austria even before the Führer's trip to visit Il Duce.<sup>11</sup>

*We really want Gis., if she fails [the examination], to stay at school for another six months, but she is fighting the idea tooth and nail.<sup>12</sup> Despite all the school worries, what a lovely time this is now, when she still belongs completely to me, sleeps in her room next to us. It will be hard for me to readjust. And I dread all the disappointments that working life will inevitably bring her nowadays. She already avoids getting together with young people because she dislikes the questions about the BDM,<sup>13</sup> because she doesn't want to build any friendships with boys, because all that exists outside the circle drawn for her. How much renunciation such a young person must already practise! And when a good classmate at school says to the biology teacher that Mischlinge must be forbidden to marry, just like those with a hereditary defect. The teacher was not in agreement with this. – Her place of refuge is here at home. Here she has us, her good Inge Mahrt [...], our few friends.*

8 Erich Friedrich Wilhelm Ludendorff (1865–1937), general staff officer and politician; in 1914, with Hindenburg, held supreme command of the troops on the Eastern Front; first quartermaster general in the Supreme Army Command, 1916; discharged in 1918; involved in the Beer Hall Putsch in 1923; Reichstag member, 1924–1928.

9 Friedrich Wilhelm Solmitz (1877–1961), mechanical engineer and officer; husband of Luise Solmitz; served in the army until its dissolution in 1920; subsequently worked as a senior engineer at a car factory and then employed by the Deutsche Luftreederei airline; he ran various metal companies in Berlin and Breslau from 1924.

10 Difficult to make out in the original: *Gidi* or *Hidi*.

11 Benito Mussolini (1883–1945), politician and journalist; leader of the National Fascist Party; prime minister of Italy from 1922 until his ousting in 1943; captured and executed by Italian partisans in April 1945.

12 Gisela Solmitz (b. 1920), daughter of Luise and Friedrich Wilhelm Solmitz. As a so-called *Mischling* of the first degree, she was not allowed to join any National Socialist organization and was de facto barred from marrying a non-Jew (see Doc. 3, 14 Jan. 1938). Gisela Solmitz later married a Belgian and took up residence in Brussels.

13 Bund Deutscher Mädel: League of German Girls.

## DOC. 6

***Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 27 January 1938: article on the economic restrictions placed on Jews and the consequences for their emigration prospects<sup>1</sup>***Elimination of the Jews from the German economy*

-Y-Berlin, 24 January 1938. The elimination of the Jewish element from every branch of the economy has been pursued for some time with *increasing intensity*. In its scale the present wave is comparable only to that of 1933, when non-Aryans were forced out of public life after the National Socialists assumed power. Since the priority at the time was to combat unemployment, it was still necessary to refrain from removing them from economic life in the interest of providing employment, because the Jews ultimately controlled a good portion of the economy. Meanwhile, the German economy has recovered from the crisis, thanks to the government's rearmament efforts, and now the competent authorities believe the time has come to carry out the complete exclusion of Jews [from the economy], previously a temporarily neglected item on the agenda.

It has already been briefly mentioned here that appropriate measures have been taken in the *textile industry* and in the *scrap trade*.<sup>2</sup> The Aryan members of these sectors have pledged to neither sell to Jews nor buy from them; the central organizations in both sectors have cancelled delivery and supply contracts with the Jewish firms. All profitable activity is thus made impossible for Jewish firms, because trade among the members of the Jewish population themselves is not sufficiently sustainable and only offers an adequate livelihood to a small number of firms, although the German Jews also endeavour, wherever possible, to make their purchases on the basis of race.

The so-called 'Aryanization' of the German economy, however, continues to gain ground. The pressure makes itself felt most acutely in the *retail sector*. The Jewish owners of firms face so many difficulties that they must resolve upon the *sale* of their businesses. Potential buyers exist, of course; but the prices that are offered are very low. According to the principles of the responsible authorities, the only purchase price that can be considered is the tangible value of the company. Nothing is allowed to be paid for so-called *goodwill*, since after all a state of affairs has been created in which the prerequisites for compensation for the value of the customer base and goodwill no longer exist. Retirement annuity contracts and participation agreements into which a Jewish company owner has entered may not be assumed by the Aryan successor firm, but rather continue in effect at the expense of the predecessor. In the process of 'Aryanization', care must be taken that the exclusion of the Jews is complete. No involvement by a Jew may thus remain; further, the Jewish personnel must be dismissed at once. Any 'Aryanization' that is merely partial is described as undesirable. Insolvent Jewish firms and those operating inefficiently may not be 'Aryanized'.

<sup>1</sup> 'Ausschaltung der Juden aus der deutschen Wirtschaft', *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (morning edition), 27 Jan. 1938, p. 1. This document has been translated from German. The daily newspaper was founded in 1780 under the name *Zürcher Zeitung*, was renamed *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* in 1821, and continues to be published today.

<sup>2</sup> See 'Ausschaltung der Juden aus der deutschen Wirtschaft', *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (evening edition), 6 Jan. 1938, p. 3.

This policy of 'Aryanization', which is now being implemented with German consistency and thoroughness, deprives the Jews of every means of existence. The 'Reich Representation of Jews', in light of this situation, has addressed a plea to the German government for the first time under the National Socialist regime. The plea is preceded by an appeal to countries of immigration to expand the immigration opportunities for able-bodied young Jews in particular. The statement by the Reich Representation of Jews points out, however, that a substantial part of the German Jewish population is disproportionately elderly and thus *no longer capable of emigration*, but instead they must end their days in Germany. But if they are to avoid having to turn to public welfare, they must not be deprived of their livelihood. Besides, the statement continues, maintaining a means of existence is also the prerequisite for orderly emigration. The statement of the 'Reich Representation of Jews' closes with the plea to the Reich government 'that a halt be called to the decrease in the possibility for the Jewish people in Germany to earn a living'.

This statement by the 'Reich Representation of Jews in Germany' presents a distressing picture of the situation in which the German Jews find themselves.<sup>3</sup> Aside from the fact that the countries able to receive immigrants place great obstacles in the way of Jewish immigration, emigration from Germany is also affected by the German *foreign exchange legislation*. On the basis of special agreements, Jewish emigrants can take with them 30,000 marks for an individual person, 40,000 for two persons, and 50,000 marks for three or more persons. These sums are merely notional, however, and are not actually transferred in these amounts. The exchange rate for transfers ranges between 27½ and 50 per cent, so that the emigrants receive a transferred amount that is quite *inadequate* for their existence in a foreign country. The financial loss is exacerbated further by the fact that a quarter of the assets must be surrendered in the form of a *Reich Flight Tax*. In view of the increasing deterioration in the living conditions of the Jews in Germany, the rush is so great that occasionally the sums made available for emigration transfer are exhausted within a very short time. The vast majority of German Jews can no longer find a livelihood in Germany, are ostracized, and are largely disenfranchised, but cannot emigrate either, since they have no funds available for this purpose.

<sup>3</sup> The statement was adopted unanimously by the executive committee and council of the Reich Representation of Jews in Germany on 13 Jan. 1938 and then published in all Jewish newspapers: Otto Dov Kulka (ed.), *Deutsches Judentum unter dem Nationalsozialismus*, vol. 1: *Dokumente zur Geschichte der Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden 1933–1939* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), pp. 377–378.

## DOC. 7

***Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt*, 30 January 1938: article in which the Relief Association of German Jews promotes the emigration of women<sup>1</sup>**

*More emigration of women!*

*The Relief Association of German Jews<sup>2</sup> provides us with the following observations:*

Few issues unite all the Jews of Germany as thoroughly as the absolute necessity of increasing the extent of *emigration*. This consensus is shown not only by all the resolutions of our influential organizations and the reiterated statements of our press, but above all by the barely manageable crowds of would-be emigrants rushing to the information centres of the Relief Association and the untiring, intense work of this great organization. But while many thousands of those pressing for emigration cannot be granted any opportunity to emigrate – because they are too old, because they know no trade viable in a foreign country, or for other reasons – there is, on the other hand, another important category of persons able to emigrate, *persons whose willingness to emigrate could be increased: our girls and women*.

The vast majority of the Jewish emigrants from Germany have so far been men, whose exact number cannot be ascertained, of course, but it surely comes to many thousands. This phenomenon in itself is not unnatural. On the contrary, a surplus of men is to be noted in almost every emigration movement. After all, it is inherent in a woman's nature that she clings more tightly to her home, parents, and native country than a man does, with his adventurous spirit and longing for faraway places. This was why, in times past, during the opening up of large regions overseas, the emigrant group – particularly in view of the conditions of transport – was overwhelmingly composed of men, which even today explains in part the elevated position of women in Anglo-Saxon countries of immigration. And even though life in many countries overseas has by now become outwardly so civilized and safe that a woman can emigrate there just as easily as a man, the strong family bonds that are especially characteristic among us Jews often deter young girls and single women from emigration. On the other hand, opportunities for a Jewish woman in Germany to earn a living were also relatively good until now. While tens of thousands of Jewish men lost their jobs without any prospect of getting a new one in Germany, women were able to earn a living here relatively easily as office workers, but principally, owing to the Nuremberg Laws, as domestic workers. Thus, women frequently lacked the principal impetus for emigration: material deprivation.

Under the circumstances, it was certainly no wonder that many Jewish parents whose sons had long been living overseas sought some consolation: 'At least our girl is staying here!' And the daughters felt the significance of their role as an emotional and financial

1 *Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt für Berlin*, 30 Jan. 1938, p. 5; also appeared in *Jüdische Rundschau*, 21 Jan. 1938, p. 4. This document has been translated from German. The newspaper *Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt*, the organ of the board of the Jewish Community of Berlin, was published from 1911 until Nov. 1938.

2 The Relief Association of German Jews (Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden) was founded as a welfare organization in Berlin in 1901; in 1939 it was forcibly incorporated into the Reich Association of Jews in Germany. The Relief Association discontinued its operations in autumn 1941 following the prohibition of emigration.

prop for their aging parents and did not look for opportunities to emigrate. But because this inherently natural event occurred thousands of times in this or a similar way, there arose a *mass phenomenon* that leads to extraordinarily *grave misfortune*. For it is obvious that to the same extent that the emigration of men of marriageable age exceeds the emigration of women, the *chances of marrying* must *diminish* for the girls left behind in Germany, while on the other hand the young male immigrants in the countries overseas frequently have *no possibility of establishing a Jewish family*, because there are hardly any Jewish girls in their vicinity. If our young men emigrate to countries such as the United States, where there is a sizeable local Jewish population, they indeed have an opportunity for a Jewish marriage. However, the linguistic and cultural differences between the immigrants and the locals are often so significant that they either prevent marriage from being contracted in the first place, or burden the marriage from the outset with a set of specific problems. Far more jeopardized, however, is the situation of our single male immigrants in countries lacking significant numbers of Jews. These men are often faced with the choice of either staying single – with all the health-related consequences this entails – or marrying non-Jewish women, which usually not only results in the loss of offspring for the Jewish community, but also leads to particularly difficult marriages, indeed to marriages that are inharmonious from the outset, on account of the enormous cultural, religious, and other differences. This problem is already now perceived to be a very urgent one in many overseas countries.

What must happen now in order to remedy these shortcomings? Since an exhaustive treatment of this important subject is not possible here, it is a matter of the following principles. First, our young men who emigrate in future must realize that they would generally be wise *to commit* to a future life partner *before their relocation* to an overseas country, specifically and as a general rule by entering into marriage. If two young people go abroad together, not only will they give each other the best emotional support, but also, in a great many, perhaps most, cases, it will be *the female partner who first finds a way of earning a living*, so that the material struggle for existence, too, will be made easier rather than more difficult by marrying before emigration. Furthermore, however, the dangers that were mentioned above in greater detail will be avoided, dangers that inevitably lead to the loss of the most precious Jewish essence for the community. In this regard, the girls' approach to Judaism will be the specific determinant, since experience shows that the atmosphere in the home [and] the raising of the children depend primarily on the wife. Equally essential is a fundamental change in the attitude of Jewish parents, who thus far have all too frequently kept those daughters who could emigrate at home instead. Of course, 'the same thing isn't right for all', and there may well be instances in which it is justifiable for an adult daughter to remain at her parents' side. But anyone who is familiar with the wishes of our Jewish parents for the future of their daughters will certainly expect that purely selfish reasons will not lead them to keep the girls from emigrating, once they realize that both the job prospects and the marriage opportunities are a great deal better in the overseas countries than in Germany.

It must be emphasized, however, that not *every girl* is automatically suited for emigration. Rather, apart from a thorough education, she must also possess certain human qualities. With respect to employment, a thorough grounding in household management is required, along with a willingness to accept a housekeeping position, at least temporarily, even if a different occupation is the goal she has in mind.

The large Jewish emigration organizations, both domestic and foreign, i.e. first and foremost the Relief Association, will in future devote special attention to the emigration of women. This means, for one thing, that the emigration counsellor should openly discuss with the young emigrant whether he should not make a commitment before relocating – with the suitable form (marriage or simply engagement) to be chosen in each case according to the country of immigration and his (and her) occupation. Furthermore, however, the Relief Association, in the closest cooperation with the League of Jewish Women,<sup>3</sup> will try hard here to make an appropriate selection of girls who are willing to emigrate, and, together with the overseas committees and women's organizations, arrangements will be made to ensure supervision of single girls and women to the extent that the emigration counsellor dealing with Jewish parents can assume responsibility for allowing their daughter to start out alone on her journey to a faraway place. Hard workers who are willing to be integrated, who also understand the language of the country of immigration and meet all the demands that life in a faraway place makes on health and human nature, will not only blaze their own trail, but also help to create new units of Jewish life through which the foreign land can become a homeland, perhaps even for their parents, but surely for their children.

DOC. 8

**On 30 January 1938 Rabbi Löwenstamm asks his colleague Max Dienemann for advice on whether a child from a mixed marriage may be accepted into the Jewish faith<sup>1</sup>**

Handwritten letter from Rabbi Dr Löwenstamm,<sup>2</sup> 11 Feldstraße, Berlin-Spandau, to Rabbi Dr Dienemann,<sup>3</sup> dated 30 January 1938

Dear Dienemann,

In the hope that you and yours are content, all things considered, I would like to request today that you answer the following question, if possible:

May a Mischling of the first degree be accepted as Jewish? The individual in question is an 11-year-old boy from a mixed marriage (father Jewish, mother Aryan). The parents want to send him along with a family who is emigrating to Australia. He has been living with this family here for months now, as well. Both his parents want him to become a

3 The League of Jewish Women (Jüdischer Frauenbund) was founded in 1904 by Bertha Pappenheim (1859–1936) and Sidonie Werner (1860–1932). It was forcibly dissolved in 1938 and re-established in 1953.

1 CJA, 1/75 C, Ra 1, Nr. 21–12531, fol. 162r–v. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Arthur Löwenstamm (1882–1965), theologian, rabbi, and educator; rabbi in Pleß, Upper Silesia, 1911–1917, and in Berlin-Spandau, 1917–1938; member of the Association of Liberal Rabbis; arrested in 1938; escaped to Britain after his release from Sachsenhausen concentration camp; director of studies at the Society of Jewish Studies in London from 1945; operated occasionally as a rabbi in West Berlin from 1954.

3 Dr Max Dienemann (1875–1939), rabbi; served in Ratibor, 1909–1919, and Offenbach, 1919–1938; board member of the World Union for Progressive Judaism; imprisoned for a time in Osthofen concentration camp, 1933; emigrated to London in 1938 following a period of imprisonment in Buchenwald concentration camp; left for Palestine in 1939; numerous publications.

Jew. The Relief Association and the Jewish office in England are both raising difficulties because he is a non-Jew.

Obviously the matter is disagreeable to me because of my Jewish religious beliefs; I am of the opinion that precisely a boy of this age should not be tied to a position that he may reject in just a few years, in a completely different environment. In addition, there is the particular difficulty that the emigrating family itself also involves a mixed marriage, so that there is no provision for a Jewish education in future. Thus, it is still doubtful whether the wife will be allowed to go along. That true Aryans may not be accepted as Jews is something of which I am of course aware.

Please let me know about this soon, and warm regards from my home to yours,  
Yours

#### DOC. 9

#### **In January 1938 a fifth-year school pupil writes an essay on the subject of Jews<sup>1</sup>**

School essay by Alfred Müller,<sup>2</sup> undated<sup>3</sup>

##### *Class essay: Jews*

After the World War, the Jews in our fatherland made their presence strongly felt. They wanted to bring about Germany's ruin. The Jews occupied the highest places in the Reich government. Almost all Jews were communists. They were all in contact with Russia. They wanted to turn Germany into a Soviet Germany. Most people thought that the Jews are God's chosen people and they would therefore have to believe in the Jews. The Jews depend solely on lies, scams, and haggling. When Germany was close to ruin, Adolf Hitler came. He turned things around with a strong hand, so that Germany got on to the right path again. He put a stop to the Jews' activities. The Jews went to Russia. The result was: the rich country of Russia is completely deteriorating. The same thing would have happened in Germany if the Führer had not saved Germany from ruin.

*'He who fights against the Jews struggles against the Devil.'*

1 ZfA, Lebensgeschichtliche Sammlung, Alfred Müller. This document has been translated from German.

2 Alfred Müller (b. 1926); schoolboy in Osnabrück; soldier, 1944; prisoner of war in France, 1945–1947; postman, 1948–1950; after that, completed a course of study at night school; worked in the Ministry of Agriculture of Lower Saxony until 1989.

3 At the top of the document is the number '32', the number assigned to the pupil Alfred Müller by his teacher, Otto Suter. The essay was marked and initialled by the teacher on 1 Feb. 1938 and given a mark of '1' (the top grade); it is signed by Alfred Müller's mother.

## DOC. 10

***Israelitisches Familienblatt*, 3 February 1938: article on the prospects for Jewish youth<sup>1</sup>**[A.H.]<sup>2</sup>*What are our children to become?*

Great and pressing problems assail us daily and demand our reaction, thereby simultaneously making us jointly responsible for the fate of the Jewish people and for the solution to the question of Jewry in Germany.

One such question, which can be solved fatalistically or productively, by giving up hope or by being ready for action, depending on the attitude of the individual, is that of occupation. Indeed, there is no universally applicable magic remedy for this either, but we must be clear about one thing: for every young person, leaving school means the beginning of a new chapter in life, and the decision regarding the content and form of this impending chapter places a heavy responsibility upon those who make it.

Who must assume the primary responsibility? Naturally, the parents whose children are now leaving school, and then the children themselves, who in most cases are well aware of the momentousness of their choice of career, and finally the Jewish organizations as well, which – in a professional capacity, so to speak – feel responsible for the groups of people they advise.

Given the current hopelessness of the situation, many parents are seeking some interim solutions to delay having to make the final decision. And yet one cannot treat this question according to the principle ‘leave it to time’. One must realize that our young people possess nothing of greater value than these years of life, and that one must present them with tasks to be taken seriously, in compensation for many things that are barred to them.

If one engages more closely with the question of career choice, one quickly recognizes that the training opportunities for young people are extraordinarily limited here. It is thus self-evident that the wish to help one’s child reach a supposedly ‘higher’ rung on the social ladder has become just as illusory as the once-typical wish that ‘some day my children will have it easier than me’. *We cannot ensure an ‘easy’ life for our children*, but we can avoid errors that have made the social stratification of the Jews so pernicious and so vulnerable to crisis in the past. In addition, however, it is necessary to give our children the skills that enable them to find a livelihood in another country, under altered conditions.

But if the parents find no solution, then the Jewish public bodies can lend them support by providing advice and aid. The task of these bodies is *to prepare responsibly*

1 ‘Was sollen unsere Kinder werden?’, *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, 3 Feb. 1938, pp. 4–5. This document has been translated from German. The newspaper was founded in 1898 and appeared weekly, first in Hamburg until 1935 and then in Berlin, with a circulation of 26,000 (1938). It was banned in 1938.

2 Alfred Hirschberg (1901–1971), journalist; editor-in-chief of the *C.V.-Zeitung*; emigrated to Britain in 1939 and then to Brazil in 1940.

*and methodically for the emigration of young Jews*, to act in a supervisory capacity and also to provide funding in cases of need, within the scope of the available resources.

It is especially important *to choose occupations that are as independent of economic trends and thus resistant to crisis* as possible. Above all, agriculture and horticulture are to be identified as good for this purpose, with the skilled crafts and trades ranking in second place.

On the basis of this experience, we would like to suggest here two paths that are already well tested and offer the advantage in both educational and human terms of giving substance to the life of a young person and taking it out of the realm of the mere struggle for survival into the world of ideas: *Youth Aliyah and mid-level Hachsharah*. Although the paths are different, both have a common goal, Palestine. Youth Aliyah – like the mid-level Hachsharah – is open to youths under the age of 17. But as the name says, its essence lies in making Aliyah, that is, after a relatively short time in a preparatory camp the young people who are physically and mentally equal to the demands go to Palestine along with the group they have been part of. There they will receive two years of practical and theoretical training in agriculture, livestock breeding, fruit-growing, and viticulture or in skilled crafts and trades. In addition, a thorough academic grounding in Hebrew, the study of Palestine, natural science, etc. is provided. Considering the finality of the emigration, strict standards must be applied to the applicants with respect to both character and health.

Training in groups is likewise characteristic of the mid-level Hachsharah. Here, however, the training is provided in Germany on numerous private farms, insofar as the training concerns farming and horticulture, or in the training workshops of the Jewish communities, if the youngster shows a talent for skilled crafts or trades. A valuable aspect is that from the very outset of the training, the young person gets a firm sense of belonging to a community that is pursuing the same goals. As a result, the person's mental and emotional development is released from the solitude of the individual, and energies are released that benefit both the community and the individual.

However hard it may be for parents to separate from their child, they can take comfort in knowing that the younger generation is on the path to building something, of physical and spiritual rebirth, and that the communities and other Jewish bodies are constantly concerned with trying to make this path as easy as possible.

## DOC. 11

***Berliner Tageblatt*, 3 February 1938: article about the Jews in Poland<sup>1</sup>***The Jews in Poland*

By our correspondent Hans-Achim v. Dewitz<sup>2</sup>

With the following article by our Warsaw correspondent we continue to address the Jewish problem in Eastern Europe, which developments in Romania have made more tangible. Our treatment of the problem began with the article 'The Jews in Romania' in issue 42 of the '*Berliner Tageblatt*' published on 26 January of last year.<sup>3</sup> The Editors.

Warsaw, early February. Of the approximately 33 million people who make up the Polish state, around 3½ million are Jews. Next to the Ukrainians, they are the largest [minority] ethnic group. Nonetheless, it is less the specific position of Polish Jewry as a large cultural and denominational national minority that is the core of the Jewish question in Poland. To a Pole, for now, this problem does not present itself so much as a cultural or a racial one, for in both respects, strong causes of friction are absent. No minority leads a more untroubled independent cultural life than the Jews. No one would dream of trying to 'Polonize' things here.

The mingling of blood does not figure so largely that it must abruptly move into the focus of national attention. The 'tacit ghetto' that even today still separates the Polish and Jewish populations from one another, with the corresponding psychological inhibitions of the Pole and the orthodox principles of the Jew, has been only partially breached by the small segment of 'assimilationists' who found their way into the upper classes in a roundabout way via material advancement and religious conversion, and nowadays are already developing an unmistakable influence in the areas that have always appealed to the Jewish intellect.

Only thus is it possible that there is relatively little recognition in Poland that the Jewish question plainly has the attributes of a racial problem; indeed, according to Catholic doctrine, it is generally misunderstood to be a matter of purely religious denominational distinctions.

The relevance of the Jewish question, as the Pole sees it for Poland, lies primarily in the economic and social realms. It is increasingly becoming a question of mutual living space and the social structure. The misery of the broad Polish masses demands mitigation to the same extent as that of the Jewish masses, and the members of Poland's young generation

1 'Die Juden in Polen', *Berliner Tageblatt und Handels-Zeitung*, Berlin edition (morning edition), 3 Feb. 1938, pp. 1–2. This document has been translated from German. The newspaper was published from 1872 to 1939, initially by the Rudolf Mosse publishing house and then, after the latter's Aryanization, by the Buch- und Tiefdruck Gesellschaft mbH. After 1933 the circulation rose from 130,000 to 240,000.

2 Hans-Achim von Dewitz (1904–1976), journalist; Poland correspondent for the *Berliner Tageblatt und Handels-Zeitung*, 1936–1939; worked for the *Deutsche Zeitung im Ostland* in Riga, 1941–1942; editor of the weekly newspaper *Die Zeit*, 1946–1948; at the *Hamburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1949–1950; press aide and specialist for cultural affairs in various German diplomatic missions, 1953–1969.

3 *Berliner Tageblatt und Handels-Zeitung*, Berlin edition (morning edition), 26 Jan. 1938, pp. 1–2. This article emphasized the alleged dominance of the Jews in various areas of the Romanian economy and welcomed the latest push for anti-Jewish legislation.

are casting about for opportunities to advance themselves. The clash of the Polish and Jewish populations in the struggle for daily bread takes place on the pavements of urban working life. Around 8 million people in rural areas of Poland today lack a sound means of existence. An increase in agricultural activity all over Poland, primarily in the east, would, according to tentative estimates, mean that 2 to 3 million of these 8 million could find farm work. But what of the remaining 5 million? They are crowding into the towns, into the labour forces of industry, commerce, and the skilled crafts and trades.

The situation they encounter here is anything but rosy. Industry is in its infancy. There are plans for its generous expansion, but even the most ardent will alone does not determine the rate at which expansion is possible, so long as capital and yet more capital must be obtained. Finding places for the surplus Polish masses in the industrial labour force remains a hope not for today or tomorrow – but perhaps for the day after tomorrow. And commerce, the skilled crafts and trades, the liberal or intellectual professions? It turns out that one third of the urban population of Poland consists of Jews. Furthermore, it emerges that of every 100 Jews, according to official data, 44.4 work in commerce and transport, 33.8 in industry and the skilled crafts and trades, 4.1 in the liberal or intellectual professions, and 11.9 in 'other' occupations, while only 5.8 earn a living from agriculture. Within the liberal professions, in turn, the current situation in Poland is that 45 per cent of the lawyers and 40 per cent of the doctors in the state are Jews – and among the lawyers, as many as 70 per cent of those in Lwów, 65 per cent in Cracow, and 44 per cent in Warsaw. Among the doctors, 65 per cent of those in the three southern voivodeships, and on average between 35 and 40 per cent in Warsaw and in the northern and eastern voivodeships, are Jews.

The lopsided occupational distribution of Polish Jewry has fateful consequences for the Jews themselves. Many members of the Jewish communities seek to carve out their existence through commissions and brokering deals on the smallest scale. Anyone who has seen how a piece of wire, an old, rusty stovepipe, a bar from an iron cot, and a tattered shoe riddled with holes are items dealt in quite regularly at the so-called 'flea market' near the Danzig railway station in Warsaw will grasp the full severity of the problem for the Polish government as well. According to Polish figures, more than 100,000 Jewish families numbering 400,000 to 800,000 persons live on less than 80 zloty (RM 36.32) per family per month. Almost half of Warsaw's approximately 353,000 Jews are supported by the [Jewish] Community, which receives large sums annually from American Jews.

The fact that in the same towns this mass of the Jewish population encounters a class of Jewish high-income earners – indeed, that the deposits of the Polish private banks are almost exclusively accounted for by Jewish clients, whose domain encompasses extensive branches of commerce – only adds to the picture. The Polish-Jewish struggle for commercial living space arises as a result. Matters related to the increased organization of self-help measures are converging with the now even more instinctive currents in the various circles of the Polish population. Sponsorship of the rural cooperative system, the sales organization of which is already replacing the individual trader here and there; state-sponsored retraining of farmworkers, which, especially in the east and south, has wrested many a farmer from the clutches of often almost unbelievable usury; the mobilization of lending regulated by public law for the purpose of building up and supporting a Christian merchant class; finally also the reorganization of admission to the legal profession – all these things are steps towards a stronger encouragement of the Polish

element. They are steps, however, that involve a danger that they might turn from a means of averting the foreign domination of certain branches of public life into an offensive weapon for use against minorities in general. The Ukrainians' recently noticed reserve in this area arises from this objection, rather than from any philo-semitic feelings.

For the Poles, the desire to protect the living space of their own population is linked with the question as to where they should go. The familiar image in Europe of certain emigrants who, amply endowed with foreign contacts, slip into good jobs abroad after leaving the boundaries of their previous host country cannot readily be applied to the 3½-million-strong segment of Polish Jews. The emigration question is taking the place of the emigrant question. Mass emigration and relocation in new areas have occupied Polish foreign policy for as long as the new state has existed. In this matter, Polish foreign policy aspires along the same lines as the Zionists in the country and, together with them, it is furiously opposed by the Jewish 'Bund',<sup>4</sup> which, as an advocate of the assimilation theory and a representative of a social democratic agenda guided by the Linz Programme of 1926,<sup>5</sup> views social reconfiguration as the solution to all problems and de-claims against emigration. Previously, Palestine was the principal reception area for Jewish immigrants from Poland. That has changed. Even the 450,000 Jews who left Poland between 1918 and 1935 came nowhere near equalling the growth in the Jewish population during the same period. In the past three years, this growth has ranged from 29,000 to 33,000 people annually. If it could be implemented, the so-called Zabotynski Plan,<sup>6</sup> which at that time envisaged an emigration of an additional 400,000 to 500,000 Jews for the next ten years, would offset the growth of the Jewish population. And since only people in younger age groups can be considered for emigration, while the older groups with no reproductive potential remain behind, a decline in the size of the Jewish population in Poland would undoubtedly make itself felt over time. But owing to Palestine, the prospects of this plan are more uncertain today than ever. It remains to be seen whether Beck's negotiations with France will open up a new region in Madagascar for Jewish immigration.<sup>7</sup>

Upon consideration of the Jewish question in Poland, there is every indication that no single area or specific measure alone will be sufficient to bring Poland nearer to finding a solution to a problem that involves such masses of people and such manifold entanglements of the various interests. Instead, only a combined effort involving the widest variety of remedies will suffice. The Polish government seems resolved to be undeterred by the difficulties of the task.

4 The General Jewish Labour Bund was founded in Vilna (Vilnius) in 1897. The Bund was a secular socialist party that campaigned for equal rights for Jews and the recognition of Jewish nationality in the diaspora, and against Zionism.

5 The Linz Programme was adopted on 3 Nov. 1926 at the party congress of the Social Democratic Workers' Party of German Austria in Linz.

6 The Jabotinsky Plan, named after the Russian Zionist Vladimir (Ze'ev) Jabotinsky (Zhabotinskii) (1880–1940), envisaged the founding of a Jewish state in Palestine on both sides of the Jordan, the dissolution of the Jewish diaspora in Europe, the formation of a Jewish army, and the establishment of the state by means of military force.

7 Józef Beck (1894–1944), officer and diplomat; close associate of Marshal Piłsudski; Poland's minister of war, 1926–1930; state secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1930–1932; Polish foreign minister, 1932–1939. Beck's negotiations regarding the emigration of Polish Jews to Madagascar failed because of the opposition of the French government.

## DOC. 12

**On 13 February 1938 the Oberpräsident of East Prussia writes to the German Council of Municipalities to ask how to deal with Jewish female patients in the Regional Women's Hospital<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the Oberpräsident of East Prussia, administration of the Provincial Association (IIc.5.), signed p.p. von Wedelstädt,<sup>2</sup> to the German Council of Municipalities (received on 17 February 1938), Berlin, dated 13 February 1938

Reservations have arisen here regarding the admission of Jewish patients to the Regional Women's Hospital, which is maintained by the province. I am of the opinion that Jewish patients can be admitted to the Regional Women's Hospital only if they are referred to the institution by welfare offices or health insurance companies or if their life is in immediate danger. Self-funding patients who do not meet the aforementioned requirements and seek admission to class 3 or higher classes of hospital ought to be advised, to my way of thinking, to go to other institutions or private clinics.

If Jews are to be admitted as self-funding patients to the Regional Women's Hospital maintained by the province, an additional question emerges, along with the misgivings of the establishment's staff concerning the obligation to treat Jewish patients: how the chief physician of the hospital, who is entitled to bill the patients he treats for the services rendered in classes 1 and 2 and in a special class 3a of the hospital,<sup>3</sup> is to resolve this matter. The chief physician is simultaneously a member of the NSDAP, and as such he is prohibited from engaging in commercial transactions with Jews. The question is whether the chief physician should in this case assign his billing rights to the hospital, or charge the Jewish patients but not treat the amounts received as private income, instead signing them over to the hospital and renouncing the payment to which he is entitled by contract.

Should the duty of the Regional Women's Hospital to admit self-funding Jewish patients, provided they are German citizens, be affirmed, an additional question remains open: whether the hospital can refuse to admit Jewish patients who are not German citizens, unless there is an immediate threat to life.

I request that, after contact with the relevant authorities, I be informed as to how the issues broached are to be dealt with and are being dealt with in other public hospitals.<sup>4</sup>

1 LAB, B Rep. 142-7, Nr. 3-10-11. This document has been translated from German.

2 Helmuth von Wedelstädt (1902-1988), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1931; provincial governor of East Prussia, 1936-1941; head of Main Office I (Policy) in the Reich Commissariat Ukraine, 1941-1943; after 1945 solicitor and local politician for the Free Democratic Party (FDP) in Mülheim an der Ruhr.

3 Patients in class 1 were given privileged treatment; by comparison, special class 3a was much more basic. Details of the services were set out in the rules of the respective hospitals; there were significant differences between the hospitals.

4 The German Council of Municipalities forwarded the enquiry to the Reich and Prussian Ministry of the Interior and received the response that even Jewish female patients who were not German citizens could not be denied admission to regional women's hospitals. Self-funding patients should, if possible, be referred to Jewish hospitals: German Council of Municipalities to Reich and Prussian Ministry of the Interior, 28 March 1938, and reply dated 2 May 1938, *ibid.* Furthermore, the German Council of Municipalities informed the Oberpräsidenten in Breslau, Berlin, Merseburg, Hanover, and Münster on 28 March 1938 of the opinion of the East Prussian Oberpräsident and asked how such problems were dealt with in other provinces: *ibid.*

## DOC. 13

***Neues Volk*, February 1938: article about international antisemitism<sup>1</sup>**

[D. J. Schuster]

*The 'dear' Jews*

*This is happening in Paris, not in Germany!*

Antisemitism is not a phenomenon of the post-war years and not an invention of National Socialism, as the Jews repeatedly try to assert, but rather one of the issues of the day in every country where the Jews have taken up residence and, using their questionable methods, set about establishing a foothold and gaining influence among the host people.

In these times in particular, the world is listening attentively again and commenting on the measures of the Romanian government, which has begun to oust the Jew from economic life by means of regulations.<sup>2</sup> Bucharest felt constrained to take this step after the Jews and their methods of doing business became a danger threatening the entire national economy and public health. No fewer than 150,000 bars and places of entertainment are under Jewish ownership, and various carefully conducted spot checks have shown that the Jewish bar owners, especially in the countryside, serve inferior alcohol and encourage farmers to drink by offering a tempting credit system, and therefore bear sole responsibility for the unchecked spread of drunken excess and the increase in alcoholism.

What is remarkable is the attitude of the English and French press, which cannot be said to be exactly hostile to the Jews. In England, however, a trend is already making itself felt, asking the sound question as to whether the Jews really deserve the diplomatic and strategic support on the Palestine issue that is, after all, threatening England's position in the Islamic world. Even Ibn Saud,<sup>3</sup> the most influential ruler in Arabia, stated unequivocally that the partition of Palestine would mean war between the Jews and the Arabs. And in England people are worried on this account, since in his policies thus far Ibn Saud has, after all, placed emphasis on not getting into conflicts with London.

The disturbances in Algeria and Morocco, in turn, also have an anti-Jewish character. By means of the Crémieux Decree in particular, the Jews in the French colonies were awarded civil rights, which so far have not been allowed to the Arabs, and this inevitably led to various rebellions against the French administrative authorities.<sup>4</sup> Even though the Arabs are of Semitic blood, the Jew nonetheless has no greater enemy than them. During my extensive travels through southern Morocco, I was able to see for myself that Jews prostrated themselves when an Arab approached and did not raise their faces from the ground until the native son had ridden past them. Numerous Jews in Marrakesh and

1 'Die "lieben" Juden', *Neues Volk: Blätter des Rassenpolitischen Amtes der NSDAP*, vol. 6, no. 2, Feb. 1938, pp. 26–31. This document has been translated from German. The monthly magazine *Neues Volk* was published from 1933 to 1944 by the eponymous publishing house in Berlin and Vienna. This article was illustrated with a number of antisemitic caricatures and images.

2 In late 1937 the Romanian government under Octavian Goga began forcing the Jews out of journalism, the economy, cultural affairs, and the civil service. On 22 Jan. 1938 a law came into effect that provided for scrutiny of the citizenship of Jews; it resulted in one third of the country's Jewish population losing Romanian citizenship. On 10 Feb. 1938 several antisemitic articles were incorporated into the new constitution.

3 Abdulaziz Ibn Saud (1876–1953), king of Saudi Arabia, 1932–1953.

other Moroccan cities prefer to leave their homes during the Feast of Blood<sup>5</sup> and wait in secluded valleys for the celebration to run its course, after the natives, especially at Mers El Kébir,<sup>6</sup> revealed a distinct inclination to storm the Jewish quarters, which in most cases are guarded by French soldiers, something that naturally does not contribute to any enhancement of the French authorities' standing among the Arabs.

Even in Bolshevik Russia the Moscow government could not prevent pogroms from breaking out in Ukraine in 1920 and 1922, in which the peasants, robbed and embittered, tried to rid themselves of the Jews with violence, an endeavour for which they also had to pay dearly when Moscow attempted to resolve the tensions amicably.<sup>7</sup>

The Jewish question is as old as the Jews themselves as a factor in the life of the various peoples. The ancient Egyptians were the first to attempt to teach the Jews to do regular work, to which the latter refer as the 'Babylonian captivity'. The Jew is simply opposed to any work that is connected with physical exertion. They did not even go into the 'Promised Land' until the scouts reported to them that it flowed with milk and honey. They invaded it as thieves after they saw the grapes and fruits that were brought to them by the advance party as proof of the abundance of the land of Canaan. And these fruits were nothing other than the proceeds of diligent work carried out by an enterprising people, whom in the deepest peace the Jews caught off guard and then subjugated.

Just how pronounced anti-Judaism is, an attitude which, according to the busily spread opinion of international Jewry, is one of the most salient characteristics of German barbarism, is demonstrated to us now by the stance of the various states with regard to the Jews emigrating from Romania. Turkey states unambiguously that it has no room for the 'victims of Romanian fascism'. Austria, too, has turned back the Romanian emigrants at the border.<sup>8</sup> But the reluctance of the Jews to emigrate to Russia, say, must appear nothing less than suspicious. Bolshevism, which characteristically only Jews preach as the only possible form of government, does not seem so rosy to them, or else they would welcome, especially now, the opportunity to settle in that country, whose form of government is their very own creation.

The peoples have always recognized the true face of the Jew, and evidence of that is offered to us by the caricatures in the newspapers of every country and every era. The best proof that the Jews are a race whose alien approach to the surrounding world is

4 By the decree of 24 Oct. 1870, named after French Minister of Justice Isaac-Adolphe Crémieux, French citizenship was bestowed upon the Algerian Jews. Five years earlier the French colonial power had provoked violent protests among Algerian Muslims and Jews by offering French civil liberties to both groups, provided that they renounced their respective faiths. The indignation at this offer had united the two groups; the Crémieux Decree divided them, because it treated the Muslims less favourably than the Jews. From the mid 1920s onward, the growing tensions, reinforced by Arab nationalists, repeatedly resulted in violent attacks on Jews in Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco.

5 Presumably the author means the Muslim Feast of Breaking the Fast (Eid al-Fitr), celebrated at the end of Ramadan, the month of fasting.

6 A port town on the north-western coast of Algeria.

7 During the Russian Civil War there were numerous pogroms against Jews in Ukraine in 1919–1920.

8 The denaturalization of the Romanian Jews (see fn. 2) led the Turkish government to adopt various internal decrees and laws after 1937 that were intended to prevent foreign Jews from entering Turkey, and to facilitate the expulsion of Jews living there. The Austrian government reacted to the antisemitic legislation in Romania by tightening border controls.

perceived similarly by all the nations is offered to us by the fact that the French as well as the Poles, Italians, Russians, Romanians, Hungarians, and Spaniards, to name just a few peoples, portray the Jew the same way in the cartoon: as a money-grubber, a man without a fatherland and a profiteer in every war, as a rapist and a swindler. The Eternal Jew is not a pious legend; he is the embodiment of Jewry itself.<sup>9</sup> Nowhere does he feel really at home, and if the Jew in France acts more French than a Frenchman, it is only because the Frenchman would promptly leap to his own defence if it occurred to Emil Ludwig,<sup>10</sup> Georg Bernhard,<sup>11</sup> and whatever all the other sad fellows are called, for example, to insult the French people as they have insulted our country.

The Jew should be satisfied in Germany in particular, for nowhere is he better protected by the law than in the Third Reich. That, however, is why he also must be repeatedly and energetically put in his place, within the bounds that he only too often tries to overstep, because it is simply one of his bad habits to disregard the laws and moral conventions of the various peoples, only to break out in self-pitying cries whenever he is forced to behave as custom and tradition dictate.

In addition, the Jew was felt in every country to be a Jewish alien, whether he had attained the status of a financial heavyweight like Rothschild<sup>12</sup> or made his way through the streets, complaining, to deal in old clothes. It is only a question of time until other countries, too, decide to place the Jew under separate laws. It is the Jew himself who forces the host peoples to take such measures, as we have seen again in the case of Romania.

#### DOC. 14

#### On 2 March 1938 Luise Solmitz writes about discriminatory regulations against Jews<sup>1</sup>

Diary of Luise Solmitz, Hamburg, entry for 2 March 1938 (copy)

Now there is the directive of the High Command on the conscription of former officers, now with no age limit beyond the age of 45;<sup>2</sup> they are to be placed at the disposal of the Wehrmacht. New bitterness. The questions begin again.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>9</sup> The term Eternal Jew alludes to the thirteenth-century myth of a Jew who taunted Jesus on his way to the cross only to then be condemned to wander the earth until Judgement Day.

<sup>10</sup> Emil Ludwig (born Emil Cohn) (1881–1948), writer, translator, lawyer, and editor; became known for his biographies of Goethe (1920), Napoleon (1925), Wilhelm II (1926), and Bismarck (1927). He emigrated to Switzerland in 1933 and to the USA in 1940.

<sup>11</sup> Georg Bernhard (1875–1944), writer, editor, and politician; from 1924 member of the German Democratic Party (DDP); member of the Reichstag, 1928–1930; editor-in-chief of the *Vossische Zeitung*, 1914–1930; honorary professor at the Berlin School of Commerce, 1928. In 1933 he emigrated to Paris, where he founded the *Pariser Tageblatt* newspaper, and in 1941 he fled to the USA.

<sup>12</sup> The Rothschilds were one of the most influential banking families of Europe in the nineteenth century. The ancestral seat of the dynasty founded by Mayer Amschel Rothschild (1744–1812) was Frankfurt am Main.

<sup>1</sup> Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 622-1/140, Familie Solmitz, 1, Bd. 31. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Regulation on the Conscription of Officers and Wehrmacht Officials with Officer Rank, 22 Feb. 1938, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, p. 214.

Now it is stated in the travel passport whether [one is an] Aryan or not.<sup>4</sup> Then the requirement that school leavers report for labour deployment within fourteen days of leaving school.

There will be a population census in May, also noting whether [one is an] Aryan or not, but to date the word continues to be: in an envelope.<sup>5</sup> – Why still the timidity among us? It's all for nothing anyway. Little by little.

When X<sup>6</sup> and I once again got on to the subject of the future, and the fact that her situation {as a Mischling} is regulated least of all and there is no inclination to even make a problem of it, she replied bitterly: 'Oh, an alternative is quite possible; I think about it sometimes and have read it somewhere, too: forced sterilization.'

Pastor Niemöller has been sentenced to seven months in confinement and a fine of RM 2,000.<sup>7</sup> Abroad, there was extensive coverage of the trial. The windbag and poet, the 'conqueror' of Fiume, Gabriele d'Annunzio, has died.<sup>8</sup> I don't have much time for this sort of figure from romantic fiction.

3 The Military Service Law of 21 May 1935 had excluded Jews from military service: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1935, I, p. 609. Owing to the age limit for conscription, Luise Solmitz's husband, who was a former officer, was unaffected by this clause. However, with the removal of the age limit, he too was now subject to the discriminatory provision.

4 This stipulation could not be verified. The marking of the passports of Jews with a 'J' was not introduced until 5 Oct. 1938.

5 The census was scheduled to be conducted in May 1938, but it was postponed for a year due to the annexation of Austria. A supplementary card, which was to be submitted in a closed envelope, included, for the first time, an enquiry about parentage: see Doc. 36, 17 May 1938.

6 This is a reference to Gisela Solmitz, the daughter of Luise and Friedrich Solmitz: see Doc. 5, 27 Jan. 1938, fn. 12.

7 Martin Niemöller (1892–1984), naval officer and theologian; Freikorps commander in the Ruhr, 1920; from 1931 pastor in Berlin-Dahlem; in 1933 founding member of the Pastors' Emergency League, the precursor to the Confessing Church; arrested in 1935 and 1937; convicted by a special court on 2 March 1938; imprisoned first in Sachsenhausen concentration camp and then, 1941–1945, in Dachau concentration camp; co-author of the Stuttgart Declaration of Guilt, 1945 (a public acknowledgement of the Christian Church's inadequate response to the criminal actions of the National Socialist regime); member of the Council of the Protestant Church in Germany, 1948–1955.

8 Gabriele D'Annunzio (1863–1938), poet and journalist; spoke publicly in favour of Italy's entry into the First World War, in which he himself served as a volunteer; led a Free Corps that occupied the city of Fiume (Rijeka) in 1919 in order to incorporate the city into Italy and ruled the city as a dictator until Dec. 1920; although never a member of the Fascist Party of Italy, he is considered one of the central ideological figures of Italian fascism.

## DOC. 15

**Völkischer Beobachter, 14 March 1938: article on the Gleichschaltung  
of the Viennese press<sup>1</sup>**

*The transformation of the Viennese press*

*Amazingly rapid reorganization of the 80 per cent Jewified Viennese newspapers*

*First-hand report by the VB.*

z<sup>2</sup> Vienna, 13 March. The major transformation that has occurred in Austria within forty-eight hours has led to radical changes in the Viennese press at the same pace. With surprising speed, the overall image of the Viennese press, more than 80 per cent of which was Jewified and under Czech and French influences or clerically oriented, has completely changed.

The Jewish newspapers *Telegraf am Mittag*, *Echo*, and *Nachtausgabe*, which, under the guidance of Mr *Bondy*,<sup>3</sup> who has now fled, and other Jewish members of the press, did disruptive work of the worst kind and have stirred up hatred against the Third Reich and National Socialism in Austria, *were occupied by the SA and SS and shut down*. In place of the Jewish *Telegraf*, the *NS-Telegraf* was published on Saturday for the first time; it sold like hot cakes. The *Czech-Jewish 'Wiener Tag'*, which still came out early on Saturday morning along with the *Stunde*, a paper with the same political orientation, has *ceased to exist* in the meantime, which means a further cleansing of the Viennese press has taken place.

At the Steyrer Mühlenverlag,<sup>4</sup> one of the largest Viennese newspaper publishers, where until recently the Jewish-Freemason *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, the *Sporttagblatt*, and a weekly edition of the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* and the *Große und Kleine Volkszeitung* were printed,<sup>5</sup> a government commissioner has been installed and has the task of reorganizing operations. The personnel, some of whom were Marxist up to now, have not closed their minds to the commissioner's appeal to them to accommodate themselves to the National Socialist revolution. The *Jewish editors* are still trying to make difficulties, *demanding gigantic redundancy payments of 20,000 schillings<sup>6</sup> and more*. But ways and means are being found to stop them from looting the firms before their departure. The *Neues Wiener Journal* and the *Neue Freie Presse* have also been very quick to adapt to the new circumstances.<sup>7</sup>

1 'Die Umwandlung der Wiener Presse', *Völkischer Beobachter* (Berlin edition), 14 March 1938, p. 8. This document has been translated from German. The *Völkischer Beobachter* (VB) was the daily newspaper of the NSDAP and appeared from 1927, initially as a nationwide edition published in Munich. Between 1933 and 1945 a Berlin and a northern German edition also appeared, and from 1938 a Vienna edition.

2 Probably the author's initial.

3 Dr Joseph Adolf Bondy (1876–1946), journalist; editor and correspondent of various newspapers in Prague, Vienna, and Berlin, 1901–1920; editor-in-chief of the *National-Zeitung* from 1920; worked from 1933 for the newspaper *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* (NWT) in Geneva as correspondent at the League of Nations; dismissed in 1938; emigrated to London in 1939; from 1940 member of the Central European Joint Committee.

4 Correctly: Steyrermühl-Verlag.

5 The *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* (NWT) was published during the period 1867–1945 and was bourgeois-liberal in outlook until early 1938. The newspaper *Volks-Zeitung* was published in Vienna during the years 1918–1944, with a secondary edition, *Kleine Volkszeitung*. The newspapers were owned by the Steyrermühl corporation, which in 1938 fell to the National Socialist publisher Ostmärkischer Zeitungsverlag.

As for the clerical press, the 'Neuigkeitsweltblatt',<sup>8</sup> which was close to the archbishop of Vienna<sup>9</sup> and to the legitimist and half-Jew Wiesner,<sup>10</sup> and received its directives from the former president of the Media Chamber through a Jewish middleman, has not been published since yesterday. Perhaps the most conspicuous change, however, has occurred at the 'Reichspost'<sup>11</sup> of the clerical editor-in-chief Funder.<sup>12</sup> In its editorial on Friday morning it was still praising the Schuschnigg plebiscite,<sup>13</sup> and it had predicted that this plebiscite would yield an 'overwhelming result' and had threatened the nay-sayers that they would be neutralized by co-determination in the new Austria. This same 'Reichspost' publishes a large photo of the Führer on its front page today, with the headline 'Towards Fulfilment', an editorial,<sup>14</sup> albeit no longer written by Mr Funder, who has resigned, but by one of the editors who have constituted a sort of brown oasis in the black [conservative] 'Reichspost' for quite some time now.

In ringing tones of jubilation, it says in this editorial: thanks to the genius and will-power of Adolf Hitler, the hour of ethnic German unification has now come; from this day forward, no power in the world can prevent the all-German people any longer from taking its due position at the heart of Europe.

The same change undergone by the *Reichspost* has been experienced also by its offshoot intended for the people, *Das kleine Volksblatt*, which also publishes a photo of the Führer on its front page today. *Das Kleine Blatt*, which to the last could not deny its Marxist past, prepared a surprise for its readers by presenting them with a photo of the Führer on the first page.<sup>15</sup>

6 Austrian currency.

7 *Neue Freie Presse*, liberal daily newspaper founded in 1864. After the Anschluss of Austria, it was integrated into the NWT along with the *Neues Wiener Journal*.

8 Correctly: *Neuigkeits-Welt-Blatt*; published 1874–1943, every day except Sunday; after the Anschluss it was subtitled 'Vienna's oldest Aryan daily newspaper'.

9 Theodor Innitzer (1875–1955), theologian; vice chancellor of the University of Vienna, 1928–1929; minister of social affairs, 1929–1930; archbishop of Vienna from 1932 and cardinal from 1933; papal legate from 1952.

10 Dr Friedrich von Wiesner (1871–1951), diplomat; worked in the Imperial and Royal Foreign Ministry from 1911 and was its chief press officer, 1917–1918; compulsorily retired in 1919; leader of the Austrian legitimist movement, which called for the restoration of the Habsburg Monarchy.

11 *Reichspost*, Viennese daily newspaper aligned with the antisemitic Christian Social Party, published from 1894 until 30 Sept. 1938.

12 Dr Friedrich Funder (1872–1959), journalist; from 1896 to 1938 worked for the newspaper *Reichspost*, of which he was publisher from 1905 to 1921 and from 1922 to 12 March 1938; political advisor to Dollfuß and Schuschnigg; imprisoned in Dachau and Flossenbürg concentration camps, 1938–1939; banned from practising his profession after his release; in 1945 founded the Catholic weekly newspaper *Die Furche*, which he ran until his death.

13 On 9 March 1938 Austrian Federal Chancellor Schuschnigg had announced a plebiscite on the country's independence, but was forced to cancel it the following day owing to German threats – without managing to avert the German invasion by so doing.

14 *Reichspost*, 13 March 1938, p. 1. In the article Otto Howorka welcomed the end of the centuries-long territorial fragmentation of German-speaking lands, which had been sealed by 'the Jewish peace treaties of 1919'.

15 *Das Kleine Volksblatt* was published as the daily newspaper of the Christian Social Party, 1929–1938, and as the daily newspaper of the Austrian People's Party (ÖVP), 1945–1970. *Das Kleine Blatt: Die Tageszeitung des Roten Wien* was the daily newspaper of the Social Democratic Workers' Party, 1927–1934; from 1934 to March 1938 it had a corporate-state orientation, addressed to the working classes; from 1947 to 1971 it was the weekly newspaper of the Socialist Democratic Party of Austria (SPÖ). Of the twenty-two dailies in existence in Vienna in March 1938, only four were still published in 1945.

The sea change that has taken place in recent days is also reflected in the editorial of the *Wiener Zeitung*. This official newspaper – which on Thursday morning had published an article by an unnamed party, ‘*People of Austria Have the Floor*’,<sup>16</sup> at the end of which were these words with respect to the Schuschnigg plebiscite: the time has come when there can no longer be a blurred intermediate stage between ready cooperation in the building of the fatherland and illegal work against the fatherland, where it is a matter of declaring belief in our eternal indestructible Austria – publishes an article by an unnamed party again today. Following Schuschnigg’s resignation, however, this party is an altogether different one. In the article, headlined ‘*Greater German Dawn*’, the past few days are described as an unforgettable milestone in the history of the German people.<sup>17</sup>

*While all these newspapers, in negating National Socialism and from a Jewish, clerical, or Marxist past, have accomplished overnight an adaptation to the new facts and have quickly wrapped themselves in fine National Socialist words, shedding their bygone attitude, the ‘Wiener Neueste Nachrichten’, as the Viennese newspaper with Greater German tradition, has now received an opportunity to cast off the shackles placed on it.*

*The government commissioner who had been installed there in 1934, and dictated to the newspaper a course that a majority of the editorial staff followed only reluctantly, is gone.*

Along with him, the editor-in chief, Mauthe, has also resigned.<sup>18</sup> He had been all too willing to do the bidding of Schuschnigg’s government commissioner. The previous editor-in-chief, *Petweidic*,<sup>19</sup> who was forced to resign at the time and in the interim had represented Party newspapers of the German Reich in Vienna, has resumed his post again.

And so the transformation is proceeding apace, both in the Viennese press and in the official press offices of the federal government.

In place of the previous head of the official news agency, Court Counsellor *Weber*,<sup>20</sup> Pg.<sup>21</sup> Dr Gerhard Aichinger from the German News Agency in Vienna,<sup>22</sup> who has already made a name for himself as a playwright in the Third Reich, is standing in as the provisional head.

16 ‘Österreichs Volk hat das Wort’, *Wiener Zeitung*, 10 March 1938, p. 1. This daily newspaper, founded in 1703, was also from 1810 the official gazette of the government. It was limited to this function from 12 March 1938 until it ceased publication on 29 Feb. 1940; it was re-established in 1945.

17 ‘Großdeutscher Anbruch’, *Wiener Zeitung*, 13 March 1938, p. 1. The author of the article welcomed the fact that the National Socialists had made the long-awaited Greater German Reich a reality.

18 Hans Mauthe (1893–1962), journalist; from 1925 political editor and later editor of the *Wiener Neueste Nachrichten*; dismissed in 1938; editor-in-chief of the weekly periodical *Wiener Börsen-Kurier*, 1939–1940; in 1942 became an editor of *Südost-Dienst*, the organ of the German Oriental Association; from 1947 worked for the daily *Die Presse* in Vienna.

19 Correctly: Walter Petwaidic (1904–1978), journalist; joined the NSDAP in 1933; editor-in-chief until July 1934 and from 1938 of the *Wiener Neueste Nachrichten* and from 1940 of the NWT; head of the Ostmark Regional Association of the Reich Association of the German Press, 1938–1941; worked under the name Walter Fredericia for the weekly periodical *Die Zeit*, 1949–1955; author of works including *Die autoritäre Anarchie: Streiflichter des deutschen Zusammenbruchs* (1946).

20 Edmund Weber (1900–1949), journalist; head of the Official News Agency (ANA), the Austrian federal news service, 1933–1938; member of the leaders’ council of the Fatherland Front; press consultant for the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and for the Farmers’ League.

21 Parteigenosse: party comrade; a member of the NSDAP.

22 Dr Gerhard Aichinger (b. 1900), journalist; editor at the German News Agency (DNB); joined the NSDAP in 1930; author of works including *Schwarze Fahne* (1934).

## DOC. 16

**On 15 March 1938 the NSDAP Kreisleiter in Leipzig reports to the Gauleitung of Saxony on the measures taken thus far against Jews<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the Leipzig NSDAP Kreisleitung (Tm./Gr.), Wettengel,<sup>2</sup> Kreisleiter, to the Gauleiter of Saxony,<sup>3</sup> Dresden – A.1, 24 Bürgerwiese, dated 15 March 1938

*Re: Jews.* Of the approximately 18,000 Jews still living in the Gau of Saxony at present, no less than two thirds live in the Reich Trade Fair City.<sup>4</sup> It is therefore more than justified to pose the question as to which steps and measures have been taken here to eliminate the Jews gradually and increasingly from public life and to restrict their field of activity.

I note with satisfaction that we have received of late more enquiries than previously with respect to approval for issuance of the emigration permit. Our consent to this is, of course, being granted without further ado. In addition to general laws issued against the Jews, the locally issued restrictions have probably played a pivotal role in this as well.

That is why, in the following, I am briefly informing you of the measures taken by the Party in cooperation with the municipal administration:

(1) The municipal administration, including the purchasing office, no longer transacts business of any kind with Jews.

(2) Any business connection from which the Jews could extract any advantages is prohibited. They therefore obtain no credit whatsoever, not even from the savings bank.

(3) No Jews are invited to bid on projects or procurement. They are not considered when delivery contracts are awarded.

(4) Jews are not permitted to enter:

(a) shared bathing facilities (steam baths, swimming baths, and open-air pools),

(b) pawnshops,

(c) city libraries.

If they turn up, they are to be prosecuted under the court system.<sup>5</sup>

(5) Members of the Israelite religious community are not allowed to hold ceremonies in city cemeteries. Burials must be authorized, even though a Jewish cemetery exists.

1 Stadtarchiv Leipzig, ch. 1, no. 122, fols. 66–69. This document has been translated from German.

2 Ernst Wettengel (1903–1948), businessman; joined the NSDAP in 1925; head of the staff of the Deputy of the Führer at the NSDAP local branch in the Brown House, Munich; full-time Kreisleiter of Leipzig, 1938–1943; National Socialist leadership officer of the 36th Army Corps of the Wehrmacht, 1944.

3 Martin Mutschmann (1879–1947), businessman; from 1907 factory owner in Plauen; joined the NSDAP in 1922; Gauleiter of Saxony, 1925–1945; Reichstag member, Sept. 1930–1945; Reichsstattthalter of Saxony, 1933–1945; arrested and handed over to Soviet troops, 1945; sentenced to death by a court martial and executed.

4 On 20 Dec. 1937 Leipzig was officially renamed the Reich Trade Fair City of Leipzig. In the 1933 census, 20,584 persons of the Jewish faith were counted in Saxony; most lived in the large cities of Dresden, Chemnitz, and Leipzig. Of the 11,564 Jews in Leipzig, around 5,000 emigrated between 1933 and 1938.

5 As early as July 1935, Jews in Leipzig were forbidden to use public baths: see the newspaper article 'Städtische Bäder für Juden verboten! Eine nachahmenswerte Maßnahme', *Leipziger Tageszeitung*, 21 July 1935, p. 7.

(6) Jews must still receive support from the public welfare system. However, they are dealt with here with extreme reluctance. As a basic principle, no benefits are paid to Jews who engage in any commerce whatsoever.

(7) Upon application, subsidies for emigrants are paid, in order to be rid of these persons at an early opportunity.

(8) Land is not leased to Jews.

(9) Jews are subject to restrictions at the city's exhibitions and markets. Aryan applicants are given priority in all areas.

(10) Jewish cattle dealers and wholesale butchers are no longer allowed to use the stockyard and slaughterhouse.

(11) Jews are no longer allowed to belong to sports clubs. There are still two Jewish sports associations in Leipzig at present, which also have their own playing fields. Jews are prohibited from engaging in sports on city playing fields.

(12) Jewish children are not permitted to take part in the programme that provides meals for children.

(13) The Central German Stock Exchange has been free of Jews for some days. The Jews' permits were revoked.

(14) Trade licences for travelling salesmen and travel credentials are no longer issued to Jews.<sup>6</sup> We have an accurate means of control, owing to the political assessment required for these documents.

(15) Until now, Jews moving into Leipzig had to be given lodging in the hostel for the homeless if they had no residence. Currently under consideration with the city authorities is a petition we filed also seeking to deny the Jews accommodation in the hostel for the homeless.<sup>7</sup>

(16) In addition, there is currently discussion of the extent to which the Jews can be prohibited from entering the Rosenthal public park, located in the heart of the city. This is encountering certain difficulties, because major public thoroughfares run through the Rosenthal.<sup>8</sup>

(17) A campaign is in preparation designed to expel the Jews from Aryan coffee houses. Later on, a ban is to be pronounced for all restaurants and inns, possibly involving the placement of 'Entrance forbidden to Jews' signs. If establishments refuse to put up this sign, we steer clear of them.

(18) A recording of the names of Jews who still occupy business premises in city buildings is in progress. Every opportunity is seized to terminate lease agreements with Jews. Forty-four Jews are still in city-owned residences.

<sup>6</sup> Trade licences for Jewish travelling salesmen became invalid throughout the Reich with effect from 30 Sept. 1938: Law on the Amendment of the Commercial Code for the German Reich, 6 July 1938, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, p. 823.

<sup>7</sup> The request by the German Council of Municipalities that the Israelite Religious Communities be obliged to provide accommodation for homeless Jews was initially denied by the Leipzig Main Administrative Office on 4 March 1938, because no Jews had thus far had to be housed and, should accommodation be denied, there was the additional risk that the influx of Jews in need of assistance could no longer be monitored: Stadtarchiv Leipzig, ch. 1, no. 122, fols. 58–59.

<sup>8</sup> See PMJ 1/192.

Also very crucial in this context is the handling of the Jewish question in the school sector. Of interest here is a brief overview of the number of Jew children who have been in primary schools, secondary schools, and vocational schools since the takeover of power (including school pupils who are  $\frac{3}{4}$  and  $\frac{1}{2}$  Jewish).

<i>In attendance in:</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Vocational</i>	<i>Combined</i>
1933	820	197	115	1,132
1935	384	121	188	693
1936	299	72	162	533
1937	219	52	254	525

The number of Jewish pupils in the state schools has thus decreased significantly since 1933. Generally, the pupils were absorbed by the *private* Jewish schools, which had a pupil count of 335 in 1933 and 613 in 1937. Most of the remaining 329 probably dropped out of school as a result of emigration. With effect from Easter 1938, the Jewish children in state primary schools are to be combined in collective classes. The two exclusively Jewish classes thereby created will be housed in the building of the present Catholic primary school. The Catholic primary school itself will be relocated at Easter 1938, so that all Jewish primary school pupils will then be taught in one building, completely separate from the Aryan children. This removal of the Jewish children from the primary schools is an additional instance of progress and one that is urgently required, since the intolerable circumstances prevailing until now have greatly hampered instruction, especially in the subjects of German, history, racial studies, religion, cooking (food is rejected as non-kosher), writing, etc., and frequently it was not possible for teachers and pupils to give their best.

At the Jewish secondary schools there were 373 pupils in 1933 and 437 in 1934. Since there is a separate Jewish secondary school in Leipzig, the ministry has approved a decision to no longer admit Jews to the other secondary schools.

The Jewish children who are required to attend vocational schools will also be schooled separately as of Easter 1938, probably in eight classes, also located in the building of what is currently the Catholic primary school.

I will keep you informed at all times with regard to additional important measures to be taken locally against the Jews.

Heil Hitler!

By decision of the head of the General Health Insurance Company for the city of Leipzig, the admission and treatment of Aryan members by the Jewish hospital is prohibited.<sup>9</sup> The necessary approval for this has been given by the Head Insurance Office.

The aforementioned

<sup>9</sup> The Israelite Hospital of the Eitingon Foundation, which the Leipzig fur trader Chaim Eitingon (1857–1932) donated to the Israelite Religious Community in 1928, was considered one of Germany's most modern hospitals. On 14 Dec. 1939 Gauleiter Mutschmann ordered the expropriation of the building, along with the fixtures and fittings, and instructed that eviction take place within 24 hours.

## DOC. 17

**David Schapira reports on the mistreatment of Viennese Jews in early 1938 following the Anschluss<sup>1</sup>**

Submission by David Schapira<sup>2</sup> to a Harvard University competition (1940)<sup>3</sup>

I am 42 years old, a Jew, a physician, and lived in Vienna continuously for twenty-five years. I came to Vienna as a war refugee in 1914, at the beginning of the World War. To what was then *Imperial Vienna*.

From 1918 Vienna [was] governed by a *Social Democratic majority*. There was no anti-semitism in the theory and the manifesto of the Social Democrats, there was no anti-semitism. A great many Jews (more precisely, persons of Jewish origin) held mid-level and senior leadership positions in the Party. Here, we already see a phenomenon of psychological interest. These 'Jewish' leaders wanted to be objective and impartial. And they frequently were so. But when it was Jews who were applicants for any positions, the leaders were more than objective, they were hyper-objective, 'more papal than the Pope' – and a Jew was quite often at a disadvantage. I know of cases in which applicants for positions in institutions administered by Social Democrats were told that their qualifications were very good indeed, but their Jewish name and membership of the Jewish religion were in the way. They should change their name and leave the Jewish religious community, and then one could perhaps do something for them. – Such discrimination against Jews was not rare in Vienna in the Social Democratic era. – Nonetheless, life was tolerable for the Jews in Vienna.

Things became worse after the ban on the Social Democratic Party in Austria in February 1934 that accompanied the rise to power of the *Fatherland Front* and the *Dollfuss-Schuschnigg* government. At that point the antisemitism became more aggressive and overtly exhibited the character of racial antisemitism. The difference between German and Austrian antisemitism was more one of degree than one of kind.

In the period between 1918 and 1938, we see a *continuous increase in antisemitism*, and in fact primarily as a consequence of the political parties' propaganda and tactics. The parties were unwilling to renounce the cheap and vile propaganda methods of anti-semitism, methods that never failed to have an effect on the brutish and base instincts of the masses, however. The parties outdid one another in their efforts to offer a 'genuine' and 'better' antisemitism. 'Noble' souls responded to that. The parties forget one thing, namely that the base instincts of man, once awakened, can no longer be controlled. In the end, the upper hand is still held by those who not only engage in an economic and cultural struggle against the Jews, but also want the complete eradication of the Jews. And that was in fact what happened. The proponents of the strongest antisemitism displaced the others. *The Nazis prevailed*.

The parties were blind. For short-lived successes, they betrayed lofty ideals of mankind, but they hereby betrayed themselves. Flirting with and *tolerating a 'moderate' anti-*

1 David Schapira, 'Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und nach dem 30. Januar 1933' [My life in Germany before and after 30 January 1933] (1940), pp. 1–2, Harvard Competition, no. 199. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr David Schapira (b. 1898), physician; imprisoned in Buchenwald concentration camp from Sept. 1938 to May 1939; emigrated in 1939.

3 The essay contains seven pages and was posted from London.

*semitism merely paves the way for Nazidom.* – If the parties had upheld their manifestos, had fought for the freedom and equality of all, had made no concessions to the human beast, they would still be in existence today. They failed to do those things. They ‘dealt’ in antisemitism. For that, they have had to pay with their own downfall. It seems to be a law with no exception that, *whenever democratic parties tolerate antisemitism, they dig their own graves.*

11 March 1938. *Entry of the German Nazis into Vienna.* The Nazis are very good propagandists. That very morning, Nazi propaganda inscriptions and emblems were to be seen everywhere. The propaganda and mass suggestion were so perfect that the enormous enthusiasm of the masses was genuine from the start. It later turned into equally enormous disappointment.

The very same day, the antisemitic rabble believed their time had come. *Jews were beaten bloody in the streets*, spat upon, and reviled. Jews with broken ribs, bloodied heads, and broken, missing teeth came in large numbers to the outpatient clinic of the Jewish hospital. – To cite just one example, one afternoon the Jews, regardless of age and gender, were rounded up in the Hauptallee<sup>4</sup> and forced to ‘do frog-jumps’ and themselves shout ‘Death to Judah’ or ‘I’m a dirty Jew’. They were forced to run the gauntlet and the like. – Humiliations of Jews were the order of the day.

Old women and men, eminent rabbis, doctors, lawyers were called on to clean streets or wash cars.

I myself was picked up and made to sweep the streets by adolescent members of the Hitler Youth. I had to bring along my own broom and pail. To the jeering of the mob, I was led to my ‘workplace’. In the defence of some Aryans, I must note that individual Aryan women who knew me and saw this were weeping. – *There was no protection provided by the police at all.*

The shop windows and company nameplates of Jewish businesses were defaced with anti-Jewish inflammatory slogans, such as ‘Death to Judah’, ‘Dirty Jew’, ‘Race defiler’, ‘Jewish cheat’, ‘Jew, you belong in Dachau’, ‘To the gallows with the Jews’. For the purpose of illustration, drawings of Jews’ heads and gallows with hanging Jews and the like were affixed.

There was a *total boycott* of Jewish businesses that were still open then, with guards stationed to ensure the boycott. If, in an extremely rare case, an Aryan dared to enter a Jewish shop and was caught doing so, a sign was hung round his neck with the words ‘I, a German swine, buy at Jewish shops’, and [he] had to make his way through the streets accompanied by the jeering mob.

It is no wonder that the more prudent and enterprising Jews, sensing trouble and leaving everything behind, tried in the very first few days to escape with nothing but the clothes on their backs and get across the border.

The *theft of Jewish assets* began. In the first few days, uniformed and non-uniformed Nazis began plundering – sorry, ‘requisitioning’ – Jewish businesses. In doing so, they did not forget to take along the cash and jewellery of the proprietors. They had a strong tendency to ‘requisition’ typewriters. In privately owned apartments, too, they ‘had a look’. In the process they took linens, clothes, jewellery, furs, carpets, radios, in short

4 A long avenue running through the Prater, Vienna’s largest public park.

everything that was not nailed down, and in fact just because, allegedly, they were *only* searching for communist leaflets and weapons. Because no leaflets were found, some were brought along by people ‘acting in an official capacity’ and put there. Any attempt to resist could cost life or limb.

*Extortion* of every kind was the order of the day. All non-Jewish debtors demanded that Jewish creditors *cancel their debts* without payment, or even that money be refunded for items that had been bought long before and already used. Otherwise, they threatened to file complaints alleging ‘that the goods had been sold to them at an exorbitant price’ or ‘that he (the Jew) had railed against the Führer’ and the like. These attempts to black-mail the intimidated Jews always succeeded.

Cars owned by Jews (doctors and other professionals) were ‘requisitioned’ in the street by unknown persons. Once, when a Jewish doctor refused to surrender a fine vehicle to a stranger, the ‘requisitioner’ came back a little later with another person and said, ‘If you’re not willing to relinquish the car, you still mustn’t denounce the Führer.’ The doctor knew, of course, what was in store for him, and gave the car to the two thugs without protest.

Soon legal robbery by the *acting managers* also began; it was their task to ‘liquidate’ or ‘Aryanize’ the Jewish businesses. The liquidating and Aryanizing continued until the businesses, in most cases, were transferred into the ownership of the acting managers themselves, without the Jewish owner having received any compensation.

In order that they could leave Germany, rich homeowners had to pay the *Reich Flight Tax*. The rate levied was so high that the buildings themselves were not sufficient to cover this tax. Thus, *all the movable assets, too, had to be used for this purpose*.

Many people could not cope with this bullying and committed suicide. *The number of Jewish suicides was several hundred.*

[...]⁵

#### DOC. 18

### Karl Sass describes the mood in Vienna in the spring of 1938 and the Anschluss of Austria<sup>1</sup>

Submission by Karl Sass<sup>2</sup> to a Harvard University competition (1940)<sup>3</sup>

#### *A Hitler year in Austria*

Hitler *ante portas*.<sup>4</sup>

I lived in Vienna for over 17 years. I am married and have one son, who was 4¾ years old when Hitler conferred his favour upon Austria. I was a teacher. At a private school

5 Schapira gives additional information about the ‘May operation’, in which the Gestapo in Vienna arrested Jews after the enactment of the Nuremberg Laws and deported them to concentration camps. He also writes about his confinement in Buchenwald concentration camp, his release, and his emigration.

1 Karl Sass, ‘Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und nach dem 30. Januar 1933’ [My life in Germany before and after 30 January 1933] (1940), pp. 1–6, Harvard Competition, no. 197. This document has been translated from German.

I taught courses for 13- to 14-year-old pupils in preparation for their examinations at the secondary school, and I taught religion at state schools.

Until the Dollfuss–Schuschnigg era, I found, generally speaking, no cause to consider the Jewish problem separately from other problems. I felt myself to be a person just like any other. At that time, things changed. I nonetheless continued to live in peace and pursue my occupation. Naturally, I also continued to live quite amicably with my Christian friends.

I sensed that under the surface something was churning, seething, and being planned. Too often I heard friends themselves tell tasteless Nazi jokes, and some concealed from me, while others openly admitted to me, that they were National Socialists. Not antisemites, they emphasized, not at all, as some people imagined.

I spoke about it openly with a number of them. They opined that Schuschnigg<sup>5</sup> was worse than Hitler, that it was he who was a fascist and had sold Austria to Italy etc.<sup>6</sup> In reality, others said, Hitler was a socialist, though consciously German, because Germans were far better off under Hitler than under Schuschnigg. Some added, obviously just because I was present, that antisemitism was only a means to an end, and that things were not as bad as they seemed. They also pointed out that the Jews in Germany were doing relatively well. It usually sounded as if they wanted to say that people are stupid, so this is the way one has to ensnare them. Arguments to the contrary were usually rebutted by saying that they came from the sensationalist press, which must be characterized as Germany's enemy.

Of course, I encountered real National Socialists as well, who assured me self-confidently and with firm conviction that Hitler would come to Austria sooner rather than later. They undermined the regime of the Fatherland Front by ridiculing and joking about the government or by emphasizing the glories of Hitler's Germany. I frequently heard the threat: 'The Jews will have nothing to laugh about.' Or it was said that the only Jews to suffer would be those who [']have something to answer for'.

Generally, therefore, the prevailing opinion was the one that Nazi agents created beneath the surface: nothing will help; Hitler will come anyway. It was thus better to join the NSDAP straight away. Since Germany was a paradise, the person to be favoured some day, once the paradise blossomed in Austria as well, would be the person who joined the Nazi Party as soon as possible. Since Schuschnigg shared the responsibility

2 Dr Karl (Chaim) Sass, teacher; born in Poland. As a stateless person he managed, after one failed attempt, to escape illegally to Britain.

3 The essay comprises thirty pages and was posted from Richborough, Kent.

4 Latin: 'before the gates'; alternative rendering of *ad portas* 'at the gates'. This term is used in Cicero's first *Philippic* and in Livy's *Ab urbe condita* when referring to the Punic Carthaginian military commander Hannibal. In ancient Rome the term subsequently became a common expression used when facing calamity.

5 Dr Kurt A. J. Edler von Schuschnigg (1897–1977), lawyer and politician; Christian Social minister of justice, 1932–1934; from 1933 also minister of education and cultural affairs; federal chancellor of Austria, 1934–1938. After his resignation in 1938 he was imprisoned by the Gestapo in Vienna and, from 1941 to 1945, in Sachsenhausen concentration camp; resident in Italy, 1945–1948; professor in St Louis from 1948; returned to Austria in 1967.

6 Schuschnigg continued Dollfuß's policy of close relations with Italy: see Introduction, pp. 34–35.

for 12 February 1934,<sup>7</sup> it was easy to win over the working masses. Particularly wholehearted about joining were those who had nothing to lose and hoped to gain something. Others joined as well, but cautiously. Those who thought clearly and did not want to replace one evil with another declined nonetheless to join the Nazis.

The Schuschnigg government noticeably lost vigour and strength. One sensed this more and more. The Nazis' agitation beneath the surface increased in strength. The government saw itself surrounded by enemies in the darkness. It mostly flailed at the air without really landing a blow. This emboldened the men working beneath the surface even more. In this way, a kind of National Socialist psychosis was created. It was accompanied by an increase in antisemitism. Since Schuschnigg was unwilling to make any social and economic concessions, and since he could not loosen the national and cultural reins without capitulating, he let the antisemites do as they liked, without introducing the 100 per cent antisemitism of the Third Reich, merely because he was a responsible-minded statesman. What he accepted was antisemitism that treads lightly.

The *Reichspost*, the semi-official organ of the government, sought to prove that the pillars of the Fatherland Front, the members of the Christian Social Party, deserved priority rights in Austrian antisemitism. Bit by bit, the state and the community neutralized the Jews, perhaps out of some conviction, perhaps in an effort to take the wind out of the National Socialists' sails. The Federation of Industry, with Deputy Mayor Kresse at its head, developed a vast amount of antisemitic propaganda.<sup>8</sup> The antisemitic weekly *Volksruf*<sup>9</sup> began publication. The Antisemitic League<sup>10</sup> became active. In short: the Nazis felt almost defeated. – Schuschnigg, however, was also a civilized man and had too great a sense of responsibility to imitate Hitler. He drew back from the extreme, especially when the Jews made a stand and refused to put up with everything. Compromises drove away the old and new antisemites, who had to say to themselves, if we have antisemitism, then we might as well have Hitler, because he knows how to take real action.

When I arrived at the school on 21 February 1938, I was astonished. I was greeted by an eerie silence. I thought at first that the classroom was empty, and was amazed when I saw that every member of the class was present. And there was more to come! In every class, the scene was the same. The pupils rose silently, and at a sign from me they sat

7 On 12 Feb. 1934 armed conflicts took place in Linz between the paramilitary organizations that were combined in the Home Guard and the Republican Protection League, which was aligned with the Social Democrats. After three days of fighting, in which hundreds were killed, the government banned the Social Democratic Party (SPÖ) and all the labour organizations affiliated with it, as well as the labour unions, and proclaimed the 'Corporate State' (Ständestaat).

8 Dr Josef Kresse (1891–1966), procurator, master well-driller, and lawyer; second deputy mayor of Vienna and chairman of the Christian Social Party leadership in Vienna's 18th District, 1934–1938; arrested in 1938; president of the Vienna Chamber of Skilled Crafts from 1945. In 1938 Kresse propagated the exclusion of Jews from the Austrian Federation of Industry.

9 *Der Volksruf – Nationalsozialistisches Wochenblatt für Salzburg und Österreich* was published from 1923 to 1931.

10 The German-Austrian Protective Association League of Antisemites (Deutschösterreichischer Schutzverein Antisemiten-Bund) was founded in 1919 and presided over by a Christian Social member of the Austrian parliament, Dr Anton Jerzabek (1867–1939). It was a rallying point for members of 'bourgeois' parties and paramilitary organizations, as well as National Socialists. In Tyrol the league was officially shut down in 1931 owing to inactivity, and in 1938 it was removed from the register of associations in Vienna.

down just as silently. In every class, there was a demand that I comment on Hitler's speech of 20 February.<sup>11</sup> Oddly, I was requested to do so everywhere.

I discussed the situation, referred to the gravity of the times ahead of us, and expressed the hope that we would have the strength of mind to endure everything, come what may. We had already gone through other things and nonetheless got back on our feet again.

The talks sounded optimistic. Some may have expected me to deliver a eulogy for Jewry. A girl named H. finally said: 'Professor, if we don't see each other here again a few weeks from now, then please think of me!' It sounded like a threat of suicide or something similar. It was a prophecy.

The general mood was devastating. One saw oneself facing a catastrophe that could not be avoided. 'Hitler is coming,' almost every Jewish face said sadly. 'We can all bury ourselves alive.'

In the meantime, I also spoke at several gatherings of Jewish workers. The same atmosphere! I had a downright creepy feeling. How every spirit sank, how every soul almost drooped!

When the Schuschnigg election was announced, opinions were split.<sup>12</sup> There were optimists, who sighed with relief, who believed in a successful outcome of the election, and through it the prevention of catastrophe. Pessimists, however, continued to despair. The streets were flooded with propaganda leaflets. All the posters got the attention of passers-by. The Fatherland Front supporters walked with heads held high. There was a breath of new life in the streets of Vienna. The political sky brightened for a moment.

It goes without saying that the Jews took an active part. Most were optimistic about the outcome of the election. Public demonstrations in the streets were commonplace. Shouts of 'Heil Schuschnigg' rang out along all the streets.

On the night of Thursday, 10 March, I was going home from a meeting. I had to pass over Franz-Josefs-Kai. There I caught sight of a big crowd of demonstrators coming from the Augartenbrücke. Next to the Schottenring, a man was just walking past and asked: 'Who is your leader?' The crowd shouted: 'Schuschnigg'. The man walked on, but made a motion with his hand, from which one could infer that he was not happy with the answer. A number of demonstrators wanted to go after him, but the others held them back.

The next day I paid a visit to Favoriten, a working-class district. I had many friends there. The mood was revitalized. People were already greeting one another with raised fists and exchanging the 'friendship' greeting. There was expectation there of a swing to the left and a dependence by Schuschnigg upon the social democratic working classes. Everywhere I encountered friendly faces.

11 On 20 Feb. 1938, in a speech before the Reichstag, which for the first time was also broadcast in Austria, Hitler had hinted at his expansionist objectives concerning Austria and the Sudetenland. He spoke of 10 million Germans who lived in two states adjoining the Reich and were 'prevented against their will from uniting with the Reich because of the peace treaties'. Directing his remarks to Schuschnigg, he called for a general amnesty for Austrian National Socialists.

12 The author is referring to the referendum on Austrian independence, announced by Schuschnigg on 9 March 1938: see Introduction, p. 35.

Towards noon I passed through Ringstrasse. It presented a completely different picture. Massed processions of National Socialists blocked the tram traffic. They were demonstrating against Schuschnigg and against the elections. Not until now did one see what surely only a very few had seen before, the significance of the conference in Berchtesgaden on 12 February and its consequences.<sup>13</sup> For it made possible the entry of the Trojan horse, Seyss-Inquart, into Vienna's government.<sup>14</sup> In this way, as minister of the interior, he had obtained executive authority. The demonstrations on Ringstrasse were undoubtedly anti-government, but they [the demonstrators] were able to proceed with complete freedom, as if they were the lords and masters in Vienna. The Ministry of the Interior was in the hands of precisely this confidant of Hitler. The police did not know what to do about the demonstrators and were completely at a loss, because the crowds were demonstrating against Schuschnigg and for Seyss-Inquart.

Late in the afternoon I was at the school. From there I went to Favoriten once again. The same joyous mood as before still prevailed here. When I left the district in the evening, a man passed me and told me that Schuschnigg had just resigned. I was reluctant to believe him and took him for a Nazi who was deliberately spreading the news.

When I came home, everything seemed so changed, so agitated. A colleague who worked at a public institute telephoned me, but was speechless with emotion. It must be true after all, I thought. I felt that the joyous mood was at an end. Something tragic was coming! ...

The night was no longer peaceful. Or is that just how it seems to me, I thought. No! For outside I heard shouting, singing, jeering, continuous noise.

By the next morning, it had all come to pass: Seyss-Inquart was the federal chancellor. The radio announcer was already speaking of Party Comrade Federal Chancellor Dr Seyss-Inquart.

I could not endure it at home. I felt no apprehension per se. I must confess that I was looked at askance and regarded as a fool for showing no fear in the midst of this upheaval and for keeping my view clear and candid. But I was seized by a feeling of pity for the Jews, who, floundering and trembling, faced terror and calamity; for the Germans, who blindly or even wittingly plunged into the crater of an active volcano; for the neighbouring peoples, who I assumed would also have to believe it, sooner or later; and for the whole world, because I saw that a brick had now fallen from the world edifice and it was threatening to collapse. Even later, I could not rid myself of this feeling.

I strolled through the streets of Vienna. Swastika banners were hoisted everywhere. People were trying to outdo one another in giving 'Heil Hitler' salutes. Almost everyone who considered himself an Aryan put a swastika in his buttonhole. On Gumpendorferstrasse there was a swastika manufacturer. People were standing in long queues to get the badge. I think this man never did such good business before or since.

13 Schuschnigg and Hitler met in Berchtesgaden on 12 Feb. 1938. At this meeting Hitler forced the issue of the legalization of the NSDAP in Austria.

14 Arthur Seyss-Inquart (1892–1946), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1931; named minister of the interior in the Schuschnigg government in response to pressure from Hitler; after the Anschluss he became chancellor of Austria and Reichsstatthalter; deputy of Governor General Frank in Poland, 1939; Reich commissioner for the occupied Dutch territories from 1940; sentenced to death in 1946 by the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg and executed.

I reached Favoriten. On Favoritenstrasse, Laxenburgerstrasse, and the part of Gudrunstrasse between them, but especially in the area around the workers' club, crowds of people with downright radiant faces were milling about. I was amazed, even though I knew that not everyone here was honest and that the honest ones, in the majority of cases, might have suffered in some way under Schuschnigg on account of their convictions. I recall a man of short stature who jumped into the air every time he raised his arm for the 'Heil Hitler' salute, in order in this way to lend more emphasis to his salute.

It looked as if Vienna had been revitalized by all the 'Seyss-Inquartery'. The side streets, however, put me straight. Inzersdorferstrasse, Pernstorferstrasse, Alxingerstrasse, and all the other streets I passed through were as if gone dead; no swastika banner was hoisted, no window was decorated, and no human being was to be seen otherwise. The Nazis had moved into the main streets, and the other people stayed quietly in their apartments. The afternoon was gloomy, and in gloomy spirits I made my way through almost all the districts. I was cheered only by the fact that no outward change was discernible in my friends.

The gloom increased appreciably. Jewish friends, neighbours, and comrades gathered together. Almost all were of the opinion that all of Vienna was National Socialist. My argument that this was not true, that although we saw nothing but real and alleged Nazis, the others were there too, even if silent and withdrawn, was met with laughter, and I was ranked with the incorrigible optimists, who belonged on the scrap heap.

The next day I went to my regular café. Some of the newspapers I was accustomed to read were no longer [there]. The waiter was nice, as usual. He wanted to talk politics with me, but I preferred to abstain. I did not stay there for long and proceeded to the Palestine Office, where I was to make my first acquaintance with the Nazis in their role as rulers, though I gave a good account of myself.

The Palestine Office was situated in a private house at 5 Marc-Aurel-Strasse, on the second mezzanine. In front of the entrance there stood a car that I had not noticed before. Two men in plain clothes stood at the entrance. When I tried to enter the building, a man asked me where I was going. In response to my answer, he allowed me to enter. Several Jews, guarded by SA men, were already standing in the hallway. I now joined them. Soon an SA man came down from the Palestine Office and said that we were allowed to go upstairs, but not to leave. We now went upstairs, and I thought to myself that I did not necessarily have to be headed for the Palestine Office; private individuals lived in this building, after all, as well. I did not stop at the entrance of the Palestine Office, and kept on going. When the SA man standing at the entrance door asked where I was going, I now replied that I was going to visit a friend on the fourth floor. He then let me go upstairs. Having escaped, I looked for an apartment where I could stay temporarily. I rang the doorbell of an apartment. A girl opened the door. 'Can I speak to Mr N.?' I enquired. 'Mr N.,' she countered warily. - 'Yes - but he is ill, of course.' - 'Well, and Mrs N.,' I enquired further. - 'Mrs ...' - I saw that her distrust did not vanish, for good reason, of course. - Mrs N. herself opened the door into the vestibule. I greeted her, stepped towards her, introduced myself to her and asked to have a short conversation with her. Once I offered proof of my identity, she invited me to come into the room.

There I told her what had led me to her apartment, and they invited me to wait in their home until the SA was gone. By chance, the last issue of the weekly *Die neue Welt*,<sup>15</sup> in which an article by me had just appeared, was lying on the table. Mr N., ill and weak, sat at the table, and we talked about various things, so that the time passed quickly.

The car was still there, and the SA men were still standing guard at the entrance to the building. I had to leave, so I took the arm of my host's daughter, removed my glasses, took off my coat and hat, and went downstairs. Everything was as before. When the gatekeepers asked where we were coming from, the girl said that we lived there.

Thus, I escaped the clutches of the Nazis for the first time. Later I learned from an acquaintance who was also there, but was released because he was able to leave for Palestine two days later, that people at the Palestine Office had been beaten, and that he too was given two slaps in the face that he would never forget.

Back at home, I was already hearing swirling rumours of arrests, beatings, and broken windows. For the time being, however, everything was happening in silence. One sensed that something was going on, but one did not know what, unless it happened precisely to oneself. Otherwise, one could believe that it was not so bad at all. Only after Hitler had blessed and honoured Vienna with his presence did one realize, 'Woe betide us, if they are unleashed.'<sup>16</sup>

### *Beasts in Vienna*

The Jews were taken and used for forced labour, initially to clear the Schuschnigg propaganda from the streets. One could have tolerated it, although after weeks of work the writings on the pavement were not washed away. In fact, at the Augartenerbrücke and on Porzellangasse, across from the post office, these street inscriptions were still clearly legible before my departure from Vienna. But the way in which the forced labour took place filled one with disgust. The demonstrative character of it, accompanied by verbal abuse, frequently even by blows with rifle butts and other objects, sickened and embittered one. The fact that so-called Aryans surrounded them like a curiosity, gawked at them, often ridiculed them, filled one with loathing for them [the Aryans].

One acquaintance was picked up in the 10th District and forced to work. In the same group with him were also very renowned individuals from the district. They had to be careful not to spill the least drop of water from the bucket, or else they were threatened with having to lick the drops off the ground. If [the] SA wasn't present, the Viennese police pitied them [the Jews] and professed that they could unfortunately do nothing to stop what was happening. Such expressions of human sympathy, which really did one good, especially at that time, lasted only for a matter of seconds, however.

They were forced to fetch water from an inn on Gudrunstrasse. I think that it was the Wewalka inn. A drunk who was there said it served them right, the Jewish scum. The Jews, he said, had never worked so hard before. In reply, my acquaintance said: 'Look at my hands, you drunkard, and see whether they've ever done any work. And what have you been doing all the time? Nothing but drinking.' The boozier went wild and now wanted to hit my acquaintance, when the latter pushed him away, so that he

<sup>15</sup> *Die Neue Welt* was published in Vienna as a weekly 'review' from 1927 to 1938. The publisher was the Zionist Robert Stricker (1879–1944). The articles did not generally state the authors' names.

<sup>16</sup> Hitler visited Vienna on 15 March 1938.

fell down and could hardly move. Then blows from rifle butts started raining down, so that he [the acquaintance] was brought home, barely alive, a few days later.

One day I walked past Seitenstettengasse, where the Israelite Religious Community was located. I stood in front of the window display of the Schlesinger Bookshop. Then a girl hurried past me and whispered to me without even looking at me, but quite audibly: 'Go away from here at once!' – and disappeared. I was about to take her advice, when a beefy oaf in a grey uniform came up to me and asked me whether I was a Jew. 'Yes,' I replied. 'Prove your identity.' – I pulled my passport from my pocket and showed it to him. 'Are you a Pole?' – 'I am a Polish citizen,' I replied. He asked me to state my occupation in addition and let me go on my way. Then I saw men wearing top hats and tails working on Seitenstettengasse. At first I did not know what was going on. I learned only later that it had been a cruel joke. They roped in people to work, dressed them in top hats and tails, and made them work in such attire. Every time the SS man came by, the workers had to present their brooms and stand at attention. An acquaintance, also brought for work, pointed to his medal for bravery, and the Nazi replied, 'Fine, then you'll be allowed to work without the top hat and tails.'

In the first few weeks of the Hitler business, we could still get the Cracow daily *Nowy Dziennik* in Vienna. It was the only newspaper in which one could to some extent read the echo of one's own adversity.<sup>17</sup> I bought it every day, although it was quite expensive. Once I was walking along Porzellangasse, reading the paper. Then a fat, fleshy Nazi came towards me. He came up to me and demanded that I prove my identity.

Suddenly he caught sight of the newspaper. Then he asked me: 'Are you a foreigner?' – 'Yes,' I answered, whereupon he left me to continue reading.

It was characteristic of the situation in Vienna in those days that almost everyone wore some kind of badge in his buttonhole. Either it was a swastika or a foreign badge as proof that one was a foreigner, or little ribbons of decorations from the World War etc. Only the Jews who had no badges were completely powerless. I did not want to wear a badge. After a great deal of coaxing by my wife and friends, I let myself be persuaded to do so and stuck a Polish badge in my buttonhole, but only for one morning. I simply had the feeling that the great variety of badges had a crushing effect on those who could wear no badges at all. Without a badge, one saw oneself as even weaker, in even greater danger.

The beatings, verbal abuse, and insults took place in the most diverse ways, and the Jews were unable to put up any resistance at all. Often the offender should have been paralysed by shame, as in the following example. – A well-known woman was walking with her little boy down Lichtensteingasse. Then an 'Aryan' woman with her little boy came towards her. The 'Aryan' boy asked his mother whether he was allowed to spit at the Jewish boy. The 'Aryan' mother granted permission, and the Aryan boy spat at the Jewish boy.

In general, it was mostly women, a relatively great number, who took part in the acts of cruelty towards the Jews. When the large procession of Jews was led around while the Nazis jeered and cursed, it was mostly women who were doing it. An 'Aryan' girl stepped from the ranks of the onlookers and yelled: 'I'd like to give this Jewess a couple of good clips round the ear.' She wanted to beat a Jewish woman from the procession, who cried out to

<sup>17</sup> The Jewish Zionist daily newspaper *Nowy Dziennik* was published from July 1919 to Sept. 1939 in Cracow and had a network of international correspondents. It was published in Polish but read far beyond Poland's borders.

her: 'What do you want with me? You don't even know me!', whereupon the blows did not materialize. – Or, once I was walking past the Gürtel, at the point where Schulgasse and Währingerstrasse meet. Then I heard loud swearing and excited cries: 'Where is a policeman? – When you need him, he's not there! – The Jew will manage to get away yet!' I looked around. – A woman, at the point of exhaustion, was running and looking for a policeman. I thought, what could have happened? Was the Jew really trying to rape this woman? In these days? I was close to accusing the Jew of all and sundry crimes. I looked at the Jew, who was about 100 metres from the woman and, hunched and frightened, was moving in the opposite direction. The woman evidently took me for an Aryan when she told me her troubles. Would wonders never cease! The Jew came into the building to hawk his wares! Not even into her apartment! But she had to hand him over to the police. And she had been chasing him for a quarter of an hour, and a policeman was nowhere to be seen.

Several times I saw men with Nazi badges and even with illegal badges turn away in shame when they encountered a group of Jewish men or women who were being beaten or led along as a cleaning squad.<sup>18</sup> Women, however, participated. That was actually the most shattering thing for me, when I saw the Viennese girls and young women, the sweet, charming Viennese women acting like wild beasts in the streets. – A Viennese woman, whose husband had been arrested the previous day because of his indiscreet chatter, came to the home of an acquaintance. She sobbed and moaned and said naively: 'Yes, if you hit the others, well, they're just the others, but to hit one's own people! That's appalling!' – I didn't know whether to howl or to laugh when I heard it. Would this naive woman, who doubtless was not even malicious at heart, have spoken this way a few months before?!

#### DOC. 19

#### **On 18 March 1938 Jay Pierrepont Moffat, chief of the Division of European Affairs at the State Department, describes conditions for Austrian Jews<sup>1</sup>**

Journal of Jay Pierrepont Moffat,<sup>2</sup> entry for 18 March 1938 (typescript)<sup>3</sup>

*Friday, March 18, 1938.*

Much of the morning was spent in discussing what to do about the situation of refugees. The news reports from Vienna indicate a wave of suicides, depression, and excesses against any non-conformists whether Jews, Catholics or Socialists. Groups in this country are becoming emotional to a degree and are advocating block legislation for the

<sup>18</sup> *Putzkolonne*: squads of detainees or prisoners forced to wash streets and walls.

<sup>1</sup> Houghton Library, Harvard University, MS AM 1407, vol. 40, 1938, I, film 95. The original document is in English.

<sup>2</sup> Jay Pierrepont Moffat (1896–1943), diplomat; at the State Department from 1917, held posts at the embassies in the Netherlands, Poland, Turkey, and Switzerland; chief of the Western Europe Division of the State Department, 1932–1935; consul general in Sydney, Australia, 1935–1937; chief of the Division of European Affairs at the State Department, 1937–1940; ambassador to Canada, 1940–1943.

<sup>3</sup> Moffat evidently kept the journal for official purposes. The journal has been published as *The Moffat Papers: Selections from the Diplomatic Journals of Jay Pierrepont Moffat, 1919–1943* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956).

admittance of Austrians, or Jews, or whatever group their fancy hits upon. The self-appointed leader of this task is Dorothy Thompson<sup>4</sup> who is definitely going to call together a group of people to see what can be done.

I have felt very strongly for some time that we should take the lead in trying to do something international about refugees. Even admitting that block legislation was possible, which I do not think it is, – we alone could only take care of one drop from an ocean. There is no use organizing an international body with Government support as it would take too long to negotiate it and still longer to ratify it. Therefore the best thing probably is to enlarge the existing refugee bureau in the International Labor Office.

To canonize matters in the Department Mr. Messersmith<sup>5</sup> and Judge Moore<sup>6</sup> selected Mrs. Shipley<sup>7</sup> – which I think is a good choice, – with Achilles<sup>8</sup> to help her. Messersmith and I cleared the idea with the Secretary in the late morning and Mrs. Shipley was already at work consulting with the Labor Department by afternoon.

In addition to the foregoing we had a long session in the Secretary's office about what to do on the Austrian situation, in which a marked divergence of views arose between Sumner Welles<sup>9</sup> on the one hand and some others in the Department who have stronger emotions on the other. Sumner Welles has consistently taken the position that reiterated enunciations by name of the Nazi-Fascist Powers is only driving them together. He advocates fighting their policies as hard as anyone but not by public mud-slinging. Incidentally, he remarked to me the other day apropos of an outburst of Dieckhoff in his office, that when people called the Latins emotional in time of stress they were all wrong.<sup>10</sup> The Latins are emotional in every day life but become coldly reasoning in time of emergency; the Germans, on the other hand, either in time of triumph or in time of defeat go to pieces nervously.

4 Dorothy Thompson (1894–1961), journalist; correspondent in Vienna from 1920 and in Berlin from 1924; interviewed Hitler in 1932 and was expelled from Germany for her negative reporting; once back in the USA she warned against the dangers of National Socialism.

5 George S. Messersmith (1883–1960), diplomat; US consul general in Argentina and from 1930 to 1934 in Berlin; US ambassador to Cuba, Mexico, and Argentina, 1937–1947.

6 Robert Walton Moore (1859–1941), lawyer; senator, 1887–1890; US congressman, 1919–1931; assistant secretary of state, 1933; State Department counsellor from 1937.

7 Ruth Bielaski Shipley (1885–1966), administrative employee; worked for the US Patent Office, 1903–1909, and for the State Department, 1914–1955; head of the passport division from 1928. Shipley was tasked with preparing a meeting with Dorothy Thompson to discuss solutions to the refugee problem. Since immigration policy was within the remit of the Department of Labor, it also participated in the talks.

8 Theodore Achilles (1905–1986), diplomat; began his diplomatic career in 1932; from 1939 worked at the US embassy in London and served as US representative to the Polish, Belgian, Norwegian, and Dutch governments in exile; US ambassador to Peru, 1956–1960; governor of the Atlantic Institute, 1969–1973.

9 Dr h.c. Benjamin Sumner Welles (1892–1961), diplomat; entered the US foreign service in 1915; primarily responsible for Latin America; foreign policy advisor to President Roosevelt; under secretary of state and later publicist and foreign affairs commentator, 1937–1943.

10 Dr Hans Heinrich Dieckhoff (1884–1952), diplomat; entered the foreign service in 1912; legation counsellor in Constantinople, 1916–1918; German ambassador to the USA, 1937–1938; joined the NSDAP in 1941; ambassador in Madrid, 1943; compulsorily retired in 1944; worked as a publicist after 1945.

Miscellaneous activities: The Lithuanian Minister by telephone to tell of the Polish ultimatum;<sup>11</sup> John Carter; Floyd Blair, Vice President of the National City Bank; lunch with Stanley Woodward and Bill Wasserman who has just returned from Europe full of interesting facts and theories; Raymond Leslie Buell, who is leading a campaign for the lifting of the arms embargo to Spain;<sup>12</sup> Colonel Strong; Dorothy Thompson's secretary, et cetera.

I left the office early as I was not feeling well, laid down for two to three hours but got up and sat through a long and dreary dinner (at least it seemed so) at the Swiss Counselors.

DOC. 20

**On 19 March 1938 Hermann Göring commissions Wilhelm Keppler  
with the Aryanization of the economy in Austria<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the Minister President of Prussia, Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan (St. M. Dev. 2064), signed Göring, to Engineer Keppler,<sup>2</sup> 39a Behrenstraße, Berlin W 8 (copy)<sup>3</sup>

Now that you have been appointed Reich plenipotentiary within the scope of the Central Office for the Transition of Austria, based on the Regulation of the Führer of 16 March 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 249), I instruct you, acting for me as Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan, to take charge of the transition activities in Austria in the following areas:

1. The work for exploration of Austrian mineral resources, which you have already instigated, must be accelerated, placed on a broader basis, and systematized. Here in particular I place special emphasis on expediting matters, because the decision on a number of industrial locations will depend on the outcome of this work. These locations

11 The Polish government used a border incident in Trasninkai to issue Lithuania on 17 March 1938 with a 48-hour ultimatum to renew its diplomatic relations with Poland. Relations had broken down in 1920 on account of Poland's occupation of Vilnius. Jews were frequently attacked during the anti-Lithuanian demonstrations in Poland that broke out due to the border incident.

12 Floyd Gilbert Blair (1891–1965), banker and lawyer; worked as an advisor to the US Finance Department, 1924–1927; vice president of the National City Bank, New York, from 1931. Stanley Woodward (1899–1992), Foreign Service officer from 1925; assistant chief of protocol for the State Department, 1937–1944. Raymond Leslie Buell (1896–1946), editor and historian; president of the Foreign Policy Association; author of works including *Poland: Key to Europe* (1939). Attempts to lift the arms embargo on Spain failed, and it remained in place until the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939.

1 Copy in IfZ-Archives, MA 1563–28 (Nuremberg Document NG-2503). This document has been translated from German.

2 Wilhelm Keppler (1882–1960), engineer; joined the NSDAP in 1927 and the SS in 1933; Hitler's economic advisor from 1931; commissioner for economic affairs in the Reich Chancellery, 1933; advisor to Göring, 1936; state secretary for special duties in the Reich Foreign Office and Reich plenipotentiary for Austria, 1938; SS-Obergruppenführer, 1942; sentenced in the Nuremberg Ministries Trial (Wilhelmstrasse Trial) to ten years in prison in 1949; released in 1951.

3 The letter has a receipt stamp dated 22 March 1938 and a stamp from the Reich Ministry of the Interior.

had been left open in previous planning and can now be reserved for Austria, which has returned [to German control].<sup>4</sup>

2. The *Aryanization of enterprises* will presumably be necessary in Austria to an even greater extent than in the Old Reich. Your accelerated and proper performance is particularly important for a smooth introduction and trouble-free implementation of the Four-Year Plan, and therefore it demands special attention and responsibility. Because you have been closely acquainted with the circumstances in Austria for some time, and it will frequently be advisable to examine the individual issues at the locations concerned, I request that you make yourself available to the departments responsible for this matter and that you ensure consistency in the performance of the task. At the same time, I assume that you will inform me promptly concerning matters of greater import.

3. Successful execution of the Four-Year Plan in Austria will further depend to a large extent on the configuration of the *wage and price levels*. Through your work at the locations concerned, you will gain the best direct insight in this regard. I therefore request that you give your special attention to these issues as well, and that you promptly *communicate suggestions and recommendations* to the authorities concerned within the Four-Year Plan to the Reich commissioner for price control and to the Business Group for Labour Deployment. Here, too, I expect to be informed by you on a continuous basis.

It is not intended that this arrangement result in a reordering of responsibilities. Rather, I wish only to ensure consistent supervision, during a transitional period, in the aforementioned areas of importance to the Four-Year Plan. I reserve for myself the right to impose additional requirements.

Copies go to the Reich Minister and Head of the Reich Chancellery, the Reich and Prussian Minister of the Interior,<sup>5</sup> the Reich and Prussian Minister of Economics, the Reich and Prussian Minister of Labour, the business groups of the Four-Year Plan, the Reichsstatthalter in Austria, and Gauleiter Bürckel.

<sup>4</sup> On 12 July 1937 Hitler had already given Keppler the task of addressing the Austrian question within the NSDAP in the Reich. In Sept. 1937 he was assigned responsibility for all economic questions pertaining to Austria; one of his tasks was to analyse the significance of Austria's mineral resources for the German Reich.

<sup>5</sup> In a confidential letter dated 18 March 1938, Reich Minister of the Interior Frick had informed the Supreme Reich Authorities of Keppler's appointment as Reich plenipotentiary for Austria, with headquarters in Vienna, and left it to their discretion to assign to Keppler a contact person for the affairs of their department: *ibid.*

## DOC. 21

**On 19 March 1938 the Reichsstatthalter in Hamburg states the terms  
for the Aryanization of the M. M. Warburg & Co. Bank<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the Reichsstatthalter in Hamburg, Senate, signed p.p. von Allwörden,<sup>2</sup> to the Reich and Prussian Minister of Economics, Dept V (received on 6 April 1938), dated 19 March 1938 (copy, dated 4 March, for the Main Administrative Office)<sup>3</sup>

Re: inquiry by Ministerialdirigent Dr Schlotterer.<sup>4</sup> – Aryanization negotiations for M. M. Warburg & Co., Hamburg.<sup>5</sup>

I am acquainted with the efforts to Aryanize the Hamburg banking house M. M. Warburg & Co. At my behest, Deputy Section Head Essen,<sup>6</sup> the head of the Work Creation Office, has joined the negotiations.

The firm of M. M. Warburg is to be taken over by the Aryan manager Dr Brinckmann<sup>7</sup> as a full partner, while bringing in a number of interested individuals and banks as limited partners. – In these negotiations I have emphasized that the following considerations ought to be borne in mind:

1 Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 131–6 Staatsamt 106. This document has been translated from German.

2 Wilhelm von Allwörden (1892–1955), commercial employee; joined the NSDAP in 1925 and the SA and the SS in 1929; NSDAP party whip in the Hamburg legislative assembly, 1931–1933; from 1933 senator for welfare and head of the Authority for Culture and Education; senator for economic affairs in Hamburg, 1938–1942; head of the Department for Economic Affairs in the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories, 1943–1945; classified as a ‘lesser offender’ in the denazification proceedings and barred from managerial positions.

3 The original contains handwritten administrative notes.

4 Dr Gustav Schlotterer (1906–1989), business administration graduate; joined the NSDAP in 1927 and the SS in 1937; business editor at the *Hamburger Tageblatt* (Gau newspaper of the NSDAP), 1931–1933; president of the Hamburg Economics Authority, 1933–1935; worked in the Reich Ministry of Economics, reaching the position of ministerial director, 1935–1945; head of the Foreign Trade Department (V), 1938; head of the Special Department for Planning and Organization, 1940; head of both the Department for Eastern Europe in the Reich Ministry of Economics and the Economics Department of the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories, 1941.

5 M. M. Warburg & Co. Bank, founded in 1798 by the brothers Marcus Moses and Gerson Warburg; one of the largest private banks in Germany. In 1938 its chief representative, Dr Rudolf Brinckmann (see fn. 7), and Paul Wirtz, both close friends of Max Warburg, took over the bank; they ran it until the war began, continuing in silent partnership with the Warburg family, later as the Brinckmann, Wirtz & Co. Bank. In 1991 the bank resumed the use of its former name. From 1929 Max Moritz Warburg (1867–1946) was a board member of the Central Association and the Relief Association of German Jews. With the help of his bank, he promoted the emigration of German Jews, and in 1938 he emigrated to the USA.

6 Wolfgang Essen (1903–1965), agronomist; joined the NSDAP in 1937; worked for the Hamburg senator for economic affairs, 1934–1941; Gau economic advisor in Hamburg; senior war administration counsellor in Antwerp, 1940–1941; plenipotentiary of the Reich commissioner for ocean shipping in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, 1942–1944; worked for the Security Service of the Reichsführer SS and the Sonderkommando of the Waffen SS from 1942; released from the Neuengamme internment camp in 1947.

7 Dr Rudolf Brinckmann (1889–1974), lawyer, interpreter, and banker; worked from 1920 for the M. M. Warburg & Co. Bank in Hamburg, first as procurator; one of his posts after 1945 was as the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany at the Bank for International Settlements in Basel.

(1) The foreign currency loans of the Warburg firm must be preserved for Germany, likewise the relationships to foreign banks.

(2) The Warburg firm should continue to exist as an independent banking house in Hamburg.

(3) The participation of external banking firms – such as the Bank für deutsche Industrie-Obligationen and the Berliner Handelsgesellschaft – must stay within limits, so that there can be no question of the Warburg firm being outvoted. It is therefore envisaged that no firm will permanently gain even a qualified minority as a limited partner. The Bank für deutsche Industrie-Obligationen has explicitly recognized this principle and will transfer majority shares to the suitable Hamburg individuals proposed by me.

(4) From the outset I have rejected the notion of participation of the previous non-Aryans as limited partners. – In addition, I have also been informed by Dr Brinckmann that, henceforth, participation by M. Warburg as a limited partner – in compliance with my wishes – is out of the question. The Jewish owners have already become reconciled to this idea. –

Still open is the question of the potential silent partnership or trust money in an amount equal to no more than one fifth of the total (for RM 15 million = RM 3 million). I regard as desirable an elimination of Warburg to the greatest possible extent. My response to the questions posed by Ministerialdirigent Schlotterer with regard to participation by Warburg as a limited partner and the retention of the firm's name is as follows:

*Participation by the Jewish owners as limited partners* in the Aryanized firm is something I regard as unacceptable. –

However, I have no objection to the *retention of the name M. M. Warburg & Co.*, Hamburg, since the Warburg banking house has an international reputation, and a change of name could only jeopardize the further operation of the Aryanized banking firm.

I request that the points I have listed be borne in mind by the Reich Ministry of Economics also.

Heil Hitler!

#### DOC. 22

### On 23 March 1938 Albert Herzfeld of Düsseldorf gives an account of the Anschluss of Austria and preparations for the plebiscite<sup>1</sup>

Handwritten diary of Albert Herzfeld,<sup>2</sup> entry for 23 March 1938

Now came the incorporation of Austria into the German Reich on 12 March. At the beginning of this month, the Führer had invited the Austrian governor, Schuschnigg,<sup>3</sup> to his villa on the Obersalzberg near Berchtesgaden. What the two men agreed upon no

1 Albert Herzfeld, *Tagebuch*, pp. 202–207, Stadtarchiv Düsseldorf, XXII H 61. Published in *Ein nicht-arischer Deutscher: Die Tagebücher des Albert Herzfeld*, ed. Hugo Weidenhaupt (Düsseldorf: Tritsch, 1982), pp. 88–90. This document has been translated from German.

2 Albert Herzfeld (1865–1943), painter; worked until 1905 in his father's textile firm, then as a painter in Düsseldorf; in 1938 forbidden to paint by the president of the Reich Chamber of Fine Arts; deported in 1942 from Düsseldorf to Theresienstadt, where he died in 1943.

3 Correctly: Schuschnigg.

one knows for certain, since of course only Hitler's point of view is known to us. The fact is, however, that until then Schuchnigg was the absolute ruler in Austria and the National Socialist propaganda was strictly forbidden in Austria.

After his return to Vienna, Schuchnigg announced a general election for the coming days in Austria, by means of which he wanted to prove that Austria was unwilling to convert to National Socialism. But right away, on 12 March, very early in the morning, German regiments crossed the German–Austrian borders from all sides, and in the afternoon the Führer followed with a big entourage, first making a stop off in Braunau, his birthplace, and arriving in Vienna the next day to the greatest jubilation of the population and proclaiming that Austria now ceased to exist and, under the name Ostmark, had been absorbed by Greater Germany. One hears, though more exact information is not to be had, that 200,000 German soldiers, 50,000 SS men, and great masses of police officials supposedly marched into Austria; simultaneously an Austrian military force of 50,000 men allegedly marched into Bavaria and Prussia to the cheers of the German population of the Reich. The former Austrian government, including Schuchnigg and the other ministers, were detained, provided they had not already fled across the border, like Prince Starenberg<sup>4</sup> and the Jews Baron von Rothschild,<sup>5</sup> the Nobel Prize laureate Professor Loewi,<sup>6</sup> and 82-year-old Professor Freud,<sup>7</sup> 'for their own safety', as we were officially informed. On the very first day, the law was issued that all Jews who served as public prosecutors and judges were to be dismissed immediately in Austria. Consequently, as is apparent from the newspapers, in Vienna, where 10 per cent of the population is Jewish, a suicide epidemic has spread among the city's Jewish population, but the epidemic is also explainable by the fact that the poor people have absolutely no means of livelihood any more and, as loyal citizens, must also endure ostracism and verbal abuse besides. – Contrary to official statements, we live, at least as far as Jewish citizens are concerned, in sad times, which are incomprehensible to the rest of Europe. – Now the Reichstag in Berlin was immediately convened for 18 March, and Hitler announced to the deputies and the German people that a general election will be held jointly with Austria on 10 April, and that in addition the current members of the Reichstag are dis-

4 Correctly: Prince Ernst Rüdiger von Starenberg (1899–1956), politician; joined the Freikorps Oberland in 1923; took part in the Beer Hall Putsch in 1923; from 1930 national leader of the Austrian Home Guard; became Austria's minister of the interior in 1930 and vice chancellor in 1934; also minister of security in the Schuchnigg government; resigned from all his posts in 1936; emigrated to Switzerland in 1937, to France in 1940, and to Argentina in 1942; returned to Austria in 1955.

5 Louis Nathaniel von Rothschild (1882–1955), banker; from 1911 head of the S. M. von Rothschild private bank in Vienna; arrested in 1938 and released over a year later, after surrendering all his assets. He died in Jamaica.

6 Otto Loewi (1873–1961), pharmacologist; from 1905 assistant professor at the Pharmacological Institute in Vienna; professorship in Graz, 1909; Nobel Prize for Medicine (shared with Henry H. Dale), 1936; imprisoned in 1938 and released several months later, after transferring his Nobel Prize award money to a bank under National Socialist control; visiting professor at Brussels and Oxford; emigrated to the USA in 1940.

7 Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), physician and psychoanalyst; doctor at Vienna's General Hospital, 1882–1885; professor of neuropathology at the University of Vienna, 1885; from 1886 resident physician and head of the Department of Neurology at the Public Institute for Sick Children; founded the International Psychoanalytical Association in 1910; emigrated to Britain in 1938; author of works including *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1899).

missed, and a new Reichstag will be formed on 10 April, to include Austrian individuals.<sup>8</sup> – Naturally, in Austria, as in Germany, Jews and Mischlinge are not permitted to vote. The election is also different from the way it was in the First and Second Reich, and from the way it is in other countries. Here, the listing of candidates who are not nominated by the Reich or the Party, respectively, is not tolerated; therefore, an ‘appointment’ of the members, rather than an election, is actually to be envisaged. In addition, a new ministry consisting exclusively of National Socialists, under the leadership of a Dr Seyss-Inquart, is to be installed in Austria. Times are good for the Austrians now, as they are being sent by the thousands to the German Reich at state expense to become acquainted there with the blessings and the happy life of the inhabitants of the Third Reich. Today, 1,000 Tyroleans are going to Düsseldorf, will be provided with free lodging there for four days (of course, they pay nothing for the journey, either) and will receive, along with free meals, lodging, and transport, in addition coupons for drinks, food, cigars, cigarettes, theatres, films, etc. From here, these Tyroleans go to Hamburg, where they will participate in the launch of a gigantic ‘Strength through Joy steamer’, *Wilhelm Gustloff*.<sup>9</sup> Also, around 10,000 Austrian children are going to visit German families in the Reich, as are men and women who were oppressed or imprisoned by the previous Austrian government on account of their sympathy for National Socialism. Naturally the big non-German, i.e. foreign, newspapers write about this, but they are all of course influenced by ‘Jewish’ rabble-rousers, as Dr Goebbels disclosed yesterday in a propaganda speech that was broadcast on all radio stations. The election propaganda is now beginning on a huge scale everywhere in Germany and Austria, and the radio broadcasts propaganda speeches every day.

## DOC. 23

**The Law on the Legal Status of the Jewish Religious Communities,  
dated 28 March 1938, deprives the Jewish communities of their status  
as corporations under public law<sup>1</sup>**

*Law on the Legal Status of the Jewish Religious Communities.*  
28 March 1938.

The Reich government has passed the law that is promulgated herewith:

§ 1

(1) The Jewish religious communities and their associations acquire legal capacity through entry in the Register of Associations.

(2) Commencing at the end of 31 March 1938, the Jewish religious communities and their associations lose the status of corporations under public law, insofar as they

<sup>8</sup> On the plebiscite of 10 April 1938, see Introduction, p. 36–37.

<sup>9</sup> The *Wilhelm Gustloff*, served as a hospital ship during the war. It was sunk by a Soviet submarine on 30 January 1945 while evacuating German civilians and troops from East Prussia; 9,000 passengers were killed.

<sup>1</sup> ‘Gesetz über die Rechtsverhältnisse der jüdischen Kultusvereinigungen’, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, p. 338. This document has been translated from German.

possessed such status before.<sup>2</sup> From this time on, they are civil law associations with legal capacity. The entry is to be made in the Register of Associations.

§ 2

The officials of the communities and associations named in § 1(2) lose their capacity as officials at the end of 31 March 1938. At the same time, they enter into employment under civil law with the communities and associations, and the previous regulation of their rights and obligations is correspondingly applicable to this employment.

§ 3

(1) The approval of the higher administrative authority is required for:  
resolutions passed by the institutions of the Jewish religious communities and their associations

(a) on formation, alteration, and dissolution of the communities and associations,

(b) on sales of or significant changes in objects that have a historical, scientific, or artistic value, especially archives or parts of such.

(2) The higher administrative authority can object to the appointment of the members of the institutions of the Jewish religious communities and their associations.

§ 4

The Reich Minister of Church Affairs can, for the purposes of carrying out and amending this law, issue legal and administrative regulations in consultation with the Reich Minister of the Interior.

§ 5

(1) The law comes into effect as of 1 January 1938.

(2) At this time, regulations to the contrary expire.

(3) The right is reserved to enact this law for the country of Austria.<sup>3</sup>

Berlin, 28 March 1938.

*The Führer and Reich Chancellor*

*Adolf Hitler*

*The Reich Minister of Church Affairs*

*Kerrl<sup>4</sup>*

*The Reich Minister of the Interior*

*Frick<sup>5</sup>*

<sup>2</sup> The synagogue communities had been recognized as corporations under public law since the nineteenth century and thus were generally not required to pay corporation tax, property tax, inheritance tax, or gift tax. As a result of the law of 28 March 1938, they lost, among other things, the exemption from tax on land and buildings with retroactive effect from 1 Jan. 1938, the exclusive rights over cemeteries, and the right to collect taxes from their members. Leading representatives of Jewry feared that the law would result in the ruin of the religious communities: see Introduction, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> See Doc. 264, 10 March 1939.

<sup>4</sup> Hanns Kerrl (1887–1941), judicial officer; joined the NSDAP in 1923; became SA-Gruppenführer in 1933; made Reich commissioner for the Prussian Ministry of Justice in March 1933, then Prussian minister of justice until June 1934, and then Reich minister without portfolio; Reich minister of church affairs, 1935–1941; head of the Reich Agency for Spatial Planning.

<sup>5</sup> Dr Wilhelm Frick (1877–1946), lawyer; worked for the Bavarian administration from 1903; head of the Munich Political Police, 1919–1921; head of the Munich Criminal Police, 1923; imprisoned for his participation in the Beer Hall Putsch, 1923–1924; suspended from duty in 1924 and then reinstated; joined the NSDAP in 1925; Thuringian minister of the interior and education, 1930–1931; Reich Minister of the Interior, 1933–1943; from August 1943 Reich Protector of Bohemia and Moravia; sentenced to death at the Nuremberg trials and executed.

## DOC. 24

**On 6 April 1938 the Reich Minister of Finance plans additional discriminatory measures concerning the taxation of Jews<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the Reich Minister of Finance (Dept III), signed Hedding,<sup>2</sup> to Departments I, II, IV, and V<sup>3</sup> on 6 April 1938 (copy to S 1291–71 III R)<sup>4</sup>

*Re:* handling of Jewish affairs

The Min[ister]<sup>5</sup> intends to write a letter to the Reich Minister of Economics (or the Reich Minister of the Interior) asking him to extend an invitation to a top-level meeting with regard to a methodical, consistent Jewish policy. In the letter, the Min[ister] plans to emphasize the individual items that, from the standpoint of his department, should be discussed at the meeting (e.g. Reich Flight Tax, no reduction in the income tax for Jewish children, extension of this measure to the community charge, wealth tax and inheritance tax, imposition of a special surtax for Jews, non-applicability of the rate equity measures to Jewish property, non-applicability of any other equity measures to Jewish business establishments and to Jews personally).<sup>6</sup>

1 BArch, R 2/56014, fol. 85v. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Otto Hedding (1881–1960), lawyer; legal advisor to the Sal. Oppenheim firm in Cologne, 1918–1920; worked from 1920 for the Reich Tax Authorities in the Cologne Regierungsbezirk; department head in the Cologne regional tax office, 1926–1930; head of the regional tax office for Upper Silesia, 1930–1932; from 1932 department head in the Reich Ministry of Finance and from 1936 head of Department III (income tax, tax law, etc.); joined the NSDAP in 1933.

3 Department I of the Reich Ministry of Finance was responsible for the Reich budget, Department II for tariffs and excise duties, Department IV for matters relating to civil servants and pensions, and Department V for general financial and economic questions.

4 Handwritten note on the letter: 'Zülow'. Kurt Zülow (1889–1942), Ministerialrat, joined the NSDAP in 1937; from 1931 he worked in Department III of the Reich Ministry of Finance.

5 The Reich minister of finance was Johann Ludwig (Lutz) Count Schwerin von Krosigk (1887–1977), lawyer; joined the Prussian civil service in 1909; worked from 1920 in the Reich Ministry of Finance and from 1929 head of the budget department; Reich minister of finance, 1932–1945; interned in 1945; sentenced to ten years in prison at the Nuremberg Ministries Trial in 1949; jailed until 1951.

6 From 1931 all emigrants whose assets exceeded 200,000 Reichsmarks or whose annual income was more than 20,000 Reichsmarks had to pay 25 per cent of their assets as a Reich Flight Tax. In 1934 the tax exemption limit was reduced to 50,000 Reichsmarks. The income tax guidelines of 15 Feb. 1938 envisaged a children's reduction only for non-Jewish children: *Reichssteuerblatt*, 1938, p. 224, and *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, pp. 99–104. Corresponding regulations were introduced on 31 Oct. 1938 for the community tax and on 6 Feb. 1939 for the property tax: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, pp. 1543–1544, and *Reichssteuerblatt*, 1939, pp. 386–387. In Nov. 1938 the concept of a special tax for Jews was realized in the form of the Levy on Jewish Assets ('atonement'): see Doc. 142, 12 Nov. 1938. From 19 April 1938 Jewish property owners were denied the possible exemption, by way of exception, from the rates: *Reichssteuerblatt*, 1938, pp. 409–418, here p. 410.

At the same time, the Min[ister] has emphasized that similar questions have arisen in other departments as well, such as Department V.

For the draft of the letter desired by the Min[ister], I ask that you inform me whether you have other material of this kind and, if so, what.<sup>7</sup>

DOC. 25

**On 9 April 1938 the Vienna Main Office of the SS Security Service documents raids against Freemasons<sup>1</sup>**

File memorandum produced by the SD Main Office, Special Commando II 1 in Vienna (II 111. SS-Untersturmführer Eh),<sup>2</sup> dated 9 April 1938<sup>3</sup>

*Re:* releases from custody.

*Dossier:* Directive II 1 from 7 April 1938.<sup>4</sup>

On 22 March 1938 the head of [Special Commando] II 11 was presented with a list of leading Freemasons in Vienna,<sup>5</sup> whose homes were to be searched in order to bring to light Freemason materials that were still missing.

After consultation with the State Police Head Office II B, Regierungsrat Dr Haselbacher<sup>6</sup> was ordered by the head of II 11 to carry out the house searches without delay and to arrest immediately all those Freemasons who:

- (1) are of the Jewish race,
- (2) have served as master of the lodge or held other important lodge offices,
- (3) have attained a rank beyond the first three degrees,<sup>7</sup>

and to bring them to the police detention centre on Rossauerlande.

<sup>7</sup> In their reply of 25 April 1938, Zülow and Knapp, department heads in the Reich Ministry of Finance, discussed additional possibilities for tax discrimination against Jews. According to this, Hitler had proposed the introduction of a special surcharge for income and wealth tax, which, if need be (in the event of 'behaviour damaging to the nation on the part of individual Jews'), could be increased. According to Zülow and Knapp, a corresponding draft law had been temporarily postponed, however. The reply was regarded as a template for a ministerial letter of invitation to a top-level meeting. It cannot be determined from the file whether this meeting took place: BArch, R 2/56014, fols. 101–102v.

<sup>1</sup> BArch, R 58/6560, fol. 92. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Erich Ehrlinger (1910–2004), lawyer; joined the SA and the NSDAP in 1931, and the SS in 1935; worked from 1935 in the SD Main Office; with Einsatzgruppe IV in 1939; head of the SD in Warsaw; head of Einsatzkommando 1b in Lithuania in 1941; head of the SD in Kiev in 1942; commander of Einsatzgruppe B in 1943, then of the SD in central Russia and Belarus; from 1944, as SS-Oberführer, head of Office I of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA); initially sentenced in 1961 to twelve years in prison; released from prison in 1965 due to ill health. Appeal proceedings were discontinued in 1969.

<sup>3</sup> Handwritten note at the head of the letter: 'To be filed: [SS] Main District Danube.'

<sup>4</sup> This directive could not be found.

<sup>5</sup> The list is not included in the file.

<sup>6</sup> Correctly: Dr Karl Hasselbacher (1904–1940), lawyer; joined the NSDAP and the SA in 1933; worked from 1934 in the Gestapo Central Office (Gestapo); in 1936 head of its Department II B (churches, Freemasons, Jews, emigrants); head of the Düsseldorf Gestapo in 1939; commander of the Security Police and SD in Brussels in 1940; died in an accident.

<sup>7</sup> The degree of Master Mason, which follows the Entered Apprentice and Fellow-craft degrees; Masons with the third degree were responsible for passing on traditions and knowledge within the lodge.

This directive was complied with on 24 and 25 March 1938.

The interrogation of these individuals – in total, 28 persons – took place on 1 April 1938.

File notes regarding each individual in custody are enclosed, with attached transcripts of the questioning as well as suggestions for release from custody.<sup>8</sup>

A copy of each file note with attached transcript of the interview is provided for forwarding to Regierungsrat Dr Haselbacher.

For forwarding, the following letter is proposed.<sup>9</sup>

DOC. 26

***Neue Freie Presse*, Vienna, 13 April 1938: article about anti-Jewish legislation in Hungary<sup>1</sup>**

*Darányi's<sup>2</sup> Győr Programme<sup>3</sup> in practice. Settling the Jew problem in Hungary*

(From our correspondent.) Budapest, 11 April

In the last session of the House of Representatives before the Easter holidays, Prime Minister Darányi presented the bill for 'A More Effective Guarantee of Social and Economic Balance'. The law authorizes the government to make the appropriate provisions for the *settlement of the Jew problem* over the course of three months. The solution of this matter is an integral *component of the Győr Programme*. The prime minister sees the essence of the question in the fact that the Jews living within the borders of Hungary play a disproportionately large role in certain sectors of economic life. The Jews placed themselves in large numbers in those branches of employment where the possibilities to earn a living are easier and more advantageous. The heavy influx of Jews into the capital was also expressed in cultural and economic life, a development that was not always in conformity with the aspirations of the ethnic Hungarians. An arrangement that ensures Christian society the conditions it deserves in the area of industry, commerce, and banking also serves the interests of the Jews themselves, the prime minister said, because it is apt to lessen antisemitism and thus moderate the proliferation of extreme movements.

As part of the settlement, it will be stated that only persons who are members of the *Press Chamber* can be publishers, editors, or permanent staff of a periodical or non-periodical publication. Similarly, only members of the *Actors' Chamber* can be film actors, directors, stage actors, and artistic talent and auxiliary personnel in theatres. The

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., fols. 95–150.

<sup>9</sup> Letter from the SD Main Office to the Vienna Gestapo, for the attention of SS-Standartenführer Müller, dated 9 April 1938, listing the names and birthdates of the 28 arrested Freemasons and requesting that they be released from custody after confiscation of their passports, *ibid.*, fols. 93–94.

<sup>1</sup> 'Die Regelung des Judenproblems in Ungarn', *Neue Freie Presse* (Vienna), 13 April 1938, p. 2. This article has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Kálmán Darányi (1886–1939), politician of the National Unity Party (NEP); prime minister of Hungary, Oct. 1936 to May 1938.

<sup>3</sup> On 5 March 1938, in Győr, Darányi proclaimed his 'Programme of Race Protection and National Unity'. On 8 April 1938 he introduced in parliament the draft law outlined here; it was passed on 29 May 1938 and later referred to as the First Jewish Law.

number of Jewish members of the Press Chamber may not exceed 20 per cent of the total membership figure. Not included in the 20 per cent are the following: war invalids, front-line soldiers, and those who converted to another religious denomination before 1 August 1919 and have been members of this denomination without interruption since that time, or the children of such individuals. Each individual newspaper company will be required to maintain this ratio, with the exception of publications of a religious and denominational nature. The ratio in the theatre and the film industry will be determined by the minister of culture and education. No Jews at all will be employed by the state theatres. The possibility of creating Jewish theatres is envisaged. The law seeks to establish the 80:20 ratio in *the Lawyers', Engineers', and Physicians' Chambers* also. Pending further notice, Jews will be admitted to membership in these chambers only up to a rate of 5 per cent, until the ratio of 80:20 is reached. In *commercial undertakings* Jews can be employed in an intellectual working group only at a proportion of 20 per cent. The annual amount of the fees paid to them, under any heading whatsoever, may not exceed 20 per cent of the earnings of the other employees of the firm. Firms at which the ratio has not yet been reached can hire Jews as new workers only at the rate of 5 per cent of the other employees.

The government reserves the right to set the *timescale for the changeover*. In the event of sabotage, the government can appoint a manager, chargeable to the firm, or else order the takeover of the business. A similar arrangement is also under consideration for companies that have fewer than ten employees. With effect from 1 January 1938 these companies are forbidden to decrease the number of Christian workers. Only Christians can be hired in place of Christian civil servants. The law will be implemented *over five years*. In rare instances where economic interest requires it, exceptions can be made, but even in these cases, implementation must be complete within ten years. For the Press Chamber and the Actors' Chamber, the law must be implemented by the end of 1939.

DOC. 27

**Jewish Telegraphic Agency, New York, 14 April 1938: reports on the situation of Jews in Austria and reactions in the USA<sup>1</sup>**

*Nazis Curb Sale of Land By Austrian Jews; Border States Tighten Entry Rules*

Vienna, April 13. (JTA) – Austria's Nazi regime today prohibited Jews from selling land without special police permission, while Hungary and Czechoslovakia tightened immigration restrictions against Austrians.

A serious handicap was inflicted on Jews seeking to liquidate realty holdings when Vienna courts announced that they would be required to obtain special permission from the police to sell land. This permission is not required of 'Aryans.'

International barriers against Jews seeking to flee were tightened with the announcement that Austrians desiring to enter Hungary and Czechoslovakia must obtain special consular permission. In an article on regulations for traveling abroad, the *Wiener Abend-*

<sup>1</sup> *News from all over the world by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA News)*, vol. 4, no. 13, 14 April 1938, pp. 1–2; DÖW, 1456. The original document is in English.

*blatt* declared that all Austrians, Jewish and non-Jewish, must first obtain exit visas from the police, in addition to other visa requirements. Consular permission for admission of Austrians is also required by Poland, Yugoslavia and Switzerland. Italy alone does not require visas from Austrians.

An Austrian and his 'non-Aryan' wife, who lived in harmony since 1921 until he joined the Nazi Party, were divorced today by common consent in the first case in Austria in which race was accepted as ground for divorce.

Granting the divorce on the ground of incompatibility, the Vienna court declared that since the founding of the greater Reich, incompatibility of this kind could no longer be ignored, since the man found his happiness in the new political situation, which the wife, by reason of blood, was unable to share.

According to the testimony, the couple was married under Evangelical Church rites, the Jewish bride previously accepting conversion to her husband's Protestant faith. The marriage was harmonious until the husband, imbued with the Nazi ideology, joined the National Socialist Party. His wife did not share his views, and so he left her. Both requested the divorce.

The case was considered as casting a strong light on future developments here. The Nuremberg Laws of 1935, which make marriage between 'Aryans' and 'non-Aryans' illegal, have not yet been officially promulgated in Austria.

Professor Wilhelm Knoepfelmacher, Jewish psychiatrist, who formerly was the head of the children's clinic at Vienna University, is recovering from an attempt at suicide.<sup>2</sup> It was reported yesterday that he had committed suicide.

#### *Burgenland Expulsions Ordered By Berlin For 'Strategic Reasons'*

*Praha*, April 13. (JTA) – Expulsion of scores of Jews from the East Austrian province of Burgenland is being carried out on direct orders from Berlin, it was reliably learned here today.

No Jew will be permitted to live within fifty kilometers of the border 'for strategic reasons,' it was learned. A contributory reason for the banishment is the Nazis' desire to prevent Jews from maintaining contact with relatives abroad, particularly in Hungary.

#### *'Exploratory' Parley On Refugee Plan Held By Roosevelt, Hull, With Notables*

*Washington*, April 13. (JTA) – President Roosevelt conferred today with prominent persons interested in assisting refugees, with Government officials attending, to consider plans for cooperation with the proposed international commission to facilitate emigration from Austria and Germany.<sup>3</sup>

An 'exploratory' session was held for an hour at the White House this morning, with President Roosevelt giving his ideas. The group reconvened in the afternoon in the office

2 Wilhelm Knoepfelmacher (1866–1938), paediatrician; staff physician at the Karolinen Children's Hospital in Vienna, 1894–1900, and its director from 1901; in 1911 non-tenured professor of paediatrics at the University of Vienna; died on 23 April 1938.

3 In April 1938 Roosevelt appointed the President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees, the purpose of which was to advise the US government on the assistance of German and Austrian immigrants. Among the tasks of the committee was also the coordination of private refugee aid organizations and, later, the support of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees (IGCR). On the IGCR, see Doc. 64, 16 July 1938, fn. 4.

of Secretary of State Cordell Hull, after which it was stated that the meeting was entirely of a preliminary nature and no publicity would be given until President Roosevelt appoints the American representative to the international conference.

Attending the conference were Secretary Hull, Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles, Assistant Secretary of State George Messersmith, Raymond B. Fosdick of the Rockefeller Foundation, Professor Joseph P. Chamberlain, New York; James G. McDonald, chairman of the High Commission for German Refugees in 1933–35; the Rev. Samuel McC. Cavert, Federal Council of Churches; the Right Rev. Michael J. Ready, Catholic Welfare Conference, representing Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel of New Orleans; Louis Kenedy, head of the National Council of Catholic Men; Henry Morgenthau, Sr.; Bernard Baruch and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.

Meanwhile, B'nai B'rith made public a letter from Pierrepont Moffat, chief of the State Department's Division of European Affairs declaring: 'It is the hope of this Government that efforts to deal with this difficult problem will succeed in emphasizing its humanitarian side as well as ameliorating the lot of many of these unfortunate people.' The letter was in reply to B'nai B'rith's telegram pledging cooperation with the President's plan.

#### *Cooperation With U.S. Refugee Plan Urged*

Paris, April 13. (JTA) – The World Jewish Congress Executive decided today to recommend to affiliated groups that they cooperate with refugee organizations to be established under the United States Government's proposal for international aid to Austrian expatriates. The Executive also accepted the invitation of the American Jewish Congress to call a meeting of the World Jewish Congress Administrative Committee in New York in September.

#### DOC. 28

#### **On 24 April 1938 Julius Steinfeld describes his efforts to help the Orthodox Jews of Burgenland to emigrate<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from Julius Steinfeld,<sup>2</sup> 59 Obere Donaustraße, Vienna II, no addressee stated, dated 24 April 1938

I have been given the task of arranging for the speediest possible emigration of the Orthodox (religiously observant) Jews of Vienna, and have already privately contacted the central offices of Orthodox Jewry in Frankfurt am Main, London, and Jerusalem to line up immigration possibilities both for Palestine and for countries overseas. In accordance with our programme, we are still anxious to do everything possible to get regular emigration under way on a larger scale.

Meanwhile, the Jewish residents of Burgenland have left their homes and for the most part have come to Vienna as the first stop on their journey. Because 90 per cent of them

<sup>1</sup> BArch, ZB 7057 A.1. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Dr Julius Steinfeld (b. 1901), businessman; on the advisory board of the Jewish Religious Community of Vienna; head of the Jewish Orthodox association Agudas Israel in Vienna, 1938; with the help primarily of Orthodox rabbis who had emigrated, he sought to promote emigration to Britain and the USA; after the pogroms of November 1938, together with Rabbi Solomon Schonfeld, he organized transports of children to Britain; emigrated to the USA and founded the Vienna School in the Williamsburg neighbourhood of Brooklyn.

are Orthodox Jews, I have undertaken, with the help of several gentlemen from our circle, to provide the people with the essentials, wherever this was absolutely necessary in view of the holidays, and to set up an advice centre for them, so that they can emigrate in a well-ordered manner and as regulated by law. To accomplish this, however, these emigrants must be given the chance to wait until entry permits have been secured and the requisite funds have been procured from abroad. I or, alternatively, the other gentlemen from our religious community would be willing to accept responsibility for ensuring that all the Jewish residents of Burgenland, insofar as they are eligible for emigration, leave Austria and the territory of the Reich within four to six months at most. This group is to include all male and female individuals up to 60 years of age, excluding those with physical or mental abnormalities, for whom an entry visa will be difficult to obtain. But even with regard to the latter, we want to contact the foreign relief organizations in order to secure places for them in homes for the elderly or infirm.

To accomplish this in an orderly fashion, I would have to request that a statute be established for these people, stating where and under what conditions they can stay until the time of their emigration, and I would assume liability on behalf of the other gentlemen for ensuring total compliance with the conditions to be imposed.

Naturally, we would try to the best of our ability to expedite emigration, wherever possible, before the aforementioned date.

#### DOC. 29

### **A regulation of 26 April 1938 requires Jews to register their assets under penalty of fines and prison terms<sup>1</sup>**

*Regulation on the Registration of Jewish Assets.*  
26 April 1938.

Under the provisions of the Implementing Regulation to the Four-Year Plan of 18 October 1936 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 887), the following is decreed:

#### § 1

(1) Every Jew (§ 5 of the First Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law of 14 November 1935) (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 1333) must register and estimate the value of all his domestic and foreign assets as of the day of this regulation coming into effect, as specified in the following. Jews who hold foreign citizenship are required to register and value only their domestic assets.<sup>2</sup>

(2) The registration and assessment requirement applies also to the non-Jewish spouse of a Jew.

(3) Assets are to be declared separately for each person who is subject to the registration requirement.

<sup>1</sup> 'Verordnung über die Anmeldung des Vermögens von Juden', *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, p. 414. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> On the effects of the regulation upon Jews with foreign citizenship, see Doc. 32, 3 May 1938.

## § 2

(1) Assets in the sense of this regulation include all the property of the person subject to registration, regardless of whether the property is exempt from any tax or not.

(2) Assets do not include movable objects that are intended exclusively for the personal use of the person subject to registration. They do not include household effects unless they are luxury items.

## § 3

(1) Each component of the assets must be listed in the registration, with an estimate of its fair market value on the day this regulation comes into effect.

(2) The registration requirement does not apply if the total value of the assets subject to registration does not exceed 5,000 Reichsmarks, not taking liabilities into account.

## § 4

The registration must be submitted on an official form by 30 June 1938 to the higher administrative agency responsible for the place of residence of the person making the declaration. If, in a given case, complete registration and valuation of the assets is not possible by this date for particular reasons, the higher administrative agency can extend the registration deadline; in this case, however, an approximate listing of the assets and their value must be provided by 30 June 1938, with a statement of the reasons for the delay.

## § 5

(1) The person subject to the registration requirement must report without delay to the higher administrative agency any change (increase or decrease) in his assets that occurs after the regulation comes into effect, if the change in assets exceeds the scope of appropriate standard of living or regular business operations.

(2) The registration requirement also applies to Jews who are not subject to the requirement for registration and valuation at the time the regulation comes into effect, but after this time acquire assets valued at more than 5,000 Reichsmarks. § 1(1) sentence 2, (2), and (3) apply accordingly.

## § 6

(1) The higher administrative agency in the sense of this regulation is:

in Prussia	the Regierungspräsident (in Berlin, the chief of police),
in Bavaria	the Regierungspräsident,
in Saxony	the Kreishauptmann,
in Württemberg	the Minister of the Interior,
in Baden	the Minister of the Interior,
in Thuringia	the Reichsstatthalter, Ministry of the Interior,
in Hesse	the Reichsstatthalter (regional government),
in Hamburg	the Reichsstatthalter,
in Mecklenburg	the Ministry of State, Dept for Interior Affairs,
in Oldenburg	the Minister of the Interior,
in Brunswick	the Ministry of the Interior,
in Bremen	the senator for interior administration,
in Anhalt	the Ministry of State, Interior Dept,
in Lippe	the Reichsstatthalter (regional government),
in Schaumburg-Lippe	the regional government,
in the Saarland	the Reich commissioner for the Saarland.

(2) In Austria, the Reichsstatthalter (regional government) takes the place of the higher administrative agency. He can transfer his powers delegated under this regulation to other offices.

§ 7

The Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan can take the steps necessary to ensure that the assets subject to registration are used in accordance with the requirements of the German economy.

§ 8

(1) Anyone who intentionally or through negligence fails to perform, performs improperly, or does not perform in a timely manner the duty of registration, valuation, or disclosure existing under the foregoing provisions, or who contravenes an ordinance enacted on the basis of § 7, will be punished with imprisonment or with a fine or with both of these penalties; in particularly serious instances of intentional contravention, a sentence of up to ten years of penal servitude can be imposed. The offender is also punishable if he has committed the act abroad.

(2) The attempt is punishable.

(3) In addition to the penalty under (1) and (2), confiscation of the assets can be imposed, provided the assets were the object of the punishable offence; confiscation can be imposed in addition to penal servitude. If no specific individual can be prosecuted or sentenced, confiscation can also be imposed independently, if the prerequisites for confiscation are otherwise present.

Berlin, 26 April 1938.

*The Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan*

Göring

*Field Marshal*<sup>3</sup>

*The Reich Minister of the Interior*

Frick

DOC. 30

**On 27 and 28 April 1938 Luise Solmitz notes her reaction  
to the instructions for the registration of assets<sup>1</sup>**

Diary of Luise Solmitz, Hamburg, entries for 27 April 1938 and 28 April 1938 (copy)

27 April 1938

'Registration requirement for Jewish assets in excess of RM 5,000. The Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan can take the steps necessary to ensure that the assets subject to registration are used in accordance with the requirements of the German economy.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Hermann Göring had been promoted to the rank of field marshal on 4 Feb. 1938. As the only incumbent of this rank at the time (until July 1940), he was the highest-ranking officer in the Wehrmacht.

<sup>1</sup> Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 622-1/140, Familie Solmitz, 1, Bd. 31. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> See Doc. 29, 26 April 1938.

That means: expropriation. – Deadline for registration: 30 June. Registration requirement also for non-Jewish spouses. ‘Assets do not include: movable objects that are intended exclusively for the personal use of the person subject to registration. They do not include household effects unless they are luxury items.’<sup>3</sup>

Thus, our house is an ‘asset’. Our mortgage, in good hands with Mrs E.,<sup>4</sup> will be invested as seems best. Why complain. What’s the use. We all go our own way. The way I imagined my life before: my spirit could not anticipate such difficulties. Outcast, out-law<sup>5</sup> ... that is simply the fate of us both, the realm that must remain ours.<sup>6</sup>

28 April 1938

... only our house is my home, I love every stone and every beam. What did we do for them to want to ‘secure it for the requirements of the German economy’? Other people have their houses too, after all. Are we dangerous criminals? Every day is so full of fear that I’ll soon start to believe it myself.

DOC. 31

*Aufbau*, New York, 1 May 1938: article on the pogroms in Vienna<sup>1</sup>

*On the scum of the earth*

A decree dated 30 March,<sup>2</sup> which bears the signatures of Hitler, Kerrl, and Frick and is retroactive to 1 January 1938, deprives the religious organizations and establishments of the German Jews of their nature as corporations under public law and thus of the tax privileges they enjoyed until now.

According to a report by Emil Vadnay<sup>3</sup> from Vienna, published in the *New York Times* on 30 March, *Reich Minister of Lies Goebbels*, speaking before a crowd of 25,000 persons, declared among other things:

Our methods may not be subtle enough to suit certain persons, but they have brought us success anyway! ... In other countries, a great deal of drivel is talked about a lack of freedom of opinion in Germany. The fact is that we do not tolerate

<sup>3</sup> Regulation dated 26 April 1938, § 2(2).

<sup>4</sup> ‘Frau W.’ in the original. The ‘W’ probably stands for *Wirtschaft* (economy).

<sup>5</sup> The two preceding words are in English in the original.

<sup>6</sup> This is a wordplay with the meanings of the word ‘Reich’ and a reference to the last line of the fourth stanza of Martin Luther’s hymn ‘Ein fester Burg ist unser Gott’ (‘A Mighty Fortress is our God’), which reads: ‘Das Reich muss uns doch bleiben’ (‘The Kingdom must remain ours’).

<sup>1</sup> ‘Vom Abschaum der Erde’, *Aufbau*, 1 May 1938, p. 2. This article has been translated from German. The newspaper *Aufbau* was published in New York by the ‘German-Jewish Club’ from 1934/1935, every two weeks until 1939 and then weekly. The editor-in-chief in 1938 was Rudolf Brandl; the initial circulation was 500, and in 1938 it was 4,000, increasing to 8,000.

<sup>2</sup> See Doc. 23, 28 March 1938.

<sup>3</sup> ‘No Fear of France, Goebbels Asserts’, *New York Times*, 30 March 1938, p. 4. Emil Vadnay (1892–1939), journalist; lieutenant in the Imperial and Royal Army in the First World War; after 1918, correspondent for several London newspapers; from 1926 *New York Times* correspondent for Central and South-Eastern Europe.

any nit-picking grumbling by incompetents. The Jewish problem is closely linked to that 'freedom'. *The Jews in Germany are so well off now that they are already becoming brazen again.* There is a great deal of talk now about mass suicides of Viennese Jews. Not a word of it is true. The number of suicides is unchanged; the only difference is that, whilst Germans were previously taking their own lives, it is now the Jews who are doing so. But we cannot place a special constable next to every Viennese Jew to prevent him from committing suicide! It is true that we have cleansed the Vienna newspapers of their Jews; they can now go to Palestine and look for a way to make a living there. I am well aware that some people say: after all, the Jew is a human being too, you know. But this very 'too' is the best clue to what the Jew actually is! This talk about 'the decent Jew who's an acquaintance of mine' must stop, and its place must be taken by our racial teachings, which are the sole basis for a correct solution of the Jewish problem ...! Our critics are morbid, degenerate, democratic intellectuals, relics of the nineteenth century. They are dead, they are unable to act, and we are not interested in listening to their phrases and admonitions! ...<sup>4</sup>

The detailed account from the *New York Times* that was broadcast by radio from London by the justly esteemed Anglo-Saxon journalist G. E. R. Gedye,<sup>5</sup> following his expulsion from the immediate orbit of the 'Aryan' Huns, reads in part as follows:<sup>6</sup>

It is, of course, hard to ascertain actual figures for prisoners. Against the official figure of 1,500 to 1,600, which is laughably small, one can only set the figure generally accepted in diplomatic circles of over 34,000 for Vienna alone. Arrests were still going on when I left and thousands are on the run.

The same is true of the official figure for suicides. Foreign legations ascertained on three successive days the figures of 102, 112 and 132.

But what set in immediately and went on was a systematic plundering of Jewish shops and flats in the name of 'house searches' and 'requisitions' by Storm Trooper bands. Many thousands, rich and poor alike, have been and are being robbed of vast sums in this way.

Various methods were adopted. One that I saw occurred in Taborstrasse, where Schiffmann Millinery was during two days systematically despoiled of all its stock and equipment by uniformed Storm Troopers working under police supervision, the proprietors having been first arrested.

Another case which I established in Hietzing was the plundering of a Jewish-owned food store in the name of 'requisitioning'.

The entire stock was taken away as well as 8,000 schillings in cash. When the shop was restocked two days later, the process was repeated. The proprietor, as in-

4 The original English-language text of the *New York Times* article in question is used here. The speech was given by Goebbels on 29 March 1938 at a mass meeting at Vienna's Northwest Railway Station: *Völkischer Beobachter* (Vienna edition), 31 March 1938, p. 4; entries for 30 and 31 March 1938, in Joseph Goebbels, *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels*, ed. Elke Fröhlich, part 1: *Aufzeichnungen 1923–1941*, vol. 5: *Dez. 1937 – Juli 1938* (Munich: Saur, 2000), pp. 237–239.

5 George Eric Rowe Gedye (1890–1970), journalist; Vienna correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* and *The Times*; expelled in March 1938; had to resign from the editorial staff of the *Daily Telegraph* in 1939 after he sharply criticized British policy on Austria in his book *Fallen Bastions*.

6 The original English-language text of the *New York Times* article in question is used in the following: 'Nazi Terrorism in Austria Bared; Vienna Arrests Are Put at 34,000', *New York Times*, 3 April 1938, p. 1.

structed by Storm Troopers, took the 'requisition' note to the police, who tore it up and threw the pieces in his face.

As a rule, there is no violence, even forms of politeness being observed. Many thousands of flats have been visited by polite young Storm Troopers who have demanded all the money in the place as well as jewelry, giving receipts, which of course no one would subsequently acknowledge.

In other cases when victims called the police they were told nobody but a caretaker was available. Others who appealed to the police on the street were told they had no authority to intervene against Storm Troopers. Of course all police left on duty had themselves been participants in Nazi plotting.

It is only fair to say this correspondent failed to establish a single case where German officers or soldiers engaged in such camouflaged pillaging.

In at least one case I established that Germans – either soldiers or Elite Guards in field gray – intervened to check street brutality. In others I saw them looking on with distaste but never playing an active part.

This correspondent has written at length of shameful scenes in the streets, where Jewish men and women were seized at random and forced to go down on their hands and knees and scrub away with solutions at Dollfuss crosses<sup>7</sup> painted on the pavement. Attempts have been made by Nazis to call this affair reprisal for what happened to them in the days of their repression. The analogy is false. When the illegal Nazi revolutionary movement scattered paper swastikas in defiance of the law of the land, leaders of that movement were seized and obliged to sweep them up. In this case it is electoral propaganda of the government of yesterday that the successful revolutionaries of today are forcing people who have no responsibility for it to remove [it] under shameful conditions ...

... No doubt we shall learn that many of these persons whose only crime was to stand up for the independence of their country and the restoration of their royal house have 'committed suicide,' as we were told of Major Emil Frey<sup>8</sup> and his family.

Shots at night in gardens, courtyards and improvised Nazi prisons continue. Not for nothing did Field Marshal Hermann Göring issue warnings last Saturday on unauthorized killings.<sup>9</sup>

The plight of the Jews in Austria is much worse than that of the Jews in Germany at the worst period there. In Austria, overnight, Vienna's 200,000 Jews were made free game for mobs, despoiled of their property, deprived of police protection, ejected from employment and barred from sources of relief. The frontiers were hermetically sealed against their escape.

7 Also known as the crutch cross or cross potent, with crossbars at the four ends; symbol of the Fatherland Front, founded by Engelbert Dollfuß in 1933. In 1935 the crutch cross became the second national emblem, after the national flag.

8 Correctly: Emil Fey (1886–1938), officer and politician; officer of the Imperial and Royal Army in the First World War; from 1927 head of the Vienna Home Guard; in 1932 state secretary for security; federal minister for public security and vice chancellor in the Dollfuß government, 1933–1934; Committed suicide along with his wife and son following a Gestapo interrogation.

9 This is probably a reference to Göring's speech in the hall of Vienna's Northwest Railway Station, in which he had spoken of the impending 'de-Jewification' (*Entjudung*) of the Austrian economy and warned against violent attacks on Jews: 'Wie werden wir die Juden los? Keine Einzelaktionen, keine Gewalttaten – sondern systematische wirtschaftliche Ausmerzung' ('How are we to get rid of the Jews? No independent actions, no acts of violence – but rather systematic economic eradication'), in *Völkischer Beobachter* (Vienna edition), 26 April 1938.

The day of Hitler's arrival in Vienna<sup>10</sup> I was leaving a friend's apartment to see the procession. He was delayed while undertakers carried before him downstairs the bodies of a young Jewish doctor and his mother. The day before the doctor had been dismissed from his employment and forced to allow a huge swastika banner to be hung from a window of his apartment. In the apartment sat Storm Troopers compelling the non-Jewish maid to sit in an armchair and watch how Jewish citizens seized at random in the streets were forced to do housework to the accompaniment of abuse. Storm Troopers declared the apartment their own property.

Down in the streets Jewish professional men and women seized at random and forced to spend hours washing confiscated cars of other Jews now used by the Nazis.

The new reports that have reached us in America since the completion of this collection of the blossoming of 'Aryan' culture confirm that our headline is in no way exaggerated. How else could one characterize 'human beings' who are able to lay waste to the homes of a minority such as the Jews of Burgenland, who had resided in the same places for centuries,<sup>11</sup> to herd the unfortunates, regardless of gender, age, or state of health first towards a blocked border and finally, as if dealing with livestock, to load them on to trucks for Vienna, where the Jews are at their wits' end anyway and more and more people are taking their own lives because they can no longer endure the physical and mental torments concocted by perverse minds?!

DOC. 32

***Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 3 May 1938: article about anti-Jewish measures in Germany and their significance for foreign Jews<sup>1</sup>**

*The latest anti-Jewish measures*

*Their significance for Jewish citizens from other countries*

Prof. J. H. W. Verzijl<sup>2</sup> from Utrecht writes to us:

A people must truly be blinded by nationalism to violate the laws of humanity so terribly and act against a minority within its borders in such a way as Germany is currently doing against the Jews.

The most recent expression of this atavistic instinct lies before me in the form of no. 63 of the *Reichsgesetzblatt*<sup>3</sup> dated 26 April of this year in which two regulations, both enacted on the same date by Field Marshal Göring in his capacity as 'Beauftragter

<sup>10</sup> Hitler arrived in Vienna on 15 March 1938.

<sup>11</sup> On the persecution of the Burgenland Jews, see Doc. 28, 24 April 1938, and Doc. 69, 22 July 1938.

<sup>1</sup> 'De jongste anti-Joodsche maatregelen', *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (Avondblad), 3 March 1938, p. 5. This article has been translated from Dutch. The liberal daily newspaper *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* was founded in 1844.

<sup>2</sup> Jan Hendrik Willem Verzijl (1888–1987), lawyer; professor of international law and diplomacy in Utrecht, 1920, and in Amsterdam, 1938; member of the steering committee for queries by the Dutch minister of foreign affairs related to international law, 1924–1940; removed from all offices by the German occupiers, arrested by the Gestapo, and taken to Buchenwald concentration camp as a so-called Dutch hostage in 1940. He was interned in the camp until May 1941.

<sup>3</sup> German in the original here and below: 'Reich Law Gazette'.

für den Vierjahresplan',<sup>4</sup> appear: a 'Verordnung über die Anmeldung des Vermögens von Juden'<sup>5</sup> and an 'Anordnung'<sup>6</sup> that directly relates to the aforementioned 'Verordnung'.<sup>7</sup>

Both of these are based on the implementing regulation to the Four-Year Plan dated 18 October 1936, and thus betray, in their legal origin, along with its signature, the goal of the new measures: for private assets, in particular those of Jews, to be deposited into the German economy.

Although for the time being this regulation only requires this population group to report and estimate the value of their wealth, the true intent of these regulations is quite evident from the mandate Mr Göring gives himself in § 7, from those measures in the very same 'Anordnung' which limit the rights of Jews as regards their assets, and not least from the unofficial commentary in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, *Angriff*, *Schwarze Front*,<sup>8</sup> et al.

It is not my intention to consider the new legal measures in terms of their impact within Germany, although much could be said about that. The international indifference regarding this mistreatment of a minority, as long as this is confined to the people of the German state, indeed stands out sharply against the comparative gallantry with which people previously came together collectively to protect other mistreated minorities: in the European part of Turkey, Syria, Armenia, Poland. And this double standard is also heinous in this regard: it was only a short time ago that the German Reich, full of indignation, mobilized every available international organization – the League of Nations, the International Court of Justice, arbitration boards, etc. – against *other* nations that treated their (German) minorities badly; or it forced a *Friedensdiktat*<sup>9</sup> at gunpoint: I am thinking here in particular of Article 28 of the Treaty of Bucharest with Romania (7 May 1918) in which victorious Germany obliged the conquered state to grant the Romanian Jews the same rights as all other residents and pass a special law making all Jews living in that country full citizens.

Yet the new measures remain – and I want to draw special attention to this here – in no way limited to domestic German legislation. The official documents indicate that they also include 'Juden fremder Staatangehörigkeit'<sup>10</sup> and that certainly concerns more than the German Reich alone.

Mr Göring's 'Anmelde- und Bewertungspflicht'<sup>11</sup> applies thus not only to German Jews, but also to non-German Jews, including for example Dutch Jews who live (or own property) in Germany. The only difference from German Jews is that non-German Jews

4 German in the original: 'Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan'.

5 German in the original: 'Regulation on the Registration of Jewish Assets'. On this regulation, see Doc. 29, 26 April 1938. Likewise on 26 April 1938 Göring decreed that Jews required permission to buy, sell, or lease a business, or to open a commercial establishment: see *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, pp. 415–416.

6 German in the original here and below: 'directive'.

7 German in the original: 'regulation'.

8 The author means *Das Schwarze Korps*, organ of the SS Reich leadership, 1935–1945. *Die Schwarze Front* was a publication of the Combat Association of Revolutionary National Socialists associated with Gregor Straßer and was banned in Feb. 1933.

9 German in the original: 'dictated peace'.

10 German in the original: 'Jews of foreign nationality'.

11 German in the original: 'obligation to value and register'.

are only obliged to assess and report their internal, that is, German, assets. Other than this exception, however, they are subject to these regulations the same as German Jews.

What does this then mean?

Firstly, that the new German law obliges Jews from the Netherlands (the US, France, etc.) who live in Germany, or own property there, to report their holdings to the authorities with the goal stated in the 'Verordnung' (§ 7) that these shall henceforth be subject to the 'Massnahmen, die notwendig sind, um den Einsatz des anmeldepflichtigen Vermögens im Einklang mit den Belangen der deutschen Wirtschaft sicherzustellen'.<sup>12</sup>

Moreover, that – in accordance with the 'Anordnung' – the Jews from the Netherlands etc. are denied free use of their assets and are no longer free to set up businesses. Indeed, in the future they will require permission for both the sale or lease of any business, industrial, agricultural, or forestry enterprises and for granting the right of use, as well as for the opening of new businesses and branches.

Furthermore, these Dutch and other foreigners may now be punished, in severe cases, with imprisonment, fines, or up to ten years of penal servitude if they deliberately or through culpability fail to report assets, their sale or lease, etc., in a timely fashion and, in addition, any non-declared wealth will be confiscated.

Ultimately, the consequence will be that Dutch and other foreigners living (or with assets) in Germany will be discriminated against in accordance with German law, depending on whether they are Jewish or non-Jewish, according to German racial doctrine as legally sanctioned. After all, the term 'Jew' is being defined, and also Dutch citizens will henceforth be made subject to § 5 of the first regulation issued under the *Reichsbürgergesetz*<sup>13</sup> of 14 November 1935.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, how should Germany otherwise handle this as regards the subjects of other nations that recognize no legal distinction between races? Under this new 'law' any Dutch living, or with assets, in Germany who has three or four or, under certain circumstances (membership of a synagogue, marriage to a Jew, etc.), even two Jewish grandparents is defined as a Jew. Non-Jewish partners of Jews also fall under the provisions of this statute.

A curiously contradictory observation can be found in the *Völkischer Beobachter*: although Jews have been expelled from the true racial community as inferior, their assets must remain preserved as 'part of German national capital'. The new measures are in the first instance designed to disadvantage Jewish capital in Austria. According to the commentary, the measure is designed to enact 'eine endgültige Erledigung der wirtschaftlichen Macht des Judentums',<sup>15</sup> – to squeeze the Jews economically until they can no longer stay.

The honourable foreign countries, which, after all, do not interfere in the 'domestic affairs' of other states (just as little as Germany itself once did!), will, with regard to this latest attack upon Jews, remain stone deaf as far as German Jews are concerned.

12 German in the original: 'steps necessary to ensure that the assets subject to registration are used in accordance with the requirements of the German economy'.

13 German in the original: 'Reich Citizenship Law'.

14 The author means § 5 of the First Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law, which stipulated who was to be considered a Jew: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1935, I, pp. 1333–1334. See PMJ 1/210.

15 German in the original: 'a definitive end to the economic power of Judaism'.

But should we also stand by while the Jewish citizens of other states who have assets in Germany are treated as inferior Dutch, English, Americans, etc. by a state that preaches racial hatred as a cultural ideal? Shall international law also be witness to this scorn?

We are dealing here with deliberate state-led discrimination against citizens of foreign countries who, according to their own national legislation, are full and equal Dutch (British, American, etc.) citizens. This discrimination takes place according to criteria that their own legal system rejects in principle. Dutch Jews are Dutch, equal to all others, and no foreign state has even the slightest right under international law to create a legal difference between them to its own advantage that wrongfully harms their rights and interests. No matter how much someone wants to violate [the rights of] Jews within their borders, from an international perspective Jewish foreigners in Germany have absolutely the same rights as their non-Jewish countrymen. And they have every right as foreign citizens to lay full claim to diplomatic protection from their own government, just as international law recognizes their governments' authority to protect them on completely equal terms. Were they *not* to do so, they would be complicit in this scandalous enterprise.

And what is beyond dispute according to international law is certainly valid for international relations, which are dominated by trade and business treaties. If the Dutch or citizens of other third countries have the right to open offices, to own property, to run businesses, etc. by virtue of signed treaties, then this right belongs no less to Dutch Jews and other Jewish foreigners, regardless of what measures Germany feels the need to take against its own Jewish citizens. And should there be no more independent judges in Berlin, some remain in The Hague with an even greater authority than he whose judgement was appealed to by the miller of Sanssouci.<sup>16</sup>

These events also show how international law risks becoming a caricature when its sound principles are not resolutely safeguarded. Trade treaties often include the provision that the subjects of both parties have complete freedom to open offices, trade, and conduct business in the other country on equal terms with the subjects of the host nation. These provisions proceed from the unspoken assumption that the subjects of the host nation are equal before the law. When drawing up such treaty provisions, neither party has envisaged the possibility of discriminating against *its own* citizens.

If at a later date the principle of the rule of law is distorted, so as to disenfranchise or legally disadvantage certain groups of its subjects, the legal consequence can never be that from then on this discrimination also automatically applies to subjects of the other nation. As regards the treatment of foreigners, the requirement is that they are, without exception, on an equal footing with the normal citizens.

In any case, things are swiftly going downhill where justice is concerned!

However, in my view, now that Germany has once again violated international law by unlawfully involving foreigners in its racial mania, one must not fail to protest.

16 According to legend, Frederick the Great ordered the demolition of a noisy windmill close to the Sanssouci palace (his summer residence in Potsdam). Thereupon the miller replied to the king: 'But sire, there are still judges in Berlin!' The legend illustrates the rule of law associated with enlightened absolutism under Frederick's rule.

## DOC. 33

**Correspondance Juive, 6 May 1938: article on the persecution and expulsion of Austria's Jews following the Anschluss<sup>1</sup>***The persecution of the Jews in Austria.**Special report<sup>2</sup>*

Vienna, May 1938. When, under pressure from the German government, the Schuschnigg government announced its resignation, a crowd of National Socialist demonstrators gathered in the centre of Vienna, where the administration's buildings are located. Shouting 'To Leopoldstadt!', thousands of people headed towards the second municipal district, where a good half of the Jewish population of the town lives. It was a night of looting and murder. Four Jews were killed and fifteen mutilated in Nowara alley. The pogrom lasted until midday on Monday.<sup>3</sup> The looters did not confine themselves to shops but also broke into the apartments.

Gangs of Hitler Youth nailed the doors of Jewish shops shut and plastered the call 'Aryans, don't buy from Jews!' more or less everywhere. In the Jewish quarter, some residents were dragged through the streets with a sign around their necks: 'This pig buys from Jews!' or 'Only idiots and bastards buy from Jews!'

All the offices of the Jewish Community and the other Jewish organizations were closed. The president of the Jewish Community of Vienna and the other Austrian Jewish leaders were arrested.<sup>4</sup> The assets of the Jewish Community of Vienna were confiscated. The 170,000 Jews of Vienna, a third of whom had been provided for by the community's charitable organizations up to then, are in the greatest distress.

On 24 April the chief rabbi of Vienna, Dr Israel Taglicht,<sup>5</sup> was attacked by a Nazi gang as he was returning from the synagogue and made to stand in front of a small Jewish shop with a sign around his neck bearing the words 'Aryans! Don't buy from Jews!'

On 25 April all the Jewish cafés were closed. Their owners had to paint the word 'Jew' in large letters on the windows.

The British consulate even protested about the fact that Jews were being forced to clean the Nazis' cars right under the windows of the consulate.

1 'La persécution des Juifs en Autriche', *Correspondance Juive*, no. 1, vol. 1, 6 May 1938, edited by the World Jewish Congress in Geneva: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari, Stati Ecclesiastici, pos. 566, fasc. 599. This document has been translated from French.

2 In the original the title is followed by the words: 'from our Jewish correspondent'.

3 This could not be verified.

4 The president of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna was Dr Desider Friedmann (1888–1944), lawyer; solicitor in Vienna; incarcerated in Dachau concentration camp for a year from 1 April 1938; on 24 Sept. 1942 sent to Theresienstadt, and from there in Oct. 1944 to Auschwitz, where he was murdered. The deputy presidents of the Israelite Religious Community, Robert Stricker and Dr Jakob Ehrlich, director Dr Josef Löwenherz, and president of the Zionist National Association in Austria, Dr Oskar Grünbaum, were arrested with Friedmann on 18 March 1938.

5 David Israel Taglicht (1861–1943), rabbi in Vienna from 1893; lecturer at the Jewish Theology Teaching Academy from 1932; chief rabbi of the synagogue at 4 Seitenstettengasse, known as the 'Vienna City Temple', from 1936.

On Monday, 25 April, several hundred elderly Jews, including women, had to goose-step for several kilometres around the town. In the Jewish neighbourhoods they were forced to kneel, do exercises, etc. Dr Fischer, chief cantor of the Vienna synagogue, was among these unfortunates.<sup>6</sup>

This is the toll of the persecution of the Austrian Jews as of 27 April: several hundred suicides,<sup>7</sup> thousands of arrests, the dismissal of most Jewish employees and workers including all the presidents, directors, and administrators of the Jewish religious communities, the B'nai B'rith lodges (Jewish lodges), and the other Jewish organizations, the expulsion from universities of all Jews holding posts there, the removal of all Jews from business, the liberal professions (medicine, pharmacists, solicitors), the theatre, the arts, literature, confiscation of the fortunes of wealthy Jews, the looting of all large Jewish shops. Jews have also been banned from leaving the country.

Events in Burgenland show the suffering to which Jews are subjected in the provinces. Burgenland is a small region that formerly belonged to Hungary but became part of Austria under the Treaty of Saint-Germain. It has an area of around 4,000 km<sup>2</sup> and 300,000 inhabitants, of whom 3,622 are Jews, whose ancestors settled in the region around 500 years ago. These Jews are farmers and winegrowers, small shopkeepers and large retailers, and they have always been on excellent terms with the Christian population. Hitler's occupation of Austria unleashed anarchy in Burgenland. *Furor Teutonicus*<sup>8</sup> has engulfed the country's small Jewish communities. Here are some examples of the abuses committed by the Germans in four Burgenland villages:

*In Deutschkreuz:* Adalbert Bischitz, a leather and iron trader, whose great-grandparents lived in the village, was told by members of the SA to leave within three days. As he objected that he was responsible for his 77-year-old mother, he was told: 'Well, all you have to do is take an axe and slaughter the old Jewish sow.' And Bischitz had to leave the village without taking any of his belongings with him. Shopkeeper Hugo Feigstock,<sup>9</sup> whose family had been in Deutschkreuz since time immemorial, met the same fate. Finally, all the leaders of the local religious community were accused of having held a secret meeting during a religious service and were dragged out of the synagogue and thrown into prison.

*In Mattersdorf:* the Nazis ordered thirteen people to leave the village within forty-eight hours. Among those expelled were a mother with a six-month-old infant and an old woman aged 75. They were taken to Sopron on the Hungarian border with not a penny to their name. There the Hungarian police ordered them to return to Austrian territory and formally banned all Hungarians from speaking to them or providing them with any help whatsoever. Men, women, and feverish children spent the cold, wintry night there on the bare ground with no food and no covering. The women, driven half mad, ran from one border post to another begging for shelter at least for their children. In vain! The Nazis pushed them back and swore at them, and one *Feldwebel*<sup>10</sup> amused

<sup>6</sup> Probably Heinrich Fischer (b. 1886), cantor.

<sup>7</sup> On the number of Jews who took their lives following the Anschluss, see Introduction, p. 35.

<sup>8</sup> Latin term meaning 'Teutonic ferocity'.

<sup>9</sup> Correctly: Hugo Feigelstock (also Feiglstock).

<sup>10</sup> German in the original: 'warrant officer' (non-commissioned army rank directly above a staff sergeant).

himself by making a 69-year-old man do military exercises. When the old man could go on no longer and collapsed, he chased him away by kicking him. Finally, a Hungarian doctor, whose selflessness cannot be too highly praised, managed to set up a citizens' committee. The commander of the Hungarian border post took it upon himself to provide the unfortunates with accommodation in a remote room inside the post.

*In Kittsee:* Moritz Kopf,<sup>11</sup> who owns a building and runs a business, was told to leave his native village of Kittsee within three days, taking none of his belongings with him. The same fate befell the butcher Samuel Singer.<sup>12</sup>

When Aladar Reissner, owner of an inn that he had inherited from his father, learned that he too must leave the country within three days, along with his wife, his elderly mother, and his children, he talked of killing his family and himself.<sup>13</sup> The answer he received was: 'Good, there'll be a few less Jews in the world!'

Furniture, clothes, [and] linen were immediately taken from the unfortunates and, moreover, they were made to sign a declaration pledging to leave not just their village but the country, as well as stating the destination of their journey. This was a tasteless joke, since their papers had been taken from them.

*In Frauenkirchen:* after being slapped and beaten, trader and property owner Siegmund Fischer<sup>14</sup> was threatened with a gun along with his whole family and Adolf Fried, the latter's son, Dr Alexander Fried, Samuel Lewin, aged 75, and several other Jews, who were all natives of the town.<sup>15</sup> Watched by speechless, terrified villagers, the unfortunates were crammed into a bus by frenzied SA men. What little luggage they had loaded on to a lorry was confiscated 'on orders from high up'. It appears that some managed to cross the Czech border. Only some of them ...

Hundreds of human beings with no shelter are wandering between the border posts of three states and are being turned away mercilessly by the police at every attempt [to cross a border].

11 Correctly: Moritz Zopf (b. 1891), owner of a draper's in Kittsee; left Kittsee with his wife Rosa, née Berger (b. 1891), in March 1938, probably for Vienna. The subsequent fate of the couple is unknown.

12 Samuel Singer (b. 1888); ran a butcher's shop and a coal yard in Kittsee; left the town with his wife and three sons on 28 March 1938. The family lived with other Jews from Kittsee, including the Reisner family. After multiple deportations between Austria, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia they lived for four months on a French barge on the Danube. They ultimately emigrated via Vienna to Shanghai and, after ten years, from there to the USA. Their house in Kittsee was confiscated and leased to the butcher Johann Strauss.

13 Correctly: Aladar Reisner (1903–1985), innkeeper; emigrated with his mother, his sister, his wife, and both their children, finally reaching the USA. His property was confiscated on 31 May 1938 on the orders of the Gestapo and seized for the use of the German Reich. The Kittsee Border Police established their offices in Reisner's inn.

14 Siegmund (also Sigmund) Fischer (1876–1950), retailer; owner of a store for hardware, machinery, and spices in Frauenkirchen, which was confiscated in April 1938 and placed in the hands of a trustee, who later purchased it. Fischer and his wife Sidonie (who died in 1939) left Frauenkirchen in June 1938, first for Vienna, and went from there to Yugoslavia.

15 Adolf Fried (1870–1943), director of a savings bank and trader in building materials; emigrated on 30 March 1938 to Czechoslovakia with his wife Riza; their son Alexander Fried (b. 1899) emigrated to the USA. Correctly: Samuel Löwin (1865–1945), owner of a tannery which was placed in the hands of a temporary trustee in May 1938 and Aryanized in Feb. 1939.

## DOC. 34

**On 8 May 1938 Adolf Eichmann tells his friend and superior Herbert Hagen  
how he monitors the Viennese Jews<sup>1</sup>**

Handwritten letter from Adolf Eichmann<sup>2</sup> in Vienna to Herbert Hagen,<sup>3</sup> Berlin, dated 8 May 1938

Dear Herbert,

I want to write a short letter to you again today. I have just gone round to all the sub-districts. I gave the case officers an overview of the subject matter, which was gratefully received, as they had no idea until this point. I hope soon to be in possession of the *Jüd. Jahrbücher*<sup>4</sup> of all the bordering countries, which I will then send to you. I regard them as an essential aid.

All the Jewish organizations in Austria have been instructed to submit a report every eight days. These will be forwarded to the respective case officer [of] II 112 (sub-districts and main districts). The reports are to be split into a situation report and an activity report. In Vienna they are due every Monday; outside the capital, every Thursday. I hope to be able to send the first reports to you as early as tomorrow.

The first issue of the *Zionistische Rundschau*<sup>5</sup> will appear on Friday of n[ext] week. I have had the manuscripts sent to me and am currently completing the boring task of censorship. The newspaper will be sent to you too, of course. It will be[come] in a sense 'my' newspaper.

In any event, I have kept the gentlemen on the go, believe me. They are at present working very diligently, too. I have demanded from the religious community and the Zionist Regional Association an emigration figure of 20,000 Jews without means for the period 1 April 1938 to 1 May 1939, with which they also promised me they will comply.

1 BArch, R 58/982, fols. 19–21, published in Herbert Rosenkranz, *Verfolgung und Selbstbehauptung: Die Juden in Österreich 1938–1945* (Vienna/Munich: Herold, 1978), pp. 71–72. This document has been translated from German.

2 Adolf Karl Eichmann (1906–1962) started his career as a sales representative; joined the NSDAP and the SS in 1932; worked in the SD Main Office, 1934–1938; operational head of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Vienna from the summer of 1938 and of the Central Office in Prague in 1939; special section head in the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) for the evacuation of the annexed eastern provinces from Dec. 1939, then head of RSHA Section IV D 4, later IV B 4 (Jewish affairs, evacuation affairs); imprisoned, 1945–1946; escaped in 1946; in hiding in Argentina, 1950–1960; kidnapped in 1960 and taken to Israel, where he was sentenced to death in 1961 and executed in 1962.

3 Herbert Hagen (1913–1999), commercial employee; joined the SS in 1933 and the NSDAP in 1937; worked for the SD from 1934; head of Dept II 112 (section for Jewish affairs) of the SD, 1937–1939; from 1940 worked for the SD in France; personal assistant to the Higher SS and Police Leader, 1942–1944; interned, 1945–1948; sentenced in Paris in absentia to lifelong forced labour for war crimes in 1955; in 1980 sentenced to twelve years in prison by the Cologne Regional Court; released in 1984.

4 The *Jüdisches Jahrbuch für Österreich* (Jewish Yearbook for Austria) was edited in 1932 by Chaim Bloch (1881–1973) and Löbel Taubes (1863–1933). It contained articles by well-known Jewish authors and the Jewish communities in Austria and their religious, social, and cultural institutions.

5 The *Zionistische Rundschau* began publication on 20 May 1938 and was banned by the Gestapo after 9 Nov. 1938: see Doron Rabinovici, *Instanzen der Ohnmacht, Wien 1938–1945: Der Weg zum Judenrat* (Frankfurt am Main: Jüdischer Verlag in Suhrkamp, 2000), pp. 100–102.

I have asked [Regierungs]assessor Lange<sup>6</sup> to come to my office on Tuesday. I will give him an appropriate introductory talk, because he knows *very* little as yet about II 112. But he is a fine fellow.

Tomorrow I am going to inspect the premises of the religious community and the Zionists again. I do this at least once a week. I have them completely over a barrel here, and they dare not take a step without consulting me in advance. That is as it should be, too, because of the improved means of control.

We can save ourselves the trouble of founding a fourth Jewish political umbrella organization (similar to the 'Relief Association'), because I have ordered the religious community to create, within the community, a central emigration office for all the other countries too, in addition to Palestine. The preparations for this are already under way.

Along very general lines, the situation is now as follows:

Gauleiter Bürkel<sup>7</sup> deals with Aryanization, Jews in the economy, etc. as per decree.

The far more difficult matter of getting these Jews to emigrate is the task of the SD. After the reorganization of the religious community and the Zionist Association for Austria,<sup>8</sup> their work is now also focused on emigration.

I hope that I have herewith brought you up to date again.

I myself, I believe, will be assigned to a sub-district as department head, now that things are under way in Vienna and a spec[ialist] who has learned the ropes is here. You know, I am *genuinely* sorry that I probably will have to leave the work I enjoyed and in which I have felt in some sense 'at home' for many years now, but you yourself will surely understand that at the age of 32, I do not want to 'take a step backwards'. Our chief is quite an excellent boss, who has an appreciation of such things.

Regards to all comrades in II 112.

Your old friend Adolf

Please briefly confirm receipt of my letters each time

6 Dr Rudolf Lange (1910–1945), lawyer; joined the Halle Gestapo in 1933 and the NSDAP and SS in 1937; worked for the Gestapo in Vienna in 1938, in Stuttgart in 1939, and in Weimar and Erfurt in 1940; from Sept. 1940 deputy head of the Berlin Gestapo; from June 1941 in Einsatzgruppe A; from Dec. 1941 commander of the Security Police in Latvia; attended the Wannsee Conference on 20 Jan. 1942; from Jan. 1945 senior commander of the Security Police in the Warthegau; committed suicide in Poznań in Feb. 1945.

7 Correctly: Bürckel. On 28 April 1938 the Reich commissioner for the reunification of Austria with the German Reich, Josef Bürckel, had decreed that he would in future oversee Aryanization in Vienna. His jurisdiction remained disputed, however, because Wilhelm Keppler, commissioned by Göring (see Doc. 20, 19 March 1938), and Reichsstatthalter Arthur Seyss-Inquart also claimed corresponding powers for themselves: Rosenkranz, *Verfolgung und Selbstbehauptung*, pp. 60–70. See also Doc. 62, 14 July 1938.

8 The Zionist Regional Association for German Austria was permitted again in May 1938, as a second umbrella organization in addition to the Palestine Office. It included the Maccabi Sports Club, the religious Zionist organization Mizrachi, the Zionist Youth Federation, the Zionist Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemet national foundations, and the WIZO women's organization.

## DOC. 35

***New York Times*, 15 May 1938: article on the poverty of the Jewish communities  
and the demographic consequences of anti-Jewish policy<sup>1</sup>**

*10 Big Reich Cities Lose 40 % of Jews. Many Smaller Jewish Places Are Reported as Disappearing Entirely in Last Five Years. Lag in Welfare Work. American Committee Called Upon to Assist Charitable Agencies There as Result*

Ten large German cities lost more than 40 per cent of their Jewish population and many smaller Jewish communities disappeared entirely in the last five years, according to a report yesterday by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

Because the ability of Jews in Germany to support their welfare work is steadily diminishing, the Joint Distribution Committee contributed \$682,000 last year toward the expenses of training, retraining, economic aid, emigration, education and welfare of the German Jewish population.

‘The recent regulations depriving the Jewish communities of their quasi public character and in consequence of their authority to set taxes on their members,’ Joseph C. Hyman, executive director of the Joint Distribution Committee,<sup>2</sup> said, ‘is a most serious and perhaps irreparable blow to their ability to sustain their welfare and charitable institutions.’<sup>3</sup>

The report on the liquidation of Jewish communities in Germany shows sixty of the 260 formerly existing in Hesse to have been dissolved. As against sixty-seven communities in Germany in 1933 with more than 500 Jews each, there were but fifty-two such communities at the end of 1937. The ten cities which lost more than 40 per cent of their Jewish population are:

	Population		Dec.
	1933	1937	P.C.
Giessen	855	375	56.14
Bochum	1,069	556	47.99
Nuremberg	7,502	4,000	46.48
Worms	1,016	549	45.97
Halberstadt	706	389	44.90
Pforzheim	770	425	44.80
Bruchsal	501	279	44.31
Heidelberg	1,102	627	43.10
Hagen	508	299	41.14
Freiburg	1,138	670	41.12

1 *New York Times*, 15 May 1938, p. 29. The original document is in English. The daily newspaper was founded in 1851 and is still in circulation today.

2 Joseph C. Hyman (1889–1949), lawyer; on the Jewish Welfare Board, 1917–1919; worked for the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) from 1922 and was one of the leading figures in the organization: as secretary, 1925–1939, as executive director from 1937, as executive vice chairman, 1940–1946, and as vice chairman, 1947–1949.

3 See Doc. 23, 28 March 1938.

The decrease in the population has been reflected in the weakening of the economic strength of the Jewish communities, according to the report. Of 1,400, some 309 have had to be recognized as being in need and 303 as being partly in need. Petitions from 120 towns to be placed in the category of needy communities are now being studied by the committee.

During 1937 the Central Committee for the Relief and Reconstruction of the Jews in Germany<sup>4</sup> spent 4,439,267 marks, according to the report received by the Joint Distribution Committee.

## DOC. 36

**Questionnaire on 'racial belonging' for the census planned for May 1938,  
later filled in by Mr and Mrs Klemperer<sup>1</sup>**

Supplementary card for the population, occupation, and enterprise census on 17 May 1938<sup>2</sup> (facsimile)

Saxony

*Printed matter no. II*

District: Dresden

Municipality: Dölzschen

Registration district no.: 16

Property list no.:

For household list no.: 6

*Population, occupation, and enterprise census on 17 May 1938*

*Supplementary card for information about ancestry and educational background*

Everyone is required by law to provide the necessary information. The supplementary card, carefully filled out, must be presented in a *sealed* envelope to the enumerator!

Explanatory notes on the questionnaire overleaf

*I. Who has to fill out a supplementary card?*

Everyone who is required to fill out a household list (see p. 1 of the household list) must also fill out a supplementary card. Persons who are not members of the family of the

4 Correctly: Central Committee of German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction.

1 BArch, R 1509. This document has been translated from German.

2 The population census was originally planned for 17 May 1938 but it was postponed for one year due to the annexation of Austria. For the first time, those polled had to provide information for this census not only on their religion but also on the 'racial belonging' (*Rassezugehörigkeit*) of their grandparents. As the supplementary cards contained a complete set of personal particulars, following evaluation by the Reich Statistical Office and supplementation of the registration index provided the basis for a Reich registry of Jews and *Mischlinge*: letter from the head of the Order Police in Berlin to the chief of the Security Police in Berlin, dated 19 Nov. 1938, GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 77 Ministerium des Innern, Tit. 343, Nr. 17 Sonderakten, Bd. 2. In addition to the population census, occupation and agricultural enterprise censuses, as well as a census of all non-agricultural workplaces, were carried out. Furthermore, on the orders of the Wehrmacht, questions were posed on educational background and training, in order to compile an index of persons: see Introduction, pp. 49–50.

head of the household (for example, household staff, journeymen, apprentices, farm labourers, agricultural helpers, farm girls, lodgers, paying guests, staff, and inmates of institutions and the like) are authorized to provide the information about ancestry and educational background on a separate supplementary card and to give this card, in a sealed envelope, to the head of the household, who must pass it on, unopened, to the enumerator.

II. *Which persons must be recorded?*

All persons who are included in the household list on page 2 under A and B. The number of persons for whom information is provided on the supplementary card must be noted on the envelope at the bottom.

III. *Regarding column 4:*

Besides the place of birth (municipality), its administrative affiliation must also be indicated (if the place of birth is situated in the German Reich: the Kreis, the Kreis office, the administrative district, and the like; if the place of birth is located in another country: the state).

IV. *Regarding columns 5 to 8:*

Racial affiliation alone, and *not* the denominational affiliation, is decisive. Jews by faith are also required to specify those grandparents who were full Jews *in terms of race*.

V. *Regarding columns 9 and 10:*

*University studies* are regarded as completed if, after fulfilment of the prescribed years of study, state examinations or final examinations have been taken *and passed*.

Only state *high schools* and other *high schools* for the following areas of study are regarded as *technical schools* for this census:

building and construction industry,	shipbuilding,	agriculture and forestry,
mechanical engineering, electrical engineering, aeronautics and automotive engineering,	marine engineering, textile industry, mining, metallurgy,	horticulture and land management, seafaring and similar professional schools.

The following are *not* under consideration for this census:

industrial schools, commercial schools, vocational (continuation) schools, skilled craft schools, art schools, music schools, schools for nursery teachers; schools providing training in infant care, nursing care, and housekeeping.

*Anyone who knowingly gives untruthful answers to the questions overleaf or refuses to answer them will be sentenced to up to one year in prison or fined or both, in accordance with § 6 of the law of 4 October 1937 (Reichsgesetzblatt, I, p. 1053). Anyone who knowingly makes false statements to the person filling out the questionnaire (the head of the household or his representative) can be punished in the same way, as an indirect perpetrator.*

*Turn over*

Note the explanations on the front side.

Read the entire supplementary card before filling it out!

Serial number	First name	Surname: for women, also maiden name	Day, month, year of birth	Town and district of birth (see note III)	Was or is one of your four grand- parents of full age (see note V)?		Have you com- pleted the studies at a university or technical col- lege? (yes or no)		If yes, at which university or college or school did you take state or final examina- tions?	
					Grand- father	Grand- mother	Grand- father	Grand- mother		
					Paternal		Maternal		(see note V)	
1					5	6	7	8	9	10

A. All those present

1.	Paul	Schmitz	8 Oct. 1885	Marklissa, Lauban Dist.	no	no	no	no	no	-
2.	Maria	Schmitz, née Wehlam	18 Sept. 1888	Bölgern, Bautzen Adm. Distr.	no	no	no	no	no	-
3.	Hermann	Schmitz	11 March 1910	Mägdeburg	no	no	no	no	no	-
4.	Anna	Budarick	3 Oct. 1903	Balbritz, Bautzen Adm. Dist.	no	no	no	no	no	-
5.	Alfred	Jung	15 Jan. 1889	Schönebeck, Calbe a. S. Dist.	no	no	no	no	yes	Polytechnic, Breslau
6.	Franz	Müller	30 May 1912	Danzig	no	no	no	no	yes	Technical University, Danzig
1.	Sally	Cohn	8 August 1880	Loatz, Poland	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	-
2.	Henriette	Cohn, née Oppenheimer	20 March 1883	Breslau	yes	no	no	no	no	-
3.	Georg	Cohn	25 Oct. 1905	Berlin	yes	yes	no	no	yes	University of Berlin
4.	Ruth	Schmidt, née Cohn	30 Sept. 1907	Berlin	yes	yes	no	no	no	-
5.	Elisbeth	Schmidt	16 Jan. 1900	Berlin	no	no	yes	no	no	-
6.	Martha	Schulze	24 May 1889	Kauffung, Kreis Goldberg	no	no	no	no	no	-
1.	Victor Israel <sup>3</sup>	Klemperer	9 Oct. [18]81	Landsberg a. Warthe (Brandenburg)	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	University of Münster
2.	Eva	Klemperer, née Schlemmer	12 July [18]82	Königsberg i. Pr.	no	no	no	no	no	-
3.										
4.										
5.										
6.										
7.										
8.										
9.										
10.										

Example I

Example II

3 All personal particulars of Victor Klemperer and his wife Eva inserted in handwriting in the original.

*B. Temporarily absent members of the household*

Example	Richard	Schmidt	19 Nov. 1904	Hannau	no	no	no	no	no	-
1.										
2.										
3.										
4.										

Certification: that the information is complete and has been provided to the best of your knowledge is certified by:

Residence Dölzschchen / Dresden A 27, Am Kirschberg<sup>4</sup> \_ Street no. 19<sup>5</sup>

*Please sign here:* Dr phil. Victor Israel Klemperer, prof. em.<sup>6</sup>

(Signature of the head of the household, his representative, or any other persons required to fill out the questionnaire.)

4 Inserted in handwriting in the original.

5 Inserted in handwriting in the original.

6 Inserted in handwriting in the original.

## DOC. 37

**On 31 May 1938 the Berlin Chamber of Industry and Commerce informs the tool manufacturer Fleck & Co. that it is not permitted to train Jewish apprentices<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the Chamber of Industry and Commerce in Berlin (II, 2/I-11.), signed by Dr Hoffmann, to the tool manufacturer Berliner Präzisions-Werkzeug- und Maschinenfabrik Fleck & Co,<sup>2</sup> 4 Nonnendamm, Berlin-Siemensstadt, dated 31 May 1938 (copy)

*Re: the apprentices Kamerase and Tikotzki<sup>3</sup>*

With regard to the registration forms for the aforementioned apprentices that were submitted to us, we categorically point out the following:

In Jewish firms the simultaneous training of Aryan and non-Aryan apprentices is no longer possible under the guidelines now in effect. In addition, under these guidelines Aryan apprentices can be trained in Jewish factories and other businesses only if at least ten Aryan personnel (excluding apprentices) are employed in the enterprise or if, given a larger workforce, the Aryan personnel exceed the non-Aryan personnel by at least 50 per cent.

But as we see from our register of apprentices, you are already training thirteen non-Aryan apprentices in addition to eight Aryan apprentices. Out of consideration for your Aryan apprentices, therefore, the hiring of the non-Aryan apprentices Kamerase and Tikotzki can no longer be approved. Moreover, you would correspondingly need to confirm to the Chamber of Industry and Commerce that you will refrain from hiring new non-Aryan apprentices in future.

However, if you should insist on hiring the two non-Aryan apprentices and also propose to hire additional non-Aryan apprentices, you would no longer be permitted to train Aryan apprentices.

We request that you respond with a written statement, and we are returning to you for the time being the registration forms and the copies of the apprentice contracts for the apprentices Kamerase and Tikotzki.<sup>4</sup>

*1 Reichsmark in stamps is enclosed again.*

1 USHMM, Collections Division 2000.61, box 6. This document has been translated from German.

2 The firm, founded in Berlin in 1908, was registered as a general partnership in the 1930s in the names of the partners Richard Fleck and Alfred Rothschild and was sold in Sept. 1939; after 1940 it was designated as 'Präwema Berliner Präzisions- Werkzeug und Maschinenfabrik, Dr Eng. W. Scholz'. Today the firm's headquarters are in Eschwege. Richard Fleck (1881-1958) emigrated to Japan in 1940 and to the USA in 1941.

3 Siegbert Walter Tikotzki (1923-2003), later Walter Tick; son of the businessman Isidor Tikotzki, owner of a launderette at 42 Alte Schönhauserstr. in Berlin, and his wife, Hedwig, née Leopold; emigrated in 1939 with his parents and his sister, Margot (b. 1926) to the USA, where he studied chemistry; served in the US Army during the war as part of the so-called Ritchie Boys and as an interrogator for the Office of Strategic Services; worked as a translator at the Nuremberg Trials and then for his father's food company in Illinois; lived in Florida from the 1980s onwards.

4 The enclosures are not located in the file. The management of the firm Fleck & Co. informed the laundrette owner Isidor Tikotzki that the company could no longer employ his son as an apprentice, but suggested retaining him in the company as an errand boy, provided the employment office issued the necessary permit: Fleck & Co. to I. Tikotzki, 7 June 1938 and 7 Sept. 1938, *ibid.*

## DOC. 38

**In May 1938 Felice Schragenheim reflects on her job prospects as an immigrant<sup>1</sup>**

Poem 'Contemplating the Future' by Felice Schragenheim,<sup>2</sup> dated May 1938 (typescript)<sup>3</sup>

Contemplating the future.

I love to dream of my career,  
of cars, of sunshine, of beauty and money,  
I think about oceans, deep blue and distant,  
about journalism and the big wide world.  
With the aid of the atlas, one is allowed  
to travel in faraway lands. I like doing so  
and I know my life will surely change,  
and somewhere there's even a little star for me.  
Yes, if only I were far from here for a start –  
then I'll just keep on dreaming,  
then I'll build it, this career,  
but just while cooking and cleaning my room.  
It is good that hope is granted to us,  
a self-delusion whereby one forgets  
that our guest appearance in this life  
is a tragicomedy.

1 Jüdisches Museum Berlin, Sammlung Wust-Schragenheim, donated by Elisabeth Wust (2006/37/166); published in Erica Fischer, *Aimée & Jaguar: A Love Story, Berlin 1943*, trans. Edna McCown (New York: HarperCollins, 1995 [German edn, 1994]), pp. 64–65. This poem has been retranslated from the original German.

2 Felice Schragenheim (1922–1945), schoolgirl; poet, and labourer; forced to leave school in Nov. 1938, before her school-leaving examinations, and then made various attempts to emigrate; from Oct. 1941 to 1942 forced labourer at C. Sommerfeld & Co. in Berlin, a company that manufactured bottle tops; in Oct. 1942 'went underground' in Berlin; was arrested in 1944 and deported to Theresienstadt, from there to Auschwitz and finally to Bergen-Belsen, after which all trace of her is lost.

3 In the original a second, handwritten, poem appears below this poem: 'I want to reach out my hands to you always, / perhaps even into the great void, / and I wait ... wait for the sign / from you to enter the land of light that is too bright.'

## DOC. 39

**On 1 June 1938 Reinhard Heydrich instructs the regional Criminal Police headquarters to intern so-called asocials and previously convicted Jews in Buchenwald concentration camp<sup>1</sup>**

Express letter (marked 'strictly confidential') from the Reich Criminal Police Office (diary entry RKPA 6001/295.38), signed by Heydrich,<sup>2</sup> to the State Criminal Police, Criminal Police Headquarters in Erfurt, dated 1 June 1938 (copy)<sup>3</sup>

Re: preventive crime-fighting by the police

As criminality is rooted in asocial behaviour and continually feeds on it, the decree the Reich and Prussian Ministry of the Interior on 14 December 1937 (Pol. S Kr. 3 no. 1682/37-2098) has given the Criminal Police broad powers to apprehend not only professional criminals but also all asocial elements whose behaviour burdens and thereby harms the community.<sup>4</sup> However, I have been forced to observe that the decree has thus far not been applied as rigorously as necessary.

The strict implementation of the Four-Year Plan requires the effort of all hands that are capable of work and does not permit asocial persons to dodge work and thus sabotage the Four-Year Plan.

I therefore prescribe:

1. Regardless of the special operation against asocial elements<sup>5</sup> already carried out by the Gestapo Central Office in March of this year, *at least 200* males (asocial persons) from the district of the local Criminal Police headquarters who are fit for work are to be taken into preventive police custody during the week of 13 to 18 June 1938, in accordance with the strictest application of the decree of 14 December 1937.<sup>6</sup> In the process, the following in particular should be considered:

1 RGVA, 500k-1-261, fols. 31-32. Copy in ÖStA, record group: Historikerkommission; published in Wolfgang Ayaß, *'Gemeinschaftsfremde': Quellen zur Verfolgung von 'Asozialen' 1933-1945* (Koblenz: Bundesarchiv, 1998), pp. 134-135. This document has been translated from German.

2 Reinhard Heydrich (1904-1942), career officer; naval career, 1922-1931; joined the NSDAP and the SS in 1931; head of the SD from 1932; from 1933/1934 he led the centralization of the state Political Police forces; from 1934 chief of the Gestapo Central Office (Gestapo) in Berlin, initially responsible only for Prussia; Chief of the Security Police and the SD, 1936-1942; chief of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), 1939-1942; additionally deputy Reich Protector of Bohemia and Moravia from Sept. 1941; died in Prague on 4 June 1942 from injuries incurred during an assassination attempt.

3 The letter was sent to all Criminal Police headquarters and, for information only, to the Security Police Main Office - Criminal Police Office.

4 The Decree on Preventive Measures by the Police to Combat Crime, issued on 14 Dec. 1937, ordered the systematic monitoring of so-called habitual offenders and asocials (*Asoziale*). These persons, even if they had committed no crimes, could be placed in labour camps: Reichssicherheitshauptamt, Amt V, *Vorbeugende Verbrechensbekämpfung: Sammlung der auf dem Gebiete der vorbeugenden Verbrechensbekämpfung ergangenen Erlasse und sonstigen Bestimmungen* (Berlin, 1941), IfZ-Archives, Dc 17.02, fols. 41-44.

5 Primarily the homeless, beggars, and persons suspected of being pimps were arrested.

6 In the course of the 'Work-shy Reich' campaign (Aktion 'arbeitsscheu Reich') conducted by the Criminal Police from 13 to 18 June 1938, more than 10,000 persons classified as 'asocial' were arrested and taken to concentration camps. In Sachsenhausen concentration camp alone there were 6,000 of these prisoners, who were identified with a brown, later black, triangle on their clothing. During the course of the campaign, the Berlin police arrested more than 1,000 Jews: see Introduction, p. 22.

- (a) vagrants who are unemployed at present and drifting from place to place;
- (b) beggars, even if they have a fixed abode;
- (c) Gypsies and similarly itinerant persons, if they have demonstrated no will to do regular work or have become criminal offenders;
- (d) pimps who were previously involved in criminal proceedings for a similar offence – even if no conviction was possible – and still consort with pimps and prostitutes, or persons strongly suspected of acting as pimps;
- (e) persons with numerous previous convictions for resistance, bodily harm, brawling, trespass, and the like, who have thereby shown that they are unwilling to fit into the order of the Volksgemeinschaft.

Persons who have permanent employment, as well as persons who have previously been in preventive police custody or in preventive detention and have conducted themselves well since that time, are not to be taken into preventive police custody.

2. Further, in the week of 13 to 18 June, all male Jews from the district of the Criminal Police headquarters who have received at least one prison sentence of more than one month are to be taken into preventive police custody.

The heads of the Criminal Police headquarters are responsible for the implementation of my directive. They are to establish contact immediately with the Criminal Police headquarters, state criminal departments, local police authorities, and gendarmerie departments of their districts and, where applicable, with the State Police offices.

For all arrested persons upon whom preventive police custody is imposed, the regulatory order (Standard Form 6) required under my guidelines of 4 April 1938 (RKPA. 60<sup>61</sup>/250.1938) pertaining to the decree of 14 December 1937 is to be forwarded to me immediately.<sup>7</sup>

If fingerprints and photographs are available, these materials are to be enclosed with the dossier. For the other individuals, owing to the short amount of time available, fingerprints and photographs will be obtained by me in the camp at a later date. The criminal record and personal data sheet are to be sent to me later, in duplicate.

Those arrested are to be transferred immediately to Buchenwald concentration camp near Weimar, without my confirmation and instructions. The duplicate of the regulatory order, which otherwise is to be submitted to me, should be transferred to the camp at the same time as the individual.

The number of persons arrested is to be communicated to me by radio or teletype no later than 12 noon on 20 June of this year.

<sup>7</sup> The guideline of 4 April 1938 pertaining to the Decree on Preventive Measures by the Police to Combat Crime specified that men would be taken to Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, and Dachau concentration camps, and women to the Lichtenburg camp near Prettin.

## DOC. 40

**Memorandum from Munich's municipal building director dated 9 June 1938 regarding the order for the demolition of the synagogue on Herzog-Max-/Maxburgstraße<sup>1</sup>**

Letter (marked 'Urgent!') from the municipal building director,<sup>2</sup> p.p. (signature illegible), dated 9 June 1938

*Re:* demolition of the synagogue on Herzog-Max-/Maxburgstrasse

*I. Priority notice.*

By higher order, the synagogue is to be demolished by 8 July of this year. The land thus made available is to be converted into a car park. After negotiations with the Jewish Religious Community, which were conducted by the State Ministry of the Interior, the consent of the Community was obtained. The Moll Firm<sup>3</sup> has already been commissioned by the ministry to begin the work; the firm demanded a price of RM 200,000 if the target date is met.

During today's session of the advisory board, this matter was discussed and the Municipal Building Office, as the contracting authority, was instructed to conclude a contract with Moll. An attempt is to be made to secure a reduction in the price asked.

*II. For Senior Planning and Building Official Dr Knorr<sup>4</sup>*

With reference to the telephone discussion just concluded and with the request that the negotiations with Moll commence immediately, so that the target date can be met.<sup>5</sup>

1 Stadtarchiv München, Komm. Abg. 60/11-Nr. 10. This document has been translated from German.

2 Hermann Reinhard Alker (1885–1967), architect and city planner; taught at the Karlsruhe Technical University, 1921–1944, and was professor of architecture from 1940; Munich's municipal building director from 1 August 1937 to 27 June 1938; in 1939 won first prize in a design competition for the Stuttgart Broadcasting House; after 1945 he was no longer permitted to teach at the university and therefore became self-employed.

3 The company was founded by Leonhard Moll (1870–1945) in 1894 and initially worked in the areas of residential construction, construction of industrial facilities, and hydraulic engineering, and from 1926 also in concrete engineering and road-building. After 1933 it had numerous government contracts, including construction of the NSDAP administrative building and Hitler's Munich headquarters (the Führerbau), as well as construction of armament-production facilities ('Project Wood Pigeon', in which Jewish forced labourers were also deployed). After 1945 the family firm expanded into areas including the real estate business.

4 Probably Dr Eduard Knorr (1892–1971); joined the NSDAP in 1937; from 1933 to 1945, SA-Scharführer; pensioned off in 1945 at the behest of the military government.

5 The Moll construction firm, which had provided the roof timbering for a synagogue building in Munich as late as 1930/1931, carried out the demolition of the main synagogue, despite some concerns about being unable to meet the target date. On 8 July 1938 the car park thus created was used for parking the convoy by which Hitler travelled to the inauguration of the House of German Art, situated just opposite and built by the Moll Company.

## DOC. 41

**On 14 June 1938 Luise Solmitz writes about antisemitic taunts from children<sup>1</sup>**

Diary of Luise Solmitz, Hamburg, entry for 14 June 1938 (copy)

Mama's 50th wedding anniversary. – Fifty years since the empire of the first two [German] emperors was on the decline and, along with the new marriage, a new era drew nigh, the age of Wilhelm II.

X. writes unctuously ... 'And if, twenty years ago in the incipient collapse, we had to fear that the whole lot of us would be buried under the ruins of Imperial Germany along with everything else, we are now living once again in a proud and strong Reich with a better foundation than the Germany of Wilhelm II.'

The day brought me (additional) bitterness. Small boys in our street, who were afraid of our dog ... But one of them had now concocted a fine bit of revenge ... 'Jew', he called after us, 'Jew, Jew!' ... Luckily Fr.<sup>2</sup> did not understand what he said. And against such loutishness there is no means of defence and no appeal. One must swallow it helplessly. To the credit of the German people, let it be said that they have behaved decently towards the helpless, until now. They would be allowed to act quite differently, which would redound to their credit, if only they so desired. – In the case of these stupid boys, too, one must say: they know not what they do.

## DOC. 42

**On 14 June 1938 Reich Minister of the Interior Wilhelm Frick outlines his plans to dispossess the Jews and drive them out of the economy<sup>1</sup>**

Circular letter (marked 'secret') from Reich and Prussian Minister of the Interior (I 1586/38g) Frick to Minister President Field Marshal Göring – Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan – for the attention of Oberregierungsrat Hallwachs,<sup>2</sup> to the Reich Ministry of Economics, for the attention of Head of Department Reinecke,<sup>3</sup> to the staff of the Deputy of the Führer, for the attention of SS-Oberführer Knoblauch<sup>4</sup> in Munich, and to the Reichsführer SS and Chief of the German Police in the Reich Ministry of the Interior, Chief of the Security Police, for the attention of SS-Untersturmführer Regierungsrat Dr Tanzmann,<sup>5</sup> dated 14 June 1938 (copy)

*Re:* Jews in the economy.

By means of the Regulation on the Registration of Jewish Assets of 26 April 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 414)<sup>6</sup> and the directive based on it of the same date, the solution to the Jewish question in the area of the economy has commenced.

1 Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 622-1/140, Familie Solmitz, 1, Bd. 31. This document has been translated from German.

2 This refers to the husband of Luise Solmitz, Friedrich Wilhelm Solmitz: see Doc. 5, 27 Jan. 1938, fn. 9.

1 BArch, R 1501/5509, fols. 127–136. This document has been translated from German.

In the discussion at the Prussian Ministry of State on 29 April 1938, with the aim of permanently excluding the Jews from German economic life, the conversion of Jewish assets in Germany into assets that no longer permit any economic influence was envisaged.<sup>7</sup> With respect to this plan, I must note the following from the standpoint of overall anti-Jewish policy:

1. The elimination of the Jews from economic life has *thus far* been carried out largely in this manner: Jews have *voluntarily* sold business enterprises, and on these occasions an endeavour was made to replace the Jewish influence with a German one. In the process, significant abuses evolved, which I may assume are generally well known.<sup>8</sup> From now on these so-called Aryanizations are subject to state influence under the directive of 26 April 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 415)<sup>9</sup> to the extent that such sales of businesses were made contingent upon government approval. In this way, undesirable kinds of Aryanizations as well as dubious specific provisions in the acquisition agreements can be prevented; in addition, general economic considerations can be brought to bear, such as the prevention of mergers or consolidations. Nonetheless, this way of eliminating Jewish influence from the economy has the disadvantage that it is quite difficult to prevent the Jews from transferring the amount realized or gaining access to new economic influence by other means.

2. From the standpoint of general anti-Jewish policy, therefore, I consider necessary an arrangement that aims at a *compulsory* elimination of the Jews [from economic life] in future. This measure, however, will require very precise and detailed preliminary

2 Robert Franz August Hallwachs (1893–1957), administrative official; from 1930 civil servant in the Prussian Ministry of State; joined the NSDAP in 1933; member of the SA from June 1933 to May 1938; from 1938 Oberregierungsrat; in 1940 entrusted with affairs of the wartime economy; initially classified as a ‘follower’ during denazification proceedings and in 1950 as ‘exonerated’; from 1948 employed as a section head in the Regional Food Office in Hanover.

3 Robert Reinecke (1879–1944), civil servant; joined the NSDAP in 1922; worked for the Reich Insurance Institution for Employees in Würzburg, 1913–1936; in 1936 head of department in the Reich and Prussian Ministry of Economics; in 1937 liaison officer of the Supreme SA Command to the Reich Ministry of Economics; pensioned off in 1940.

4 Correctly: Dr Günther Knobloch (1910–1970), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1932; from 1939 detective superintendent and deputy head of Einsatzgruppe II in Poland; then with the Gestapo in Katowice; from August 1941 head of the Communism Section in the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA); in 1942 SS-Hauptsturmführer; imprisoned, 1945–1948; later department head at Siemens in Redwitz an der Rodach.

5 Dr Helmut Tanzmann (1907–1946), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1933; member of the SA, 1933–1936; minister of finance in Saxony, 1933–1937; from Nov. 1939 to May 1940 Gestapo chief in Danzig; worked for the senior commander of the Security Police and SD in the General Government, 1940; from 1941 to 1943 commander of the Security Police in Lemberg, then in Montpellier, and in late 1944 in Flensburg and Norway; committed suicide while in British captivity.

6 See Doc. 29, 26 April 1938.

7 On 29 April 1938, three days after the issue of the Regulation on the Registration of Jewish Assets, Göring chaired a conference of ministers at which he announced the mandatory exchange of the assets of the German Jews for Reich bonds.

8 This is a reference to corruption in connection with Aryanization.

9 The directive based on the Regulation on the Registration of Jewish Assets (26 April 1938) stated that the sale or lease of a commercial, agricultural, or forestry enterprise required authorization if one of the contracting parties was a Jew. Similarly, Jews had to obtain authorization for the new opening of a business enterprise: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, pp. 415–416.

examination and preparation, because it would be extremely detrimental to the entire racial policy of the Reich if it were to turn out that the envisaged arrangement could not be implemented on the desired scale, or at all.

In the process of compulsory elimination, the takeover of the *business assets of the Jews would be contemplated* first of all, because the possession of these assets affords the greatest economic influence. The registration of assets to be implemented under the regulation of 26 April can serve as the basis for the takeover of business assets, because according to the standard form for registration, each business asset must be listed separately.

Expropriation of business assets without compensation cannot be contemplated, if only for foreign policy reasons. The compensation will advantageously consist in the handing over of bonds.

Further, owing to domestic policy considerations, the arrangement must comply with the following basic requirements: the Jewish business assets that are to be taken over must not be destroyed. Further, the elimination of the Jews [from economic life] must lead to a strengthening of the healthy medium-sized business sector. A way must thus be created to guarantee that the enterprises in each case go to *suitable* Volksgenossen from the medium-sized sector and do not fall into the hands of cash-rich concerns or mercenary economic profiteers.

I regard the following means, for instance, as technically practicable.

(a) By means of a statutory provision, the Jews will be required to offer their business assets to a corporation that is to be established.<sup>10</sup> Particularly thorough consideration must be given to whether the obligation to offer should be determined for all Jewish business assets directly and concurrently by the law itself, or whether it is more expedient to establish in law the obligation to offer as such and, on the basis of a delegated power, select the Jewish assets for takeover as the situation requires – say, on a sector-by-sector basis or according to geographic criteria.

The corporation either takes over the offered assets or declines the takeover. In the latter case, the firm in which the asset is invested remains Jewish in accordance with the Third Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law, and it remains entered in the register of Jewish enterprises and is subject to the existing legal restrictions established for these enterprises.<sup>11</sup>

In the former case, the corporation resells to German Volksgenossen the assets that were taken over. The Jews are compensated by means of a credit in the form of paper certificates evidencing a bond guaranteed by the Reich. The bond can be interest-bearing at a rate of about 2½ per cent and amortizing at a rate of 2 per cent, so that it yields to the Jew, say, an income of 4½ per cent of his business asset that is being depleted.<sup>12</sup>

10 Such a corporation was not established.

11 The Third Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law (14 June 1938) stated that a business enterprise was Jewish if the proprietor was a Jew in accordance with § 5 of the First Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, p. 627.

12 The Reich bonds issued to the Jews were interest-bearing but were not amortized. The interest was credited to the blocked account of the bondholder and converted into additional Reich bonds. If the Jew in question emigrated or was deported and deprived of German citizenship, his assets passed into the possession of the Reich and the bond was struck off the debt register of the Reich.

The takeover price is fixed by the corporation or by the supreme Reich authority that supervises it, using equitable discretion. For the amount of the price, the value as of 27 April 1938 can be considered as an indication: that is the cut-off date for the valuation of Jewish assets under the Regulation on the Registration of Assets from 26 April 1938. As the *price for the resale* by the corporation, market price will be a possibility.

To the Jew, the corporation credits bond certificates to the extent to which the takeover price is covered by payments from the buyer. The payments, once made for the bond credit, are passed on by the corporation to the Reich, which assumes responsibility for the administration of the bond with its existing administrative apparatus.

Ultimately, the Jewish asset is thus converted into a Reich bond that is amortizable at the rate of 2 per cent.

(b) The most difficult task is the *resale of the business assets* by the corporation. As corresponding buyers will not be immediately available for all assets, often they must first be sought throughout the territory of the Reich, and after that the price must be negotiated with them. An administrative organization of any kind is completely unsuitable for performing these purely commercial tasks. The takeover corporation, which is designed as a commercial undertaking, will itself be able to carry out the sale at most in the case of a few properties of particular economic significance, unless it wants to expand its organization, which should be limited to as few employees as possible, into one of vast proportions. In practical terms, the sale can thus be facilitated only by the existing banking system.

In order that the banks can carefully examine the creditworthiness of the buyers and try hard to obtain good sales prices, the corporation [...] <sup>13</sup> [will] promise to pay them a commission on the transaction. In many instances, this incentive will be sufficient for the placement of the properties, especially as the Jews have a stake in finding solvent buyers, because they receive the bond credit note only after receipt of the money.

Before sale to the buyer proposed by the bank, one must consider whether the sale has been approved from the standpoint of promoting the healthy medium-sized sector; closer examination is required to determine which office is to be brought in for this purpose.

(c) By involving the banks, one can ensure that the assets are sold at an appropriate price to creditworthy buyers. This does not thereby ensure, however, that members of the healthy but generally undercapitalized medium-sized sector can emerge as aspiring buyers. Capital-poor buyers will, as a rule, only be able to pay with the proceeds of the assets that have been taken over. But the banks will have only a limited ability to engage in advance financing. In order to enable buyers with insufficient capital to purchase the Jewish assets, therefore, a special *trust institution*<sup>14</sup> must be created, which takes over the business assets sold on the instalment plan by the agency of the banks, collects the instalments, and, in as many appropriate cases as possible, provides advance financing of the sales price against a pledge of the assets.

(d) It cannot be permitted that the corporation is liable for payment of the *debts of the Jews*; it can merely take over the individual assets at the designated price. The Jews must, as a matter of principle, liquidate their debts from the bond balances that were

<sup>13</sup> The original is illegible here.

<sup>14</sup> This is presumably a reference to the aforementioned corporation.

credited to them as proceeds, and the sale of these bond balances for this purpose at a specific price, say, to the Deutsche Golddiskontbank, must be permitted. An exception to this principle can be made regarding debts for which mortgages or liens have been created on items of the business asset. The debt repayment will not take place without hardships, including for people of German blood who are creditors of Jews. However, in many cases there will be no reason to give special protection to people who today still entertain business relations with Jews. For other cases, worthy of protection, a fund would have to be created in the corporation for use as compensation for special hardships.

(e) The *asset transfer* as well as the corporation and the trust institution must remain *tax exempt*, in order that the implementation in particular is not determined by consideration for effects of the tax laws. On the other hand, as compensation for the tax-exempt status granted to it, the corporation would have to be required to pay a part of its profit to the Reich.

(f) The *profit of the corporation* consists in the difference between the takeover price payable to the Jew and the purchase price payable by the buyer, plus a commission earned on the sale price, which is to be defrayed by the Jews.

(g) Of considerable importance for the success of the plan is the proper *design of the corporation*. To avoid the duty of public disclosure, the type of company to be contemplated is the private limited company, because there cannot be the slightest interest in declaring to the outside world in any way the magnitude of the regrouped assets. As the amount of equity capital, the sum of, say, RM 100,000 can be envisaged.

The corporation will have as much latitude as possible and must be enabled to transact the matter quickly and freely. On the other hand, owing to the significance of the task to be performed by the corporation, closest contact must be maintained with the relevant state and Party offices. These considerations will have to play a role when deciding who is to take over the shares in a business.

(h) The *treatment of Jews who are citizens of foreign countries* should be re-examined, in my opinion. As desirable as it is, from the perspective of general anti-Jewish policy, not to make a distinction based on citizenship, it will nonetheless be advisable, precisely in view of the experiences with the Regulation on the Registration of Assets as well, to limit the measure to Jews who hold German citizenship and to stateless Jews. In this instance, too, the advantages of including Jews with foreign citizenship should be far outweighed by the disadvantages as regards foreign policy.<sup>15</sup>

3. After the takeover of the Jewish business assets, the takeover of the other Jewish assets can be addressed, those which are not counted as part of the business assets when the registration of assets takes place but which nevertheless make economic influence possible; here, the following in particular come into consideration: debentures of industrial corporations, bonds, stocks and market prices, shares in private limited companies, investments as silent partners, and paid-up (capital) shares in cooperative societies and industrial and provident societies. In my opinion, the procedure outlined above under (2) can readily be extended to these instances.

<sup>15</sup> In the event of compulsory measures concerning the assets of foreign Jews, it had to be expected that corresponding steps regarding the assets of German citizens in foreign countries would be taken.

4. Independently of the takeover of Jewish business assets and the assets listed under (3) above, there can be a *takeover of agricultural and forestry assets and of real estate* where it is not part of a business asset. To this end, I suggest the issuance of an additional regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law, one which provides that Jews cannot acquire land and rights in land; moreover, this regulation would impose on Jews an obligation to sell their existing property holdings within a certain time period.<sup>16</sup> The disposition ought to be tied to government approval, in order to prevent, in particular, transfers to foreign Jews. In the event of the impossibility of the sale, an offer to the corporation named above under (2) would be envisaged. Because the amendment of the Trade Regulation, now approaching passage, which envisages among other things the exclusion of Jews from dealing in real estate and brokering property agreements,<sup>17</sup> will probably result in a certain agitation in the real estate market, I would regard it as expedient to issue the designated Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law only after the implementation of the amendment of the Trade Regulation.

5. As a result of their elimination from economic life, the vast majority of the Jews will be forced into unemployment and generally impoverished as well. Both results are undesirable from the general perspective of state policy. In particular, the strong increase in the size of the Jewish proletariat must provide grounds for misgivings.

Above all, the *emigration of the Jews* could produce effective relief. Such emigration, however, can only be set as a worthwhile goal as the matter stands now; for even if all the German *domestic* measures are taken that are necessary to promote the emigration of the Jews, we have failed thus far to find a country – apart from Palestine, which presents a special problem – that would be a serious possibility for a mass *immigration* of the Jews. I will contact the Reich Foreign Office again with regard to this question, but I do not believe that a solution can be expected in the near future.

If the Jews in Germany can live on the proceeds from the sale of their business and other assets, they require strict government oversight. Should they become reliant on welfare, the question of their *public relief* must be resolved. Heavier demands on the welfare associations will be unavoidable.

I request your consideration and a general statement.<sup>18</sup>

16 The Regulation on the Utilization of Jewish Assets (3 Dec. 1938) contained corresponding provisions: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, pp. 1709–1712.

17 Law on the Amendment of the Commercial Code for the German Reich, 6 July 1938: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, pp. 823–824.

18 The Reich Minister of Finance (signed Count Schwerin von Krosigk) emphasized in his reply of 23 August 1938 that the proposed measures must not result in the damage or ruin of important enterprises and thus to adverse effects on tax revenue and the Reich budget. He therefore recommended retaining the procedure already in place and requiring the Jewish sellers of commercial enterprises to pay the sale proceeds into blocked accounts or frozen deposits. Aryanization, he said, should be financed with means from the private sector, and no attempt at compensation through Reich-guaranteed bonds should be made. In addition, he criticized the fact that dispossession risked making the Jews be a burden on the public welfare system; IfZ-Archives, MA 1563–49 (Nuremberg Document NG-3937).

## DOC. 43

**Frankfurter Zeitung, 15 June 1938: article on the application of German citizenship law for the purpose of excluding Jews<sup>1</sup>**

*The expansion of the Citizenship Law.  
Suggestions by State Secretary Dr Stuckart.<sup>2</sup>*

(Private telegram from the 'Frankfurter Zeitung'.)

Berlin, 14 June. In the commemorative issue of the *Journal of the Academy for German Law* on the occasion of the fifth annual conference of the academy, State Secretary Dr Stuckart from the Reich Ministry of the Interior comments on problems of citizenship law.<sup>3</sup> He notes that the future must teach us whether and to what extent the principles that he has outlined will deliver a legal solution. Admittedly, he says, the greatest wrongs have already been remedied by the Law on the Revocation of Naturalization and the Deprivation of German Citizenship,<sup>4</sup> and only people who represent a desirable addition to the population in terms of racial biology are still being naturalized. With this alone, he adds, the measures necessary in the area of citizenship law precisely with respect to the Jewish question cannot be regarded as complete. Even if, out of general political considerations, the Jews residing in Germany were to be allowed to retain German citizenship, it is on the other hand out of the question to continue to tolerate in future what is still possible under the current citizenship law: further influx of Jews into the German federation as the result of birth outside wedlock, legitimation, and marriage. The new citizenship law, he says, will thus have to provide that Jews in future can no longer acquire German citizenship through birth, legitimation, and marriage.<sup>5</sup> The fact that the same arrangement will also have to be made, for example, for the Gypsies, requires no further discussion. In addition, he says, in restructuring the acquisition of citizenship through marriage of the woman, an exception must be made not only for the racially undesirable foreign woman but also for foreign women of German blood who, contrary to all racial feeling, marry a Jew with German citizenship. Apart from that, however, the

1 'Der Ausbau des Staatsangehörigkeitsrechts', *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 15 June 1938, p. 12. This article has been translated from German. Founded in 1856 as the *Frankfurter Geschäftsbericht*, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* had a liberal orientation after 1866. It was banned in 1943 at Hitler's behest.

2 Dr Wilhelm Stuckart (1902–1953), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1922 and the SS in 1936; from June 1933 state secretary in the Prussian Ministry of Education; from 1935 state secretary in the Reich Ministry of the Interior (responsible for Department I: Constitution and Legislation); attended the Wannsee Conference in 1942; interned, 1945–1949; sentenced in 1949 at the Ministries (Wilhelmstrasse) Trial (sentence of time served); in 1950 classified as a 'follower' in denazification proceedings.

3 'Probleme des Staatsangehörigkeitsrechts', *Zeitschrift der Akademie für Deutsches Recht*, ed. Reich Minister Dr Hans Frank, vol. 5, 1938, pp. 401–403.

4 'Gesetz über den Widerruf von Einbürgerungen und die Aberkennung der deutschen Staatsangehörigkeit', *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1933, I, p. 480.

5 On 14 Feb. 1938 the Reich Minister of the Interior had submitted a draft for a new citizenship law; the debate on it continued for several years and ended without agreement on a comprehensive revision. Under the Eleventh Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law (25 Nov. 1941) however, all Jews with German citizenship who had their permanent residence abroad were declared stateless.

automatic acquisition of German citizenship as the result of marriage between a foreign woman and a man with German citizenship will have to be retained, he adds. Acquisition through inclusion and through employment should not just be approved a priori conclusively and absolutely; instead, a certain *probationary period of approximately five years* seems appropriate. Within the additional specific suggestions made by the state secretary, it was emphasized that the retraction of citizenship by the authorities ex officio is also to be retained in future. One must consider whether a retraction should also be introduced for breaches to the duty of allegiance committed inside the country as well.

DOC. 44

**On 17 June 1938 Paul Strauss asks Frankfurt's Municipal School Authority  
to exempt his son from attendance at a secondary school<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from Paul Strauss,<sup>2</sup> 171 II Fürstenbergerstraße, Frankfurt am Main, to the Municipal School Authority, Frankfurt am Main (received on 18 June 1939<sup>3</sup>), dated 17 June 1938

My son, Kurt Strauss,<sup>4</sup> attended the Vocational School for Apprentice Cooks and went to classes three times. After attending these classes, the teacher at the vocational school sent him away and transferred him to the Hirsch Secondary School.<sup>5</sup>

No specialized instruction is provided at the school there. It is merely, as thus far determined, theoretical instruction, and indeed largely on a basis that is at odds with our viewpoint. Apart from that, this technical schooling costs 6 marks per month. Unfortunately, I am forced to use every penny for the essential living expenses of my family. For quite some time now, my wife<sup>6</sup> has had to work as well, so that we can earn what is directly needed for our subsistence. My present earnings will stop in the near future, because I have been dismissed from my job as a sales representative. I am therefore taking the liberty of inquiring whether my son can be exempted from attending the Hirsch Secondary School. I must note in this regard that he is exceedingly interested in his chosen field and ambitious, so that no disadvantage to his overall advancement is to be anticipated.

Taking into account my exceptionally difficult financial situation, I would be much obliged if you would approve this request.

1 ISG Frankfurt, Schulam/2.368. This document has been translated from German.

2 Paul Strauss (b. 1885), carpenter; deported to Dachau concentration camp on 14 Nov. 1938; later emigrated to the USA.

3 Correctly: 1938, as the Hirsch Secondary School no longer existed by June 1939.

4 Kurt Strauss (1923–1941).

5 The Samson Raphael Hirsch School, founded in 1853, was co-educational, with an Orthodox orientation. From 1933 it offered accelerated classes in English and Hebrew, as well as carpentry courses, to prepare for emigration. It closed at the end of March 1939.

6 Johanna Strauss (1897–1985), nursery school teacher; emigrated to the USA.

I take the liberty of enclosing a postage-paid envelope for your use in replying to this request.<sup>7</sup>

*Enclosure:* one postage-paid envelope.

DOC. 45

**On 20 June 1938 the SS Security Service considers the role of the Reichsbank and the Schlie Travel Agency in the emigration of Austrian Jews<sup>1</sup>**

Memorandum from the head of the section for Jewish in the SD Main Office (II 112, Hg/Pi), Hagen, dated 20 June 1938

1. *Memorandum*

Re: emigration from Austria

Dossier: telephone consultation of II 112 with SS-Unterstürmführer Eichmann on 17 June

(a) Eichmann told me over the phone that the negotiations conducted with or by Reichsbank Official Wolf<sup>2</sup> had been a resounding success. Reichsbank Counsellor Wolf, Eichmann said, has conditionally agreed, subject to the approval of his ministry, to an arrangement whereby no foreign-exchange permits for Jewish emigration would be issued without the consent of the SD Main District Austria, II 112. In addition, he said, Wolf's visit to Vienna has resulted in the possibility of extending the Altreu procedure to the territory of Austria.

As a quick stimulus to emigration, it has been agreed that the support funds made available by foreign Jewish aid organizations will go in full to Austria for disbursement, that is, without the usual deduction of 100 per cent.

(b) At the same time as Reichsbank Counsellor Wolf was in Vienna, the head of the Schlie Travel Agency in Berlin was [also] in Vienna and was engaged in negotiations for the establishment of a travel agency intended especially for Jewish emigrants.<sup>3</sup> He has committed himself, should its establishment be approved, to creating the opportunity for would-be emigrants registered with the Jewish Religious Community and the Palestine Office to migrate overseas.

Because Schlie has sometimes acted as an informer, a possibility for monitoring the actual implementation of the emigration would thus be provided, if the agency is established. (Note: if the creation of such an agency can be supported without Schlie obtaining opportunities for unfair gain from it in the process, one would have to approach the

<sup>7</sup> The request was granted, with an admonition that, as a Jew, Kurt Strauss could neither obtain articles of apprenticeship as a trainee cook nor sit the journeyman's examination: letter from Vocational School V to the School Authority of Frankfurt am Main, 29 June 1938, *ibid.*

<sup>1</sup> BArch, Dok/K 99/3. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Gustav August Louis Wolf (1892–1973), retailer; from 1920 Reichsbank official; from 1937 head of the Department of Foreign Debts; after the war began he conducted the standstill negotiations with foreign creditor banks and successfully expanded the line of credit for Germany; in 1940 appointed director of the Reichsbank.

Reich Office for Emigration Affairs,<sup>4</sup> which takes the view that the two Jewish emigration offices<sup>5</sup> are sufficient for the implementation of emigration.)

(c) In addition, it has proved necessary to found an organization that accepts those Jewish Mischlinge unable to become Reich citizens, on the model of the 1937 Association.<sup>6</sup> For this purpose, the [SD] Main District requires the statutes of the 1937 Association.<sup>7</sup>

In order to prepare for the planned Representation of Jews in Austria, the statutes of the Reich Representation of Jews in Germany are required.<sup>8</sup>

II 112

[...] <sup>9</sup>

3 Heinrich Schlie ran a travel agency in Berlin at 113 Eisenacher Straße. It cooperated closely with the SD and by Oct. 1938 ran a branch in Vienna in the immediate vicinity of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration: report by the Schlie Travel Agency, 25 Oct. 1938, RGVA, 500k-1-669, fols. 78-83. In dealing with the German embassy in Rome and the Italian Colonial Ministry, Schlie pretended to be a 'member of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration' and demanded a monopoly on the conduct of transports of Jews to Abyssinia (now Ethiopia). In return, he promised the Italian authorities that he would assume responsibility for the selection of the Jews according to profession and 'with regard to moral qualification': Schlie's report for the Central Office, 14 June 1939, PA AA, R 99 491.

4 The Reich Office for Emigration Affairs (Reichsstelle für das Auswanderungswesen) in Berlin, with branches in various German cities, had been founded in 1902 as a central information office for emigrants. The agency, known from 1919 to 1924 as the Reich Migration Office and from 1924 to 1945 as the Reich Office for Emigration Affairs, was part of the Reich Ministry of the Interior.

5 The author is referring to the Relief Association of German Jews and the Palestine Office.

6 The 1937 Association was known as St Paul's Covenant (Paulus-Bund) until 1936 and had its origins in the Reich Association of Christian German Citizens of Non-Aryan or Not Pure Aryan Descent, founded in 1933. Its members were Catholic and Protestant Christians of Jewish descent who sought recognition as Germans of equal value. In March 1937 it was split into the 1937 Association (for Jewish *Mischlinge*) and the Office of Heinrich Spiero (for 'full Jews'); the 1937 Association was disbanded by the Gestapo on 11 August 1939.

7 Handwritten addition: 'is already being taken care of'.

8 Handwritten addition: 'is already being taken care of'.

9 The original also contains the following: '2. II 1 please note. 3. II 112 3 for dispatch of the statutes', handwritten '4. to be filed', and signatures.

## DOC. 46

**On 21 June 1938 the head of the Israelite Religious Community reports  
on the school situation for Jewish schoolchildren in Vienna<sup>1</sup>**

Report by the office director and head of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna (Josef Löwenherz),<sup>2</sup> dated 21 June 1938 (carbon copy)

*Report on the schooling of young Jews in Vienna, 21 June 1938.*

(A) The school situation at the beginning of the 1937/38 school year:

*I. Schools providing compulsory education:*

*(a) School pupils*

(1) At primary schools:	Boys: 2,289		
	Girls: 2,401	Combined:	4,690
(2) At secondary schools:	Boys: 1,229		
	Girls: 1,620	Combined:	2,849
		Therefore, in total at the compulsory schools:	7,539

*(b) Schools*

<i>(1) Primary schools:</i>	<i>(2) Secondary schools:</i>	<i>(3) Special needs schools:</i>	7
		(number of pupils: 64)	
State:	3	City:	149
City:	241	Jewish:	1
Private:	6	Total:	150
Jewish:	2		
Total:	252		

*(c) Teachers of religion:*

(1) Teachers from the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna:	28
(2) " " " Municipality of Vienna:	8
Total:	36

Because not every school had enough pupils to reach the level at which special religious instruction was required, the Jewish pupils were consolidated in 113 religious education centres, at which instruction was provided by the teachers of religion listed above.

<sup>1</sup> BArch, ZB 7050 A.7. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Josef Löwenherz (1884–1960), lawyer; delegate at the Tenth to the Fifteenth Zionist Congress (1911–1927); from 1918 lawyer in Vienna; vice president of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna, 1924–1937; from 1936 director of the Jewish Community of Vienna; arrested on 18 March 1938; tasked by Eichmann in early May 1938 with the reorganization of the Community and the acceleration of Jewish emigration; arrested by the Soviet occupation authorities in 1945; emigrated to the USA the same year.

*II. Middle schools:**(a) Pupils:*

Boys:	2,911
Girls:	2,327
Total:	5,238

*(b) Schools:*

Boys:	State middle schools	40
	Private " "	4
	Total:	44

1 co-educational Jewish grammar school.

Girls:	State middle schools	1
	Private " "	15
	Total:	16

*(c) Teachers of religion:*

With civil service status:	11
Supply teachers on a contract basis:	20
Total:	31

At the middle schools, too, Jewish pupils were consolidated in 62 centres.

*III. Technical schools:*

Number of pupils:	2,544
Schools:	22

*IV. General overview:*

At the beginning of the 1937/38 school year, 15,321 Jewish school pupils were attending 492 schools of all types and received their religious instruction from a total of 67 teachers in 197 centres.

The secular subjects were also taught in some, though very few, cases by Jewish teachers.

*(B) The school situation after the reorganization**I. Schools providing compulsory education:**(a) School pupils:*

(1) At primary schools:	Boys:	2,251
	Girls:	2,142
	Total:	4,393

(2) At secondary schools:	Boys:	850
	Girls:	1,804
	Together:	2,654

Total at the compulsory schools:	7,047
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## (b) Schools:

City primary and secondary schools:	14
Jewish schools:	2
No change at the private schools.	

## (c) Teachers of religion:

Teachers from the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna:	22
City teachers (8 of them were pensioned off).	

*II. Middle schools:*

(a) Pupils:	Boys:	2,427	(b) Schools:	7
	Girls:	1,216	No change at the private schools.	
	Together:	3,643	(c) Teachers of religion:	17

*III. Technical schools:*

The pupil count at the technical schools cannot be precisely determined, because religious instruction at these institutions is now provided only to some extent, and so no data of any kind is available to the Religious Community.

The number of pupils at the special needs schools remains the same.

*IV. General overview:*

After the school reorganization, 10,690 Jewish schoolchildren were attending 21 state schools (primary, secondary, and middle schools) and also 3 Jewish schools (private educational establishments were not taken into account), and received religious instruction from 39 teachers. The secular subjects are taught by Aryan teaching staff.

The number of girls at the secondary schools (1,804 compared to 1,620 at the beginning of the school year) indicates a return migration from the middle schools for girls. By contrast, the number of boys has decreased by a third. At the primary schools a decrease of approximately 7 per cent is to be noted.

While the number of boys at the middle schools decreased by about a sixth, a decrease of almost 50 per cent is evident among the girls (2,327 : 1,216).

*Suggestions for the 1938/39 school year:*

## (A) Primary and secondary schools

*I. Number of schools:* as a result of the school reclassification, classrooms with sixty to seventy pupils are no rarity at the Jewish schools, which is detrimental to the health of both teachers and pupils and has adverse effects in pedagogical terms.

The distance of the school from the parents' home is significant in some cases, and this is especially problematic for primary school children between the ages of 6 and 10.

For the coming school year, therefore, it would be urgently advisable to increase the number of primary and secondary schools, so that the number of pupils in the individual classes is not excessive.

By granting travel passes to pupils, the question of the distance from the parental home could be solved in cases that merit consideration.

Overcrowding is now an obstacle to the activity of the two existing Jewish schools. Pre-registrations cause us to fear an additional burden for the coming school year. By

releasing vacant school premises for use, the activity of these institutions could benefit significantly.

*II. Teachers:* in the interests of the success of the lessons, the Jewish pupils, if at all possible, should be taught by Jewish teachers. Since the number of qualified Jewish teachers for primary and secondary schools is extremely small, it will probably be unavoidable that qualified middle school teachers receive permission to teach at primary and secondary schools too. In addition, Jewish trainee teachers should be given an opportunity to obtain the teaching qualification for Jewish schools.

*III. Curriculum:* the curriculum must take into account the impending emigration of young Jews of school-age. It will thus be necessary to factor in, to a great extent, a transition to teaching commercially oriented subjects. Intensive teaching of the Hebrew language is not only ideologically significant but also of practical value in view of emigration to Palestine. Teaching a foreign language (English, French, Spanish) must also be considered.

#### *(B) Middle schools*

*I. Number of schools:* the restriction that has been placed on university education makes a decrease in the number of Jewish middle schools that currently exist appear feasible; by no means, however, can the sole private middle school, the Chayes Grammar School,<sup>3</sup> be termed adequate. One must not overlook the fact that the pupils at the upper grammar school are justifiably seeking to complete their middle school education so that they can possibly enrol at a foreign university after emigration. Since the number of pupils is far too small to justify setting up a Jewish middle school elsewhere in Austria, it must be anticipated that in the coming school year, four middle schools, including the Chayes Grammar School, will be available to Jewish pupils. One of these institutions should be run as a middle school for girls. In this instance, reference is made to Girls' Grammar School II, 3 Novaragasse, which currently has a pupil count of more than 90 per cent Jewish girls and is maintained by a predominantly Jewish school association.

It must be emphasized that in determining a maximum figure of Jewish middle school pupils, it is not the ratio in Vienna but the ratio in German Austria that should be decisive, since the Vienna schools are also intended for the pupils from the Austrian provincial communities [outside Vienna].

*II. Teachers:* at middle schools, too, the correct teaching outcomes, which aim to focus Jewish youth on Palestine, can best be achieved by Jewish teachers. Reactivation of Jewish teachers who have now been permanently placed on the retired list could take place to a certain extent without significantly burdening the national budget.

*III. Curriculum:* the Jewish schools ought to have a considerably higher number of hours, in order to be able to accommodate in the curriculum the expansion of Hebrew instruction and the intensive classes in a foreign language and Jewish studies, in connection with Palestine.

<sup>3</sup> The Jewish Private Grammar School (*Gymnasium*) was founded in Vienna in 1919 with the financial support of the Jewish Community. In 1927, after the death of the chief rabbi and founder of the school, Zvi Peretz Chayes, it was known as the Chayes Grammar School. The school was closed in 1939, but Jewish children could attend lessons until 1941; from 1941 to 1945 the building served as a temporary assembly camp for Jews, pending deportation; in 1980 it was reopened as the Zvi Peretz Chayes School. See also Doc. 286, 31 May 1939.

The Israelite Religious Community of Vienna hopes that it will be involved in setting up these schools, in order to develop the national and religious character of these institutions.

(C) *Technical schools*

For agricultural and technical training, in addition to the 2,544 pupils in the current school year, 1,771 Jewish boys and girls now attending the fourth form of secondary or middle school come into consideration. Added to them are another 2,260 Jewish youngsters from the various forms of the upper grammar school, the majority of whom must be given technical training for the purpose of emigration. Even after deduction of those who have already emigrated or been trained, one must anticipate that about 5,000 Jewish young people are eligible for technical schools. A proportion of these young people are to be directed into agricultural work. – This proportion, however, can amount to 10 to 20 per cent at most, so that provision must be made for about 4,000 with regard to commercial training.

For the training of girls: for girls in the 14–18 age range and for the redeployment of adults in a condensed scheme of apprenticeship and training in tailoring and dressmaking, millinery, cooking, and housekeeping, as well as other courses intended for would-be emigrants (cosmetics, hairdressing), a Jewish institution that has been in existence for years could be involved – the Central Establishment for the Education and Further Training of Girls (Dr Krüger Home), II. 7 Malzgasse.

For young males, however, technical schools are required, at which adult courses could also be offered in preparation for emigration.

The Israelite Religious Community of Vienna requests, therefore, that two Jewish technical schools be established, at which Jewish teachers, if available for the appropriate subjects, would be employed as teaching staff.

DOC. 47

**On 22 June 1938 the US ambassador to Berlin informs his secretary of state about anti-Jewish demonstrations and arrests of Jews<sup>1</sup>**

Report no. 196 of the US ambassador to Berlin, Hugh R. Wilson,<sup>2</sup> to the secretary of state in Washington,<sup>3</sup> dated 22 June 1938

Subject: Demonstrations Against Jewish Shops.

Sir:

With reference to the Embassy's telegram No. 307 of June 16, 11 a.m.,<sup>4</sup> reporting large scale arrests of Jews, I have the honor to inform the Department that this action was

1 NACP, RG 59, CDF 862 4016/1744, published in John Mendelsohn (ed.), *The Holocaust: Selected Documents in Eighteen Volumes*, vol. 1 (New York: Garland, 1982), pp. 138–145. The original document is in English.

2 Hugh Robert Wilson (1885–1946), diplomat; entered the US diplomatic service in 1911, including postings in Buenos Aires, Vienna, Bern, Paris, Tokyo, and, on multiple occasions, in Berlin; ambassador in Germany, 1938–1939; worked for the Office of Strategic Services, the forerunner of the CIA, 1941–1945.

followed on the week-end of June 18 by organized demonstrations in Berlin against Jewish shop-keepers.

Starting late Saturday afternoon, civilian groups, consisting usually of two or three men, were to be observed painting on the windows of Jewish shops the word 'Jude' in large red letters, the Star of David and caricatures of Jews. On the Kurfürstendamm and the Tauentzienstrasse, the fashionable shopping districts in the West, the task of the painters was made easy by the fact that Jewish shop-owners had been ordered the day before to display their names in white letters. (This step, which was evidently decreed in anticipation of a forthcoming ruling which will require Jews to display a uniform distinctive sign,<sup>5</sup> disclosed that a surprisingly large number of shops in this district are still Jewish.) The painters in each case were followed by large groups of spectators who seemed to enjoy the proceedings thoroughly. The opinion in informed sections of the public was that the task was being undertaken by representatives of the Labor Front rather than as formerly has been the case by the S.A. or the S.S. It is understood that in the district around the Alexanderplatz boys of the Hitler Youth participated in the painting, making up for their lack of skill by a certain imagination and thoroughness of mutilation. Reports are received that several incidents took place in this region leading to the looting of shops and the beating up of their owners; a dozen or so broken and empty show cases and windows have been seen which lend credence to these reports.

A tour of the city on Sunday betrayed a sorry spectacle particularly in those districts inhabited by Jews where practically the only persons to be seen were policemen patrolling the vacant and besmirched streets. On Monday most of the owners of the painted shops in the West End had cleaned off the signs except in the case of the large stores of Rosenhain and Grünfeld which have long been the envy of their competitors, where a picket by small boys and evil-looking vagrants is still being maintained. On the whole, five years of Jew-baiting in Berlin seems to have exhausted the originality of the methods of public demonstration although the latest measures are significant as being the first attempt since 1933 to revive organized marking and picketing of Jewish shops.

Incidentally it is learned that at least four foreign correspondents, including three Americans and an Englishman, were arrested for taking pictures of the painted Jewish shops. After making known their identity and insisting that they were unaware of any law making it illegal to take pictures of this nature, they were released although it is understood that the automobile and camera of the English journalist were provisionally held by the police.

3 Cordell Hull (1871–1955), lawyer and politician; member of the US House of Representatives, 1907–1931; US senator, 1931–1933, and secretary of state, 1933–1944; awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1945.

4 In his telegram Wilson reported to the US secretary of state that in Berlin and other places Jews had been arrested who were known to the police as a result of long-standing offences. The number of those arrested and their whereabouts were unknown; it was assumed that they had been sent to concentration camps or recruited as forced labourers. Leading Jewish representatives assumed that the arrests were designed to accelerate emigration, especially since the press had recently reported that at the present rate of emigration the last Jew would not leave Germany for another thirty years: *Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers 1938*, vol. II (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1955), pp. 376–377.

5 On the discussion regarding the marking of Jewish shops, see Introduction, p. 19.

The *Deutsches Nachrichten Büro* on Saturday, June 18, published a communiqué with respect to the arrests of last week. It is stated that in continuation of the series of raids at the end of May which had gathered in 317 suspect Jews, a number of new arrests had been carried out on June 16 resulting in the apprehension of 143 additional Jews. The *Deutsches Nachrichten Büro* claimed that the raids were directed exclusively against criminal elements and were not in the least motivated by political considerations. It was admitted, however, that a number of Jews had been taken into custody for their own safety to protect them against growing popular indignation caused by a new influx of Jews to the capital where the latter had evidently hoped to escape observation. With respect to those arrested it appears that while some of the aged and infirm have been released, the number of Jews still held remains about the same, reaching possibly a total of several hundred; it is understood that those who do not reside permanently in Berlin will be shipped back to the communities from whence they came and that others may be sent to a new work camp near Weimar.<sup>6</sup>

On June 21, after the peak of the demonstrations had momentarily passed, the *Völkischer Beobachter* sought to make short work at one and the same time of the Jews and the foreign press which was portrayed as rushing to their aid.<sup>7</sup> Mentioning that over 3,000 Jews had come to Berlin during the last month, the *Völkischer Beobachter* editorially declared that the population had been forced to adopt measures of self-help particularly as the Jews had taken to insulting women on the street. In the same issue of the paper, Karl Megerle,<sup>8</sup> known chiefly for his writings on foreign politics in the *Börsenzeitung*, compares the moderation of the present measures against the Jews with the outrages perpetrated against the German people by the allied troops of occupation in the Rhineland and the Ruhr which had escaped all mention in the foreign press of that time.<sup>9</sup>

To the already long list of anti-Jewish repressive measures is to be added the order of the Minister of Economics made public June 21 forbidding Jewish traders further access to German stock exchanges and commodity markets;<sup>10</sup> in the interests of general economy the Jewish traders will be permitted, however, to operate for the time being through properly empowered 'Aryan' associates. On the same date it was announced that the

6 The author means Buchenwald concentration camp. On the wave of arrests in June 1938, see Introduction, p. 22, and Doc. 39, 1 June 1938.

7 'Die armen Juden: Die Hintergründe der "Judenvorfolgung"' (The Poor Jews: Background to the 'Persecution of the Jews'), *Völkischer Beobachter* (Berlin edition), 21 June 1938, p. 1.

8 Dr Karl Megerle (1894–1972), journalist; from 1931 freelancer for the newspapers *Völkischer Beobachter*, *Berliner Börsenzeitung*, *NSZ-Rheinfront*, and *Westfälische Landeszeitung*; joined the NSDAP in 1933; in 1934 headed a sub-department in the Ministry of Propaganda with special tasks in Austria; Reichstag member from 1938; academic assistant in the Reich Foreign Office in 1939; plenipotentiary for propaganda in 1941 and for media and information in the personal staff of the Reich Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1943; worked as a journalist after 1945.

9 Dr Karl Megerle, 'Deutsche "Barbarei" und französische "Humanität"'; *Völkischer Beobachter* (Berlin edition), 21 June 1938, p. 8.

10 Decree on the Amendment of the Stock Exchange Regulations of All German Stock Markets and Official Exchange Rates, dated 20 June 1938; Bruno Blau, *Das Ausnahmerecht für Juden in Deutschland 1933–1945* (Düsseldorf: Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland, 1954), p. 46.

post offices would cease to deliver advertising matter posted by Jewish firms at the usual cheap mail rates, unless this material was addressed to Jewish clients or firms.<sup>11</sup>

In conclusion it may be said that the present anti-Jewish campaign outstrips in thoroughness anything of the kind since early 1933, extending beyond a mere summer exuberance of the Party such as made itself manifest in 1935. Doubtless set off in the first instance by the taking over of the Austrian Jewish population, the current drive is evidently being fanned by the suspicion that many Austrian Jews may have come to Berlin to seek refuge, and by the feeling that emigration has been altogether too slow. Just as the outbursts of 1935 led to the Nuremberg legislation of September of that year,<sup>12</sup> it is expected that the present campaign will also bring forth further legislative measures, and in this connection reference is made to the very clear prediction made by Dr. Goebbels in his speech delivered at the 'Summer Solstice Ceremonies' in the Olympic Stadium on June 21.<sup>13</sup>

As reported by the *12 Uhr Blatt*, Dr. Goebbels inquired: 'Is it not altogether outrageous, and does it not bring a blush of rage to one's face, that in the last month no less than three thousand Jews have immigrated to Berlin? What do they want here?'<sup>14</sup> Dr. Goebbels then said that the task of dealing with the 'international Jewry' in Berlin would be carried out according to Party and State laws and not on the street. Legal measures would be provided which in the foreseeable future would break Jewish influence in the German economy. Dr. Goebbels 'begged' the Jewish population not to act so provocatively in public and 'demanded' the general public to maintain its discipline. (In this connection local foreign correspondents state that they have been informed that the 'active measures,' such as the window-painting of last week, have been called off by the Party.)

It is regarded as possible that the predicted legislation may come after the registration of Jewish property has been completed on June 30 in accordance with the recent decree and may be announced at the forthcoming Party Congress in September, if not before.<sup>15</sup> One measure which is proving effective in anticipation of more general and legal steps is the practice which is known to have been followed in several instances whereby a Party member will approach the Jewish owner of a prosperous business and will 'advise' him to sell out at a price named arbitrarily by the prospective 'Aryan' purchaser (often the Party member himself).

Respectfully yours

11 On 24 June 1938 the *Jüdische Rundschau* reported that the German Reichspost would in future only deliver postal advertising by Jewish senders if it was addressed to Jewish businesses: *Jüdische Rundschau*, 24 June 1938, p. 3.

12 See PMJ 1/198 and 199.

13 See Doc. 48, 23 June 1938.

14 Cited from 'Sonnenwend im Olympiastadion: Dr. Goebbels über das Judenproblem in Berlin', in *12 Uhr Blatt* (Berlin edition), 22 Sept. 1938, pp. 1-2.

15 The 1938 Reich Party rally took place from 5 to 12 Sept. Most of the regulations for the exclusion of Jews from the German economy were passed in November, immediately after the pogrom. See Doc. 143, 12 Nov. 1938.

## DOC. 48

**Völkischer Beobachter, 23 June 1938: article about Joseph Goebbels's speech at Berlin's Olympic Stadium, in which he announced new anti-Jewish measures<sup>1</sup>**

*Dr Goebbels announces:*

*Legislative measures for the elimination of Jewish influence on the economy  
Strict repudiation of the latest Jewish impertinences*

*Berlin, 22 June.<sup>2</sup>*

*Blazing and flickering, the flames rose up to the night sky from the pile of wood at the centre of the wide ring of 6,000 torchbearers as the Gauleiter of Berlin, Reich Minister Dr Goebbels, stepped to the lectern in the brilliant white light of the floodlights to deliver a compelling and rousing speech that consecrated and gave substance to the solstice celebrations of his Gau. Cheers and cries of 'Heil' from every tier of the large stadium could be heard on the towering VIP stand when Dr Goebbels began to speak.*

He began with the meaning of the celebration: National Socialism, he said, drawing on the experiences of our times, has brought honour again to the old Germanic custom of the midsummer solstice celebrations and has fused the traditions of our forefathers with the sensibility of modern man in the twentieth century. It seems almost like a fairy tale when, even in the midst of the sea of houses and endless asphalt streets of this city of 4½ million, the festival of Midsummer Night is celebrated. People rail against this Berlin and call it heartless and unromantic. But only someone who does not know Berlin and the Berliners can say this, Dr Goebbels emphasized against a background of delighted applause from the 120,000 men and women of his Gau. The masses heard with enthusiasm the Gauleiter's statement that after working for twelve years in the Reich capital, he too *is proud to number himself among these Berliners*. Admittedly, people of this kind do not wear their heart on their sleeve, but their heart does indeed beat with warmth and passion for the good fortune and honour of the nation. Dr Goebbels aptly characterized the Berliner as someone who is rough but sincere and whose rough, hard shell encloses a tender, understanding, and sympathetic heart.

Dr Goebbels referred in this context to the grand *construction plans of the Führer*, whose goal it is to make Berlin truly the capital of a new great German power, the worthy representative of the new Reich. The masses greeted with tumultuous applause the statement that the Berliner is proud to have been able to play a part in this great task of redesigning the Reich capital.

National Socialism, he said, has prepared for this great task in a tough fight over seven years, and if it has succeeded in making an authentic German city out of what was once Europe's reddest capital after Moscow, then he undoubtedly also has a right to see

1 'Dr. Goebbels kündigt an: Gesetzliche Maßnahmen zur Ausschaltung des jüdischen Einflusses in der Wirtschaft', *Völkischer Beobachter* (Berlin edition), 23 June 1938, p. 4. This document has been translated from German.

2 In his diary entry for 22 June 1938, Goebbels wrote effusively about his 'tough speech' on the 'uncompromising conflict with Jewry' and the ensuing manifestations of public approval: *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels*, part 1, vol. 5, pp. 355–356.

that the results of this fight are not lost again in future. Thunderous applause rose up in the stadium tiers on either side when the Gauleiter declared in this context:

*'We have not fought for seven years against international Jewry in Berlin so that it can now make itself more at home than ever before in National Socialist Berlin. We must most strongly protest against this provocative stance of international Jewry in Berlin.'*

Sometimes, he said, one almost has the impression that the Jews still feel just as comfortable in Berlin as in the times before our revolution, and they evidently still find sufficient opportunity in Berlin to keep their dirty wheeling and dealing out of the public eye. Indignant cries of 'Boo!' rang out all over the stadium when Dr Goebbels exclaimed: *'Is it not altogether outrageous, and does it not bring a blush of rage to one's face, that in the last month no less than three thousand Jews have arrived in Berlin?'*

What do they want here? (Impassioned cries of 'Get out!') Veritable storms of applause arose in the stadium when Dr Goebbels continued: 'Let them go back to where they came from, and not continue being a nuisance to us. They should not act as if there had never been a National Socialist revolution.'

Then Dr Goebbels forcefully emphasized that the conflict with international Jewry in Berlin is being carried out legally and in strict accordance with the law by the Party and by the state and not by the street. In addition, he said that *legal measures already are being taken to ensure that in the foreseeable future the Jewish influence is broken in the economy as well.*<sup>3</sup>

He added that he was requesting the Jews not to continue behaving in such a provocative manner in public. He called on the populace to maintain discipline, refrain from taking independent action, and leave all else to the state.

Dr Goebbels urgently advised the Jews, especially those who have most recently moved to Berlin, to leave the city again as quickly as possible. In addition, if the Marxist Jewish foreign press is taking such an interest in the repudiation of Jewish impertinences and speaking about repression, he can only recommend that the journalists address in greater depth the terrorizing and brutal suppression of 3½ million Germans in another country.<sup>4</sup>

*'Germany wants peace,' the minister declared against a background of repeated thunderous declarations of approval by one hundred thousand spectators, 'but not the peace of the graveyard that was to be organized in Versailles.*

'If there is a desire abroad to do something for peace, arrangements should be made as quickly as possible for the untenable provisions of this treaty to disappear. If there is one thing the nations ought to have learned from the war, it is the fact that in the twentieth century it is no longer possible to separate one part of a people from another in the long run.

'If I therefore appeal to the world once again on this festive occasion and call for understanding and reason, I do so not as a chauvinist but rather as a human being with

3 Law on the Amendment of the Commercial Code for the German Reich, 7 July 1938, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, pp. 823–824.

4 This is an allusion to the situation of the German-speaking minority in Bohemia, which was decryed by National Socialist propaganda in order to legitimate the demand for annexation of the Sudetenland.

common sense. Germany does not pose a threat of war; all it wants is for *those* elements that constitute the causes of approaching wars to be removed.

‘Germany only wants its right to exist. It cannot renounce its right to exist, and we also have no intention at all of allowing ourselves to be permanently relegated to the ranks of the have-nots. This great lesson was taught to us by the *Führer*. He has restored to our people its national pride. Among his many deeds, that was perhaps the *greatest deed*.’

It can ‘fill us all with deep pride’, Dr Goebbels continued, ‘in this city of millions, whose population was fragmented into dozens of political parties six years ago, to look now at this unified, cohesive, surging crowd, which in turn is nonetheless only a tiny segment of the great people of 75 million that, by dint of its greatness, its courage, and its intelligence, will win a happy national future.

‘Let this festive evening be more than romantic sentimentality for us, and if I speak of politics on this occasion, then it is because politics is the embodiment of our national life, because *our people has become political* and because every German is resolved to think politically and to act politically.

‘But what would this politics be’, Dr Goebbels concluded, ‘without its sustaining idea and without its leading man? I believe that if this people remains as true to its *Führer* as the *Führer* is true to his people, we need have no fears for the future. Let us therefore pledge anew in the glow of this dwindling flame: *To the people, our work; to the Führer, our heart! The nation, the Reich, the Führer – Sieg Heil!*’

Enthusiastically the 120,000 [spectators] join in the *salute to the Führer*, and the hymns of the nation, affirming the *pledge of loyalty*, rise solemnly into the night sky.

Prolonged, repeated applause, expressing the approval of those assembled for the Gauleiter and Reich minister, confirmed how his words had really struck a chord with his Berliners.

#### DOC. 49

### On 24 June 1938 the Reich Board for Economic Efficiency makes suggestions regarding the Aryanization of the Austrian shoe trade<sup>1</sup>

Memorandum compiled by the Reich Board for Economic Efficiency (RKW) (Dr G/W), undated and unsigned (Gater)<sup>2</sup>

Draft

*Suggestions for an approach to the Aryanization of retail shoe shops.*<sup>3</sup>

(Cf. memorandum by Mr *Hundt*, dated 22 June 1938.)<sup>4</sup>

Of 380 shops in Vienna, around 250 are Jewish. To cleanse retail trade in shoes, a number of those 250 shops would have to be closed (tentatively, around 80). In the rest of Austria, the ratios are more favourable in some instances, because there are fewer Jewish shops. Only in the Burgenland are circumstances similar to those in Vienna.

1 ÖStA/AdR, Reichskommissar Bürckel/Materie, 2229/1, Bd. I. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Rudolf Gater (1905–1989), economist; from 1935 worked for the Reich Board for Economic Efficiency (RKW) in Saarbrücken; from May 1938 worked in the Austria Office of the RKW with

The shoe industry has a vital interest in carrying out Aryanization as soon as possible:

1. It has substantial receivables in the Jewish shops, which are now frozen to all intents and purposes and probably can be saved only by a rapid and systematic implementation of Aryanization.

2. Sales transactions are to a large extent crippled, because delivery to Jewish shops entails too great a risk, and delivery to shops administered by acting managers is also refused by the industry in some instances.

A considerable number of Aryanization applications are said to have been submitted to the Asset Transfer Office. Thus far, purported authorizations of Aryanization by the Asset Transfer Office have not taken place. On the other hand, there are reports of Aryanizations with the consent of various Party entities.

To bring about a solution as quickly as possible, the following method seems expedient:

After consultation with industry and trade, a number of professionals are to be selected who provide expert processing of the Aryanization applications, under the direction of the RKW, from the following standpoints:

1. *Examination of the business to be Aryanized.*
  - (a) Sales figures, category;
  - (b) Viability, location, competition;
  - (c) Personnel;
  - (d) Inventory, inventory valuation;
  - (e) Status, assets, liabilities (suppliers, taxes, rent payments, wages, social security contributions, etc.);
  - (f) Costs (annual rent etc.);
  - (g) Profit margin (taking into account the depreciation that has occurred or is still occurring);
  - (h) Minimum sales for profitable operations;
  - (i) Minimum capital necessary for running the business.
2. *Examination of the applicant.*
  - (a) Professional suitability;
  - (b) Capital situation;
  - (c) Amount of the credit lines to be granted or maintained by the industry;
  - (d) View of those suppliers who are the potential principal creditors.

responsibility for the rationalization of the Austrian economy and the liquidation of Jewish businesses; from 1940 headed the General Government Office of the RKW; after 1945 worked for the Rationalization Board of the German Economy.

<sup>3</sup> These suggestions, bearing the letterhead of the Austria Office of the RKW, were forwarded on 24 June 1938 to Oberregierungsrat Kratz, one of the most important associates of Reich Commissioner Bürckel. They had been agreed in advance with the Asset Transfer Office and with Hans Kehrl, the general consultant for special tasks in the Reich Ministry of Economics: letter from the RKW to Oberregierungsrat Kratz, 24 June 1938, ÖStA/AdR, Reichskommissar Bürckel/Materie, 2229/1, Bd. I.

<sup>4</sup> This memorandum is not in the file.

The result of the examination is summarized and a position is taken on the application. The expert report is submitted to the Asset Transfer Office for a decision.

Procedurally, it is advisable to begin with the Aryanization applications on hand and, once they have been settled, to examine the remaining businesses, so that a position can be adopted immediately if an Aryanization application ensues. In the process, however, it must be kept in mind that if considerable time elapses between the examination and the Aryanization, certain aspects of the report can become outdated.

It seems expedient to begin these operations in Vienna as soon as possible. Once the procedure in Vienna is established and its practicability has been proved, the Burgenland ought to be handled in the same manner.

DOC. 50

**On 27 June 1938 the Viennese Ministry of the Interior and Culture protests against the Gestapo's appointment of Josef Löwenherz as head of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the Ministry for Internal and Cultural Affairs, Dept IV, Schooling, Culture, and Education, Vienna, state commissioner, signed Plattner,<sup>2</sup> to the Gestapo (received on 28 June 1938), Vienna, dated 27 June 1938 (copy)

Z.18032-3/b. Vienna, Israelite Religious Community; conduct of official duties

By means of the report of the special City Office I of 28 May 1938, Z.I/5-256,<sup>3</sup> the Culture Office of the Ministry for Internal and Cultural Affairs, the supreme Austrian cultural authority, has learned of the order of the Vienna Gestapo with regard to the representation of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna and the conduct of its affairs.

The ministry notes that it was not contacted regarding the matter in hand.

It regrets that it must now first state the following:

Dr Josef *Löwenherz*,<sup>4</sup> the office director and first secretary who has been appointed head of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna, is a Zionist and is not one of those Jews born in Vienna but rather an Ostjude who only settled in Vienna during the World War. He nonetheless managed to push his way on to the board of the Religious Commu-

1 BArch, R 58/6558. This document has been translated from German.

2 Friedrich Plattner (b. 1896), physiologist; joined the NSDAP in 1933 and the SS in 1936; reached the rank of SS-Standartenführer; professor at the University of Königsberg, 1936; from 1938, professor in Vienna, where he was temporarily state commissioner in the Ministry for Internal and Cultural Affairs in charge of dismissals of university lecturers; arrested in 1945 and convicted in 1948; professor in Iran from 1949.

3 This report is not in the file.

4 For the SD Main District Danube (II 112 Ech./Ne.), Eichmann justified the appointment of Löwenherz by saying that he was a Zionist and had good connections to international Jewish organizations. The Jewish Religious Community taxes and special contributions, he said, had been increased in agreement with the SD Main District Danube, and thus far Löwenherz had adhered strictly to the instructions of the SD and in addition collected \$100,000 for emigration: BArch, R 58/6558, fols. 360-361.

nity, and he ultimately held the position of vice president. He misused this position when, some years ago, the question of finding a replacement for the well-remunerated post of office director for the Vienna Israelite Religious Community became an urgent one. He arranged for himself to be proposed for this post by the Zionists, and there was indeed lively opposition on the part of the Viennese (local) Jews, but they could not prevent the Zionists from prevailing in the end, for the latter did not hesitate to seek help even from abroad. In this manner the former honorary vice president became the best-paid official of the Religious Community. But quite apart from the origin of *Löwenherz* as an Ostjude, certain indications also suggest that he is in the closest contact with international Jewry. Further, the surprisingly good information about the alleged discrimination against Jews in former Austria, such as the information available at the American Jewish Congress meeting in New York in November 1934, which ultimately led to a memorandum addressed to what was then the Austrian government,<sup>5</sup> came with great probability from this source.

In addition, it should not go unmentioned that *Löwenherz* most avidly supported an increase in the Religious Community taxes due to the alleged financial collapse of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna, against the wishes of the local Viennese Jews, although the 1937 budget was duly finalized and a balanced budget was even unanimously passed for 1938. The view here is that *Löwenherz* is the most unsuitable man to conduct the affairs of Vienna's Israelite Religious Community at the present time. Given the well-known practices of the Ostjuden, one must assume that he will conduct his tasks in the interests of international Jewry, but especially in the interests of the Ostjuden, about whose attitude towards National Socialism and whose connection to Soviet Russia there is no doubt. Now, as to the advisory board, all the members of the appointed advisory board are also Zionists and in some cases from the East. It is thus not to be expected that the advisory board will in any way prevent *Löwenherz*, who is accustomed only to dictating, from carrying out his intentions.

For all these reasons, the Ministry for Internal and Cultural Affairs, Dept IV, Schooling, Culture, and Education, objects to the appointment of *Löwenherz* as head of the Israelite Religious Community.

5 At the end of 1934 various Jewish organizations in the USA expressed concern about discrimination against Austrian Jews. In early December 1934 the American Jewish Congress presented the Austrian ambassador in Washington with a petition asking Austria to comply with the minority protection provisions of the Treaty of Saint-Germain: Harry Schneiderman and Melvin M. Fagen, 'Review of the Year 5695', *American Jewish Year Book*, vol. 37 (1935-1936), pp. 135-215, here p. 143.

## DOC. 51

**On 30 June 1938 the headmaster of the Chayes Grammar School in Vienna  
asks the University of Jerusalem to admit Jewish school pupils  
and students from Vienna<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from Dr Viktor Kellner,<sup>2</sup> headmaster of the Chayes Grammar School of the 'Jewish Grammar School' Association, 6 Staudingergasse, 20th district, Vienna, to Dr Werner Senator,<sup>3</sup> University of Jerusalem (received on 12 July 1938), dated 30 June 1938 (copies to Dr Landauer, Miss Szold) (copy)

Dear Dr Senator,

I confirm receipt of your letter of 23 June<sup>4</sup> and am delighted that the university has granted ten scholarships in accordance with the wishes expressed in my last letter. The panel you requested will meet in the next few days, after announcing the scholarships, and select the candidates to be suggested to you.

Unfortunately I cannot refrain from expressing my disappointment that more has not been done on your part. Please consider how little practical value your cooperation has. You are foregoing 12½ pounds annually per student; that is an uncommonly trifling amount, which is quite immaterial in comparison with living expenses. I cannot imagine that there will be students whom this scholarship enables to attend the university. If someone has no money, 12½ pounds makes no difference, and even if someone has the money here in Austria, he cannot transfer it at present. If you really want to help, however, then you must ensure that the living expenses are covered for the young people who are to go to university. I am well aware that the university has its own worries and is reluctant to concern itself with these things, but I believe nonetheless that the time has come to launch a major campaign, not only for university students but also for students in general who do not enter the country via the Youth Aliyah. In my view an appeal ought to be issued, asking Palestinian Jews to take children into their homes for one or two years with free room and board, and asking the schools to waive all payment.

Surely foreign countries, too, can be persuaded to take part in such a generous campaign for rescuing children, beyond the Youth Aliyah framework. A part of the relief funds collected abroad thus far can be utilized for this purpose. The university would have to take the lead in the campaign and win the support of the teachers in Palestine for this purpose.

You cannot imagine what such an action would mean for the Austrian Jews. Letters from Palestine prove to me again and again how inadequate the impression of our situ-

1 CZA, S7/790/1. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Viktor Kellner (1887–1970), grammar school (*Gymnasium*) teacher and translator; Latin and German teacher in Jaffa, 1910–1914; headmaster of the Chayes Grammar School in Vienna, 1919–1938; member of B'nai B'rith and the Zionist Herzl-Bund; emigrated to Palestine in 1938; headmaster in Jerusalem and later in Tel Aviv; a committed Zionist.

3 Dr Werner Senator (1896–1953), social worker and social policy maker; deputy director of the Labour Welfare Office of the Jewish Organizations of Germany, 1920–1921; secretary general of the European office of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in Paris, 1925–1930; member of the executive authority of the Jewish Agency, Jerusalem, 1930–1935; administrator at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem from 1937 and its executive vice president, 1949–1953.

4 This letter is not in the file.

ation is, how little is understood of the extent of and the pace at which the process of liquidating Austria's Jews is occurring. It is regrettable how slight, despite all goodwill, the power of empathy is among people who are far away from the scene of the events.

Undertake such a campaign, then; it will bring honour to the university and the teachers of Palestine and will be a blessing to the country. Set an achievable goal for the first year: aim, for example, to bring 100 Jewish children from Austria to Palestine in this way during the first year. As far as I am concerned, I will ensure that only truly deserving and needy children are selected.

I do not know whether my appeal to you here will be successful. But I feel obliged to address it to you and thus to the broader circle of teachers in the country. I trust that sympathy for us in Palestine is so strong that something concrete in the direction I am indicating will take place. The older people here frequently cannot be helped, but the children should and must be saved, if at all possible. What I am asking for is not much at first. It is a question of making a start. With time, this start could become a systematic campaign, which, starting with the teachers in Palestine, garners the support of the whole Jewish world.

I hope you are not angry with me for trying to saddle you with this concern, in addition to the many you already have. My idea does not emanate from a sense of panic but is rather the fruit of much reflection.

With best regards

Your sincerely devoted<sup>5</sup>

#### DOC. 52

### **A former prisoner describes the detention conditions in Buchenwald concentration camp in June 1938<sup>1</sup>**

Account by a former inmate of Buchenwald concentration camp (translation)<sup>2</sup>

In present-day Germany no word strikes greater terror in people's hearts than the name of Buchenwald. Only a few miles from Goethe's Weimar, situated in the midst of a pleasant beech forest, ringed round with barbed-wire fences, guarded by S.S. detachments and machine guns, lies the new City of Sorrow, the concentration camp of Buchenwald.<sup>3</sup>

I was arrested at my home in Berlin at 5 o'clock in the morning of the 13th June, 1938, taken to police headquarters, and there informed that, as a Jew with a previous 'criminal

<sup>5</sup> In his reply dated 10 July 1938, Senator reported that three scholarships for Austrian students would be privately funded and that others would follow. However, he said that it was nigh impossible to arrange for families to take in children free without payment or to launch a large-scale relief effort because of the strict immigration requirements. Nonetheless, he added, the Youth Aliyah would make an effort to bring around 300 Austrian children to Palestine for the time being: *ibid.*

<sup>1</sup> Originally published in English translation in *Papers Concerning the Treatment of German Nationals in Germany, 1938-1939* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1939), pp. 27-36.

<sup>2</sup> Submitted to the British Foreign Office on 18 Feb. 1939.

<sup>3</sup> The camp became operational on 16 July 1937 as one of the largest concentration camps on German soil. It had 130 subcamps and external labour squads. Prior to its liberation by American troops on 11 April 1945, a total of 238,980 prisoners from 30 countries had been confined there.

record,' I was now under preventive detention and would in due course be sent to a concentration camp. In the over-crowded police prison to which I was first taken I recognised many acquaintances among the other prisoners, who were for the most part reputable people, business men and university teachers. Former convictions, the excuse for all the arrests, often dated back a decade or more, and related to such crimes as breaches of traffic regulations, or childishly unimportant escapades of one kind or another.

More and more prisoners were brought in till the police officials themselves were at a loss to find room for the stream of new arrivals. In the course of these two days, the 13th June or 14th June, every male Jew with any sort of police record was arrested. Some of the prisoners were over 70 years of age and were brought to gaol from the almshouses where they were living.

In Berlin the number of arrests reached about 4,000; for the whole country the figure was probably between 10,000 and 15,000. These prisoners were all sent to concentration camps, Dachau, Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald. At police headquarters each prisoner was informed that he could expect his release only if and when he should have procured, somehow or other, documents permitting him to leave the country. It is therefore apparent that the arrests were a purely political measure, and that this typically Nazi device had been decided upon with a single view to hurrying along the tide of Jewish emigration, which, in the Nazi view, was flowing too slowly. Nevertheless, the carrying out of the arrests was entrusted to the ordinary criminal police, and not, as might have been expected, to the Gestapo. Hence, the Berlin newspapers reported merely that a 'number of Jewish criminals have been taken into preventive custody.'

During the night of the 14th June 2,000 of us were transported from prison to the concentration camp. Before leaving the prison we were examined by an extremely youthful doctor, who passed everyone as physically fit for the rigours of concentration camp life, including the septuagenarians and a tubercular prisoner who was continually spitting blood.

The Anhalt Station, from which we left Berlin, was closed to the public at 2 a.m., the time of our departure, and a strong force of police with rifles in readiness was on guard. At about 6 o'clock in the morning on the 15th June we arrived at Weimar, to find a 'Death's Head' detachment of the S.S.<sup>4</sup> waiting for us at the railway station. We hardly reached the platform before a hail of kicks and blows from fist and rifle butt drove us along the subway leading out to the road. Here we were greeted by the then superintendent of the camp, Rödl,<sup>5</sup> in the following terms: –

Among you are some who have already been in gaol. What you tasted there is nothing to what you're going to get here. You're coming inside a concentration camp, and that means you're coming into hell. Any attempt at opposing the authority of S.S. guards and you'll be shot out of hand. We've only got two kinds of punishment in this camp, the lash and the death penalty.

4 The SS Death's Head (Totenkopf) formations were an independent elite special entity within the SS under the authority of Inspector of Concentration Camps Theodor Eicke and were responsible for guarding and administering the concentration camps. In 1938 there were four SS Death's Head divisions: at Dachau, Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, and Mauthausen. In 1941 the Death's Head units were integrated into the Waffen SS.

The entrance to the camp was guarded by machine-gun posts, and over the gate itself was written the slogan: My County Right or Wrong! Every prisoner entered the camp by 'running the gauntlet' between two rows of guards. More kicks and blows.

Immediately after this reception, which is more or less usual in all concentration camps, our heads were shaved, as is done with all dangerous criminals. Next our civilian clothes had to be given up in exchange for convict uniform. The dress of every prisoner is marked with a special symbol. Political prisoners wear a red stripe, bible students a lilac stripe, the so-called 'work-dodgers' carry a black stripe.

Our loose convict jackets were marked with the Star of David in black on a yellow patch: this indicated 'work-shy Jew'. It is worth mentioning that most of us were independent business men, and the rest workers who had been forced out of their ordinary employment. Our group also included a dentist and several lawyers. Each of us was given a number, sewn into our prison clothes, and henceforward these impersonal numbers were substituted for our names.

After the preliminaries just described, we were led off to our new quarters. While the 6,000 Aryan prisoners were housed in wooden barracks each holding about 140, we were quite literally packed into a number of cattle sheds, 500 in each shed. The sheds contained no tables or chairs. Not even beds. At night we dossed down on the bare floor, unable to stretch out and rest owing to the lack of space. Each prisoner received two thin (and often torn) blankets. There were no arrangements for washing. Not one of us was able to wash during the first week. Afterwards, eight wash-basins were provided for each group of 500. Water had to be fetched from a pump ten minutes' journey away. What was most difficult to bear, however, was the fact that, in accordance with orders given by the S.S., a group of professional criminals was introduced into each shed and charged with the task of 'maintaining order.' These criminals, also under detention in the camp, were set over us as 'n.c.o.s.,'<sup>6</sup> and were given full authority to punish the other prisoners. The criminal in full charge of our shed was a particularly brutal specimen, who continually and shamefully mishandled us.

We were all too much afraid to try and protect ourselves from these inhuman brutes, as answering back would have been treated as mutiny and punished by death. A peculiarly horrible incident sticks in my memory. One of the older prisoners had, during the day, while we were at work, been so knocked about by the S.S. guards that, at night, in the shed, he kept up a continuous moaning. The brute in charge of the shed hit this man in the face repeatedly, telling him to stop the noise. By morning the old man was dead.

During the first two days in the camp we were given no food whatever. In spite of that we were exercised hard enough. A whole week was occupied in attending to the various formalities connected with our entering the camp; only afterwards were we assigned to regular work. Among these formalities was the signing of a declaration that

5 Arthur Rödl (1898–1945), unskilled labourer; took part in the Beer Hall Putsch, 1923; joined the NSDAP and the SS in 1928; from 1934 worked full-time for the SS; in charge of the protective custody (Schutzhaft) camp at Sachsenhausen concentration camp; head of the protective custody camp at Buchenwald concentration camp, 1937–1940; worked at Dachau and Flossenbürg concentration camps, 1940–1941; from 1941 to 1942 commandant at Groß-Rosen concentration camp, then assigned to the Higher SS and Police Leader in Kiev; transferred to the Waffen SS in 1944; took his own life.

6 Correctly: NCOs; non-commissioned officers.

we had been taken into preventive custody because we were Jewish 'shirkers,' unwilling to work. It was printed on the form that this admission was made voluntarily by the person signing. One of the prisoners, a lawyer from Breslau, refused to sign the form. This unhappy man was visited with every punishment in the repertory of our captors. He steadily maintained his refusal to sign the documents. After the fourth day of his torture, already a dying man, his body bruised and broken, only half-conscious he signed his name. I must now describe some of the punishments inflicted upon us by the S.S. Even slight offences – drinking some water during working hours – were punished with loss of midday meal and with having to stand to attention for four hours during the short 'free period' normally allowed on Sundays. But the main punishment was the lash. A public flogging was given for minor offences, for instance, if a prisoner was caught smoking at work. At the end of the afternoon roll-call, the numbers of the prisoners sentenced to be flogged were read out – there would be several every day – and the men were led out and bound fast to the whipping-block. The usual punishment, twenty-five strokes with a raw hide whip on the buttocks, was carried out by two hefty S.S. guards, taking turns with the whip. A third S.S. man held the victim's jaws together to stifle any cries. Some of the older prisoners, unable to work fast, were flogged in this inhuman way for laziness. After the flogging the victim was made to take down his trousers and display his bloody stripes to an S.S. man, whose business it was to judge whether the lash had been strongly enough laid on. Twenty-five strokes was the favourite punishment at Buchenwald, but there were others. The 'sweat-box' for example.<sup>7</sup> It often happened that the prisoner was already dead before the 'sweat-box' was opened to release him.

Another punishment was that known as 'tree-binding,' and the guards showed great inventiveness in developing the possibilities of this torture. If only a slight offence had been committed, the prisoners would be bound to the tree in such a way that they stood facing it, and as if embracing it, their hands pinioned together. The straps that bound them would be pulled so tight that they could barely move. The guards would now play 'merry-go-round' with them, that is, they would force them to make their way round and round the tree. If they could not move quickly enough it was usual to help them by kicking their ankles.

This was only the less severe form of 'tree-binding.' Another form of the same punishment often ended fatally. The victim would be strapped to the tree, facing outwards, his arms pulled back and round the tree trunk and then bound together. The thighs and feet, the latter only just touching the ground, would also be tied, sufficiently tight to stop the circulation of the blood. The prisoner would be left hanging in this position for hours at a time. It must not be thought that these barbaric tortures were exceptional. At Buchenwald these things were of daily occurrence.

A week after our arrival we were set to regular work. Our working day in the concentration camp of Buchenwald was regulated as follows: we were awakened at 3.30 in the morning, roll-call followed from 4.30 to 5.30, then [we] were marched off to work, which started a little before 6. We worked without a break until noon. At midday there was a half-hour's pause to drink the acorn-coffee that was given us. Work recommenced at 12.30 and continued till 3.45. From 4 o'clock till 5.30 a second roll-call was taken, fol-

<sup>7</sup> No further information on this could be found.

lowed by the public floggings decreed for the day. Between 5.30 and 6 we ate our main meal of the day, and then worked again till 8, when supper was had. The day ended at 9 o'clock. On Sundays we were made to work from 6 o'clock in the morning until 4 o'clock in the afternoon. No festivals were observed in the camp, not even (as I was told by prisoners of longer standing) that of Christmas. We were on our feet seventeen and a half hours a day, rain or shine. This time-table applied to the older as well as the younger prisoners; the sick, in so far as they were able to stand on their feet, as well as the healthy. Dressed in our convict clothes of 'substitute cloth' we were forced out into every kind of weather from storm and heavy rain to the burning heat of summer.

Now as to my first day at hard labour – a day which I will never be able to forget as long as I live. Several of the older prisoners in our working party died in the stone quarry on that blazing hot June day. After the morning roll-call we had been divided into labour groups each a hundred strong. To each group a foreman was assigned, chosen almost invariably from the habitual criminals, whose right it was to knock us about as he thought fit. We were accompanied by an S.S. detachment of guards, not one of whom could have been more than 18 years old. They were nevertheless quite competent at manhandling and beating us. Our column, which included several prisoners over 65, marched off, or rather we were hounded along by the S.S. men, all of whom were armed with clubs, till we reached the stone quarry where we were to work. Eighty out of our hundred had never done manual labour before. Nevertheless we were expected to carry stone blocks so heavy that the effort of lifting them would have seemed considerable even to a navy in good training. Many of the stones were so heavy that it took several men to lift the block on to the shoulders of the man who was to carry it. These stones had to be carried to the site of a new road, a little over a mile away, which was being built by 'convict' labour. The way leading to the new road was fairly steep, and on the last third of the journey we were helped along by kicks and blows from the rifle butts of the S.S. men stationed along the route. The elderly prisoners, who found it physically impossible to fulfil their tasks, came off worst. From the road we went back to the quarry to pick up a fresh load, and then the process would be repeated. The sun rose higher in the heavens, and the day got hotter and hotter, the fast-travelling S.S. cars raised clouds of white dust on the road (it was closed to all but 'official' traffic). Close to the quarry was a spring, bubbling with fresh, clear water. Prisoners who tried to approach the spring for a drink were driven away by the S.S. guards. By afternoon thirty out of our original hundred had collapsed, some of them with sunstroke, and not even the brutal onslaughts of the guards were able to bring them back on to their feet to resume work. We had to carry them back in the end to the camp hospital. All but two that had died.

In addition to our work in the quarry, we also had to carry tree trunks from one place to another. No more than eight men were allowed to tackle even the heaviest load. Along the route S.S. men were stationed at intervals. We were continuously under observation. The shout, always accompanied by blows on head and shoulders from the clubs of the guards and kicks from their jackboots, 'Move along, blast you, get along' – still rings in my ears. It occasionally happened that a more than usually energetic S.S. man would order us to do knee-bending exercises while we were carrying our load. This was not without danger, for if one or more of us collapsed the heavy trunk was liable to crush the others.

One day, before we were marched off to work, an announcement was made. We were told that 'the Jews had been throwing away their bread ration.' A measure was therefore to

be taken to which no parallel existed, not even in the annals of the Dachau concentration camp. Henceforward we were to receive half a litre of soup (all the others received a litre) and 250 grammes of bread (compared with the normal ration of 625 grammes). An unending régime of hard labour was demanded of us, and at the same time our food rations were fixed at the following amounts: a quarter of a litre of acorn-coffee in the morning, half-litre of soup at midday, and 250 grammes of bread with a smear of margarine and a little brawn in the evening. For three successive Sundays, though we were, of course, required to work as usual, we received no food at all.

Relatives were allowed to send money to us from our homes. Parcels of food, however, were forbidden as 'everything could be bought in the camp.' We will see in a moment how this system worked in reality. For the families of the poorer prisoners, every pfennig sent to the camp represented a real sacrifice. By reason of the mass arrests, it happened that many households had been deprived of their chief breadwinner. A number of instances are also known to me personally in which the Public Assistance Authority refused to allow or continue relief to a family the head of which was in prison. Those who actually received money were far from being able adequately to supplement their meagre rations. Part of the sum sent would be withheld to pay railway fares in the event of the prisoner's release. This regulation was especially hard on the poorer prisoners, as the whole of a small sum would be 'set aside' for this purpose. If more money was sent, it was doled out in weekly instalments of 5 marks. This sum, it is true, could be spent at the prison canteen, where very high prices were charged. The canteen was extremely badly stocked. It was always impossible to buy bread there, and it often happened that the only thing on sale would be lemonade powder. In addition, it must be remembered that we had to buy and pay for soap, tooth paste and the like, out of our own money.

In Buchenwald the number of deaths, both of Jews and of Aryans, was far greater than in any of the other camps. The Aryan death roll was at least one a day. Out of the 2,000 Jewish prisoners that arrived on the 15th June, eighty died in the first four weeks and thirty more in the fifth week. The authorities did all in their power to hush up these figures, and the Committee of the Berlin Jewish Community was officially informed of only thirty-nine out of the 110 deaths.

How did it happen that these men died? A famous phrase - 'shot while attempting to escape' - must supply the answer. Here I must give evidence that, at least during the period of my detention, there was no single case of a prisoner being shot in the course of a genuine attempt at an escape.

The camp is surrounded by a wire fence, electrically charged at night. At intervals there are look-out posts with machine guns, manned by S.S. detachments. The prisoners are forbidden to approach the wire. If they do, the S.S. are instructed to fire on them. Newly arrived prisoners were often ignorant of this regulation, and the S.S. men, bored at their enforced idleness on look-out duty, often amused themselves by calling a prisoner over to the fence. New prisoners would obey the order, and, as soon as they approached, the S.S. machine gun would open fire. This form of 'joke' was quite frequently indulged in. Every now and again, some prisoner, driven half insane and unable to bear the hellish conditions of the concentration camp any longer, would run like mad towards the fence. The S.S. invariably opened fire, and at once, although they were obviously aware that their victim was crazed, and not trying to break out of the camp.

But most of the prisoners who die at Buchenwald die in the stone quarry. Round the quarry a chain of S.S. posts were also established which it was death to approach. It frequently happened that one of the older or weaker prisoners would be ordered to carry a stone block which it was physically impossible for him to manage, even though he exerted every ounce of his limited strength. The S.S. guard would try again and again to force the prisoner to carry his load. Naturally the unhappy man would fall behind his companions. After a short while those who had filed past him would hear a shot. The prisoner had been driven out of the line by the guard and over to the S.S. post, who had shot another victim 'while attempting to escape.' One particularly tragic story deserves to be told. Among the Jewish prisoners was a youngster, 22 years of age, called Erich Löwenberg.<sup>8</sup> He had been cantor in a synagogue, had married young, and his wife was expecting a child two months later. Erich Löwenberg – it happened about the 15th July, 1938 – was driven by an S.S. guard on to the highway near the quarry and forced in front of a heavy lorry driven by another S.S. man. An hour and a half later the young man was dead.

The physical maltreatment normally experienced by prisoners sometimes led to apoplexy and death. Cause of death would then be stated by the doctor as 'weak heart.' Coffins were made by the prisoners themselves in the carpenter's shop. The bodies were usually taken to Weimar crematorium and burnt. Relatives would receive official notification of the prisoner's death by open unfranked postcard from the office of the Camp Commandant.

Many also died because of the lack of medical service in the camp. In the early weeks the ambulance helpers were strictly forbidden to give medicine to the Jews, a ruling which was also responsible for its quota of deaths. Later it also quite often happened that the doctor in charge of the hospital refused to accept Jewish patients. One case is known to me of the doctor throwing out a sick man, declaring that he was faking his symptoms: the man was dead within two hours.

In the sheds at night we had no means of helping a dying companion. We could not even lay our hands on a glass of water, much less obtain any medicine. We were also unable to leave the shed and go for medical assistance, for the S.S. guards were instructed to open machine gun fire on anyone seen leaving the building at night.

Four weeks after our arrival a hospital shed was opened for the Jews. This had to be paid for by the Jews themselves. It lacked even the most rudimentary equipment. There were no thermometers. Not even a chamber pot.

And yet in this hell one came across human beings. There were S.S. men, a very small minority, who did not maltreat us. Some of the S.S. explained to us that they could do nothing about conditions in the camp. They received their orders from 'higher up.' This higher authority was Herr Standartenführer Kock,<sup>9</sup> infamous as the perpetrator of

8 Correctly: Horst Loewenberg (1917–1938), cantor; on 15 June 1938 he was deported from Berlin, his place of residence, to Buchenwald, where he died on 16 July 1938 as a result of numerous injuries.

9 Correctly: Karl Otto Koch (1897–1945), bank clerk; joined the NSDAP and the SS in 1931; commandant of the Columbia-Haus concentration camp in Berlin, 1935; concentration camp commandant in Esterwegen, 1936, in Sachsenhausen, 1936, and in Buchenwald from 1937; SS-Standartenführer, 1937; from late 1941 to August 1942 commandant at Majdanek concentration camp; arrested in 1941 and 1943 on suspicion of corruption and for murdering prisoners; sentenced to death in Dec. 1944 by an SS and police court, and executed in 1945.

nameless brutalities at the Kolumbiahaus<sup>10</sup> in Berlin, and at the camps of Esterwege and Sachsenhausen, now in charge of the Buchenwald camp. How many deaths of defenceless prisoners has this man on his conscience?

There were also some among the foremen who, at the risk of their own lives, attempted to help us. Some of them were denounced as 'Jew-lovers' by other prisoners, and publicly flogged. Our worst time followed the arrival of a detachment of young Austrian S.S., who were sent to Buchenwald from Wöllersdorf.<sup>11</sup> The tortures inflicted upon us by those men are beyond the power of any pen to describe.

How is the population of a concentration camp in present-day Germany brought together? From what elements is the camp made up? In Buchenwald there were 8,000 of us, 2,000 Jews and 6,000 non-Jews. It is now proposed to extend the camp and make it, with a population of 25,000, the largest in Germany.

Our 8,000 prisoners included first of all the 'politicals' (as, for example, the Communist members of the Reichstag: [Theodor] Neubauer, [Anton] Saefkow, Woitinski and others), many of whom have been in various concentration camps ever since 1933. Another prisoner was the well-known Berlin defence lawyer, Hans Litten.<sup>12</sup> His leg was broken in the stone quarry at Buchenwald recently. It had not completely healed from an earlier wound. In addition to the genuine political prisoners, there were many poor devils at Buchenwald accused of having spoken abusively of the sacred person of the Führer. Most of these were sent to the concentration camp (under positive arrest) *after* the expiration of their prison sentences. The period of detention in these cases is left indeterminate.

One of the hellish features of concentration camp imprisonment is precisely this nerve-shattering uncertainty. Protective arrest may mean detention for three months. It may easily mean detention for three years. No rule, no law, determines the length of the sentence.

After the 'political,' the category of the so-called 'work-shy' is the largest. Anyone who imagines that this group has anything to do with tramps and vagabonds is grossly deceived. An example. A business employee lost his position and applied for unemployment relief. One fine day he was informed at the Labour Exchange that he could obtain employment as a navvy on the new motor roads. This man, who was looking for a commercial post, turned down the offer. The Labour Exchange then reported him to the Gestapo as being 'work-shy,' and he was arrested and sent to a concentration camp. Technical workers leaving low-paid employment to seek higher wages often meet with the same fate.

The next group were the 'Bibelforscher,'<sup>13</sup> a religious sect taking its doctrine from the Bible and having a considerable membership in every part of the country, but pro-

10 Correctly: Columbia-Haus (concentration camp).

11 In 1933, on the site of the former Wöllersdorf Works, a munitions and fireworks manufacturer in Austria, a camp for political prisoners was set up in which about 5,000 persons were imprisoned by Oct. 1934. In April 1938 the camp was liquidated and the prisoners were moved to Dachau concentration camp.

12 Hans Achim Litten (1903–1938), lawyer; in 1928 opened a law firm in Berlin together with the lawyer Ludwig Barbasch; as a 'labourers' lawyer' worked on matters for the Red Aid group, which arranged legal support for persons who were politically persecuted; arrested after the Reichstag fire and imprisoned in various concentration camps, in summer 1937 interned in Buchenwald and in Oct. 1937 in Dachau, where he later committed suicide.

13 German in the original: Jehovah's Witnesses.

scribed by the Gestapo since its members refuse military service; these unhappy people were almost as badly treated as the Jews.

The fourth category consisted of the homo-sexuals, or at least of those against whom the Gestapo thought fit to bring charges of homo-sexuality. To charge those it dislikes with this offence is a favourite tactic of the secret police. At the time I was there Buchenwald contained no representative of this group.

The last class of prisoners were the professional criminals. From their ranks, as I have said, our 'overseers' were drawn. Those of them who were set in authority over us were allowed to manhandle us as much as they wanted to. Many of them tried to curry favour with the S.S. by maltreating us or by making us 'exercise' on Sundays during the rest period or forcing the older prisoners to roll back and forth in the wet mud.

When it happened that a prisoner was actually to be released, he had first to submit to a medical examination, to see if his body still carried the mark of the lash, or was in any way bruised. A prisoner who still bore traces of his beatings was not allowed to leave until every mark was healed. In this way the authorities attempted to prevent any knowledge of the physical maltreatment of prisoners reaching the outside world. That these preliminary and precautionary measures are at all successful is to be doubted. The truth slowly seeps through the barriers.

At the time of my release – I was one of the very few who left the concentration camp without having obtained a visa for abroad – I was warned by a high S.S. official that even a whisper concerning my life in the concentration camp would be punished by death. The actual words of the S.S. leader are worth recording. 'National socialism,' he said, 'has no reason to fear the truth. But it will not tolerate the spreading of fantastic atrocity stories.'

After my release I received notice that I had to quit the country within five weeks, and that I should not be allowed to re-enter it.

During those five weeks I would be under police supervision, and would have to report daily, first at the Berlin police headquarters, and then later in my own district. The first time I reported at the police headquarters, something happened that seems to me typical of present conditions in Germany. When I arrived I found myself surrounded by a group of officials of the regular [police] force, who eagerly questioned me about Buchenwald. Remembering the threats that had accompanied my departure from the concentration camp, I at first refused to answer. They showed me their identity documents to allay my suspicions, and again urged me to tell them what conditions in Buchenwald were really like. They would see that no harm came to me. Then I told them of the things I had seen. They were so shocked that they could not help interrupting me. Such conditions, they said, were revolting and a scandal. Frick and Himmler were responsible. No one else. They were at pains to impress upon me that they had no control whatsoever over the concentration camps, where, in fact, the S.S. had supreme and exclusive authority.

I have myself lived and experienced the things that are here related about Buchenwald. I was in the camp for six weeks only, and my account can therefore lay no claim to completeness. I know from trustworthy sources that the majority of those who were arrested in June at the same time that I was are still prisoners, and that the death-roll among them still mounts.

## DOC. 53

***Blätter des Jüdischen Frauenbundes, June 1938: article about the role of women after emigration***<sup>1</sup>*Jewish women overseas*<sup>2</sup>

In 1937 – with the support of the Relief Association of German Jews and the Palestine Office – 3,041 Jewish women emigrated from Germany: 529 to Palestine; 2,512 to other overseas countries. In the case of emigration to Palestine, the proportion of women was 23.69 per cent; with respect to the emigration figures of the Relief Association, 43.7 per cent were women. Of the latter, 49.9 per cent were single, while 50.1 per cent were married, widowed, or divorced.

Even though these figures confirm an increase in the emigration of women, figures even much higher could be reached in 1938 if the mass of women and girls willing to emigrate were to meet with corresponding immigration opportunities. The prerequisite remains, in addition to willingness, *suitability* for emigration: fitness in terms of health, adequate language skills, appropriate vocational training, proven performance at work. Along with the Relief Association, the League of Jewish Women attempts to ascertain this suitability. If we recommend women to the Relief Association for emigration, however, this assumes that we have gained a satisfactory impression of their ability to become integrated and their will to work, their stance as a human being and as a Jew, and therefore believe that the woman in question is equal to the demands of a foreign land. But how can she offer evidence?

For *young* women, certain emigration possibilities exist today. WIZO<sup>3</sup> and the Association for Children and Youth Aliyah in Palestine, as well as Hehalutz in Germany, also make their training sites and workplaces available to girls. The Jewish emigration training school at Groß-Breesen<sup>4</sup> prepares girls who are eligible for group settlement overseas to become settlers. Certain opportunities exist for a capable young domestic worker, if proof can be provided of an appropriate period of work here and an employment agreement in the USA. Brides can be in demand for Argentina, Brazil, and South Africa. Young men and women get together and make a joint effort to face the struggle for existence and build a new life.

The lot of the *older* women between 30 and 45 fills us with particular apprehension. The married women in this age group are mostly mothers of fairly young children. They

1 'Jüdische Frauen in Übersee', *Blätter des Jüdischen Frauenbundes für Frauenarbeit und Frauenbewegung*, vol. 14, no. 6 (June 1938), p. 2. This article has been translated from German. The magazine was published monthly from 1924 and was edited by Hannah Karminski and Martha Ollendorff (1867–1942). In 1934 the circulation was 4,000, but by 1938 it had decreased to 3,400. The publication was banned after the November pogroms.

2 The author was Hannah (Johanna Minna) Karminski (1897–1943), social worker in an educational setting; executive secretary of the League of Jewish Women; from 1938 until her deportation in 1942 employed by the Reich Association of Jews in Germany; arrested in Nov. 1942 and deported in Dec. 1942 to Auschwitz, where she was murdered in June 1943.

3 Women's International Zionist Organization.

4 Groß-Breesen near Breslau was the only training site that prepared young Jews for emigration to countries other than Palestine. It was headed from 1936 to 1939 by a psychologist, Professor Curt Bondy (1894–1972).

are in their prime working years; they would – experiences of childless women prove this – offer their husband significant support in the struggle for survival, if they could be relieved of some or all responsibility for their children while they are initially getting established by having them placed in suitable homes. Let us repeat here this plea of the Jewish Women's League, which in individual cases has already been addressed to Jewish women's committees abroad. Its fulfilment would make the decision to emigrate far easier for many families.

The unmarried woman in this age group has usually already proved herself for years in the workforce. She has technical know-how; she has complemented her business knowledge by learning foreign languages; she is acquiring domestic skills, learning how to deal with laundry or sew corsets. The woman with a gift for nursing is learning to assist during confinement after childbirth; another is being trained in therapeutic massage. She is willing to do any kind of work – but where will she find entry?

Here, the plea of the Jewish Women's League is addressed not only to the committees in the countries of immigration, but to every Jewish woman who has emigrated or is about to emigrate. Anyone who herself is subject to this fate knows what is at stake. These women know the ones who want to follow them; *they must prepare the way for them*. Just as the solidarity of the Jewish family has proved itself during these years, so let the solidarity of the Jewish woman prove itself anew. Let each one try – after the period of settling in – to provide a job for another woman.

The letters that follow here<sup>5</sup> are a first attempt to make personal experiences useful to a broader general public. Intentionally, the compilation includes almost exclusively letters from *older* women. And even if they show occasional lapses in the sober and objective tone, this proves that it is not only youth that is susceptible to the beauty of nature and the charm of something new.

At the request of the authors, we had to refrain from publishing some very significant letters in order to prevent general conclusions being drawn from very personal observations. That must be cautioned against with the following letters, as well. But such accounts are indispensable for counselling emigrating families and women. We therefore ask that you send us letters of this kind, for only from an abundance can a picture be gained. To all those who desire to help us, we recommend the model that has proved useful for obtaining information about the questions of importance for women's emigration (see page 3).<sup>6</sup>

And so let this magazine too be a bridge again that connects Jewish women outside the country with those desiring to follow them on this bridge. As a motto, we take the following lines from one of the letters not published:

I would like to emphasize a few other things: whether a family pulls through here or not depends primarily on the wife. In many instances, she earns money before her husband does. But in any event, even if she 'only' takes care of the household, the

5 In total, fourteen letters were reproduced on pp. 3–10, describing the initial positive impressions and experiences as well as working and living conditions for female immigrants in Tel Aviv, Haifa, Siantar, Cape Town, Chicago, Kenya, São Paulo, and Sydney.

6 Printed on p. 3 was a list of keywords and questions as a stimulus for composing informative letters from abroad, which were intended to provide guidance to emigrating families.

physical and mental health of the family depends more on her than is the case in cooler climates. She needs more patience, of course, and must be able to maintain her good spirits in a very limited existence. She must ensure that the family does not lapse into dullness. In this connection, it would be advisable for a family that can afford it to bring along a musical instrument. Life out here is lived within the family circle to a far greater extent than is true for a European; for immigrants that is even more the case. Here the atmosphere, the entire intellectual and emotional climate, depends on the woman!

H. K.

DOC. 54

**The wine exporter Frederick Weil from Frankfurt travels through Germany  
in the early summer of 1938<sup>1</sup>**

Submission by Frederick Weil<sup>2</sup> to a Harvard University competition (1940)

[...]<sup>3</sup>

*Impressions of a journey through Germany*

After I could not obtain even one new order from my Aryan customers in the period between 1 December 1937 and 1 March 1938, I resolved to emigrate to America, where three grown sons have been working for several years. – By 16 April 1938 I had already sold my home in Frankfurt am Main. – On 6 May 1938 I was in the office of the American consul in Stuttgart to acquaint myself with the formalities.<sup>4</sup> In the process I did not fail to mention that I had been previously convicted by the Nazis, and I brought along a copy of the sentence.<sup>5</sup> The vice consuls displayed great interest in this case and promised me, in a non-binding way, naturally, to consider an application on my part most sympathetically. They asked me to make sure that I provided a really good affidavit, and then, they said, the matter would incur no difficulties. –

Upon my return to Frankfurt am Main, I received a printed form from the Party leadership asking about my business: whether and when I intended

1 Frederick S. Weil, 'Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und nach dem 30. Januar 1933' [My life in Germany before and after 30 January 1933] (1940), ch. 13, pp. 59–69, Harvard Competition, no. 239. This document has been translated from German.

2 Frederick D. Weil (b. 1878), businessman; from 1900 owner of a wine-export company in Frankfurt am Main; after its destruction in the First World War, he was involved in his father-in-law's brandy producing firm; active in the Frankfurt Wine Merchants' Association, 1905–1933; wine commission merchant, August 1935 to May 1938; imprisoned in Buchenwald concentration camp from 13 June to 23 July 1938; emigrated via Paris to the USA in Nov. 1938.

3 The entire account comprises 239 pages and was submitted from New York. In the first part, Weil describes his experiences in Germany after 1933, the National Socialist youth movements, and the exclusion of Jews from the economy.

4 In 1938/1939 the US consul general in Stuttgart was Samuel Honaker; he had previously been vice consul in Johannesburg in 1917, in Smyrna in 1926, again in Johannesburg in 1919–1920, in Port-au-Prince in 1927–1929, and in Glasgow in 1932.

5 In 1933 Weil had been convicted of a customs offence dating from 1924.

- (1) to sell it to Aryans,
- (2) to liquidate it, or
- (3) to wind it up in some other way.

I was ordered to reply to this inquiry within eight days. –

Instead of replying, I went the next day to the appropriate local court to arrange for the dissolution of my firm.

At the same time, I reported this fact to the relevant chamber of industry and commerce. The court clerk who handled the recording asked me to step into the adjoining room at the end of the proceedings, ostensibly to affix the official stamp on the document. In reality, however, the purpose was to speak to me alone and without witnesses for a few minutes. Once the door was shut behind us, he told me how sorry he was to have to strike this highly respected firm from the register; I should nonetheless be convinced, he added, that in their hearts and minds, not all Germans were in agreement with the way they unfortunately were forced to act. He encouraged me and, in a heartfelt way, wished me a great deal of luck and – that I ‘might soon witness the revenge of the German people’.

I paid private visits to some of my customers to say my farewells, and in some cases these calls were quite dramatic. – They greatly regretted my decision that I am forced to draw the only possible conclusion from the existing circumstances, and they practically offered an apology to me.

Three times, in the private offices of heads of large firms, I had to hear: ‘Be glad that you’re ready and can leave; I’d be really glad if I could trade places with you, then I’d leave this – pigsty sooner rather than later and go abroad, but we Aryans of military service age can no longer get permission to travel outside the country.’ –

My wife and I used the glorious days of May that now lay ahead for long car trips in order to bid farewell to the old familiar mountains and landscapes that have become so beloved to us.

We drove from Frankfurt am Main along the Rhine and the Moselle to Trier, and from there made a Sunday outing to Luxembourg. – Then via Kassel through the Harz Mountains to Berlin, Hamburg, Lübeck, Travemünde, Bremen, Hanover, Leipzig, Dresden, Schandau, through the Erz Mountains of Saxony to Chemnitz, Bamberg, Nuremberg, Munich, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Oberstdorf, Lindau, Constance, Donaueschingen, following the uplands of the Black Forest over the Großer Feldberg, Lake Titisee, Freiburg, and Baden-Baden, to Frankfurt am Main.

We were on the road for a total of twenty-nine days and had occasion not only to revisit many beautiful places but also, still more, to see much that was new and gain an infinite number of new impressions of people. – On this trip criss-crossing a large part of Germany, I often had the feeling of enjoying a ‘last meal’, that is, of saying farewell to my fatherland that I once cherished so deeply, to the unsurpassed natural beauty with which this country is so lavishly and richly blessed, to dear friends and relatives whose hands I was able to squeeze for probably the last time. – It was also a leave-taking of so many gravesites, of unforgettable memories of youth, of apple and pear trees, now grown tall and old, which I had planted myself, and vineyards in which I was allowed to work as a child.

As for my birthplace, the grandson of the wealthy farmer who moved in after our departure was now living there. – I had a long conversation with this grandson, who

was a staunch Nazi. He was typical of the new German generation. I guessed him to be about 18 years old. – The refrain of his answers was always the same: ‘In reply to that, I can tell you only one thing: our Führer knows what he wants, and even if not everybody can recognize it as good and proper right away, I know that it is only for the good of the people.’ –

The Jewish question, too, he sees only from this perspective. – My question as to the freedom of the individual as the highest good of man was answered as follows by the young man: ‘If one lives exactly according to the ideas and teachings of the Führer, everyone has freedom in Germany!’ – At these words, the boy’s half-paralysed father tried to get out of his wheelchair and strike his son with his crutch, with a fury in his beet-red face that was more eloquent than all the words that he dared not utter. – The daughter soothed the infirm old man and gave him a few drops from a medicine bottle.

With that I concluded my last visit to the house where I was born, in thoughts that belonged to the past.

I had a vivid memory of seeing our beloved Pastor Rohrhurst, later the president of Baden’s second chamber, our Rabbi Rawicz, the district magistrate, and Baron von Böcklin on long winter evenings in friendly, lively conversation with my parents, and I realized how peacefully and amicably these people must have got along. – My parents were both frequent and welcome guests in the homes of our friends of a different faith; the word ‘Aryan’ was as yet unknown, and by the same token our Christian friends gladly and frequently visited our Jewish home, a religiously observant household run along conservative lines. –

And what a contrast between those times and today! Now the cemetery alone still bears witness to the fact that since 1530 the local Jews have found their final resting place in this graveyard. – This cemetery, in March 1933 and November 1938, was the target and the scene of a horde of vandals who had to express their instilled venomous hatred of the Jews as ordered, by laying waste to more than fifty graves, knocking the grave-stones over and smashing them with the stonemason’s hammers they had brought along. – The cemetery hall and the morgue were used in the vilest manner as toilets.

On the other hand, I also had meaningful evidence of boiling hatred for the present brown regime on the part of the Aryan population. – An old farmer’s wife could not deny herself the opportunity to curse the brown plague in terms that were German to the core, so loudly that I had to beg her to exercise more caution in future. –

While I was chatting with this woman in front of her house, we were joined by ever-growing numbers of farmers with their wives. When they learned that I was emigrating to America, they were completely silent at first, but then the tallest of them said: ‘Who will make sure now that we can sell our wine every year?’

Each one urged me to come to his home one more time to drink a glass of wine together with him. – Because of the shortness of the available time, I had to decline, but within a quarter of an hour eight women arrived, and each one had a farewell gift under her apron, butter, eggs, bread, cherry brandy, and a freshly slaughtered chicken. I was quite moved by this thoughtfulness, and just as I had said goodbye and expressed my thanks and was about to get into the car, the mayor’s daughter brought a large bouquet of fresh mayflowers for my wife.

I still enjoy thinking about this moment when the old Germany wanted to show itself to me once more as it really was! –

Besides this, in the smaller villages of the Black Forest, the population of which is German to the core and mostly purely Alemannic, I could detect that people talked openly with me and that there was a deeply and sincerely felt animosity towards the tyranny of the Hitler regime.

Things were different in central Germany, especially in the purely agricultural regions. –

There, I once had to scour five villages before I, as a Jew, could even find a room to spend the night. The next day I drove through the Harz Mountains, which, in their fresh green colours and cascading forest streams, cast their marvellous spell. Then I came to Bad Harzburg. I was met with a broad banner over the main street, with the words: ‘Jews are not allowed in Bad Harzburg.’ –

Then we travelled all the quicker; in Halberstadt we found a welcome restaurant in the first hotel.

In Magdeburg we saw the same inviting sign on every shop, restaurant, and barber’s shop, so that the only place we could eat was the dining hall of the main railway station.

In conversation with an Aryan business acquaintance, I heard that the Party sent every owner of a shop open for business two such enamelled signs, delivered by SA men at a charge of 2 Reichsmarks. The SA men immediately mounted the signs on the shop windows. – If a shop owner refused to pay and to put up the two signs, the SA man, using a pad held ready, promptly wrote out a summons requiring the shop owner to appear before the appropriate Party bureau. If he nonetheless refused again, then the official summons before the Gestapo ensued, and in the event of refusal, the result was immediate deportation to a concentration camp for sabotaging the German economy.

The marvellous Reich autobahn brought us the very same day to Berlin, the capital of the Reich. At first I was amazed that hardly any shop or restaurant or café showed any indication that ‘Jews are not welcome.’ – At the hotel, people were quite surprised when I inquired whether I, as a Jew, could stay there! –

Outwardly, business life in Berlin had hardly changed in comparison with the ‘System-Zeit’.<sup>6</sup> – The restaurants and cafés were full, and in the establishments in the west, along Kurfürstendamm, the more or less congenial Jewish element was dominant. – Many quite embarrassingly conspicuous types of women made their presence felt in an unmistakable way. – In the *concert cafés* I found the vast majority of the customers to be likewise from these circles, which even in the summer of 1938 had not yet learned to understand the new era and to practise restraint, which would still have been perhaps the smallest sacrifice one could have expected from these people at the very least.

It was asserted, indeed, that these were primarily foreigners, who were protected in every way by the Party.

Theatres, concerts, cinemas, and museums were accessible only to ‘Aryans’; Jews were strictly prohibited. The audience consisted mainly of members of ‘Strength through Joy’ who were ordered to attend. For Jews and Christian non-Aryans, only the events of the Jewish Culture League were permitted. –

<sup>6</sup> German for ‘time of the system’: a term used by the National Socialists to refer disparagingly to the period of the Weimar Republic.

In comparison with country towns and smaller places, the absence of uniforms in Berlin caught my attention. Even in the so-called government quarter, I saw only a smattering of uniforms.

That was the outward image that caught my eye in Berlin. My impression was quite different after visiting personal friends, both Jewish and Aryan. – The latter complained greatly about the pressure and coercion to which they are subjected in every respect but most especially in respect of taxes. Although one worked from early morning until late at night, they said, one had to break into one's own pecuniary means, and any possibility of saving was completely out of the question. – As a result of the social strangulation, they added, one no longer experienced anything of any great interest. – Travel abroad is as good as completely prohibited, and if such trips are authorized by the Foreign Currency Office for export-related reasons, the Gestapo snoopers nonetheless come round to make distressing house searches, because such authorized trips were described by the Gestapo as 'money-movement trips'.

Some of my Jewish friends felt correctly that it served no purpose to close one's eyes to strict necessity any longer and that one would just have to take appropriate action personally.

Wherever it was possible, the Jewish firms were Aryanized, as well or as poorly as it could be done. – Depending on whether one's good connections reached high enough, one managed to wrap things up relatively 'well'. – The little Hitlers were modest and for that reason less successful than the 'big' Hitlers, who, as 'cunning individual' without exception knew how to safeguard their financial advantage. The intermediaries were mostly a few highly respected lawyers who, however, were willing to take an interest in the odd difficult case only because of absolutely first-rate recommendations. They appeared very reticent at first and non-committal as to whether they could accept the case or not. The decision would follow in a week, during which time they would consider the case. – More correctly expressed: they asked their friends whether the relinquished address was of interest or not, meaning they ascertained at the relevant central office whether the thing could be done. – At the second meeting, the case was accepted and declarations were signed, but only in a single copy, without the client receiving a copy for himself. The documents came the following week, and after two more weeks had passed, the Jew had the clearances from the tax office, his travel passport, and permission to transfer the assets from his blocked account or to exchange a house in Germany for one situated abroad, as well as to take along his luggage.

For all these necessities, someone in Frankfurt, Mannheim, Karlsruhe, or Heidelberg, etc. required at least six months, with the legwork it took to go to the various offices having to be described as a more or less pleasant running of the gauntlet.

From truly reputable, commercially trained, and reliable men in the widest variety of circles, I had incontrovertible proof that the corruption in the government offices could scarcely be surpassed. – But woe to the little policeman, financial clerk, or other uniformed official if he was caught failing to deal as harshly as possible with a Jew, in the line of duty or off duty. A small example of this:

For my son living in Paris, I needed a copy of his deregistration form that was submitted to the police before his emigration. I went to the appropriate police headquarters, stood in the queue, and asked the police sergeant for information. After that I was supposed to fetch three green forms from the stationery shop opposite, fill them out, and

then bring them back to him, so that I could then pick up a duplicate with the police seal for myself. Simultaneously the official asked me to bring back a 5-pfennig birthday card for him with the matching envelope, gave me the 5 pfennigs, and said that work kept him from fetching the card himself, and the birthday was the next day. – So I obtained the birthday card and put the three green forms, all filled out, into his hand at the same time, but the birthday card and envelope were covered by the green form in such a way that they could not be seen. – The official stamped the green form and returned it to me, and then I left the police station. – Two hours later, this policeman, in quite a state, appeared at my apartment and asked to talk to me. – He first looked around the room to make certain that no one else was present. I reassured him and confirmed that only my wife and I were in the apartment.

Now he told us: scarcely half an hour after I had left the police station, the station chief came to him and asked him to follow him to his office. Here the station chief revealed that he had had a call from the Gauleitung, saying that the police sergeant had chatted in an extremely friendly way with a Jew and apparently wanted to do business with the Jew. If that was proved or if there was even a suspicion of it, the police sergeant would have to be punished by disciplinary action. The police sergeant told me that he was 64 years old and had, including his military service, 44 years of service and would retire the following year with 80 per cent of his salary. But if he were to be dismissed now and subjected to disciplinary action, he would lose his pension rights. – His boss, he said, had told him that he would protect him against the Nazis as far as possible. – The purpose of his visit was to inform me of the matter privately and in secret, in the event that the Gauleitung should make inquiries about my relationship with the police sergeant, and to ensure that his statements would not conflict with mine. – I heard nothing more of the matter, but the police sergeant, in our two-hour conversation, told me so much about the inner workings of the service, about the bullying from the young chaps assigned by the Party to every police station, that I felt great sympathy for this old, well-seasoned, honest officer. These old officers, without exception, are hostile towards the Party police, that is, towards the Gestapo, which consists exclusively of the ill-reputed SS and SA men.

[...] <sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> In what follows, Frederick Weil reports on his imprisonment in Buchenwald concentration camp, his release, and the pogroms that took place in Nov. 1938.

## DOC. 55

***Amtsblatt der Stadt Wien, 1 July 1938: announcement of the segregation of Jewish schoolchildren and the introduction of a *numerus clausus* at middle schools***<sup>1</sup>*Separate Jewish schools*

In accordance with the principles of National Socialism, the Vienna School Administration endeavoured to implement the *segregation of Aryan children from Jewish ones* as quickly as possible. *Separate Jewish schools* were set up for children of Jewish descent. Vienna currently has fourteen such *primary and secondary schools* with 148 classrooms and 5,992 Jewish children, as well as eight Jewish *middle schools*.

Owing to the massive immigration of Jews since 1918 and because all Jews, as is well known, send their children to middle school, the proportion of Jewish middle-school pupils was simply intolerable. There were even girls' middle schools at which *more than 80 per cent of the pupils were Jewish*. For the 1938/39 school year, a *numerus clausus* has now been introduced in Vienna's middle schools. It amounts to 2 per cent of the total number of Viennese middle-school pupils. Instead of eight Jewish middle schools, in future there will thus be only *one* in Vienna, and instead of 6,000 Jewish middle-school pupils, only around 500.

## DOC. 56

**Report by the SS Security Service dated 1 July 1938 about preparations for the international refugee conference in Evian**<sup>1</sup>

Report by Theodor Dannecker<sup>2</sup> (II 112 o, F, Dan/Pi), unsigned, to Six,<sup>3</sup> dated 1 July 1938<sup>4</sup>

Re: refugee conference in Evian

Case file: none

For weeks now, all Jewry, particularly the Jews residing in the territory of the Reich, has been occupied with the conference in Evian scheduled for 6 July 1938. The significance to be ascribed to this event is all the greater because, for the first time, an international

<sup>1</sup> 'Eigene jüdische Schulen', *Amtsblatt der Stadt Wien*, no. 27, 1 July 1938, p. 2. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>1</sup> RGVA, 500k-1-649. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Theodor Dannecker (1913-1945), retailer; joined the NSDAP and the SS in 1932; from 1936 worked in the SS Security Service (SD); from 1937 responsible for the 'Jewish question' in SD Section II 112 and in Section IV B 4 of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), respectively; in 1940 'advisor on Jewish affairs' for the senior commander of the Security Police and the SD in occupied France; organized the deportations of French Jews in 1942 and the deportations from Bulgaria in 1943 and from Italy and Hungary in 1944; taken prisoner by US troops in 1945; took his own life.

<sup>3</sup> Dr Franz Alfred Six (1909-1975), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1930, the SA in 1932, and the SS in 1935; from 1935 worked in the SD; professor in Königsberg, 1938, and in Berlin, 1939; head of the Department for Research on Enemies at the RSHA, 1939; head of Advance Commando Moscow of Einsatzgruppe B, 1941; head of the cultural policy department in the Reich Foreign Office, 1942; sentenced to twenty years in prison at the Nuremberg Trials, 1948; released in 1952; in 1956 became an advertising executive with Porsche Diesel Engine Manufacturing.

<sup>4</sup> The original contains illegible handwritten notes.

conference involving only official government representatives of the participating countries will concern itself with the problem of the placement of Jews from the territory of Greater Germany.<sup>5</sup>

### 1. Roosevelt's initiative

The reintegration of Austria and the concomitant Jewish problem, now relevant once again, caused the government of the United States of North America, represented by Secretary of State Cordell Hull, on 24 March 1938 to address to the governments of twenty-nine states a proposal for forming an international commission that is to facilitate emigration from Germany and Austria.<sup>6</sup> This proposal was sent to all the republics of North and South America and in Europe to the governments of Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, and Italy. While Italy immediately declined, all the other countries accepted, on certain conditions.

Meanwhile, Roosevelt has spoken in person with representatives of Jewish and non-Jewish Christian organizations in Washington, to confer with them regarding plans for working with the international commission that is to be formed.

At the same time, under the chairmanship of James McDonald,<sup>7</sup> previously the commissioner for refugees, an American preparatory committee based in Washington was set up in mid May of this year. According to current reports, it is concerned primarily with issues of mass relocation and is examining immigration possibilities, above all with respect to the USA itself.<sup>8</sup> A project for this purpose has apparently already been finalized.

Besides representatives of denominational associations, the members of the committee in Washington include, significantly, numerous Jews, among them the president of the 'World Jewish Congress', Rabbi Stephen Wise,<sup>9</sup> known as a vicious anti-German agitator.

Myron C. Taylor,<sup>10</sup> formerly the chief executive officer of the United States Steel Corporation, was appointed by the American president to represent the American government at the conference. It is generally thought that T. will have a substantial influence on the course of the conference.

Large Jewish organizations held a preliminary discussion in Paris in early June of this year for the purpose of preparing for the Evian Conference. Among those present were representatives of the 'American Joint Distribution Committee', the 'Council for German Jewry',<sup>11</sup> and 'Hicem'. In attendance from the Reich were, as representatives of

5 See Doc. 19, 18 March 1938, Doc. 59, 8 July 1938, and Doc. 64, 16 July 1938.

6 See Introduction, p. 47.

7 James Grover McDonald (1886–1964), politician; chairman of the Foreign Policy Association, 1919–1933; League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (Jewish and Other) Coming from Germany from 1933 until his resignation in 1935; US ambassador to Israel, 1949–1951.

8 The author is referring to the President's Advisory Committee on Refugees.

9 Stephen Samuel Wise (1874–1949), rabbi; in 1907 he founded the Free Synagogue in New York and was a Reform rabbi there; in 1917 he assisted with drafting the Balfour Declaration; vice president of the Zionist Organization of America, 1918–1920, and its president, 1936–1938; president of the World Jewish Congress, 1936–1949.

10 Myron Charles Taylor (1874–1959), lawyer and entrepreneur; president of the U.S. Steel Corporation, 1932–1938; in 1938 was appointed chairman of the Evian Conference by Roosevelt; special US envoy to the Vatican, 1939–1950.

11 Jewish relief organization in Britain, founded in 1933 as the Central British Fund for German Jewry.

the 'Reich Representation of Jews in Germany' and the 'Relief Association of German Jews', Dr Eppstein<sup>12</sup> and Dr Hirsch;<sup>13</sup> for the 'Israelite Religious Community in Vienna', Dr Löwenherz and Dr Rothenberg;<sup>14</sup> from the Berlin Palestine Office, Dr Rau;<sup>15</sup> and for the Haavara and INTRIA,<sup>16</sup> Dr Feilchenfeld.<sup>17</sup>

Under deliberation were proposals by international Jewry for a solution of the emigrant problem, which were to be submitted to the conference. The representatives of the 'Reich Representation' had, of their own accord, made it a condition that an increase in immigration to receptive countries must absolutely be achieved, and that, above all, the barriers to immigration in countries particularly in line for the exodus of Jews from Germany, such as Brazil and the Union of South Africa, should be lifted. Similar suggestions were made with regard to immigration to the USA.

The foreign organizations declared their willingness to incorporate the proposals of the Jewish delegates from Germany in the memorandum to be presented to the conference. At the same time, however, they pointed out that under *the present circumstances, it is not possible for them to assume all the costs of Jewish emigration from Germany.*

## 2. Stance of the participating countries

### (a) USA

Developments to date have already been outlined in the introduction to this report. However, it should be pointed out in particular that the USA, although the initiative for the conference originated there, does not contemplate any increase in the hitherto prevailing immigration quota according to the Immigration Act of 1924, which amounted to 27,370 persons per year for Germany and Austria combined. The sole easing that has occurred thus far, which is to be considered merely a gesture, however, was that the American consulates were instructed by Roosevelt to apply the existing immigration provisions more liberally in future. This is because, in practical terms, it has been almost impossible thus far to fill the immigration quota for the USA, so that usually only about 10,000–12,000 persons could enter the country [each year].

12 Dr Paul Eppstein (1902–1944), sociologist; board member of the Federation of Jewish Youth Associations; Zionist; associate professor at the Mannheim School of Commerce, 1926–1933; dismissed in 1933; from 1935 specialist for social affairs within the Reich Representation of German Jews and its liaison with the Gestapo; in the 1930s taught sociology at the Higher Institute for Jewish Studies in Berlin; deported in 1943 to Theresienstadt, where he was Jewish Elder from Jan. 1943 to 27 Sept. 1944; murdered while in the camp.

13 Dr Otto Hirsch (1885–1941), lawyer; from 1920 Ministerialrat in the Württemberg Ministry of the Interior; from 1919 active in Jewish organizations; from 1933 acting chairman of the Reich Representation of German Jews; arrested in 1941 and murdered in Mauthausen concentration camp.

14 Dr Alois Rothenberg (b. 1889), oil dealer; appointed by Eichmann at the end of March 1938 to head the Palestine Office in Vienna; emigrated to Trieste in 1940.

15 Dr Arthur A. Rau (1895–1962), lawyer; regional court judge in Berlin, 1925–1933; dismissed in 1933; director of the Palestine Office in Berlin, 1935–1938; emigrated to Palestine in 1939; legal advisor and head of the legal department of the Anglo-Palestine Bank in Tel Aviv, 1941–1961.

16 International Trade and Investment Agency.

17 Werner Feilchenfeld (1895–1985), economic advisor and lawyer; legal advisor to the Berlin Chamber of Industry and Commerce, 1919–1933; emigrated to Palestine in 1934; managing director of Haavara Trust and Transfer Ltd in Tel Aviv, 1936–1940; representative of the Jewish Agency, 1936–1939; emigrated to the USA in 1951; independent economic advisor; co-author of *Ha'avara-Transfer* (1973).

(b) *England*<sup>18</sup>

First, it was announced in mid April, that is, at a time when England's participation in the conference was not yet confirmed, that there was an intention there to propose to the Council of the League of Nations an extension of the authority of the 'High Commissioner for Emigrants from Germany'<sup>19</sup> to emigrants from Austria as well.

A few days ago, it was announced in the House of Commons that the English government would be represented at the conference in Evian by Lord *Winterton*,<sup>20</sup> that is, a serving minister, and Charles M. *Palairret*.<sup>21</sup> In addition, the English government announced that it regards as impracticable the proposal to induce the Dominions to submit an overall plan for the empire that shows their capacity to absorb immigrants. In the opinion of the government, the admission of immigrants and their incorporation into the economy are matters to be decided only by the individual governments themselves. The representative of the English foreign secretary, *Butler*,<sup>22</sup> holds the view that one of the chief difficulties of such a conference is the question of money. B. also made reference to the fundamental *intention of the USA*, which is primarily *to ask no country to take in more immigrants than is possible under existing law*, and further to ensure that the financing of the emigration is handled by private organizations within the various countries.

(c) *France*

At the request of the American State Department, the organization of the conference is being handled by the French government. The chairman of the Senate Committee for Foreign Policy, Senator Henri *Béranger*,<sup>23</sup> was appointed to head the French delegation.

Thus far, however, the agenda of the conference has not been released,<sup>24</sup> nor have the governments involved been notified of its actual order of events. This fact can potentially have a very obstructive effect on the progress of the conference, because the governments only delegate authority to their representatives only after they have been informed in detail about the proposals to be dealt with.

<sup>18</sup> Britain is meant here and in the following.

<sup>19</sup> Correctly: High Commissioner for Refugees (Jewish and Other) Coming from Germany.

<sup>20</sup> Lord Edward Turnour Winterton (1883–1962), politician; Member of the UK Parliament, 1904–1951; headed the British delegation in Evian; chairman of the Intergovernmental Committee established there.

<sup>21</sup> Charles M. Palairret (1882–1956), diplomat; from 1905 in the British diplomatic service; in 1918/1919 a member of the British delegation to the Peace Conference in Paris; from 1920 to 1938 worked in Paris, Tokyo, Rome, Bucharest, Stockholm, and Vienna.

<sup>22</sup> Harold B. Butler (1883–1951), diplomat; in 1919 involved in the founding of the International Labour Organization; director of the International Labour Office, 1932–1938; in 1938 warden of Nuffield College in Oxford; in 1939 commissioner for civil defence; from 1942 head of the British Information Service in Washington and president of the European League for Economic Cooperation.

<sup>23</sup> Correctly: Henry Bérenger (1867–1952), philosopher, journalist, and diplomat; French ambassador in Washington, 1926–1928; chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate, 1931–1939, and regular delegate to the League of Nations from 1932; in addition, French delegate on the administrative board of the High Commissioner for Refugees (Jewish and Other) Coming from Germany.

<sup>24</sup> On 14 June 1938 the State Department had sent an agenda to the participating countries containing the following points for discussion; (1) long-term measures for the settlement of refugees; (2) immediate measures to regulate the most urgent cases; (3) documents for refugees whose home countries no longer issued papers; (4) creation of a body of government representatives to work on a comprehensive solution to the problem: Barbara McDonald-Stewart, *United States Government Policy on Refugees from Nazism, 1933–1940* (New York: Garland, 1982), p. 296.

(d) *Holland*

The fresh influx of immigrants from Austria led the government of the Netherlands, particularly considering the economic situation of the country, to tighten the regulations governing immigration.<sup>25</sup> Officially the Dutch minister of justice<sup>26</sup> characterized the necessity of these measures by saying that the flood of new arrivals ought to have been stemmed before the beginning of the Evian Conference. The government expects, he said, that the conference will lead to solutions that take into account the particular situation of the individual countries. This means, therefore, that positive proposals for solving the pending questions are scarcely to be expected from Holland.

(e) *South America*

The attitude of all the South American states is still entirely open, although they had declared at the outset their readiness to participate in the conference. *The success of the conference, however, undoubtedly depends on the willingness of the South American governments to accept additional Jewish immigrants.*

3. *Purpose and goal of the conference*

As is already apparent in part from what has been stated above, the circles involved, particularly the Jews, expect as an outcome of the conference the granting of concessions by the participating governments with regard to the easing and liberalization of immigration regulations.

Owing to its independence from the League of Nations, the conference can, if one may count on any serious willingness at all, make comprehensive decisions that can be of decisive importance for the prospects of emigration.

With respect to these prospects, the so-called 'Coordinating Committees'<sup>27</sup> that were formed in London and New York deserve special attention. They arose from the need to juxtapose with – or place beside – the diplomatic representatives of the participating countries a joint representation of the Jewish and non-Jewish circles with a stake in the conference. These committees have already established contact with one another and in addition with Jewish and non-Jewish organizations from other countries.

The intention is to expand the London committee to a central office that can represent the Jewish demands and wishes in Evian with the necessary authority and the requisite emphasis. The committee has already published an appeal in the English newspapers, signed by Lord Reading and the bishop of Chichester, among others, emphasizing that the combined organizations wish to work jointly on relief for the Jews emigrating from Central Europe.<sup>28</sup>

25 On 21 March 1938 the Dutch cabinet endorsed measures to tighten border controls. These had previously been limited to the central railway border checkpoints in Oldenzaal and Zevenaar, and were now expanded to all road, tramway, and smaller railway checkpoints: Bob Moore, *Refugees from Nazi Germany in the Netherlands, 1933–1940* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986), pp. 78 and 207.

26 Carolus Maria Joannes Franciscus (Carel) Goseling (1891–1941), lawyer and politician; from 1919 to 1937 worked in Amsterdam as a solicitor and public prosecutor; chairman of the Roomsche Katholieke Staatspartij (RKSP), 1930–1937, and its parliamentary group chairman in the second chamber of parliament, 1936–1937; political leader of the RKSP and minister of justice, 1937–1939; imprisoned in 1940 in Buchenwald, where he died.

27 English in the original. No further information on these committees could be found.

28 In the appeal, various refugee and relief organizations turned to the British public, urging for increased practical and financial support for the persecuted following the Anschluss of Austria: 'In Aid of the Persecuted', *The Times*, 14 April 1938, p. 8.

#### 4. 'Observers' from Germany

*The Jews in Germany or German Austria also plan to send 'observers' to Evian, whose mission it will be to make contact with the representatives of the individual countries and give evidence of the absolute necessity of Jewish emigration from Germany.*

Those Jews from the Reich who are regarded as potential participants have already been instructed with regard to discussions along these lines.

In addition to them, through the mediation of the [SD] Main District Austria, a neutral observer will take part in the conference, who will report after his return.<sup>29</sup>

Should the starting date of the conference, now scheduled for 6 July 1938, be postponed – as assumed to some extent – it might be suggested, considering the great significance that the conference can have for the emigration of Jews from Germany, that *one should consider having a German diplomatic representative attend in the conference as an observer.*<sup>30</sup>

After the conclusion of the Evian Conference, a report on its outcome will be submitted.  
II 1<sup>31</sup>

#### DOC. 57

#### ***Frankfurter Zeitung*, 7 July 1938: article about the contribution of anthropologists and statisticians to the study of the 'Jewish question'**<sup>1</sup>

*The origins of the Jews.*

*Presentations at the Munich conference.*

*(By wire from our special reporter.)*

*FK, Munich*, 6 July. At the Munich conference of the Reich Institute for History of the New Germany,<sup>2</sup> the militant, polemical aspect of the academic approach to the Jewish problem was especially showcased in the lecture topics and temperament of Tuesday's speakers. Today, the second day of the conference, the work plunged into the cooler air

<sup>29</sup> The participation of such an observer could not be verified.

<sup>30</sup> The start of the conference was not postponed. No German diplomat took part in the Evian Conference as an observer.

<sup>31</sup> Countersigned by Six (II 1) by hand. At the end of the document: 'Directive: 1. II 1 with the request to take note, 2. proposal: presentation to C[hief Heydrich]'. On 15 August 1938 Six sent a report composed by Hagen to Reichsführer SS Himmler, summarizing the course of events at the conference and the positions of the individual delegates. In the report Hagen concluded that the emigration of Jews from Germany would be more difficult in future and thus it was more important than ever to expedite the process. Consequently, he added, the discussions with the Reich Ministry of Economics about the available foreign currency were to be finalized quickly. Enclosed with the report was a list of the delegates and the final resolutions of the Evian Conference: RGVA, 500k-1-612, fols. 17-37.

<sup>1</sup> 'Die Entstehung des Judentums', *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 7 July 1938, p. 2. This article has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> The Reich Institute for History of the New Germany was founded in Berlin in the summer of 1935 and fell under the remit of the Reich Ministry of Education. Its purpose was to conduct research into modern German history since the French Revolution. The Research Department for the Jewish Question, created in 1936, was based in Munich.

of natural science and statistical considerations, and thus it simultaneously yielded a corresponding supplement to the work of the historians in the narrower sense.

In his paper on the racial origin and racial history of ancient Jewry, Professor Eugen Fischer<sup>3</sup> from the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin-Dahlem placed the debate in the wider context of research in the field of anthropology and pre- and early history. He based his remarks, with a sovereign mastery of the subject matter, on the broad foundation of new genetic findings: today, he said, we know precisely that human racial characteristics are also *genetic characteristics* and nothing more, genetic characteristics that allow environmental influences to have effects within a certain range of reaction. Race, he said, is the totality of physical and mental characteristics, and the various racial differences have evolved from the originally homogeneous human race as a result of *mutations and adaptive selection* – identifiable to us since the last Stone Age. The details of these processes are still open to question in a number of ways.

Professor Fischer, strongly and carefully emphasizing the debatable aspects, then discussed the findings so far of research into anthropology, linguistics, archaeology, and early history with respect to the *origins of Jewry*. The Jews, whose racial genealogy has essentially been completed for the period since the time of King David, he said, exhibit three components, which, under the pressure of struggling against a contrasting environment, merged to produce the Jews' distinctive attributes. The Near Eastern race, Fischer added, is the basic stock which imposed itself on the Mediterranean race in the fifth century BC, and to which the Oriental race was later added; isolated sprinklings of Nordic-Indo-Germanic origin and occasional Negroid elements also testify to the early inclusion of foreign blood. Further, the division, going back to distant times, into Sephardim, with a more Oriental character, and Ashkenazim, with a more Near Eastern character, also bears witness to the original blood composition. Later, he said, insularity and inbreeding made the fixed racial fabric of the Jews increasingly pronounced and caused it to become an entity that is biologically alien to all the European races, above all the Nordic one.

Professor Fischer's talk about the racial origins of ancient Jewry was complemented by the Frankfurt professor Baron von Verschuer,<sup>4</sup> whose talk on the *racial biology* of the Jews looked at the topic from a contemporary perspective. He emphasized that there is

<sup>3</sup> Dr Eugen Fischer (1874–1967), anthropologist; professor of anatomy in Freiburg, 1918; (founding) director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, Human Heredity, and Eugenics, 1927–1942; vice chancellor of the University of Berlin, 1933–1935; joined the NSDAP in 1940; in 1952 became an honorary member of the German Society for Anthropology; author of works including *Die Rehobother Bastards und das Bastardisierungsproblem beim Menschen* [The Rehoboth Bastards and the Problem of Miscegenation among Humans] (1913), co-author of *Grundriss der menschlichen Erblchkeitslehre und Rassenhygiene* [Principles of Human Heredity and Racial Hygiene] (1921), and co-editor of the journal *Volk und Rasse* [Nation and Race].

<sup>4</sup> Dr Otmar von Verschuer (1896–1969), physician and human geneticist; department head at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, Human Heredity, and Eugenics, and from 1942 to 1945 its director; professor in Frankfurt am Main and judge on the High Court of Hereditary Health, 1935–1942; joined the NSDAP in 1940; head of the Institute for Human Genetics in Münster, 1951–1965; author of works including *Rassenhygiene als Wissenschaft und Staatsaufgabe* [Racial Hygiene as Science and Task of the State] (1936) and *Leitfaden der Rassenhygiene* [Manual of Racial Hygiene] (1941).

no single characteristic by which the Jewish race can be identified with certainty, and that only a combination of groups of individual attributes therefore provides opportunities for comparison and differentiation. The speaker enumerated a long list of characteristic features of physique and behaviour, contrasting in each case the findings among Jews with those among Aryans, and taking into account both the normal physical traits and the disposition and mode of response in the presence of disease, as well as the psychological qualities. The distinguishing biological features of the Jews derive, he said, predominantly from the Near Eastern and Oriental basic ethnic stock, and these features have since been reinforced and consolidated by selection and adaptation to specific environmental conditions. The preference for city, especially big-city, life and careers as merchants or traders, the orientation towards formal logical intellectuality as a result of studying the Talmud, and the influence of the notion of being the chosen people, he said, have also found biological expression in the Jewish racial type over the course of time and intensified its physical and mental dissimilarity to the German racial type.

Professor Friedrich Burgdörfer<sup>5</sup> from the Reich Statistical Office then gave an overview of the biological, occupational, and social structure of Jewry, to the extent to which it is reflected in the numerical determinations of statistics, a field that by its nature, of course, must work with schematic simplifications. Using racial illustrations, Burgdörfer explained the distribution of the Jews, their relationship to population movement since emancipation, the age stratification of Jews by faith in the German Reich, and their economic and social classification, whereby the information, if not based on mere estimates, essentially rested upon the denominational and legal status of the Jews. The *first statistical survey* of the Jews according to racial principles is scheduled to take place in Germany – and indeed for the first time – during the *1939 census*, which will be the first to provide precise numerical data on this problem.<sup>6</sup>

The discussion that followed the papers, as on the previous day, was especially lively today because it was complemented by the input of natural scientists in addition to the purely historical and political debates of the first day. Participants were evidently greatly satisfied with this interdisciplinary exchange of ideas. This exchange has to prove its worth, precisely in a new research field such as the Jewish question, where there are still so many doubts to be resolved and such great gaps in knowledge to be filled.

5 Dr Friedrich Burgdörfer (1890–1967), statistician; department head in the Reich Statistical Office, 1925–1939; president of the Regional Statistical Office in Bavaria, 1939–1945; responsible for the separate registration of the Jews in the 1933 and 1939 censuses; in 1940 wrote an expert opinion regarding the resettlement of 4 million Jews to Madagascar; in 1960 honorary member of the German Statistical Society; author of works including *Volks- und Wehrkraft, Krieg und Rasse* (1936).

6 In the census of 17 May 1939, Jews were recorded for the first time not on the basis of their religious affiliation but on the basis of their ancestry and were also listed by name: see Doc. 36, 17 May 1938.

## DOC. 58

**On 8 July 1938 the NSDAP Gauleiter in Vienna suggests appropriating and auctioning off the property of Jews who have fled<sup>1</sup>**

Memorandum of the NSDAP Gauleitung in Vienna (illegible signature), dated 8 July 1938<sup>2</sup>

*Memorandum*

In order to relieve the housing shortage, Gauleiter Globocnik,<sup>3</sup> in consultation with the Gestapo, proposes that with regard to all the furnishings left behind in the apartments of Jews who have fled and that have not already been confiscated:

- (1) they should be collected and assessed by Ginhardt,<sup>4</sup> and then
- (2) valuable artworks should be kept safe and assimilated into museum collections, etc.
- (3) the rest should be sold at auction and the proceeds paid into a separate account until it is decided what is to be done with them after completion of proceedings against the Jews who have fled.

## DOC. 59

**On 8 July 1938 Max Kreutzberger reports on the Evian Conference<sup>1</sup>**

Report by Dr Kreutzberger<sup>2</sup> (unsigned), Evian, dated 8 July 1938 (excerpts)

*2nd Report.*<sup>3</sup>

The conference began on Wednesday as planned. All the invited countries were represented. The opening session, with speeches made by Taylor, Winterton, and Berenger,<sup>4</sup> was by no means festive. (I have sent the stenotype speeches by airmail.) We had been

1 ÖStA/AdR, Reichskommissar Bürckel/Materie, 2025, fol. 22. This document has been translated from German.

2 In the upper margin there is the handwritten note 'Regierungsrat Hofmann' and the stamp of the NSDAP Gauleitung in Vienna; in the lower margin there is the note 'I. Not implementable according to the laws in force. II. To be filed. W. 15/7 per pro. H.'

3 Odilo Globocnik (1904–1945), engineering graduate and building contractor; joined the illegal Austrian NSDAP in 1931; joined the SS in 1934 and became its regional head in Carinthia in 1936; became Gauleiter in Vienna in 1938; SS and police leader for the Lublin district from 1939; head of Operation Reinhard, in which more than 2 million Jews in the General Government were murdered; appointed Higher SS and Police leader for the Adriatic coast; committed suicide upon his arrest.

4 Correctly: Dr Karl Ginhardt (1888–1971), lawyer and art historian; state curator from 1927; member of the NSDAP, 1930–1932; applied to rejoin the Party on 1 July 1938 and was accepted on 1 Jan. 1941; editor of the *Handbuch der Deutschen Kunstdenkmäler*, 1933–1939; professor at the Vienna University of Technology from 1936; became professor at the Institute of Art History, which he headed intermittently for more than twenty years after 1945.

1 CZA, S7/693. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Max Kreutzberger (1900–1978), economist and social scientist; worked for the Reich Representation of German Jews from 1933 to 1935; emigrated to Palestine in 1935 and held a leading position in the Association of Immigrants from Germany (HOG); returned to Germany in 1948; emigrated to the USA in 1955 and to Switzerland in 1967; co-founder of the Leo Baeck Institute in New York.

particularly anxious about what Winterton would have to say. His speech did not make much of a contribution to the theme of the conference, but could have been a lot more dangerous.<sup>5</sup> We were glad that it turned out as it did. The Norwegian Hansen<sup>6</sup> (a very amiable man) spoke last, proposing the establishment of a new international body (with all due respect to the League of Nations).

The representatives from Canada, Australia, Argentina, Brazil, Belgium, and the Netherlands spoke in the second plenary session. (I have sent the texts of the speeches.) Not much was to be expected from the representatives of the European countries, but the speeches and statements made by the South Americans and Australians were no more hopeful. Someone made the (sad) joke that the speeches were really nothing more than an appeal to the conference to find emigration opportunities for the Jews already living in these countries. A more careful scrutiny of the texts of the speeches, however, reveals that the messages conveyed were not entirely hopeless, despite the extremely reserved tone. To be fair, one could hardly expect more from these public declarations given the wretched political and economic circumstances in some cases.

The actual outcome of the meeting was the establishment of two commissions. One of them intends to collect confidential reports and proposals from the governments and identify potential emigration possibilities. (Technical Commission.) The other one is intended to give hearings to the registered private organizations.

The conference will now last for three days. I do not have the impression that it has found its footing or become any clearer as to its intended direction. The practical organization is dreadful. For example, there is only one small conference room, which means that both commissions cannot even meet at the same time.

According to confidential information that we have received from James Macdonald<sup>7</sup> (he is the only one who seems to have any sort of idea and he's trying to make things more systematic), the outcome of the conference should be more or less that the assembled countries would commit to a permanent conference, perhaps with its headquarters in Paris. They would elect an executive committee from among the following countries: United Kingdom, USA, France, Argentina, and Brazil. This committee would appoint a general director with an unusually high salary and three other directors who are also to be paid exceptionally well. The idea is to attract top-notch international figures (someone on a par with Hoover, for example, who is himself out of the question). The directorate is intended to negotiate first and foremost with Germany. The conference can hardly

3 Kreuzberger reported from Evian several times on developments at the conference. In his first report, from 6 July 1938, he described his impressions prior to the conference and the expectations of the Jewish delegates; in his third report, from 11 July 1938, he summed up the statements made by the different government representatives and the results of the conference: *ibid.*

4 Correctly: Bérenger. On Myron Charles Taylor, Lord Edward Turnour Winterton, and Henry Bérenger: see Doc. 56, 1 July 1938, fnn. 11, 21, and 24.

5 Winterton had stipulated that Britain would only participate in the conference if there was to be no discussion of Palestine as a possible destination country for immigrants. The Zionists had feared that in his speech Winterton would reaffirm his stance against emigration to Palestine.

6 Correctly: Michael Hansson (1875–1944), lawyer; practised at the Supreme Court of Norway; judge, vice president, and then president of the Mixed Courts of Egypt, 1907–1931; member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague from 1919; president of the Nansen International Office for Refugees in Geneva, 1936–1938.

7 Correctly: James Grover McDonald: see Doc. 56, 1 July 1938, fn. 8.

achieve anything more than this because nothing else has been prepared. The question of financing etc. is not going to be dealt with at the present conference.

We have had a number of talks within our ranks (Ruppin,<sup>8</sup> Goldmann,<sup>9</sup> Moses,<sup>10</sup> Rosenblüth,<sup>11</sup> Rudel,<sup>12</sup> and I) about what tactics we should use and which ideas we can push forward at the conference, and we have come to the following conclusions:

1. Weizmann<sup>13</sup> should not take to the podium because he cannot line up alongside thirty organizations. (Macdonald and [...] <sup>14</sup> have also come round to this opinion, although they were originally quite in favour of Weizmann putting in an appearance.)

2. Even though specific financial matters (intern. work, transfer, etc.) are not to be dealt with in detail, we want to make sure that the terms of reference for the permanent intergovernmental conference do not exclude them.

3. The same holds true for the matter of the 'Ostjuden'. (Ruppin has a somewhat different opinion – he wants to bring these topics to the forefront.)

4. As the subcommission intends to hold hearings with a vast number of organizations, the 'Big Five' (Agency, Joint, Ica, Council, World Congress)<sup>15</sup> want time for detailed conversations with Taylor, Winterton, and Berenger.

5. The appearance of representatives of the 'Agency' before Winterton on their own is not opportune because their demands must be made by Weizmann when he speaks with Macdonald. On the other hand, the Austrian delegation and the Germans, who

8 Arthur Ruppin (1876–1943), sociologist and economist; founder and head of the Bureau of Statistics for Jews in Berlin, 1903–1907; in 1908 emigrated to Palestine, where he became the head of the Palestine Office in Jaffa; became an instructor at the Hebrew University in 1926; chairman of the Jewish Agency, 1933–1935; author of works including *Soziologie der Juden* (1931).

9 Dr Nahum Goldmann (1895–1982), lawyer; editor of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*; board member of the Zionist Federation for Germany, 1926–1933; emigrated to Switzerland in 1933; representative of the Jewish Agency for Palestine with the League of Nations, 1934–1940; president of the World Jewish Congress, 1951–1977; president of the World Zionist Organization, 1956–1968.

10 Siegfried Moses (1887–1974), lawyer; director of the Schocken department stores in Zwickau, 1923–1929; chairman of the Zionist Federation for Germany, 1933–1937; emigrated to Palestine in 1937; director of the Haavara, 1939–1949; president of the Association of Immigrants from Europe Living in Israel; co-founder and president of the Leo Baeck Institute, 1955–1975.

11 Dr Martin Michael Rosenblüth (1886–1963), writer; official in the main office of the Zionist Organization in Cologne, 1910–1915; director of the office in Copenhagen, 1915–1920; organized British support for the emigration of Jews from Germany in London, 1933–1939; later advisor and representative of the Israeli minister of finance in the USA; author of *Go Forth and Serve* (1961).

12 Salomon Adler-Rudel (1894–1975), social worker and publicist; head of the Work and Professional Welfare Office of the Jewish Community of Berlin, 1930–1934; member of the Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction, 1933–1934; leading member of the Reich Representation of German Jews and the Zionist Association for Germany, 1934–1936; emigrated to Britain in 1936 and to Israel in 1949; member of the board of the Leo Baeck Institute in Jerusalem, 1958–1975.

13 Chaim Weizmann (1874–1952), chemist and politician; president of the World Zionist Organization, 1920–1930 and 1935–1946; president of the Jewish Agency, 1929; president of the state of Israel, 1948–1952.

14 Illegible name (Cazalet or Cazalot).

15 Jewish Agency, Joint Distribution Committee, Jewish Colonization Association, Council for German Jewry, World Jewish Congress.

have now arrived,<sup>16</sup> should by all means go to see Winterton and complain about the stance of the English government<sup>17</sup> with regard to Palestine and request additional certificates, etc.

As I already noted in my report, countless Jewish delegations, as well as some non-Jewish ones (Catholics, Academic Assistance Council, English welfare associations, Socialist Workers' International, etc.) are in attendance. Dozens of memoranda have also been submitted to the conference. The memorandum from the Agency is exemplary in its brevity and poignancy. In order to prevent the submission of all kinds of uncoordinated and conflicting proposals to the conference for discussion, to ensure a somewhat unified front, and to avoid tiring the delegates with mass visits from the delegations, a conference of all the private organizations, chaired by Bentwich,<sup>18</sup> was held the day before yesterday. Finally, after hours of heated debates and with reservations from a number of organizations ([...] <sup>19</sup>from the revisionists, the ORT society,<sup>20</sup> represented by Lord [Berley] and [Brannsen], the Freeland Movement<sup>21</sup> with Steinberg stood out in particular), it was agreed that an action committee of fifteen people was to be formed to which the Zionists Goldmann, Rosenblüth, and I belong. The committee is unlikely to be able to achieve much because it became clear during our very first discussions that it will not be possible to channel the different movements into a common direction. This is especially the case since the conference itself has decided that it is willing to let every delegation have a hearing with the subcommission mentioned above.

In the meantime the subcommission has met and, of course, all the Jewish delegations insisted on appearing in their own right. Dr Ruppin (Agency) and Goldmann (World Congress) attended on our behalf. They went separately in order to have more time in front of the commission. Fifteen to twenty minutes were set aside for larger groups and four to five minutes for the smaller ones. Ruppin basically reiterated the contents of the memorandum with a few additions (as cited above). Goldmann also tried to bring the global situation of the Jews and financial matters to the forefront. They were

16 The delegation of Austrian Jews in Evian was comprised of Josef Löwenherz (head), Heinrich von Neumann, and Berthold Storfer. The delegation of German Jews included Otto Hirsch (head) and Paul Eppstein from the Reich Representation, as well as Werner Rosenberg from the Relief Association and Michael Traub from the Palestine Office.

17 The British government is meant here.

18 Norman Bentwich (1883–1971), lawyer; professor in Jerusalem, 1932 and 1945–1951; chairman of the Academic Assistance Council supporting refugee scholars; McDonald's deputy as high commissioner for refugees from Germany, 1933–1935; member of the Council for German Jewry.

19 Illegible name.

20 An acronym derived from the original Russian term *Obshchestvo Remeslennogo Truda* and known in English as the 'Society for Trades and Agricultural Labour' or the 'Organization for Rehabilitation through Training'. ORT was founded in 1880 in Russia. From 1921 it had national branches in countries including Poland, Britain, and Germany. ORT organized vocational training for young Jews and supplied workshops with materials and tools, in addition to overseeing agricultural settlements.

21 Successor organization of the Jewish Territorial Organization founded in Basel in 1905. The territorialists advocated for the settlement of Jews outside Palestine, but they gradually lost out to the Zionists in terms of influence. When the need for places of refuge for the Jews became more urgent, the territorialist movement, which had seemed to be defunct, was revived as the Freeland League, founded in 1935.

both rebuffed by the chairman (the Australian, White),<sup>22</sup> who argued that the conference was supposed to deal with Germany and Austria, and that governmental monetary support was explicitly ruled out in Roosevelt's letter of invitation. When Goldmann insisted that the 'terms of reference' for the new international body stated (a) that the expansion of its scope of activity in the future should not be ruled out and (b) that financial aid might also imply moral support, guarantees, etc. from governments, the chairman ordered that both these points be added to the minutes. We will now have to wait and see what kind of report this subcommission comes up with.

And now the shocking news from Palestine.<sup>23</sup> Here one could hardly have imagined anything worse happening to damage the position of Palestine and our basis for negotiations. The global press has covered these events widely, and they have also hit the front pages of the provincial papers here.

#### DOC. 60

### **On 11 July 1938 the board of directors of the Talmud Torah School requests support from the Hamburg school authorities<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the board of directors of the Talmud Torah School,<sup>2</sup> unsigned, to the Hamburg school administration, dated 11 July 1938 (carbon copy)

Following up on its letter of 20 June 1938, the board of directors of the Talmud Torah School has taken the liberty of most respectfully sending the school administration of the Hanseatic City of Hamburg the statement of account for the period from 1 April to 30 June 1938 with the following comments: the expenses during this time were kept close to what was suggested and therefore account for only a quarter of the expenses planned for in the budget. The income from tuition fees, however, has declined by more than RM 3,000 as a result of the adverse economic situations of the parents. The remaining sources of income still correspond to the planned budget. However, the subvention for June from the Reich Representation of German Jews to the amount of RM 833.33 has not been received, despite a reminder with reference to our difficult financial situation.

22 Thomas Walter White (1888–1957), businessman, politician, and pilot; director of C. J. White & Sons Pty Ltd in Melbourne, 1920–1932; held different posts within the Nationalist Party in Australia, 1929–1951; commander of an air force training school, 1940–1941; liaison officer between the Australian Air Force and the Royal Air Force, 1941–1943; served at the Australian Air Force Staff School, 1943–1944. During the conference White caused quite a stir because he was the only delegate to speak out explicitly against the immigration of Jews to Australia. He claimed that his country did not have any racial problems and it did not want to import one.

23 In early July, numerous Jews and Arabs were killed in Palestine in a series of attacks. After a bomb exploded at an Arab café on 7 July 1938, the police shot and killed 26 people and over 100 were injured. The next day the *Jüdische Rundschau* ran a front-page article on the terror attacks: 'Schwerer Ausbruch des Terrors', *Jüdische Rundschau*, 8 July 1938, p. 9.

1 CAHJP, AHW TT 63 (3), fol. 72–73. This document has been translated from German.

2 The Talmud Torah School, a primary and secondary school in Hamburg, founded in 1805, was the oldest Jewish private school in Germany; it was located at 30 Grindelhof, and its director from 1925 until his emigration in Feb. 1940 was Dr Arthur Spier (1898–1985). See Doc. 279, 2 May 1939, and Doc. 310, 11 July 1939.

As of 1 July of this year, we already have a deficit of RM 3,883.90, which means that we can no longer pay our salaries and taxes in full and we cannot meet our other urgent financial obligations.

In our letter of 20 June 1938, we most respectfully requested that the school administration of the Hanseatic City of Hamburg initially provide us with a sum of RM 5,000 by 1 September 1938 – not including the approved state subsidies – so that we can at least resolve our present financial difficulties by 1 September.

As we also mentioned in our letter of 20 June 1938, we not only have a financial problem, but are also facing a teacher shortage. Not just three teachers, as we noted in our previous letter, but rather five plan to leave Hamburg before 1 October of this year. One of them is Mr Michaelis,<sup>3</sup> who already left the school on 1 July. In addition, one of the assistant teachers, Mr Ed. Schloß,<sup>4</sup> was arrested a few weeks ago. His present location is unknown and we can only guess as to why he was arrested. The assumption is that Mr Ed. Schloß was taken into custody during a general police raid because of a sentence issued eighteen years ago. Neither the school nor his family could find out anything more about his whereabouts. Naturally, the school continued to pay his wages to his family (wife deceased, five underage children), but it is entirely unclear how long Mr Schloß will continue to be absent and especially whether he will return to his post after the summer holidays.

Despite the general exodus, the number of pupils has not declined to the point that we could think about a reduction of classes after the summer holidays. Thus, the board of directors of the school has no idea whether and under what circumstances it should appoint new teachers in Hamburg for the start of the new school year. There are hardly any suitable Jewish teachers left in Germany, and the board of directors is unsure whether it can justify having a teacher move to Hamburg to take up a post at the Talmud Torah School given the school's already uncertain financial situation. On the other hand, the teachers currently employed at the Talmud Torah School can only continue to work for us if they receive some kind of guarantee from the school authorities that they will continue to receive their normal salaries and the promise of an allowance to tide them over, as we noted in our letter of 20 June 1938.

Until now, the board of directors has done everything within its power to keep the school running properly. However, it is now forced to most respectfully request that the school administration of the Hanseatic City of Hamburg come to the aid of the school as soon as possible. Alongside financial assistance, in particular the matter of the employment of new teachers and the salary guarantees for the existing permanently employed teachers need to be settled, in order to ensure that the Jewish school in Hamburg, and likewise the other Jewish state schools within the Reich, can continue to keep its doors open.

3 Eugen Abraham Michaelis (1907–1974), teacher; taught at the Talmud Torah School in Hamburg, 1931–1938; representative of Hamburg's Israelite Community at the World Zionist Congress in Zurich, 1936; emigrated in 1938 to Palestine, where he worked in education.

4 Eduard Schloß (1883–1940), teacher; head of a Jewish orphanage on Papendamm in Hamburg and teacher at the Talmud Torah School in Hamburg, 1919–1938; arrested in 1938 for a traffic offence from years before and sent to Oranienburg concentration camp. After the director of the school, Spier, contacted the local Gestapo, Schloß was released and then emigrated to the USA.

## DOC. 61

**On 12 July 1938 the Argentine Ministry of Foreign Affairs instructs all ambassadors not to issue visas to anyone who is unwelcome in their country of origin<sup>1</sup>**

Circular no. 11 (marked 'secret, strictly confidential') from the Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs, José María Cantilo<sup>2</sup> to all embassies<sup>3</sup>

Your Excellency,

The government is currently preparing new regulations for Law 817<sup>4</sup> in order to adjust immigration in accordance with the limits imposed by the economic and social needs of the country. Alongside these aims, it will also be necessary to take into account the commitments entered into by the nation under the bilateral agreements for the admission of foreign farmers, which were recently concluded, and those that may arise from our participation in international conferences and organizations that are working towards a general solution in this regard. Attention is also drawn to the need to maintain strict controls at present and to reinforce all means of selection in order to prevent disorderly waves of immigration to our country in advance of any definitive plan that the government may feel is appropriate to sufficiently cover the various aspects of the problem.

You should therefore inform the consular staff under your authority that, in future, the task of visa-stamping passports of any kind for travel by foreigners to the republic is generally reserved for salaried career consuls except where there is explicit authorization from this Ministry of Foreign Affairs for certain vice consuls and honorary consuls.

Similarly, you should, in strict confidence, communicate the following instructions only to salaried consuls in the respective areas of authority:

Without prejudice to other provisions on the selection of those travelling to this country, in the absence of special orders from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, consuls should deny visas, including tourist or transit visas, to anyone they have reason to believe is leaving or has left his country of origin as an undesirable or having been expelled, whatever the reason for the expulsion. To this end, the ministry expects the zeal and good judgement of consuls to supply any missing official information in a given case, thereby determining the suitability of the official in question for the post he occupies. Consuls should seek advice from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in case of doubt or with regard to persons whose entry to the country they feel is inappropriate. These instructions are strictly confidential and should under no circumstances be referred to in public or in the presence of the authorities of the country where they are carrying out their duties. All previous instructions

1 AMREC. Published at <http://www.raoulwallenberg.net/wp-content/uploads/pre2011/2285.jpg>. [last accessed on 21 Nov. 2018]. This document has been translated from Spanish.

2 Dr José María Cantilo (1877–1957), lawyer and diplomat; consular secretary in Rome, Bern, and Rio de Janeiro; deputy minister of foreign affairs, 1912; Argentine ambassador to Uruguay, 1931, and Italy, 1935–1938; Argentine minister of foreign affairs, 1938–1940.

3 The copy received by the Argentine ambassador in Stockholm, Ricardo Olivera, has survived.

4 Law 817, dated 6 Oct. 1876, regulated immigration into Argentina and the colonization of the country. The first part of the law includes a provision on the dispatch of migration mediators abroad. Argentina above all sought to attract craftsmen, labourers, farmers, and teachers from Europe. The second part of the law regulated the distribution of land, as well as the provision of financial assistance to the colonists from the government.

are repealed to the extent that they contradict this circular. Consuls should acknowledge receipt of this circular directly to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Recommending that Your Excellency acknowledge receipt of this circular, please accept the assurance of my highest consideration.

DOC. 62

**On 14 July 1938 Reich Commissioner Josef Bürckel presents Hermann Göring with his ideas regarding Aryanization in Austria<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the Reich Commissioner for the Reunification of Austria with the German Reich, unsigned (Josef Bürckel),<sup>2</sup> to Minister President and Field Marshal Göring, dated 14 July 1938 (copy)

Dear Field Marshal,

Allow me to report to you the following, with regard to the development of the administrator system<sup>3</sup> and the Aryanization question here in Austria:

(I) *Administrator system and economic planning.*

The release of export trade and businesses essential to exporting from the control of administrators, and the concurrent initiation of supervision by trustees, is proceeding as planned.

Despite all the reservations as regards the general mood, I feel determined, in the interest of clear legal relationships, to abandon the administrator system for the rest of the economy, too, and to leave administrators in place as an exception, only where a businessman is prevented from managing the operation and there are compelling economic reasons to maintain the business. This will be the case particularly where a Jewish businessman is held in custody and his release is not possible for reasons of national security. For all of Austria, this will concern at most a few hundred cases. In the restructuring, I propose to adopt the following procedure:

The Jewish businesses that have reported their assets because of the registration requirement are entitled to submit, on a dedicated form, an application for Aryanization. At the same time, of the approximately 50,000–60,000 Jewish businesses, all those in which the Jewish assets total less than RM 5,000 are ruled out from the start. On the basis of available estimates, this should apply to many thousands of small shops. When application is made, the official form requires an outline of certain features of the business and the accuracy of the statements must be ensured under oath.

On the basis of these features, it is possible to undertake an initial sorting of the Jewish businesses into categories, specifically those which are actually in line for Aryanization and those which are subject to liquidation without further ado.

1 BArch, R 104 F/77921. This document has been translated from German.

2 Josef Bürckel (1895–1944); began his career as a primary school teacher; joined the NSDAP in 1921; from 1926 NSDAP Gauleiter of Rhineland Palatinate and, from 1933, also of the Saar, still administered by France; Reich commissioner for the reintegration of the Saarland, 1935–1936, Reich commissioner for the Saarland, 1936–1940, and Reich commissioner for the reunification of Austria with the German Reich, 1938–1940; chief of the civil administration in Lorraine, 1940–1944; died in unexplained circumstances.

3 On the temporary administrators of Jewish firms, see Introduction, p. 39.

If, on the basis of the documentation, it is believed that the business is to be maintained for economic reasons, the applicant receives confirmation that his business is registered for Aryanization. Subsequently he is to place a corresponding label on his shop windows and business correspondence. Volksgenossen, including Party comrades, should be entitled, when buying and selling, to regard these businesses registered for Aryanization as equivalent to Aryan businesses. Authorization to display the label 'registered for Aryanization' can be rescinded at any time, while the Jew remains unconditionally bound by his Aryanization offer.

Those shops registered for Aryanization that receive the authorization to display the label are placed under the supervision of a trustee, in order to avoid the movement of assets and unwarranted gains. It is namely the case that upon submission of the application for Aryanization, the Jew loses his claim to remuneration as an employee. The Asset Transfer Office, however, is entitled to set a later effective date if the shop is operating at a loss. Such a loss would have to be borne by the Jew.

The success of this procedure in terms of numbers is not yet foreseeable in detail. But it is certain that, in this initial selection, a very large number of Jewish shops will be excluded from Aryanization. Those firms that are excluded from Aryanization are thus subject to the silent boycott, which can be intensified without extraneous disturbance, and as a result they will necessarily go out of business during a certain transition period.

An *enquête*<sup>4</sup> divided into two canvassing efforts is at present under way, to investigate the composition of trade and the skilled crafts and to determine the value of the individual shop for the national economy. For this *enquête* the entire economic-political apparatus of the Party, the relevant organizations of business, industry, and trade, the state administrative apparatus, and scientific institutes are being utilized.

This *enquête* will provide a clear and precise picture of the composition of the individual economic sectors and the economic value of the individual businesses, and as a result it will be possible to make a final selection. Among the shops registered for Aryanization, the only ones that will now be selected are those that should be maintained for economic reasons and therefore Aryanized. The rest will have their authorization to use the identifier 'registered for Aryanization' revoked, and therefore they will likewise go out of business during a certain transitional period.

The same selection will be carried out for the few businesses still under the management of administrators.

But this *enquête* is also intended to identify, among the Aryan shops, those that are economically unsuitable and therefore ready to succumb. I am firmly convinced, on the basis of my experience, that trade, both wholesale and retail, and the skilled crafts, including restaurants and coffee houses, must by all means be shrunk to normal proportions if, in discharging my function, I want to implement an effective price policy and simultaneously to raise the economic level of the city of Vienna in trade and the crafts, in keeping with the requisite position of Vienna in the pursuance of our south-eastern plans.

In an earlier letter to you, I proposed,<sup>5</sup> in order to achieve the objective, to take the radical path and introduce a law obliging all businesses to hold a licence and terminating all previously granted licences. I have now satisfied myself that one reaches the same

<sup>4</sup> Official or judicial inquiry.

<sup>5</sup> This letter is not located in the file.

objective by legally creating the means to prohibit commercial operation in order to bring about a normal level of occupancy by a certain time and, from that time on, by introducing the law on the protection of retail trade. I will therefore arrange for the state government to present corresponding draft legislation.

At the end of the scheduled *enquête* it will thus be clear which businesses must be Aryanized for economic reasons, and at the same time it will be known which Aryan and non-Aryan businesses should come to a halt for economic reasons. With the help of the silent Party boycott, free from extraneous disturbances, of non-Aryan businesses and businesses not approved for Aryanization, and as a result of the prohibition measures against non-Aryan and Aryan businesses, the reduction will be carried out during a transitional period lasting several months, without any economic damage being incurred in the process. Care must also be taken to ensure in particular that the goods in stock in those shops that are closing are not squandered but rather channelled to the best possible economic use. In this regard, too, the various possibilities are currently being examined.

(II) *Aryanization.*

Now, as for Aryanization itself, I intend to proceed according to the following principles:

(1) The businesses registered for Aryanization and found suitable for Aryanization are examined by a trustee. In the process, the straightforward real value is determined. Upon filing the Aryanization application, the Jew must state that he agrees to subject himself to this trustee's assessment and to accept the real value as the purchase price.

(2) Then, the Jewish shops are acquired by a trustee office at this purchase price.

The 'Kontrollbank' (Credit Institution and Merkur Bank) is to be expanded and made into the trustee office.<sup>6</sup> The bank is accountable to the Austrian state government for the conduct of this process. It cannot make profits of any kind. Instead, it is entitled solely to bill for the charges customary in banking.

(3) The established purchase price is paid out not in cash but rather into a blocked account with a modest interest rate at one of the banks that back the Kontrollbank. This measure is necessary in order to facilitate a transition, at any time, to the greater regulation you envisage.

(4) The market value of the Aryanized property is likewise established by a chartered accountant. In the envisaged selection of the businesses to be Aryanized, the market value will always be greater than the real value, and as a rule quite substantially greater.

(5) The sale to the potential buyer takes place at the market value.

(6) The amount of money representing the difference between the market value and the real value flows into a fund, which likewise is invested with the Kontrollbank and is at the disposal of the state government under guidelines established by the Reichsstatthalter in consultation with me. The resources of the fund should be used for granting subsidies and loans to reliable National Socialist potential buyers who, as a result of their

<sup>6</sup> The Austrian Kontrollbank for Industry and Commerce was founded in 1914. Initially it functioned as a supervisory entity for cartels. After the Anschluss of Austria, a designated division was established to deal with larger and complicated Aryanization cases. From Sept. 1938 the Kontrollbank also acted as trustee of Jewish firms and organized their sale.

championship of the movement, have become poor; for supporting the Jewish proletariat; for promoting Jewish emigration; and for purposes of development that are yet to be determined. It is still too soon, however, to estimate how large this fund might be.

(7) This division of the process of Aryanization into purchases by the trustee and sales to the potential buyers is necessary for two reasons:

(a) Unwarranted profits by the buyer are avoided. Such gains must arise whenever the potential buyer purchases at the real value. Such accusations have been made regarding previous Aryanization procedures. I will review them on a case-by-case basis and decide appropriately.

(b) A meticulous selection of the potential buyers is enabled. This is absolutely necessary for the sake of economic performance. The selection is made by the Asset Transfer Office in consultation with the economic-political apparatus of the Party and the business, industry, and trade organizations. Decisions on individual economic sectors and large entities are at my discretion. It is clear that the Kontrollbank cannot suddenly take on some 10,000 or 20,000 Jewish businesses that must be Aryanized. The takeover of the businesses must occur in conjunction with the selection of the potential buyers. In the process, it is quite possible that several hundred Jewish businesses that are important to national defence and economic development will immediately be placed under the fiduciary management of the trustee office, and the transfer of the business to the ultimate owner will take place in accordance with the progressing selection of potential buyers.

Activating the trustee office presupposes, however, that only one legal transaction is subject to charges and stamp duties, and that corresponding exemption from all charges is granted for the other transaction. An appropriate regulation is being prepared. I ask for your support.

It ought to dispel your misgivings to a considerable extent, too, if I venture to inform you that I have assigned to Chief Public Prosecutor *Welsch*<sup>7</sup> the special task of examining the police measures concerning arrest and confiscation. As the German representative at the Supreme Plebiscite Court after the reincorporation of the Saar, he championed our interests with particular skill and sagacity. In the process, I will be primarily concerned with preventing or reversing measures that stand in the way of our grand plan for economic policy.

In the near future I will report to you on the status of economic alignment in the individual branches of industry.

Before I give the requisite instructions, along the lines of my remarks above, to the offices of the Party, the state, and business, industry, and trade, I request that you, esteemed Field Marshal, declare your agreement.

Heil Hitler!

Yours most obediently<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Heinrich Welsch (1888–1976), lawyer; chief public prosecutor and plenipotentiary for the judicial system in occupied Lorraine during the Second World War; minister president of the transitional government in the Saarland, 1955–1956.

<sup>8</sup> It is not known if Göring replied. On 21 July 1938 he received a telegram from Bürckel, requesting him to take note of the letter reproduced here, because Bürckel wanted to enquire by telephone that same day as to the decision: BArch, R 104 F/77921.

## DOC. 63

**On 15 July 1938 a Viennese shoe manufacturer points out to the Asset Transfer Office that the shoe industry is not sufficiently involved in 'Aryanization decisions'<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the Brüder Brunnmüller shoe factory,<sup>2</sup> unsigned, 6 Zieglergasse, Vienna VII, to the Vienna Asset Transfer Office, dated 15 July 1938 (copy)

*Re: Aryanization of the shoe trade.*

The Austrian shoe industry has most emphatically welcomed the fact that, as a result of the energetic Aryanization of the shoe trade that is now in the offing, the shoe industry will at last emerge from a situation that is hard for it to sustain any longer and that, in addition, most seriously threatens the continued existence of individual companies in this industry.

For this reason, the shoe industry has also gladly provided its cooperation in every respect, through its authorized representatives.

In the practical application of yesterday's meeting, however, the shoe industry has become convinced that its cooperation should consist simply in having a say in which non-Aryan shoe shops are to be Aryanized or not. With regard to this issue, a qualification list is already on hand, to which even canny specialists could hardly propose any changes, so that further deliberation about this matter actually seems superfluous.

Because running a shoe shop is not exactly easy and requires, besides appropriate capital and expertise, personal taste in particular, it can be assumed with certainty that where these prerequisites do not appear to be present, the Aryanized shops will be unable to stay in business and failures, that is, new losses for the shoe industry, are inevitable. Because the shoe industry believes that the shops to be Aryanized have been examined with respect to the new buyers and their economic circumstances by its representatives, in whom, it can be said without boastfulness, it places complete trust, these buyers would be granted corresponding loans by the industry without further ado.

However, because examination by the representatives of the shoe industry in actual fact does not take place, these representatives, as responsible men, do not want to be, for example, the innocent cause of monetary losses by their professional colleagues in the event of Aryanizations that go wrong. For this reason, the undersigned asks the honoured Asset Transfer Office kindly to note that Department Head Halmschlag,<sup>3</sup>

1 ÖStA/AdR, Reichskommissar Bürckel/Materie, 2229/1. This document has been translated from German.

2 Factory co-owned by Franz Brunnmüller (1890–1969), industrialist; from 1920 delegate of the Austrian Shoe Manufacturers' Association; head of the Ostmark District Group of the Shoe Industry Professional Group (president of the trade association of the shoe industry), 1938–1945; after 1945 head of the Association of the Austrian Shoe Industry. The co-owner of the shoe factory was Norbert Brunnmüller (1893–1959), manufacturer.

3 Dr Norbert Halmschlag (1877–1949), industrialist; commercial counsellor in the Trade Statistics Service; chairman of the Association of the Shoe Industry in the League of Austrian Industrialists; vice president of the Adler AG leatherworks in Wels; counsellor at the Vienna Chamber of Commerce.

Commercial Counsellor Robert Hruby,<sup>4</sup> and the undersigned himself must refrain from further cooperation.

Urging again on this occasion that the now pressing Aryanization of the shoe trade be carried out as quickly as possible, so that the troubled shoe industry can access its blocked funds, to the extent they are still in existence at all, I will close, most sincerely, with

Heil Hitler!

DOC. 64

*Völkischer Beobachter*, 16 July 1938: article on the Evian Conference<sup>1</sup>

*The outcome of the conference on Jews. By our own VB correspondent.*

dt.<sup>2</sup> Geneva, 15 July.

It may be only a coincidence that the Evian conference on emigrants, at which the Jewish element was by far the most heavily represented and was also given the most consideration, was concluded promptly before the beginning of the Sabbath rest. It was not a Jewish congress, however, but rather a conference of governments seeking a clear idea of how places should be found for the present and future Jewish émigrés from Germany.

It was a telling sign that the Catholic Church was represented at the conference by a priest who called himself Father Odo<sup>3</sup> and zealously furnished information to the international press working against the Third Reich.

The three large democracies, in particular the United States as the organizer of the conference, had heralded Evian as a promise for international Jewry and thereby generated certain domestic political outcomes, as well as exaggerated hopes, which threatened to turn against the organizers themselves in the course of the conference. The Jews soon realized that they were not getting the chance to speak or the showcasing that they had imagined in Paris, New York, and Geneva.

The atrocity propaganda, for example, would have come to naught had a few Jewish journalists who enjoyed the hospitality of neutral countries not exerted themselves, with the support of certain American delegates, to get the most out of this conference in terms of anti-fascist agitation. Most government representatives, it must be said in their honour, had a negative attitude towards this pushing and prodding and were scrupulously careful to avoid all polemics against Germany in their own declarations.

The decision approved in Friday's concluding session needs to be assessed with this in mind. Ultimately it satisfies no one, for it neither makes concrete arrangements for

4 Robert Hruby, commercial counsellor and manufacturer.

1 'Das Ergebnis der Judenkonferenz: Eigener Bericht des VB', *Völkischer Beobachter* (Berlin edition), 16 July 1938, p. 7. This article has been translated from German.

2 Probably the initials of the author.

3 Father Odo, born Carl Alexander, Duke of Württemberg (1896–1964), Benedictine monk; in 1919 entered the Archabbey of St Martin in Beuron; in 1926 was ordained a priest; in 1936 expatriated from the German Reich and emigrated to Switzerland and to Italy; founder of International Catholic Refugee Relief; in 1940 emigrated to the USA; in 1949 returned to Germany.

the placement of the Jews, who are not wanted anywhere, nor contains any kind of protest against the German racial laws. Rather, it assumes, as a given, the necessity of further Jewish emigration. But one would like to direct this emigration into orderly channels and, above all, to ensure that the Jews' assets can be taken along.

The conference powers do not say how they envisage managing this problem. The office to be set up in London is to have an American director, who will enter into negotiations with the 'country of origin'.<sup>4</sup> Whether such negotiations will get going at all is something no one in Evian knows at this point. Therefore, to keep from jeopardizing a possible success, the curtain came down on the conference on Friday afternoon, following very low-key closing addresses by the American, English, and French representatives.

It is a remarkable change in tone, when one considers that the same Senator Berenger who spoke of rapprochement and understanding in his closing address on Friday had previously been in the vanguard of those disputing the solution to the Jewish problem that has been found in Germany.

Lord *Winterton*, the leader of the English delegation, had a special task to perform. During the conference the Zionists had accused him of having neglected a duty of courtesy by failing to mention Palestine at all in his opening address. Winterton intimated to the Zionists that England was reserving complete freedom for itself in Palestine policy and not allowing the Jews to push it into either an immediate change in its immigration policy or any binding agreements for the future. However, he did raise certain hopes for the Jews regarding Kenya, where land acquisition would admittedly be permitted only for individuals, and nothing resembling a Jewish mass immigration would be allowed by England. Hopes for a large area of settlement that could later absorb the Polish Jews as well were thereby dashed, as far as East Africa is concerned.

And yet it is generally believed here that only the countries with large colonial possessions, first and foremost the British Empire, could bring about a serious and lasting solution of Europe's Jewish problem, by making available to Jews, who are unwelcome guests in every national body politic, a territory where they should deal among themselves with the social and economic tasks that they have thus far come to know only as inwardly uninvolved onlookers amid foreign peoples.

4 The office of the Intergovernmental Committee (IGCR or ICR) that was established in Evian was set up in London in August 1938. The IGCR was chaired by the American lawyer George Rublee (1868–1957). The German government refused at first to receive Rublee, but after the November pogroms it entered into negotiations with the IGCR: see Doc. 207, 20 Dec. 1938, and Doc. 230, 1 Jan. 1939.

## DOC. 65

**Wiener Tagblatt, 17 July 1938: article on the termination of leases to Jewish tenants<sup>1</sup>**

*Jewish race: grounds for termination.*

It is common knowledge that all Aryan landlords were recently asked to terminate the tenancy of Jews in the course of the cleansing of Vienna of all racially alien elements. Yesterday the first *termination case* of this kind was tried before the judge of the Hernals District Court,<sup>2</sup> Dr Hermann Reul.<sup>3</sup> The plaintiff was represented by the lawyer Dr Josef Korn.<sup>4</sup> The respondent, the tenant, argued that he had been living in the building for thirty years and had always paid his rent regularly. Therefore, he argued, there was no cause for termination under the Tenancy Law.<sup>5</sup>

District Judge *Dr Reul* pointed out to him that, in addition to the normal causes for termination stated in the law, so-called '*compelling reasons*', not specified in greater detail, also justify a termination. The Party's order, which is '*half a law*' for the judge, constitutes such a compelling reason. Therefore, he said, he must without fail grant the claim and would advise a *settlement*. The two parties finally agreed that the tenant would vacate the apartment within three months.

## DOC. 66

**On 19 July 1938 the Israelite Religious Community reports on the work of the various community institutions and conditions for the Viennese Jews<sup>1</sup>**

Tenth weekly report of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna, Office Director Josef Löwenherz, head of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna, dated 19 July 1938<sup>2</sup>

*Tenth weekly report of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna*  
dated 19 July 1938.

(A) *Activity report.*

(1) *Emigration and aid.*

In the period from 5 to 10 July 1938, 385 cases were processed, it should be noted that some of the persons concerned received the contributions needed to obtain travel documents. In total, 2,769 persons have thus far been given help to emigrate.

1 Registratur Stadt Wien, Wiener Wohnen, MA 21 A 50-141, 143, 155/38. The original contains illegible handwritten notes. This article has been translated from German.

2 Vienna's 17th District.

3 Dr Hermann Reul (1902-1984), lawyer; from 1931 judge, first at the Kreis Steyr Court, then various district courts and the Vienna Regional Court for Civil Matters; joined the NSDAP in 1936; training leader of a local NSDAP branch; from 1938 regional court judge; from 1943 regional court president; in 1945 temporarily retired; from 1949 at the Vienna Commercial Court and from 1955 its assistant presiding judge.

4 Dr Josef Korn (1903-1976), lawyer; committee member of the Chamber of Lawyers for Vienna, Lower Austria, and Burgenland, 1945-1973; member of the Austrian Constitutional Court, 1946-1976; consultant to the Federal Ministry for Transport and State-Owned Enterprises.

5 The Austrian Tenancy Law took effect on 7 Dec. 1922 and defined, for the first time, protection for tenants against unwarranted termination.

1 BArch, R 58/6558. This document has been translated from German.

From notifications by the provincial communities of Salzburg and Horn, it emerges that thirty persons have emigrated from these communities. Three families and one single person are preparing to leave Horn.

The emigration department of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna is currently busy preparing a list of persons who are eligible to emigrate to Colombia. This list, which now includes 2,757 persons, is intended to serve as a basis for the final selection of the emigrants for Columbia.

The Advice Centre for Vocational Training and Redeployment set up several redeployment courses during the reporting period. In accordance with the instructions received, the relevant police office in each case was informed of the creation of these courses. Separate petitions were submitted, as ordered, for approval of the agricultural redeployment courses on the properties of Arnold *Klein* in Unterholz, the *Weiss* brothers in Gross-Enzersdorf, and S. *Sternberg* in Eichgraben a/Stein. Simultaneously, the request for facilitation of redeployment courses in the two garden centres at Krottenbachstrasse and Kaasgrabengasse, 19th District, Vienna, was repeated. Considering that it is late in the season, these permits are urgently required. Horticulture is very important for immigration to Canada and Palestine, and a larger number of trainees could be pooled in these courses, too. A statement to this effect by the proper authorities would thus be of great significance. Between 1 July and today, a total of RM 112,511 was spent by the Central Aid Office and the emigration department. The greatest part of this sum was used for emigration purposes.

In its letters of 23 and 28 June,<sup>3</sup> HICEM, the emigrant aid organization in Paris, has pointed out the urgent necessity of a personal consultation with the head of the Central Aid Office and the emigration department of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna. The presence of the office head, Engel, was said to be extremely important for settling several individual cases and for discussing general issues.<sup>4</sup> The representative office of the Immigrant Relief Committee in Copenhagen is endeavouring to accommodate approximately 200–300 young people who at that time were staying in Denmark as foster children. In this instance too, the presence of a representative of the Vienna Community for the purpose of personal consultation is described as essential. Approval is thus requested for these trips by Engel, the head of the office.

(2) *Sending children on holiday.*

From a letter of the Israelite Religious Community of Pressburg dated the 12th of this month, it emerges that no objection will be made to the entry of children from Austria for a stay through the holiday period with a shared passport certified by the Czechoslovak consulate in Vienna, provided the superior authority permits them to leave Austria for the holiday season. Considering that the first month of the holiday period is already half over, approval of this journey would be extremely urgent.

<sup>2</sup> Parts of the original are underlined by hand.

<sup>3</sup> These letters are not included in the file.

<sup>4</sup> Emil Engel (1881–1955), social policy maker; in 1926 board member of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna; head of the Department for Social Welfare, responsible for the centralization of Jewish social services in Vienna, 1928–1940; emigrated to the USA in 1940.

*(3) School affairs.*

The reorganization of the educational system and the segregation of the Jewish school-children resulted in the two Jewish schools at 35 Castelezzgasse and 16 Malzgasse, 2nd District, receiving a significant number of new registrations and therefore having to set up several parallel classes in the coming school year. Because the available rooms are being used to capacity, the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna was forced to apply to the Viennese municipal authorities for allocation of a vacant school building. Appropriate support for this application is requested. At the same time, it is noted that the prospective vacating of the building in the 20th District at 33 Denisgasse is extremely urgent, considering the necessity of creating a second Jewish secondary school.

*(4) Institutions of the Religious Community.**(a) Home for the elderly.*

The administration of the old people's home of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna reports:

The number of persons in care, with full use of all available rooms and an increase in occupancy in the sick wards, is currently 450, of whom 230 are housed in the home for the elderly and 220 in the infirmary. The average age of the residents is 77. The youngest patient is 65, the oldest 92. In recent months, such a large number of most urgent requests for admission have arrived that there are now more than 900 of them. The decisive factor for the great influx of applications is the fact that not only persons from Vienna, as before, but also Jews from other Austrian Gaue are applying for admission. Moreover, numerous families cannot emigrate until they know that lodging for their old and infirm family members has been found. The death rate is approximately 130 per year, and therefore only an equal number of petitioners can be accepted each year, which is utterly out of proportion to the number of applicants for admission cited above. It is thus absolutely essential to obtain space to accommodate the most urgent cases.

With regard to the report from the old people's home, it is noted that requests have repeatedly been made for the release of the building in the 19th District at 21 Ruthgasse for these purposes. That would meet at least part of the need.

*(b) Hospital.*

The Hospital of the Israelite Religious Community reports:

On 13 July of this year, after an earlier staff meeting in the head office, the Kreisleitung in Währing ordered the following demands to be met:

1. Cancellation of the compulsory provision of meals for the staff as of the 16th of this month and compensatory pay in the amount of RM 2.50 in place of this payment in kind.
2. Cancellation of the wage cuts that were made in 1933 by eliminating Christmas and holiday pay.
3. Allocation of two bathrooms for the Aryan personnel.
4. Assignment of a fourth nurse to the urological and dermatological wards.
5. An appropriate increase in the housing allowance, which is currently set at RM 3.34.

With regard to this report, it is noted that the demands stated under (3) and (4) are being complied with. The reversal of the wage cut made in 1933 by discontinuing Christmas and holiday pay ought to result in an additional expenditure of RM 9,000, taking the present number of personnel as a basis for calculation. The Israelite Religious Community of Vienna is willing to comply with the order issued, but ventures to note that the funds available in the prevailing circumstances do not permit such additional expenditures. At the same time it is pointed out that at another private hospital in Vienna the wages are substantially lower in almost all employee categories. The demand for modification of the collective wage agreement in existence there was rejected by the acting head of the institution.

With regard to the discontinuance of the compulsory meals for the staff as ordered under (1), it is noted that at the above-mentioned institution too, provision of meals to personnel is required. At that same place, even on off-duty days, the employees are not paid a compensatory meal allowance; instead, they receive cold provisions as a replacement. In any event, compensatory pay in the amount of RM 2.50 in place of payment in kind is not justified. By a mayoral decree of 28 June 1935, for the social insurance programme in business, industry, and trade the daily meal is valued at RM 1.60. At the aforementioned private hospital the employees receive, during holidays, board costs<sup>5</sup> in the amount of 2 Reichsmarks. Therefore, it is requested that corresponding instructions be issued and the Kreisleitung in Währing informed.

*(5) Police issuance of information to the Religious Community.*

The tax office reports that the Central Registration Office at police headquarters refuses to provide the residence-registration notices concerning Jewish payers of the tax on religious groups, as was previously arranged in exchange for a set fee. On 15 June of this year the sum of RM 9,854 was transferred for the registration-certificate registry that was prepared for the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna by elements of the Vienna police headquarters, and the issuing of the registry was requested. This request was returned with the comment that, on instructions from the State Police head office in Vienna, the copies of the residence-registration certificates of the Religious Community, which have already been produced, cannot be made available, nor may further copies be prepared.

With regard to this message, the following is noted: Jewish residents have no obligation to register with the Religious Community; the tax office was therefore forced to utilize the police information, against payment of a corresponding fee. This is also the only way to ascertain the new address of the taxpayer, in view of the relocations, which have been extremely frequent, especially of late. The decree that has been issued therefore causes great harm to the Community and deprives both the welfare programme and the emigration operation of substantial sums. In addition, the emigration department of the Gestapo has the task of making reports from time to time on the number of Jews who have emigrated. For this purpose, the registry of registration certificates, which has already been prepared, and the police information about residence registration are

<sup>5</sup> An allowance for food.

extremely important. It is therefore requested that the handing over of this registry and the further issuing of police registration information be mandated.

*(6) Directory of Jewish farmers.*

In accordance with the instructions received, a list of the Jewish farmers in Austria is being relayed.<sup>6</sup> However, it must be pointed out that the processed material can make no claim to completeness. That is, the Religious Community has no official documents available, so that other, makeshift, means had to be employed.

It is also not known what changes have taken place recently in this regard.

*(B) Situation report.*

The disquiet of the Jewish population, which was aroused by the dismissal of Jewish employees from Jewish private businesses and by the termination of the rental contracts of Jewish tenants in various districts, was heightened just recently by the defacement of Jewish shops at night. In several streets of the 2nd and 20th Districts, unknown perpetrators smeared oil paint on the nameplates and display windows of Jewish shops and defaced them with insulting messages and drawings. Several shops had their roller-shutter locks filled with plaster so as to render them unusable. The Israelite Religious Community therefore requests the enactment of measures that are likely to suppress such attacks by irresponsible elements.

There is no doubt that the Jews in Vienna are prepared to emigrate in accordance with the available opportunities. More than 2,700 have already emigrated with the help of the emigration department of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna. The number of those who were able to leave the territory of the Reich on their own is many times larger. An easing of the administrative measures required for the acquisition of an exit visa, as well as the omission of uncollectable tax bills, would significantly further the progress of emigration. The dismissal of the Jewish employees, the legal basis for which remains unknown to the Religious Community, and the painful infliction of damage to Jewish retailers by defacement of their shops are, nonetheless, measures that are apt to make the systematic preparation for orderly emigration impossible.

The persons affected by these measures are being worn down and made incapable of any work performance or redeployment by joblessness, poverty, and continuous anxiety. Apart from this, the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna is by no means able to provide for the large number of those who, as a result of the measures cited, are no longer in a position to support their families. In connection with this, one must point out the numerous terminations of leases, which significantly aggravate the situation. The Israelite Religious Community of Vienna has in its possession a petition signed by thirty-two Jewish tenants of the council house in the 20th District on Pater Abelplatz, which states:

The undersigned face the grave threat of the most abject homelessness as a result of the termination of the rental contracts for their apartments, and they await the approach of 1 August with deep apprehension. In view of the impossibility of acquiring alternative lodgings under the prevailing circumstances, the undersigned politely request your kind

<sup>6</sup> Not reproduced here.

intervention with the corresponding authorities for the purpose of obtaining a delay pending the acquisition of another apartment or, alternatively, accommodation in a substitute apartment, and they seek help and in hopeful anticipation, etc.

This petition from the Jewish tenants of the council house in Vienna's 20th District on Pater Abelplatz is herewith forwarded to the Gestapo with the request that a remedy be provided, as the Religious Community itself is not able to assist these parties in any way. In most cases even Jewish landlords are prevented from renting to Jews the apartments that are vacated in their building, so that the acquisition of a substitute apartment is made de facto impossible.

On the 15th of this month, several Jewish tenants of the building at 20 Wohlmutstrasse in the 2nd District, which belongs to a Jew, were summarily evicted without any prior written notice, although they were informed by the proper authorities of the legal necessity of a written order. The eviction was performed in a way that inevitably entailed serious harm to the parties affected. No provision had been made either for a substitute apartment or for placement of household effects. It is urgently requested that arrangements be made to send appropriate orders and clarifications to the proper authorities, in order to secure shelter for the Jewish families until their emigration. It is also requested that you kindly inform us of the basis on which these terminations take place. As the Israelite Religious Community has no knowledge of the legal basis for this order, it is also not able to give any advice to the parties affected. During the night of 16 July of this year, at about 4 a.m., unknown men forced entry to the house of prayer in Vienna's 20th District at 1 Mortaraplatz, and the ritual objects found there, such as Torah scrolls, prayer shawls, etc., were damaged and removed. Religiously observant Jews who tried to gather up the remnants of the Torah scrolls from the street in the early morning were mistreated. At this time the site that served the Jewish families residing in this area, 600 in number, as their only house of prayer is being used by Motorized Company 21 of the National Socialist Motor Corps.

The opinion already expressed in the earlier report – that, in the interest of orderly and full-scale migration, upsetting the Jewish population must be avoided and where possible every Jewish family must be ensured, pending its emigration, a place to live and the means of making a living – is reiterated in this context with special emphasis. In connection with this the request is made that the efforts of the Religious Community, which are apparent also from the [descriptions] on page 1 of this report, be supported by appropriate administrative orders. The possibility of emigration depends in great part on the state of mind in which the persons designated for emigration find themselves.

Enclosed with this report is a list of matters that were already dealt with in recent reports, but without any action being taken as a result.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> This list is not in the file.

## DOC. 67

**On 20 July 1938 the Economic Group for Private Banking provides information about measures for scrutinizing the safe-deposit boxes of Jewish customers<sup>1</sup>**

Circular letter (marked 'confidential!') from the Economic Group for Private Banking – Central Association of German Banks and Bankers (dictated by Tr.<sup>2</sup>/H; log no. 17 119 Z 3–17), 4 Dorotheenstraße, Berlin NW 7 (copy)<sup>3</sup>

Re: order to secure safe-deposit boxes of Jews

The Berlin Foreign Exchange Investigation Office<sup>4</sup> intends to block all safe-deposit boxes that are leased to Jews. Individual customs investigation offices had already addressed to the banks the demand that, with immediate effect, Jewish holders be granted access to their safe-deposit boxes from now on only in the presence of a bank official, who was simultaneously to ascertain the contents of the safe-deposit box by order of the customs investigation office and write a report about this for the customs investigation office. The Foreign Exchange Investigation Office has instructed the customs investigation offices *to disregard requirements of the latter sort*. Similarly, the foreign exchange banks are *no longer* to be required *to determine, on their own, which Jews are holders of safe-deposit boxes*.<sup>5</sup>

In order to achieve the desired purpose, to secure the contents of safe-deposit boxes leased to Jews, in a uniform way, the Foreign Exchange Investigation Office has now ordered that the customs investigation offices *themselves must examine* the lists of holders of safe-deposit boxes *and inform the bank as to which holders are Jews*. These holders can then be permitted access to the safe-deposit box henceforth only in the presence of an official of the customs investigation office.

Under § 34 of the Foreign Exchange Control Law,<sup>6</sup> the customs investigation offices will demand of the banks a list of the holders of safe-deposit boxes, which *serves only*

1 RGVA, 500k-1-499; fol. 46. Copy in ÖStA, record group: Historikerkommission. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Erich Trost (1892–1965), lawyer; from 1914 trainee lawyer at the Ahrweiler District Court; in June 1948 appointed to the newly created Currency Commission; in Sept. worked as a legal advisor for currency exchange offices.

3 Transmitted in a circular letter from the Foreign Exchange Investigation Office, signed Müller, dated 23 August 1938, to all customs investigation offices.

4 The Foreign Exchange Investigation Office (Devisenfahndungsamt) was set up in 1935 by Heydrich, on Göring's instructions, to monitor compliance with the regulations on foreign exchange and, in particular, transfer of foreign exchange abroad. The office made use of the Customs Administration, which was under the authority of the Reich Ministry of Finance. It was always tax officers who investigated individual Jews or their money, and later in the occupied countries also.

5 The Economic Group for Private Banking had refused to take on the responsibility assigned to it by the Reich Ministry of Economics for determining which holders of safe-deposit boxes were Jews. As head of the Foreign Exchange Investigation Office, Heydrich thereupon ordered the banks to hand over a list of all owners of safe-deposit boxes to the customs investigation offices, so that the latter could ascertain which holders of safe-deposit boxes were Jews: Foreign Exchange Investigation Office (signed Heydrich) to the Frankfurt am Main Customs Investigation Office, 13 July 1938, RGVA, 500k-1-499, fol. 47.

6 Under § 34 of the Law on Foreign Exchange Control (4 Feb. 1935) the Reich Minister of Economics, the Reich Office for Foreign Exchange Control, the foreign exchange offices, and the Reichsbank

*the above-mentioned purpose* of identifying the Jewish holders of safe-deposit boxes. The customs investigation offices are instructed to comply with the request of a member for *return of the list* after the examination is concluded. Should an individual bank branch feel equal to the task of naming the holders of safe-deposit boxes who are Jews within the meaning of § 5 of the First Implementing Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law,<sup>7</sup> the *Foreign Exchange Investigation Office assents* to only such a list being submitted to the customs investigation office.

Should difficulties still arise, we request a report on them post-haste.

#### DOC. 68

### On 20 July 1938 Berlin's chief of police issues guidelines for the discrimination against Jews<sup>1</sup>

Circular decree (confidential!) from the chief of police in Berlin, (P. 50<sup>01</sup> a/38) signed Count von Helldorff,<sup>2</sup> dated 20 July 1938 [distribution list]<sup>3</sup> (copy)<sup>4</sup>

On the basis of the attached exhaustive guidelines for dealing with Jews and Jewish matters, which outline suitable means for so doing, the police are now to take uniform and drastic measures against the Jews of Berlin.<sup>5</sup>

The objective is to compel the Jews to emigrate, not simply to harass them haphazardly with no prospect of achieving this outcome. The law provides such far-reaching options for this treatment that illegal avenues are unnecessary and are not to be pursued.

I expect all offices and officials, each in his position and doing all he can, to contribute to the accomplishment of the desired goal of ridding Berlin of the Jews, particularly the Jewish proletariat, to the greatest extent possible. Especially those officials whose offices almost daily come into direct contact with Jews or have to handle Jewish case

could require anyone to provide information about dealings or actions that were restricted or prohibited within the meaning of this law. Submission of the books and supporting documents could also be required: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1935, I, pp. 106–113.

<sup>7</sup> § 5 of the First Implementing Regulation defined who was to be considered a Jew within the meaning of the Reich Citizenship Law: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1935, I, pp. 1333–1334; see PMJ 1/210.

<sup>1</sup> RGVA, 500k-1-603, fols. 22–32. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Correctly: Count Wolf Heinrich von Helldorf (1896–1944), landowner; in 1920 took part in the Kapp Putsch; joined the NSDAP in 1930 and the SA in 1931; chief of police in Potsdam, 1933–1935, and in Berlin, 1935–1944; executed in 1944 as co-conspirator in the attempt to assassinate Hitler on 20 July.

<sup>3</sup> The distribution list is not included in the present copy.

<sup>4</sup> The original is underlined by hand in several places.

<sup>5</sup> The issuing of these guidelines was preceded by a lengthy debate initiated by Goebbels concerning anti-Jewish measures in Berlin, a discussion at which, along with Helldorf, the SD and Gestapo were present. The results were conveyed in the 'Denkschrift über die Behandlung der Juden in der Reichshauptstadt auf allen Gebieten des öffentlichen Lebens' [Position Paper on the Treatment of Jews in the Reich Capital in all Areas of Public Life]: communication from Six to Heydrich, 28 June 1938, RGVA, 500k-1-603, fols. 1–2; published in abridged form in Wolf Gruner, 'Lesen brauchen sie nicht zu können ...', *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung*, vol. 4 (1995), pp. 305–341.

files (police stations, police offices and departments) are personally accountable to me to fully accomplish the goal that has been set.

I ask the commander of the urban police, the group and district commanders, and the heads of the departments and police offices personally to inform all officials at headquarters, in the groups and districts, and at the departments and police offices about *all* points contained in the attached guidelines and to urge them to strictly observe the guidelines. The district commanders must then personally announce the guidelines to the heads of the police stations without delay and issue a copy to each of them.

The guidelines are to be handled in *strict confidence*, and I point especially to the particularly confidential nature of the last sentence of number 4. The actual copy of the guidelines should remain in the hands of the commander of the urban police, the group or district commander, the department head, the police office head, and the police station chief, where the officials responsible can access it at any time.

### *Confidential*

#### *Guidelines for dealing with Jews and Jewish matters*

##### I.

(1) All police measures to be taken against Jews must be effected within the framework of the legal regulations, though in accordance with the broadest interpretation of these regulations.

(2) The guidelines issued for handling Jewish matters are applicable, first and foremost, only to Jews. However, the guidelines should be adequately taken into consideration even if the person initially responsible (for example, the applicant) is an Aryan but his spouse or someone else directly involved in the specific instance is a Jew. At the very least, a stricter standard than usual must be applied in the latter cases. Further, it must be taken into consideration that the Aryan who was married to a Jew, but whose marriage has been terminated by the death of the Jewish spouse or by final divorce decree, has violated race law, unless the acceptance of racial thinking alone has caused him to terminate the mixed marriage.

(3) Stateless Jews are to be treated in the same way as domestic Jews.

(4) In the case of foreign Jews, a certain moderation in the application of the guidelines is imperative, in order to prevent diplomatic conflicts; here too, however, there is to be absolutely no deviation from the indicated approach. Particular restraint must be maintained, owing to economic concerns and in the interest of our Germans abroad, in dealing with Jewish citizens from the following nations: the USA, England, the Netherlands, France, and Switzerland.

(5) As already directed<sup>6</sup> in the decrees of 22 June 1938 and 8 July 1938 (P.5001 a 38), in order to mark Jewish case files as such in a consistent manner, the first office that handles the case must stamp a 'J' in red on the first page of the file, centred at the top. This directive applies to all documents, registrations, police reports, files, petitions, etc. that have some connection with a Jew. If the first office handling the matter fails to

<sup>6</sup> Because what follows lays out all the anti-Jewish provisions, no commentary on the individual decrees was provided.

comply out of ignorance, then the marking must be done later, by the next office handling the matter that recognizes the Jewish matter as such.

(6) Race must be double-checked in cases of doubt, and the result of the check must be recorded. The existing provisions regarding verification of race (for example, in passport and licensing matters) remain unaffected by this. If appropriate, a written statement by the applicant etc. concerning his race and that of his spouse can also be added to the file. Printed form no. 2589 is recommended for this purpose. For the case files that come through the police stations, in the cases not yet categorized, the religious affiliation entered on the registration cards, which provides a certain indication of race, is to be used as the basis for determining whether the applicant etc. is a Jew.

(7) When drawing up any decision unfavourable to a Jew against which a legal action in administrative dispute proceedings is admissible, it is to be taken into consideration that the decision must, as far as possible, stand up to an administrative court review. The head of the office where responsibility resides for the conduct of the case or the final drafting of the written pleadings must, especially in doubtful cases, discuss the circumstances and legal position in person with the judge rapporteur or the presiding judge of the deciding court. The head of the police office concerned can also be tasked with this, on an ad hoc basis. In this context I refer once again to the gratifying grounds, applicable in practice, for the ruling of the Schneidemühl District Administrative Court of 14 December 1937, which has already been communicated. The fundamental position of the Schneidemühl District Administrative Court is to be utilized to the maximum possible extent in all Jewish matters.

(8) In contentious administrative proceedings against Jews, the race of the Jewish opposing party must be emphasized clearly, both in the written pleadings and in the introduction to the oral proceedings, and every point of attack, even a seemingly insignificant one, is to be used relentlessly against the Jew. If representation is necessary in the oral hearing before an administrative court in administrative litigation instituted against a Jew, such representation should be personally undertaken by the department head.

(9) Case files of foreign or stateless Jews that offer some basis, however remote, for potential expulsion are to be promptly forwarded to Department II for further action.<sup>7</sup>

(10) Apart from well-founded exceptions, administrative fees are always to be charged to Jews at the maximum rate provided in the Regulation on Administrative Fees, and applications for extension of payment or payment in instalments are to be denied.

(11) In all areas of police activity, checks on Jews in general must be performed more strictly and more often than checks on Aryan Volksgenossen. The results of the checks must lead to immediate penalties and coercive measures of the strictest kind.

(12) The enforcement of any penalties or coercive measures must be carried out unrelentingly and with the greatest vigour, without delay.

(13) On prevailing grounds of public interest, the immediate implementation of any police order issued against a Jew is to be demanded and enforced as far as possible.

(14) As a basic principle, Jews are never to be fined but rather sentenced to punishment.

<sup>7</sup> The responsibilities of Department II of the Berlin Police Headquarters included passport and citizenship matters.

(15) In criminal cases, Jews are always to be given five times the standard sentence.

When Jews are ordered to pay a penalty, the maximum rate of RM 50 or, alternatively, one week in jail is always to be imposed.

(16) The issuing of certificates of any kind to Jews is to be refused if there is no legal entitlement.

(17) The processing of Jews in the offices is to take place in a businesslike manner but with the utmost restraint. Information is not to be given out unless absolutely necessary. As far as possible, Aryan Volksgenossen are also to be given priority in processing in terms of time.

(18) Anyone who fails to give the Hitler salute is initially suspected of being a Jew, unless the person in question is obviously a foreigner.

(19) Jews are never to be given information by telephone. Jews must come to the offices in order to obtain necessary information.

(20) Jews are always to be summoned in person to clarify outstanding questions. Frequent summonses, if justifiable, are not undesirable. If a Jew summoned for a certain time does not appear punctually, the processing of the case is to be declined because of the need to maintain a properly functioning office, and another summons is to be issued to the Jew. Jews are to be summoned predominantly on Saturdays and Jewish holidays.

(21) Serious intentions to emigrate on the part of Jews are to be supported in every way, and pertinent information is to be given out without hesitation. Every suitable opportunity is to be appropriately used to make the Jew aware of the advisability of his emigration.

(22) If uniformed officers, external [political] police officers, or criminal police officers make inquiries, even of minor significance, in the house or the apartment of a Jew, they are always to proceed in such a way that as many residents as possible become aware 'that the police were searching for the Jew ...'

(23) As a rule, the processing of Jews' applications etc. has no particular urgency, apart from emigration dossiers and such procedures as can directly promote emigration (application for certificates of good conduct and the like). In particular, contestable decisions against Jews in contentious administrative proceedings are to be delayed as long as possible. Any interests of Aryan Volksgenossen involved in the procedure, however, are to be given consideration.

(24) To avoid lessening the effectiveness of the measures against Jews, every office, as a matter of principle, must take action only within the scope of its own responsibility. Every office that does not have jurisdiction for a certain area, however, has not only the right but even the obligation to inform the responsible office without delay regarding any incidents that come to its attention and to pass on any suggestions. To achieve the result we seek in the handling of Jewish matters as quickly and extensively as possible, particularly close and active cooperation between all offices is imperative.

(25) The office heads must, as a matter of principle, expressly reserve for themselves signatory rights in all matters, however insignificant, in which a Jew is involved. Consistency and vigour will thereby be ensured in all special measures taken against the Jews. If and when such reservation of rights is in practical terms impossible for individual offices because it overly increases the workload of the office head, the decision-making point for Jewish matters must nonetheless be as centralized as possible. The definitive signature in matters concerning Jews may be provided only by a department head.

(26) Particular attention is called to the special regulations already enacted that the police are to apply to Jews.

(a) Regulation dated 28 June 1938 (P 50<sup>01</sup>a/38), re alteration of Jewish names;

(b) Regulation dated 28 June 1938 (P 50<sup>01</sup>a/38), re reports involving Jews;

(c) Regulation dated 29 June 1938 (IV 1215) with addenda by telex, re affixing of names to Jewish shops and restaurants;

(d) Regulation dated 1 July 1938 (P 50<sup>01</sup>a/38), re representation of Jews by German lawyers;

(e) Regulation dated 7 July 1938 (P 50<sup>01</sup>a/38), re marking of Jews' identification papers;

(f) Regulation from 7 July 1938 (P 50<sup>01</sup>a/38), re motor vehicles owned by Jews;

(g) Regulation dated 8 July 1938 (P 50<sup>01</sup>a/38), re Jewish matters.

## II.

(27) Passport applications filed by Aryans whose spouses are Jews are always to be processed with a certain reticence.

(28) The issuance of certificates of urgency<sup>8</sup> to Jews is possible, as a matter of principle, only in the event of emigration or in connection with a trip to prepare for emigration. A certificate of urgency in excess of RM 20 should categorically not be issued to a Jew. The issuance of a certificate of urgency in the amount of RM 50 to a Jew is not advisable under any circumstances. If a Jew emigrates with several family members, this must not lead to an increase in a single certificate of urgency; rather, on account of the administrative fee incurred each time, the amount to be paid out for the certificate of urgency must be divided on a pro rata basis among the individual emigrants.

(29) Firearms licences and permits for acquisition of weapons and ammunition are, as a matter of principle, not to be issued to Jews. This guideline also applies analogously to Aryan spouses of Jews.

(30) Jews are categorically prohibited to own firearms, pursuant to § 23 of the Law on Firearms.

## III.

(31) The permits (for example, for installation of vending machines, display of merchandise, affixing of advertising of a particular kind, such as neon signs, stall permits for street vendors in building entrances and passages, and the like) issued under the Berlin Street Regulations have always been granted with the right reserved to revoke them at any time. Such permits already issued to Jews are, if possible, to be revoked for police reasons or retroactively limited to the greatest extent possible (§ 42(2) Prussian Police Administration Law, general interests of the Order Police, Security Police, in particular the Traffic Police, possibly also the Fire Authority). New applications by Jews are to be denied as a matter of principle.

<sup>8</sup> Persons travelling abroad could apply for a certificate of urgency (*Dringlichkeitsbescheinigung*) from the police, the Chamber of Industry and Commerce, or other institutions. It entitled them to take out of the country an amount of foreign currency in excess of the permissible allowance of 10 Reichsmarks.

(32) The Reich Minister of Transport, by means of the decree of 19 March 1938, has already ordered the processing of applications by Jewish entrepreneurs for approval of passenger transport on a commercial basis and of long-distance haulage to be suspended pending further notice. With respect to the cancellation of permits already issued to Jews, the case files on hand are to be examined and, whenever possible, cancellation is to be ordered (personal unreliability).

(33) The processing of applications by Jewish taxicab drivers for issuance or renewal of taxicab driving licences is to be suspended pending further notice (cf. decrees of the Reich Minister of Transport dated 19 March and 4 April 1938). Permits already issued to Jews are to be reviewed and, whenever possible, revoked.

(34) If and when legal regulations permit considerations of equity or discretion, these are not to be applied in favour of Jews (for example, compensation in the event of expropriation).

(35) In the issuance of permits from the water police authority required under § 22 of the Water Act for the erection or significant modification of facilities on waterways in categories I and II, an especially strict standard is always to be applied to Jews. If a rejection of the application does not seem legally sustainable, complicating requirements are to be imposed whenever possible.

(36) The general guidelines laid out above with respect to the degree of penalty and the assessment of the penalty payment also apply to non-compliance by Jews with the regulations of the water police.

(37) Fishing permits are to be denied to Jews as a matter of principle (§ 96 of the Prussian Fishing Law). Fishing permits already issued to Jews are to be revoked whenever possible.

(38) An especially strict standard is to be employed in issuing driving licences to Jews. In the withdrawal of driving licences, particularly stringent action is to be taken against Jews. As a rule, [Jewish] driving licences must be withdrawn straight away, even in cases where warning would be issued first in the case of Aryans (for example, for inebriation or minor violations).

(39) Motor vehicles belonging to Jews are to be checked extremely thoroughly for specific shortcomings, especially during the licensing process, but also at every other opportunity that presents itself, and if necessary they are to be impounded until further notice.

The release of impounded motor vehicles owned by Jews should, as a matter of principle, occur at the earliest after one week.

(40) The issuance of temporary test-drive plates to Jewish entrepreneurs is categorically no longer possible. Authorizations that have been granted are to be reviewed and revoked whenever possible.

(41) Periodic inspections by the fire authorities

(a) of department stores and business premises;

(b) of hotels and inns with beds for more than 20 guests, and public houses with more than 100 seats;

(c) of vehicle garages for more than 20 vehicles;

(d) of factories and other commercial operations that present fire hazards;

(e) of sizeable timber yards and hay barns, etc.

must be made more frequently and stringently than heretofore where Jews are concerned.

(42) In the inspection of other businesses and companies that present fire hazards, such as manufacturers of rubberized coats and firms that make celluloid, the opportunity to examine Jewish operations more frequently and strictly than German ones is to be used to the fullest possible extent.

(43) Jews are to be permitted to take the compulsory examination for moving-picture projectionists, theatre technical directors, and master builders only if proof is provided that once the test certificate is obtained, emigration is imminent.

#### IV.

(44) In connection with the handling of Jewish case files with regard to trade licences for travelling salesmen, identity cards and papers, city hawkers' licences, the security industry, the furnishing of information on a professional basis concerning pecuniary circumstances or personal matters, dealing in land, the businesses of professional agents for real estate contracts and loans, the business of lawyers specializing in property law, professional marriage brokering and the tour guide business, reference is made to the Law on the Amendment of the Trade Regulation dated 6 July 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 823).

(45) There are still many Jews among the tradespersons (second-hand dealers, fire insurance brokers, art dealers, owners of lending libraries, and others) who, under § 14(2) and § 35 RGO,<sup>9</sup> are subject only to the disclosure requirement. The removal of Jews from these branches of trade is to be forcefully pursued by using every opportunity available.

(46) For Jews, clearance sales are never to be allowed.

(47) When granting permission for tangible assets in Jewish possession to be sold at auction by professional auctioneers, a strict standard is to be applied. The auctioning of Jewish merchandise is to be restricted as much as possible.

(48) In suitable cases, the Advertising Council of German Economy is to be brought in to oppose Jewish advertising.

(49) Jewish pawnbrokers and pawn agents are to be reported in an appropriate way, whenever possible, to the head of the 'Pawnbroker Trade' professional group, leaving it to his discretion to bring about the voluntary abandonment of the trade. The police are always to object to any new licence applications by Jews.

(50) Provision must be made in an appropriate manner to ensure that no new Jewish stalls are set up in the future at municipal and private markets and that all existing ones are given notice and disappear.

(51) If other possibilities for shutting down a Jewish business are not available, an attempt must be made, as far as possible, to obtain prohibition in full by means of a corresponding police request to the mayor (Economic Office), pursuant to the Regulation on Trade Restrictions dated 13 July 1923 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 706) in conjunction with Article I of the Implementing Order dated 27 February 1936 (*Ministerialblatt Wissenschaft*, 1936, p. 51).

(52) Sales outlets (cf. Retail Trade Protection Act) operated by Jews without authorization must be shut down regardless of any remaining factual or legal doubts, wherever possible and as quickly as possible. No new permits shall be issued to Jews.

<sup>9</sup> Reichsgewerbeordnung: Reich Commercial Code.

(53) As a matter of principle, Jews are not to be granted special permits, under § 3 of the Third Regulation on the Provisional Structuring of the German Trades, for independent activity in a trade or for employment of apprentices.

(54) Applications by Jews requesting the granting of a concession are to be opposed; temporary permission is to be denied.

(55) A practical application of § 3(9) of the Blocking Regulation, under which an exception can be granted if the business is restricted only to Jews and if this restriction is indicated by a sign and no female personnel of German blood are employed, should be avoided whenever possible.

(56) All special privileges are to be denied for any restaurants and public houses whatsoever, such as extension of the closing time, regardless of whether it concerns a private event of the Jewish licence-holder or events that third parties plan to hold on the premises; likewise to be refused are dance permits, permits for hiring female employees, permits for setting up tables and chairs on the pavement, etc. Existing special privileges are to be re-examined and preferably revoked.

(57) Permission under the Regulation on the Employment of Female Workers in Drinking Establishments dated 27 May 1933 is to be denied to Jews as a matter of principle, even if it is a matter of employing personnel of non-German blood.

(58) Frequent and strict inspections of Jewish clubs are to be conducted in accordance with the various police considerations possible for this purpose.

(59) For the purpose of inspecting Jewish garage owners in relation to lease agreements concluded after 1 December 1936, concerning possible violations of the Price Freeze Regulation, the price control authorities of the police offices must first identify, through the police stations, all garages owned by Jews in their area and then order them to be inspected thoroughly by the Commercial Fraud Unit.

(60) In the same way Jewish housing agents are to be inspected, with attention paid to the fact that brokering apartments with up to three rooms is prohibited in all cases.

(61) When there are deliberate violations of the price freeze measures by Jewish homeowners (and, until 31 December 1938, property managers), the price control authorities in the police offices must not only proceed with especially heavy fines but also, as far as possible, report such fines to Department IV for publication in the press, citing the names of the accused.

(62) When violations by Jewish landlords have been ascertained, for serious infringements of the Price Freeze Regulation the price control authorities of the police offices must make extensive use of the opportunity arising from numbers 21 and 22 of Circular Decree 184/37 to impose special requirements, in addition to the legal punishment set. For this, the following measures are possible:

(a) All violations ascertained after 1 December 1936 are to be reversed by the Jewish landlords with regard to the Aryan tenants concerned (for example, repayment to the tenant of amounts paid in excess of the permissible rent). Compliance with the requirement must be verified after a period of time. Then, conceivably, additional severe penalties are to be imposed on the Jewish landlord.

(b) Whenever possible, re-examination of all lease agreements concluded by Jewish landlords after 1 December 1936 is to be required, and the Jewish houseowner is to be subject to this re-examination without exception.

(c) A termination restriction is to be imposed on Jewish homeowners such that they may give notice of termination only after prior approval by the Price Control Office. In the event of violations of the Price Freeze Regulation, transfer of housing management in Jewish hands to an Aryan is also to be required as a matter of principle before 31 December 1938. For this purpose, however, prior approval of the Reich commissioner for price setting is to be obtained.

(63) If a Jew files a charge that proves to be incorrect, a detailed check must be made to determine whether a deliberately false accusation is suspected, and a corresponding criminal charge under § 164 of the Criminal Code is to be filed with the state prosecutor's office.

(64) When fines are imposed on Jews for charging excessive prices, the fine is to be set at ten times the standard amount.

(65) Fines imposed on Jews are always to be collected unrelentingly, within the shortest time possible, and in fact before a ruling on any appeal that may have been lodged. Such an appeal, with the exception of matters relating to textile fibres, has no delaying effect in any case.

(66) When violations of the Price Freeze Regulation are committed by Jews, closure of the business is to be considered to a greater extent than previously.

V.

(67) For misdemeanours of a special sort (such as illegal smoking in a forest) committed by Jews, the maximum fine of RM 150 or, alternatively, fourteen days in jail is to be imposed.

(68) The police station in charge of residence must check in every case to see whether the person reported to the police is listed as a Jew on the registration sheet, and must mark the file accordingly. If any investigations are required to determine Aryan origin, adherence to the statutory period of limitation is especially important.

(69) It is necessary to accelerate and give preferential treatment to the handling of good-conduct certificates for the purpose of emigration for Jews who are not subject to prosecution. The directive of limited disclosure and the endorsement of any measures to be taken by the judicial authorities regarding expunction or other acts of mercy are to be ruled out for Jews who do not intend to emigrate.

(70) Frequent inspections of Jewish pharmacies, food shops, and butcher's shops are to be conducted by Department V.<sup>10</sup> Any charge that is filed, with information about previous convictions, is to be returned to the police physicians of the food control authority upon request. The suggestions subsequently given by the police physicians for further handling, as well as those of the drug inspectors, are to be complied with as far as possible. The police veterinarians of the food control authority and the drug inspectors are to receive special instructions from Department V for handling such charges.

(71) Commercial advertising in the area of healthcare by or for Jews, especially in the form of lectures, is to be prevented without exception. If the Police Regulation of 5 May 1936 (Binder I, Group E) does not provide a sufficient basis, the lecture is to be

<sup>10</sup> Department V of the Berlin Police Headquarters was responsible for medical and veterinary affairs, as well as district veterinarians and veterinary investigation offices.

prohibited on the grounds of the danger of disturbing public order under § 14 of the Prussian Police Administration Law. Where appropriate, the Advertising Council for the German Economy must be called in to take action.

(72) Hunting licence applications filed by Jews are to be rejected as a matter of principle. Ambiguous cases are to be submitted to Department V, which in turn will make suitable contact with the offices concerned (hunting association etc.).

(73) Former Jewish pharmacists are to be kept under surveillance to determine whether they are engaging in illicit trade in pharmaceutical items. The business is usually done from home. Addresses of former Jewish pharmacists known to the inspectors are to be reported without delay to Department V via the appropriate police office. If the inspectors or the police offices are aware or have a reasonable suspicion that Jews who were formerly pharmacists are dealing in pharmaceutical items, Department V must be informed. Investigations of Jewish pharmacists solely for this purpose are to be undertaken by the police stations and police offices only on special instructions from Department V.

(74) An extensive cutback in the number of Jews who receive permission directly from the Ministry of the Interior to import down, fats, and mineral oils is to be sought by means of corresponding reports to the Ministry of the Interior.

(75) Jewish requests for issuance of permits to deal in poisons and permits to deal in drugs are always to be opposed by the police on the basis of the applicant's unreliability.

(76) In the issuance of a permit to deal in dairy products, Aryan origin must be carefully verified. Permission for Jews to deal in dairy products must be categorically opposed before the Municipal Administrative Court on grounds of insufficient reliability. It will be possible to justify the proceeding for withdrawal of the dairy concession, if necessary, after a stringent inspection in accordance with § 14(5.1) of the Dairy Law. The minimum quantity must not be reduced for Jewish businesses.

#### DOC. 69

#### **On 22 July 1938 the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna asks the Gestapo to release arrested women from Mattersburg in Burgenland<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the head of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna, Office Director Löwenherz, to the Gestapo Regional Headquarters, Room 314, Hotel Metropol, Vienna I, dated 22 July 1938

Jewish members of the Religious Community of Mattersburg came to the office and reported the following:

On 21 July, in the township of Mattersburg, twenty Jewish women were summoned to the gendarmerie by entities of the Gestapo, Eisenstadt office, and from there were taken away in motor vehicles to an unknown destination.<sup>2</sup> The members request that the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna visits the proper authorities in order to

<sup>1</sup> BArch, ZB 7050 A. 17. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> This could not be verified.

establish the whereabouts of the Mattersburg women and obtain their release. For the most part, these are mothers of small children, who have now been left without supervision and care. Of the families still remaining in Mattersburg, most are just about to emigrate and are obstructed in their preparations by the absence of the women.

To this report it is added that, according to messages that reached the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna yesterday, the wife<sup>3</sup> of Ludwig *Heinrich*, who moved to Vienna from Gross Petersdorf in Burgenland and currently lives at 58/30 Porzellangasse, Vienna IX, was taken from their apartment in Vienna in a vehicle with a Burgenland registration plate. In addition, apparently an 80-year-old woman from Burgenland was arrested yesterday in Vienna.

In view of the aforementioned circumstances the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna requests that an order be issued for the release of these women.

DOC. 70

**On 25 July 1938 Abraham Tauber Rubin of Vienna seeks a sponsor  
to enable him to emigrate with his family<sup>1</sup>**

Handwritten letter from Abraham Tauber Rubin,<sup>2</sup> 1/12 Raffaelgasse, Vienna XX, to an unknown addressee,<sup>3</sup> dated 25 July 1938

For 25 years I have been a self-employed master watchmaker and have worked for the biggest shops in Vienna, which I can prove with references. I am 43 years old.

My eldest son is 17 years old, a fully trained watchmaker's assistant, and he can play the jazz drums in addition. My younger son is 14 years old. This year he completed the fourth year of grammar school, and with a good degree of success. He also attended the Vienna Conservatory and is an excellent violinist. Both children are fit and healthy, and they unfortunately have no future.

Therefore, in these sad times, I am approaching noble human hearts and asking them to help a noble Jewish family and send affidavits for me and my family. God forbid I should be a burden on anyone. I will repay all cash expenditures, with many thousand thanks. I will cover all expenses myself.

Thanking you in advance for your valued efforts, respectfully

B. H. A. Rubin

3 Klotilde Heinrich (b. 1883), wife of Ludwig Heinrich (b. 1880), butcher; operated a butcher's shop in Groß Petersdorf, which was probably liquidated by the Asset Transfer Office in 1939 by order of the district economic advisor; emigrated to the USA on 31 March 1939.

1 YVA, O. 75/85. This document has been translated from German.

2 Abraham Chaim Tauber, also Rubin (b. 1895), watchmaker. The family had received an affidavit from relatives in the USA, but the consulate in Vienna did not regard it as sufficient grounds for the issuance of a visa. Rubin was deported from Vienna to the Izbica ghetto on 12 May 1942 along with his wife, Seraphine(a) Rubin (b. 1894), and his son Herbert Rubin (b. 1923); they did not survive.

3 The letter was presumably intended for a Jewish relief organization in the USA.

I enclose dates of birth:

Abraham Tauber Rubin, born on 5 September 1895 in Barysy, Poland  
 Seraphine Rubin " on 18 March 1894 in Luceava, Romania  
 Max Rubin " on 12 May 1921 in Vienna, German Austria  
 Herbert Rubin " on 19 November 1923 in Vienna, German Austria

We are all citizens of German Austria.

Please send your reply to the residential address.

DOC. 71

***Israelitisches Familienblatt*, 28 July 1938: article on the founding  
 of a Reich Federation of Jews in Germany<sup>1</sup>**

*Overall organization of Jews*

*On the meeting of the council of the Reich Representation of Jews in Germany*

On Wednesday and Thursday of this week, the council of the Reich Representation of Jews in Germany is meeting in Berlin. The agenda contains essentially items connected with the creation of the Reich Federation of Jews in Germany.<sup>2</sup>

At the moment these lines are being written the proceedings have not yet begun, but we know that the conversations conducted have left open some questions on which no agreement could be reached. We are confidently hopeful, however, that they will be resolved amicably without difficulties. All the Jewish schools of thought are in agreement about the ultimate objective: it must be regarded today as a *unanimous view* that the meeting of the council will lead to the founding of the Reich Federation of Jews in Germany. This is the point attracting the interest of the Jewish public as a whole. At the same time, the significance of the differences still in existence should by no means be underestimated. But all the Jewish communities and regional federations and their figures in authority must be requested to do their part towards creating a unanimous view. We hope that all the Jewish regional federations in particular will trustingly align themselves with the consolidated organization, and that on all sides there will be understanding of the fact that the preservation of previous independence in one part of the Reich or another is by no means a question of decisive importance. We want to hope and are also convinced that the great Jewish achievement will not collapse on account of individual details.

The creation of a single overall organization of Jews, in which all Jewish communities are incorporated, is *an unavoidable necessity*. It is impossible at this moment to foresee the course of the deliberations, but we indeed believe that we are correct in thinking

1 'Jüdische Gesamt-Organisation', *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, no. 30, 28 July 1938, p. 1. This document has been translated from German.

2 After the Jewish Communities had been stripped of their status as corporations under public law in March 1938 (see Doc. 23, 28 March 1938), they also were no longer entitled to collect contributions from the community members. Leading representatives of German Jewry had therefore been discussing a new organizational form since the spring. The founding of a Reich federation (Reichsverband) was initially rejected by the authorities; finally, in 1939, the Reich Association of Jews in Germany (Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland) was founded as a new umbrella organization. See Introduction, p. 62.

that, at their end, the outcome will be the creation of the Reich Federation of Jews in Germany.

On Tuesday, 26 July, the Great Council of the Prussian Regional Federation of Jewish Communities assembled for a meeting. The reshaping of the circumstances of the Jewish communities under the Reich law of March of this year has brought in its wake the need for new arrangements, also for the Jewish community federation.

After hearing presentations by Higher Regional Court Counsellor *Wolff*<sup>3</sup> about the activity of the regional federation and the developments in recent months, by the lawyer Dr *Klee*<sup>4</sup> about the present draft of by-laws for the overall organization and the *merging of the small communities into unified district communities*, and finally by Dr *Lilienthal*<sup>5</sup> about the new sample statutes for the communities, the council entered into a debate about the pending problems.

Privy Councillor *Falkenheim* (Königsberg)<sup>6</sup> demanded that the federation should not give up its independence until the same is conceded by the federations in southern Germany. Dr *Leo Baeck*<sup>7</sup> gave the assurance that, on the strength of a statement provided by the spokesman of the federations in southern Germany, a parallel line of action by these federations is beyond doubt. The discussion in the steering committee of the Reich Representation before the council meeting, he said, *resulted in a convergence of the stand-points* based on a proposal by the lawyer Dr Alfred *Klee*. Further, the solution proposed by Dr *Klee* is that the regional federations in southern Germany be involved in joint burden-sharing, their assets placed under the control of the common administration and their names changed in accordance with the altered circumstances. Finally, the resulting resolution was almost unanimously approved.

*The council considers the rapid formation of the Reich Federation of Jews in Germany to be absolutely imperative.* After creation of the Reich Federation, it wishes the Prussian

3 Dr Leo Wolff (1870–1958), lawyer; from 1910 local court judge in Berlin; chairman of the Jewish Community of Berlin and board member of the Central Association of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith (CV), 1924–1927; board member of the Reich Representation of German Jews/Jews in Germany, 1933–1939; emigrated to Britain in 1939.

4 Dr Alfred Klee (1875–1943), lawyer; as a legal practitioner in Berlin before 1938 brought lawsuits against antisemites; chairman of the Zionist Federation for Germany; from 1925 vice president of the Prussian Regional Association of Jewish Communities; on the council of the Reich Representation from 1933 and a member of the steering committee from 1936; emigrated in 1938 to Amsterdam, where he was president of the Jewish Community; died in the Westerbork camp.

5 Dr Arthur Lilienthal (1899–1942), lawyer; until 1933 judge at Regional Court III in Berlin; from 1933 secretary general of the Reich Representation and from 1939 a board member of the Reich Association of Jews; imprisoned in Sachsenhausen in 1938; in 1942 he was deported to Minsk, where he was murdered.

6 Hugo Falkenheim (1856–1945), physician; professor of paediatrics in Königsberg (Prussia); board member of the Jewish Community of Königsberg and from 1928 its chairman; in 1941 he emigrated to the USA via Spain and Cuba.

7 Leo Baeck (1873–1956), rabbi; Reform rabbi in Oppeln and Düsseldorf, 1897–1912, and in Berlin, 1912–1942; from 1913 to 1942 lecturer at the Higher Institute for Jewish Studies (Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums), known from 1883 to 1923 and from 1933 to 1942 as the Educational Establishment for Jewish Studies (Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums); chairman of the Association of German Rabbis and grand president of the German District Lodge of B'nai B'rith from 1922; president of the Reich Representation of German Jews, later the Reich Association, 1933–1943; in 1943 deported to Theresienstadt concentration camp; after liberation he emigrated to London; author of works including *The Essence of Judaism* (1936 [1905]).

Regional Federation of Jewish Communities to be absorbed by this new entity, and it empowers the narrower council to take all actions necessary for this purpose. The council expresses the certain expectation that the remaining regional federations, too, will do the same following the creation of the Reich Federation. In the event that a resolution by the full meeting of the federation is required, the narrower council shall bring about this resolution.

## DOC. 72

***Hamburger Anzeiger*, 28 July 1938: article on the introduction  
of the identity card for German citizens<sup>1</sup>**

*Identity card – The new government-issued identification card.*

*For all conscripts and for use in local border traffic and cross-border holiday traffic  
Berlin, 28 July*

*In recent days a regulation concerning identity cards appeared in the Reichsgesetzblatt, part 1. According to this regulation, with effect from 1 October 1938, the so-called identity card will be introduced as a general police-approved domestic identity document.<sup>2</sup>*

An identity card can be obtained by all German citizens with a residence or permanent abode in the territory of the Reich, once they have reached the age of 15. The German population of the Reich is thus given the possibility to acquire a *fully valid police-approved identification document*. There is absolutely no obligation to acquire the identity card.

Our *Berlin bureau* reports additional information below:

The acceptance of applications for issuance of the identity card is the responsibility of *local police authorities* or the police registration offices to which this task has been delegated by the local police authority. *The passport authorities* are responsible for the issuance itself. Application for issuance of the identity card must be made in person. For a person who lacks legal capacity or has limited legal capacity, the legal representative files the application.

When so requested by the authorities, the identity-card applicant must furnish all particulars and present all proofs necessary to establish his personal identity and his German nationality. At the same time the identity card applicant must submit in particular the required number of *photographs* in the prescribed size and configuration, permit the required *fingerprints* to be taken, provide the required *signatures*, submit to a *personal identification procedure* if doubts exist as to his identity, and appear before the body concerned in order to receive the identity card and whenever otherwise officially required to appear. Only when the identity and the *German citizenship* of the applicant have been properly established may the identity card be issued. Incidentally, it may only be denied if the identity-card applicant fails to comply with the requirements incumbent on him according to the preceding paragraph.

<sup>1</sup> 'Kennkarte – Der neue Personalausweis', *Hamburger Anzeiger*, 28 July 1938, first supplement. This article has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, pp. 913–915.

The issuance fee is *three marks*. It drops to one mark if an existing identity card with a remaining validity period of more than two years is being replaced by a new card because the name or the occupation of the card-holder has changed. For *conscripts* and for use in *local border traffic* also, the fee is reduced to *one mark*. Further, in case of indigence the fee can be reduced by half or waived altogether. Finally, the fee is not charged if an existing identity card with a remaining validity period of more than two years must be replaced by a new one because it is invalid as the result of circumstances for which the passport authority is responsible.

The holder of the identity card is obliged to *promptly return* the identity card to the passport authority if his name or the nature of his occupation changes, if he loses his German nationality, or if it turns out that he does not hold German nationality. The order through which an identity card is *denied or revoked* must be announced to the identity-card applicant in writing or verbally, with disclosure of the grounds. Only an administrative appeal against the denial and the revocation of the identity card is permissible. It must be filed in writing with the passport authority within two weeks. Anyone who furnishes false particulars when filing the application or who lets another person use his identity card will be subject to imprisonment and a fine of up to 150 marks.

In an initial official statement about compulsory owning and carrying of the identity card, it is stipulated that male German subjects, within the last *three months before completion of their eighteenth year of life* (upon attaining conscription status), must apply for issuance of an identity card at the proper police authority. For male German subjects who, upon the entry into force of this announcement, have completed their seventeenth year but not yet their eighteenth, the three-month period begins when this announcement enters into force. *Conscripts* must use their identity card to identify themselves when required in all official dealings with the authorities of the general and interior administration that concern conscription status, as well as the alternative national service authorities.

Further, in a second official statement, it is stipulated that, from 1 January 1939, German subjects over the age of 15 will be issued the customary documents for use in *local border traffic and cross-border holiday traffic* only if they present a valid identity card.

Finally, the Reich Minister of the Interior, in consultation with the Reich Minister of Justice, has stipulated in a third official statement that *Jews who are German subjects* must apply to the proper police authority for issuance of an identity card by 31 December 1938, making reference to their status as a Jew.<sup>3</sup> For Jews born after this official statement enters into force, the application must be filed within three months after birth. Jews over the age of 15, once they have received an identity card, must use their identity card to identify themselves whenever officially requested to do so. Once they have received an identity card, they must, when addressing requests to official or official Party authorities, refer unprompted to their status as a Jew, and also *state the place of residence and identification number printed on their identity card* or, if the requests are made

3 Ibid., p. 922. In the process of issuing the identity card, a second passport photo was required for the duplicate of the card, and fingerprints, too, were taken twice. The second identity card was filed in the index of residence registration cards. In future, Jews had to present their identity card at all times and, when dealing with the authorities and official bodies, had to give their identity card number without being prompted.

verbally, must present their identity card without being prompted. The same applies to every sort of inquiry and petition addressed by Jews to official [state] or official Party authorities, as well as registration of their residence with the police. Violations are to be regarded as particularly serious cases within the meaning of the sanctions contained in the regulation.

DOC. 73

**On 1 August 1938 a provincial office of the German Council of Municipalities asks the central office in Berlin whether public contracts may be awarded to 'half-Jews'**<sup>1</sup>

Letter from the managing director of the Rhineland and Hohenzollern Provincial Office of the German Council of Municipalities (DGT) (SCH/S.400), p.p. Dr Volk,<sup>2</sup> Düsseldorf, to the DGT (received on 2 August 1938), Berlin, dated 1 August 1938<sup>3</sup>

*Awarding public contracts to half-Jews*

The mayor in Grevenbroich has disclosed that, when awarding public contracts, he has thus far quite frequently given consideration to a builder who has now turned out to be a half-Jew. The man in question has been a Party comrade for years, as evidently no particulars concerning his origins were known. He is said to enjoy a good reputation otherwise and is a combat veteran, seriously disabled in the war. Further, he belonged to the German völkisch movement around 1926–1927. Also, the Party has a good opinion of him otherwise, even though he must now also be excluded from the NSDAP.

The mayor inquires whether he can assign further contracts to the firm.

The Reich government guidelines that were published in the News Bulletin no. 142 in 1933 with regard to the award of public contracts to firms whose owners or personnel with an influential role in managing the business are not of Aryan descent (Section III of the guidelines) can, in my view, no longer be used for assessing the questions raised, because, first, the problem of the unemployed, which at that time had to take precedence over all other considerations, has been solved, and, second, the legislators, by means of the Third Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law of 14 June 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 627), have created a clear distinction for assessing the question as to which business enterprises are classified as Jewish.<sup>4</sup>

Because the business enterprise is not classified as Jewish if the owner is a Jewish Mischling – § 1(1) of the aforementioned regulation in connection with the First Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law, § 2(2) – the question arises as to whether it can now be inferred from this that such enterprises may be given consideration when public contracts are awarded.

1 LAB, B. Rep. 142/7 Nr. 4-1–4. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Leo Volk (b. 1909), lawyer; joined the NSDAP and the SS in 1933, and in 1942 became an SS-Hauptsturmführer; legal specialist with the German Council of Municipalities, 1937; office head in the SS Economic Administration Main Office, 1940–1941; in 1943 procurator at Deutsche Wirtschaftsbetriebe GmbH; sentenced in 1947 to ten years in prison and released in 1952.

3 The document contains handwritten underlining and comments.

4 The Third Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law of 14 June 1938 determined that a business enterprise was Jewish if the owner was a Jew within the meaning of § 5 of the First Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, p. 627.

The News Service, in no. 793, dated 1938, in fact publishes the essential content of the Third Regulation to the RBG<sup>5</sup> under the heading 'Awarding of Public Contracts – Jewish Business Enterprises' but does not draw conclusions as to how such enterprises and specifically those whose owners are Jewish Mischlinge are now to be treated when public contracts are being awarded. This question seems to me to be of fundamental importance because the legal status of the Jewish Mischlinge is now clearly defined. They are regarded, for example, as provisional citizens of the Reich, like the subjects of the state of German blood, and also possess the same political voting rights as the latter. Their economic activities and their socio-political support are now no longer subject to any special restrictions either, and they can even be members of the DAF.<sup>6</sup>

Because I have reservations nonetheless about furnishing corresponding information to the mayor in Grevenbroich, especially as the question of awarding public contracts to Jewish Mischlinge has thus far not been clearly articulated and decided by any agency, I request that you please make a decision.<sup>7</sup>

#### DOC. 74

### **On 3 August 1938 the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna submits proposals to the municipal administration of the city regarding the accommodation of elderly and care-dependent Jews<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna, office director and head of the Israelite Religious Community, to the municipal administration, Department 2,<sup>2</sup> Town Hall, Vienna I, dated 3 August 1938

On 27 July of this year, in Department 2 of the municipal administration, a discussion took place in which the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna was represented by Office Director Engel. Under discussion was the question of accommodating in a hospital facility to be managed by the Religious Community those Jewish patients who are currently in charitable foundations and community hospitals. On this occasion the necessity of creating accommodation for the Jewish elderly and infirm was pointed out, as the old people's home run by the Religious Community is at full occupancy with 450 residents, and 1,250 pre-registrations have currently been received. The two issues were dealt with on 29 June of this year in the office of Dr Lange of the Gestapo in the presence of representatives of Department 2 of the municipal administration and the head of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna. During this discussion the Religious Community was

<sup>5</sup> *Reichsbürgergesetz*: Reich Citizenship Law.

<sup>6</sup> Deutsche Arbeitsfront: German Labour Front.

<sup>7</sup> In the reply, dated 8 August 1938, the acting president, p.p. von der Lüche, noted that the exclusion of 'half-Jews' as a matter of principle in the awarding of public contracts would constitute a 'special action', in view of the clear legal position, an action that, according to the repeated declarations of leading state agencies, was no longer permitted to take place: LAB, B. Rep. 142/7 Nr. 4-1-4.

<sup>1</sup> BArch, ZB 7050 A.17. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Department 2 of the Municipal Administration was responsible for cultural affairs, the school system, associations and assemblies, and miscellaneous matters.

instructed to prepare a proposal for submission to the municipal administration of the city of Vienna and the Gestapo. This proposal should contain: (1) the plan for setting up and operating this new hospital facility; (2) the provision of funds; (3) the description and estimated value of the properties that the Religious Community could make available as a contribution for construction of the hospital barracks and a barracks complex for accommodating the elderly and infirm. This proposal is duly submitted below:

A. Expanded hospital operation.

There is a possibility, through internal measures, to increase the occupancy of the hospital of the Israelite Religious Community by fifty beds. In addition, the burden placed on this hospital by incurable cases could be relieved by constructing a barracks complex for accommodating a number of the elderly and infirm. Full accommodation of the number of patients who were normally housed in the charitable foundations and community hospitals could be achieved by erecting a hospital barracks inside that complex designated for accommodating the elderly and infirm. However, it must be emphasized that, considering the design and location of the hospital of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna, there is no possibility, either here or in the planned hospital barracks, to accommodate patients with infectious diseases and cases of active tuberculosis. For these patients, provisions similar to those for the mentally ill, who are allowed to remain in the Steinhof psychiatric hospital, would have to be made. Adaptation of the building at 99 Währingergürtel, in Vienna IX, is out of the question, because smooth operation of the hospital requires the doctors and nurses to be accommodated in this building. It must be added that the rear section of this building is structurally quite unsuited for a hospital complex.

B. Accommodation of the elderly and infirm.

At the moment, provision of care for 1,250 individuals designated for the old people's home of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna is extremely urgent. The trend of circumstances, however, makes a doubling of this number appear imperative for the near future. The elimination of the Jews from gainful activity and the increased emigration of the younger family members are the causes of a heightened requirement for accommodation for the elderly and infirm. The old people's home of the Religious Community is currently at full occupancy and cannot possibly be used to relieve the burden. The following can be given consideration: (1) erection of an appropriate barracks complex; (2) allocation and appropriate adaptation of vacant school buildings. When accommodating 2,500 old people (elderly and infirm) in huts, one must estimate, as minimum floor space per capita, 30 m<sup>2</sup>. Half of this area, per capita, would have to be used in building, with the wall cross-sections, consulting rooms, supply rooms, isolation rooms, and housekeeping facilities factored in. There is a possibility of 15 m<sup>2</sup> per capita for paths, courtyards, and a very modest outside space. For the accommodation of 2,500 persons, therefore, a surface area of 75,000 m<sup>2</sup> would be needed.

During the discussions that took place, the parcel of land in the Augarten, at 16 Rauscherstr., Vienna XX, which belongs to the Israelite Religious Community was considered for the erection of an appropriate barracks complex. This plot of land, however, is only 16,932 m<sup>2</sup> in size and could thus provide space for 565 occupants. But this number is far too low for solving the problem being dealt with. Apart from that, centralized management is imperative here too, for various reasons. Therefore the following possibilities emerge as solutions:

(a) Joining an appropriate part of the Augarten to the plot of land at 16 Rauscherstr., Vienna XX, up to the amount of ground required. Considering the location of this plot, this mode would be extremely welcome. The Augarten, situated between two districts with numerous Jewish inhabitants, is particularly suitable as an outside space for Jews, since the public gardens were made off limits for Jews. Construction of a barracks complex in a part of the Augarten to accommodate the Jewish elderly and infirm would thus be in keeping with the surroundings.

(b) Allocating and adapting vacant school buildings at a suitable location.

C. The raising of funds or the payment of a contribution by the Religious Community. The elimination of the Jews from the labour force and the emigration of numerous members of the Community, has placed a great strain on the finances of the Religious Community. At the same time, owing to those same circumstances, the Religious Community faces great problems in the areas of welfare and promotion of emigration. The Israelite Religious Community of Vienna is therefore not able to contribute cash funds of its own for the construction and maintenance of the expanded hospital complex or the barracks for accommodating the old and infirm. Nor is there any prospect at all of obtaining donations for these purposes from the foreign relief organizations. The organizations have already declared repeatedly that they can make funds available solely for emigration purposes, so that the Community is forced to state with the greatest regret that it has almost no funds available for its welfare work, for religious services, and for its school system. The Israelite Religious Community is willing, however, to make available, as a contribution towards the construction of the complexes in question by the municipality of Vienna, several properties that are in its possession or the buildings or the capital of Jewish foundations that are administered in part by the Religious Community and serve its purposes.

The following suggestions are made:

1. The building at 25 Schottenring, Vienna I, valued at RM 250,000, currently in use as the seat of the commissioner for a moratorium on clubs, associations, and organizations.<sup>3</sup>
2. The convalescent home for children in Payerbach-Küb, at 3 Mühlhof (Gottlieb Foundation), valued at RM 120,000.
3. The plot of land in the Augarten, at 16 Rauscherstr., Vienna XX, where the children's outpatient clinic is situated, with a total value of RM 539,000.
4. The parcel of land at Land Registry Court of Neulengbach K.B. 66/31, Wald-Haltfeld E.C.110 cadastral municipality of Haag.
5. The capital of the Baroness de Hirsch's Emperor's Jubilee Charitable Foundation, in the amount of RM 500,000.

<sup>3</sup> On 18 March 1938 Reich Commissioner Bürckel appointed Reich Office Head Albert Hoffmann to serve as the *Stillhaltekommissar* ('stillstand commissioner') responsible for closing down clubs, associations, and organizations. He was in charge of the *Gleichschaltung* of the Austrian associations and the Aryization of their assets. The assets of the Jewish welfare associations were generally assigned to the Israelite Religious Community, and those of the Zionist associations to the Zionist umbrella organizations.

This foundation was terminated by decree of the Ministry of Internal and Cultural Affairs in Vienna on 1 July 1938.

The Israelite Religious Community of Vienna anticipates with certainty that the commissioner for a moratorium on clubs, associations, and organizations will make available for this purpose the assets of this foundation, which was established to support poor Jews.

In total, therefore, items valued at the amount of around RM 1,400,000 are being made available as a contribution payment by the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna.

DOC. 75

**On 3 August 1938 the head of the Swiss Police for Foreign Nationals, Heinrich Rothmund, speaks to the German envoy in Bern about refugees being deported across the unfortified land border<sup>1</sup>**

File note, signed Rothmund,<sup>2</sup> dated 3 August 1938

Notes on talks with the German envoy regarding refugees from German Austria

Minister Köcher<sup>3</sup> requested a discussion about the Evian Conference. I first gave him the desired information about the course of the conference and the attitude of Switzerland towards the problem. In particular, I pointed out that Switzerland already imposed restraint on itself in Evian and that no representative is being sent to the London Conference,<sup>4</sup> but that we remain in contact with the committee and have declared our willingness to play a part in technical questions that concern us as a transit country.

I took advantage of the occasion to make Minister Köcher aware of the situation in which we have been placed by the large number of Jewish refugees from Austria constantly entering the country by illicitly crossing the border. I told him that, according to information I have received to date, direct and indirect transfers of such foreigners have occurred via Samnaun (people who were allegedly brought as far as Landeck in a govern-

1 BAR, Bern, E4300B 1969/78, vol. 1, published in Commission nationale pour la publication de documents diplomatiques suisses, *Documents Diplomatiques Suisses. Diplomatische Dokumente der Schweiz. Documenti Diplomatici Svizzeri 1848-1945*, vol. 12 (1937-1938) (Bern: Benteli, 1994), pp. 813-814. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Heinrich Rothmund (1888-1961), lawyer; joined the Swiss federal administration in 1916; head of the Swiss Federal Headquarters of the Police for Foreign Nationals, 1919-1929; head of the police in the Swiss Federal Department of Justice and Police, 1929-1954, and in this capacity held authority for the Swiss Federal Headquarters of the Police for Foreign Nationals from 1933.

3 Otto Köcher (1884-1945), lawyer and diplomat; worked in the Reich Foreign Office from 1912; legation counsellor in Bern, 1919-1923, and Mexico, 1924-1930; consul general in Barcelona, 1933-1936; envoy in Bern, 1937-1945; in 1945 expelled from Switzerland; took his own life in an American internment camp. Köcher reported the conversation with Rothmund to the Reich Foreign Office on 3 August 1938: PA AA, R 48 973.

4 This is a reference to the Intergovernmental Committee, which was formally established at the Evian Conference and later convened in London. Out of deference to the German government, Switzerland had refused to allow the refugee conference, which was initiated by Roosevelt, to take place in Geneva. It subsequently met in the French spa town of Evian, 30 kilometres away.

ment vehicle), via Schaanwald, Kreuzlingen (Saubach), directed from Friedrichshafen to Singen and from there via Ramsen to Schaffhausen and from Lörrach to Basel. In the Vorarlberg region it apparently plays out as follows: refugees who arrive from Vienna by train without having a German exit visa are imprisoned in Feldkirch until an enquiry is made in Vienna as to the possibility of issuing an exit visa. If there is approval from Vienna, the people are released from jail and sent to the Ox Inn, where they are shown the way to make the prohibited border-crossing into Switzerland. When a Swiss border-police officer made a German colleague in Feldkirch aware of this procedure, the latter supposedly replied that Switzerland certainly has enough money to take in the people who were no longer needed and no longer wanted abroad. Today I received from Basel five Austrian passports, to which the chief of police in Vienna has affixed a stamp: 'Authorized: one-time exit to all countries in Europe, North America and South America and re-entry into the German Reich.' The five Jewish refugees received a stamp from the district authority in Lörrach with the words 'The Landrat, Lörrach' on the customary yellow form for local Baden-Switzerland border traffic on 1 August, authorizing a one-time border crossing. The exit stamp of the German passport control office at 'Lörrach-Stetten' is affixed to the yellow form. Upon being questioned, the people stated that they had been instructed to keep the Austrian passports in their pockets when crossing the border into Switzerland and to present only the yellow border-traffic document. If questioned, they said, they were to say that they lived in the border district. But to my knowledge they all, without exception, would have had to make the declaration required before leaving Germany to the effect that they would no longer show their face on German soil. If they violated this pledge or the other instructions, they were threatened with being sent to a concentration camp.

I call Minister Köcher's attention to the unsustainability of such a procedure and remind him of the appropriate discussions, based on a concern for good neighbourly understanding, that I had with him and Mr von Bibra before the reintroduction of the visa in the Austrian passport. I also remind him of the attitude of Switzerland, for the same reasons, towards the Evian Conference and the London committee. After that, I impress on him that a large number of the refugees who have been shunted into Switzerland in this way, at random, could undoubtedly create, in the circles of the Swiss population that come into contact with them, an atmosphere that would inevitably impair the good relationship with Germany. In addition, I tell him that Switzerland is in fact accepting from Germany a number of Jews to whom it is granting entry for a temporary stay, that is, until the completion of the formalities for permanent emigration. I said that these are Austrian Jews with ties of kinship, business, or friendship to persons who reside in Switzerland and who are willing to take them in temporarily. But these people are carefully selected, and they are also required to keep quiet in Switzerland and cause no trouble.

I have the impression that Minister Köcher has understood the situation. He declared his willingness to write to Berlin at once and attempt at least to stop the transfers by the authorities. He stated, however, that it is very doubtful whether there is a possibility of restraining refugees who want to enter Switzerland illegally, without the cooperation of the German authorities. I thanked Minister Köcher for his willingness to take the matter in hand and added that the problem is very grave.

## DOC. 76

**On 5 August 1938 Hertha Nathorff notes her reaction to the revocation of the licences of Jewish physicians<sup>1</sup>**

Diary of Hertha Nathorff,<sup>2</sup> entry for 5 August 1938<sup>3</sup>

I was not able to write; I am still as if paralysed. My first grey hair has appeared; it's a result of the heartache of the past few days.

We were at the table with our guests when there was a telephone call. I go to answer it myself. My colleague S. asks me, 'Were you listening to the radio just now?' 'No,' I say, 'what's wrong now?' My colleague, otherwise so calm, says in a trembling voice, all upset: 'What you've always predicted, they're taking away our licences, we're not allowed to practise any more – it was just announced on the radio.' 'Announced on the radio.' This is the way we are forced to learn that they are taking from us what we have acquired in years of study, what prominent professors, famous universities have awarded to us ... I cannot grasp it ...

'And now I have to tell my husband.' That was the only thing I was able to think at that moment, how I could calmly go back to the dinner table, end the meal, and say to my guests, 'it's nothing special'. I don't know, I only know how I sat at the desk, my hands clenched, and said to my husband: 'It's over – over – over.' Then he fetched a newspaper, and indeed, it was already there in print. In this way we Jewish doctors were informed of our death sentence. At the hospital they are utterly frantic. The matron, the Aryan nurses who are still there, they will leave with us, they declared – What's the use? What would happen if I threw my housemaid out of her job and her occupation in this way? Any labour court would have me put in jail – but us, it's all right to delete us from the Medical Register with a stroke of the pen.<sup>4</sup> Who will treat the poor Jewish patients in future? It seems that they are just not allowed to be ill any more, either – indeed, some pharmacies no longer dispense medication to Jews. We will have to scrimp and save everywhere; they are starting to make earning a livelihood harder for Jews than for other people in Germany.

I pleaded with my uncle, who is now in Switzerland, and asked him once again for the affidavit. *Now* he will surely see that I have every reason to do so!

1 Hertha Nathorff, 'Tagebuch 30.1.1933 bis 9.5.1965', p. 38, ZfA, Lebensgeschichtliche Sammlung, Hertha Nathorff; published in Wolfgang Benz (ed.), *Das Tagebuch der Hertha Nathorff: Berlin – New York. Aufzeichnungen 1933 bis 1945* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1987), pp. 112–113. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Hertha Nathorff (1895–1993), physician and psychotherapist; doctor in charge of the German Red Cross Home for Women and Children in Berlin-Lichtenberg, 1922–1928; head of the first counselling centre for women and families in Berlin, board member of the Berlin Chamber of Physicians, and member of the League of German Female Physicians, 1922–1933; practised medicine in Berlin, 1923–1938; emigrated in 1939 to Britain and in 1940 to the USA, where she worked from 1954 as a psychotherapist.

3 Because parts of the original were lost during emigration, Hertha Nathorff reconstructed her diary on the basis of notes she had salvaged and from memory. In 1940 she entered the typescript of her diary written from 1933 to 1939 to Harvard University's essay competition 'My Life in Germany'.

4 The Fourth Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law of 25 July 1938 revoked the medical licences of Jewish physicians as of 30 Sept. 1938: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, pp. 969–970. After that, only a small number of Jewish doctors, who had to call themselves 'practitioners for the sick' (*Krankenbehandler*), were permitted to provide medical care to Jewish patients.

Every day, trouble with old patients because I must decline to treat them. 'But my husband is a Jew, so you can just come and treat me too; no Aryan doctor will come to our house at all.' 'But I won't tell anybody that you're treating me.' – The fact that people refuse to accept that the law is simply the law and that I will not defy it – under any circumstances – if it means that there are a few more or a few less who don't like me any more, it doesn't matter!

## DOC. 77

**Reichs-Kredit-Gesellschaft memorandum regarding a conversation  
with Hermann Josef Abs on 9 August 1938 about the Aryanization  
of the leather manufacturer Adler & Oppenheimer<sup>1</sup>**

Reichs-Kredit-Gesellschaft<sup>2</sup> memorandum (Sch/Nw.) (signature illegible), Berlin, dated 9 August 1938

*Adler & Oppenheimer.*<sup>3</sup>

Today, in the course of a lengthy conversation, I talked to Mr Abs<sup>4</sup> about his election to the supervisory board at A. & O. and asked him what his thoughts are about the developments with regard to Aryanization or repatriation,<sup>5</sup> making reference to the main connection of the firm to the Reichs-Kredit-Gesellschaft for more than fifteen years now.

Mr Abs told me first that his connections to Julius Oppenheimer<sup>6</sup> date back to his time at Delbrück Schickler<sup>7</sup> and that even at that time the question of his joining the supervisory board had already been raised, for purely personal reasons. He has now complied with Mr Oppenheimer's wish, in agreement with the Reich Minister of Economics, he said, and will be elected to the supervisory board at the upcoming general meeting and will also assume the chairmanship. But, he added, that does not solve the

1 BAArch, R 8136/2988. This document has been translated from German.

2 The Reichs-Kredit-Gesellschaft (RKG) was the company bank of the Reich-owned United Industrial Enterprises AG (VIAG); besides handling ongoing banking operations, it worked primarily in the areas of industrial and trade finance, investment banking, asset management, and financing of German imports and exports. In the 1930s the RKG became one of Berlin's five big banking houses, but it had no branches of its own.

3 The leather manufacturer Adler & Oppenheimer (A&O), founded in Strasbourg in 1872, from 1920 headquartered in Berlin, was one of Germany's largest producers of leather and had a holding company in the Netherlands. In 1937 the firm had nominal capital of 18 million Reichsmarks. The Aryanization process, which began in 1938 and was concluded in 1940, was overseen by Hermann Josef Abs, who became chairman of the A&O supervisory board in 1938. The firm maintained a plant in Neustadt-Glewe in Mecklenburg, where 2,000 workers were employed.

4 Dr Hermann Josef Abs (1901–1994), banker; in 1938 was a board member and director of the Foreign Department of Deutsche Bank, was involved in the Aryanization of Jewish assets, and had more than forty supervisory board seats, including I. G. Farben and the Reichsbank; after 1945, advisor to the West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer; spokesman of the executive board of Deutsche Bank, 1957–1967, and from 1976 honorary chairman of the supervisory board.

5 This means the return of holdings located in a foreign country.

6 Julius Oppenheimer, leather manufacturer; board member of A&O and member of the supervisory board of Roth-Händle AG and Kontorhaus AG.

7 The Delbrück Schickler & Co. banking house was created in 1910 by the merger of Delbrück Leo & Co. and the Berlin private bank Gebrüder Schickler, which had been founded in 1712.

most fundamental question of the repatriation of shares, around RM 16 million out of RM 18 million, and he has also not broached this question directly with the shareholders thus far. He has expressly told Mr Steinbeck,<sup>8</sup> he said, who talked to him (apparently because of our intervention) about the question of the bank turnover, that he does not want anything to change here, particularly as Deutsche Bank in Frankfurt<sup>9</sup> does quite a lively business with the firm.

I informed Mr Abs Reichs-Kredit-Gesellschaft that we have repeatedly been assured by A. & O., especially by Mr Ullmann,<sup>10</sup> most recently in January 1937, on the basis of our very close connection, that in the event of an Aryanization transaction we would be the first to be welcomed, and that, as a result of our connections to the corporation, we would absolutely have to place great importance on having an instrumental role in such a decisive phase in the history of the enterprise.

Mr Abs replied that he was in full agreement with this and would greatly welcome our collaboration at a decisive point. He asked me what sort of percentage we had in mind, quite rightly pointing out the size of the entity. He said it was his wish likewise to involve Delbrück Schickler in the business, as the firm had also been working with A. & O. for years, and I raised no objection to this. I suggested to Mr Abs an approximately 10 per cent share of Delbrück Schickler, in other respects a 60:40 division between Deutsche Bank and Erka. Mr Abs was in agreement with this in principle.

The question will become pressing in the next few days, because, as you know, shares valued at around RM 800,000 that come from the Oppenheimer relatives' holdings are due to be transferred into German possession in such a way that they can be placed using banks as intermediaries. We will be arranging this business together, and here too I have proposed a ratio of 60:40.

Mr Abs asked at what price we would assume the shares. Mr Oppenheimer has in mind a price of 120 per cent (with a 6 per cent amply earned dividend). Mr Abs regards that as too high, considering the present pricing. Today I mentioned to him 110 per cent for our part, in reply to which he said [he could accept] this price only with a sale on a commission basis with 2 per cent profit, but with a firm commitment to underwriting [the price would be] 105 per cent; I gave my consent to this.

In addition, our representation on the supervisory board of the Aryanized company is within the realm of possibility and must be discussed again in the event that the repatriation deal becomes concrete, which may still take months. In my view, opposition by Deutsche Bank is not to be anticipated.

I heard in confidence that Dresdner Bank already applied to the Reich Ministry of Economics more than a year ago for Aryanization, pointing out that it had already put together an 'Aryanization consortium' under its leadership.

8 Ernst Steinbeck (b. 1877), legation counsellor; Oberregierungsrat and Reich plenipotentiary for the leather industry; from 1938 board member of A&O. The appointment of Steinbeck to the board of A&O was a result of the growing pressure on the firm to speed up Aryanization.

9 Deutsche Bank, as the dominant partner in a consortium consisting of the RKG, Deutsche Bank, Delbrück Schickler & Co., and Pferdmeniges & Co, began in 1938 to acquire shares of A&O. By 1939, shares with a total value of 617,000 Reichsmarks had been purchased; by the end of 1940, Deutsche Bank had acquired three quarters of the capital of the firm.

10 Ernst Ullmann, retailer; member of the board of A&O.

Mr Abs does not intend to give any consideration to this consortium, and I reinforced his decision.

We will be informed by Mr Abs about future developments and thus have no need to make further efforts in this matter with the board, which has no influence.

DOC. 78

**On 11 August 1938 the Reichsbank is requested to make its director Richard Buzzi available for cooperation with the Central Office for Jewish Emigration<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from Reichsbank Director Wilhelm,<sup>2</sup> Berlin, to members of the Reichsbank board of directors Puhl<sup>3</sup> and Kretschmann<sup>4</sup> (most respectfully) and Reichsbank Vice President Dreyse<sup>5</sup> (most obediently) (received on 24 August 1938), dated 11 August 1938<sup>6</sup>

Today at five o'clock Minister Fischböck<sup>7</sup> called me from Vienna and informed me that, at the behest of Gauleiter Bürckel, a so-called 'Jewish Emigration Office' is to be established in his ministry.<sup>8</sup> This office has the task of guaranteeing that all Jewish emigration is handled in a uniform way, and specifically in a way that meets both the interests of the Gestapo and those of the Reich Ministry of Economics and the Foreign Exchange Office in Vienna. The work of the office should ensure that the emigration of the Jews takes place as smoothly and rapidly as possible. It would be this office to which the emigrating Jews would be liable for uniform compliance with all formalities.

1 BArch, ZE 6175, PA Richard Buzzi. This document has been translated from German.

2 Friedrich Wilhelm (b. 1889), banker; from 1931 advisor to the Reichsbank's board of directors; head of the Reichsbank's Foreign Exchange Department and Reichsbank director, 1935–1939; joined the NSDAP in 1939; member of the Reichsbank's board of directors from 1939.

3 Emil Johann Puhl (b. 1889), banker; in 1933 head of the Reichsbank's Department for Foreign Payments and Credit Transactions; from 1934 member of the Reichsbank's board of directors; from 1935 member of the board of the Deutsche Golddiskontbank; joined the NSDAP in 1937; in 1939 state secretary and vice president of the German Reichsbank, from 1940 in a managerial function; sentenced to five years in prison in 1949 and released early the same year; later head of the Foreign Department and member of the board of Hamburger Kreditbank.

4 Correctly: Max Kretschmann (1890–1972), banker; joined the NSDAP in 1937; from 1938 member of the Reichsbank's board of directors; head of the Von der Heydt Kersten Bank, 1951–1964; president of the Wuppertal Chamber of Industry and Commerce, 1959–1964.

5 Friedrich Wilhelm Dreyse (1874–1943), banker; member of the Reichsbank's board of directors, 1924–1939; vice president of the Reichsbank, 1926–1939; from 1936 deputy chairman of the Supervisory Office for the Banking Sector; deputy chairman of the supervisory board of Dresdner Bank, 1939–1943.

6 Parts of the original are annotated and underlined by hand.

7 Dr Hans Fischböck (1895–1967), lawyer; director of Austrian Insurance Ltd, 1936–1938; Austrian state counsellor, 1938; Austrian minister of economics, labour, and finance, 1938–1939; joined the NSDAP and the SS in 1940; general commissioner for economics and finance and also Reich deputy commissioner of the Netherlands, 1940–1942; Reich commissioner for price setting and state secretary in the Office of the Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan, 1942–1945; fled to Argentina in 1951.

8 This refers to the Central Office for Jewish Emigration, which was founded in Vienna on 20 August 1938.

For this purpose, however, Minister Fischböck says that he needs a leader who is familiar with the foreign exchange laws, in particular also with the Austrian circumstances. He sees Director Buzzi as such a person, he says.<sup>9</sup> He therefore asks whether the Reichsbank would be able to second Mr Buzzi for the longer term, while maintaining his contractual rights with respect to the Reichsbank.

I told Minister Fischböck that, much as the Reichsbank wishes to be helpful, his inquiry cannot be answered by me at once, but that I would present it without delay to the Reichsbank's board of directors. It is also necessary to examine the question as to whether the official circumstances at the Reichsbank in Vienna permit Mr Buzzi to be made available.

Minister Fischböck now requested that he be informed of the decision as soon as possible, as he would like to establish the institutions as rapidly as possible.

Berlin, 11 August 1938.<sup>10</sup>

#### DOC. 79

### **On 12 August 1938 the head of the SD Main District Danube reports to the Security Main Office in Berlin concerning the illegal emigration of Jews from Vienna<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the SD head of the SS Main District Danube, Stahlecker<sup>2</sup> (II 112 Ech./Ne.),<sup>3</sup> Vienna, to the Security Main Office,<sup>4</sup> Department II 112, dated 12 August 1938<sup>5</sup>

*Re:* emigrants' organizations in Vienna.

*Case file:* local letter II 112 o/Fl 21 of 27 July 1938.<sup>6</sup>

The facts are that on 9 July 1938 a steamship with around 400 (not 4,000) Jewish emigrants put to sea, headed for Palestine.<sup>7</sup> This emigration to Palestine was an illegal one. The SD Main District Danube was informed by the State Police office only after the relevant negotiations with the authorities in charge had already been concluded from

9 Richard Buzzi (1882–1948), retailer; worked for Commerzbank, 1905–1930, and from 1930 for the Austrian National Bank, where he was deputy director before the Anschluss; joined the NSDAP in 1938, having been a member of the illegal Austrian NSDAP; in 1938 acting head of the Vienna subsidiary of the Reichsbank and liquidator of the Austrian National Bank; from 1939 to June 1942 director of the Vienna central office of the Reichsbank as well as advisor and member of the bank council of the Slovakian National Bank in Bratislava; from 1942 member of the board of the Creditanstalt-Bankverein; after 1945, director of the Austrian National Bank.

10 The Reichsbank's board of directors acceded to the request: memorandum dated 24 August 1938, *ibid.*

1 RGVA, 500k-1-675, fols. 4–5. Copy: ÖStA, record group: Historikerkommission. This document has been translated from German.

2 Franz Walter Stahlecker (1900–1942), lawyer; joined the NSDAP for the first time in 1921 and again in 1933; head of the Political Police in Württemberg in 1934 and of the State Police office in Breslau in 1937; senior commander of the Security Police Danube in Vienna, 1938; senior commander of the Security Police in Bohemia and Moravia, 1939; from 1940 Ministerialrat in the Reich Foreign Office; from 1941 head of Einsatzgruppe A and senior commander of the Security Police and the SD in the Reich Commissariat Ostland; shot dead by partisans.

3 Ech: abbreviation for 'Eichmann'.

4 Sicherheitshauptamt; this refers to the SD Main Office.

5 The original contains handwritten underlining, comments, and stamps.

there. It was pointed out by II 112 that the attitude of the Security Main Office in such cases will always be negative, as illegal immigration into the various countries should not take place as a matter of principle, because setbacks for further immigration into such countries are to be expected, sooner or later, as a result.

This particular transport was operated by a Greek steamship. Further talks regarding additional transports of this kind were supposed to take place, presided over by the head of the Vienna Asset Transfer Office, Party Comrade Raffelsberger,<sup>8</sup> in the presence of Reichsbank Counsellor Dr Wolf. These discussions took place:

(1) one day earlier than originally scheduled, so that Reichsbank Counsellor Wolf could not participate in them (the technical matters relating to foreign exchange were due to be discussed), and

(2) from there, further transports had to be temporarily abandoned because the Greek government has enacted the well-known Jew laws.<sup>9</sup>

The Reich Ministry of Economics (Reichsbank Counsellor Wolf) is also opposed to this kind of emigration, as it means a loss of foreign exchange for the German Reich.

#### DOC. 80

#### **On 12 August 1938 the Episcopal Ordinariate of Berlin appeals to all German bishops to form aid organizations for Catholics who are regarded as Jews<sup>1</sup>**

Appendix to the letter from the Episcopal Ordinariate (J.-no. 7222), vicar general, signed Prange,<sup>2</sup> 66 Behrenstraße, Berlin W 8, to the archbishops and bishops in Germany, dated 12 August 1938 (copy)<sup>3</sup>

The present situation might well also lead those Catholics who are counted as Jews under the Nuremberg Laws to decide to emigrate. One must assume that their resettlement will correspond to the wishes of the government. Support for this emigration should therefore encounter no difficulties caused by the authorities.

6 Hagen to the SD head of the SS Main District Danube, II 112, dated 27 July 1938. In the letter Hagen enquires whether it is true that a Jewish emigrants' organization is arranging, from Vienna, for the emigration of young Jewish men to Palestine via Greece, Rhodes, and Cyprus and whether this is silently condoned by the British authorities: RGVA, 500k-1-675, fol. 2.

7 On 9 July 1938 the steamship *Artemis* left harbour, carrying illegal Jewish emigrants.

8 Correctly: Walter Viktor Ludwig Rafelsberger (1899-1986), engineer and chemist; joined the NSDAP in 1933 and the SS in 1934; Gau economic advisor in Vienna, 1938; head of the Asset Transfer Office in Vienna; state commissioner for private industry under the Reichsstatthalter; president of the Vienna Chamber of Commerce; briefly imprisoned in 1947, then disappeared; general representative of the Jenbach Motor Works in South Tyrol, 1966.

9 Enclosed with the letter is a short report by the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, according to which the Greek government had instructed the country's border authorities to deny entry to Jews of foreign nationality: 'Griechenland schützt sich gegen jüdische Emigranten', *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 29 July 1938, RGVA, 500k-1-675, fol. 3.

1 BArch, R 58/5696, Aufn. 0041/0606. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Maximilian Prange (1893-1965), theologian and priest; in 1929 cathedral vicar in Breslau; in 1933 cathedral vicar and ordinariate secretary in Berlin; vicar general of the bishopric of Berlin, 1938-1950 and 1957-1961.

3 The letter comes from the file 'Verbindungen zwischen Katholizismus und Judentum' [Links between Catholicism and Judaism] in the holdings of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA).

*I. Numbers:* the number of Christians of Jewish origin is not known; it is not known either to the authorities or to the offices that seek to serve the non-Aryan Christians. (These are the Office of Dr Spiere<sup>4</sup> at 41 Brandenburgische Str., Berlin W. 15, for the Christians who are full Jews, and the 1937 Association – formerly St Paul’s Covenant – at 28 Sophie Charlottestr., Berlin-Charlottenburg 5, for the *Mischlinge*.<sup>5</sup>) In general there are no documents at all that might permit even a somewhat reliable estimate to be made. At the 1937 Association I was told that the authorities estimate the number of *Mischlinge* at approximately 300,000. Apparently the government offices have taken this number from a publication of the Reich Physicians’ Leader, which likewise – as an estimate – had adopted a figure of 300,000 *Mischlinge*. At the 1937 Association, the number of *Mischlinge* is estimated – also without documentation, however – to be 500,000.

On the basis of these figures, the approximate number of Catholics who are full Jews can perhaps be calculated as follows:

The former St Paul’s Covenant had around 4,500 members. After it was converted into the 1937 Association, that is, after the exit of the Christians who are classified as full Jews, the total membership is now only around 3,000. From that one can conclude that around 1,500 Christian full Jews were excluded from the organization upon its conversion into the 1937 Association. Accordingly, the old organization consisted of  $\frac{1}{3}$  full Jews and  $\frac{2}{3}$  *Mischlinge*. The ratio of  $\frac{1}{3}$  to  $\frac{2}{3}$  should probably be used also for calculating the number of non-Aryan Christians who had not joined the former St Paul’s Covenant; that is, here too,  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent would be full Jews and the rest *Mischlinge*.

If one takes as a basis the aforementioned numbers of *Mischlinge* – 300,000 or 500,000 – there would be  $(300,000 \div 3 =)$  100,000 or  $(500,000 \div 3 =)$  166,667 baptized full Jews.

The approximate total number of non-Aryan Christians would accordingly be estimated at  $(300,000 + 100,000 =)$  400,000 or  $(500,000 + 166,667 =)$  666,667.

On the basis of information provided to me on an earlier occasion by the former St Paul’s Covenant, its members included 12 per cent Catholics; that is also the approximate percentage which, according to the last population census, was calculated for the ratio of the two Christian denominations to one another for Berlin. Accordingly, one will be able to assume that, of the 400,000 or 666,667 Christians of Jewish origin, 12 per cent, that is, 48,000 or 80,000, are of the Catholic faith.

The situation of the *Mischlinge* is far better than that of the full Jews. Thus, one cannot know whether there exists any intention to emigrate at all for a substantial part of the *Mischlinge* and whether the authorities view their resettlement as desirable. Accordingly – at least in the present situation – only the Christians who have three or four Jewish grandparents or two full Jews as parents are eligible for emigration.

<sup>4</sup> Correctly: Spiero.

<sup>5</sup> The Reich Association of Christian German Citizens of Non-Aryan or Not Pure Aryan Descent (Reichsverband christlich-deutscher Staatsbürger nichtarischer oder nicht rein arischer Abstammung) was founded in 1933 to represent Catholic and Protestant Christians of Jewish descent and had local groups throughout the territory of the Reich. In August 1936, by order of Reich Culture Administrator Hinkel, it was renamed as the St Paul’s Covenant, Association of Non-Aryan Christians (Paulus-Bund. Vereinigung nichtarischer Christen). In March 1937 it was split into the 1937 Association (for Jewish *Mischlinge*) and the Office of Heinrich Spiero (for ‘full Jews’); the 1937 Association was disbanded by the Gestapo on 11 August 1939.

Above, I estimated the number of these Christians at 100,000 or 166,667. If one assumes here also that 12 per cent belong to the Holy Church, the number of Catholics who under German law are Jews would be estimated at 12,000 or 20,000.

These estimates apply solely to the old territory of the Reich. What the situation is in what used to be Austria is not known to me. But one will be able to assume unhesitatingly that the proportion of Catholics among the baptized Jews and Mischlinge is considerably higher than 12 per cent.

*II. Material situation:* the economic situation of the Jewish Catholics is far worse than that of their compatriots of the Mosaic faith, because the Jewish relief organizations categorically refuse to provide support to converts who want to emigrate.

*III. Jewish relief organizations:* the relief committees of the Jews are so numerous that one cannot count them all, and there are also no lists from which they can be discerned.

1. *Domestically:* in Prussia the providers of Jewish welfare, whose chief tasks include providing assistance with emigration, are the religious communities, which are consolidated in provincial associations. The provincial entities are centralized in the 'Reich Representation of Jews in Germany' at 158 Kantstr., Berlin-Charlottenburg 2. In the non-Prussian German regions, there are no provincial associations; here, the individual communities are directly subordinated to the Reich Representation. In addition to the Reich Representation, there is the 'Relief Association of German Jews' at 20 Ludendorffstr., Berlin W 35. Its sole task is to coordinate emigration.

These associations are joined, in this country, by the numerous Zionist organizations, which also are focused on work with emigrants. Their federation is the 'Palestine Office' of the Zionist Federations for Germany<sup>6</sup> at 10 Meinekestr., Berlin W 15. Finally, there is also the 'Jewish Counselling and Assistance Centre for Occupational Restructuring (that is, retraining) for the Purpose of Emigration' at 2 Rosenstr., Berlin C. 2.

2. *Abroad:* in foreign countries, in Europe and elsewhere, in every capital of the major countries, there exist immigrant aid committees, which are maintained by the Jews of the country in question.

The tasks of these aid centres include:

- (a) receiving the immigrants or people in transit at the border station or the port of arrival;
- (b) supporting them [with] money and clothing;
- (c) sometimes also retraining them;
- (d) equipping them for any further journey;
- (e) providing food and lodging for the transition period;
- (f) placing them in jobs;
- (g) taking care of the youth; and
- (h) furnishing the funds required by the immigration authorities.

<sup>6</sup> Correctly: Zionist Federation for Germany.

Among these foreign organizations, I have managed to learn only the address of the one in London: the 'German-Jewish Aid Committee', Woburn House, Upper Woburn Place, London WC1.

The offices of this aid committee occupy no fewer than fourteen floors of the building.

3. *Catholic relief organizations*: in contrast to this splendid aid effort of the Jewish religious community, the Catholic Church has only two organizations: the St Raphael Society<sup>7</sup> and the bishops' committee in New York,<sup>8</sup> whose beneficent activities deserve the greatest praise.

Provision of aid by the New York committee will not be possible at all in many instances. As Dr Krone<sup>9</sup> informed me, immigration to the USA is permissible *only* through an affidavit from relatives; sponsorship by friends or acquaintances is thus not recognized. Thus, anyone who has only distant relatives or none at all in the United States is barred straight away from immigrating into this country. This also applies to cases in which Americans of the Jewish faith refuse to provide an affidavit for their Catholic family members. Moreover, immigration to a country that – like the US – has 10 to 12 million unemployed does not offer a reasonably secure future. It is thus necessary to direct Catholic immigrants to other countries, such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, but above all to South and East Africa and South and Central America.

Immigration to South Africa would have the advantage that many emigrants know the English language, even if only at a rudimentary level, perhaps, and that this region, according to a recent speech by General Smuts,<sup>10</sup> is one that is very capable of development, and still in its economic infancy.

In favour of South and Central America is the fact that in these almost entirely Catholic countries it will be substantially easier for Catholic immigrants to be absorbed into the population.

For these countries – or at least for some of them – bishops' committees modelled on the North American one should also be created, in my view. For South and East Africa together, one committee in Cape Town would suffice; for South and Central America, I think, two are appropriate, one for the Portuguese-speaking area (Brazil) and the other for the Spanish-speaking area (the remaining countries).

These committees ought to perform approximately the same tasks that are the responsibility of the one in New York and the Jewish relief organizations abroad.

In my opinion it would be an especially meritorious work of Christian charity if additional episcopal relief centres were to be created by Rome along the lines I propose. There

7 The St Raphael Society for the Protection of Catholic Emigrants was founded in Mainz in 1871. The president was the then bishop of Osnabrück. The society was banned on 25 June 1941.

8 At the request of the German Conference of Bishops, the American bishops in New York established the Catholic Committee for Refugees, which, under the leadership of Joseph Ostermann (1894–1975), assisted Catholic refugees, beginning in Jan. 1937.

9 Dr Heinrich Krone (1895–1989), teacher; secretary general of the Centre Party, 1922–1933; Reichstag member, 1925–1933; in 1934 executive director of the Caritas welfare institution; arrested in 1944 in connection with the 20 July attempt to assassinate Hitler; party whip of the CDU/CSU in the German Bundestag, 1955–1961; Federal minister for special affairs, 1961–1966.

10 Jan Christian Smuts (1870–1950), lawyer, South African army general, politician, and philosopher; in 1919 South Africa's representative at the Paris Peace Conference; prime minister of the Union of South Africa, 1919–1924 and 1939–1948.

can be no lack of funds for this purpose: if the approximately 18 million Jews all over the world are able to maintain such an enormous relief agency for around 500,000 co-religionists in Germany, the approximately 380 million Catholics across the world should also be able to do something similar for a considerably smaller number of fellow believers.

The fact that the *greatest haste* is called for in setting up the committee probably needs no special mention.

In conclusion, I venture also to mention that it might be expedient for the St Raphael Society to create branches in Berlin and Vienna, and specifically as dependent as possible on the episcopal ordinariates. The tasks of these branch offices would be to counsel nearby residents who are eager to emigrate, and to prepare them for leaving the country. The emigration itself – once all the necessary documents have been assembled – would then have to take place through the main office in Hamburg.

DOC. 81

**On 13 August 1938 Siegfried Gerstle of Munich applies to have his assets converted into foreign currency under the Altreu scheme<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from Siegfried Gerstle,<sup>2</sup> 6 Stievestraße, Munich, to the Emergency Commission of the Reich Representation of Jews in Germany, 158 Kantstraße, Berlin-Charlottenburg, dated 13 August 1938 (copy)

With reference to the enclosed pre-registration for the Altreu transfer, I would ask that you treat the application as urgent for the following reasons:

I am 55 years old, married, and have four sons between the ages of 11 and 15. For more than sixteen years I have been a procurator at a firm known to you, H. Aufhäuser in Munich, and specifically I am the head of the Foreign Exchange and Overseas Department. Since 1933 my tasks have increasingly included work with Jewish emigrants, and I dare say that, through advising the enormous number of southern German emigrants who have turned to me over the last five years, I have been able to work at the forefront and with success on the problem of Jewish emigration.

Now, under the pressure of circumstances – particularly in view of the need to create a possibility for the future for my children, who are minors – I too feel that emigration is imperative, and in the autumn I will emigrate with my family to California, now that my eldest son has already emigrated to Australia last year. I can acquire the visa for us with the help of good friends, but I am compelled to build up an existence for myself from scratch, because regular employment or other means of earning a livelihood are not being offered to me.

After paying the Reich Flight Tax and other taxes, providing for relatives, paying the passage and cargo charges, the fee to the Deutsche Golddiskontbank for the shipment of household goods, etc., an amount of probably around RM 110,000 in blocked marks will be available to me. By purchasing this amount at the current buying rate of the

1 Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 622–1 Plaut D25. This document has been translated from German.

2 Siegfried Gerstle (b. 1883), procurator; worked for Aufhäuser Bank; emigrated to the USA in Sept. 1938 with his wife and three younger children.

Deutsche Golddiskontbank for blocked marks, therefore, I would be in a considerably worse position than if I possessed only RM 50,000 and could obtain RM 15,000 according to the Altreu table.

In consideration of these circumstances, particularly on account of my large family and my work in the area of furthering emigration, I ask most respectfully that you give sympathetic consideration to my request.

With the highest esteem

DOC. 82

**On 16 August 1938 Mrs Marx asks the Pope for help, given the difficult position of non-Aryan Catholics<sup>1</sup>**

Handwritten letter from the wife of Georg Marx, MD,<sup>2</sup> currently in Rome at 22 via dei Mille, c/o Richard Marx, to His Holiness Pope Pius XI, dated 16 August 1938

Most Holy Father,

Only the greatest concern for the existence of my family, who find themselves in a desperate situation, brings me, a simple woman, to trouble Your Holiness with this letter. For five years I have searched for help to find a way out, with no result. I am the German Catholic wife of a Jewish German physician whose forebears fled to Germany via Holland during the Spanish Inquisition. My four children, baptized in the Catholic faith and educated in parochial schools, are thus half-Aryans. As a result of the special regulations for Jewish doctors in Germany in the past five years, our pecuniary circumstances have been weakened to the utmost, and our livelihood completely destroyed by the new legislation from 30 September that prohibits every Jewish doctor from practising medicine, on penalty of imprisonment.<sup>3</sup> I am able at any time to bring to Your Holiness the best imaginable references from the pastor of our parish and the pastors of my children concerning my husband, now 68 years of age, his impeccable character, and the nobility with which he had his children brought up in the Catholic faith. For five years, and to an increasing extent in the past few months, the Jewish relief committees all over the world have created a means of ensuring a livelihood for a large number of Jews abroad, in particular for Jewish doctors. But however hard I have tried, supported by the best recommendations from priests, I can find no help. The Jewish relief committees are responsible only for 'purely Jewish cases'! Our family, however, consists of only one Jew and five Catholics! How can my husband, with his Catholic wife and his Catholic children, expect help from the Jews?!

The German Jews are in great distress, but great things are also being accomplished by the Jews throughout the world in terms of assistance. A relatively small number of

1 Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari, Germania, IV periodo 1938, pos. 742, fasc. 356, fols. 20–26. This document has been translated from German.

2 Maria Marx lived with her husband, Dr Georg Marx (1870–1947), in Remscheid in 1938, and later in Cologne. Her husband survived the war hidden in a convent of Catholic nuns in Koblenz-Lützel; it is unclear whether this was the Our Lady of Consolation Convent of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, built in 1888, or St Joseph's Abbey, dedicated in 1903. Neither institution exists today.

3 See Introduction, p. 18, and Doc. 76, 5 August 1938.

people who are able to help are confronted by an enormous number of people who, so to speak, have lost their livelihoods overnight. The tragedy of the Jews is distressing; that of the Christian half-Aryans is even more distressing, because the forms of relief that are available in so many ways to Jews are barred to the half-Aryan because he 'is not a Jew'.

Certainly, there are many half-Aryans in dire straits, and they are nonetheless only a tiny percentage, measured against the hundreds of millions of Catholics all over the world. I came here several days ago to stay with my son, who has been studying medicine in Rome for four years and who at that time had the best references from clerical and monastic quarters, Father Esch etc. to His Reverence Father Leiber, Father Stratmann etc. I wanted to turn to these gentlemen and see whether, through their kind mediation, I might find a way to go abroad with my family. Unfortunately, the gentlemen are not in Rome at the moment, and I have to return to Germany two or three days from now. So, in my frantic state of helplessness, I dared to write this letter to Your Holiness with a fervent plea for assistance. This help could perhaps entail only having someone in God's wide world who would obtain an immigration permit to a foreign country for my family and support us a bit at the very outset, possibly for a period of two or three months. I would happily go to North America.

Should my husband be unable to find a job as a physician, there might be the option of working as an assistant at a research institute, as my husband is carrying out scientific research in the field of bacteriology. It is still too early to know what the final results of this work will be. At any rate, thus far a change in the tubercle bac[illi] is achievable in the sense that their specific colourability is lost and [they are] no longer antagonistic to cultures. My husband expects findings in terms of diagnosis, identification, and therapy and perhaps also in the case of ultraviolet germs [*sic*]. If my husband had had the necessary means, he would have accepted an unpaid position at the university in Zurich that he obtained two years ago on the basis of this work, but in the interests of his family he could not give up his practice.

If we were given the opportunity to go to America, we would soon find a way to get ahead as well, since we are all willing to accept any respectable job in order to build a modest existence. Two years ago I learned to make pralines etc. so that, in the event of emigration, I could immediately help out. My elder son, 26, who has an engineering degree and is in South Africa, regularly sends £8–10 every month. My second son has been studying here for four years; naturally he cannot help financially. My elder daughter has been at the Royal South Hants Hospital in Southampton for one and a half years, training to be a nurse. In the event of emigration, it would certainly not be difficult to find an employment opportunity for her.

My younger daughter, 17 years old, could at first take a job working with children. My husband is also trained in business. What we need is the ability to obtain an immigration permit; the livelihood is something we would create ourselves with indefatigable energy. If we do not get out of Germany, we are simply doomed to perish as of 30 September. And so I close with the fervent plea: Holy Father! Help us for the sake of Christ! Do not let the Jewish man and his Catholic family go under.

I am, Your Holiness, most respectfully yours in Christ

With deepest reverence

## DOC. 83

**On 17 August 1938 David Heimann, 75, president by seniority of the Jewish Community of Berlin, requests a certificate of urgency for emigration to Palestine<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from David Heimann<sup>2</sup> to the Palestine Office, Legal Department, 10 Meinekestraße, Berlin W 15, dated 17 August 1938

Re: certificate of urgency

David *Heimann*

I, the undersigned, retailer David *Heimann*, am the holder of Reichsbank reservation number 4349.<sup>3</sup> I intend to emigrate as quickly as possible to Eretz Israel<sup>4</sup> with my wife, Rosa Heimann,<sup>5</sup> née Arnfeld. My reasons are the following:

I was born on 12 March 1864. My emigration is closely tied to that of my children:

Mrs Thekla Hirsch,<sup>6</sup> née Heimann, resident at 12 Steinstr., Berlin-Steglitz, holder of Reichsbank reservation number 4185, and

Mrs Else Michaelis,<sup>7</sup> née Heimann, whose husband, Hans Michaelis, at 2 Hohenzolernplatz, Stettin, is the holder of Reichsbank reservation number 4320. The aforementioned, following the demise of my first wife, Klara, née Arnfeld, are co-heirs of the whole estate of David Heimann and will also go to Eretz Israel, on the basis of my advice and material assistance. As a result, my four grandchildren, specifically the children of Thekla Hirsch and the daughter of Hans and Else Michaelis, whose names I list below,

Ruth Hirsch,

Gerhard-Mosche Hirsch,

Wolfgang-Awraham Hirsch

Hella-Lea Michaelis

will, as young people, be in a position to participate in the development of the land of our forefathers.

My granddaughter Ruth Hirsch, after reaching the age of 18 on 5 August 1938, will go to Eretz Israel as a WIZO chavera.<sup>8</sup> As a teenager she was in the Hachsharah programme, first in Grünen near Frankenberg-Eder and now in Augsburg.

My grandson Gerhard-Mosche Hirsch, who will turn 17 on 16 January 1939, is now with the Jewish Youth Support Committee<sup>9</sup> in Jessen near Sommerfeld, in the Hachsharah programme, and is due to come to Ellguth<sup>10</sup> on 1 September.

First and foremost, I would like to undertake my own emigration. I have been active as a Zionist for years, in many ways, and I personally meet all the requirements for being

1 CJA, 1/75 D He 1, Nr. 1, fols. 38–41. This document has been translated from German.

2 David Heimann (1864–1942), retailer; lived in Berlin; deported to Theresienstadt in Sept. 1942 and murdered in Treblinka.

3 Presumably this refers to a number on a waiting list, which determined the order in which emigrants were entitled to exchange foreign currency.

4 Hebrew: Land of Israel.

5 Rosa Heimann, née Arnfeld (1870–1942), died in Berlin in Jan. 1942.

6 Thekla Hirsch, née Heimann, emigrated to Britain.

7 Else Michaelis, née Heimann (b. 1899), deported to Auschwitz in Nov. 1942 along with her husband, Hans Michaelis (b. 1895).

8 Hebrew: female friend, comrade; here: member of the Women's International Zionist Organization.

a useful member of the development effort in Eretz Israel. All along, I have been involved for the benefit of Zionism, and I venture to provide more details of this work, as follows:

After inwardly sympathizing with Zionism for many years, I openly made a commitment to the Zionist idea in 1929. Nominated at that time as the Zionist candidate in the new election of representatives for the Berlin Community, I successfully worked as a liaison officer for the election all over the northern part of Berlin. Early in 1934 I was appointed a representative and I serve as such, also as the senior member of the Zionist faction and association. In the new legislative period of representation of the Jewish Community, which began on 1 January 1937, I am president by seniority and recently was nominated by unanimous decision of the Zionist association for the position of assistant Zionist deputy chairman and was unanimously elected by the assembly of representatives.

Around eight years ago I had occasion to come into contact with Dr Siegfried Moses when I transferred, with the purpose of building of Eretz Israel, a legacy in the amount of 3,000 marks from the estate of the late medical counsellor Dr Bau, whose widow I was advising.

In the spring of 1938, when I visited the family of my son who lives in New York, I took this opportunity to find out about several important immigration organizations, above all the Zionist Organization of America. From my diaries I submit as enclosures, along with Appendix 1, a partial report<sup>11</sup> relating to this, which makes evident my efforts to assist with aid and development in Eretz Israel before a forum of distinguished American Jews. (See Appendixes 2 and 3.)

I also took the opportunity, in an extensive discussion with Director Max Schlesinger of the Intria Ltd New York office, to advocate for promotion of the Haavara support mark with the big organizations in Germany. (See Appendix 4.)

To learn how I went about this promotion with the big Jewish organizations, please see the enclosed letter of commendation from the Palestine Trust Agency in Berlin, dated 6 August 1938. (See Appendix 5.)

As references, I give the names of the following:

Dr Raban, lawyer

Benno Cohn, lawyer

Dr Hans Friedenthal

Dr Scherek, lawyer

Dr Exiner, lawyer

the managers of the Palestine Trust Agency, Dr Marcus and Dr Bermann.

As a result of the regulations established for commercial sales representatives, my gainful employment has come to an end.<sup>12</sup> My assets suffice at most to provide the proof of means required for my family members and me. I run the risk of no longer being able

<sup>9</sup> Jüdische Jugendhilfe: founded by Recha Freier, Berlin, in 1932; it made preparations for the emigration of children and adolescents to Palestine. Jessen-Mühle near Sommerfeld in Lower Lusatia: training camp established in 1937, with room for forty to sixty adolescents being prepared for emigration.

<sup>10</sup> Hachsharah centre in Upper Silesia.

<sup>11</sup> None of the appendixes mentioned in the document are located in the file.

<sup>12</sup> The Law on the Amendment of the Commercial Code for the German Reich, 6 July 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, pp. 823–824) severely restricted the gainful employment of Jews.

to realize our emigration plans unless I can emigrate to Eretz Israel immediately. There, I will take up my former work in the leather industry. To this end, I managed during my stay in the USA to obtain the exclusive right to sell, in the regions of Palestine, Syria, and Egypt, a proprietary leather item of C. D. Brown & Co., Inc., Tanneries and Executive Offices in Rochester, New York, whose co-owner and sole representative is the Mosbacher Company Inc., 171–177 William Street, New York. (See Appendix 6, letter of confirmation, and Appendix 7.)

The main feature of the emigration scheme for my entire family would entail my succeeding, despite my advanced age, in settling a number of promising young workers in Eretz Israel, thanks to my personal energy and my resources.

Therefore I request that I be speedily approved for acquisition of the proof of means in the sum of 1,000 pounds sterling for the purpose of obtaining the A-I certificate<sup>13</sup> in an emergency proceeding.

I request a favourable review and a decision as quickly as possible, so that the desire towards which I have worked for many years will be fulfilled in my old age.

Most warmly, shalom, and with the highest esteem<sup>14</sup>

#### DOC. 84

### A regulation, dated 17 August 1938, forces Jews to adopt the first names 'Sara' and 'Israel'<sup>1</sup>

*Second Implementing Regulation to the Law on Changes to Surnames and Forenames.  
Dated 17 August 1938.*<sup>2</sup>

Under § 13 of the Law on Changes to Surnames and Forenames of 5 January 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 9), the following is decreed:

#### § 1

- (1) Jews may bear only forenames that are listed in the Guidelines on the Bearing of Forenames issued by the Reich Minister of the Interior.<sup>3</sup>
- (2) (1) does not apply to Jews of foreign nationality.

<sup>13</sup> A-I certificates were also called 'capitalist certificates', because the applicants had to bring with them at least 1,000 pounds sterling when they entered a country as immigrants.

<sup>14</sup> The application for emigration was denied on 7 Dec. 1939; the reasons cited were the advanced age of the applicant and the unreasonable physical exertions associated with the journey: CJA, 1/75 D He 1, Nr. 1, fol. 133.

<sup>1</sup> 'Zweite Verordnung zur Durchführung des Gesetzes über die Änderung von Familiennamen und Vornamen', *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, p. 1044. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Footnote in the original: 'Does not apply to the country of Austria.' The regulation of 24 Jan. 1939 extended the territorial validity of the law of 5 Jan. 1938 to Austria and the Sudeten German territories: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1939, I, pp. 81–82. The First Regulation on 7 Jan. 1938 stipulated the way in which changes to surnames were to be made and the fee that was to be paid: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Circular decree issued by the Reich Minister of the Interior, 18 August 1938, *Reichsministerialblatt der inneren Verwaltung*, 1938, pp. 1345–1348.

## § 2

(1) If Jews bear forenames other than those permissible for Jews under § 1, they must adopt an additional forename as of 1 January 1939; specifically, males must add the forename Israel, females the forename Sara.

(2) Anyone who is obliged, under (1), to adopt an additional forename is required to give written notice of this, within one month of the date from which he must bear the additional forename, to the registrar with whom his birth and marriage are recorded, and to the local police authority responsible for his place of residence or habitual abode.

(3) If the birth or marriage of the individual with the disclosure obligation is certified by a German diplomatic representative or consul or in a German protectorate, the required notification of the registrar must be addressed to the registrar of Registry Office I in Berlin. If the individual with the disclosure obligation has his residence or habitual abode in a foreign country, the notification envisaged in (1) clause 1 must be made to the appropriate German consul rather than the local police authority.

(4) In the case of persons who are legally incompetent or limited in their legal competence, the disclosure obligation falls on their legal representative.

## § 3

Inasmuch as it is customary in legal dealings and business dealings to give one's name, Jews must also always use at least one of their forenames. If they are required under § 2 to adopt an additional forename, this forename must also be used. The provisions with regard to the management of a trading company are hereby unaffected.

## § 4

(1) Anyone who knowingly infringes the provision of § 3 will be punished with a prison sentence of up to six months. If the infringement is based on negligence, the penalty is imprisonment for up to one month.

(2) Anyone who knowingly or negligently fails to make the disclosure required under § 2 will be punished with a fine or with imprisonment for up to one month.

Berlin, 17 August 1938.

*The Reich Minister of the Interior*

*p.p.*

Dr Stuckart

*The Reich Minister of Justice*

Dr Gürtner<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Dr Franz Gürtner (1881–1941), lawyer; from 1909 worked in the Bavarian Ministry of Justice; Bavarian minister of justice, 1922–1932; arranged for the lifting of the ban on the NSDAP; Reich minister of justice, 1932–1941; joined the NSDAP in 1937; editor of works including *Das kommende deutsche Strafrecht* (1934).

## DOC. 85

**On 19 August 1938 Hildegard Wagener reports on the unforeseen course of a political training evening<sup>1</sup>**

Handwritten diary of Hildegard Wagener,<sup>2</sup> entry for 19 August 1938

This evening I experienced something that has greatly shaken me and made me think:

Political training evening for the assistants' examination. Jews are the subject of discussion. (On the three preceding evenings, everything culminated in the same topic.) For every action of a Jew, a selfish motive is assumed.<sup>3</sup> The trainer talks for an hour, and then we are supposed to speak out and briefly summarize the ideas again. A young man raises his hand. He starts by saying, 'National Socialism is of the opinion that ...' He says that the Portuguese Jews are just very cultivated and refined, unlike the Ostjuden. The trainer: 'Jew remains a Jew.'

Now a moderately gifted young girl volunteers and says everything in just the way it is expected of us, the way we are taught: the Jew is bad, *no* Jew is worth anything, half-Jews<sup>4</sup> are psychologically torn and therefore even more inferior.

Someone else is expected to voluntarily speak out. Silence. A young man's name is called. He also repeats the words and views of the trainer; the general opinion in the room seems to be along the same lines. The next person is called on. 'I regret to say that my opinion is entirely different!' Everyone freezes. – 'I myself am a half-Jew, my mother is an Aryan. I am baptized and feel completely German, have never felt otherwise and will never feel any differently. My father was an officer at the front for four years. I cannot align myself with your views on the depravity of the Jews, the inferiority of the half-Jews.' Silence. – The trainer attempts to make feeble rejoinders. The young man who had previously spoken entirely in accordance with the trainer's views takes the floor. 'It has been statistically established that ... [a] thousand Jews volunteered to serve in the world war and were killed in action. The Jews who can actually be reproached with something have already emigrated. The remaining 260,000 who are still in this country are decent Germans. The present struggle against the Jews is therefore like playing with the wind and completely unjustified. I am sorry that I said something different before. I myself am a half-Jew.' People's eyes get bigger and bigger; the situation is horribly distressing for me because of what the trainer stated previously. Now, more voices dare to chip in, conceding that the Jews have at least a bit of soul. Finally I request that the topic be brought to a conclusion, because that is desirable for all the parties under the given circumstances. And as I leave, I am compelled to squeeze the hand of the young man who was the first to be so brave, and to tell him that he conducted himself in a marvellous fashion. I had to!

1 Original in the private collection of H. Wagener; typewritten copy in AdK, Kempowski-Biographienarchiv, A 37. This document has been translated from German.

2 Hildegard Wagener (b. 1918), foreign-language secretary; worked in an export company in Hamburg until the Second World War; later switched to her husband's accounting firm.

3 Here the original contains an illegible insertion.

4 People with two Jewish grandparents.

When, on Monday, such questions are put to me during the examination, I will not manipulate my opinion but rather will say everything I really think, *even at the risk of failing the exam.*

Actually I have no opinion of my own at all regarding the Jews; I can say only what I have been told, as I have scarcely any experiences with Jews. But one must not present these things to me too blatantly; there are still people who are incredulous.

DOC. 86

**On 24 August 1938 Luise Solmitz writes about the introduction  
of compulsory first names for Jews<sup>1</sup>**

Diary of Luise Solmitz, Hamburg, entry for 24 August 1938 (copy)

A telephone call ... 'And how are you?' It is so harsh to have to say 'Fine, thanks!' when one is fighting for sheer survival and is not supposed to enjoy any more respect than a convict.

And then, in the evening, the new blow we were awaiting fell.

Fr.<sup>2</sup> really pale and quiet, then he told me.

For Germans, only German given names, including a few that have been adopted into the language.<sup>3</sup>

But for Jews, Jewish names. – I said before: 'Watch out, they'll impose them!' And so it also came to pass. Not Jonas, Josua, Benjamin, which could be tolerated, but the most dreadful, barely known names, some of them insulting ones, and what would also apply to Fr. is that anyone who has a different given name has to add to it: Israel, for men, and Sarah, for women. One has no idea what to say. Every official signature has to be provided in this way; this is the written form to be used for the telephone directory, the street directory, and one's bank account.

Fr. wrote at once to Minister of the Interior Frick, asking to be spared from this and stating his reasons. Who knows whether this may not be viewed as a rebellion besides? ...

Hitler and Horthy in Hamburg.<sup>4</sup> – Mr v.Z. saw them, Hitler, quite contrary to his custom, probably for the guest's sake, sitting low in the car.

1 Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 622-1/140, Familie Solmitz, 1, Bd. 31. This document has been translated from German.

2 The reference is to Friedrich Wilhelm, Luise Solmitz's husband; see Doc. 5, 27 Jan. 1938, fn. 9.

3 See Doc. 84, 17 August 1938.

4 The Hungarian regent Miklós Horthy was on a state visit in Germany from 21 to 26 August 1938. On 24 August 1938 Hitler travelled to Hamburg with Horthy, at one time an admiral in the Austro-Hungarian Navy.

## DOC. 87

**On 24 August 1938 Mr and Mrs Malsch of Düsseldorf write to their son in New York about efforts to emigrate and an imminent occupational ban<sup>1</sup>**

Handwritten letter from Mr and Mrs Malsch, Düsseldorf, to Wilhelm R. Malsch, Long Island (New York), dated 24 August 1938

My dear Willy,

Yesterday we sent you a letter with the *Europa*, and this morning your kind letter arrived with the *Normandie*; we immediately confirmed it by sending you a postcard via the *Deutschland*. Today we also sent you, as printed matter, the envelopes + business letterheads that you requested. I've been thinking all day now about a way for us to join you soon, something else *absolutely* has to happen; overall you really don't write much in response to all our questions though we are *certainly* convinced that you are doing a great deal on our behalf. We don't know what is to be done after 30 September.<sup>2</sup> So write at once to Franklin too. The Kornes have to be in St[uttgart] on 23 September. What sort of qualms do the Fullers have now, anyway? What did they actually say about our letter? You've surely spoken with them about it. Dear boy, do me a favour and write to us more clearly, the uncertainty is making us ill. What does Uncle say about all this? Dear Papa thought that Stuttgart<sup>3</sup> would reply to Uncle there because he had also written, but it can take a long time yet, because nobody in St[uttgart] is in a hurry, only we are in a hurry. Sometimes one is quite panic-stricken. I hope that you don't misunderstand me and that you can put yourself in our position now. At any rate, give us really detailed information right away. Other than that, we already told you everything worth mentioning yesterday. I hope the heat there has let up a bit by now. Do you get together with Martin often? Well, there's nothing further to report today; write back at once. Warmest regards and kisses, your always loving mother.

Best regards to dear Uncle + Aunt.

My dear Willy, the situation we face can be quickly explained. On 30 September, all travel activity ceases for J[ewish] sales representatives, not even a city trip is possible any more. We would not even be permitted to sell what we ourselves manufacture. But even for such work, an official permit must first be obtained, + this includes firms that buy from Jewish manufacturers! Even in a craftsman's job, one must be a member of the DAT!<sup>4</sup> Every possibility of earning is thus cut off. Nobody knows what is to come! We are really left with nothing! We can't work, because we are not allowed to work. What do we live on? So you will understand that we have to leave. And to do that, we still need some help. Uncle Eugen knows the Lambert family, you know. You have located the

1 USHMM, RG-10.086/7 of 13. This document has been translated from German.

2 The Law on the Amendment of the Commercial Code, 6 July 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, p. 823) prohibited Jewish sales representatives from pursuing their profession with effect from 30 Sept. 1938. This also affected Paul Malsch.

3 The writer is referring to the US consulate in Stuttgart, where Mr and Mrs Malsch had applied for a visa.

4 Presumably the DAF (Deutsche Arbeitsfront: German Labour Front).

Sacks; now see whether you can track down the L[amberts]. No stone must be left unturned. We'd like to write something more cheerful to you, but all we can think about is just – out of here, away, as quickly as possible. The latest newspapers, which we will send to you next Sunday, will tell you everything. I want this letter to make it in time for the *Deutschland*.

Warm regards to all + lots of hugs and kisses to you from your loving  
Papa

DOC. 88

**On 25 August 1938 the situation of Jews in Germany is summed up in a report to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee<sup>1</sup>**

Report, unsigned, dated 25 August 1938<sup>2</sup>

In the following lines I shall try to give a brief description of the Jews in Germany. This can be done only in the shortest way, for, if all the decrees and measures affecting the public should be given in detail, a whole book would have to be written.

Since the Anschluss of Austria the situation of the Jews in Germany has become worse from week to week. In the country and in smaller towns, especially in the provinces of Hesse, Franconia and East Prussia, the situation looked very bad even before the annexation. In the larger towns, such as Berlin, Hamburg, Leipzig, Frankfurt a/M, etc., up to last Easter, things were not too bad; now one can even say that, compared with the present situation, they were very bright. Up to that time, the Jews in the big cities could go freely to restaurants, cafes and cinemas. They were not molested in the streets, and life was more or less normal.

However, a complete change has taken place, as will be seen from the following:

About ten weeks ago, sudden raids were made on the cafes frequented by Jews, who were arrested. At the same time, a series of arrests took place all over the Reich, the victims of which were brought to the Buchenwalde<sup>3</sup> Concentration Camp near Weimar.<sup>4</sup> It was not possible to learn the exact number of Jews who are there at present, but there seem to be 1,700–1,800. Among them, men aged 60 and even more are to be found. Nor was it possible to find out who was the instigator of these arrests. The Gestapo pretended to have nothing to do with this. Other bodies made the same statement. It appears that this time, the initiative came directly from the Criminal Police by order of the supreme chief of police – Himmler.<sup>5</sup> Up to last week over 170 prisoners died in Buchenwalde. In such cases a postcard is sent to the family, informing them that the urn with the ashes of the deceased will be sent to them against a certain payment. It seems that only very

1 JDC Archives, AR 33/44, p. 631. The original document is in English.

2 Author unknown. On 8 Sept. 1938 Nathan Katz, an employee in the Paris office of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), sent the report to a JDC representative in New York with a short memo noting that the explanation should be considered accurate and reliable: *ibid*. The grammar and spelling of the original have been retained.

3 Correctly: Buchenwald.

4 See Doc. 39, 1 June 1938.

5 The author means Heinrich Himmler, Reichsführer SS and Chief of the German Police.

few of the deceased have committed suicide. Many of them were not fit for the hard work they had to do and simply collapsed. Others were shot dead for alleged attempt to escape. Those prisoners who can prove that they have taken steps with a view to emigrating are released under the condition that they leave the country within a few weeks. Thus, the Hilfsverein,<sup>6</sup> as well as all other Jewish organizations and private persons engaged in relief work, are besieged from morning till night by the wives of the unfortunate prisoners who, in utter despair, beseech them to help their husbands emigrate so that they may be released. What the treatment of the prisoners in Buchenwalde is, may be seen from the fact that some of them whom I met after their liberation have lost 30–40 pounds during their six-weeks' imprisonment. For one day they had nothing to eat, for another nothing to drink. It is said that things are better of late, that the food is more abundant and that the prisoners are not beaten so much as before. Whether this statement is correct could not be checked.

As to the past life of the 1,700 prisoners, 20 % have not committed the slightest offence. They were arrested for having crossed the street not according to the rule, for which they had to pay a small fine, or some similar offences. 40 % had served a previous sentence some 20–30 years ago. I know of some cases when these penalties were inflicted for having stocked too many provisions during the War! 40 % have really committed some crime in the past.

Simultaneously with the wave of arrests, activities were commenced ten weeks ago against all Jewish enterprises. Window-panes were smashed, entrance doors watched by young boys of the Hitler Youth, so that no one could come in. As a consequence, many shops closed down for a few days. These activities were stopped later. The besmirching of shop windows and walls was removed, but a decree was issued according to which every Jewish shop had to bear on the windows the name of the owner in white letters of 20 centimetres. In fact, these inscriptions appear everywhere and can be seen at a great distance.

It should be noted that the public did not really approve of this action, but, naturally, no one dares say a word about it.

The Aryanization of the Jewish shops is making progress everywhere. As a result, more and more Jewish employees are being dismissed. It is typical that, in many cases although the contract of sale of large Jewish enterprises has been made, the consent of the authorities has not been granted. One is under the impression that nobody dares sign anything. As an example let us take the big store N. Israel and the cigarette factory Garbathy.<sup>7</sup> Negotiations had been carried through, but the consent lacked. The authorities in question seem to be afraid of being disavowed and reprimanded by the Party if they give the consent.

Towards the 15th of September, over 3,000 Jewish physicians will lose the right to practise. In Berlin 175–200 former Jewish physicians will be allowed to treat Jewish pa-

<sup>6</sup> German in the original here and below: Hilfsverein der Juden in Deutschland (Relief Association of Jews in Germany).

<sup>7</sup> N. Israel department store on Spandauer Straße in Berlin was Aryanized in 1939 and became Emil Köster AG. The Garbáty cigarette factory in Berlin-Pankow was founded in 1881 and Aryanized in 1938. It was sold to the Jakob Koerfer Group and in 1949 nationalized under the name VEB Garbáty.

tients as 'medical curers' (Krankenbehandler).<sup>8</sup> Negotiations on this subject are still going on. The physicians of the Jewish Hospital will be allowed to practise there, but not to receive patients in their private homes. Further, the doctors are in a very difficult situation as they do not only lose their income, but also have received notice to leave their flats on October 1st. The landlords often opposed this, but were compelled to do so by the police and the Party.

As to the commercial representatives and agents, the number of those affected by this law is ten times as many. At the end of September over 30,000 such agents all over the Reich must cease their work without any compensation whatsoever.<sup>9</sup> A great many people who had lost their positions over the past years, managed to pull through somehow by travelling as commercial representatives, which they are no longer allowed to do as from the end of September.

The question of lodging causes great apprehension. According to the program of the Party, Jews and Aryans are not to dwell under the same roof. There is much talk about a plan of establishing a ghetto. When this will take place is not important. The fact is that many landlords, at the instigation of Aryan tenants, have given notice to Jews, which has been approved by many judgements. In Franconia, in Schweinfurt and other places, for instance, many Jewish landlords, under the pressure of the police and the Party, have been compelled to sell their houses to Aryans for a mere song. The first measure taken by the new proprietor was to throw out the former Jewish landlord.

After the raids mentioned before, similar measures were no longer repeated. A week ago, however, a new wave arose. Last Saturday, for instance, all Jewish persons who were bathing or rowing in the Stoelphensee near Wannsee, a well-known Western suburb of Berlin, were arrested. Only a few of them, who happened to have some documents with them, were released. What has become of the others is not yet known. The newspapers gave as reason for this measure that the police had learned that 'anarchist and criminal elements' were to meet at the Stoelphensee. On the same day all Jewish inhabitants of Wannsee were summoned to the police, which confiscated their identity papers or made red marks on them, as a sign for Jews.

Since last week, passports belonging to Jews are also being marked with red.<sup>10</sup> On this occasion it should be remarked that passports are issued to Jews for emigration purposes only. While formerly, merchants could obtain passports on the recommendation of the Chamber of Commerce stating that they exported goods and brought foreign exchange into the country, this has no longer been the case during the last few months. I know of many big exporters whose presence was urgently required abroad and who waited for a passport in vain, although the issue of same had been strongly recommended by the Chamber of Commerce. Jews owning passports are very rare. From time to time, a passport is issued, this only when the 'Reichsstelle fuer das Auswanderungswesen' (Reich Department for Emigration) certifies that the journey of a Jew is to further Jewish emigration. Previous to the issue of a passport, the following bodies are

<sup>8</sup> The Fourth Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law (25 July 1938) withdrew Jewish doctors' licence to practise with effect from 30 Sept. 1938.

<sup>9</sup> Law on the Amendment of the Commercial Code, 6 July 1938; *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, p. 823.

<sup>10</sup> A general directive to stamp a red 'J' in passports was issued in Nov. 1938: see Doc. 127, 10 Nov. 1938.

consulted: the Police Department for foreigners, the Party, the Gestapo and the local Police. In some cases the issue of a passport was dependent on a hostage whom the police could make responsible for anything the traveller might propagate abroad against Germany.

From October 1st an identity card for the German territory will be introduced; this is indispensable for every Jew. It will bear his fingerprint.<sup>11</sup>

New-born Jewish children must be given Jewish names in the future. All Jews bearing a non-Jewish first-name have to add, from October 1st, the name 'Israel' for men and 'Sara' for women.<sup>12</sup>

Cars belonging to Jews were recently given special numbers – from 300,000 on.<sup>13</sup> Thus, they are known to be owned by Jews. Such cars are not given any petrol on the autostrades.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, the *Angriff*<sup>15</sup> claimed of late that Jews should not drive cars as 'they lack the necessary esprit de corps.'<sup>16</sup>

Although on one hand Jewish emigration is to be accelerated, on the other hand more and more difficulties are met with. Three lists are required for the removal of furniture and personal belongings.

1. A list of all furniture acquired previous to 1933
2. " " " " " " during the last five years
3. " " " " articles bought with a view to emigrating.

A payment equal to the amount spent for the goods acquired during the last five years, is to be deposited with the [Deutsche] Golddiskontbank. The lists must show every piece of furniture, book, etc. It often takes many months before the permit of removing furniture is granted.

Needless to say that the urge for emigration is increasing from day to day. 1,000–1,200 persons apply daily to the Hilfsverein. The Reich Advisory Offices for emigration, which gives a recommendation to the police for the procuring of a passport, is very fair in its work. These Offices are so overcrowded that people have to stand in a queue for hours in order to obtain a number for a week later. Conditions in the various Jewish organizations are similar to those in the Hilfsverein. The Joint<sup>17</sup> bureau in Berlin is also besieged by applicants from morning till night. The American Consulate in Berlin, as is known, accepts no more new applications. It even fixes the time for applications now under consideration for February and March 1939. In comparison with the large demand for emigration, the possibilities for its realization are very small. The carrying through of the regular emigration is becoming more and more difficult due to the urgency of the Buchenwalde cases, as the prisoners are released only under the condition of emigration. The sum of £5,000 put at the disposal of the Hilfsverein for the above purposes is used up, and *the assignment of new funds is very urgent.*

11 See Doc. 72, 28 July 1938.

12 See Doc. 84, 17 August 1938.

13 This information could not be verified.

14 Motorways.

15 *Der Angriff* was the newspaper of the Berlin NSDAP. It was founded by Joseph Goebbels and appeared between 1927 and 1945.

16 This quote could not be verified.

17 American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

Income from community taxes is at present quite satisfactory owing to the sale of numerous Jewish enterprises. However, this is a real liquidation process. It is impossible to foretell what the budget of the Berlin Jewish Community, which amounted to 12,000,000 marks for last year, will be in 1–1½ years. As it seems that all Jewish enterprises will be liquidated by the end of the year, the prospects of income from taxes are very poor. It is to be feared that German Jewry will be completely annihilated within the 1½–2 years to come.

DOC. 89

**On 29 August 1938 the NSDAP Gauleitung for the Lower Danube complains to the NSDAP Main Office for People's Welfare about the conversion of a synagogue into a Protestant church<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the NSDAP Lower Danube (U-43-5-90, Ka<sup>2</sup>/T.Org.), Vienna, unsigned, to the NSDAP, Reichsleitung, Main Office for People's Welfare, Party Comrade Wulff,<sup>3</sup> Berlin, dated 29 August 1938 (copy)

As a matter of interest, I would like to report the following incident to you:

The head of the NSV<sup>4</sup> Kreis office in Korneuburg,<sup>5</sup> with headquarters in Stockerau, has requisitioned the Jews' temple for NSV purposes, in particular for the special operation now in progress. The Jewish temple was no longer used by the religious community and would hence be an appropriate storage place, after some minor building alterations, and in addition would have resulted in space for 'Mother and Child'.<sup>6</sup> The temple was fumigated at NSV expense. A few days ago, the head of the Kreis office was told by the Kreisleiter that he could not keep the temple because it will be taken over by the Protestant congregation. This congregation is paying some sort of conveyance fee to the Jewish religious community. What is now the NSV storage facility will thus be made into a Protestant church. I am raising the question as to whether it is permissible for a leader of our ideology to help a religious community to spread.

I will continue my attempt to undo this arrangement.<sup>7</sup>

Heil Hitler!

1 BArch, R 58/5891. This document has been translated from German.

2 Probably Hans Karafiat, head of the organizational department of the NSV Gau administration.

3 Ernst Wulff (b. 1900), retailer; joined the NSDAP in 1931 and the SS in 1939; from 1933 in the Main Office for People's Welfare; head of the organizational office, 1935–1943; liaison officer between the Ethnic German Liaison Office (Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle) and the NSV, 1941–1943; convicted of bribery in 1943 and expelled from the SS and the NSDAP in 1944.

4 Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt: National Socialist People's Welfare Organization.

5 The head of the NSV Kreis office was Julius Faubel (b. 1897), plumber; joined the NSDAP in 1938.

6 The NSV's Mother and Child Relief Agency looked after women during pregnancy and after childbirth.

7 The synagogue in Stockerau was consecrated as a Protestant house of worship on 6 Nov. 1938. In 1953 restitution proceedings brought by the Israelite Religious Community ended in a settlement: in exchange for the payment of 150,000 Austrian schillings, ownership of the building and the associated parcel of land was ultimately transferred to the Stockerau parish.

## DOC. 90

***Aufbau*, New York, 1 September 1938: article on the introduction of mandatory first names for Jews<sup>1</sup>***Israel and Sarah*

A new delight has sprouted from the brown German entity through which the world is supposed to be restored to health: a decree signed by Reich Minister of 'Justice' Dr Gürtner and Reich Minister of the Interior Dr Frick orders the Jewish individuals of Streicherland<sup>2</sup> who have a non-Jewish first name to add to this name, in future, 'Israel' or 'Sarah', depending on their sex.<sup>3</sup> (The names that must be regarded as Jewish have already been identified in the meantime. Quite a number of good Jewish names have been elevated to hereditary Aryan status.)

If the rationale from which this regulation stemmed were not so abysmally vile in its content, there would be nothing to be criticized: 'Israel' means 'he who struggles with God' and 'Sarah' or 'Sara' (indeed, the forename borne also by the venerable mother of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt!) means 'princess'. For members of the race of swastika-wearers, these names are really out of the question: one seeks in vain for royal traits among the desecrators of all that is divine.

One ought to consider whether the Nazis and their charming ladies should not be repaid in the appropriate coin. Perhaps members of our reading public have serendipitous inspirations. The task is a difficult one in any event. For how could the unbridled malevolence that runs riot beneath the swastika<sup>4</sup> be compressed into two manageable words ...?!

Bdl.<sup>5</sup>

## DOC. 91

**On 10 September 1938 customs investigators in Halle accuse Ernst Petschek of using a front man to conceal his shareholdings<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the Customs Investigation Branch in Halle (H II 231/38-1), signed Böhnstedt,<sup>2</sup> to the Foreign Exchange Investigation Office, Berlin, dated 10 September 1938 (copy)

Re: the suspected currency offences committed by the Jew Dr Ernst *Petschek*,<sup>3</sup> Aussig/Berlin, and others.

A suspicion has been expressed by the German Labour Front, Gau administration in Halle-Merseburg, that the Jew Dr Ernst Petschek is guilty of committing extensive cur-

1 'Israel und Sarah', *Aufbau*, no. 10, 1 Sept. 1938, p. 5. This article has been translated from German.

2 This is an allusion to Julius Streicher, editor of the antisemitic smear sheet *Der Stürmer*.

3 See Doc. 84, 17 August 1938.

4 English in the original.

5 Dr Rudolf Hermann Brandl (1884-1957), journalist; editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 1906-1923, and of the *Leipziger Tageblatt*, 1923-1924; head of the Leipzig subsidiary of the Ullstein News Service, 1924-1932; head of the archives in the Ullstein Building in Berlin, 1932-1934; emigrated to the USA, 1934; editor-in-chief of *Aufbau*, 1937-1939; returned to Germany in 1953.

1 BArch, R 2, Anh. 56, F. 8. This document has been translated from German.

2 Günter Böhnstedt (b. 1906); joined the NSDAP in 1933; customs inspector in Halle.

rency offences. The outcome of preliminary investigations I initiated on account of this suspicion was as follows:

Until 1934 Dr Ernst Petschek was the chairman of the supervisory board of the Leonhardt Works in Zipsendorf in Kreis Zeitz,<sup>4</sup> a company in the business of mining lignite and producing briquettes with a share capital of RM 8,000,000.

After standing down as chairman, Petschek remained a member of the supervisory board of the Leonhardt Works. He did not leave the board completely until three weeks ago. According to a newspaper notice, the director of the Leonhardt Works Mr *Knackstedt*,<sup>5</sup> generally known to be Petschek's front man, took his place, whereas Staatsrat *Reinhardt*,<sup>6</sup> the former director of the Berlin Trade Association and the current director of the Commerz- und Privat-Bank AG,<sup>7</sup> has been active as the chairman of the supervisory board since 1934.

The Gau administration of the German Labour Front in Halle-Merseburg suspects that Petschek still holds more than a 90 per cent stake in the shares of the Leonhardt works and that in the years 1933 to 1938 he shifted the dividends paid on his shares abroad.

The following facts, determined partly by myself and partly by representatives of the DAF,<sup>8</sup> seem to confirm this suspicion.

1. It is assumed, although it could not yet be confirmed with certainty, that Petschek was already a major shareholder of the Leonhardt Works before 1933.
2. In recent years at various general meetings of the Leonhardt Works, only 17 per cent of the issued shares were represented. Petschek regularly represented 9 per cent, 8 per cent were owned by a third party, and 83 per cent were not represented at all.
3. The dividends for the 9 per cent held by Petschek *and for the remaining 83 per cent* of the shares issued were not collected at all in the years between 1933 and 1938. They were

3 Dr Ernst Friedrich Petschek (1887–1956), chemist; board member of Deutsche Industrie AG; chairman of the supervisory board of the Leonhard Lignite Works; emigrated to the USA in 1938 after the Aryanization of the conglomerate. The Petschek family owned a widespread business consortium, partly based in Czechoslovakia, which included vast lignite reserves. As Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan, Göring in particular had a strong interest in these.

4 Correctly: the Leonhard Lignite Works (Braunkohlenwerke Leonhard AG), founded in 1907. The majority shareholder from 1931 to 1938 was the Petschek family; after the Aryanization of the Petschek company group in 1939, it was taken over by the mining firm Deutsche Kohlenbergbau GmbH. It was integrated into the industrial conglomerate Hermann Göring Works in 1940 as the Leonhard Lignite division, and from 1946 it was the property of the federal state of Thuringia.

5 Otto Albrecht Conrad Knackstedt (b. 1878), engineer; joined the NSDAP in 1937; board member of the Leonhard Lignite Works from 1907 and of the Braunkohlenwerke AG Vereinsglück from 1912, and from 1927 member of the supervisory board of the Mitteldeutsche Braunkohlen-Syndikats GmbH.

6 Correctly: Friedrich Reinhart (1871–1943), banker; from 1929 director of the Commerz- und Privatbank, and chairman of the supervisory board of the Leonhard Lignite Works and of the Ilse Bergbau AG, among others; Prussian Staatsrat, 1933; president of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce in Berlin and head of the Chamber of Commerce Berlin-Brandenburg; 1935.

7 Founded in 1870 as the Commerz- und Disconto-Bank in Hamburg; merged with the Berliner Bank AG in 1905; merged with the Mitteldeutsche Privatbank AG to become the Commerz- und Privatbank AG in 1920.

8 Deutsche Arbeitsfront: German Labour Front.

placed in *one* account named 'unclaimed dividends' at the Leonhardt Works, which on 17 May 1938 had a balance of around 2,300,000 Reichsmarks, on which no interest was earned.

4. According to information from the director of the Zeitz Tax Office, when Knackstedt – who is assumed to be the front man – was questioned, Knackstedt explained to him that he could certainly imagine to whom the unclaimed dividends belonged. However, if he had to swear an oath on it, he would not be able to name a name.

5. On 17 May 1938 Petschek represented his 9 per cent stake in the Leonhardt Works for the last time at the general meeting. This stake, incidentally, did not appear on the asset statement dated 27 April 1938 presented to the chief of police in Berlin on 29 June 1938. In the period from 17 May 1938 to 30 June 1938, all previously unclaimed dividend coupons were suddenly presented for redemption and all were indeed cashed by the Leonhardt Works. Domestic banks, chiefly the Commerz- und Privat-Bank Berlin, submitted the coupons. A large number of the coupons were said to have gone through the Dreyfus Jewish banking house.<sup>9</sup>

6. Until 28 July 1938 the director Knackstedt sent regular business reports to Petschek. Allegedly he even sought his decisions on important business matters (e.g. for the purchase of larger machinery and the planning of the budget). According to DAF shop stewards, Knackstedt also often had handwritten letters to Petschek copied, whereby he allegedly always kept the copies himself.

Among the staff at the Leonhardt Works, Petschek is said to be generally regarded as the 'boss'.

It should furthermore be noted in this context that Petschek is also alleged to be a major shareholder of the Phönix coal mines in Mumsdorf, Thuringia, and the Bornaer coal mines in Borna, Saxony.<sup>10</sup> The products of all three mines are sold by the Coal Trading Company, Leipzig (branches in Berlin and Dresden),<sup>11</sup> which was founded and is apparently still run by Petschek. This firm is linked to Deutsche Industrie AG (Diag),<sup>12</sup> Potsdamer Straße, Berlin W 8, though the exact nature of the connection has yet to be clarified. The latter firm is suspected of existing solely to administer Petschek's assets.

The shares owned by Petschek are alleged to be from the inheritance of his father, Ignaz P.<sup>13</sup> Other assets belonging to Ignaz P. are alleged to have been transferred to

9 The Dreyfus banking house, founded by Jacques Dreyfus in 1868 in Frankfurt am Main; merged with the Commerz- und Disconto-Bank in Hamburg, 1897–1903; brokered large foreign loans for the German Reich and German industry from 1924; Aryanized in 1938.

10 Phönix AG für Braunkohlenverwertung, founded in 1909; the Petschek family was the majority shareholder, 1926–1938. It was taken over by the mining firm Deutsche Kohlenbergbau GmbH in 1939 and later transferred to the Hermann Göring Works as the BKW Phönix; operated as the VEB BKW Phönix after 1945. The lignite works Braunkohlenwerke Borna AG was a branch of the BKW Salzdorf AG after 1938; it was placed under state ownership in 1952, and from 1990 was one of the companies in the lignite conglomerate Vereinigte Mitteldeutsche Braunkohlenwerke AG.

11 Deutsche Kohlenhandels-gesellschaft mbH: trust that administered the possessions of the Petschek group in Upper Silesia.

12 The Deutsche Industrie-AG was part of the Petschek consortium in Bohemia.

13 Ignaz Petschek (1857–1934), banker and industrialist; founder of the Petschek consortium; majority shareholder from 1926 of Phönix AG with his brother Dr Julius Petschek and from 1927 of Ilse

Julius P.,<sup>14</sup> a brother of Dr Ernst P. The companies run by Julius P. have in the meantime allegedly been 'Aryanized' by order of the Reich Ministry of Economics. There is therefore an assumption that the relevant departments in the ministry have been informed of the actual asset situation of Dr Ernst P., and that possibly there is no interest in clarifying the ownership structure at the Leonhardt Works.

For this reason and with regard to the current chairman of the supervisory board, Staatsrat Reinhardt, I request a decision on whether the continuation of investigations and the clarification of the ownership at the Leonhardt Works, the Phönix coal mines, the Bornaer coal mines, the Coal Trading Company, and Deutsche Industrie AG is desired.<sup>15</sup>

DOC. 92

**On 14 September 1938 Adolf Eichmann informs the Security Main Office in Berlin about the expulsion of destitute Jews from Vienna<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the head of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration, 22 Prinz Eugenstraße, Vienna IV, SS-Obersturmführer Eichmann,<sup>2</sup> to the Security Main Office,<sup>3</sup> II 112, FAO SS-Obersturmführer Hagen (received on 20 September 1938), dated 14 September 1938<sup>4</sup>

*Re:* Central Office for Jewish Emigration, 22 Prinz Eugenstrasse, Vienna IV.

*Case file:* consultation between SS-Obersturmführer Eichmann and SS-Obersturmführer Hagen regarding his last presence here.

*Enclosures:* two.

On the orders of the Reich Commissioner for the Reunification of Austria with the German Reich, a 'Central Office for Jewish Emigration' was founded in Vienna on 22 August 1938.

The inspector of the Security Police and SD head of the SS Danube Main District, SS-Standartenführer Dr *Stahlecker*, has been commissioned with the overall management of the Central Office.

In Vienna, cases had been accumulating where Jews wishing to emigrate had to queue for days or weeks in front of the relevant offices to have their papers verified. Partly due to the unsuitability of the civil servants responsible, and partly due to poor

Bergbau AG and the Eintracht Braunkohlenwerke und Brikettfabriken AG mines, from 1931 of Vereinsglück AG, Leonhard AG, Herzog Ernst Bergwerk AG, and the Grube Kraft mine, and from 1932 of the mining firms Anhaltische Kohlenwerke AG and Niederlausitzer Kohlenwerke AG.

<sup>14</sup> The person in question was actually the brother of Ignaz Petschek, Julius Petschek (1856–1932), banker and industrialist, founder of the Bohemian line of the family.

<sup>15</sup> The investigations into Petschek were continued. After German troops invaded Prague, the Petschek company became the largest single business targeted by Aryanization.

<sup>1</sup> RGVA, 500k-1–625, fols. 10–13. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Stahlecker was the head of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration. Although Eichmann was officially his deputy, it was Eichmann who was the de facto head of the office.

<sup>3</sup> Sicherheitshauptamt; this refers to the SD Main Office.

<sup>4</sup> The original contains several illegible handwritten notes and at the end the stamp of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration.

organization, inadequacies were arising and obstructing our interest in a forced emigration of the Jews from Austria.

With reference to the discussion between SS-Obersturmführer Eichmann and SS-Obersturmführer Hagen the following facts serve to shed light on the situation:

(1) One of the greatest grievances regarding the emigration of the Jews from Vienna has been the action of Aryan lawyers. Due to a complicated system it was mostly taking two to three months to obtain the necessary documents for passage (obtaining a police certificate, for example, took six to eight weeks). It followed that wealthy Jews were commissioning Aryan lawyers to obtain their documents.

These lawyers succeeded in gaining preferential treatment from the authorities. These lawyers or their assistants were now approaching different authorities with ten, twenty, thirty, or more passport applications and holding up the civil servants there for hours, while penniless Jews stood around for days on the street, making no progress at all. This procedure brought nothing but grievance. On the one hand, wealthy Jews were enabled to leave the country without any difficulty, whereas penniless Jews had to stay here, a state of affairs contrary to the interests of our cause. On the other hand we were informed from abroad that it costs RM 1,000 per passport to obtain passports in the Ostmark. The lawyers were demanding outrageous sums per passport, which the wealthy Jew was only too willing to pay.

Since the creation of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration, it only takes eight days to obtain passports (a police certificate now only takes forty-eight hours to obtain), and these lawyers are now complaining to all Party and state quarters imaginable because this institution, as they themselves put it, is depriving them of a lucrative business. Furthermore, as no overtime is accorded to these lawyers for their treatment from the Central Office for Jewish Emigration, their bitterness towards the institution is all the greater.

It is the aim of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration to primarily ensure the forced emigration of Jews without means and to only allow wealthy Jews to emigrate if their emigration is at the same time related to the emigration of the Jews without means by a proportion of their assets.

(2) Before the Central Office was founded, passports and the documents required to obtain them were issued randomly, i.e. the Jew who was first in the queue was given the necessary documents regardless of whether the individual Jew actually had the possibility of emigrating. In the subsequent period cases emerged in which the papers already obtained lost their validity because the Jew was still unable to emigrate (the tax clearance certificate,<sup>5</sup> police certificate, etc. are only valid for four weeks). These Jews therefore had to repeat the same steps several times before finally being able to emigrate, which led directly to an excess of work for the authorities.

Until further notice the Central Office for Jewish Emigration will only issue documents, papers, and passports to such Jews who are already in possession of the possibility to emigrate, i.e. a large number of Jews have the possibility to emigrate solely within a limited time frame. In order for the documents to retain their validity, they are handled

<sup>5</sup> See Doc. 206, 19 Dec. 1938.

with priority and at the same time the Jewish political organizations in Vienna are active in creating further migration possibilities for Jews. As is known, the period of group migration is over for the time being, so that at the moment more intensive work regarding individual emigration is being carried out. The Central Office prepares travel documents for 200 Jews per day and at the same time supervises their evacuation.

(3) For information regarding the situation there, the monthly report of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna for August and the weekly report of the Israelite Religious Community from 13 September 1938 are both enclosed.<sup>6</sup>

*Heil Hitler!*

DOC. 93

**Julian Kretschmer from Emden describes the closure of his doctor's practice  
in the late summer of 1938<sup>1</sup>**

Submission by Julian Kretschmer<sup>2</sup> to a Harvard University competition (1940)

[...] <sup>3</sup>

On 1 January my work with a number of health insurance companies was terminated – as was the case with all Jewish doctors working in the state healthcare system. This was the first time that restrictions had been officially imposed on Jewish medical practitioners.<sup>4</sup> I was given three days' notice. At the beginning of February, active Zionists in north-western Germany were still able to hold a meeting in Wilhelminenhöhe, near Hamburg. On the way there I read about the great changes in the army leadership<sup>5</sup> in the newspapers. My fellow travellers certainly mentioned these but did not go into any further detail. Incidentally, many of the travellers were soldiers, servicemen and

<sup>6</sup> These enclosures are not in the file.

<sup>1</sup> Julian Kretschmer, 'Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und nach dem 30. Januar 1933' [My life in Germany before and after 30 January 1933] (1940), pp. 74–79, Harvard Competition, no. 120. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Dr Julian Kretschmer (1881–1948), specialist for internal medicine; until 1914 assistant doctor in Berlin; military doctor on the French front, 1914–1918; had a doctor's practice in Emden, 1919–1938; incarcerated in Oranienburg concentration camp, Nov.–Dec. 1938; emigrated to Palestine, 1939; from 1943 doctor in Raananah and Kfar Warburg.

<sup>3</sup> The entire report comprises 83 pages and was sent in from Kfar Warburg, Palestine. In the first part of the report, Julian Kretschmer describes his school years and training in Breslau, his Berlin years, his war service, and his experiences as a local doctor in Emden, as well as the ensuing ban on Jewish doctors.

<sup>4</sup> With effect from 1 Jan. 1938 all who were categorized as Jews according to the Nuremberg Laws lost their licences to work for state health insurance companies. In Berlin alone around 800 doctors were affected: see Introduction, p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> On 4 Feb. 1938 Hitler personally took over the command of the Wehrmacht, dismissing Reich Minister of War Werner von Blomberg as well as Commander-in-Chief of the Army Baron Werner von Fritsch, who was replaced by Walther von Brauchitsch. The newly created High Command of the Wehrmacht (OKW) was under the command of Wilhelm Keitel: see Introduction, p. 16.

servicewomen, as was often the case in recent years. They were obliging and courteous towards me. I did not join in their generally very superficial conversation. The soldiers occasionally moaned about their superiors or cracked jokes about their substandard equipment made of substitute materials.

Shortly afterwards, the collection agency that had previously collected my fees from my patients discontinued its services for me. In April 1938 the regulation on the notification of Jewish assets was issued, whereby a complex list of all possible assets valid as of 27 April 1938 was to be submitted by 30 June, strangely enough not to the tax authorities, but to the administrative authorities, in my case the Regierungspräsident in Aurich.<sup>6</sup>

While I was still busy listing the assets for me and my wife, officials from the 'Customs Investigation', a branch of the Foreign Exchange Office whose duty it was to trace and pursue violations of foreign exchange regulations, turned up at my surgery on 15 June, wanting information regarding my assets. It was clearly an embarrassment to them that my assistant was present in the room, and they tried to negotiate with me in whispers. In anticipation of similar incidents – for example, like all Jews I expected a visit from the Gestapo – I had instructed my assistant to always stay in the room in such cases. I refused to reduce my voice to a whisper and gave the information demanded in a completely natural tone. Giving the reason for their visit, the officials said that a certain – if not substantiated – suspicion existed regarding my intention to emigrate, particularly as my daughter had already emigrated. The officials were known to me, as they had already visited me after Ruth's emigration and had asked about her assets. Incidentally, both visits were completely unnecessary, as the investigation they were commissioned with was long known to the finance authorities. Furthermore, I had met them a few months previously, as they had arrested a Jew suspected of shifting currency abroad shortly before his emigration – a suspicion that was not confirmed – whom I had visited when he fell ill while in detention. During the customs inspectors' visit to my surgery, which lasted an hour, my waiting room had filled up with loyal old patients who faithfully awaited the end of the unbidden visit.

At around this time the same operation was repeated with all the Jews of means in the city. They did not always get off as lightly as I did. In the case of my father-in-law, Valk senior,<sup>7</sup> an extensive house search was undertaken, while others only had their desk searched and correspondence examined, all of which I was spared.

Immediately after the visit, security orders<sup>8</sup> regarding my assets followed, just as with other Jews, to the effect that with the exception of the sum of a few hundred marks and material assets, we could only own assets if we had authorization from the Foreign Exchange Office. We also had to obtain authorization from the Foreign Exchange Office in order to pay taxes. This regulation did not appear to be known to the local tax collection authorities, i.e. the tax office, for shortly afterwards the official responsible at the

<sup>6</sup> See Doc. 29, 26 April 1938.

<sup>7</sup> Jacob Valk (1860–1942), retailer; owner of the J.M. Valk department store in Emden, which was Aryanized in 1936; incarcerated in Oranienburg concentration camp, Nov.–Dec. 1938; moved in 1937/1938 to Berlin, where he died.

<sup>8</sup> Security orders (*Sicherheitsanordnungen*), introduced in § 37a of the Foreign Exchange Law of 1936, could be issued by customs investigators if it was suspected that a Jew was planning to emigrate. The orders were examined and verified by foreign currency officers. Those issued with a security order could no longer access their assets.

tax office called me in for a verbal consultation and demanded that I deposit the Reich Flight Tax. I notified him of the security orders, which in fact should have rendered such a deposit unnecessary, but I declared myself willing anyhow, assuming that the Foreign Exchange Office and the tax office could easily communicate through the official channels, thus avoiding unnecessary paperwork. I was well aware that my suggestion was officially inadmissible, just as I knew that in order to make the deposit I had to obtain authorization from the Foreign Exchange Office, but I did not wish to miss the chance to indicate the absurdity of the whole process to the official (Tax Inspector Luderer), whom I knew to be a major Nazi. Incidentally, I always liked to use the term 'confiscation' when talking to him, the customs inspectors, and the bank employees, a term against which they always protested. In particular, Customs Inspector Wagner from Customs Investigation believed he had to assure me that in no way should I be hindered from using my own assets. I knew what I was supposed to make of that, and how the authorities, merely by delaying the issue of authorizations, could very well interfere in the use of assets, which was later confirmed. Still, after my complete recovery I managed to free up certain sums – although with great delays – for purchases for my emigration, which I was now absolutely determined to undertake, as well as for later to support relatives and Jewish charities, travel costs, etc.

As is clear from all of this, I was only able to dedicate part of my time to my – ever-diminishing number of – patients, as the compilation of lists, calculations, applications, etc. for the tax office, the Foreign Exchange Office, and the Jewish asset register amounted to a considerable workload. My practice, which had still kept me relatively busy in 1937 and had brought in a small surplus, now collapsed completely, and my assistant Maria Reinken, who had been with me for eleven years, had to look for another job, which she found with Dr Hüchtemann,<sup>9</sup> whom I mentioned earlier. She married him not long afterwards.

On 3 August the decree banning Jewish doctors from medical practice was announced, and at the same time an article appeared in the *OTZ*, where this was remarked upon along with a comment to the effect that I had long been preparing for emigration.<sup>10</sup> From 7 to 14 August I was in Berlin in order to make purchases for the emigration. The usual procedure of announcing departures and returns in the newspaper had not been available to me since 1935, as from then the newspapers refused to publish announcements submitted by Jews. Still, in the week of 15–22 August a large number of my former patients came to say goodbye to me, which was so upsetting that my assistant, who was about to take up her new post on 23 August, said in tears on 15 August that she had no idea how she would get through the week. It goes without saying that the Nazis did not exactly come off well in these farewell conversations.

In the last weeks of my practice I received a telephone call late at night and was asked by the female voice on the line to come to a house at Grasstrasse no. X, where a young

<sup>9</sup> Dr Ewald Hüchtemann, physician; licensed in 1926; from 1931 specialist for internal medicine in Emden; took over the majority of Dr Kretschmer's patients.

<sup>10</sup> The Fourth Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law (25 July 1938), published in the *Reichsgesetzblatt* on 2 August 1938, revoked the licences of Jewish doctors with effect from 30 Sept. 1938: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, pp. 969–970. See also Doc. 76, 5 August 1938. The announcement appeared in the local news section of the *Ostfriesische Tageszeitung* (*OTZ*) on 8 August 1938.

lady was suffering from heart spasms. Shrewd from previous experience, I asked for her number so I could confirm the first call or clarify anything mysterious by calling back. The number was given to me with the comment that it was a so-called secret number and not listed in the telephone directory. I called the operator and was told that information could normally be given out on secret numbers, though not on this one. Now I knew for sure. I had occasionally heard that there was a brothel in this street, which was obviously at this address. I called back and said I would only come if requested to do so by and accompanied by the police. The woman's voice answered, laughing: 'Is it really all that bad?!' There was no further call.

It is possible that there was a genuine case of illness, but also that a trap had been laid for me. But even if the former were true, I would have placed myself in great danger by going there, for if the Nazis had seen me in this establishment my fate would have been sealed regardless of what actually happened.

On 15 September I made my last doctor's visit to a non-Jew, Miss Lina Gail,<sup>11</sup> who was an elderly teacher like her sisters, with whom she lived. The ladies had always been admirers of Hitler. They explained away the atrocities of the Nazis by saying that Hitler knew about none of it. In this way they tried to console the 75-year-old Moses Seligmann,<sup>12</sup> whom they met in my waiting room, upon discovering that his two sons had been arrested and deported in the so-called June Operation of 1938. He had learned only weeks later that they were in Buchenwald concentration camp.<sup>13</sup> The sisters approved of my emigration, wished me courage and reckoned I would do well again abroad.

I had a discussion with Procurator Hinz from the EVAG<sup>14</sup> about vacating my apartment and consultation rooms, whereupon I asked him which of us should terminate the contract. It was his wish that I give notice, which I duly did. The apartment was to be vacated by 30 September, while the consultation room could be vacated a little later.

I had already taken care of the sale of my furniture and some items of medical equipment. After a specialist valuation I had set prices for the well-kept furniture, which at the time had a high collectible or artistic value, at an average of 35 per cent of the new price in 1913. I stuck to these low prices, too, despite the fact that several potential buyers tried to push them down. When I finally told a seemingly serious buyer I would rather have the furniture used as firewood than let it go under this minimum price, he agreed to pay it. The owner of a hotel in Emden was relatively generous – he bought [the furniture from] a gentleman's room and a bedroom at the set price, without haggling. For the sale of the larger medical devices the management of the German Medical Association had issued guidelines, according to which I calculated the prices. The main item was an X-ray machine, which I had bought in 1931 for 7,100 Reichsmarks. My asking price for it was 1,960 Reichsmarks and Dr van Lessen<sup>15</sup> of Juist bought it from me at that price.

11 Caroline Gail lived in Emden with her two sisters, Auguste and Matthilde Gail.

12 Moses Seligmann (1866–1942), livestock trader; moved to Berlin in 1940 with his wife Henriette Seligmann, née Rosenberg.

13 On the so-called June Operation, see Doc. 39, 1 June 1938.

14 Emden Verkehrs- und Automotive Gesellschaft: Emden Transport and Automotive Company.

15 Dr Hero van Lessen (1895–1975), physician; joined the NSDAP in 1932; licensed in 1922; doctor in Emden until 1937, then in Juist.

As I was expecting the transfer permit – the precondition for the migration visa – to arrive shortly, I had decided to hand over the rest of my belongings to a haulier for storage, especially the newly purchased items for my emigration. With just clothing, personal effects, and my desk I moved in with my parents-in-law, who lived in a large, old house in a busy street in the city centre.

I very much needed my desk with its contents for, as already mentioned, I was in constant written and verbal correspondence with the tax authorities, chiefly regarding the matter of how exactly a large part of my assets could be distributed between various levies and taxes. Furthermore, I served as the chairman of the Jewish Winter Relief. Occasionally some of my old patients visited me, in particular the faithful Mrs Blesene, otherwise the situation could be described as the dawning of the ghetto era.<sup>16</sup>

I would have expected that my former assistant of many years, who had since married Dr Hüchtemann, might occasionally have asked after me or shown interest in my fate. On the occasion of a visit that I made in H's consultation room to talk about the hand-over of a few smaller items of medical equipment, she signalled to me that she and her husband, who was under suspicion as a former follower of Otto Strasser<sup>17</sup> and had even been detained for eight days, had to be especially cautious. Her husband had received anonymous warning letters.

The eviction of Polish Jews from Emden, sixteen adults and ten children, took place at the end of October.

[...]<sup>18</sup>

16 German: 'Ghettodämmerung'. This is presumably a wordplay on *Götterdämmerung* (The Twilight of the Gods), the title of an opera by Richard Wagner.

17 Correctly: Otto Straßer (1897–1974), politician, publicist, and publisher; member of the SPD, 1917–1920, and the NSDAP, 1925–1930; leading representative of the so-called left wing of the NSDAP; left the party in 1930 and founded the Black Front (Schwarze Front) organization; emigrated to Austria, 1933; after 1945 active as a publicist in the Federal Republic of Germany.

18 In the final part Julian Kretschmer writes about his arrest in Nov. 1938, his incarceration in Sachsenhausen concentration camp, and his emigration to Palestine.

## DOC. 94

**On 16 September 1938 the Relief Association of German Jews issues information regarding the conditions for emigration to Bolivia<sup>1</sup>**

Circular (B Nr. 247) from the Relief Association of German Jews (Dr Sti/Bo.), signed Dr Prinz,<sup>2</sup> and p.p. Dr Stillschweig,<sup>3</sup> to all emigration advisors in the Reich and the officials internally, dated 16 September 1938

*Re: emigration to Bolivia.*

1. At our suggestion, the HICEM has *formed a committee in Bolivia*, the address of which we are sending to officials in the Berlin headquarters in a special circular. The establishment of the committee has relieved us of a problem that has made our work regarding Bolivia considerably more difficult.
2. The committee has already taken up its duties and has held *talks with the minister for immigration and colonization*,<sup>4</sup> who declared the following:

Several Jewish immigrants from different countries have received an entry permit for Bolivia because they declared themselves to be in possession of a certain amount of capital or able to practise a certain occupation in their country of origin, which they also expect to practise in Bolivia. The entry permit was issued to them on these grounds. However, after entering the country, a number of them have engaged in peddling, which has displeased the government. As a result, and in order not to restrict Jewish immigration, the *legal requirements have been changed as follows*: persons wishing to migrate to Bolivia and declaring themselves in possession of a certain amount of capital and practising a certain profession may retain their entry permit to the country for two years, during which time they have to prove that the declaration pertaining to their job is true. After this period has expired they will receive a permanent residence permit – providing that the declarations are valid. Should the opposite case be true, the government reserves the right to deport them.

The minister also informed us of instructions he had issued to consulates abroad, according to which *tourist visas* may *only* be issued *to actual tourists*.

The committee wishes to strongly emphasize that under no circumstances is it permissible for those wishing to immigrate to make false declarations pertaining to their profession and that this greatly jeopardizes both individual as well as collective Jewish immigration to Bolivia.

1 CJA, 2A2, Nr. 17, Bd. 1. This document has been translated from Germans.

2 Dr Arthur Prinz (1898–1981), economist; lecturer in Berlin, 1923–1933; editor of the *Neue Leipziger Zeitung*, 1927; member of the Relief Association of Jews in Germany and head of its press department, 1933–1939; publisher of the Relief Association's bulletin *Jüdische Auswanderung* [Jewish Emigration], 1936–1939; emigrated to Palestine in 1939 and to the USA in 1948.

3 Kurt Stillschweig (1905–1955), lawyer; worked in Berlin, 1932–1933; advisor for emigration questions at the Relief Association and in the Reich Representation of German Jews, 1938–1939; in 1939 emigrated to Sweden, where he worked as a lawyer; author of works including *Die Juden Osteuropas in den Minderheitsverträgen* (1936).

4 Eduardo Díez de Medina (1881–1955), lawyer, diplomat, and writer; minister for foreign affairs, immigration, and culture in Bolivia, 1938.

3. *In the strictest confidence* the consulate here has brought our attention to the fact that the Bolivian general consulate in Hamburg does not issue visas to Jews. For cases relevant to Hamburg it is therefore recommended that the application be made in Berlin. *Under no circumstances may reference be made to the petitioner of this confidential information from the consulate here.*

## DOC. 95

**On 22 September 1938 the SS Security Service proposes converting retraining camps for Jews into labour camps in the event of war<sup>1</sup>**

Report (marked 'top secret') by the SD (II 112 o/C 141, Hag), Six (II 1), dated 22 September 1938<sup>2</sup>

Re: Jewish retraining camps.

Case file: none.

## 1. Note:

Throughout the Reich there are currently twenty-nine Jewish retraining camps, as listed in the enclosure,<sup>3</sup> each of which has an average capacity of forty to fifty occupants.

Since Jews living in Germany are to be responsible for their own fellow residents who are in need, and for relatives of Jews taken into protective custody etc., if the A-case<sup>4</sup> arises, it seems appropriate to convert the named Jewish retraining camps into labour camps in which some of these persons could be accommodated. They would have to carry out practical work there and provide for their own board.

As with the concentration camps, SS guards have to be allocated to supervise these labour camps. They would be responsible for regulated work processes and for peace and order.

1 enclosure

## 2. Issued to, with signatures requested from:

- (a) II B 4<sup>5</sup>
- (b) SS-Standartenführer Müller<sup>6</sup>
- (c) Dr Best

1 BArch, ZB 7050, A.6. This document has been translated from German.

2 The letter was written by Hagen and countersigned by Six. The original contains handwritten abbreviations and annotations.

3 The enclosure is not printed here.

4 *Im A-Falle*: in the event of an attack or war.

5 Section for Jewish affairs of the Gestapo Central Office (Gestapo).

6 Heinrich Müller (b. 1900), aircraft mechanic; employed from 1919 at Munich police headquarters; worked from 1929 for the Political Police, where he was responsible for the surveillance of communist organizations; joined the SS in 1934; transferred to the Gestapo in Berlin; deputy head of the Political Police in the Security Police Main Office, 1936; joined the NSDAP in 1938 after long controversy; in 1939 director of the Reich Office for Jewish Emigration and head of Office IV (Gestapo) in the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA); attended the Wannsee Conference in 1942; went missing after 1945.

3. Issued to SS-Gruppenführer Heydrich with the request for a decision as to whether the head of the concentration camps, SS-Gruppenführer Eicke, should be informed accordingly.

4. Resubmission to II 112.

DOC. 96

**Meeting in the Reich Ministry of Justice on 22 September 1938  
regarding the abolition of tenant protection laws for Jews, and the impoverishment  
and possible ghettoization of the Jews<sup>1</sup>**

Inspector General of Building for the Reich Capital,<sup>2</sup> section head: Dr Fränk<sup>3</sup> (II/Hp.), minutes of the meeting in the Reich Ministry of Justice, dated 22 September 1938<sup>4</sup> (copy)

*Re: tenant protection for Jews.*

It has become necessary to issue legislation to abolish laws for Jews. Citing §§ 2 or 4 of the Tenant Protection Law,<sup>5</sup> individual local courts have already denied protection to Jewish tenants on the grounds that simply living in a Jewish household is itself a cause of great disturbance to other tenants and the termination of these households' leases is therefore acceptable. The fact that the courts do not share a unified opinion on the interpretation of the provision of the law and the concern that such issues will be treated inconsistently gives rise to the following questions:

- (1) Has the moment arrived to take action against the Jews in this area, too?
- (2) How should the procedure be carried out and which economic and political consequences are to be expected?

1 BAArch, R 4606/157, fols. 153–155. This document has been translated from German.

2 Albert Speer (1905–1981), architect; joined the NSDAP and the SA in 1931; from 1934 planner and architect of major construction projects, including the New Reich Chancellery; from 1937 Inspector General of Building for the Reich Capital (GBI); Reich minister for armaments and war production, 1942; sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment at Nuremberg in 1946 and released in 1966.

3 Dr Gerhard Fränk (1908–1975), lawyer; joined the NSDAP and the SS in 1933; probationary judge, 1935; municipal councillor in the Berlin city administration, 1937; from 1938 vice president of the department for the implementation of the new design of the Reich Capital (Durchführungsstelle für die Neugestaltung der Reichshauptstadt); in-house lawyer of the GBI; deputy head of Main Department II (evacuation, building materials, labour); from 1940 on the staff of the SS Main Office for Administration and Economics; SS-Standartenführer, 1944.

4 The meeting was chaired by Ministerial Director Dr Volkmar. Representatives of the Deputy of the Führer, the Reich Ministry of the Interior, the Reich Ministry of Labour, and the Reich Ministry of Economics were also in attendance.

5 Law on Tenant Protection and Tenancy Arbitration Offices, dated 1 June 1923, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1923, I, pp. 353–364, revised version dated 30 June 1926, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1926, I, pp. 347–357. The law was amended several times in the years that followed: Susanne Willems, *Der entsiedelte Jude: Albert Speers Wohnungsmarktpolitik für den Berliner Hauptstadtbau* (Berlin: Hentrich, 2000), p. 90. For the discussion on the abolition of tenant protection for Jews, see Doc. 101, 6 Oct. 1938.

Question (1) has been answered in the affirmative by all representatives of the departments involved. As regards question (2), Ministerialrat Scheffler<sup>6</sup> has informed us on behalf of the Ministry of the Interior that a final statement from his department cannot yet be given, as it is first necessary to verify how many Jewish households exist and will be affected by these measures. In the case of homelessness of the Jewish households, these would become a burden to the Jewish community, which in turn would be obliged to provide them with accommodation. Furthermore, the question of the creation of a ghetto is currently being investigated by the Reichsführer SS and there is no definitive decision as yet. He has, however, established that the community could not assume the substantial extra burden of building apartments and suchlike. He added that the question of Jewish business operations in this yet to be created ghetto must be discussed, in particular the circumstance that Jews from the provinces (Jewish cattle traders and the like) would move to the city and be unemployed there. At present it is already the case that one in four Jews is a welfare recipient, hence the current preparation of a draft to amend the regulation on obligations of welfare, according to which state benefits for Jews will be cut considerably compared to those for their German counterparts.

The representative of the Deputy of the Führer welcomed the measures proposed by the Reich Minister of Justice and deemed a speedy regulation to be of great urgency. In particular the tendency of the legal decisions passed so far is to be approved. He requested that the question of the ghetto and its further effects be adjourned. He has no misgivings about attempting first to leave it up to the Jews to organize alternative accommodation themselves. If necessary he would suggest that shanties be erected by the community and used to accommodate homeless Jews.

The representatives of the Reich Ministry of Economics and the Reich Ministry of Labour are generally in agreement with the comments made, but are not yet in a position to provide a conclusive statement on behalf of their respective departments.

Dr Fränk reports the view of the Inspector General of Building, which should fundamentally apply to Berlin in particular and probably also to other cities where urban construction measures are being carried out for the Führer. We are being urged in particular to remove Jews from large apartments, in order to grant these to tenants who previously resided in large apartments in demolished areas. In economic terms this would mean a saving of around RM 40 million, as it is basically the community that would be obliged to build replacement apartments. It remains to be considered whether barracks should also be built for Jews in large cities such as Berlin, Frankfurt, etc. Due to the urgency of the circumstances in Berlin, the intention is to accommodate these Jewish owners of large apartments in a part of Berlin yet to be determined – perhaps on the outskirts – in newly built apartments.

<sup>6</sup> Dr Gerhard Scheffler (1894–1977), lawyer; Landrat in Kreis Bentheim, 1931–1933; worked in the department for local government in the Prussian and the Reich Ministry of the Interior, 1933–1940; joined the NSDAP in 1940; mayor of Posen, 1940–1945; worked in the audit office of the federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia, 1949–1950; responsible for social affairs in the Federal Ministry of the Interior, 1950–1958.

[Ministerial Director Dr] Volkmar<sup>7</sup> requests the overdue statements from the Reich Minister of the Interior, the Reich Minister of Labour, and the Reich Minister of Economics by 15 October, in order to make appropriate proposals based on these.

After the meeting I sought contact with Dr Werner Müller<sup>8</sup> from the city of Berlin. In my opinion, statistical surveys should be conducted in order to establish to what extent Jewish households would be affected by such an action in Berlin. From the district mayor's electoral register it can be seen how many Jews currently in Berlin do not have the right to vote. According to a rough estimate, the number is around 160,000. From experience (one household = an average of 2.8 persons) we therefore have approximately 50,000 Jewish households. However, the statistics do not show how these households are distributed according to apartment size.

I therefore propose, with the support of the [NSDAP] political leaders, the investigation of further details regarding the Gau of Berlin. This process should not be too time-consuming, as every block administrator is very well informed as to the exact composition of his area.

I request a decision as to whether I may proceed in this way. There is, however, a danger with this measure that the masses may find out about the motive without us explaining our reasons for this approach.

#### DOC. 97

#### **On 23 September 1938 the NSDAP Kreisleiter in Jena intervenes in the Aryanization of local livestock farming<sup>1</sup>**

Letter (by express delivery) from the Kreisleiter in Jena (Krl/le), signed Müller,<sup>2</sup> to the Main Association of German Livestock Farming (received on 24 September 1938), Berlin (copy to the district economic advisor in Jena), dated 23 September 1938<sup>3</sup>

The office of the Gau economic advisor in Weimar, 1 Johann-Albrecht-Str., has been processing the permit for the Aryanization of the Jewish firm Hermann Friedmann<sup>4</sup> in Jena. Two groups were interested in the purchase of this company. The Gau economic

7 Dr Erich Volkmar (b. 1879), lawyer; district court judge, 1908; privy government councillor, 1919, and ministerial director in the Reich Ministry of Justice, 1931; on the Reich Committee for the Protection of German Blood, 1936; member of the Academy for German Law; chief judge at the Reich Hereditary Farm Court (Reichserbhofgericht); honorary professor in Berlin; retired in 1943.

8 Dr Werner Müller (1900–1955), lawyer; probationary judge in Berlin, 1926–1928; head of the Berlin main planning office; senior municipal councillor; after 1945, general consultant for construction and housing affairs in Berlin; minister of the interior in West Berlin, 1951–1953; from 1954 president of the administrative court in Berlin.

1 Stadtarchiv Jena, Dih 10, Bd. I. This document has been translated from German.

2 Paul Müller (b. 1896), teacher; member of the German People's Party (DVP), 1919–1921; joined the NSDAP in 1925 and the SA in 1938; head of the local NSDAP branch in Saalfeld, 1925–1937; headmaster of the Saalfeld girls' school, 1934; mayor of Saalfeld, 1934–1937; NSDAP Kreisleiter in Jena-Stadtroda, 1937–1945; whereabouts unknown after 1945.

3 Stamp of the NSDAP Kreisleitung.

advisor<sup>5</sup> is well acquainted with the details of the procedure. He informed me on 20 September of this year that in terms of the negotiations conducted, the Aryanization has become completely invalid. A certain Mr Vogt<sup>6</sup> belongs to the second group, who as far as I know has moved from Leipzig to take over the Friedmann business with Party Comrade Ulrich,<sup>7</sup> who is supposed to remain in the background and only wants to cover the financing. I raised an objection to Vogt taking over the business. Vogt does not have the slightest contact with the Party and moreover is completely uninterested in it and its work. It has been reported to me that not even his children are allowed to join National Socialist youth organizations. Politically I do not regard Vogt as completely trustworthy and reliable but as a pure business opportunist. Therefore, I cannot understand why Vogt, in light of these facts, should be allowed to acquire a Jewish business so cheaply, only perhaps to continue running the business as a so-called white Jew.<sup>8</sup>

Now it has been reported to me by Party Comrade Lücking that Vogt has been trying to commandeer the shares of the Friedmann business in some way, despite the fact that the district economic advisor has continued to have the task of trying to Aryanize the Friedmann business. Apparently Vogt is planning to use these shares to open a completely new business in Jena. I do not know whether he has backers supporting him. My urgent request is to consider the possibility of withdrawing the shares of the Friedmann business in consultation with the responsible political offices, or, even better, to adjourn this issue briefly until a suitable candidate for the Friedmann business has completed the contract negotiations. It can be expected that in the coming days the Gau economic advisor will be presented with feasible solutions for proceeding with the Aryanization of the Friedmann business after all.

I have shared my opinion regarding the Aryanization process with the Gau economic advisor as follows:

(1) From the perspective of the national economy, I consider it absolutely correct to retain the existing Friedmann business and to transfer it into suitable Aryan hands.

4 Hermann Friedmann (1870–1940), retailer; from 1892 owner of a fur wholesale business in Jena; co-founder and leader of the Israelite Religious Community of Jena, 1896; imprisoned in Buchenwald in 1938. From 1915 Friedmann's son Artur (1895–1978), retailer, was co-owner of the firm; head of the local branch of the Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans in Jena, 1937; after the Aryanization of the firm he worked as a transport worker near Jena from 1938; emigrated to the USA, 1941.

5 Otto Eberhard (1890–1939), engineer; mining director at the Riebeck'sche Montanwerke in Halle; Regierungsrat, 1933; Gau economic advisor in Thuringia, 1934–1939; from 1938 Aryanization commissioner for the Gau of Thuringia.

6 Correctly: Paul Voigt (1896–1976), retailer; from 1931 owner of a butcher's equipment shop in Magdeburg. On 15 July 1938 he signed a purchase contract with Hermann Friedmann, in which it was agreed that Friedmann's business would be transferred to Voigt as of 1 August 1938. The company premises were to remain in Friedmann's possession and initially rented out to Voigt for a period of three years. However, the takeover never actually took place. In Dec. 1938 the Friedmann family business was taken over, along with the business premises of Hugo Hörchner, owner of an ironmonger's in Jena.

7 Edwin Ulrich (1880–1949), leather merchant in Jena; joined the NSDAP in 1938. Ulrich wanted to contribute equity of 30,000 Reichsmarks and Voigt 10,000 Reichsmarks for the takeover of the business.

8 Antisemitic insult for people who supposedly behave like Jews or act as their non-Jewish proxies.

The Aryan owner must have impeccable National Socialist political credentials.

(2) An attempt should be made to find a *deserving* National Socialist among the applicants, one who also fulfils the relevant expert requirements.

I request the information from you as to whether Vogt has actually tried to procure the shares from you. As he came to my office because of the Aryanization and requested my approval, which I refused, I have to conclude that Vogt now wants to outwit the political offices involved in the Aryanization negotiations.

This must not be permitted under any circumstances!

I am sending a carbon copy of this letter to the Gau economic advisor, the district economic advisor, and the district farmers' association.

Heil Hitler!

#### DOC. 98

### **Under pressure from Reich Commissioner Josef Bürckel, on 24 September 1938 the League of Austrian Industrialists revokes the call to dismiss Jewish *Mischlinge* from private businesses<sup>1</sup>**

Circular (marked 'confidential') from the League of Austrian Industrialists (Dr C/J 3156/38), Vienna, personally signed by the acting head Baron Dr Hans von Possanner<sup>2</sup> and managing director Dr Siegfried Camuzzi,<sup>3</sup> to all regional associations, dated 24 September 1938 (copy)

*Re: dismissals in the private sector.*

With reference to our confidential letter of 25 June 1938, Dr T/R,<sup>4</sup> we note that the Reich Minister of the Interior has sent a letter to the Reich Commissioner for the Reunification of Austria with the German Reich, in which he points out that our directive, cited above, was issued without the permission of the Reich Minister and is therefore null and void.<sup>5</sup> We therefore see ourselves compelled to formally withdraw this directive. As far as we were aware at the time, the directive was only effective in the areas of the Gaue of Vienna and Lower Austria, as there were no Jewish *Mischlinge* employed in industry in the other Gaue.

The Reich Minister of the Interior bases his order on the following considerations:

1 ÖStA/AdR, Reichskommissar Bürckel/Materie, 2160/1, Kt. 90. This document has been translated from German.

2 Baron Dr Hans (Johann) von Possanner (1891–1968), industrialist; from 1934 member of the illegal Austrian SA Brigade 6; joined the NSDAP in 1941; general director of the Hammerbrot Works; acting head of the League of Austrian Industrialists, 1938–1939; imprisoned from 1946 until at least 1949.

3 Dr Siegfried Camuzzi (1887–1965), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1938; employee of the Main Federation of Industry in Austria, 1919; managing director of the Association of Austrian Industrialists; sent into retirement in 1946 as a civil servant in the Chamber of Commerce, then a self-employed insurance agent.

4 This letter is not in the file.

5 Letter from the Reich Minister of the Interior to Bürckel, 1 Sept. 1938; *ibid.*

Experience gained in these areas over the years in the Old Reich has shown that Jewish Mischlinge, once they lose their job, have absolutely no chance of finding a job elsewhere. This means that they regularly become a burden on the public welfare system and have to be supported by those parts of the population that are of German blood. If any companies can be expected to employ Jewish Mischlinge, firms where they have worked up to now are the likeliest to do so. The general dismissal of Jewish Mischlinge would only encourage the creation of a proletariat hostile to the state, overburden the welfare organizations, and furthermore run counter to the necessities of labour market policy.

From the perspective of racial policy, the employment of Jewish Mischlinge causes no concern in the commercial economy, as according to the decision of the Führer and Reich Chancellor they fulfil the blood requirements for obtaining preliminary Reich civil rights, they may hoist the flags of the Reich and nation, and they are obliged to carry out their military and Labour service.

In passing on the decree, the Reich Commissioner addresses the Minister of Economics and labour,<sup>6</sup> inviting him to emphatically ensure that Jewish Mischlinge are not dismissed from the economy for reasons of race.

At the request of the Minister of Economics and Labour, we will announce the facts and request a report on the matter.

Heil Hitler!

#### DOC. 99

#### **Note, dated 27 September 1938, from the Warburg secretary's office regarding a German businessman's offer to sell his company in Argentina<sup>1</sup>**

Note from the Warburg secretary's office, van Biema,<sup>2</sup> Berlin, dated 27 September 1938<sup>3</sup>

*Note regarding the Argentinian transfer project.*

We were visited today by Mr Walter Mattner, Berlin, 13 Passauerstrasse, telephone 24 26 40, whom I received together with Mr Pietsch.<sup>4</sup> Mr Mattner was not previously known to us. As a reference he provided the 'House and Home' department of the German Labour Front and the Berlin Stadtbank. We enquired at the latter today.

Mr Mattner claims to have been commissioned by the Foreign Organization of the NSDAP with the following transfer project:

<sup>6</sup> Dr Hans Fischböck was the minister of economics and labour.

<sup>1</sup> Stiftung Warburg-Archiv Hamburg, Transfer-Projekte (categorized by country). This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Adolf van Biema (1910–1964), bank clerk; employed by the Warburg & Co. banking house, 1928–1939; emigrated to Britain in 1939 and later to the USA, where he was managing director of several firms.

<sup>3</sup> Parts of the original are underlined by hand.

<sup>4</sup> Hans Pietsch (b. 1898), bank official; clerk in the Berlin branch of the Warburg banking house.

In the city of La Falda in Argentina there is a limited company in family ownership that runs a hotel there called the Eden Hotel.<sup>5</sup> Apparently it is a modern and successful hotel. The limited company, the capital of which was not known to Mr Mattner, is alleged to have yielded dividends of 7 per cent in previous years. The value of the business, including the land etc., is said to be 3 million Argentinian pesos = approx. 1,800,000 Reichsmarks. The shareholders of the business are Germans and wish to return.<sup>6</sup> They would therefore like to sell their business in Reichsmarks. They are considering a selling price of 7½ million, including the fee to the Deutsche Golddiskontbank.

We told Mr Mattner that we first wish to check whether the matter is indeed of interest to us. Should the outcome of this examination be positive, a great number of further questions would have to be asked. In particular an exact description of the hotel for sale, along with the land in terms of size, location, and condition, the balance sheet of the company, and the profit and loss accounts of recent years, etc. would be required. Furthermore, the question of the migration of the prospective purchaser to Argentina as well as the general attitude of the German currency authorities would have to be clarified before we consider speaking to individual customers.

DOC. 100

**Robert B. Lawrence on the Aryanization of his Vienna apartment in September 1938<sup>1</sup>**

Submission by Robert B. Lawrence<sup>2</sup> for a Harvard University competition (1940)

[...]³

*My apartment is being 'Aryanized'.*

The so-called 'Aryanization process', which at first only affected Jewish businesses, soon spread to all types of Jewish property – land and home ownership, bank deposits, apartments, and furniture. A joke often told by the Aryan side alludes to this:

A man is standing in a crowded tram. Suddenly he grabs his coat pocket, fumbling around and searching.

'I think my wallet has been "Aryanized"!' he finally exclaims.

<sup>5</sup> The Hotel Eden in the Argentinian town of La Falda was built in 1895 by the German immigrant Robert Balcke. It was owned by the Eichhorn family from Leipzig from 1912 to 1944 and became a popular holiday destination for the Argentinian upper class. The sale did not take place, and after Argentina declared war on the German Reich in 1945 the Argentinian state confiscated the hotel.

<sup>6</sup> Probably Walter and Ida Eichhorn.

<sup>1</sup> Robert B. Lawrence, 'Mein Leben in Österreich vor und nach dem 13. März 1938 (Anschluss)' [My life in Austria before and after 13 March 1938 (Anschluss)] (1940), pp. 46–48, Harvard Competition, no. 129. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Dr Robert B. Lawrence (1911–1998), lawyer; employed in the payment collections office of a paper firm; arrested, 1938; emigrated in 1939 with his wife via Switzerland and France to the USA; last lived in Schenectady, New York.

<sup>3</sup> The submission comprises 54 pages and was sent in from Albany, New York. In the first part Lawrence reports on his origins, university studies, and social status in Austria; he addresses the role of the middle class in Austrian society and the attitude of the Austrians towards Jewish emigration.

The word 'Aryanized' is used jokingly to mean stolen, and although this is essentially an insult to the Aryan population of Vienna, it was told laughingly in Aryan circles.

In the last days of August a man appeared at my apartment, which I had furnished a year earlier. It was not large, but I had furnished it with much love – I had chosen every piece myself. The man made a good, pleasant impression and politely asked me whether I was planning to give up my apartment and the furniture, i.e. to sell them for a decent price. He was accompanied by his wife, a very pleasant young blonde, who made the most favourable impression on my wife and me.

I showed him the apartment, he inspected all the furniture most thoroughly, he liked it all very much, and he promised to return. Some days passed and suddenly I received a letter from the owner of the house, actually from the caretaker, who was Aryan, in which he informed me that the 'Party' (NSDAP) had demanded my apartment and he was forced to terminate my contract by the first of the following month. I protested in writing against this illegal measure. There was a law that no landlord could terminate a lease to a tenant for no reason. The only possible reasons were: malicious damage to the apartment and refusal to provide compensation, and non-payment of the rent. My protest had not been answered by the time the man who was interested in my apartment returned. This time he was not as friendly as before and he gave a fixed price for the furnishings, which was exactly one tenth of what I had paid for them a year earlier. I suspected that the man was a Party member and accepted the price without objection. However, I told him that my apartment had been demanded by the Party, which did not seem to bother him. The next day he came back and said the price was too high, he would have to reduce it by a third. The offer he now made me was lower than the price I had paid for my carpets. Nonetheless I did not wish to object, yet again, and duly accepted this price too. He promised to come back three days later, to pay the price and to take over the apartment, the contents of which he had listed in an inventory. He did return three days later, this time in the full regalia of his Party uniform. He turned out to be the one who had demanded the apartment from my landlord, without having negotiated with me at all. He held a fairly high position, although he was an uneducated man. He was a secretary in the Farmers' Association and was a high-ranking officer in the SA. I still assume today that he genuinely intended to pay the small sum, but clearly he was not in a position to do so. On this day in any case he explained to me that he would give me another fortnight to move out and then he would give me the sum of money. This time my patience really ran out. I explained to him that, unfortunately, I was in no position to bar him access to my apartment, but that I knew my rights and I knew I could sell off the furnishings in my apartment to whomsoever I wanted, even if he had already demanded the apartment itself. He gave in – which proved to me that he had no money – and said that he could not prevent me from selling the furnishings, which I then did in all haste, piece by piece and at an appallingly low price. When he took over the empty apartment he proudly told me that he had bought some 'marvellous' furniture at a low price and that it would be delivered the following day. Amicably, we went our separate ways.

Several weeks later I learned from my former caretaker that he was still living in the empty apartment and that she had been obliged to lend mattresses to him and his wife so that they could sleep at least.

This man was an example of a more decent sort among the 'gentlemen from the Party'. Others played more unpleasant tricks on friends of mine. They came, saw the

apartment, bought it, which meant that they promised a certain sum of money, and when it came to payment they arrived with a group of SA men and simply threw the owners of the furniture out onto the street. Protests were pointless, and in most cases were not even attempted, as those affected only risked angering the Party member concerned and ending up in a concentration camp.

Thus, I no longer had an apartment or any furniture. My wife and I rented a room with a Jewish family very close to the American embassy in Vienna and lived there until we left Vienna. The confiscation of apartments continued. At first no particular system could be discerned. The newspapers made no mention of it, and in private circles one heard conflicting opinions about it. Mostly one suspected that the Jews would be brought to huge barrack camps and made to build roads and do other heavy labour. But later it became apparent that only certain districts had been made Jew-free. Others were left to the Jews – the fact that these were not the best districts of Vienna but rather the dirtiest and most unsavoury was a reflection of the entire treatment of these most unfortunate of all people. Although Vienna had not experienced a housing shortage since 1930, Jewish apartments were divided in such a way that at least two people slept in each room. In other words, families were squeezed together into rooms and if necessary four different families could be housed in one four-room apartment. Friends who until then had lived in an apartment consisting of eight main rooms and all the usual secondary rooms were forcibly relocated to another apartment in the following manner. This apartment had three good-sized rooms, a kitchen, a bathroom, and one small room. The following people lived in this apartment: my friend, Mr S. B., his wife, his three sons, and three adult daughters (he had been the manager of one of the largest export businesses in Vienna), plus a doctor and his wife, his brother-in-law, his sister-in-law, his mother-in-law, and finally a young student as well. Fourteen adults had to live and sleep in an apartment with five rooms. These were people who previously would have been too elegant to host a visitor while wearing their slippers. And still, even in this awful situation, through mutual agreement and accommodation, through enormous sacrifice, which cost everyone their comfort, these people were capable of creating a situation that was mutually tolerable.

[...] <sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Lawrence goes on to write about his retraining courses in the Israelite Religious Community and about the attitude of non-Jewish acquaintances to the persecution of the Jews. He addresses the treatment of Jews in public and reports on the abuse of a Jew in the street.

## DOC. 101

**On 6 October 1938 Albert Speer asks the Reich Ministry of Economics to support the mass termination of the leases of Jewish tenants in Berlin<sup>1</sup>**

Confidential letter from Inspector General of Building Albert Speer (Sp/II/Dr.) to Staatsrat Schmeer<sup>2</sup> at the Reich and Prussian Ministry of Economics, dated 6 October 1938

Dear *Schmeer*,

Below, I wish to inform you in confidence of the following facts and circumstances.

As a result of the requisite demolition of numerous residential buildings in the process of redesigning the Reich capital, approximately 2,500 large apartments, that is, apartments with more than five rooms, are required for the near future. The construction of these large apartments entails significant difficulties, as the non-profit Housing and Land Settlement Association of the City of Berlin, which is building the greater part of the replacement apartments, only has a limited capacity to construct large apartments. In particular, only a relatively small proportion of these large apartments can be completed by the deadlines I have set for vacating the residential buildings – 1 April 1939 and 1 October 1939.

Therefore, I intend to try to obtain legislation that provides a way to give notice of termination to Jewish tenants of large apartments. Because both the mayor and the urban police and Party organization are presently overburdened with other tasks, during a joint discussion I arranged with the German Labour Front that it will use its block administrators in political districts I, II, and IV to pick out approximately 2,500 to 3,000 large apartments with Jewish tenants and deliver the result of these investigations to me.

Independently of this, a campaign is under way at the Reich Ministry of Justice, seeking the withdrawal of tenants' protection for Jews in general.<sup>3</sup>

Particularly in Berlin, where there are around 50,000 Jewish households, I would doubt that this campaign can be carried out in such a timely manner that these Jewish apartments can serve as substitute spaces for the demolished buildings, because the question of the accommodation of the Jews is not yet resolved at present.

Therefore, I intend to accelerate the pursuit of my plan, independently of the actions of the Reich Minister of Justice, and would be grateful to you if you would support these efforts.

1 BArch, R 4606/157. This document has been translated from German.

2 Rudolf Schmeer (1905–1966), electrician; joined the NSDAP in 1923; in 1925 joined the SA and rejoined the NSDAP; NSDAP leader in Aachen, 1926–1931; Reichstag member, 1930–1945; from 1933 deputy head of the German Labour Front and head of the Reich Party rallies; in 1935 Prussian Staatsrat; in 1938 ministerial director in the Reich Ministry of Economics; head of the departments of Economic Organization and of Jewish Affairs; in 1941 head of the Development Staff for Moscow; in the Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production, 1942–1945; worked as a retailer after 1945.

3 The Law on Tenancy Agreements with Jews, 30 April 1939 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1939, I, pp. 864–865) denied Jewish tenants legal protection if they had Aryan landlords. The regulation of 10 Sept. 1940 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1940, I, pp. 1235–1236) abolished tenants' protection for all rental contracts with Jews. See Doc. 96, 22 Sept. 1938.

I have already negotiated with the mayor<sup>4</sup> and the Public Housing and Land Settlement Association regarding the construction of a block of 2,500 small apartments (apartments with 2 to 2½ rooms), in which I then plan to house these Jewish tenants of large apartments.

The construction of such a block of small apartments would cost a total of around 25 million [Reichsmarks], as a very cursory estimate. However, if I were also forced to rebuild the large apartments that are required as a result of the demolitions, funds of around 65 million would have to be raised for this purpose.

With my proposed resettlement of the Jewish tenants of large apartments, I would hence be able to save the public purse the amount of around 40 million.<sup>5</sup>

I am informing you about this in confidence for the time being.

Heil Hitler!

DOC. 102

***Jewish Chronicle*, 7 October 1938: article on conditions for Jews  
after Germany's invasion of the Sudetenland<sup>1</sup>**

*Jews Flee from Sudetenland.*

*Nazis Attack Jewish Shops. An Appeal to Lord Halifax.<sup>2</sup> Czech Government's Assurances*

Refugees, Jewish and non-Jewish, have been pouring into Prague from the Sudeten areas during the past few days, thus presenting Czechoslovakia with yet another problem. The Jewish Communal Board and Jewish relief organizations in Prague are doing their utmost, with the limited means at their disposal, to help the host of refugees.

Zionist offices and the offices of the Hicem are besieged by Jews enquiring about emigration possibilities.

One of the last acts of the Czech authorities in Eger was to release seventeen Jews who had been detained by Henlein storm troops.<sup>3</sup> The seventeen Jews had been arrested

4 Dr Julius Lippert (1895–1956), journalist; joined the NSDAP in 1927 and the SA in 1933; editor-in-chief of the National Socialist newspaper *Der Angriff*, 1927–1933; state commissioner for Berlin, 1933–1936; chairman of the city council and mayor of Berlin, 1937–1940; later commander of the Propaganda Unit Southeast; district commander of the Security Police in Arlon (Belgium), 1943–1945; in Allied captivity in 1945; extradited to Belgium in 1946, and convicted of war crimes in 1950; imprisoned until 1952.

5 The pogroms on 9 and 10 Nov. 1938 and the state policy of expropriation and expulsion soon forced the Jews to vacate the apartments that Speer wanted. On 26 Nov. 1938 Göring ordered that Inspector General of Building Speer be given the right of first refusal or the right to decide on the first tenants to move in after the Jews had left.

1 *Jewish Chronicle*, 7 Oct. 1938, p. 12. The original document is in English.

2 Edward Frederick Lindley Wood, first Earl of Halifax (1881–1959), politician; British foreign secretary, 1938–1940; ambassador to the USA, 1941–1946.

3 The designation 'storm troops' is unclear. It could refer either to the so-called Voluntary Defence Service (Freiwilliger Schutzdienst), which was similar to the SA and at the command of the Sudeten German Party, led by Konrad Henlein (1898–1945) since April 1938, or it could refer to the

in Marienbad. The Czech authorities, wherever they could, assisted the Jews in saving their personal belongings.

It is learned that many Synagogues in the Sudeten areas were left in [the] charge of non-Jewish caretakers, after the Scrolls of the Law and all sacred objects had been removed to Prague.

Shortly after the German troops had marched in, Nazi hooligans began to make holiday by defacing Jewish shops in Carlsbad, Eger, Franzensbad, and other towns. Several windows were smashed. A number of suicides are reported among Sudeten Jews. Dr. Rudolf Lederer, a Teplitz lawyer, threw himself from the top of the Belvedere Tower on the Proschwitzer Kamm mountain, near Gablonz. A Dr Sabat<sup>4</sup> and his wife and two daughters committed suicide in Staab, near Pilsen, by taking poison.

### *The First Concentration Camp*

A concentration camp is reported by the *News Chronicle*<sup>5</sup> to have been set up in Tetschen-Bodenbach, in the former castle of Count Thun. Democrats were transported there from their homes, and their fate is unknown.

The *Jewish Telegraphic Agency* reports<sup>6</sup> that the Rev. M. L. Perlzweig<sup>7</sup> had, on behalf of the Executive of the World Jewish Congress, addressed an urgent appeal to Lord Halifax, the Foreign Secretary, asking for the protection of the interests of the Jewish population in the evacuated areas. The appeal recalls that under the agreement for the evacuation of the Saar territory, Jews were given an adequate opportunity to liquidate their affairs and take their property with them. Similar facilities, it is urged, should be given to the Jewish population of the Sudeten areas. (Pleas for aid for the new army of dispossessed are reported under 'Refugees' in this issue.)

By Thursday of last week, according to the *J.T.A.*, only 2,000 of the original Jewish population remained in the ceded area. Whether any Jews will wish to remain there seems doubtful. Those that do may be relieved to learn, from the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, that 'it is directly contrary to the principles of the Nazi State to oppress minorities, as has been proved a thousand-fold by the treatment of minorities in German territory'; and that the Czech minorities in the Sudetenland 'should therefore have no fear of loss of rights.'<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, they may prefer not to trust the Nazis' words.

10,000 Jews remain in the areas where a plebiscite is to be held according to the Munich Agreement. As in the Saar, the transfer of property and the sale of land and

Sudeten German Freikorps. The latter was also an armed unit responsible to Henlein and comprised Sudeten Germans who had fled to Germany. Hitler had ordered the establishment of the unit on 17 Sept. 1938, but it was dissolved again on 9 Oct. 1938.

4 Correctly: Dr Wolfgang Sabath (1882–1938), physician; gynaecologist in Staab (Stod); social democrat and town councillor. After being threatened by local Henlein supporters, he decided, together with his wife and their 18-year-old daughter Lotte, to take the life of both women, that of the 9-year-old Hana, and, finally, his own, by injecting poison.

5 This report could not be verified.

6 This report could not be verified.

7 Maurice L. Perlzweig (1895–1985), rabbi; until at least 1938 rabbi in London; member of the executive of the World Jewish Congress (WJC), 1936; chairman of the British Section of the WJC, 1936–1942; from 1942 to 1947 head of the political department and later the head of international affairs of the WJC New York; political head at the WJC in the late 1960s.

8 This report could not be verified.

buildings are expected to be permitted in these areas. The intention to leave the territory has to be notified within six months after the plebiscite, and those intending to leave will have to do so within one year, during which no measures will be permitted against any individuals on account of race, religion, or language.

Apart from the plight of the Sudeten Jews, large numbers of Jews in the Czech and Slovakian districts, too, have suffered heavy losses. Many of them had business connections in the Sudeten German areas. Others, including commercial travellers, have now lost their posts in firms which dealt mostly or wholly with the Sudeten areas.

It is stated that the 250,000 inhabitants of the Czech Teschen district who will now become Polish citizens include about 1,000 Jews.<sup>9</sup> They are concentrated chiefly in the towns of Teschen and Bohumin. Whether any of them will migrate to Czech territory is unknown.

It is reported that Hungary is claiming not only the districts normally styled Hungarian, but the whole area from Bratislava to Uzhorod inclusive, which contains large numbers of Jews.

Amid all this turmoil of internal upheaval, it is good to learn that the Czech Cabinet, headed by General Sirový,<sup>10</sup> has repeated to the Jews the declaration made by the previous Cabinet of Dr. Hozda,<sup>11</sup> assuring them of its determination to ensure full equality to all citizens, irrespective of race or religion.

9 A supplementary declaration to the Munich Agreement finalized the cession of the Teschen territory to Poland. After an ultimatum to Czechoslovakia regarding the transfer of the territory, it was occupied by Poland on 2 Oct. 1938. Subsequently, the city of Teschen, which had been divided between Poland and Czechoslovakia up to that point, became the administrative seat of the newly formed Polish district of Cieszyn.

10 Correctly: Jan Sirový (1888–1970), general and politician; deputy chief of the general staff, 1924–1927; chief of the general staff of the Czechoslovak army, 1927–1933; army general, 1926; minister of defence, 1926 and 1938/1939; inspector general of the armed forces, 1933–1938; prime minister, Sept.–Dec. 1938; withdrawal into private life, 1939; sentenced to twenty years in prison for alleged collaboration, 1947; amnestied, 1960; night watchman, 1960–1964.

11 Correctly: Milan Hodža (1878–1944), politician; Czechoslovak minister of agriculture, 1922 and 1932; minister of education, 1926–1929; the first Slovakian prime minister of Czechoslovakia, 1935–1938; in 1935/1936 minister of foreign affairs and chief of staff; resigned, 1938; emigrated to Britain, 1939; vice president of the Czechoslovak national council in exile in London, 1940; emigrated to the USA, 1944.

DOC. 103

***Selbstwehr. Jüdisches Volksblatt*, 8 October 1938: article on conditions  
for Jews in the border areas of Czechoslovakia<sup>1</sup>**

*Jews in the border areas of Czechoslovakia*

The territorial changes that have already been achieved by the redrawing of the border and those that must still be accomplished, presumably after the completion of the plebiscite<sup>2</sup> and the negotiations with Hungary,<sup>3</sup> also affect a far from insignificant portion of the Jewish population of Czechoslovakia.

When considering the relevant population figures, we must take different approaches to the three foreign-language regions (German, Polish, and Hungarian) that come under consideration here.<sup>4</sup> Admittedly, all three of these areas fall within countries that are pursuing a policy hostile to the Jews, but the ordeal facing the Jews there will be different in each of them. Accordingly, the reaction of the Jews in these areas to the fate awaiting them there will also turn out to be quite diverse, and the decision as to whether they shall keep to their old, more narrowly defined homeland or take to the road will vary as well.

In this regard the most fateful challenge for the Jews will unquestionably be the German-speaking region of Bohemia and Moravia. In terms of numbers, fewer Jews live in the German-speaking area of these historical lands than in the Hungarian-speaking area of Slovakia. But the future that awaits the Jews in the German-speaking area means such an unequivocal and rapid destruction of every further possibility of existence for them that one can scarcely expect a sizeable number to remain in these areas, where Jews have lived for many centuries.

Overall, there are 50 political districts in Bohemia (40 districts) and Moravia (10 districts) in which the 1930 population census revealed the German population to be an overwhelming majority (from 98.8 per cent in Graslitz to 57.9 per cent in Brüx). In these 50 districts almost 2.5 million Germans lived eight years ago (so today there are approximately 150,000 more), and alongside them a significant Czech minority of half a million souls and a numerically quite small *Jewish* minority of 24,000 souls (precisely, counting the foreigners, 23,925). This Jewish minority, in turn, was broken down on

1 'Juden in den Grenzgebieten der Tschechoslowakei', *Selbstwehr*, no. 40, 8 Oct. 1938, p. 2. This document has been translated from German. *Selbstwehr* was a German-language Zionist weekly published in Prague from 1907 to the end of 1938. It was run by Felix Weltsch from 1919 to 1938.

2 The Munich Agreement provided for the holding of a plebiscite in regions with an ethnically heterogeneous population, as determined by an international commission, by the end of Nov. 1938 at the latest. Its purpose was to decide whether the regions would remain part of the Czechoslovak federation or be annexed to Poland or Hungary.

3 The Czechoslovak-Hungarian negotiations took place between 9 and 13 Oct. 1938 and were abandoned without any result. However, both countries declared themselves willing to accept a German-Italian arbitration award. After the First Vienna Award of 2 Nov. 1938, southern Slovak and Carpatho-Ukrainian regions were ceded to Hungary.

4 The author means the Sudetenland as a German area, Teschen (Cieszyn) as a Polish one, and southern Slovakia and the south-western part of Carpatho-Ukraine (Subcarpathian Rus) as a Hungarian one.

the basis of national alignment into 5,345 who are Jews by nationality and 17,580 who acknowledged German nationality (around 15,000) or Czech nationality.

From the available numbers one can see that, beyond the German area of settlement with a predominantly German majority, a considerable number of other Germans live in the Republic who will only be able to find their way into the German settlement zone by means of the option<sup>5</sup> and population exchange. In 1930 there were around 600,000 such Germans in Bohemia and Moravia, and an additional 100,000 lived in Slovakia and Subcarpathian Rus. Apart from the aforementioned Germans, who will hardly wish to change their present home towns in significant numbers, one must envisage a population exchange of the 500,000 Czechs with a considerable proportion of the German minority that is currently resident outside the 50 German political districts.

With complete certainty, however, one must count on the resettlement of the great majority of the 24,000 Jews from the area falling to Germany.

The area already ceded to Poland does indeed signify a serious economic loss for the country, but in terms of its size and geopolitical location it is fairly insignificant in comparison with the Sudetenland. In fact, there is only one district in the entire republic with a Polish majority: Czech Teschen, where the Poles constitute 51.8 per cent of the total population. In this district the Polish majority is only higher in Jablonkau (67.1 per cent). In the second district with a significant Polish population (Frystat), the Czechs are in the majority (63.7 per cent); the Poles are a relative minority there (47.8 per cent) only in Karvions, in comparison with the Czechs, who constitute 44.6 per cent of its population. This is a typical picture of a mixed-language area, where a territorial demarcation of the ethnic groups in fact signifies only the abolition of the formal minority status for one part, but at the same time the creation of the same status for the other part.

In 1930 only 2,500 Jews lived in these two districts. Although Poland, in comparison with Czechoslovakia, is far less favourable in terms of both its policy towards the Jews and its overall economic prosperity, one can scarcely expect that a larger part of the Jews in the ceded territories will leave their places of residence to seek new opportunities for settling down and earning a livelihood in Czechoslovakia or elsewhere.

The question of regulating relations with Hungary is still pending. It is not yet known whether and to what extent a border revision will be undertaken here. The 1930 census reveals 13 districts to us here in Slovakia and one in Subcarpathian Rus (Berehovo) with a Hungarian majority population (between 87.6 and 55.6 per cent). The total population of these 14 districts amounted to 640,000 (today, around 700,000). Of that total, in 1930, 445,000 were Hungarians and 31,000 Jews. Of these Jews, 22,500 declared themselves to be Jews by nationality. One third were thus already assimilated and to a large extent Magyarized. Although Hungary has recently introduced a harsh anti-Jewish policy, particularly in the economic sphere,<sup>6</sup> it is nonetheless scarcely likely that, in the case of a potential redrawing of the border, many Jews will decide to change their places of residence.

5 This refers to the 'option' given to the German-speaking population of either relocating to the German Reich or remaining in Czechoslovakia.

6 On 29 May 1938 the Hungarian parliament had passed a law limiting the proportion of Jews in individual professional fields or firms to a maximum of 20 per cent.

On the basis of these statistics and observations, we conclude that, following the establishment of the new borders of the republic, we must anticipate a loss of only a part of the Jewish population in the foreign-language regions along the borders. The overall number of Jews who live in the foreign-language regions is 56,000 to 57,000. It may be anticipated that around 25,000 Jews will remain in their present places of residence, and as a result the problem of relocating and integrating approximately 30,000 souls (7,000 to 8,000 families or households) will arise.

Here, the present social and occupational structure of the Jewish population under consideration for resettlement will be of great, indeed decisive, importance.

The 24,000 Jewish persons from the Sudetenland have lived until now predominantly in the larger urban communities. Only in the 29 towns with more than 10,000 souls were there more than 10,000 Jewish residents. We are thus dealing, as everywhere in the historical lands, with a political and even big-city element. In their social and occupational structure too, these 24,000 Jews are hardly likely to differ from the general image of the Western Jews. Precise data is unfortunately not available, because the official statistics take into account solely those who are Jews by nationality, not all Jews, according to their occupational and social structure. Assuming that all Jews in this respect resemble those who are Jews by nationality, we obtain, from a sampling in 10 large cities with 3,283 national Jewish inhabitants (that is, more than 3/5 of all the national Jews in the entire region), the following interesting numbers: of 1,754 working persons, a good 1,000 were self-employed (entrepreneurs), 311 were civil servants, 320 were white-collar workers, and 123 were blue-collar workers, day labourers, and apprentices. From the standpoint of social strength, when the Sudeten German Jews are resettled one can thus, with great probability, expect a more or less well-to-do element, which nonetheless has certain means available for integration into new places of settlement. Less favourable, from this standpoint, is the occupational structure of these Jews. This is revealed by a further sampling: of the 1,000 who were self-employed, only 89 persons worked in the industrial sector. In the liberal professions there were 77, and in trade and commerce a total of 414 persons. Of all those classed as working persons, 228 were in the industrial sector, 601 in trade and commerce, and 124 in the liberal professions.

The Jewish community will obviously face the major task of *occupational restructuring* here, specifically oriented towards making a transition from trade and commerce to industry. Only as innovative entrepreneurs in new branches of industry that are needed for the other regions of the republic can the Jews from the Sudeten German region prove successful and find acceptance as desirable fellow citizens in the new locations.

## DOC. 104

**On 9 October 1938 Ruth Maier describes the despair of Jewish families in Vienna<sup>1</sup>**

Handwritten diary of Ruth Maier,<sup>2</sup> entry for 9 October 1938

Never before in history has there been an occurrence of such misery and misfortune, humiliation, shame, and bestiality.

It surprises me that we *tolerate* it. That, despite everything, we do not turn on the gas, jump into the Danube.

Three days before giving birth, a Jewish woman crosses the border illegally. The family is torn apart ... the wife in England as a cook, the husband in Belgium illegally, the mother still in Germany, the brother in Dachau, the sister ...

It is so monstrous that we cannot even assess it. On Yom Kippur, SA men forced their way into apartments in the 18th, 19th, and 17th districts and ordered people to pack a little bag and leave within 24 hours. Imagine the harrowing scenes. No, certainly not the finest of people. A few people have turned on the gas tap. They [the SA men] were at the Ehrlichs' apartment, also at Mrs Kamill's. Hildegard's parents wanted to go into the Vienna Woods ... in the twentieth century. ... No, surely it was a joke, a prank ... Jewish women and girls were forced to clean up the temple.

It is inconceivable, it really is, only occasionally does it become clear ...

SA men enter the apartments, commandeer books, say: 'Oh, the Jews read Heine.' They burn Heine, Zweig, Schnitzler. 'International riff-raff!'

Some people can't cope any longer! Mrs Herr's mother has committed suicide! To be away from here!!

1 HL-Senteret, Oslo, published in slightly abridged English translation in *Ruth Maier's Diary: A Jewish Girl's Life in Nazi Europe*, ed. Jan Erik Vold, trans. from Norwegian by Jamie Bulloch (London: Vintage, 2010 [Norwegian edn, 2007]), pp. 97–98. This document has been retranslated from the German original.

2 Ruth Maier (1920–1942), grammar school pupil; fled to Lillestrøm, Norway, in Jan. 1939; left secondary school with qualifications in 1940; worked in voluntary women's labour service, 1940–1942; in Sept. 1942 she moved to Oslo, where she earned her living through handicrafts and posing as a model, and took evening courses at the arts and crafts school; in Nov. 1942 she was arrested and deported to Auschwitz, where she was murdered.

## DOC. 105

**On 11 October 1938 the Reich Institute for Labour Placement in Austria  
reports to Reich Commissioner Josef Bürckel about the difficulties  
involved in deploying Jews for forced labour<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the president of the Reich Institute for Labour Placement and Unemployment Insurance, Austrian branch (II d 5746), Gärtner,<sup>2</sup> to the Reich Commissioner for the Reunification of Austria with the German Reich, Bürckel (received on 17 October 1938), Vienna, dated 11 October 1938

*Re:* labour deployment; here: employment of Jews.

In my letter of 20 September 1938 (5746),<sup>3</sup> with reference to the significant number of Jews registered as unemployed, I had stated, among other things, that I considered it necessary, in order to facilitate emigration efforts and in the interest of easing the burden on public assistance funds, to engage Jews in suitable work, such as excavation, quarrying, and similar activities. At the same time I had used this opportunity to inform you that I had already taken the requisite steps for this purpose.

In the meantime, at my instigation, slots have been found for around 200 Jews in public projects in the district of the Regional Employment Office in Vienna, where the unemployment is concentrated.

Standing in the way of the further deployment of the unemployed Jews are problems that consist mainly in the lack of *appropriate local* opportunities for work. In addition, some offices believe that they should not engage Jews under any circumstances. It is correct that work could easily be interrupted if Jews were to be employed among the ranks of other workers. Therefore, wherever possible, I have deployed Jewish workers in segregated groups that work alone. Because deployment opportunities of this sort are available to me in Vienna itself only to a relatively limited extent, while the district of the Vienna Regional Employment Office alone accounts for around 90 per cent of the number of Jews registered as unemployed, it becomes necessary to create suitable additional work opportunities in the city of Vienna or its immediate vicinity, or alternatively to provide quarters to accommodate the Viennese Jews when they are working out of town.

The execution of such plans is impeded by the reluctance of public building contractors to accept Jews. I do not misconstrue these reservations, but I believe nonetheless that it is more correct to require Jews to perform work so long as they are receiving benefits from public funds, and that it is also in the interest of society as a whole. Other benefit recipients are required to perform such work, or else their benefits may be withheld; it does not seem reasonable to me to put the Jews in a better situation than unemployed German Volksgenossen. In addition, the general shortage of workers, which at

1 ÖStA/AdR, Reichskommissar Bürckel/Materie, 2160/7, Kt. 91. This document has been translated from German.

2 Friedrich Gärtner (1882–1970), lawyer; president of the Regional Employment Office (LAA) in Silesia, 1927–1934; president of the LAA in Westphalia, 1934–1938; head of the Austrian branch of the Reich Ministry of Labour, 1938–1940; Reich inspector for labour deployment, 1943–1945; involved in the development of the Federal Office for Labour Placement and Unemployment Insurance, 1950–1953; in 1952 awarded the Grand Cross 1st Class of the Federal Republic of Germany.

3 This letter is not included in the file.

the moment is endangering the progress and completion of even the urgent work, in my view also demands the utilization of Jewish manpower in appropriate pursuits and with appropriate precautions.

Therefore, I would be grateful if you would bring your influence to bear upon public contractors to ensure that the deployment of Jews for work does not meet with flat refusal. In this regard, I can point out that experiences with respect to the work performed by the Jews have thus far been good. In Vienna it is indeed not only Jewish white-collar employees who are out of work; more than 1,000 blue-collar workers and members of the skilled crafts and trades (butcher's apprentices) are unemployed as well. I would be grateful for communication of your position and of anything you may have initiated, so that I can make reference to it in my future negotiations with building contractors.<sup>4</sup>

I have had a copy of the letter above sent to the Central Office for Jewish Emigration.

#### DOC. 106

### On 14 October 1938 the World Jewish Congress analyses the situation of Jews in Europe<sup>1</sup>

Confidential report by the World Jewish Congress, unsigned, dated 14 October 1938<sup>2</sup>

The following overview of the Jewish situation in Europe makes no attempt to provide details of the situation in the various countries, and refers in this respect to the detailed reports that are simultaneously being sent to you by the executive office of the World Jewish Congress. I limit myself to sketching the broad outlines of the Jewish situation in Europe in its most important countries, with reference to the guidelines for the action that we must take with regard to a possible improvement of this situation or at least the prevention of any change for the worse.

#### *I. General information*

The Jewish situation in Europe, as everywhere, is essentially a consequence of the overall political situation. Naturally, there is a specific Jewish problem, which has persisted and will continue to do so regardless of the current political situation in the world. The task of solving this specific Jewish problem essentially lies with those movements that, like Zionism, have dedicated themselves to this great historical endeavour. It is the task of the World Congress to defend the existing Jewish rights and positions in the world wherever they are threatened or to restore them wherever they have been destroyed, and to prevent further discrimination against Jews from occurring. Viewed from the standpoint

<sup>4</sup> On 21 Oct. 1938 Bürckel informed Gärtner that he too considered it important to involve unemployed Jews in work activities, but not together with Aryan workers. Instead, he thought they should be deployed in segregated groups for work on large road-construction projects and the like: *ibid.*

<sup>1</sup> AJA, World Jewish Congress Collection Series A, Central Files, 1919–1975, Subseries 1: Organizational History and Activities, 1919–1970, box A3, file 2, European Situation report (German). This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> The original contains minor handwritten corrections, which are not indicated here.

of such an emergency initiative, it is valid to state as above that the Jewish situation is primarily a consequence of the overall political situation.

The European political situation is subject to the effect and the after-effects of the historical event that was imposed in the agreements concluded in Munich. This Munich Agreement is increasingly proving to be one of the greatest diplomatic defeats ever suffered by the European democracies, and is the greatest victory achieved thus far by the totalitarian states. The catastrophic repercussions of this defeat of the Western powers (an investigation of its causes here would go beyond our scope) are still impossible to gauge and will assume greater dimensions with each passing day. The positive hopes that the Western European statesmen have pinned on the Munich Agreement (general establishment of peace in Europe, regulation of all matters of dispute by negotiations among the four powers, etc.) can already be regarded as illusory and outdated. Today, a few weeks after Munich, the totalitarian states are already just as aggressive, if not even far more aggressive and arrogant, than they were before Munich, and peace for our time, of which Mr Chamberlain<sup>3</sup> naively spoke immediately after Munich, is already being recognized by all as an illusion. That also means that, to all intents and purposes, the danger of a permanent four-power directorate<sup>4</sup> for Europe – danger because, going by the experiences of Munich, the two totalitarian states would actually have had the leading roles in this directorate – no longer exists. Europe will continue to be in a situation where there is instability, unrest, aggressive policies on the part of the countries ruled by dictatorship, for how long no one can foresee.

The negative consequences of the Munich Agreement are already proliferating. Czechoslovakia is rapidly becoming an anti-democratic state which in practice must become a vassal state of Germany. The Little Entente<sup>5</sup> is destroyed; Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Turkey are increasingly coming under the dominating economic and thus also political influence of Germany; Romania too will have difficulty eluding the growing pressure from the Third Reich. Poland lives in panicky fear of Germany and, guided by Beck, whose pro-Germany policy has apparently triumphed, will increasingly accommodate itself to German wishes. All the little states in Europe fear for their existence and live in panic regarding German hegemony. Europe is approaching a harsh and bitter winter, and unless English policy changes course, that is, as long as Mr Chamberlain, with his weakness and his illusions, steers this policy, no improvement in this situation is to be expected. At present and for the near future, France can scarcely be regarded as a great power any more and will do whatever England wants. The sole hope for a change in the European situation lies in the possibility of a change in English policy, a coalition

3 Arthur Neville Chamberlain (1869–1940), politician; from 1918 UK Member of Parliament for the Conservative Party in the House of Commons; prime minister, 1937–1940. By signing the Munich Agreement, which permitted the annexation of the Sudetenland by the German Reich, he believed that he had secured ‘peace for our time’. After the German invasion of Prague in March 1939, he abandoned his policy of appeasement and concluded guarantee agreements with Poland, Greece, Romania, and Turkey.

4 The states that concluded the Munich Agreement – Britain, France, Germany, and Italy – are referred to as the four-power directorate.

5 The alliance formed by Romania, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia, which was intended to secure the status quo created in the Danube region in 1919–1920 against the revanchist demands being made by Bulgaria, Hungary, and Italy.

between England, Russia, and France with the moral support of the United States of America, for only a bloc of this kind can still successfully resist the aggression of the countries ruled by dictatorship. Signs of an awakening of English public opinion are present. How quickly this shake-up will take effect, of course, cannot be predicted.

## II. *Individual countries*

### 1. *Germany*

Germany's Jewish question is now in the final stages of being completely eradicated once and for all. The last paltry areas of the economy that were still open to certain categories of German Jews have been eliminated in the past few months (physicians, travelling salesmen, etc.),<sup>6</sup> and by 1939 at the latest virtually no Jew in Germany will still have any possibility of earning a livelihood. The hope of some that, under the effect of the Munich atmosphere of peace, the Third Reich would be willing to make concessions, at least with respect to the refugee problem, is apparently proving to be illusory. The Saarbrücken speech by Hitler<sup>7</sup> and many other signs indicate that in no respect is the Third Reich willing to make any concessions towards England and the other democratic states. Hitler's arrogant reference to the governess-like attitude of English policy towards Germany refers, as you know, to the statements made by Chamberlain in Berchtesgaden<sup>8</sup> with regard to an easing of the policy concerning German-Jewish refugees, and it shows that even in this matter, which is of secondary importance to Germany, Hitler is unwilling to make any concessions. The negotiations that the Evian Committee will soon commence with the German authorities are, in my view, quite unlikely to succeed.<sup>9</sup> Perhaps, if the United States and England exert real pressure, it will be possible to achieve minimal concessions, but they will carry little weight when set against the scope and the severity of the refugee problem. What is to become of the 300,000 Jews still living in Germany is wholly inconceivable; the imagination of a Dante cannot portray the suffering that is in store for these most unfortunate members of the Jewish people in the near future.

### 2. *Italy*

The antisemitic turn in Italian domestic policy is primarily a consequence of Germany's demand for the Gleichschaltung of Italy in this respect also and a result of Mussolini's growing rage towards the Western powers. The anti-Jewish laws that have been enacted in Italy are even more encompassing and brutal with regard to the non-Italian Jews than

<sup>6</sup> The Law on the Amendment of the Commercial Code for the German Reich, 6 July 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, pp. 823–824) greatly restricted the commercial activity of Jews. Trade licences for Jewish travelling salesmen were declared invalid as of 30 Sept. 1938. Under the Fourth Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law (25 July 1938), the licences of Jewish physicians were revoked with effect from 30 Sept. 1938.

<sup>7</sup> On 9 Oct. 1938 Hitler gave a speech before an audience of workers at the West Wall (Siegfried Line) fortifications, in which he railed against Britain's allegedly patronizing stance. The speech is published in *Völkischer Beobachter* (Berlin edition), 10 Oct. 1938, pp. 1–2.

<sup>8</sup> On 15 Sept. 1938 Hitler and Chamberlain had met at the Obersalzberg to talk about the future of Czechoslovakia.

<sup>9</sup> The negotiations between the Intergovernmental Committee, established in Evian, and the German government did not begin until the end of 1938. On the outcome, see Doc. 230, 1 Jan. 1939.

the analogous provisions in Germany. As to the Italian Jews themselves, the decrees of the Grand Conseil Fasciste have turned out to be milder than might have been feared.<sup>10</sup> The exemption categories for Jews who are not affected by any discrimination are quite sizeable and will include approximately 30–40 per cent of the Italian Jews. The other 60–70 per cent will be allowed to retain the opportunity, for the time being, to earn a livelihood as small retailers and salaried employees in trade. How long the present arrangement will last is completely uncertain. A bad mood of Il Duce is enough to bring about new tightenings of the laws, and besides, the decrees of the Grand Conseil Fasciste, with a cynical tendency towards extortion, have publicly declared that possible additional laws directed against the Italian Jews would depend on how world Jewry responds to Fascism. Because world Jewry can by no means engage in a rapprochement with Fascism, this method of blackmail opens up very dangerous prospects with respect to a potential tightening of anti-Jewish measures in Italy.

### 3. Poland

The anti-Jewish policy of the Polish government has eased to some extent in recent months.<sup>11</sup> The cause was, on the one hand, the desire of the government to bring about an accord with the more democratic parties, especially the Peasant Party, and, on the other hand, the growing difficulties that Poland is having with its German and Ukrainian minorities.<sup>12</sup> It must be feared that the strengthening of Beck's pro-German policy, with the success it has achieved regarding Czechoslovakia,<sup>13</sup> can also entail a strengthening of the anti-Jewish measures, particularly as it appears that a reconciliation of the government with

<sup>10</sup> French in the original. The Grand Council of Fascism was created on 9 Dec. 1928 as a pseudo-parliament under Mussolini. The council elected posts including that of the prime minister. Italy enacted anti-Jewish laws in 1938, in part to accommodate its German ally. On 5 Sept. 1938 a law that was subsequently highly contested introduced segregation between Jews and non-Jews in schools and institutes of higher education. Two days later a decree threatened Jews of foreign nationality who had entered Italy after 1919 with expulsion if they failed to leave the country within six months. In Nov. race laws followed, providing for the exclusion of Jews from employment, the liberal professions, and cultural life; the forced sale of Jewish-owned large and medium-sized enterprises; and the revocation of Italian citizenship for all Jews naturalized after 1919. Although similar in many respects to their German prototypes, the anti-Jewish laws in Italy were usually less oppressive, or in some cases not put into practice at all: Klaus Voigt, 'Die jüdische Emigration in Italien', in Manfred Briegel and Wolfgang Frühwald (eds.), *Die Erfahrung der Fremde: Kolloquium des Schwerpunktprogramms 'Exilforschung' der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft* (Weinheim: VCH, 1988), pp. 13–32, here pp. 16–17.

<sup>11</sup> In the second half of the 1930s the approach towards the Polish Jews had become harsher. Thus, in 1936, a ban on ritual slaughter was introduced; at the universities, Polish students succeeded in having a *numerus clausus* introduced and separate, so-called ghetto benches set up for Polish-Jewish students.

<sup>12</sup> In the Second Polish Republic there were 4.8 million Ukrainians (15 per cent of the total population) and 700,000 Germans (2.2 per cent). On the one hand, the policy of Polonization fostered a closer amalgamation of both the Ukrainian group and the German group; on the other hand, Hitler utilized the German minority to aggravate tensions in German–Polish relations. In 1938 Ukrainian nationalists demanded territorial autonomy also as a reaction to Polish discrimination.

<sup>13</sup> Under the Munich Agreement, Poland was awarded the Teschen (Cieszyn) industrial region, which had previously belonged to Czechoslovakia.

the Peasant Party is unlikely, a fact that emerges from the boycotting by the Peasant Party of the elections to the new Sejm.<sup>14</sup>

In future a cushioning effect will also be exerted on Poland's anti-Jewish policy by the existence of the German and Ukrainian minority problem, especially as both problems will become worse – the German one as a result of the growing arrogance of all German minorities in Eastern Europe and the Ukrainian one as a result of the revival of the Ukrainian issue by the question of Subcarpathian Rus, where the Ruthenians are known to have gained complete autonomy. This has already led to the bloody Ruthenian demonstrations in Lwów.<sup>15</sup> Nonetheless, the future of Polish Jewry is decidedly gloomy. The policy of economic exclusion with respect to the Jews, which has never, not even in the past few months, seen any let-up, will be continued. And Poland will exert stronger and stronger pressure for the purpose of settling the Polish-Jewish problem by means of large-scale emigration. (In the concluding portion, I will return to the overall Jewish consequences of this policy for the near future.) Jewish equality of rights, which still exists in formal terms, will be increasingly eroded, and the introduction of a *numerus clausus* for Jews in all occupational categories, following the Hungarian model,<sup>16</sup> a step that Polish government circles have been discussing for quite some time, is indeed a real possibility.

#### 4. *Baltic states*

In the Baltic states (Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania) the Jewish situation is still bearable today. In terms of economic policies a certain anti-Jewish policy is pursued in these countries too, especially in Latvia and Lithuania, and the growing centralization of the economic activities of these countries by state institutions and monopolies means, in any event, the progressive exclusion of the Jews from their economic positions. But in comparison with Germany, Italy, Poland, and Romania, the situation in the Baltic countries, as I have said, is still tolerable. Whether it may not soon adopt a tendency to worsen is not certain, but quite possible, as a result of the growing fear of Germany in these countries and the need for them to follow Germany more closely. Germany has already offered Lithuania an economic agreement that would virtually guarantee German economic predominance in Lithuania, which would automatically result in the economic destruction of tens of thousands of Lithuanian Jews.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, these countries, as far as is possible, are already attempting, owing to the counter-pressure applied by the Soviet Union, to follow a balanced policy of neutrality, should they manage to

14 This refers to elections to the lower house of the Polish parliament. The Peasant Party is a reference here to the People's Party (SL), created in March 1931 by the merger of all the peasant parties; the opposition parties boycotted the early elections to the parliament and the senate on 6 and 13 Nov. 1938, respectively, at which the Camp of National Unity (OZN) won 161 of 208 seats.

15 In Oct. 1938 parts of Subcarpathian Rus had been granted autonomy within Czechoslovakia and renamed Carpatho-Ukraine, whereupon Ukrainian nationalists in Lwów fought for independence, in the hope that an autonomous Ukrainian state could be formed. On 15 March 1939 Hungarian troops occupied Carpatho-Ukraine, and the region lost its autonomy.

16 See Doc. 26, 13 April 1938.

17 During the course of the negotiations, which started in autumn 1938, the German Reich offered, as a *quid pro quo* for the return of the Memel Territory to Germany, a Lithuanian free port and economic privileges in Klaipėda. The treaty between the two states was concluded on 22 March 1939.

accomplish this. If they are able to maintain such a course, perhaps the worst will not befall the Jews of these countries. In these countries, too, there is a real risk of a worsening of the Jewish situation.

##### 5. *Romania*

In Romania the Jewish situation had relaxed to some extent in recent months. The fall of the Goga government and the collapse of his Hitlerist policy with respect to the Jews (brought about in large part by the opposition that was organized by the World Congress against Goga's Jewish policy) was one of the few true successes of Jewish politics in the past few years.<sup>18</sup> The very energetic opposition to and destruction of the Iron Guard<sup>19</sup> by the present Romanian government has naturally also had a positive effect in this regard. Unfortunately, as a remnant of Goga's policies pertaining to the Jews, there remained the ominous Law for the Amendment of Jews' Civil Rights, which in reality must lead to the denaturalization of 200,000 to 300,000 Romanian Jews. The efforts of the World Jewish Congress to bring about an easing of this law had some prospect of success.<sup>20</sup> But here too the situation has been radically altered by the agreements reached in Munich. Before Munich, Romania had embarked upon a policy of purposeful rapprochement with the Western powers. It must be feared that this policy will be revised. There is already talk that Minister of Foreign Affairs Comnen,<sup>21</sup> who had championed this policy, will step down. Now that Czechoslovakia will become a German vassal state, Romania is being brought under enormous and direct pressure from Germany. One cannot predict what consequences will arise in both the foreign policy and the domestic policy of Romania, consequences that in some circumstances must become catastrophic for the Romanian Jews. No matter how the situation evolves, I fear that hundreds of thousands of Romanian Jews will be denaturalized and thus deprived of their existence, while the other Romanian Jews, who are recognized as citizens, will be increasingly pushed out of economic life, and the Romanian government will at least pursue a policy along the lines of the Polish one; that is, it will attempt to solve the Jewish problem in Romania through mass emigration. Even the present minister of foreign affairs, Comnen, had repeatedly spoken with me about his intention to convene an international conference for a solution of the question of Jewish emigration. It is probable that these efforts will be strengthened in the near future.

18 Octavian Goga (1881–1938), poet and politician; from 1919 held a number of ministerial posts, for example as minister for art and minister of the interior; Romanian prime minister, 1937–1938; dismissed by King Carol II in Feb. 1938 in response to pressure exerted by France and Britain. On anti-Jewish legislation in Romania, see Doc. 13, Feb. 1938, fn. 2.

19 Ultrationalist movement in Romania, founded in 1927 by Corneliu Zelea Codreanu (1899–1938), initially known as the Legion of the Archangel Michael.

20 Because Goga's legislation contravened the Minorities Treaty of 1919, the League of Nations, at the urging of the World Jewish Congress, demanded a change in Romania's policies pertaining to the Jews. Subsequently, so-called identity cards were used to grant legal residence to many Jews or to organize their emigration to Palestine.

21 Nicolae Petrescu-Comnen (1881–1958), diplomat; Romanian representative to the League of Nations, 1923–1927; plenipotentiary in Berlin and intermittently at the Vatican, 1927–1937; initially state secretary in the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, then minister of foreign affairs, 1937–1938; ambassador to the Vatican, 1938–1941; founder of the Romanian Red Cross, 1943; president of this organization until 1952.

### 6. Czechoslovakia

In the aftermath of the Munich Agreement and as a result of the drawing of the borders by the ambassadors' conference in Berlin,<sup>22</sup> Czechoslovakia has become almost completely dependent on Germany, a situation that is soon likely to find expression also in the area of policy pertaining to Jews. Not only the explicit wish of Germany, but also the general disposition of a people after a severe defeat, will further the antisemitic course. The reduced living space and the rush by the Czechs into the liberal professions lead one to fear, in view of the large numbers of Jews in these professions, that restrictive measures will be imposed on them, which is confirmed by the latest announcements from Czech physicians' and lawyers' circles.<sup>23</sup> Thus far no regulations have been made that contain any discrimination against Jewish citizens. The measures opposing the influx of refugees from the German-occupied territory, however, are especially hard on the Jews.<sup>24</sup> The Czech government will quite reluctantly pursue the antisemitic policy, as it is convinced of the loyalty of the Jews to Czechoslovakia and values their economic significance highly, particularly on account of their connections with the world. Despite the alignment with Germany's policy, the Czech government will seek to preserve its independence, which opens up certain prospects for the fate of the Jews.

The policy of the autonomous government of Slovakia is acutely antisemitic.<sup>25</sup> It is debatable whether the fate of the Jews in the disputed regions of southern Slovakia and Subcarpathian Rus will be better under Hungarian, Slovak, or Ruthenian rule, respectively, although thus far there is no cause for pessimism with regard to the autonomous regime in Subcarpathian Rus.

In any event the future of the 360,000 Jews in Czechoslovakia is greatly imperilled. Some things, however, can be influenced by an active policy on the part of world Jewry.

### 7. Hungary

In Hungary, as is well known, the 20 per cent *numerus clausus* discriminating against the Jews has become law and is being implemented at an accelerated pace. It will not even take the five years provided for in the law for this *numerus clausus* to become a reality. This means the economic dispossession of around 20,000 Hungarian Jewish families. This law will now affect several tens of thousands of Jews who previously lived in the Hungarian part of Slovakia and are now coming to Hungary. For all that, it is still completely uncertain whether even the present anti-Jewish course of the government will be retained. The danger of a total Nazification of Hungary is definitely present today,

22 The state secretary in the Reich Foreign Office and the ambassadors of the United Kingdom, France, and Italy fixed the terms of the agreement during a meeting in Berlin at the beginning of October.

23 From 1933 Czechoslovakia had been the destination for many Jewish refugees. The uncertainty following the Munich Agreement, which was accompanied by a renewed increase in the numbers of refugees, also led to a rise in antisemitic tendencies. In rump Czechoslovakia, Jews were gradually dismissed from public office and excluded from clubs and associations.

24 On the attitude of the Czech government towards the refugees from the Sudetenland, see Introduction, p. 44.

25 In Slovakia, violent attacks on Jews and looting became increasingly frequent. In Oct. 1938 Jewish families were deported from the interior of the country to the territories being ceded to Hungary. At a meeting of Slovak politicians with Göring on 12 Oct. 1938, measures against the Jews were discussed, and a 'Jewish committee' was formed for the purpose of legal regulation.

as a result of the proximity of the Third Reich. A change of government and the formation of a government of the 'Arrow Cross Party members' (Hungarian Nazis) is completely possible and would also mean the swift destruction of the existence of those Hungarian Jews who have not yet been affected by the *numerus clausus*.<sup>26</sup>

#### 8. France

It is quite characteristic that France, too, must now be included in a list of the countries with a growing Jewish problem. French policy, both foreign and domestic, is in a state of utter chaos. The defeat in Munich has not only destroyed the entire system of France's foreign policy but also created total disorientation in domestic policy. The rift between the advocates of a firm policy and the defeatists, who are willing in effect to abandon the French position as a great power in order to gain protection against Hitler's aggression, runs through all the parties. The right is split, and the left is split, with the exception of the communists, who are united in espousing the course of a strong foreign policy. The central and dreadful event of the past weeks, which perhaps was the deepest cause of the defeat of the Western powers in Munich, is the attitude of the French upper classes, which, fearing possible social revolutions or an ascendancy of the working masses even in the event of a victorious war against Germany, are willing to accept Hitler's supremacy in Europe and, when choosing between the national great-power position of France and the – ostensible – safeguarding of their bank accounts, have decided in favour of the bank accounts. The policies pursued by Monsieur Bonnet,<sup>27</sup> who is chiefly to blame for the events that led to Munich, were dictated by France's heavy industry, which must be understood to include Jewish moneyed interests in France (particularly the Lazard Frères bank<sup>28</sup>). The consequence of the Munich Agreement is a tremendous feeling of dismay and in many cases also of shame in wide sections of the French population. These circles are looking for a scapegoat and find it, naturally, in the Jews. Antisemitic propaganda in France, presented by a part of the right wing that is ready to capitulate to Hitler, is assuming menacing forms, and the inner disunity of France's domestic policy is so great that fascistizing tendencies are naturally gaining ground in France, and the threat of a fascist *coup d'état* cannot be entirely ruled out. If I do not believe in the immediacy of this danger today, it is because I assume that the French army and the French general staff will make a stand against it, and in the chaos of French domestic policy the army and the general staff are the last strong and not-demoralized institution. But fascistizing tendencies will certainly spread in France during the coming months

<sup>26</sup> In the law of 29 May 1938, which limited the share of Jews in individual professional fields or companies to a maximum of 20 per cent, the term 'Jew' was defined in a religious sense, in contrast to the practice in Germany. In the subsequent anti-Jewish laws, more lenient regulations frequently applied to assimilated Jews and granted them exemptions. In the last Hungarian elections before the beginning of the Second World War, the Arrow Cross Party, which was particularly hostile to Jews, won around one sixth of the votes, in Budapest more than one third.

<sup>27</sup> Georges Etienne Bonnet (1889–1973), lawyer and politician; representative of the left-liberal Radical Party in the French parliament, 1924–1940, and held various ministerial posts; minister of foreign affairs and staunch advocate of the Munich Agreement, 1938–1939; excluded from the Radical Socialist Party, 1945; later mayor of Brantôme.

<sup>28</sup> The Lazard Frères banking house was founded in 1848 by the brothers Alexandre, Simon, and Elie Lazard as the trading company Lazard Frères & Co in New Orleans. From the mid nineteenth century, branches were opened in various locations, including New York, Paris, and London.

and will, as has been the case everywhere, employ the antisemitic call most effectively in propaganda efforts. Even though it must not be assumed that a real, acute Jewish problem will very quickly arise in France – though that cannot be ruled out, either – French antisemitism, in any event, will assume quite severe forms in the near future, and defence against antisemitic attacks will be one of the most pressing tasks of Jewish politics.

#### 9. *Switzerland*

In Switzerland, too, growing antisemitism must be anticipated. This tiny country, wedged between Italy and Germany, surrounded on three sides by these powers, lives in dread of the dictators. Swiss democracy, of course, is firmly established, and perhaps in no other European country was there such little participation in the absurd and shameful rejoicing of the Western powers in the first days after Munich as in Switzerland, extending well into the country's reactionary circles. But Switzerland, understandably, feels rather helpless with respect to the dictators, especially after the experiences of Czechoslovakia. The result is a growing anxiety, expressed in the desire for scrupulous neutrality, also in intellectual and moral attitudes, that wishes to provide no targets for the dictatorship powers. Of course, this will also have an effect on the situation of the Jews in Switzerland, who, although not directly threatened, might nonetheless be subject to multiple attacks in the near future.

#### III. *Summary*

This brief outline (in which I have omitted Holland and Belgium as well as the Scandinavian states, in which more pronounced antisemitic phenomena are not yet to be reported, although they too are not ruled out, as a result of the growing pressure from Germany) gives an idea of the Jewish situation in Europe. Possibly the only European country in which Jewish rights seem to have been preserved for now is England. In all the other European countries there is already a Jewish question in its most tragic forms, and in the few countries where it does not yet exist it can very quickly become acute. To summarize this briefly: in the near future, one must anticipate the following threats:

(a) An increase in antisemitism in its most brutal forms, accompanied by excesses and by defamatory and stop-at-nothing agitation (today there are already very popular publications in France whose perfidious attacks on the Jews now differ very little from the German press à la *Stürmer*).<sup>29</sup>

(b) A strengthening of the anti-Jewish policies of the East European governments through economic dispossession of the Jews and through a mounting pressure for emigration. It is a genuine possibility that the East European countries, supported by Germany and Italy, may revive the Jewish question on an international scale. Given the anti-Zionist attitude of the totalitarian states on the one hand and the feeble Palestine policy of England on the other hand, resolution of the Jewish emigration question along the lines of the Palestine solution is very unlikely. What the East European powers, particularly Poland and Romania, have in mind today is the provision of some remote African

<sup>29</sup> Among the most influential antisemitic publications were the weekly newspaper *L'ami du peuple*, which had a circulation of 460,000 copies in the mid 1930s, and the newspapers *Je suis partout* and *La libre parole*.

or American territory for large-scale Jewish emigration,<sup>30</sup> and this kind of pressure on the Jews in the Eastern countries ensures that, even under the worst conditions, they would be willing to emigrate to any such territory.

(c) The fascistization or Nazification of European countries that now are still actual or nominal democracies, and the concomitant automatic disenfranchisement and annihilation of Jewry in these countries.

#### IV. *Suggested ways for us to take action*

This Jewish situation in Europe naturally calls for:

(a) A campaign of resistance and defence on the part of the self-assertive sections of the Jewish people, on an infinitely greater scale than has been the case up to now. These huge threats can no longer be combated with the restricted means and stop-gap measures of Jewish politics. It is clear that the political methods of Jewish notables – to be quiet and play dead and let the existence of a Jewish question be forgotten, or to establish good contacts with non-Jewish figures and bring about an easing here and there – have completely failed; to continue these methods in light of this situation would be absurd and ridiculous. But the more courageous methods too, especially the strategies of diplomatic intervention and political struggle that the World Jewish Congress has employed, are no longer adequate today. They must be continued, but they require a decisive expansion and overhaul. The following is necessary.

(b) A reawakened desire to fight for our existence among the broad masses of our people. The greatest threat to us today is not even the attacks of our enemies; rather, it is the growing feeling of despair in broad segments of the Jewish people. The great Jewish masses are governed by a feeling of impotence and helplessness, and therein lies the real danger, for only when a people abandons the fight and, resigned to its downfall, shrugs its shoulders does the risk of a real downfall exist. The fighting spirit of the Jewish people must be aroused and strengthened. For that purpose, the organization of a Jewish self-protection movement is essential. Jews must be willing to defend themselves against excesses and must acquire something of the spirit of Palestinian Jewry. Russian Jews, before the war, were aware of such a self-protection movement, which not only had frequent practical success in resisting excesses, but also, above all, strengthened Russian Jewry's moral backbone and will to exist.<sup>31</sup>

(c) The establishment of a well-organized defensive action to counter the antisemitic propaganda. This cannot be accomplished by articles, however wise, in the Jewish press, which is completely irrelevant for these purposes. Instead, it must be accomplished by using the non-Jewish press, by pamphlets, appeals, etc., which must all come from non-Jewish quarters, however. It will be necessary to expand cooperation with the democratic

<sup>30</sup> In both Romania and Poland, there was discussion of immigration destinations for Jews in the years prior to the Second World War. A policy paper entitled 'Jewish Emigration and Colonial Questions' was produced by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1936, and in 1938 a draft paper called for the Polish colonization of Madagascar with simultaneous establishment of a Jewish settlement to decrease the Jewish population of Poland. In Romania, Prime Minister Goga, in early 1938, repeatedly voiced the hope that the Romanian Jews could be deported, possibly to Madagascar.

<sup>31</sup> After several pogroms in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a Jewish self-defence movement had come into being in Russia.

forces in the world that are still in existence, both in the Western and in the Eastern states – particularly, for example, in Poland too. Nothing more can be accomplished for us through compromises with the totalitarian states. If any doubts about that still existed, they must have been dispelled for good by the example of Italy. Our salvation lies in the victory of democracy, and because the true decisive battle between the dictatorships and the democracies has not been waged – Munich was only a preliminary skirmish, which the democracies lost – our policy can consist only in a growing cooperation and a joint fight on the side of the democratic forces in the world. A hundred possibilities are available for that purpose, and just as we recognize that we need the help of the democratic parties and forces, these parties also understand that they need the cooperation of the Jewish world. Offers and requests from such parties and groups for collaboration with them are rapidly increasing.

(d) Continuation of diplomatic interventions, with increasing utilization of world public opinion. Despite everything, states such as Poland, Romania, Hungary, etc. are still responsive to pressure from the West European and especially the American public, and this weapon must be used even more heavily in future than up to now.

(e) Efforts on our part to tackle the Jewish emigration problem. The problem cannot be done away with, and it would be dangerous, as in all political questions, to let our opponents take the initiative in solving it. Whatever shape the fate of Palestine may take, there will be a pressing Jewish emigration problem in Europe. There are also possibilities for a positive solution, but we must take them in hand. In the process, what I have in mind is not to deal with the individual emigration cases, a task performed by HICEM and other Jewish organizations. Instead, I suggest tackling the problem in a general and political way by negotiating with the countries involved in emigration and immigration, studying international methods of finance, and preventing this question from becoming one of the major instruments of anti-Jewish policy in the world.

As to the structuring of the work thus outlined, let me make a comment here: increasingly, the focal point of Jewish politics and defence is shifting to the United States of America. American Jewry is the only large body of Jews still in full possession of its strength and positions. If American Jewry does not take on the leadership role in the Jewish defensive fight, it will be untrue to the historical task imposed on it by the present situation, and it goes without saying that the complete collapse of European Jewry, which could take place if we fall short, cannot leave the position of America's Jews unshaken either. The law of Jewish solidarity, under which there will ultimately be a common fate for all the Jews of the world – all free or all pariahs – has never before been validated in such concrete terms as in the tragic events of recent years. In organizing the struggle as it has been outlined here, American Jewry must contribute the decisive share, politically, intellectually, and financially as well. The work, as outlined here, can be carried out only if considerable financial means are available, sums quite different from the paltry budgets with which the World Congress has thus far scraped by. If these means cannot be obtained, the struggle, as described here, cannot be organized. But I cannot believe that it should not be possible, under the weight of the blows we have suffered in recent years and especially in the past few weeks, to make American Jews aware that they must provide quite different means for resolving the political struggle. Philanthropy is very useful and is saving many individual Jewish lives; for shaping Jewish collective destiny, it is completely beside the point. The future of the Jewish people in Europe and thus

everywhere in the world will be ensured only by a well-organized political struggle that closely depends on the progressive and democratic forces in the world. Such a struggle makes us an ally in these times of preparation and at the moment of the great conflict between the progressive forces in the world and the totalitarian states that must come, sooner or later, and probably will come sooner than some people wish to assume. Only such a struggle will safeguard our rights and our fate for this great conflict, but, in addition, only such a struggle will give to the Jewish people, to the extent it still possesses the will to exist – and luckily, that still includes the great majority of the Jews in the world – the awareness that it is not yet lost. It will permit the depression and despair that are a moral threat to our existence today to be overcome and will give to the Jewish masses the will to fight – and as long as a people fights, it is not lost.

DOC. 107

**Discussion on 14 October 1938 in Hermann Göring's office  
about economic preparations for war and the Aryanization process<sup>1</sup>**

Stenographic report (marked 'top secret') of the meeting at the Reich Ministry of Aviation in the office of Field Marshal Göring (Th),<sup>2</sup> undated, on 14 October 1938

Field Marshal *Göring* opened the meeting by declaring that he wanted to issue instructions for the work of the coming months. From the press, he said, everyone knows what the situation in the world is like, and the Führer has consequently instructed him to carry out a gigantic programme, in comparison with which the previous achievements are of little significance. On the other hand, there are difficulties, which he will overcome with the greatest energy and ruthlessness.

Foreign currency reserves have plummeted owing to preparations for the Czech venture and require immediate and substantial enlargement. In addition, the accounts abroad have already been heavily overdrawn, so that maximum export activity – more than previously – has priority. For the next few weeks, highest priority goes to increasing exports in order to improve the foreign currency situation. The Reich Minister of Economics *should* propose a way to boost export activity, and in so doing the difficulties that obstruct export at present must be overcome.

The export gains are to be used to intensify the arms build-up. The extent of the military build-up must not be reduced as a result of export activity. The Führer has tasked him with escalating the arms build-up on an exceptional scale, with the air force

1 Copy in IfZ-Archives (Nuremberg Document 1301-PS), published in *Der Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem Internationalen Militärgerichtshof Nürnberg, 14. November 1945–1. Oktober 1946*, vol. 27 (Nuremberg: Sekretariat des Gerichtshofs, 1948), pp. 160–165. This document has been translated from German.

2 Probably Georg Thomas (1890–1946), career officer; head of the War Economy Staff Unit in the Wehrmacht Office of the Reich Ministry of War; head of the War Economy and Armaments Office in the Wehrmacht High Command, 1939–1942; arrested on 11 Oct. 1944 in connection with the attempt to assassinate Hitler on 20 July; imprisoned in the Flossenbürg and Dachau concentration camps; liberated in 1945 by American troops and died in their custody.

having priority.<sup>3</sup> The air force must be enlarged fivefold as quickly as possible; the navy too must make itself ready more quickly; and the army must receive large quantities of offensive weapons at a faster rate, in particular heavy artillery and heavy tanks. Hand in hand with that must go an industrial build-up, with particular priority being given to fuels, rubber, powder, and explosives. In addition, the construction of roads, canals, and especially railways must be accelerated.

Besides, there is the Four-Year Plan, which must be restructured in two respects.

In the Four-Year Plan, emphasis must be placed first on pressing forward with all construction that benefits the military build-up, and second on creating all the facilities that truly conserve foreign currency.

The replacement materials that the Four-Year Plan has created must now be placed in circulation at an accelerated pace. The Reich Ministry of Economics and the other public authorities should present proposals by early November for augmenting the introduction of the substitutes. Import of materials for which we have replacements must be ruthlessly restricted.

Field Marshal Göring then addressed the main question of the day: how these demands can be met!

He said that he is facing unanticipated difficulties. The public coffers are empty, and industrial plants will be working at full capacity for years to come to fulfil pending orders. Despite these difficulties, he will alter the situation, come what may. Position papers are of no use to him; he wants only positive suggestions. He will use brutal means, if need be, to turn the economy around in order to reach this goal. This is the moment for private enterprise to show whether it still has a right to exist. If it fails, he will ruthlessly switch to a state-controlled economy. He will make barbaric use, he says, of his general powers – granted to him by the Führer.

All wishes and plans of the state, Party, or other entities that are not completely in line with this must be ruthlessly shelved. Ideological questions cannot be addressed now, either; there is time for that later. He warns strongly against making promises to workers that he cannot keep. Wishes of the Labour Front take a back seat completely.

The economy must be completely repositioned. An investigation of all manufacturing facilities must be initiated at once, to determine whether they could be converted for arms production and export or must be shut down. In the process, priority goes to the question of the machine industry. There is no longer any place for machinery for print shops, laundries, and the like; all the plants should make machine tools. As to machine tools, the urgency of the orders placed must be looked into, and, wherever possible, capacity must be expanded. Working in three shifts ought to be a matter of course.

It now remains to consider who should carry out this task: the state or the self-managed economy. – He has asked Director General *Zangen*<sup>4</sup> to submit a proposal outlining how these plans are to be put into effect. He warns all agencies, in particular the Labour Front, price commissioner, etc., against obstructing the implementation of these proposals in any way. He will take ruthless action against any disruption for which the Labour Front is responsible. The Labour Front will not receive any more raw materials and workers for its tasks. Likewise, all other Party-related demands must absolutely

<sup>3</sup> There are brackets in pencil around the last half-sentence.

take a back seat. Foreign workers can continue to be employed, only not in the especially secret parts of the enterprises. At present, the plants must not be weighed down with unnecessary burdens, such as sports fields, cafeterias, or similar wishes of the Labour Front. Measures that the Labour Front wants to take must be submitted to him for his approval.

Raw materials and energy must be closely managed. Likewise, manpower allocation must be organized in quite a different way from before. Retraining has not worked well; all agencies have failed. He will organize the large-scale integration of the youth into the economy. Large state-run training workshops for apprentices must be created; in addition, plants will be required to employ certain numbers of apprentices. Hundreds of thousands must be retrained. Far more work than before must be done by women.

Above all, far more young women must be hired. The eight-hour working day no longer exists; where necessary, overtime must be worked, and work must naturally be done in a two- or three-shift system. Where workers refuse to work in this manner, as in Austria, Field Marshal Göring intends to proceed with forced labour; he will create forced labour camps. The Labour Front should not present inaccurate social concepts to the workers. The fact is that our generation has got us into this mess, in that the workers have mutinied and we are to blame for not gunning down these workers at once. So we have to sort these things out again as well.

In the area of transportation, many things must happen immediately. The Ministry of Transportation must submit an application for the construction of rolling stock and other requirements. The branch canal at the Hermann Göring Works is especially important. It is unacceptable for the Wehrmacht to keep blocking the vehicle fleet. If it continues, he will make a decision, because it is outrageous that the people should starve on that account.

In agriculture it is vital to hire foreign workers. Likewise, the issue of agricultural machinery must be prioritised. Construction of storage buildings is especially important.

The Sudetenland must be exploited in every possible way. Field Marshal Göring is counting on the Slovaks being completely brought into line in economic terms. Czechs and Slovaks would become German dominions. We must get as much out of them as possible. Plans for the Oder–Danube Canal must be accelerated. In Slovakia, exploration for oil and ore must be conducted, in particular by State Secretary Keppler.

In the second part of his remarks, Field Marshal Göring broached the Jewish problem. The Jewish question, he said, must now be tackled with all possible means, because they have to get out of the economy. In any event, however, an untamed economy dominated by commissioners, of the sort that has developed in Austria, must be prevented. These frenzied activities must cease, and the settling of the Jewish question must not be regarded as a system for looking after incompetent Party comrades. At this point

4 Wilhelm Zangen (1891–1971), industrialist; joined the NSDAP and the SS in 1927; from 1934 chairman of the board of the pipe company Mannesmann Röhrenwerke AG in Düsseldorf; in 1937 war economy leader (*Wehrwirtschaftsführer*); from 1938 head of the Reich Group for Industry; worked also in the Reich Ministry of Armaments and Munitions; in captivity in 1945; from 1948 again worked for Mannesmann; in 1965 awarded the Grand Cross 1st Class with star of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Ministerialrat *Fischböck* was given the floor. He disclosed that there had been 25,000 commissioners in Austria at first. Today there are still 3,500, almost all of whom are useless. In Austria the Party takes the position that Aryanization is a matter for the Party and must be combined with recompense for old Party comrades.

In Austria there still exist Jewish assets with a total value of 2 billion [Reichsmarks]. The large companies, he said, are being bought up by the Kontrollbank,<sup>5</sup> and it is difficult to get the Jews out of the small businesses.

Field Marshal Göring sharply opposed the notion that Aryanization is a Party affair. It is the concern of the state alone, he said. However, he cannot make foreign currency available for the deportation of the Jews. If need be, one must set up ghettos in the individual large cities.

Staatsrat *Schmeer* warned against proceeding more considerably in the crackdown on the Jews; one should establish Jewish work squads, he said, and then people would emigrate of their own accord.

Staatsrat *Neumann* warned against this and was of the opinion that the matter – especially in Austria – must be approached with more caution.

Then, quite surprisingly, the meeting was closed by Field Marshal Göring, without the requests to speak having been met or any decisions made.

#### DOC. 108

#### **On 16 October 1938 Police Sergeant Witzel writes to the Public Prosecutor's Office in Marburg to report on the smashing in of the windows and doors of the homes of Jews in Zwesten<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the gendarmerie police sergeant and duty station in Zwesten, Fritzlar-Homburg, Kassel district, signed Witzel, to the Public Prosecutor's Office in Marburg/Lahn, dated 16 October 1938 (copy)

On 16 October 1938 at 7:30 a.m., the two Jewesses Hirschberg and Jungheim appeared at my home and reported that they had been put into a state of fear and terror during the previous night when their doors and windows were smashed to bits. They asked me to come and inspect the damage immediately, because they could no longer cope with what they had experienced the previous night.

I thereupon went into the village and ascertained:

(1) At the home of the Jew Hugo Stern, the door of the house was badly smashed and several windowpanes were broken. In front of the house lay about twenty heavy quarry stones, sticks, and smaller pieces of wood that had been used for throwing and battering.

<sup>5</sup> Austrian Kontrollbank for Industry and Commerce; founded in 1914, until 1938 it played a subordinate role in achieving the economic policy objectives. From 1938 the Kontrollbank played an active role in Aryanization as an intermediary entity, so that companies that were to be retained could be protected from bankruptcy.

<sup>1</sup> HHStAW, 483/5905c. This document has been translated from German.

(2) At the home of the Jew Aron Jungheim, a door pane had been bashed in and several windowpanes had been hit by rocks and broken. In front of the house door lay around ten to fifteen rocks.

(3) At the home of the Jew Hermann Levi, one window was completely shattered and another windowpane was damaged.

(4) At the home of the Jew David Hirschberg, one window was completely shattered.

(5) At the home of the Jew Markus Stern, two window shutters were smashed to pieces.

According to the investigations that I conducted and information from citizens of Zwesten, the acts were committed between midnight and 1 a.m. in the night of 15 to 16 October 1938. Volksgenossin Katharina Appel, who, like other inhabitants, was awakened by the noise and looked outside, recognized the three perpetrators in question, who are married men. She is unwilling to tell me their names, however, because she thinks that her windows would be smashed as a result. She would testify only if forced by the court to make a statement.

DOC. 109

**On 21 October 1938 Adolf Eichmann reports to the SD Main Office in Berlin  
that 350 Jews are emigrating daily from Austria<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the head of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration (G1-Bbr. 952/38 Ech/R), p.p. Eichmann, 22 Prinz Eugenstraße, Vienna IV, to the SD Main Office II 112, dated 21 October 1938<sup>2</sup>

*Re:* emigration of Jews from Austria.

*Case file:* none.

For your information, it is made known that the number of Jews caused [to emigrate] by the Central Office for Jewish Emigration has increased to 350 per day.

The exact number of Jews by faith who left Austria by 30 September 1938 is 38,000. (This figure, however, does not include the Jews who emigrated illegally, so that overall one must expect, with the accuracy that is attainable, an estimated number of 50,000.)

Of these 38,000 Jews, around 15,000 have emigrated to European countries, 2,103 to Palestine, 3,220 to South America, and 18,500 to other overseas countries.

1 RGVA, 500k-1-685, fol. 30. Copy in ÖStA, record group: Historikerkommission. This document has been translated from German.

2 The original is stamped by the Central Office for Jewish Emigration and contains administrative notes.

## DOC. 110

**On 27 October 1938 the Reich Minister of Economics informs  
the foreign currency offices that Jews can no longer claim a tax exemption  
when exporting foreign currency<sup>1</sup>**

General Decree no. 140/38 D. St. Ue.St. (marked 'confidential') issued by the Reich Ministry of Economics (V Dev. 3/30363/38), p.p. signed Dr Landwehr,<sup>2</sup> to the regional tax directors/foreign currency office and the head of the Vienna Foreign Currency Office (in person),<sup>3</sup> dated 27 October 1938

*Re V 8*: use of the *exemption limit by Jews*; in connection with RE 75/36 D.St./25/36 Ue.St. and 133/37 D.St./-Ue.St.<sup>4</sup>

As a result of the Regulation on Passports of Jews, 5 October 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 1342), all German passports held by Jews have been declared invalid. Passports valid for domestic use are no longer issued to Jews. They are replaced by the identity card (see the Regulation on Identity Cards of 22 July 1938, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 913, and the Third Announcement on the Identity Card Requirement of 23 July 1938, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 922).<sup>5</sup> *Identity cards do not entitle the bearer to avail himself of the exemption limit.* Passports valid for travel abroad are issued to Jews only in exceptional cases, especially for emigration (cf. appendix to AvE 27/38 D.St./-Ue.St.<sup>6</sup>).

Use of the exemption limit by Jews is thus – apart from the aforementioned exceptions – to all intents and purposes prohibited. This effect, among others, was deliberately intended when all German passports held by Jews were declared invalid. This is an indirect way of preventing the increasing exemption-limit payments being sent to foreign countries by Jews, namely to relatives who have emigrated. Accordingly, permits for sending support payments abroad are on no account to be issued to Jews, because the possibility of utilizing the exemption limit no longer exists (cf. AvE 73/38 D.St./Ue.St.<sup>7</sup>). If, in exceptional cases, the need arises for Jews to send payments abroad that were previously allowed in accordance with the exemption limit, corresponding foreign currency acquisition permits are to be issued from now on. These can be only exceptional cases, however, such as payment for documents that must be obtained from abroad in preparation for emigration.

1 RGVA, 500k-1-499, fol. 78. Copy: ÖStA, record group: Historikerkommission. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Hermann Landwehr (1884–1955), lawyer; in 1913 employed as ministerial director by the Reich Insurance Institute for Salaried Employees in Berlin-Wilmersdorf. Head of Department VI Foreign Currency in the Reich Ministry of Economics and simultaneously head of the Reich Office for Foreign Currency Control until its dissolution in April 1938; in addition, from 1936 member of the Foreign Exchange Allocation Commission; city councillor for economics in the Berlin municipal administration, 1945–1947.

3 The head of the Vienna Foreign Currency Office was Reichsbank Counsellor Wolf.

4 These could not be found.

5 See Doc. 72, 28 July 1938.

6 This could not be found.

7 This could not be found.

## DOC. 111

**On 27 October 1938 Austria's state commissioner for private industry  
proposes the creation of labour camps for Jews<sup>1</sup>**

Letter with note by the state commissioner for private industry (Rf/GI/1938), Rafelsberger, Vienna, to Vice President Barth,<sup>2</sup> Vienna (received on 28 October 1938), dated 27 October 1938 (copy)

Enclosed I am sending you a copy of the third supplement to the proposals for de-Jewification.

Heil Hitler!

*Third supplement* to the proposals for de-Jewification<sup>3</sup>

As instructed by Gauleiter Bürckel, the creation of the first assembly camps for Jews is under way. Implementation is assigned to Party Comrade *Dürfeld*,<sup>4</sup> who must directly comply with the instructions of the state commissioner and Gau economic advisor of Vienna.<sup>5</sup> In questions of financing, the consent of the Ministry of Economics and Labour must be sought.

The work in the area designated for the first camps, in the Marchfeld,<sup>6</sup> must begin at once. The requisite means will be advanced by the Ministry of Economics and Labour. For this purpose, an estimate is to be made by Mr *Dürfeld* that takes imminent needs into account.

With respect to the procurement of materials, especially iron, an agreement must be reached with the Wehrmacht as to whether wire etc. from the occupied territory can be made available. As for the rest, Gauleiter Bürckel will intervene with the Field Marshal<sup>7</sup> with respect to the certificates of urgency and the actual provision of the materials. Bürckel is therefore to be informed of the demand.

1 ÖStA/AdR, Reichskommissar Bürckel/Materie, 2160/001. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Karl Barth (1896–1962), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1932; in 1934 personal assistant to Josef Bürckel; from 1938 office head in Department III under the Reich Commissioner for the Reunification of Austria with the German Reich; Regierungspräsident of the Palatinate in 1939 and of the Westmark in Saarbrücken in 1940; interned, 1945–1948; in 1956 Landrat in Saarbrücken.

3 In the 'Second Supplement to the Proposals for Effective Implementation of De-Jewification', on 21 Oct. 1938 Rafelsberger had estimated the total cost of constructing a barracks camp for 10,000 persons to total 4 million Reichsmarks and, after consulting with the regional planner, had suggested various sites. The camp was to be mainly for unemployed Jewish males, and later families: *ibid.*

4 Correctly: Ernst Dürfeld (1898–1945), unskilled labourer; joined the NSDAP in 1922; from 1929 local branch leader, later Kreisleiter, of the NSDAP in Kaiserslautern; in 1933 mayor of Kaiserslautern; mayor of Saarbrücken, 1935–1937; Reichstag member, 1935–1945; in 1938 head of the 're-education camps (*Erziehungslager*) for non-Aryans' in Austria; economic advisor and department head in the municipal administration of Warsaw, 1940–1944; worked at the Reich Ministry of Armaments and War Production, 1944–1945.

5 The Gau economic advisor was Walter Rafelsberger.

6 Situated near Marchegg in Lower Austria, in the Gänserndorf district.

7 The reference is to Hermann Göring.

Party Comrade Dürfeld is to set up an office of his own for carrying out these tasks. If possible, the office is to be housed in the Asset Transfer Office and is to be started up by gathering a workforce from the Asset Transfer Office.

The entire management of the operation is to be carried out by this office. The camp itself shall be maintained, that is, owned and administered, by a cooperative made up of Jewish camp inmates. The financing will be done by levying a special tax whenever Jewish assets consisting of property and securities are de-Jewified. This tax represents an offset for the fact that, upon Aryanization, there is less devaluation of this type of Jewish asset for the Jew than in the case of enterprises. The amount of this tax is expected to be set at 10–20 per cent, and it should be undertaken immediately, in agreement with the Minister of Economics and Labour. These taxes will be given to the cooperative as a loan, and the previous owners of the Aryanized properties will thus become creditors of the cooperative.

Only the buildings and furnishings pass into the possession of the cooperative, but not the land on which the camp stands.

The management of this cooperative will be assigned to a commissioner, who must act on behalf of this office.

These taxes are also to be used to pay for the maintenance and training of the camp inmates. Also to be used for this purpose is the share of unemployment benefits that is allotted to the camp inmates and is supposed to be made available by the Reich Institute [of Labour Placement and Unemployment Insurance].

On the one hand, as already recorded in earlier proposals, the camp should serve to retrain the Jews and guide their transition into skilled trades, and on the other hand, it should make the most of the manpower of the Jews, as long as they are in the country, by having them work on projects that benefit the public. The camps should be inherently organized in such a way that the families, too, can be housed in these camps.

In addition to this set-up, there are plans to deploy exclusively unemployed Jewish males, and unmarried ones at that, at several Reich motorway construction sites as a way of temporarily easing the burden.

The supervision of the inmates in the assembly camps will be carried out by this office, which, in consultation with the Gestapo, must use Party information for this purpose.

In the process of creating the camps in the Marchfeld, contact must be made again with the Wehrmacht in particular with respect to finding proper sites for the camps and the subsequent use of the camps.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The Gänserndorf camp was completed in March 1939 for use by 450 Jews; additional camps were later set up at river dams, motorway construction sites, and flood protection works in Austria: Herbert Rosenkranz, *Verfolgung und Selbstbehauptung: Die Juden in Österreich 1938–1945* (Vienna: Herold, 1978), pp. 208–209.

## DOC. 112

**On 28 October 1938 the Munich police note that 568 Jews of Polish nationality were arrested<sup>1</sup>**

Munich Police Headquarters note, unsigned, undated

In the operation against the Polish Jews on 28 October 1938, 568 Jews were arrested.

47 were released again owing to illness, pregnancy, advanced age. Children who were unaccompanied by their family members also had to be released again.

521 Jews were taken away by special train.<sup>2</sup>

224 Jews could not be found at home. Of these, a great number had fled to the Polish consulate general; others had left town or were in hiding elsewhere.

## DOC. 113

**Rabbi Arthur Bluhm reports on the deportation of Polish Jews from Krefeld on 28 October 1938<sup>1</sup>**

Submission by Arthur Bluhm<sup>2</sup> to a Harvard University competition (1940)

[...]<sup>3</sup>

I shall never forget the dramatic events which occurred in Germany from the 28th of October to the end of the year 1938. During this short space of time, the difficult life of the German Jews became harder and more precarious. The Jewish situation, not agreeable in any respect, became aggravated in a measure no one could have thought possible.

On the 28th of October – it was Friday – early in the morning, Mrs. Lieberman,<sup>4</sup> weeping and excited, came to me. Her family lived in a suburb of Krefeld. She told me

1 StAM, Rep. Polizeidirektion München, Sachakte, 7017, Aufn. 35. This document has been translated from German.

2 At the end of Oct. 1938, around 17,000 Jews of Polish nationality were arrested throughout the Reich in order to deport them across the Polish border: see Introduction, p. 53. Jews arrested in Munich along with many others from all over the territory of the Reich were transported on a 'special train' from Munich to Bentschen (Zbąszyń) at the German–Polish border and temporarily quartered in a camp there.

1 Arthur Bluhm, 'My Life in Germany before and after January 30, 1933' (1940), pp. 159–175, Harvard Competition, no. 154. The original document is in English.

2 Dr Arthur Bluhm (1889–1962), rabbi; from 1924 rabbinical teacher in Berlin, Würzburg, and Danzig; chief rabbi in Krefeld, 1928–1938; detained in Dachau concentration camp, Nov. 1938; released on the condition that he leave Germany; emigrated to the USA via the Netherlands, 1939; rabbi in Illinois and from 1941 in Texas.

3 The entire text comprises 232 pages and was sent from Glencoe, Illinois. Reproduced here is the chapter 'The Deportation of the Polish Jews'. In the first part Bluhm describes his youth and his time as a student, rabbinical educator, and rabbi. See also Doc. 131, 10 Nov. 1938.

4 Probably Mully Liebermann, née Michels (b. 1878). She was deported to Poland on 28 Oct. 1938 together with her husband, Hermann, and youngest son, Werner. The son died in Lwów; the fate of the Liebermann couple is unknown.

that her husband and youngest son had been arrested during the night. Mr. and Mrs. Lieberman had another son, a former dentist, living in Lima, Peru.<sup>5</sup> Mr. Lieberman had had a shoe shop. His shop had been boycotted and he had lost all his money. The son who was arrested with his father was suffering from a lung disease and our congregation paid for his medical attention. I tried to find out whether the police had said anything. It was impossible for Mrs. Lieberman to give any reason for the imprisonment of the two persons.

When Mrs. L. had ended her explanation, Mrs. Müller and her fifteen year old daughter came in weeping. They said that four times during the night policemen came to their house in order to arrest Mr. Müller. Mr. M. was managing a big wholesale store in another town. He had a little house in Krefeld. He had built it when he had held a similar position in Krefeld.

When this wholesale house became aryan, Mr. M. was unemployed for a long time. He had now found a new position in another town and came home only for the weekend. When the policeman came to the house for the fourth time, Mrs. M. told them, in response to their inquiries, where her husband was working.

All of these arrested men were citizens of Poland and after hearing Mrs. M. it seemed to me that they were taking action against Polish Jews in particular.<sup>6</sup> I asked the rabbi of the nearest town by telephone, but he did not know anything. Afterwards I heard the reason. In most towns the police arrested the whole Polish Jewish population – men, women and children – and it was only later that the congregations heard what had happened.

I kept the women waiting in my home, and rode to the office of our congregation. There I made a list of the Polish members of our congregation and sent three employees to all Polish families. About an hour later, I knew that all the Polish men, except two, had been arrested. One of these was in Belgium and the other one hid himself. Meanwhile, neighboring congregations called us, asked whether the same thing had happened and what to do, and whether we had heard anything further to explain the event.

Then I went to the Gestapo, the police for political affairs, because one woman said that her husband was arrested by the Gestapo. The Gestapo declared, 'We are surprised; we know nothing.' Then I went to the criminal police. Its leader was astonished and did not know anything. I could not understand it. I said: 'Men have been arrested', the police had put them into the big police car for prisoners called 'Grüne Minna';<sup>7</sup> surely someone had ordered this and should be able to tell what had happened. You must realize that most of the arresting policemen did not give the arrested men time to dress. It was a cold day; most of the arrested people had only time to hook their trousers over their nightclothes, and one who had lived in Krefeld more than forty years, was old and ill. I asked the inspector of the criminal police to help me, if only for humanitarian reasons.

He replied, 'I should like to help but I do not know anything.'

Then I said, 'Perhaps the leader of the police department for foreigners knows something.'

5 Probably Erich Liebermann (b. 1907), dentist; emigrated to South America in Nov. 1936.

6 On the deportation of the Polish Jews, see Introduction, pp. 52–53.

7 A colloquial term for a police van.

He called up this inspector and then we had the right office. I went to its director. He said that he was not allowed to give any answer.

I replied, 'If the women of the arrested men go to the Polish consulate, the government may have trouble. In the interest of the state I have to speak to the man who is responsible for Krefeld. I spoke to him some days ago; I will call him up.'

When I mentioned that name, he said: 'Yes, Mr. Humpert gave the order.'<sup>8</sup> If you know him, let us call him together, so that I can hear what he says.' From this moment this very suspicious inspector became my friend and often helped me later.

When we called the Gestapo of Düsseldorf, none of the important officers was in his office. Then I wanted to speak to the director of our police, but he was in Düsseldorf, whence he had been called by the government to receive orders. During these efforts to reach people by phone, the inspector told me that he already had to send all arrested men on this very day to the Polish frontier. Hearing this, I redoubled my striving to find a competent person. Finally I said that I would have to speak to Dr. Hürter.<sup>9</sup> This important and much feared man was (before Hitler came to power), the political attorney of our town and had to sentence the communists and nazis. He was equally opposed to both and nobody had guessed that he was in secret a nazi spy. Civil servants in high positions had often told me that he persecuted Jews in all their communities. In the execution of his duties, he injured us and did more against us than his duty required. We had to go to the government even to protect our smallest rights. In all the decisions of the government we won. Between him and us there had existed a state of war for a long time.

I knew that if I were to ask the President of our congregation whether or no I should go to Dr. Hürter, he would disapprove. In this difficult moment, I said to myself that there was not time to consider further. I was firmly convinced that I had to ask Dr. Hürter for an interview. The worst that could come from this would be a refusal. Finally, I asked the inspector to call Dr. H. He did so, saying 'Here is Dr. Bluhm. He wants to speak to you about the arrested Poles.' After a little further conversation, he gave me the receiver. It was the first time in months that Dr. H. had spoken to a Jew. The preceding months he had refused to receive any Jew. He said to me now over the telephone, 'You may come to me, but you must do so immediately. I will be for an hour in the city hall of Uerdingen.' Before keeping this appointment, I drove to the office of our congregation to tell the women of the arrested men that I hoped soon to be able to give them some information. I also stopped at home for a few moments. There I learned that in most towns of the neighborhood all Polish Jews, men, women and children, had been arrested and that Mr. Müller had already been taken from Düren to the jail at Aachen. I took

8 Viktor Humpert (1906–1989), draper and police officer; police inspector, 1934; assigned to the Düsseldorf Gestapo, 1935, and head of the section for Jewish affairs there, 1935–1940; joined the NSDAP in 1937; from 1940 to 1943 worked in Brussels and afterwards was entrusted with economic and organizational tasks in Düsseldorf; interned in Germany and Belgium, 1945–1949; from 1953 city surveyor in Düsseldorf.

9 Dr Emil Hürter (1898–1958), lawyer; from 1930 to 1933 probationary judge at the crown prosecution services in Elberfeld, Kleve, Düsseldorf, and Krefeld, and worked in the department for political crimes there; in 1933 he joined the NSDAP and the SA, and in 1939 the SS; SS-Standartenführer; until 1937 supervisor of the Krefeld Political Police; deputy mayor of Krefeld; from 1938 mayor of Uerdingen.

Mrs. Lieberman in the car and drove to Uerdingen. On the way we saw a terrible sight. A little boy, possibly five years old, lay dead in the street. He had been run over by a motor lorry. The accident had happened only a few minutes earlier, and we saw the horrified faces of persons who stood excitedly in the street. The policeman asked us to stop. I replied, 'I do not have time. I am ordered to Dr. Hürter. Here is my proof. You can check the truth of my statement.' He allowed us to pass.

Dr. H. was very kind, exaggeratedly so. Two or three times he said that he knew people in our congregation believed him to be unfair but that he only did his duty. In this case, for example, he said, he could have arrested the Polish women and children too, and he knew that this had happened in most neighboring towns, but the text of the government order gave some leeway in interpretation. He was not, he insisted, as bad as some of us thought. I recalled all the evil he had done against us, but I had no time for such reflections. I asked him to give me and the relatives of the arrested Poles permission to visit them and to bring them suits and such things as they would need, especially for the voyage.

I asked also for permission to bring to each man the sum of 10 marks, which German law allowed an individual to take out of the country with him, as well as food up to the value of 25 marks per person. These requests he granted. Then I asked whether he could arrange for Mrs. Müller and her daughter to go to Aachen to see Mr. Müller. He said then, 'I do not know whether the police at Aachen arrested women and children along with the men. Perhaps it is dangerous for these two to go to Aachen.' He answered laughingly that in any case, both could return to Krefeld. I asked then that he grant one more, important point, permission to the arrested men to give to their women, children or other persons full power of attorney. Dr. Hürter granted these concessions, adding that he would give his police orders to take care of these matters according to my wishes. After all that had happened between him and us, I would never have expected such compliance on his part.

Upon my return the poor little dead child was still lying in the street, although now he was covered.

At the office of the congregation I left orders, told what had happened, and then hurried home; from home I went to the police prison. The arrested men were already assembled in the yard there, awaiting my arrival. In the meantime our office had made our forms for signing over full power of attorney. The arrested men had made copies of legal papers drawn up by a lawyer, who was the President of our congregation.

The imprisoned men were glad to see me and to hear that their relatives would come shortly to take leave of them before they were obliged to leave for Poland, a motherland which some of them had never seen, the language of which some did not know. I could understand the excitement of these men who plied me with questions. I could not know that two weeks later I should be a prisoner in that same yard.<sup>10</sup> Then I did not have the opportunity to use the telephone in the office of the prison and to negotiate with the government board.

I asked the men to be sensible and not to make my difficult duty harder. They might remain in the yard, and I would call each into the office. I must say that they were all very

<sup>10</sup> See Doc. 131, 10 Nov. 1938.

sensible. A short time later the first woman arrived, bringing suits and food. Through the open window I saw and heard the affecting scenes, the reunions and farewells.

An arrested man whom I did not know before came weeping into the office without being called. He told me that he had been born a Jew; he knew how to speak and write Hebrew and Jewish.<sup>11</sup> When he had married a Christian woman, he had been converted. I could examine him, he said; he would be able to translate our prayer book. He asked me to call his wife to come and visit him. I knew his shop, but I had not known that its owner was a former Jew. Of course, I called his wife from the prison office, and told her what she might bring her husband. Then I had him sign full power of attorney to his wife.

It was four o'clock when I left the police prison and drove to the prison of the justice court. There was a sick man, a manufacturer, held in that prison, whom I had promised to visit. I feared he would be restless if I did not come, for I had promised to visit him Friday morning. I saw only the one prisoner and left word with the guards for other Jewish prisoners that I would visit them on subsequent days.

When I returned home, intending to prepare myself for the Friday evening service, Mrs. Bluhm<sup>12</sup> said to me, 'Dr. Hürter just called. He wants to speak to you immediately.' With strange forebodings I went to the telephone. Dr. Hürter said, 'The Government has decided to arrest the Polish women and their children too.' He wanted to know whether he should put them in the police lorry or whether I would take the responsibility of guaranteeing that they would be in the police station, ready to leave the country, at 10 o'clock that evening.

I knew that some of our Polish people had 'black money' in their homes. Therefore, I answered, 'I will do what I can. I will try to inform everybody. I will report it to you if our employees cannot reach everyone, but I cannot accept the responsibility of guaranteeing each person's appearance at a fixed time. But don't, I beseech you, distress these ill-fated people further by putting them into the police car.' He agreed, and said, 'I will not do anything.' Then I asked him for two other concessions. I asked him to call the police at Aachen and instruct them not to arrest Mrs. and Miss Müller, but to allow them to return home so that they would be able to take their dresses and other personal necessities. Second, I asked that the arrested persons be given permission to sign new power of attorney statements. In the police prison, I explained, they did not have official seals to make these documents binding, legally. Dr. Hürter promised that by evening everything would be in order at the police headquarters; the office of the inspector for the foreign department would be at my service, but he said I should have to take over the responsibility for the homes and possessions of these people. I answered that I feared this was too great a responsibility for me alone, but that I would ask the managing committee of our congregation.

After I finished the calls, I had to run to the Friday evening service.

Because we were so pressed for time, the board meeting of the congregation had been called for the same hour as the commencement of our Friday evening service. I told the vice-president what had happened, and then I went to the service, saying that they might call me if they needed me. During the service they called me from the Synagogue. For

11 The reference is presumably to Yiddish.

12 The author means Johanna Herta Bluhm, née Heimann (b. 1906), Arthur Bluhm's wife.

some minutes I left the service. During the whole service I was unable to concentrate upon the prayers. I kept wondering whether there was anything I had forgotten or neglected to do. At the end of the service I went to the board meeting. Some of our Polish people had no money, and we were obliged to give them food and the 10 marks they were permitted. We were unanimous in helping them in this way, and also unanimous about refusing the responsibility of their possessions. We said that if these people would leave their things in the possession of their friends, that would be all right, but that it was not the business of the congregation as such.

During our conference the wife of the converted Jew came to me, asking what to do. Because she was an Aryan, police had given the choice of deciding to remain in Germany or to leave the country with her husband. At this moment I received a message that the police had also informed all Jewish-Polish persons to be at the police headquarters at 10:00 in the evening. The Christian lady told me that she and her husband had received an affidavit for the United States. They were registered at the General Consulate in Stuttgart. Their number was so low that they could obtain their visas any day and immigrate to the United States immediately. I asked the police by telephone not to deport this man; he would leave Germany in a very short time. The police refused. They had the strictest order to arrest all Jewish Poles. They were not allowed to [ex]cept any person. Hearing this message, the woman fainted and fell from her chair. I was glad that another Polish woman, who had come to ask me something, had just entered the office. This woman helped me; we gave the fainting woman water, and she soon recovered. I gave her the following advice. I said she should buy a ticket for her husband, because that day would be, according to German law, the last on which she could do so.<sup>13</sup> She might remain in Germany and arrange her affairs, and later take a boat which would come from Danzig and which would also stop at Rotterdam or Amsterdam or Southampton.<sup>14</sup> I advised all these Polish women to buy tickets if they had any chance to migrate overseas. Our office helped the women to do so.

Meanwhile the physician, Dr. Hirschfelder, came to our board for advice.<sup>15</sup> A Polish family had a three-weeks-old baby. This boy had been ill for some days. The physician did not know what to do. He said that if it were possible to get hot milk for the child on the journey, there would be no danger, but if not, he thought it would be very dangerous. We decided to send the child to the Jewish hospital in Cologne. The hospital agreed to accept the child, and we sent him with one of our nurses to Cologne. The family gave us 1,000 marks for his expenses. This was the only money we accepted from any of these Polish Jews. After we made this arrangement, the mother of the sick child wept bitterly. She insisted, 'The physician says there is no danger for the child; we would always be able, even in the train, to warm milk for my baby,' but I replied, 'This is something you will have to decide for yourself. If the train should stop in the open between the frontiers,

13 The woman probably had to show her husband's valid passport in order to buy a ticket to travel abroad. The passport of a Polish Jew, and her husband was classified as such, was deemed invalid as of 31 Oct. 1938.

14 Correctly: Southampton.

15 Dr Kurt Hirschfelder (1878–1941), physician; chief staff surgeon, 1914–1918; from 1906 paediatrician in Krefeld; city school and welfare doctor and founder of the Krefeld nursery; board member of the Jewish Community of Krefeld; took his own life before he was due to be deported to Riga.

what could you do?' She answered, 'I could always find a merciful peasant who would give for my baby what he needs.'

I said, 'But if you could not leave the train, you would be the murderer of your child.' Then the mother agreed.

We later heard that the train which transported our people stood in the Nomansland without an engine, without lights during the night, and without heat for more than a day and a half.

Hungry and out-of-sorts I went home accompanied by the Vice-president of our congregation. Before we returned to my home, we stopped at the house of Mr. Mueller. Mrs. Mueller and her daughter had not returned from Aachen. We knew they had left the jail at Aachen at 3:30. They should have been home. Were they arrested? We asked her Christian neighbor, a Catholic social worker, to tell Mrs. Mueller she should come to me before doing anything else. Then I returned home to celebrate the Sabbath.

Women kept bringing their 'black money', which I refused to accept. All these unhappy people asked which would be better, to fly and to hide for some days, or to join their husbands. It was very difficult to advise them. The women who remained in Germany would lose their Polish citizenship; they would not be able to go to Poland later, and their husbands could not return to Germany. Some of our Polish women were in Düsseldorf that day, where they asked the Polish General Consul to stamp their passports; they would then remain Polish citizens according to the new Polish laws.<sup>16</sup> But the General Consul refused, but he gave this stamp without hesitation to all Poles who were not Jews. If the Polish Consul would have stamped the passports, I would have advised the women to hide themselves for a few days. After having sold their shops and put their affairs in order, they could have gone to Belgium as Polish citizens without needing a visa, but now their Polish passports lost their validity on the first of November. Therefore I told all these women they, each for herself, had to decide what to do. Some of them desired only to be with their husbands and sons. Others declared they preferred to remain in Germany. I asked them not to say that they had discussed these matters with me. Some of these women were very undecided. I had hardly any time for myself during the evening.

Before I went to police headquarters, I looked for Mrs. Mueller and her daughter; they had not returned home. At the police station I met two employees of our congregation and the Polish women with their children, friends, and relatives. There were some Christians waiting in front of headquarters. The Poles were assembled in a very large room. There were three typewriters at our service. The inspector of the department for foreigners appeared with all his clerks, and asked me to sit down near him. Then he shouted, 'Quiet! Sit down, everyone. All those Jews present here, with the exception of Dr. Bluhm, are arrested.' At this moment about thirty uniformed policemen came in, blocking the exit. I said, 'Here are two employees of our congregation, they came to help me, and friends and relatives of the arrested people; these are not Polish citizens.' All these people except our two employees had to leave the police station.

A few Polish women asked me whether they could leave Germany for France, Belgium, or Luxemburg. They had relatives in these countries and showed their entrance

16 See Introduction, p. 52.

permits for those countries. The police declared they could not give this permission, because all German frontiers were closed to Polish citizens.

First they called out the names of the Polish people. Mrs. Halpern was not present.<sup>17</sup> When I came to the police, I received a certificate of an Aryan physician; it stated that Mrs. Halpern had a nervous collapse. She was unable to move. I gave the physician's statement to the police inspector. He was very much excited. He was unequal this evening to his task. He asked his superior what to do about Mrs. Halpern. The superior said that the physician of the district had to decide. I knew that obermedizinalrat<sup>18</sup> Dr. Klahold<sup>19</sup> was not in Krefeld this day. He had helped me and other Jewish people I had sent him as often as he could. His assistant was an unpleasant young Nazi. I knew he would say that Mrs. Halpern had to leave the country even if she had to leave on a stretcher. At this moment they brought in the arrested men, and the inspector forgot Mrs. Halpern. Exciting scenes occurred.

The men did not know at first why their families were present. They believed the police had brought their women and children to say farewell. About sixty policemen, in uniform and civilian clothing, blocked the room. Some of them turned their backs to avoid watching the unhappy scenes. The inspector lost his temper and said to me, 'I must give the order to take all Poles to the train.' I spoke to the people loudly and asked them to be quiet; otherwise, they would be taken to the platform immediately without the opportunity to arrange their affairs. They could have time enough, I said, to speak with their families during the journey. They became silent immediately.

Unfortunately we did not have forms for the full power of attorney. I dictated the texts to the typists. After these had been written up, one after another of the Poles came to me, saying that they had forgotten something. They asked me to change or supplement the full powers. Most of the Poles had shops and sold their goods on credit. They had notes in their houses; part[s] of them were hidden. Therefore their statements were often very long and detailed.

We worked very quickly. The police kept urging us to finish our work, for the train was already waiting at the station. Finally we finished, and the police took the arrested to the station. We only had to cross a square to the station. The whole way was lined with police and S.S. The police were very kind. They sent the Poles to Berlin by the Berlin night express, in a separate, closed compartment at the end of the train. German Jews who were relatives and friends of the Poles went to the platform and tried to speak to them for the last time, but police separated the Poles from the other people. I was the only one who could communicate with them.

We heard later that the police in some of the other towns dealt harshly with the Poles.

The next morning I had to preach. It was my last sermon in the synagogue. I sent Hanna to Mrs. Halpern to see how she was. The inspector had told me he had received the order to arrest during the next two days all the remaining Polish Jews. I feared that they would arrest Mrs. Halpern. Hanna found her heartily enjoying her breakfast. When

17 Henriette Halpern, née Löwin (b. 1890); registered in Lwów, 1939; married to Wolf Halpern (b. 1891), furniture dealer; he was expelled to Poland on 28 Oct. 1938.

18 Senior medical officer.

19 Correctly: Dr Franz Klaholt (1880–1958), physician; from 1919 city and Kreis doctor in Krefeld; head of the Krefeld health department, 1935–1946; from 1937 first assessor at the Hereditary Health High Court in Düsseldorf; appointed as provisional director of municipal hospitals.

she heard that there was danger, she jumped into bed, and showed Hanna how well she could pretend illness.

During the service I heard that Mrs. Mueller was in the house of friends. From Aachen she had gone to her relatives in Cologne, who had been arrested, and whose flats she found sealed by the police. I advised Mrs. Mueller to hide until the first of November.

Saturday night I went to Berlin. I took the same train on which the Poles had been deported the day before. In Berlin I met some Poles who had hidden themselves. There I heard what had happened in the country. In Hannover, for instance, they arrested the Poles early in the morning and took them to the Polish frontier immediately. They forgot the children, who were at school. When the children returned home, they found their homes sealed by the police.

Two days later my mother died, and I hurried back to Berlin. I intended to remain there the mourning week.

For Wednesday, the eighth of November, I had two important appointments, one with the highest judge of our district on behalf of our two lawyers, and the other with the Gestapo on behalf of the arrested Jewish people. According to a new law at that time we were to have only one lawyer in Krefeld and for the whole district along the Dutch frontier.<sup>20</sup> Both our lawyers besought me to change the governmental order. Their legal association could not help them. Before I went to Berlin, I had intended to change both appointments, but our board gathered immediately, said to me that it was difficult for a Jew to gain access to these officials in such times. If I were to change the appointment, I might never again have the opportunity to see these men. So I returned home on the eighth of November.

In the morning I had to go to the Gestapo. Its former leader<sup>21</sup> had been very kind to me. Our friendship dated from the time the Government had outlawed the lodge of Bnai Berith.<sup>22</sup> One of his employees had denounced him to the superior Gestapo in Düsseldorf, because he said this man was a friend of mine. There had been some secret inquiries. Two months after this, both were displaced. The new leader of the Gestapo, Mr. Wulle,<sup>23</sup> was a young inspector. He had come from Berlin. He was a well-educated man, a man of ambition. These qualities made him very dangerous to us. I succeeded in making contact with him. I once had a long discussion with him, which lasted until midnight. Hanna was present. On the way home, she said she thought him a fine man and was enthusiastic about him. I said, 'He is the kind of man who would choke you with a laugh. You must be careful of every word that you say to him.' In a short time I knew that the officers of the Gestapo were afraid of him.

20 Fifth Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law, 27 Sept. 1938, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, pp. 1403–1406: see Introduction, pp. 18–19.

21 Probably Wilhelm Gottlieb Höhmänn (1907–1961), detective superintendent; in 1930 joined the NSDAP; member of the SA, 1930–1934; from Sept. 1937 head of the Krefeld branch of the Gestapo; SA-Hauptsturmführer, 1941.

22 Correctly: B'nai B'rith; see PMJ 1/274.

23 Probably Friedrich Bolle (b. 1884), police officer; joined the NSDAP in 1933 and the SS in 1937; in the police force in Berlin, then in Stettin; at the Reich Ministry of the Interior, 1934; from Sept. to Nov. 1938 worked for the Krefeld Gestapo; subsequently head of the Gestapo in Duisburg; in 1942/1943 commander of the Security Police and the SD in France.

At 10:00 I had a special appointment with the leader of the Jewish department, Mr. Schulenburg.<sup>24</sup> But another man, a new official, received me in Mr. Schulenburg's office. I asked whether he was the new chief of this department. He answered in the negative, saying that the new inspector wanted him to handle all the important matters. During our discussion he asked me scornfully whether I believed we Jews could continue our work as usual.

On Monday the seventh of November a Polish Jew named Herschel Grynszpan,<sup>25</sup> seventeen years old, who lived in Paris, shot and seriously wounded Ernst von Rath,<sup>26</sup> a secretary of the German Embassy in Paris. Grynszpan, after his arrest, said that his parents, Poles, were deported from Germany on the twenty-eighth of October. He intended to take revenge for this. We Jews in Germany were threatened with severe reprisals by the entire press. We knew that if von Rath were to die, we would all suffer severely.

When, in the morning, the officer of the Gestapo asked me whether I believed we could continue our Jewish activities, I figured that he knew what would happen. I asked him to tell me what he thought the government would do, and whether we might expect additional anti-Jewish laws. It was not possible to learn anything from Mr. Braun,<sup>27</sup> but I felt that he was well-informed. He only said that he understood new action was planned against us, but he declared that he did not know what it was.

Very much excited, I went to Dr. Alexander,<sup>28</sup> the president of our congregation. He was the vice-president of the C.V., the biggest organization of German Jews. I urged him to ask our headquarters in Berlin whether they knew anything. He answered, 'Perhaps the Government will forbid the Kulturbund,<sup>29</sup> the C.V., the Zionists, and other Jewish organizations, but that will not be serious. If we have fewer Jewish associations, you will have less to do.' I considered that this was no joking matter. I was surprised that Dr. Alexander, who was one of the best-informed of our German Jews, was not concerned

24 Richard Schulenburg (1879–1967), police officer; from 1919 to 1923 member of the German Democratic Party (DDP); in 1927 joined the NSDAP; from 1919 worked for the Criminal Police, then for the Political Police in Krefeld; from 1937 to 1945 head of Section IV of the Krefeld Gestapo (Jews, immigrants, churches).

25 Herschel (also Hershel or Herszel) Grynszpan (also Grynspan, Grynspan, or Grünspan) (b. 1921); attended school in Hanover; member of a Zionist youth group; attended a rabbinical school in Frankfurt am Main, 1935; in 1936 emigrated to Belgium, from where he moved illegally to Paris; from 1938 to 1940 imprisoned in France and then in Germany; probably died in Sachsenhausen concentration camp in 1945; declared dead, 1960: see Introduction, p. 53.

26 Correctly: vom Rath. See Doc. 131, 10 Nov. 1938, for a continuation of this report.

27 Herbert Andreas Braun (b. 1900), police officer; in 1933 joined the NSDAP; his responsibilities in 1944 included monitoring 'ideological opponents' (e.g. Jehovah's Witnesses); after the war interned until at least 1947.

28 Dr Kurt Alexander (1892–1962), lawyer; solicitor in Krefeld, 1922–1938; vice president of the Central Association of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith (CV) and member of the presidential council of the Reich Representation of Jews in Germany, 1937 and 1938; until 1939 chairman of the Krefeld synagogue congregation; detained in Dachau concentration camp, 1938; emigrated to Britain in 1939 and to the USA in 1949; head of the United Restitution Office, New York.

29 The Culture League of German Jews (Kulturbund deutscher Juden), later the Jewish Culture League (Jüdischer Kulturbund), established in Berlin in 1933 and led by Dr Kurt Singer, fostered employment opportunities for Jewish artists and performers. It served as a model for other cultural leagues in organizing theatre and opera performances, concerts, film screenings, lectures, and exhibitions. The Gestapo disbanded the Culture League in Sept. 1941.

about our Jewish situation. I asked him whether he was hiding anything from me. I preferred to face the truth. Dr. Alexander answered that after Frankfurter killed the Nazi leader of Switzerland, the Nazis had merely forbidden all Jewish organizations for some months.<sup>30</sup> The same thing would happen if von Rath were to die. I was unsatisfied. The sarcastic question of the Gestapo official and the whole discussion with him alarmed me. I urged Dr. Alexander to call the C.V. in Berlin. He did this to calm me. Our offices in Berlin had no news of importance. They had only heard that in some villages in Hessen, Jews had been molested. They did not know what I heard later in the Netherlands, that the synagogue of Kassel was demolished the night before. It was characteristic of the German censorship that this incident, which happened on the night of the eighth was unknown in Berlin by noon of the following day.

After this call, Dr. Alexander told me not to 'see ghosts,' but as I returned home, I had the feeling that something terrible would happen. When I went to the streetcar for Düsseldorf, Dr. Alexander was at the station to see whether I was still excited. He thought I might be too much so to negotiate alone. I refused his help. In Düsseldorf I met with success. Oberlandesgerichtsdirektor<sup>31</sup> Dr. Oberg<sup>32</sup> promised me, after long discussion, to allow two lawyers for Krefeld without striking from the list any other Jewish lawyer in the Rhineland. This promise was not broken. When I returned to Krefeld, I heard by radio that von Rath had died.

#### DOC. 114

#### **On 28 October 1938 the Relief Association of German Jews warns of problems regarding emigration to Shanghai<sup>1</sup>**

Circular letter B no. 280 from the Relief Association of German Jews (Dr P/C.), signed Dr Prinz, signed p.p. Dr Stillschweig, to all emigration advisors in the Reich and the in-house case officers, dated 28 October 1938 (copy)

*Re: emigration to Shanghai.*

The continuously growing need of our people to emigrate, in combination with the simultaneous narrowing of opportunities for immigration, has recently led to a major surge of emigration to Shanghai, only because the entry requirements there were easy to meet and consequently the emigration could take place quickly, in especially urgent cases. But now the number of immigrants in Shanghai is already so large that most of them can no longer be absorbed by the economy of the country. An additional complication is the fact that,

<sup>30</sup> On 4 Feb. 1936 David Frankfurter shot and killed Wilhelm Gustloff, the head of a Swiss branch of the NSDAP, in Davos. In light of the upcoming Olympic Games in Berlin, the NSDAP leadership prohibited any violent acts against Jews: see PMJ 1/225.

<sup>31</sup> Head of the Higher Regional Court.

<sup>32</sup> Dr Walter Oberg (b. 1891), lawyer; from 1923 regional court judge in Düsseldorf; from 1932 worked at the Higher Regional Court; in 1933 joined the NSDAP; higher regional court judge, 1934–1938, and from 1938 head of the Higher Regional Court.

<sup>1</sup> Warburg-Archiv, Auswanderer Länderberichte. This document has been translated from German.

owing to the Sino-Japanese conflict,<sup>2</sup> economic life in the Far East and especially in Shanghai is experiencing a severe depression. Even specialists with outstanding qualifications scarcely have any prospects in Shanghai any more.

The exceptionally grave situation in which most immigrants find themselves even caused the English consul general to send a message to the English Foreign Office, in which the consul general points out 'that some 30 Austrian refugees, mostly Jews or of Jewish origin, recently arrived in Shanghai, and others are to follow. It must be emphasized that there is very little hope of reasonably comfortable employment for any of these people, even if they are highly qualified, and that the Jewish or other relief organizations in Shanghai are no longer in a position to grant any support.'

The situation is further illuminated by a letter from Shanghai that was written by an immigrant, which states:

Shanghai, 6 October 1938

Ladies and gentlemen who have complete mastery of three languages, French, English, and German, sometimes even Chinese as well, are exposed to the most terrible hardship, for the languages scarcely count here at all. The only way is to have a very solid profession. A really first-class pastry chef or watchmaker or goldsmith could stay afloat here. Shanghai is de facto the most miserable place in the world, overrun with immigrants and refugees, surrounded by a Chinese world burned to ashes and threatened by the gravest epidemics (black smallpox, typhus, cholera, a great variety of rashes, etc. etc.) and political conflicts.

Whether I will still have my job when you arrive is doubtful. We have little or nothing to do. There is nothing else for it but to go to Australia in the foreseeable future, as a great many people here have begun to emigrate to A[ustralia], and there, at least, the squalid, loitering masses are not to be encountered.

Here there are no benefits for the unemployed and no health insurance companies. It is absolutely a colonial country, in which the white man can hold his ground only to a very limited extent. In addition, the climate is such that one cannot live in too primitive a way, because then one simply deteriorates. You need not count on support from another quarter here. You would not believe how cruel the people are here. I have seen and heard things that would make your hair stand on end. This is not Europe; it is a China that has been at war for months and has sunk shockingly into poverty.

Even though such a letter from an immigrant is naturally to be judged with caution, there cannot be the slightest doubt that the situation in Shanghai is most serious and that it is no longer justifiable to continue sending even the most urgent cases to Shanghai.

Tellingly, the Japanese shipping companies have recently been accepting bookings for Shanghai only after making certain that the passenger is carrying an adequate sum of money. Similar actions are being taken by other shipping companies.

<sup>2</sup> The Second Sino-Japanese War began on 7 July 1937. In Nov. 1937 Japanese troops won the battle of Shanghai. Nanking, then the Chinese capital, fell the following month. The Japanese troops in China formally surrendered on 9 Sept. 1945.

## DOC. 115

**On 28 October 1938 Cornelius von Berenberg-Gossler learns of the impending deportation of a Jewish female acquaintance to Poland<sup>1</sup>**

Diary of Baron Cornelius von Berenberg-Gossler,<sup>2</sup> Hamburg, entry for 28 October 1938

*Friday, 28 Oct.*

Nadia<sup>3</sup> is going into town with me tomorrow. Letter from Heinrich<sup>4</sup> in Buenos Aires dated 22 October. Sensibly, he wants to fight to stay with the Bank of London & South America, and he has suggested to the general manager,<sup>5</sup> Trevor Jones, in London that he transfer him to New York. I am writing to Heinrich that I consider his proposal quite reasonable. (I don't think, however, that Jones will accept it.) A great deal to do for Mrs Blöde,<sup>6</sup> who is Jewish and a Polish citizen. Today she was informed by the police that she (like all Jewish Poles here) has to leave Germany within 24 hours. My telephone call to the Polish consulate general to plead her case is also unsuccessful. Mrs Blöde reported that she was taken to the police station by a policeman, from there in an open motor coach with others to the police in Altona, where she received a written order, which she showed to me, mandating her expulsion from the country by tomorrow. Barbaric state of affairs. The Rée firm<sup>7</sup> is taking over the administration of Mrs Blöde's assets, which probably will be confiscated. Arrived late in Niendorf.<sup>8</sup> After dinner, Nadia, at the Duncckers' for singing. After dinner walked in the vicinity of the park; illumination in the church. We are giving Hellmuth a car today as an early Christmas present; he needs it for his job as an insurance broker. Café with Gleich and Kauffmann.<sup>9</sup> In the afternoon, at the Rée firm.

1 Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 622-1/9 Familie Berenberg, submitted in 1992, Tagebuch v. Cornelius Berenberg-Gossler 1938. This document has been translated from German.

2 Baron Cornelius von Berenberg-Gossler (1874–1953), retailer and banker; from 1913 head of the firm Johann Berenberg, Gossler & Co. in Hamburg; in 1932 withdrew from active participation in banking; supervisory board member at Deutsche Waren-Treuhand-AG.

3 Nadia von Berenberg-Gossler (1887–1962); born in Austria; wife of Cornelius von Berenberg-Gossler.

4 Heinrich von Berenberg-Gossler (1907–1997), banker; son of Cornelius and Nadia von Berenberg-Gossler; co-owner of the Joh. Berenberg, Gossler & Co. banking house; in 1938 worked at the Bank of London & South America in Buenos Aires.

5 These two words are in English in the original.

6 Editha Charlotte Blöde, née Kutnewsky (1889–1968); Polish citizen by marriage; widowed around 1935; emigrated to the Netherlands in Dec. 1938; died in The Hague.

7 Wilhelm Rée Jun. banking house, at 10 Adolphbrücke, Hamburg.

8 A neighbourhood of Hamburg.

9 Richard Kauffmann (b. 1880); owner of the Rée firm; in reaction to the pressure to Aryanize businesses, in April 1938 arranged with Berenberg-Gossler for the firm Johann Berenberg, Gossler & Co. to have a share in the Rée bank. Berenberg-Gossler helped Kauffmann to emigrate to Britain.

## DOC. 116

**Report by the SS Security Service, dated 28 October 1938,  
about the Austrian Jewish organizations<sup>1</sup>**

Final report by SD II 112 – ÖAK<sup>2</sup> (St./Be.), SS-Oberscharführer Stein,<sup>3</sup> Berlin, dated 28 October 1938

The activities of ÖAK II 112 extended over the period from 18 May to 31 October 1938.

Under consideration as aides were:

1. SS-Oberscharführer Stein,
2. SS-Oberscharführer Reissmann,
3. SS-Scharführer Hagelmann,
4. Miss Benecke as typist.

The work of the ÖAK was severely impaired by absence from duty as a result of annual leave during the reporting period and various duty assignments. For example, SS-Oberscharführer Reissmann was never able to participate in the work of ÖAK II 112 because of his utilization elsewhere. SS-Oberscharführer Stein and SS-Scharführer Hagelmann were detached to II 1 for an extended period in order to be available for the emergency measures of II 112 in the event of mobilization. In the same context, Miss Benecke was doing work for III 2. In addition, SS-Scharführer Hagelmann was detailed to II 112 for an extended period as a temporary replacement. Finally, it must be pointed out that there was also non-productive time as a result of participation in mandatory sporting activities.

Out of all the materials accrued for ÖAK II 112, the processing of all book crates was postponed from the outset. These crates are stored in the cellars on Eisenacherstrasse and can be transported to Emserstrasse at any time.<sup>4</sup> The original shelf marks for these crates have been retained. At the order of SS-Obersturmführer Hagen, the processing of the Rothschild Archives was also reserved for a later date.

Thus, the following documentary materials remained to be processed by II 112:

- 1 RGVA, 500k-1-617. Copy in ÖStA, record group: Historikerkommission. This document has been translated from German.
- 2 Österreich Auswertungs-Kommando: Austria Investigative Commando. This unit confiscated the archival holdings and libraries of Austrian Jewish organizations and arranged for the books and archival material to be transported to Berlin.
- 3 Dr Albert Günther Stein (1908–1972), academic librarian; joined the NSDAP in 1933 and the SS in 1936; in 1935 worked for the Institute for the Study of Readers and Literature in Leipzig; set up the library of the NSDAP Kreisleitung in Leipzig; from 1936 librarian of the SD Main Office in Berlin, in charge of the transport of the libraries of various Jewish organizations from Vienna to Berlin; from 1939 deputy head of the so-called Jewish Library of the SD in Berlin.
- 4 From summer 1936, 12–13 Emser Straße in Berlin, the confiscated building of the Grand Lodge of Hamburg, housed SD Main Department 32, Museum, Library, and Academic Research Centre. It was headed by Franz Six. The libraries and archival holdings of Jewish organizations and private individuals were stored at the address on Emser Straße so that they could be combined into a central Jewish library and a Jewish archive for the SD. In spring 1939 the library already included just under 200,000 volumes. During the war other libraries, brought from the occupied countries, were added, including the library and archive of the Jewish historian Simon Dubnow. Because there was not enough space at the address on Emser Straße, by spring 1938 the SD had already begun using, in addition, the building of the former Grand Lodge of the Freemasons of Germany, situated at 12 Eisenacher Straße.

## Documents

- (1) of the "Union of Austrian Jews",<sup>5</sup>
- (2) of the weekly publication *Die Wahrheit*,
- (3) of the "Israelite Alliance",
- (4) of the "Judea" Jewish University Commission, Vienna,
- (5) of the "League of Jewish Combat Veterans",
- (6) of the Reich Association of Jewish Legitimists of Austria,<sup>6</sup>
- (7) of the state Zionist organizations,
- (8) of the "Association of Jewish Retailers and Tradesmen",
- (9) of the "Free Employment Agency".<sup>7</sup>

In addition, there is

(10) the material of the relatively small Jewish organizations in the city of Graz and only a small amount of material from the Religious Community of Vienna and the Hebrew Pedagogium in Vienna.

All the material was in a poor and disorderly condition. Moreover, the documents of various organizations have conspicuous gaps. In general, it is impossible to ascertain what caused these gaps. Solely in the case of the League of Jewish Combat Veterans can it be proven that part of the material has already been destroyed by the Jews.

As for content, the materials range widely in value. In very large part they consist of internal association correspondence or correspondence from previous years with no significance at all for evaluation by the SD.

Further, the materials of the Jewish organizations could, almost without exception, be evaluated only as case files because, for the most part, only unsigned carbon copies were available for processing. As a result of the differences in the coverage and usefulness of the materials, reports could be prepared only for some organizations, while for others it was necessary to opt solely for the form of a file note. Reports were prepared for the following organizations:

- (1) "Union of Austrian Jews",
- (2) "Israelite Alliance", Vienna,
- (3) League of Jewish Combat Veterans,
- (4) state Zionist organizations,
- (5) overall report on Graz,
- (6) report on the IOBB lodge in Graz.<sup>8</sup>

On occasion, the material required collaboration with II 122 and II 123.<sup>9</sup>

For the various special instructions that were issued over time to the ÖAK, hardly any material could be found.

By contrast, the registry of the League of Jewish Combat Veterans, which includes around 15,000 members, was made available to the Main District Danube.

5 Founded in 1886 as the Austrian Israelite Union: see Introduction, pp. 31–32.

6 The legitimists advocated the restoration of the Habsburg Monarchy.

7 From 1899 the agency operated an employment office in Vienna.

8 Independent Order of B'nai B'rith: see Glossary.

9 Department II 122 in the SD Main Office was responsible for the observation of centrist political movements, and Department II 123 for the right-wing movement.

The material, in its entirety, is of hardly any use any more for intelligence evaluation. On the other hand, it can still be used for historical studies.

As a whole, the available documentary material constitutes a source for the history of the Jews. As it is not foreseeable which questions may still crop up in this regard, destruction of the material – which at the moment may even appear unimportant – is not advisable.

Now that everything superfluous, such as unused forms and the like, has been screened out, it is suggested that all the documentary material of the Jewish organizations that is now located on Eisenacherstrasse should be kept on hand for the Jewish archives.

It is further suggested that the newspaper archives of the League of Jewish Combat Veterans and the Reich Association of Jewish Legitimists, as well as the bound copies of the weekly publication *Die Wahrheit*, be sent to the library on Emserstrasse, in order to position them there for evaluation and scientific processing by the SD. Of *Der Legitimist*, the organ of the Reich Association of Jewish Legitimists in Austria, enough single copies from the years 1935 to 1937 are available that these volumes can be placed at the disposal of an institute for newspaper studies, above and beyond the aforementioned suggestion. Similarly, the volumes of the newspaper of the League of Jewish Combat Veterans for 1936 to 1938 can be sent to such an institute.

Besides the aforementioned newspaper archives, the following libraries are to be moved to the Jewish department on Emserstrasse:

- (1) library of the “Union of Austrian Jews”,
- (2) library of the “Israelite Alliance”,
- (3) library of the Free Employment Agency,
- (4) library of the “Society of Jews Seeking Christ”,
- (5) library of the “Judea” Jewish University Commission,
- (6) library of the IOBB in Vienna,
- (7) library of the *Neue Welt* newspaper,<sup>10</sup>
- (8) Jewish library from Eisenstadt,
- (9) library of the Hebrew Pedagogium in Vienna,
- (10) confiscated books from Jewish bookshops.

However, it must be pointed out that no space is currently available at the Emserstr. facility for housing these libraries.

Because of the disunity as well as the incompleteness and limited usefulness of the materials, it is not possible to sketch an overall picture of the Austrian Jewish organizations. Reference must therefore be made to the individual reports or file notes that deal with the separate organizations. The following are to be recorded as positive results of the evaluation work:

- (1) extension of the Jewish registry to Austria,
- (2) establishment of a registry of IOBB members,
- (3) compilation of a registry for previously unknown foreign Jewish organizations,

<sup>10</sup> The *Neue Welt* was a newspaper founded by Theodor Herzl in 1897 as *Welt*. In it, Herzl first advocated to a larger audience his idea of the establishment of a Jewish state: see also Doc. 18, spring 1938, fn. 15. The newspaper is the direct predecessor of today’s non-partisan publication *Illustrierte Neue Welt*, which is published six times a year in Vienna and has a circulation of 15,000.

(4) inclusion of individual Jews abroad who are to be regarded as go-betweens for Austrian Jewry,

(5) realization that the Jewish organizations in Austria seek to some extent to remain in the background and therefore give their support to non-Jewish organizations.

To complete the picture of Austrian Jewry, therefore, reference must be made to the reports by II 122 concerning the Harand Movement<sup>11</sup> and the Pan-European Movement.<sup>12</sup>

(6) Finally, it must be pointed out that the link to Germany, as far as one can tell from the files, has been completely broken since 1933.

#### DOC. 117

### **Questionnaire from the Reich Representation of Jews in Germany concerning the planned admission of Eva Oppenheim to Australia, dated 31 October 1938<sup>1</sup>**

Questionnaire from the Reich Representation of Jews in Germany concerning Eva Oppenheim,<sup>2</sup> unsigned,<sup>3</sup> 158 II Kantstraße, Berlin-Charlottenburg 2, dated 31 October 1938<sup>4</sup>

#### *Questionnaire*

For placement of youths abroad.

#### (A) Personal data

Last name: *Oppenheim*

First name: *Eva Martha*

Place of residence: *Halle-Saale*

Home address: *13a Hindenburgstr., Halle*

Date of birth: *12 October 1921.*

Place of birth: *Halle-Saale*

Number and expiry date of passport, if in existence: *no*

11 The Harand Movement, founded in Austria in 1933 at the initiative of the Christian activist Irene Harand as an international organization that opposed racial hatred and human suffering, took a stand against antisemitism in 1937–1938. After the Anschluss of Austria, the organization's holdings were taken to Berlin.

12 In the early 1920s advocates of the idea of an economically and politically united, democratic Europe influenced by Christian values banded together under the leadership of Count Richard of Coudenhove-Kalergi, to form the Paneuropean Movement. In 1933 the union was banned in Germany, but it continued to be active until 1938 in France, Austria, and Czechoslovakia.

1 CJA, 2A2/201. This document has been translated from German.

2 Eva Martha Oppenheim (1921–1942); in 1940 joined Hachsharah; trainee at the Jewish children's home in Leipzig, then trainee at the old people's home at 4 Boeckestraße in Halle an der Saale; deported to Sobibor extermination camp in 1942.

3 At the foot of the document is a stamp of the Economic Aid Centre of the Synagogue Congregation of Halle an der Saale, whose employees evidently entered the information about Eva Oppenheim.

4 Printed form, entries typewritten, evidently filled out by the Economic Aid Centre of the Synagogue Congregation of Halle; two different typewriters were used. For reasons of clarity, italics are used in this document not for emphasis, but to indicate the information about Eva Oppenheim that was entered in the form, while all the categories and questions that are part of the form appear in roman type.

						Remarks
	Name	Date, place of birth	Nationality	Jewish?	In Germany since:	e.g. divorced, deceased (give date)
Father	<i>Georg Oppenheim<sup>5</sup></i>	<i>13 April 1878, Stettin</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Birth</i>	
Mother	<i>Frieda, née Cahn</i>	<i>3 December 1887, Halle</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Birth</i>	
Occupation		Current, as accurately as possible	Former		Place of work	
Of the father		<i>Retailer of men's suits</i>	<i>Wholesaler of men's suits</i>		<i>Self-employed</i>	
Of the mother		<i>Housewife</i>	<i>Housewife</i>			

Names and dates of birth of siblings:

*Ilse Oppenheim, 16 March 1911, Halberstadt*

If needed, name and address of guardian:

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(B) Detailed description of the economic situation and earning capacity, as well as financial circumstances (rent, current obligations, capital holdings, etc.)

*For many years, the father has operated a wholesale textile business in Halle, dealing in men's suits. Recently he converted this business to a retail shop dealing in these fabrics. The economic situation of the family was never particularly auspicious. According to the information given to us today, the father claims to have had until now a net annual income of RM 3,000, a figure that seems questionable to us. We likewise doubt the accuracy of his additional statement that there are no unmet current obligations. Rather, his economic state seems to us to be characterized by the fact that the father admits to being in arrears with payment of the Jewish religious tax to the amount of RM 80. Without doubt, there are no capital holdings.*

Can a contribution to the travel costs be provided by the parents or other persons? In what amount?

*In our view, only to a small extent. The father claimed, however, that he was willing and able to pay the travel costs himself.*

(C) Detailed description of the family life, characteristics of the individuals, including siblings, information about the interests and lifestyle of the family

*The family life is good. In our view, the parents have done everything within their power to provide their two daughters with a good school and vocational training. The business skills of the father are good, in our opinion. He has always operated his business impeccably. There are probably no specific strong areas of interest that go beyond the framework of his professional career. The mother is indeed an experienced housewife, but has probably not always been able to adapt the style of the household to what we regard as the quite modest earning capacity of her husband. Previously, she was quite heavily involved in social circles. Other interests, especially intellectual ones, do not exist, we believe. The older daughter is mentally underdeveloped and, in our view, not able to pursue a career.*

Attitude of the parents towards Judaism

” ” ” young person ” ”

*The parents are liberal-minded in their approach to Judaism. They attend religious services, especially on holidays. The father was previously and is now again a representative of the synagogue community. Previously he was also a board member of the Association for Liberal Judaism.*

*Eva Oppenheim, as a result of the developments during recent years, now has very positive Jewish views.*

Is accommodation in a ritually observant or Orthodox household necessary?

*no*

(D) Characteristics of the young person

(Overall impression, demeanour, temperament, behaviour in the home environment and in the community, direction of interests, educational difficulties)

*Eva Oppenheim makes a good impression. Her demeanour is very unassuming, and she is quiet but, at the same time, skilful. According to information from her father, even as a child she helped her mother around the house and continues to do so with great interest even now. She does not appear to have strong intellectual interests, but enjoys sports and takes advantage of every opportunity offered to her in this regard. She especially enjoys apparatus gymnastics and plays handball. She has always liked being with others of her age and is described by them as a good comrade.*

What schools or educational institutions were or are attended?

*Primary school*

*Municipal Secondary School for Girls I in Halle.*

*2 years at a vocational business school*

Regularly moved up into the next form?

*Yes.*

Other occupational preparation or training?

*Commercial apprenticeship, which had to be discontinued before completion; now a course in sewing.*

Knowledge of English? *Yes.*

*For how long? English classes for the past year, currently twice a week.*

Knowledge of other languages?

*Some French as a result of 5 years of classes.*

<sup>5</sup> Georg Oppenheim (1878–1942), retailer; married Frieda Cahn in 1907. The couple, together with their two daughters, Eva and Ilse, were deported in 1942 to Sobibor extermination camp, where they were murdered.

Member of a youth organization?

*Not any more, previously League of German Jewish Youth.*

Which one?

Career aspirations: *position in a household.*

” aptitude: *yes.*

Suitability for placement in city or countryside?

*City placement.*

(E) Concrete emigration plans of the family or individual family members?

*None.*

What plans?

Relatives or friends abroad?

*Mother’s cousin, Kurt Werner, 11 Broadway, New York.*

Their names, addresses, degree of kinship, economic situation

*His economic situation is said to be quite good. In response to an inquiry, he stated that he cannot provide an affidavit for the O. family because he has already furnished one to a considerable number of other relatives.*

(F) Summary by the registration office:

*The entries above were made by us and are based on our own knowledge and on information gathered by us about the O. family.*

*We consider Eva O. suited for the planned accommodation in Australia.*

*The question of the subsequent emigration of the family is difficult for us to answer in the affirmative on account of the sister and the advanced age of the father, although there appear to be no health concerns in the case of the parents.*

#### DOC. 118

#### **Gerta Pfeffer describes the deportation of Polish Jews from Chemnitz in October 1938<sup>1</sup>**

Submission by Gerta Pfeffer<sup>2</sup> to a Harvard University competition (1940)

[...] <sup>3</sup>

*Expulsion from Germany.*

I tried everything possible to speed up my emigration. The only practical, promising option was to go to England as a housemaid. A dear acquaintance, who was already in England, did his best to get me a post. Feverishly, I got everything ready so that I could leave quickly. One evening in October 1938, during dinner, a young man came to our home and

<sup>1</sup> Gerta Pfeffer, ‘Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und nach dem 30. Januar 1933’ [My life in Germany before and after 30 January 1933] (1940), pp. 50–59; Harvard Competition, no. 177. This document has been translated from German.

told us that a Polish Jewish family had just been arrested. We were seized by an agonizing anxiety. I looked out of the window and saw brightly lit, heavy police vehicles drive through the streets, stopping almost exclusively at buildings where Polish Jews lived. One of the campaigns to expel Jews was in progress; such actions were rampant in those days. At 11 p.m., they also came to us. The whole family had to go along, and we were allowed to take only enough food for twenty-four hours, nothing else. We were given no explanations. A policeman, who seemed to take pity on me, asked how old I was and tried to console me, saying that because I was still young, nothing would happen to me. We were led into a large room in a restaurant in town, where a good many fellow sufferers were already crowded together. All the faces were frightened and pale; everyone was tormented, wondering what the Nazi gangs might be planning for us. An army sergeant was in charge of us, and he grumbled continuously about the commotion and the noise that prevailed in the room. That was after all no surprise, because many frightened children were also present. That night, every member of my family had to sign a slip of paper stating that we had to leave the country within twenty-four hours. Naturally, we were quite upset and still had no idea where we would actually be taken. We spent the rest of the night penned in with our many fellow sufferers in the room, which was far too cramped, and in the morning hours we learned that we would be deported; anyone attempting to escape would be shot on the spot. We were driven in large police vans to the railway station. There, curious people quickly gathered; I saw no one laughing, and no one cursed us. We rode on the train for long, endless hours. We now knew we were headed for Poland, where we would surely be unwanted guests, although we were Polish citizens. We had no documents with us, no luggage, nothing but the clothes on our backs. It was midnight. We must have been near the border. A few of our travelling companions tried to lighten the mood with jokes, but I could still sense the anxiety that emanated from all our fellow travellers. The train stopped. On the adjacent track there already stood another train, also carrying Germans with Polish citizenship who had been expelled. We had to get out of the train. There stood a great number of Hitler's black-uniformed SS. We got the creeps. What would they start doing to us now? We had to line up in rows, and an SS man walked up and down next to each row. We were herded along; faster, faster, they shouted at us. We had to walk an endlessly long way, exhausted by fear, by the journey, by this never-ending march on the road to Poland, urged on by unmerciful gangs of SS men. Only a few people had been allowed to take some luggage on the trip. Most of them, however, had to discard the bags during this march because they were simply too weak to lug them along. The night was pitch-black. We heard only the groaning of the exhausted and the crude cursing of the SS. We were still marching on an unknown road towards an unknown destination. Suddenly we heard screams at the head of the procession. A cold shiver ran down my spine. What did it mean? Later, I learned that the people in the first row were beaten with an iron rod to drive them into a

2 Gerta Pfeffer (b. 1912), textile designer; daughter of a Chemnitz retailer; from 1933 to 1938 employed in a weaving mill in southern Germany, then returned to Chemnitz; in 1938 arrested with her family and deported to the Polish border; in 1939 she was given permission to enter Britain.

3 The entire account, sixty-two pages in length, was posted from London. First, Pfeffer describes her school years in Chemnitz and her initial experiences with the antisemitism of her teachers, and the arrest of her brother, father, and several friends after the Reichstag fire in 1933. In 1938, after celebrating her birthday at the company she worked for, she received notice of her dismissal.

slippery ditch that apparently formed the border between Poland and Germany. My family and I also had to cross through the ice-cold ditch. On the other side there already stood several men who had successfully negotiated the slippery ditch. They held out their hands to help us and managed in this way to pull us out. Two children allegedly drowned in the ditch. We now stood in a meadow and had no idea where we were. The SS called after us, saying we had better not dare return to Germany, or we would simply be shot. In the meadow, general bedlam prevailed. Husbands looked for their wives, children for their parents, and it took rather a long time for people to find each other in the dark. Then we trudged through the fields towards a light that we saw in the distance. There was little talking; what we had experienced weighed too heavily on our souls. Where were we? Were we already on Polish territory, and even if we were, where would we actually end up? Suddenly a Polish border official appeared and spoke to us in Polish. Only a few people understood him. He wanted us to come with him, back to Germany. We were filled with dread. When we refused, he set a dog on us, swung his rubber club at us, and cursed, calling us 'German swine'. That was the most repugnant thing for me. I thought, after all, that on the other side of the border one would encounter humanity and understanding on the part of Polish officials. This Polish official forced us to head back towards Germany. We crossed a meadow, and our imagination conceived the most dreadful images of what the Germans would do to us now, if we were to fall into their hands. On the other side of the meadow stood a German border official, who naturally refused to let us return to Germany. So we stood in this meadow all night, expelled from Germany, unwanted in Poland. The meadow was neutral territory, no man's land. In the distance we heard gunfire.

The deepest impression was made on me by the children, exhausted, weary, dry-eyed. I saw how some of them had a calming effect on their despairing parents. The shots we heard were allegedly fired at expellees who, not allowed by the Poles to enter the country, were forced to set foot on German territory. I myself could never get any reliable information about it. We stood all night in this meadow, until early morning. Some border officials led us to a hamlet, at the edge of which we saw a crowd of other expellees already waiting. From afar, this swarm of people looked like a black, sombre patch in the landscape. Destinies spoke from the sad eyes, and the prevailing silence completed the sombre atmosphere. The border officials spoke only Polish, although they could also speak German.

When all the expellees who had been caught and rounded up in this area were together, we were led to a railway embankment and had to undertake a very arduous march between the rails. I feared that a train might barrel towards us at any moment. We didn't know in what direction we were going, whether towards the interior of Poland or whether the Polish officials had decided after all to hand us over to the Nazis again, though we were formally Polish citizens. After a bend in the railway embankment, we suddenly saw the dreaded black uniforms of the SS again. Now, all too drastically, every doubt was removed as to where we had been taken. We were unmistakably on German soil. Was there to be no end to our torment? The SS took us over, and again we marched towards an unknown destination. Some overly anxious people summoned up the sad courage to ask the SS men what would become of us now. The prompt reply was 'Shot.' Another said, 'You're going to a camp.' Quickly, and in a whisper, one person after another passed on the terrible news. First an order to stop was heard, and then we had to turn around and go back the same way. Then we were led on to a road, apparently still on German territory. Children laughed and sneered at us as we plodded along step by step, tired, with wet feet and covered in muck.

We hardly believed our eyes when we suddenly caught sight of a Polish border checkpoint. We were taken to that spot by the SS, who then left us and immediately withdrew. This time we were accepted by a very polite Polish border official, Polish children brought us water, and with our last bit of strength we managed to slog along to a small neighbouring village. We were taken into a house where everything had already been prepared for our arrival. Food and drink were brought to us, and this show of concern was balm for our low spirits. At first we were quite listless, and only slowly did what we had survived recede and yield to new experiences.

I had already been abroad a few times, filled with a thirst for knowledge, but now my heart was especially open to new things, good things. I went into a shop to buy various cleaning materials, such as soap and a shoe-cleaning kit. Two workers expressed indignation at the injustice done to us; one vented his feelings by railing against Hitler's barbarians, and the other, an older man, even wept. I was deeply moved to encounter sympathy. In the evening, helpful people gave us a place to sleep, and only a few of them demanded compensation in return. The next morning, we were taken into the interior of the country. At many railway stations, food and drink were given to us. Some of the people who held out refreshments to us were weeping. We ourselves were no longer capable of tears; the fate of others is more apt than one's own to bring tears to one's eyes. Or perhaps tragedy had already become a routine matter for us. On the trip into Poland's interior, we had become a community, joined together by a shared experience of injustice. The helpfulness of people in the railway stations was consoling. A religious man came into my compartment and read from the Bible. It comforted us, and I regained my faith in humanity. With my family, I was given accommodation in Lwów, where we as emigrants led a life full of deprivation.

[...]⁴

4 In what follows, Gerta Pfeffer reports that she was granted permission to go to Britain in Feb. 1939, and the German consulate allowed her to spend four weeks in Chemnitz, where she and her mother sold the household belongings for a sum far below market value. In March 1939 she emigrated to London.

## DOC. 119

**The legal advisor to the Central Association of German Citizens  
of the Jewish Faith, Kurt Sabatzky, reports on boycotts, arrests,  
and forced labour in Leipzig and the vicinity in the autumn of 1938<sup>1</sup>**

Submission by Kurt Sabatzky<sup>2</sup> to a Harvard University competition (1940)

[...]<sup>3</sup>

In the city of Leipzig the Jewish situation had been tolerable until 1938, out of consideration for the trade fair and the fur trade, but during the autumn trade fair a massive boycott of Jewish shops began, encouraged by large signs in the streets. Simultaneously, there was an even more acrimonious action in Dresden. Here, members summoned by the Party gathered in front of the Jewish shops and threatened the owners and retailers. Together with the Dresden rabbi Dr Wolff,<sup>4</sup> I had a conversation with the deputy head of the urban police. The latter, in consultation with the chief of police,<sup>5</sup> ordered the boycott mobs in front of the shops to be dispersed by urban police officers. For three days the urban police intervened repeatedly against those involved in the excesses. Suddenly, all the Jewish shops in front of which the gatherings had taken place were closed, and in fact by the State Police. Dr Wolff and I now dealt only with the State Police. When I was introduced, the official remarked snidely, 'You are well known!' When I made reference to the illegality of both the riotous assembly and the closure, the official retorted emphatically, 'Yes, *we* arranged for that, *we*, the Gestapo!' In reality, that was tantamount to saying, 'You can complain to the police headquarters and urban police ten times, they can help you ten times, but in the end we do whatever we want!'

A boycott affair in Löbau had a tragic outcome. The shop of the local Jewish retailer Grünewald was subjected to quite severe harassment, and in the process various police officers strongly supported the boycott pickets. The chief administrator of Löbau,<sup>6</sup> an old, even-handed civil servant, tried to intervene and help, but in vain. As a result,

1 Kurt Sabatzky, 'Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und nach dem 30. Januar 1933' [My life in Germany before and after 30 January 1933] (1940), pp. 53–56, Harvard Competition, no. 261. This document has been translated from German.

2 Kurt Sabatzky (1892–1955), journalist; legal advisor to the Central Association of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith (CV) in Leipzig, 1922–1923; manager of the CV in East Prussia, 1923–1932, and of the regional association of the CV of Saxony and Anhalt in Leipzig, 1933–1938; member of the Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans and B'nai B'rith; imprisoned for a time in Buchenwald concentration camp; in 1939 manager of the Essen Synagogue Community; in 1939 emigrated to Britain, where he worked from 1943 for Jewish organizations.

3 The entire account comprises sixty-four pages and was sent in from London. In the first part Sabatzky reports on the rise of antisemitism after the First World War, the founding of the regional central associations of German citizens of the Jewish faith in Köslin and Königsberg, and his political work for the CV.

4 Correctly: Dr Albert Wolf (1890–1951), rabbi; served in Dresden, 1920–1939; in Nov. 1938 imprisoned in Buchenwald concentration camp; emigrated in Feb. 1939 to Britain and in 1940 to the USA, where he was a Reform rabbi in Wisconsin, Washington, and Chicago.

5 Ernst Walther Hille (1894–1945), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1937 and the SS in 1943; in early 1920 joined the urban police in Saxony and in August 1920 was promoted to police lieutenant colonel; from 1927 in Dresden; in 1933 major and later chief of police in Dresden; senior commander of the Order Police in Munich, 1941–1942; senior commander of the Order Police in Poznań, 1942–1943, and in Wiesbaden, 1943–1944; probably took his own life while in American captivity.

Grünewald lost his head and hanged himself in his shop, his face turned towards the police station across the street. Many Jewish businessmen were now forced to sell their shops far below value. There were few businesses for which the Jewish owner was compensated at a rate even approaching the actual value.

An action involving the State Police office in Halle turned out very tragically. One day a number of older Jews, all part of the workforce, were summoned to the local employment office. They were asked to do excavation work for flood control of the Saale river. The men concerned explained that they were already employed, were not drawing public benefits of any kind, and, considering their occupations and, in many cases, also considering their state of health, were unable to take on the excavation work. That was in early March 1938. Four weeks later the men concerned were arrested in Halle and in Naumburg and were the first prisoners to be taken to Buchenwald concentration camp. Only one week later, there was news of three deaths. I negotiated in Berlin with the Gestapo Central Office, the president of the Reich Institute for Labour Placement and Unemployment Insurance,<sup>7</sup> and the president of the Regional Employment Office in Erfurt,<sup>8</sup> which was responsible for Halle. The Gestapo Central Office declared that it had not initiated the measure, though it was interested in the fact that it had taken place; it had no cause, it declared, to oppose the orders given by the Halle State Police. The presidents of the labour placement organizations were aghast at the measure and tried hard to get the Halle State Police to release the men, but without success; the release took place only when it suited the hangman's assistants in Halle. When I first heard the name Buchenwald, I did not yet imagine that I too would end up there some six months later.

The expulsion of around 1,000 Poles from Leipzig and an additional 100 from other places, Poles who were passing through Leipzig, took an extraordinarily tragic course. The Polish government announced one day that it no longer recognized the citizenship of those Poles living in Germany who had not been back to Poland for years.<sup>9</sup> In Leipzig, there was quite a large Polish Jewish colony. One morning in October 1938, these people were roused from their beds and arrested, in many cases forbidden to take anything with them, and taken in police vehicles to the main railway station, where special trains were assembled. I arranged at once for the provision of emergency services by the Israelite Religious Community. Jewish helpers brought the people necessary personal effects and money from their homes, anyone without money was given some by the Community, and a catering service was laid on. It must be acknowledged that, in the process, officers and men of the

6 Probably Dr Rudolf Moritz Franz Böhme (b. 1887), lawyer and civil servant; joined the NSDAP and the SA in 1933; from 1936 worked for the administrative district of Löbau.

7 Dr Friedrich Syrup (1881–1945), engineer, lawyer, and political scientist; from 1905 in the service of the Prussian state; president of the Reich Office for Labour Placement, 1920–1927, and of the Reich Institute for Labour Placement and Unemployment Insurance, 1927–1932 and 1933–1938; Reich minister of labour, 1932–1933; responsible for labour deployment under the Four-Year Plan, 1936–1942; state secretary in the Reich Ministry of Labour, 1939–1942; died in 1945 whilst in Soviet captivity in the Sachsenhausen camp.

8 Dr Alfred Löblich (b. 1874), lawyer; from 1919 specialist for organizational affairs in the Reich Ministry of Finance, where he worked on setting up the Reich Tax Authorities in Berlin; in 1920 Ministerialrat there; in 1921 department head at the Regional Tax Office in Berlin; from 1927 president of the Regional Employment Office for Central Germany in Erfurt; compulsorily retired in 1940.

9 This measure affected only Poles of the Jewish faith who were living abroad: see Doc. 112, 28 Oct. 1938.

urban police station at the main railway station shared real humanity and shared their supplies of butter with those under arrest. By negotiating with the head of the police for foreign nationals, the commander of the urban police, and the Gestapo chief, I managed to get around 80 persons out of the train and to secure their release, because they either were ill or had visas for a different country. The rest, however, I was unable to help. A number of the deportees later returned to Leipzig for four weeks to arrange their affairs. They said that they had been chased into no man's land by SS men at the border and that shots had been fired behind them. For a long time, they said, the Poles had not let them in, so that they had to camp outdoors in no man's land in the cold and rain.

A ludicrous swindle took place when the Jewish physicians had their licences revoked and were switched to practitioners for Jews. Only a small number were authorized to switch. One day before the law<sup>10</sup> took effect, I was informed by the acting chief physician of the Israelite Hospital in Leipzig<sup>11</sup> that his factory-cell chairman, the hospital boiler-man Häckel, had given him an ultimatum, demanding that the hospital be closed the following night at midnight and all the patients put out on the street, unless the Jewish physicians working until then at the hospital presented their appointments as practitioners for Jews by the Minister of the Interior. Along with Dr Frankenthal, I went immediately to the government's senior medical officer, who promptly obtained an order from the Regierungspräsident, stating that the future practitioners for Jews who had thus far been employed as physicians could continue to work in that capacity until the ministerial appointments arrived, because no interruption of patient care could be permitted, in the interests of public safety and order.

The next morning, Dr Frankenthal called me to the hospital. There I found a committee from the Health Office of the NSDAP, whose senior official, the dentist Dr Lange,<sup>12</sup> informed us in the office of the chief physician about the following requirements of the Party: the boiler-man Häckel, who, as an Aryan, under the new legislation could no longer be employed in a Jewish hospital, was to be named commissioner of the hospital, with a salary of RM 350. He was to be granted all cash desk and bank mandates and given all the keys, an executive office was to be assigned to him, and all the medical nursing staff and administrative personnel, including the two chief physicians, were to be placed under him. Dr Lange asked Dr Frankenthal and me, as the advisor to the hospital, to brief Häckel on his new position as commissioner. Frankenthal and I strictly refused. I explained that the facility, as a Jewish enterprise, was not subject to Party discipline and that only the health authority, which in fact had made its decision, could decide the matter. Lange then stated that we would be immediately arrested by the

10 Under the Fourth Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law of 25 July 1938, the medical licences of Jewish physicians were revoked as of 30 Sept. 1938. Only a few Jewish doctors continued to be permitted, as so-called 'practitioners for the sick' (*Krankenbehandler*), to provide medical care to Jewish patients. See Introduction, p. 18, and Doc. 76, 5 August 1938.

11 Dr Ludwig Frankenthal (1885–1944), physician; from 1928 he was chief physician at the newly opened Israelite Hospital in Leipzig; on 10 Nov. 1938 he was taken with many other Leipzig Jews to Buchenwald concentration camp and, on 28 Nov. 1938, released on condition that he and his family emigrate within two weeks; in Dec. 1938 fled to the Netherlands; was imprisoned there in the Westerbork concentration camp in 1943; in 1944 was deported to Theresienstadt and then to Auschwitz, where he was murdered.

12 Probably Dr Fredo Lange (b. 1886), physician; specialist in diseases of the mouth and jaw; dentist in Leipzig.

Gestapo. We did not let ourselves be intimidated and showed the committee members the door. We immediately informed the Jewish Affairs Department of the Gestapo that we were dealing here with a wholly illegal intrusion, which absolutely must be overruled. Assessor Schindhelm<sup>13</sup> from the Jewish Affairs Department tried to persuade us that Häckel must then be employed at least as a bookkeeper, which he had been at one time, but we rejected that too. – And that was the end of this absurd swindle. [...] <sup>14</sup>

## DOC. 120

**Max Moses Polke reports on the final months of his work as a lawyer in Breslau, which ended on 3 November 1938<sup>1</sup>**

Submission by Max Moses Polke<sup>2</sup> to a Harvard University competition (1940)

[...] <sup>3</sup>

After my wife<sup>4</sup> had returned from her journey to Palestine, we too proceeded with plans to relocate there. Admittedly, until then I had intended to stay in Germany and prepare a future in Palestine solely for the children, because life in Germany was still tolerable for us in economic terms. I feared that, given my age and profession, I would find integration into life in Palestine quite difficult, and in Germany there were still some things I could accomplish for the Jews. Now, however, I made efforts to obtain a Palestine certificate, which had become increasingly difficult over the years. After many efforts and trips to Berlin, on 29 August 1938 I received an affirmative reply from the Palestine Office in Berlin, the only one of fifty applicants from Breslau to be granted a certificate. My long years of Zionist work and having three children had been decisive in this matter.

However, the relocation was supposed to take place by 30 September 1938. That was impossible, because part of the necessary funds still had to be made available by liquidating my wife's business. I managed to obtain an extension of the time limit.

<sup>13</sup> Probably Hans Gerhard Schindhelm (b. 1908); before 1945 SS-Obersturmbannführer; member of the NSDAP. After Otto Bradfisch, Heinz Richter, and Erich Isselhorst he assumed command of Einsatzkommando 8 in Mogilev; when, in July 1961, Bradfisch was tried and sentenced to ten years of penal servitude for 15,000 counts of aiding and abetting murder, Schindhelm went unpunished.

<sup>14</sup> In what follows, Kurt Sabatzky recounts the November pogroms in 1938, his arrest in Dresden, his time in Buchenwald concentration camp, and his work in the CV from his release until his departure from Germany.

<sup>1</sup> Max Moses Polke, 'Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und nach dem 30. Januar 1933' [My life in Germany before and after 30 January 1933] (1940), pp. 106–112, Harvard Competition, no. 178. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Max Moses Polke (b. 1895), lawyer and economist; from 1924 practised law in Breslau; member of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD); active in the Breslau Jewish Community; imprisoned in a concentration camp after the 1938 pogrom; on 18 Dec. 1938 emigrated with his family to Palestine; author of works including *Die deutschen Juden als nationale Minderheit* (1934).

<sup>3</sup> The entire report contains 150 pages and was submitted from Petah Tikva, Palestine. In the preceding section, the author describes his training as a lawyer, his service in the war, and his work in Breslau as a lawyer and notary: see also PMJ 1/9.

<sup>4</sup> Max Polke's wife ran a shoe shop in Breslau, which she had taken over from her father. Due to the restrictions imposed on Polke as a Jewish lawyer, the shop became an increasingly important source of income for the family. Mrs Polke travelled to Palestine at the end of 1937.

In the meantime, the pressure on Jews to emigrate became increasingly intense. On 13 June 1938 thousands of Jews were suddenly arrested and taken to concentration camps.<sup>5</sup> After the initial shock had been overcome, negotiations with the police authorities were set in motion. It turned out that every Jew who had been arrested during this operation could be released once the preparations for his emigration reached a certain stage. The Palestine Office and the Relief Association of German Jews, which had responsibility for emigration to countries other than Palestine, worked feverishly but were unable to cope with the alarmingly large number of cases. High hopes were thus pinned on the Evian Conference on 6 July 1938. Its failure was all the more disappointing.<sup>6</sup>

To add insult to injury, on this very day the German government enacted a law that made it impossible for the many Jewish travelling salesmen to continue with their work.<sup>7</sup> A relatively large number of people were affected by this in Breslau itself. Soon there followed the withdrawal of the physicians' medical licences on 30 September 1938.<sup>8</sup> We lawyers knew that the famous prophecy of 1935, 'certum an incertum quando' (cf. page 73),<sup>9</sup> would soon come true. And that took place most promptly, as the result of a regulation issued on 27 September 1938. It was not made public, however, until mid October 1938.<sup>10</sup> Evidently it did not suit the tense foreign policy climate at the end of September 1938.<sup>11</sup> Thus I knew that my work as a lawyer would end on 30 November 1938.

Only the independent Jewish businesses were still in existence. But harsher measures were now taken against them too. And by summer 1938, Jewish shops in Berlin had to display the name of the owner in letters 20 cm high.<sup>12</sup> In other cities, such as Breslau, such a rule did not yet exist. But during the gymnastics festival that took place in Breslau in late July or early August and brought visitors from all the German-speaking parts of the world to Breslau, the Jewish shops were forced to post a huge placard in their display windows with the words 'Jewish shop'.<sup>13</sup> Every Jewish shop owner had to pick up such

5 On the so-called June Operation, see Introduction, p. 22, Doc. 39, 1 June 1938, Doc. 47, 22 June 1938, and Glossary.

6 On the Evian Conference, see Introduction, pp. 47–48, Doc. 56, 1 July 1938, Doc. 59, 8 July 1938, Doc. 64, 16 July 1938, and Glossary.

7 The Law on the Amendment of the Commercial Code for the German Reich.

8 Fourth Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law, 25 July 1938, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, pp. 969–970; see also Doc. 76, 5 August 1938, and Doc. 93, late summer 1938.

9 Latin: 'That it will happen is certain; when, is uncertain.' On p. 73 of his account, Max Moses Polke described how Reich Minister Hans Frank had attempted to bring in an occupational ban for Jewish lawyers as early as 1935. When Frank's attempts failed, Polke wrote, Jewish lawyers were unofficially informed that such a ban could be regarded as merely postponed.

10 The Fifth Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law, (27 Sept. 1938) excluded Jews from the legal profession. A small number were allowed to continue working as so-called consultants (*Konsulenten*), but they could only represent Jewish clients. The regulation was announced on 14 Oct. 1938 and took effect in the territory of the Reich as of 30 Nov. 1938 and in Austria as of 31 Dec. 1938: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, pp. 1403–1406.

11 This refers to the so-called Sudeten crisis: see Introduction, pp. 42–43.

12 The Third Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law (14 June 1938) authorized the Reich Minister of Economics in consultation with the Reich Minister of the Interior and the Deputy of the Führer to order the labelling of Jewish businesses as such: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, p. 627. On measures and reactions in Berlin, see Doc. 47, 22 June 1938.

13 This could not be verified.

a placard at the police station. A thorough check was made to establish whether they had all made an appearance, and police patrols likewise checked to make sure that the placard had been duly attached to the display window. During these days, no Aryan customer dared to make a purchase in Jewish shops.

On the last day of the gymnastics festival, permission was granted to take the placards down. The Aryan customers, as well as the visitors from out of town, poured into the Jewish shops, even though they knew that the owners were Jews. Hitler also had appeared in Breslau for this gymnastics tournament, and on this occasion I happened to see him, when I could not cross a street because it was cordoned off. Accompanying him at all times was Konrad Henlein,<sup>14</sup> the leader of the Sudeten Germans, who was known to be a gymnastics teacher in his civilian profession and allegedly was taking part in the German gymnastics festival purely for that reason.

At that time, with my imminent relocation to Palestine in mind, I was already beginning to detach myself from my legal practice, and I continued working only on a small scale from home after I had given up my offices in July 1938. On the other hand, I accepted employment with the Jewish Workers' and Journeymen's Welfare Office, which performed the functions of a Jewish consulate, more or less, in those days.<sup>15</sup> It was an independent body, supported by the synagogue community yet independent of it. Its head had been arrested at the end of July by the Gestapo, for an unknown reason. No one could be found who was willing to take over his position! So I jumped in. A few days later he came back, but there was more than enough work for both of us.

Our main task was processing the Buchenwald cases. We had to conduct the negotiations with Jewish and state offices that relatives of the arrested men were unable to conduct. Every day a large number of women came to our office whom we at least had to comfort, in order to see them through their tribulations. In many cases that also included procuring money for essentials and sending to Buchenwald the money for the trip home.

The finest reward for us was seeing one after another of our charges return from Buchenwald. From these returnees, of course, we also learned *a lot* about conditions in the concentration camp.

Not only the negotiations with the police and Gestapo but also those with the Relief Association of German Jews were difficult. As soon as confirmation came from the latter office that preparation for emigration had reached a certain point, the prisoner was released, in most cases. But the Relief Association's capabilities were less than the number of interested parties. We had to make sure that at least our charges were not put at a disadvantage. The people in authority at the Relief Association also had reservations about issuing such confirmations unless their contents fully corresponded to reality, because they feared serious trouble if the returnees failed to leave Germany within the

14 Konrad Henlein (1898–1945), teacher; founded the Sudeten German Homeland Front, 1933; joined the SS in 1938; Reich commissioner for the Sudeten German territories, 1938–1939; Gauleiter from 1938; Reichsstatthalter in the Sudetenland from 1939; joined the NSDAP in 1939; chief of the civil administration in Bohemia; Reich defence commissioner in the Sudetenland, 1942–1945; SS-Obergruppenführer, 1943; took his own life in an internment camp.

15 The Jewish Workers' and Journeymen's Welfare Office (Jüdische Arbeiter- und Wanderfürsorge) was an independent department of the Central Welfare Board of German Jews (Zentralwohlfahrtstelle der deutschen Juden), founded in 1917. From 1933 it dealt primarily with the repatriation of non-German Jews to their countries of origin.

promised time. We, on the other hand, pushed to get the people for whose lives we felt responsible out of the hell of Buchenwald as quickly as possible, no matter how. During repeated meetings with the gentlemen in Berlin, there were altercations over that, not always pleasant ones. Subsequently it became apparent that the state agencies were accommodating and granted an extension of the deadline even if our charges did not emigrate as soon as we had promised. The main thing was to make vigorous efforts to demonstrate the intention to emigrate.

We also had to process the increasingly numerous cases of expulsions of stateless Jews, whose placement was usually a virtually unresolvable problem.<sup>16</sup> In allocating the few opportunities for emigration, priority had to be given to the inmates of Buchenwald. Usually we could not win round the central Jewish agencies until such an unfortunate stateless person had been arrested by the police after repeated threats.

This category also included the Jews who were still Polish subjects and likewise, one after another, received expulsion orders.<sup>17</sup> While they had previously been allowed to share in the opportunities to emigrate to Palestine and overseas, they now had to be advised to return to Poland, although some of them, born in Germany, did not know a single word of Polish. They were not happy with our suggestions, and here too we had to overcome a great deal of resistance.

Naturally the Polish government learned of this and enacted a law in late October 1938, under which, as of 20 October 1938, all Polish subjects residing outside Poland lost this status. Germany's response was the Polish Operation on 27 and 28 October 1938.<sup>18</sup> Jews who were Polish nationals were dragged from their homes, picked up on the street and transported in special trains to Poland. The first few trains were allowed to enter. Later, however, the Polish government took countermeasures and no longer allowed the trains carrying Jews to cross the border. Individuals, too, were prevented by armed force from crossing the border. The German authorities gave in and allowed the Polish Jews to re-enter Germany undisturbed. Dreadful tragedies took place, and many families were torn apart. Parents did not know what had become of their children, and the Jewish community had to provide for children who had become homeless.

On 3 November 1938 I represented the defendants in my last criminal case before a German court. The case had to do with a Polish Jewish couple who had not complied with the expulsion order they received and were now to be punished for so-called contraband traffic. Only the wife was present at the hearing, because the husband had meanwhile been forcibly deported. On the basis of my extremely detailed knowledge of the case, I gave the court an account of the facts which had only been reported sketchily in the newspapers.

16 Stateless persons could not be expelled to other countries legally, because no country was willing to accept them. If they were expelled, going underground was usually the only alternative to imprisonment that was left open to them.

17 In March 1938 the Polish government had passed a law making it possible to revoke the citizenship of those citizens who had lived abroad for an uninterrupted five years or more. In this way the government sought to stop Jews of Polish nationality from emigrating en masse from Austria to Poland after the Anschluss. To prevent them from staying permanently in the German Reich, the Reich Minister of the Interior had decided in May 1938 not to extend the residence permits of Polish Jews: Eliahu Ben Elissar, *La diplomatie du IIIe Reich et les Juifs (1933-1939)* (Paris: Julliard, 1969), p. 305.

18 The reference is to the expulsion of Polish Jews in October 1938. See Introduction, p. 53, as well as Doc. 112, 28 Oct. 1938, Doc. 113, 28 Oct. 1938, and Doc. 118, Oct. 1938.

I was also able to point out that negotiations between the German and the Polish governments were pending with the purpose of sorting out this impossible state of affairs.<sup>19</sup> When I had finished, the judge could not refrain from saying, 'It is indeed quite a dreadful tragedy.' The public prosecutor rose and requested that the proceedings be suspended for now, in view of the expert information provided by the counsel for the defence, the accuracy of which he did not dispute in the least, and the court assented.

At that time, as noted, the regulation had already appeared on 17 October 1938, providing that the licences of all Jewish lawyers were to be revoked by 30 November. In *Deutsche Justiz*, the official organ of the Ministry of Justice, a lengthy regulation concerning the licensing of Jewish legal consultants in very small numbers had appeared on 21 October.<sup>20</sup> The same publication contained an editorial in the form of an article by Reichsleiter Buch,<sup>21</sup> the top Party judge of the NSDAP, that stated, among other things:

The National Socialist has recognized that the Jew is not a human being. He is a phenomenon of putrefaction. Just as a bacterium lodges itself in rotting wood and destroys its tissue, the Jew was able to insinuate himself into the German people and make mischief only after, weakened by the loss of blood in the Thirty Years War, it began to rot from within and had eagerly exposed its festering sores to the influences of the French Revolution.<sup>22</sup>

Please note that something of this kind appeared not, for example, in the *Stürmer*, but rather in the official organ of the German judiciary, which was edited by Dr Franz Gürtner and was required reading for all German judges and public prosecutors. It is a sign of the correctness and fairness of the German judge, which I have always emphasized, that the Jewish defence counsel of a Jew, a foreign Jew at that, was still responded to in the manner outlined above on 3 November 1938. [...] <sup>23</sup>

19 In the German–Polish negotiations, which began in early Nov. 1938 but were interrupted for several weeks after the November pogroms, both sides came to an understanding that Germany was to permit the temporary return of the people who had been expelled, as well as the export of their furniture, work tools, and personal belongings to Poland. The proceeds from the sale of their remaining possessions were to be paid into a blocked account. The Polish government pledged to accept the wives of the expelled Jews and their children, up to the age of 18. A corresponding agreement was signed in Berlin on 24 Jan. 1939: Jerzy Tomaszewski, *Auftakt zur Vernichtung: Die Vertreibung polnischer Juden aus Deutschland im Jahre 1938*, trans. from Polish by Victoria Pollmann (Osnabrück: fibre, 2002).

20 Licensing as a consultant was subject to withdrawal. The place of establishment was assigned by the Reich Ministry of Justice and could not be left for longer than one week without authorization: 'VO vom 17.10.1938', *Deutsche Justiz: Rechtspflege und Rechtspolitik*, vol. 100 (1938), issue A, no. 42, pp. 1666–1671.

21 Walter Buch (1883–1949), officer; joined the NSDAP in 1922, the SA in 1923, and the SS in 1933; took part in the Beer Hall Putsch in 1923; from 1928 Reichstag member; from 1933 expert on population and race policy in the Reich Ministry of the Interior; from 1934 supreme Party judge of the NSDAP and SS-Obergruppenführer on the staff of the Reichsführer SS; interned in 1945; sentenced in 1949 to confiscation of property and 3½ years in prison, and released on the day of sentencing; took his own life.

22 Walter Buch, 'Des nationalsozialistischen Menschen Ehre und Ehrenschatz', *Deutsche Justiz: Rechtspflege und Rechtspolitik*, vol. 100 (1938), issue A, no. 42, pp. 1657–1664, here p. 1660.

23 In the following part of the account of his life, the author describes events including his arrest during the November pogroms and his emigration to Palestine.

## DOC. 121

**On 7 November 1938 Ruth Maier describes the anxiety of the Viennese Jews following the assassination attempt on Ernst vom Rath<sup>1</sup>**

Handwritten diary of Ruth Maier, entry for 7 November 1938<sup>2</sup>

A little 17-year-old émigré has made an attempt on the life of a German legation counselor.<sup>3</sup> He is a Polish Jew. My God!

There is gloom again, the air thick and full of sadness. The Jews creep along the walls like hunted animals. Things are lifeless now. *Nobody*, not a single Jew, leaves the house. We are all afraid that they will beat us because a Polish Jew wanted to kill a German.

## DOC. 122

**On 8 November 1938 the Nuremberg Gestapo has Adolf Hitler informed about the number of deported Jews of Polish nationality<sup>1</sup>**

Teletype message from the Nuremberg-Fürth State Police Office (ES-Nr., 47 651, from Nuremberg no. 18 714, 1347), signed p.p. Dr Heigl,<sup>2</sup> to the inspector of the Security Police or his official representative, Munich, dated 8 November 1938 (copy to the Reich Security Service<sup>3</sup>)

*Urgent. Urgent. Submit at once.*

Re: deportation of Polish Jews from Germany.

The Führer, on the occasion of his stay in Nuremberg, inquired this morning as to the number of Polish Jews deported from Germany, both overall and for Nuremberg. Owing to his departure, there was no longer time to inform him of the number, which was requested by urgent telex from the Reichsführer SS and Chief of the German Police.<sup>4</sup> I therefore venture to request that he be informed on the occasion of his presence in Munich that, during the period 26–29 October 1938, 17,000 Polish Jews were deported to Poland from the territory of the Reich. From Nuremberg-Fürth, 284 Polish Jews were taken to Poland and have remained there to date. Another 116, who were also to be deported, have since been brought back to Nuremberg.

1 HL-Senteret, Oslo; English translation in *Ruth Maier's Diary*, p. 102. This document has been retranslated from the original German.

2 In Ruth Maier's diary, the date of the entry is incorrectly given as 5 Nov. 1938.

3 Ernst Eduard vom Rath (1909–1938), diplomat; joined the NSDAP in 1932; from 1934 attaché in the Reich Foreign Office in Bucharest, Paris, and Calcutta; from July 1938 legation secretary at the German embassy in Paris.

1 BArch, R 58/6678. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Otto Heigl (1905–1994), lawyer; until 1934 with the government of Upper Franconia and Central Franconia; from 1934 Regierungsrat in the Bavarian Ministry of the Interior; joined the NSDAP in 1935; in 1938 worked at the Gestapo in Nuremberg-Fürth; in 1939 transferred to the government in Carlsbad and to police headquarters in Klagenfurt; from 1940 head of the State Police Administration of the industrial conglomerate Hermann Göring Works.

3 This force, founded on 15 March 1933 as the Führer Protection Command and renamed the Reich Security Service (Reichssicherheitsdienst) on 1 August 1935, was responsible for the personal security of Adolf Hitler.

4 Heinrich Himmler.

## DOC. 123

**Gerda Kappes tells her mother-in-law about the pogroms in Bebra  
on 7 and 9 November 1938<sup>1</sup>**

Handwritten letter from Gerda Kappes<sup>2</sup> to Clara Kappes,<sup>3</sup> dated 11 November 1938

Dear Mother,

Thank you very much indeed for your dear, long letter; we really enjoyed it and also were glad to hear that you are all doing well. We are physically fit again too. I'm so glad that my illness is a thing of the past, thanks to the heat-therapy lamp, and besides, in these last few days physical suffering would have been an additional burden. You've surely been wondering why we haven't written to you before now. We would have written much sooner, too, but we wanted to calm down first, so that our account of the latest occurrence is not so drastic and we don't give you such a scare. There have been major persecutions of Jews here on account of the assassination of Legation Counsellor vom Rath. On Monday night<sup>4</sup> various Party fanatics forced their way into the homes of Jews, pulled the Jews out of bed, and smashed everything to pieces. All the furniture was knocked over, porcelain, glass, windowpanes, in general everything within reach overturned and smashed. Curtains torn down, fabrics and also, to some extent, foodstuffs sent flying, electric lamps and bulbs, even the electricity cables destroyed, and in the Emanuels<sup>5</sup> home the built-in washbasins, bathtub, and even the Mettlach<sup>6</sup> tiles were ruined. All night long we heard the din and the sound of breaking glass, but thought only that there must have been a serious car accident.

We didn't sleep all night, but in the darkness, even in the street, all we could see was a big crowd of people; I think half the residents of Bebra were astir that night. The next morning, Lisbeth told us what had happened. We immediately went to your apartment<sup>7</sup> to see whether all was still in order. We found your flat in tip-top shape, even our cubby-hole for sausages, your WC, and your cellar rooms were unharmed, everything else was in a shambles. The Jew Emanuel was standing amid the ruins, not a single window bar left in the house, not a door, even the heavy front door made of oak is no longer in place; a picture of horror and great misery. Then in the afternoon all the Jews left, really they had to, because they had no place to stay, not even a bed was still in one piece. The next

1 In the private possession of Hans H. Kappes; excerpts published at: [http://www.hassia-judaica.de/Orte/Bebra/Vor\\_aller\\_Augen\\_1933\\_bis\\_1942/index.html#seite18b.html](http://www.hassia-judaica.de/Orte/Bebra/Vor_aller_Augen_1933_bis_1942/index.html#seite18b.html) [last accessed on 11 April 2018]. This document has been translated from German.

2 Gerda Kappes, née Wenderoth (1906–1987), housewife; in 1934 married the lawyer Werner Kappes (1899–1979); in 1940 conscripted to work for Bebrit, which produced plastic articles.

3 Clara Kappes, née Lips (b. 1870), housewife; from 1892 to 1934 married to the pastor Adolph Kappes; at the time of the pogrom Clara Kappes was staying with her daughter in Kiel.

4 The night of 7 Nov. and early morning of 8 Nov. 1938.

5 Manfred Emanuel (1892–1942), retailer; owner of a manufactured goods distributor in Bebra. In 1939 he moved to Aachen with his wife, Martha Emanuel, née Oppenheim (b. 1893); he died in Majdanek concentration camp.

6 Ceramic floor tiles named after the German city of Mettlach.

7 Clara Kappes lived on the second floor of the house belonging to Manfred Emanuel at 7 Hersfelder Straße. Gerda Kappes and her husband lived about 300 m away, at 49 Nürnberger Straße.

night was quiet. Then, Wednesday night, it started again, because Mr vom Rath had died on Wednesday, of course. The second wave was a way of taking revenge. Again, we heard a terrible racket and again did not sleep at all, because axe blows sound so very scary at night. This time, all the furniture, in fact every single item, was removed from the Jews' homes and piled up and burned on Adolf-Hitler-Platz. Silver, jewellery, the large amount of stored goods, and the incredibly large amounts of hoarded foodstuffs and money too, were, naturally, confiscated and secured by the police. Our apples, too, have been in the hands of the NSV<sup>8</sup> in the meantime, but we brought them back today, that is, it had not been done on purpose. In these past few days I have run back and forth a good deal between our place and down there, to prevent your provisions from being taken away too, out of ignorance. Werner had much to do and thus could not look after such things. But Mr Ellenberg,<sup>9</sup> the SS officer, asked me about everything that was yours, and Rex,<sup>10</sup> too, was here to look around, because under no circumstances are you to lose anything; I was assured of that by all the people in leading positions, and a very careful approach is being taken there. Because everything is open, there was a guard down there again last night. Today we were down there a couple of times again, and in the Jews' apartment nothing is left but 2 cm pieces of broken glass. Now one can really understand what Schiller says in [the Song of] the Bell: 'empty window-holes are staring, horror-haunted'. The attic is still in relatively good shape, but that is due solely to the fact that no one knew for certain whether you might have rooms up there too. Now that we have cleared up this doubt, the things up there will probably be taken away too.

The warehouse is long since gone; Emanuel is said to have had things, only fabrics, valued at 50,000 marks; in addition they found foreign currency in substantial amounts in all the Jews' homes, also a disgrace, and a lot of money. The accounting records have all been secured. In this year, thus far, Emanuel is said to have had sales of 76,000 marks, can one believe such a thing? We know this from someone who is well informed about it, who naturally was also present at the time. The Emanuels' food provisions were displayed too; they were also quite a sight to see and very characteristic of these fearful people, who probably were afraid they would have to starve to death. Just think, 120 tins of food, endless numbers of jars with the finest poultry, goose, dove, chicken, etc., 200 eggs, 25 kilos of butter, 25 kilos of margarine, great stoneware crocks full of beef dripping, unknown quantities of Palmin,<sup>11</sup> 20 litres of salad oil, probably four clothes baskets full of apples, a great deal of jam, jelly, etc., I can't even list it all. Mr Ellenberg showed me everything; I had never seen such provisions, and to hoard food when there is such a fat shortage, and half of it surely would have gone off besides, all this was an absolute disgrace. The others had all stocked up well, but this was the largest hoard. All these things were taken by the NSV for its own uses, and they are to be distributed by the quickest means possible.

The city has so much to do now. All day long today, stores of goods and pantries have been cleared away; I hardly think they are through yet, because all the Jews have very large stocks of fabrics and household linens, which no one really knew about. Now the

8 Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt: National Socialist People's Welfare Organization.

9 Correctly: Fritz Ellenberger (b. 1878), tailor and pool attendant; joined the NSDAP in 1929; became SS-Untersturmführer in 1934 and SS-Obersturmführer in 1938.

10 Head of the Bebra police station.

11 A brand of solidified coconut fat.

Jews are finally gone, and what will become of the houses, nobody knows. You can at least go up the stairway at your place, in the other buildings even the staircases are gone, all of them probably just managed to temporarily escape with their lives, nobody knows where they have all gone; it is suspected that they are all in a concentration camp until a definitive solution has been found. Various Jewish women have gone insane; young Mrs Levi slit her wrists.<sup>12</sup> I saw only the Emanuels' former flat, but all the others are ravaged in the same way; the synagogue too is a pile of rubble, of course, the prayer books are flying around in the street.

I now spend much of my time in your apartment, because all the people are running around in the building; there is a great hustle and bustle from the attic to the cellar; the building has never seen so many people. That is why we brought all your silver back with us today, and the family pictures, some of the good household linens, the beautiful platter on the chest, your cash account and insurance books, and all the bacon and sausage. Then I closed the WC window and pantry window and locked the WC. All your keys are up here with us too. We just couldn't bring any more here right now because I don't know where I'd put it. We thought these are the most important things to begin with, because they can no longer be replaced. Mr Röse from the restaurant next door wants to buy the building; he asked us for the Emanuels' address, which we of course do not have. Now, I hope, Werner will sell the rest of the Jews' houses,<sup>13</sup> because they no longer have any say in the matter, since the others have been sold mostly in Rotenburg at the prodding of the Jews, which has always annoyed me so much. You can thank God that you were not here, as you might have had a heart attack; the neighbours assured us that there was a dreadful *din*. Mrs N. is completely wiped out, and tears run down her face whenever one speaks to her. You must not come back yet either; even Mr Rex, doubtlessly a tough man who has already experienced quite a lot, as he has assured us, says that you must not return now under any circumstances. Everyone stopped me right after the first night and asked after you; most of them knew that you were away. Miss G. and Mrs N. wanted to ring us the first night, but then decided not to because you had told them that you planned to go on a trip, and we could not have done anything anyway, of course. And in fact, nothing happened to all your things and food provisions. The apples were taken only because they were in the front part of the cellar; they did not come until Monday afternoon, and everything happened the following night. They still haven't been unpacked; I don't know whether I should leave them down there, as everything is so precarious. The next two days we were unable to go into the building, as the police had boarded everything up with thick boards; now it is all open. Minna does not need to mop the stairs again any time soon; everything is white all the way to the top with flour that was trampled on, a dreadful mess inside and out. Even the trellises where the pretty blue flowers were entwined were not spared, and the stone pillars were knocked over, all the grating and the garage torn open, the car upended and smashed to pieces, also a big heap of rubble. Now you can get

<sup>12</sup> Martha Levi, née Frank (b. 1902). She was raped by an SA man on the night of the pogrom; her husband, Leopold Levi (b. 1897), was deported to Buchenwald concentration camp. In the spring of 1939 the couple moved to Mannheim and from there were deported to the French internment camp at Gurs on 20 Oct. 1940 and to Auschwitz in August 1942. Neither husband nor wife survived.

<sup>13</sup> Gerda Kappes hoped that her husband, as a lawyer, would be retained to help with the sale of the houses belonging to the Bebra Jews who had fled.

a rough picture of what it looks like, but you won't completely take it in until you have seen it. I hope everything will soon be in order again; it is estimated that it will take 3,000 marks to rebuild everything in the Emanuels' home alone. According to a cautious estimate, assets worth around 30,000 marks were burned. Now you also know why we are so glad and grateful that you are there in Kiel; this is certainly the hand of divine providence. I want to stop now, I'm all flushed, it is all still so upsetting, I could write a book. My mother was here visiting me on Wednesday; the same thing happened in Rotenburg – my father<sup>14</sup> is quite beside himself, she told me, otherwise he would have come with her. Give my regards to the Stange family with sweet little Gerd; how I'd love to see him again. Warmest regards to you, and don't get into a fret, because everything is all right in your apartment, no reason at all to get upset.

Most affectionately yours,

Gerda

Please save the letter and confirm its arrival soon.<sup>15</sup>

#### DOC. 124

### Joseph Goebbels's diary entries concerning the evening of 9 November 1938 and the instructions for the November pogroms<sup>1</sup>

Diary of Joseph Goebbels, entry for 10 November 1938

10 November 1938. (Thurs.)

Yesterday: the traditional march from the Bürgerbräu[keller] to the Feldherrnhalle and then to the Königlicher Platz.<sup>2</sup> It is a grey November day. Vast crowds of people line the streets. At the Königlicher Platz, the great remembrance ceremony. Very dignified and impressive.

Lengthy talk with Ley.<sup>3</sup> He is a good chap. He too gets fed up at times and longs for peace and quiet. He greatly bemoans the fact that he so rarely rubs shoulders with the Führer.

Lutze<sup>4</sup> complains mightily about the SS. Not altogether unjustly, but partly out of professional envy, too. Himmler has certainly got all sorts of things going.

14 Friedrich Wenderoth (1867–1939), lawyer; district court judge in Rotenburg an der Fulda, 7 km away; married to Clara Wenderoth, née Gundlach (1879–1966).

15 The last sentence was added by Werner Kappes, who in addition wrote his mother a short letter, not reproduced here, in which he confirmed the account given by his wife.

1 RGVA, Goebbels papers, fond 1477, published in *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels*, ed. Elke Fröhlich, part 1: *Aufzeichnungen 1923–1941*, vol. 6: *Aug. 1938–Juni 1939* (Munich: Saur, 1998), pp. 179–181. This document has been translated from German.

2 The NSDAP organized annual remembrance ceremonies and cavalcades to commemorate those killed during the Beer Hall Putsch on 9 Nov. 1923. The attempted coup had been crushed by the police at the Feldherrnhalle in Munich.

3 Dr Robert Ley (1890–1945), chemist; worked from 1921 to 1927 at Bayer and for IG Farben; joined the NSDAP and the SA in 1925; NSDAP Gauleiter for Rhineland-South, 1925–1931; several jail terms and fines for antisemitic agitation; from 1933 Reichsleiter of the German Labour Front; in 1945 a defendant at the Nuremberg Trials; took his own life.

At the hotel, work: the development of radio and wire broadcasting should now begin in earnest. I now demand precise deadlines.

The theatres in the Sudetengau are calling for large subsidies. I grant them straight away, so that they can start performing again to some extent.

Now, in contrast to earlier times, too many people are concerning themselves with the press.

That does no good either. I order a little corrective action to be taken.

The diplomat Rath in Paris who was shot by the Jew is still in a very serious condition. The German press is really going to town.

The speech of the Führer in the Bürgerbräu evokes quite a strong response at home and abroad.

Helldorff orders the Jews in Berlin to be disarmed completely.<sup>5</sup> They will surely be in for quite a few other things as well.

Moscow proclaims world revolution once again. Under the great and wise World Marshal Stalin. But all that rings so hollow. Moscow forfeited all its prestige in the Czech crisis.<sup>6</sup> That can no longer be made good with rhetoric.

Spent the afternoon working on my new book.<sup>7</sup> I'm really enjoying it now.

Dietrich<sup>8</sup> grumbled about the article by Berndt,<sup>9</sup> which was written at my behest. But [he grumbled] more about Berndt. Good that Berndt is going to a new department.

In Kassel and Dessau, large demonstrations against the Jews, synagogues set ablaze, and shops demolished. In the afternoon, the death of the German diplomat vom Rath is reported. Now it's a fait accompli, however.

I go to the Party reception in the Old Town Hall. Huge amount going on. I brief the Führer on the matter. He decides: let the demonstrations continue. Pull back the police. Let the Jews feel the anger of the people for once. That is right. I immediately give corresponding instructions to the police and Party. Then I briefly address the Party leaders

4 Viktor Lutze (1890–1943), retailer; joined the NSDAP in 1922 and the SA in 1923; from 1928 SA-Oberführer for the Ruhr and deputy Gauleiter for the Ruhr; from 1933 chief of police in Hanover and Oberpräsident of Hanover; from 1934 successor to the murdered Ernst Röhm as SA chief of staff; died in a car crash.

5 Correctly: Helldorf. On the occasion of the assassination attempt on vom Rath, the Berlin chief of police announced the results of gun control measures affecting the Jewish population of Berlin that had been introduced during the weeks previously: *Westfälische Landeszeitung: Rote Erde*, 9 Nov. 1938. See Doc. 141, 11 Nov. 1938.

6 The Soviet government had pledged its support to Czechoslovakia in the conflict over the Sudeten region, but ultimately it failed to intervene.

7 Probably Joseph Goebbels, *Wetterleuchten: Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit*, ed. Georg-Wilhelm Müller (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1939).

8 Dr Otto Dietrich (1897–1952), journalist and politician; joined the NSDAP in 1929 and the SS in 1932; Reich press chief of the NSDAP, 1931–1945; from 1934 vice president of the Reich Press Chamber; from 1938 press chief of the Reich government and state secretary in the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda; in 1949 sentenced in the ministries trial in Nuremberg to seven years in prison; released in 1950.

9 Alfred-Ingemar Berndt (1905–1945), journalist; joined the NSDAP in 1923, the SA in 1924, and the SS in 1934; from 1933 adjutant of Reich Press Chief Otto Dietrich; head of the Press Department in the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda from 1936, of the Literature Department from 1938, of the Radio Broadcasting Department from 1939, and of the Propaganda Department from 1941; from 1943 on Rommel's staff with the Africa Corps; presumed killed in an air raid.

along the same lines. Vigorous applause. Everybody dashes to the telephones right away. Now the people will take action.

A few half-hearted men falter. But I keep yanking everybody up again. We must not let this cowardly murder go unanswered. Let things take their course for once. The Hitler Shock Troop gets going right away in order to clean up Munich. That happens, too, straight away. A synagogue is smashed to bits. I try to save it from being set on fire. But that fails.<sup>10</sup>

Meanwhile I talk with Schwarz<sup>11</sup> about financial matters. With Streicher about the Jewish question. With Ribbentrop about foreign policy. He too is of the view that one can now pocket Czechoslovakia without resorting to violence. But one must go about it adroitly. Chvalkovski<sup>12</sup> is willing. Whether the others are, too, is not yet known.

With Wagner to the Gau.<sup>13</sup> In addition, I put out a concise circular letter stating what is permitted and what is not.<sup>14</sup> Wagner gets cold feet and fears for his Jewish shops. But I am not deterred. Meanwhile the Shock Troop does its work. And it makes a good job of it at that. I instruct Wächter<sup>15</sup> in Berlin to have the synagogue on Fasanenstraße smashed to pieces. He just keeps saying: 'Honourable assignment.'

SS swearing-in ceremony in front of the Feldherrnhalle. At midnight. Very solemn and impressive. The Führer speaks to the men. Tugging at the heartstrings.

I want to go to the hotel, then I see blood red in the sky. The synagogue is burning. Straight away to the Gau. Nobody knows anything there yet. We order the fire to be extinguished only to the extent necessary for the surrounding buildings. Otherwise, let it burn to the ground. The Shock Troop does tremendous work. Now the reports come in from all over the Reich: 50, then 7[5], synagogues are burning. The Führer has ordered that 2[5,000]–30,000 Jews must be arrested immediately. That will go down well. They are meant to see that our patience is now spent.

Wagner is still somewhat lukewarm. But I stick to my guns. Wächter reports to me that the order has been carried out. We go with Schaub<sup>16</sup> to the Artists' Club to wait for further reports. In Berlin, 5, then 15, synagogues burn down. Now the people's anger is raging. For tonight, nothing more can be done against it. And I do not intend do anything, either. Let things play out.

10 The synagogue of the Eastern Jewish congregation Linath Hazedek Agudas Achim on Reichenbachstraße and the synagogue of the Ohel Jakob congregation on Herzog-Rudolf-Straße in Munich were destroyed during the night of the pogroms on 9/10 Nov. 1938.

11 Probably Franz Xaver Schwarz (1875–1947), local public official; joined the NSDAP in 1922; from 1925, Reich treasurer of the NSDAP; from 1935, as a Reichsleiter, directly responsible to Hitler; in 1943 SS-Obergruppenführer; died in 1947 in the Regensburg internment camp.

12 Correctly: František Chvalkovský (1885–1945), lawyer and diplomat; worked as a lawyer, 1908–1914; from 1920 in the Czech diplomatic service; envoy in Tokyo and Washington and from 1927 to 1932 in Berlin; minister of foreign affairs, 1938–1939; envoy of the protectorate in Berlin, June 1939–1945; died in a bombing raid in Berlin.

13 Adolf Wagner (1890–1944), mining director and publisher; joined the NSDAP in 1922; in 1923 took part in the Beer Hall Putsch; from 1929 Gauleiter of Munich-Upper Bavaria; from 1933 Bavarian minister of the interior and deputy governor; from 1942 no longer executed duties on account of ill health.

14 The Reich Propaganda Leadership sent telexes to the Gau propaganda leaders at 0:30 and 1:40. Their content has not survived, but they presumably called for antisemitic attacks: Wolf-Arno Kropat, 'Reichskristallnacht'. *Der Judenpogrom vom 7. bis 10. November 1938. Urheber, Täter, Hintergründe* (Wiesbaden: Kommission für die Geschichte der Juden in Hessen, 1997), p. 113.

Schaub has really got going. His old Shock Troop past is revived.

When I drive to the hotel, the windowpanes rattle. Bravo! Bravo! In all the big cities, the synagogues are burning. German property is not endangered.

At the moment, nothing specific can be done any more. I try to get a few hours' sleep.

Early in the morning the first reports come in. There was tremendous rampaging, as was to be expected. The entire nation is in uproar. This dead man will cost the Jews dear. The beloved Jews will think twice in future before simply shooting down German diplomats.

And that was the whole point of the exercise.

I still have all sorts of work to do. Jannings wants to save his film by force.<sup>17</sup> But I can't help him either.

The number of radio listeners has risen to more than 10 million. A fantastic result, which is quite gratifying.

I direct that prohibitions within the entire ministry may be declared only by me. Otherwise too much nonsense takes place.

There is a desire to hold commemorative events and write eulogies on the occasion of the 80th birthday of the Kaiser. I would be in agreement with that if the side that opposes the Kaiser could also have an equal chance to speak. But the reactionaries flinch at the thought of that.

In the elections in America, friends of Roosevelt [are] beaten in many cases. Heavy gains by the Republicans. But that says nothing yet against Roosevelt himself.<sup>18</sup>

London abandons the partition of Palestine.<sup>19</sup> Nonetheless, the English will not succeed with that.

Speech by the Führer in the Bürgerbräu meets with a very aggressive response in London and Paris.<sup>20</sup> That was indeed to be expected. When one gives warmongers a rap on the knuckles, they shout out.

15 Werner Wächter (b. 1902), travelling salesman; joined the NSDAP in 1922; from 1932 NSDAP Kreisleiter in Berlin; head of the regional office in District II (Berlin) for the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, 1935–1945; from 1937 in the Reich Propaganda Office in Berlin; head of the Propaganda Staff of the Reich Propaganda Leadership, 1942–1945; SA-Brigadeführer, 1944; arrested by the Soviets, 1945; probably executed in 1946.

16 Julius Schaub (1898–1967), non-dispensing pharmacist; joined the NSDAP in 1920; co-founder of the SS; took part in the Beer Hall Putsch in 1923; from 1933 Hitler's personal adjutant; after 1945 non-dispensing pharmacist in Munich.

17 Emil Janenz, stage name Jannings (1884–1950), actor; after successes in German silent films, worked in Hollywood from 1926 to 1929; won an Oscar in 1928; appeared in films such as *Der Herrscher* (1937) and *Ohm Krüger* (1941); was awarded the Goethe Medal in 1939; after 1945 banned from performing. Presumably the reference here is to the filming of Hans Fallada's novel *Der eiserne Gustav*, on which Jannings worked for a long while, but without completing it.

18 In the 1938 congressional elections in the USA, the Republicans won 72 seats; the Democrats nevertheless retained the majority. Consequently, Roosevelt toned down his New Deal policy.

19 The Woodhead Commission appointed by the British government published a report on 9 Nov. 1938, opposing the partition of Palestine and favouring a drastic reduction of immigration.

20 *Le Figaro*, making reference to Hitler's speech on 9 Nov. 1938, wrote that the Reich was simply waiting for the most propitious moment to demand the return of the German colonies: 'L'Allemagne et les territoires sous mandat', *Le Figaro*, 9 Nov. 1938, p. 3. *The Times*, on 9 and 10 Nov. 1938, had reported on Hitler's warmongering, his attacks on Churchill, and his conjecture that Britain could become Germany's enemy if a change of government took place: 'Herr Hitler on Democracy', *The Times*, 9 Nov. 1938, p. 14; 'Future German Policy', *The Times*, 10 Nov. 1938, p. 16.

New reports rain down all morning long.  
 I deliberate our present measures with the Führer.  
 Let the violent actions continue or stop them?  
 That is now the question.

## DOC. 125

**Directives of the Gestapo Central Office for the pogrom, 9 November 1938, 23:55 p.m.<sup>1</sup>**

Telex (marked 'secret') from the Gestapo Central Office (no. 234 404 9 November 23:55), signed Gestapo Central Office II Mueller, Berlin, to all State Police offices and regional headquarters, dated 9 November 1938

This telex must be presented immediately by the quickest possible means.

1. Very shortly, all over Germany, actions against Jews, particularly against their synagogues, will take place. These actions are not to be interfered with. However, in consultation with the Order Police, it is to be ensured that looting and other specific excesses can be prevented.

2. If important archival material is located in synagogues, it is to be secured by taking immediate action.

3. Preparations are to be made for the arrest of approximately 20[,000]–30,000 Jews in the Reich. Above all, wealthy Jews are to be selected. More detailed instructions will be issued in the course of this night.

4. Should Jews be found in possession of firearms during the impending actions, the most severe measures are to be taken. SS Dispositional Troops<sup>2</sup> as well as the General SS may be enlisted in all actions. The command and control of the actions is to be ensured by the State Police on all accounts, by means of appropriate measures.

Addendum for Cologne State Police:

There is material of particular importance in the Cologne synagogue. This material is to be secured immediately, by the quickest possible means, in consultation with the SD.<sup>3</sup>

Gestapo Central Office II Mueller

This telex is *secret*.

1 Copy in IfZ-Archives (Nuremberg Document 374-PS), published in *Der Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem Internationalen Militärgerichtshof Nürnberg, 14. November 1945 – 1. Oktober 1946*, vol. 25 (Nuremberg: Sekretariat des Gerichtshofs, 1948), pp. 377–378. This document has been translated from German.

2 Armed SS regiments, precursor to the Waffen-SS.

3 The archives of the synagogue congregation in Cologne have been missing since the night of the pogrom.

## DOC. 126

**At 1:20 a.m. on 10 November 1938, Reinhard Heydrich specifies the instructions from the Gestapo Central Office for the pogrom<sup>1</sup>**

Express telex (marked 'secret. Urgent! Present immediately to the head or his deputy!') from the Chief of the Security Police (Munich 47 767 10 November 1938, 1:20 a.m.), signed Heydrich, to all State Police regional offices and State Police offices and all SD main districts and sub-districts, dated 10 November 1938 (copy)

*Re: measures against Jews tonight.*

On account of the assassination attempt on Legation Secretary vom *Rath* in Paris, demonstrations against the Jews are to be expected throughout the Reich in the course of this night – 9 November to 10 November 1938. The following directives are issued for dealing with these events:

1. The heads of the State Police offices or their deputies must, upon receipt of this telex, immediately contact by telephone the political leadership – Gauleitung or Kreisleitung – in charge of their district and arrange a discussion about the conduct of the demonstrations, with the appropriate inspector or commander of the Order Police to be included. In this discussion, the political leadership is to be informed that the German Police have received the following instructions from the Reichsführer SS and Chief of the German Police, to which the measures of the political leaderships should be adjusted accordingly:

(a) Only such measures may be taken as involve no danger to German lives or property (for example, synagogue fires only if there is no risk of fire spreading to the surrounding area).

(b) Businesses and residences of Jews may be only destroyed, not looted. The police are instructed to supervise the execution of this directive and to arrest looters.

(c) In shopping streets, special care must be taken to ensure that, without fail, non-Jewish shops are protected against damage.

(d) Foreign nationals – even if they are Jews – may not be harassed.

2. Provided that the guidelines listed under (1) are followed, the demonstrations that take place are not to be prevented by the police; the police are only to monitor them in order to ensure compliance with the guidelines.

3. Immediately upon receipt of this telex, the archival material located in all synagogues and business premises of the Jewish religious communities is to be seized by the police to prevent its destruction in the course of the demonstrations. Here it is a question of the historically valuable material, not more recent tax lists, etc. The archival material is to be delivered to the appropriate SD offices.

<sup>1</sup> Copy in IfZ-Archives (Nuremberg Document 3051-PS), published in *Der Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem Internationalen Militärgerichtshof Nürnberg, 14. November 1945–1. Oktober 1946*, vol. 31 (Nuremberg: Sekretariat des Gerichtshofs, 1948), pp. 516–518. This document has been translated from German.

4. The conduct of the Security Police measures with regard to the demonstrations against Jews rests with the State Police offices, unless the inspectors of the Security Police issue instructions. Officials of the Criminal Police and members of the SD, the Dispositional Troops, and the General SS can be called upon for carrying out the Security Police measures.

5. As soon as the course of events on this night permits the use of the deployed officials for this purpose, in every district as many Jews – wealthy ones in particular – are to be arrested as may be accommodated in the available detention facilities. To begin with, only healthy male Jews who are not too advanced in years are to be arrested. After completion of the arrests, the appropriate concentration camps are to be contacted without delay regarding the speediest possible placement of the Jews in the camps. Special care must be taken to ensure that the Jews arrested on the basis of this directive are not mistreated.

6. The content of this order is to be passed on to the appropriate inspectors and commanders of the Order Police and to the SD main districts and SD sub-districts with the note that the Reichsführer SS and Chief of the German Police has ordered this police measure. The chief of the Order Police has issued corresponding instructions for the Order Police, including the Fire-fighting Police.<sup>2</sup> In the execution of the measures ordered, the Security Police and the Order Police are to work together in the closest cooperation.

The receipt of this telex is to be confirmed by the State Police heads or their deputies by telex to the Gestapo Central Office – for the attention of SS-Standartenführer Müller.<sup>3</sup>

DOC. 127

**On 10 November 1938 the Swiss legation summarizes for the Reich Foreign Office the agreements reached on the marking of passports held by Jews<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the Swiss legation in Germany (XVIII 5/59), unsigned, to the Reich Foreign Office (received on 14 November 1938), dated 10 November 1938<sup>2</sup>

The Swiss legation has the honour to bring the following to the attention of the Foreign Office of the German Reich, with reference to its memorandum of 31 August 1938 regarding the treatment, under passport law, of German emigrants, as requested.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> These directives could not be found.

<sup>3</sup> In several express telexes on the same day sent to all State Police (regional) offices as well as to SD main districts and sub-districts, Heydrich reinforced the ban on looting and demanded that the Gestapo report instances of looting to him by 8 a.m. on 11 Nov. 1938. Further, he announced that the Reich Ministry of Justice had ordered penal institutions to be made available for housing Jews under arrest, instructed that no investigations be launched in connection with the 'operations against Jews', and requested that no arrest warrants be applied for: *ibid.*, pp. 518–519.

<sup>1</sup> PA AA, R 49 420. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Handwritten remarks appear at the bottom of the first page.

In the period from 27 to 29 September of this year, discussions about the issue were held between representatives of the Swiss government and the German government in Berlin.<sup>4</sup> According to the minutes recorded on 29 September 1938, the discussion led to the following regulation:

1. The German government will ensure that all passports of Jews with Reich nationality (§ 5 of the First Regulation on the Reich Citizenship Law of 14 November 1935, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 1333<sup>5</sup>) who are destined for departure to a foreign country or for sojourn in a foreign country must be furnished as soon as possible with a distinguishing mark that identifies the holder as a Jew.
2. The Swiss government will permit entry into Switzerland to Jews with Reich nationality whose passport is furnished with the mark mentioned in no. 1 above or must be so furnished under the German regulations, if the appropriate Swiss representative office has entered in the passport a 'declaration of authorization for sojourn in Switzerland or transit through Switzerland'.
3. The German agencies in question, which are entrusted with passport examination and border control at the German–Swiss border, will be instructed to prevent Jews with Reich citizenship from entering Switzerland if their passport does not contain the 'declaration of authorization for sojourn in Switzerland or transit through Switzerland'.

The German government reserves the right, after consultation with the Swiss government, to require that Jews with Swiss citizenship also obtain a 'declaration of authorization for sojourn in the territory of the Reich or transit through the territory of the Reich', if Germany should consider this necessary.

The Swiss government retracts the termination of the German–Swiss agreement of 9 January 1926 on the mutual cancellation of the visa requirement.

If the arrangement provided for above does not yield satisfactory results, the two governments will again enter into communication, particularly with respect to stipulating when the probably necessary general visa requirement should be introduced.

The Swiss Federal Council has assented to this regulation.<sup>6</sup>

3 The Swiss memorandum dated 31 August 1938 presented the prospect of terminating the Swiss–German visa agreement of 9 Jan. 1926: see *Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik 1918–1945*, series D: 1937–1945, vol. 5: *Polen, Südosteuropa, Lateinamerika, Klein- und Mittelstaaten, Juni 1937–März 1939* (Baden-Baden: Imprimerie nationale, 1953), p. 755, fn. 1.

4 The representative of Switzerland, Chief of Police Rothmund, had proposed marking the passports of non-Aryan German state subjects in order to prevent illegal immigration into Switzerland. The Reich Foreign Office, which did not want to impede the emigration of German Jews if at all possible, accepted the proposal only after visa exemption for all German citizens threatened to cease if the German–Swiss agreement of 9 Jan. 1926 were terminated. Beginning on 5 Oct. 1938, the passports of German Jews were marked with a red 'J' on the first page: see *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, p. 1342, and Doc. 263, 10 March 1939.

5 § 5 of the First Regulation established who was to be regarded as a Jew within the meaning of the Reich Citizenship Law: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1935, I, pp. 1333–1334; see PMJ 1/210.

6 The Swiss Federal Council had assented to the agreements on 4 Oct. 1938.

## DOC. 128

**Ludwig Goldstein reports on the destruction of the synagogue in Königsberg, Prussia, on 9 and 10 November 1938<sup>1</sup>**

Retrospective diary entry by Ludwig Goldstein<sup>2</sup> for 9 and 10 November 1938 (excerpt)<sup>3</sup>

*The pogrom night of 9/10 November 1938 had quite a different face, a far more malign one.*

On that night I was trustingly slumbering towards my 71st birthday. Soon after waking, however, I heard of serious rioting directed against Jewish shops. The opportunity that the murder by Grünspan in Paris provided to bring the 'people's wrath' artificially to the boil and, at night, to the point of boiling over had not been missed. Allegedly the attack had taken place completely of the participants' own accord. The extent to which it was of their own accord could be seen from the fact that almost everywhere, even in the most remote towns, *almost at the same time and in much the same way*, a lightning attack on the property and places of worship of the Israelites had been undertaken. 'Chance' had evidently operated in the manner of precision machinery here.

It goes without saying that the old newspaperman could not rest until he had convinced himself of the events with his own eyes. Within a quarter of an hour I was on my way down to the suburbs and only too quickly gained the impression that – on the basis of an accurate list or under reliable leadership – virtually *every* shop that belonged to a Jew had become the object of attacks. The doors were broken open or smashed to bits, the display windows shattered, the displayed merchandise thrown on to the pavement, in fact all the way into the road, and the interior furnishings, along with the goods, had been ransacked and destroyed, here and there even by fire. Naturally, captured goods of every kind had been nicked, if not during the attack, then later. For a long time to come, wedding rings, jewellery, watches, and the like could be had cheaply 'on the quiet', unless certain people preferred to conceal them from the public eye in their 'secret vault'.

When I crossed the Köttel Bridge, I happened to glance at the dome of the *new synagogue*. Well?! It just looks so strange – so well ventilated! And upon closer scrutiny, one discovers that only the iron framework is still in place. Is repair work being done there, perhaps? But one has heard nothing about it! Might it be - - -? No, that would be impossible! – Admittedly, one has frequently heard people say with pride that the little word 'impossible' does not exist in the dictionary of National Socialism.

Enough of doubts. I hurry to the spot, and indeed: what could not be achieved, here comes to pass; what no one could describe, is here accomplished. The magnificent building, built during 1894–1896, lies in ruins, to the extent this can be achieved in the case of a stone building with a cleverly designed conflagration. The gigantic dome, which

1 GStA PK, XX. HA., NL Goldstein, Nr. 1/5, pp. 137–141. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Ludwig Goldstein (1867–1943), editor and art and literary historian; culture and entertainment editor of the *Hartungsche Zeitung* in Königsberg for over thirty years; employee of the Ostmark Radio Broadcasting Company; chairman of the Goethe League; died of natural causes and was buried anonymously in Königsberg; author of works including *Ein Menschenleben: Ein- und Ausfälle eines Zeitungsschreibers* (1934).

3 The entry was composed at the earliest in late Dec. 1939 and at the latest in 1942.

rises to a height of 46 m, lets the blue sky peek through in fifty spots; only the stone tablets of the law, held by lions, still keep their customary symbolic watch in front of the building.

After thorough preparation, the onslaught on the synagogue had been scheduled for 2 a.m. and, here and elsewhere, was supposed to give the signal for the general 'uprising'. Inside the building, one heard, everything possible was smashed. Where the Ark of the Covenant had stood, they had even used crowbars, probably because they had expected to find 'treasures' here. The benches had been overturned, the Torah scrolls thrown on to the floor. The fire department, which had come to the scene, was prevented every time it tried to extinguish the flames and was ordered merely to make sure that no harm came to the neighbouring buildings. While a fire-starting squad, armed with the best equipment, forced its way into the building, another group of commandeered men carefully cordoned off the scene, so that no one could disturb the jolly solstice celebrations. Usually such cordons are formed so that a fire can be extinguished without hindrance, but in this case the purpose of the cordons was to allow fire to be started ('people's anger').

The plans that were initially discussed with regard to what could best be done with the house of worship, so abruptly stripped of its purpose, were not executed. It was simply decided to *demolish* it. On 26 June 1939 dealers offered for sale '1,000,000 perfect bricks, a very valuable organ, a black grand piano and much more'. The walls proved so extraordinarily sturdy that it took numerous blasting operations in December 1939 to bring them down. Where they once stood, a little cut-through lane is to run in future. In the press, satisfaction was expressed that 'now there is nothing left to remind us of the ugly structure'.

The neighbouring *Israelite Orphans' Home* – a charming building designed by the Berlin architect Behrendt – was also affected. The little children housed there were rudely awakened in the dead of night by the members of an intruding gang and the noise they made and then, frightened to death and scantily clad, in fact shoeless and just in their nightshirts, the children ran out into the street until they found an initial emergency shelter in the homes of Jewish women whom they knew. The cantor W.,<sup>4</sup> who lived in the orphanage, was – like so many others on this night of terror – badly beaten up, with the result that he had to spend a long time recuperating in the hospital. The custodian of the synagogue, who was threatened with the same treatment, sought to save himself by fleeing. The library was destroyed or taken away. Likewise, 3,000 volumes belonging to the Orthodox rabbi Dr D.<sup>5</sup> were damaged and stolen. In the homes of private individuals too, as in 1933, books and paintings fell victim to the mob.

Also worthy of note is the attitude of the press. The *Königsberger Allgemeine Zeitung*, which otherwise pays attention to the tiniest summerhouse fire, reported on the unprecedented occurrence with only a few lines, stating that 'a riot' had taken place in front

4 Hermann Wollheim (1877–1950), retired cantor of the new synagogue in Königsberg; teacher of religion in Bendorf and Königsberg; emigrated to the USA.

5 Josef Hirsch Dünner (1913–2007), rabbi and headmaster; teacher of Hebrew, 1934–1936; teacher of religion and rabbi in Königsberg, 1936–1938; in 1938 emigrated to Britain, where he worked as a rabbi in refugee communities in Westcliff and Leicester; from 1946 head of a teacher-training college in London; from 1960 rabbi at Adath Yisroel Synagogue in London.

of the synagogue and concluding with the memorably concise words, '*And then a fire broke out.*'<sup>6</sup>

The *old temple of 1811* on what is now Seilerstrasse was also the scene of such a 'riot', and here too the sacred Torah scrolls of the faithful were slashed and hurled on to the pavement. The fact that this house of prayer was not set on fire as well is due not to any clemency but only to its location in the midst of a group of inflammable buildings that could easily have caught fire in the event of a conflagration.

When the cornerstone was laid for the building on Lindenstrasse,<sup>7</sup> the then head of the community, Prof. Dr *Samuel*, had said: 'the houses of God, be they churches or temples, are the only place where the weak can find comfort, the sinner admonition, all persons edification'. How far from this understanding must have been the instincts of those debauched men who abandoned this beautiful place of devotion to its destruction! – And when the building was dedicated, the public speakers repeatedly voiced the thought that, fundamentally, it is one and the same God to whom one prays below the Star of David and beneath the cross. The representative of the city, in addition, particularly emphasized that almost the entire citizenry of Königsberg was participating in the dedication celebration, and then declared what a good opinion he had of the Jew, who at one time had indeed been burned, but whom now 'only blinded fanatics still want to deprive of his rights'. What a strange devaluation such humanity has suffered in recent years!

#### DOC. 129

### On 10 November 1938 the Vienna Gestapo reports on the confiscation of a library and the destruction of a synagogue<sup>1</sup>

Report by the Gestapo, State Police Regional Headquarters in Vienna, Wilhelm Nußmüller,<sup>2</sup> dated 10 November 1938

#### *Report*

On 10 November 1938 at about six o'clock, in the presence of three accompanying persons, during the course of the action against the Jews, I secured the Jewish library housed in the building of the Jewish temple, at 5 Tempelgasse, Vienna II. The rooms were locked and sealed. The synagogue and the adjoining rooms had already been destroyed by the enraged population, so that it was no longer possible to secure items that might possibly have been in the temple.

<sup>6</sup> The article 'Antijüdische Kundgebungen: Empörung über den feigen Mord in Paris' [Anti-Jewish Demonstrations: Outrage at the Cowardly Murder in Paris] ended with the sentence 'A fire broke out inside the synagogue': *Königsberger Allgemeine Zeitung*, 11 Nov. 1938, p. 16. The *Königsberger Allgemeine Zeitung*, founded in 1875 by Alfred Hausbrandt, was published until 1945. It originally had a national liberal orientation.

<sup>7</sup> The synagogue of the liberal Jewish community on Lindenstraße was dedicated in 1896; it was the largest synagogue in Königsberg.

<sup>1</sup> DÖW, 1456. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Wilhelm Nußmüller (b. 1915), police detective; joined the NSDAP and the SA in 1933; staff sergeant in the Austrian Legion, 1935–1937; from 1938 detective constable in Section II B2 in Vienna.

According to the instructions issued, SS-Untersturmbannführer *Schröder* of SD Main District Vienna was informed.

The keys to the Jewish library were handed over to SS-Untersturmbannführer *Mandl*<sup>3</sup> of SD Main District Vienna, after prior consultation with SS-Untersturmbannführer Dr *Höttel*<sup>4</sup> of SD Sub-District Vienna.

## DOC. 130

**Max Reiner from Berlin describes how he escaped arrest on 10 November 1938<sup>1</sup>**

Submission by Max Reiner<sup>2</sup> to a Harvard University competition (1940)

[...]<sup>3</sup>

*Escaping the concentration camp.*

The bell rings. We go to the back hallway. My wife opens the door. It's not the Gestapo. Instead, it's a lady who lives on the first floor. We hear her say:

'I just wanted to warn your husband. He has to go right now. They've already picked up my brother-in-law. I've sent my husband out of the house.'

I immediately put on my hat and coat. I know where I can hide out. With one of our single friends who shares her apartment with only a female lodger.

She's willing to take me in. I phone home so that they know I've made it to safety. The Aryan friend of my wife had waited all this time; in case of an emergency, she wanted to offer me her weekend house, which is located a long way out of Berlin.

My hideout is gripped by horror and grief. The lodger is engaged, and her fiancé has been picked up by the Gestapo.

A gloomy night is followed by a dismal morning. We know that this manhunt will continue for several days more and that I might have to stay in my hideout for another week. I therefore go to my apartment in the afternoon to get some clothes. After all, it's safe during the day.

3 Rupert Mandl (b. 1910), bookkeeper; joined the NSDAP in 1931 and the SS in 1933; bookkeeper in a Vienna car dealership, 1929–1938; in 1938 section head in SD Sub-district Vienna; in 1941 SS-Hauptsturmführer; after 1945 lived first in Austria under a false name, then probably in Brazil.

4 Probably Dr Georg Wilhelm Höttl (1915–1999); joined the NSDAP and the SS in 1934; from 1938 worked for the SD in Austria; deputy group leader in Office VI of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA); adjutant to Ernst Kaltenbrunner in Vienna; from 1943 head of the Vatican Section in Office VI (SD Overseas) of the RSHA; in 1943 SS-Sturmbannführer; in 1952 founded a private grammar school (*Gymnasium*).

1 Dr Max Reiner, 'Flucht vor dem Konzentrationslager', in 'Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und nach dem 30. Januar 1933' [My life in Germany before and after 30 January 1933] (1940), pp. 241–243, Harvard Competition, no. 182. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Max Reiner (1883–1944), journalist; parliamentary correspondent in Vienna, 1903–1906; served from 1906 to 1933 as political editor at the Ullstein newspapers *Berliner Morgenpost* and *Vossische Zeitung*, holding a senior position at the latter from 1919; dismissed in 1933; emigrated to Palestine in 1939.

3 The complete account consists of 254 pages and was submitted from Jerusalem. In the first part Max Reiner reports on his work with the Ullstein publishing house in Berlin, his experience on the Russian front during the First World War, his return to Berlin, his dismissal as editor, and the increasing number of arrests among his circle of acquaintances. His assets were confiscated in 1938 after he returned from a trip to Palestine.

While I am quickly skimming a newspaper in my apartment, the bell rings. The 'daily general'<sup>4</sup> is in the rear apartment; my wife is out shopping. I open the door. Outside is a large, stout man. 'Are you Mr Reiner?'

'Yes.'

He pulls out an identification tag.

'I'm a police detective, and have orders to take you to the police headquarters.'

Trapped! I feel my knees go weak.

'Please come in.' He enters the hall. I invite him into my study. He hesitates but then follows me, and remains standing while I sink into a chair. I know what this means for me: certain death. I'm diabetic. I'll receive no insulin in the camp, no special diet, no medical treatment. Within two weeks I'll be dead.

The police detective doesn't look unpleasant or crude. He says in a calm voice:

'Please get ready; I don't have much time.'

'Allow me to sit for a few minutes; I'm a sick man.'

'Can you prove that you are sick?'

'I've been declared 80 per cent incapacitated for work.'

I struggle to my feet and get an official insurance document out of my desk. While he leafs through the document, reading the medical certificates and examining the notices from the insurance company, I ask him:

'What's the charge against me?'

'Nothing, just the Paris incident.'

He's finished looking through [the documents].

'You're not suitable for the camp. You're free to stay at home.'

I breathe a sigh of relief.

'But won't another official come to pick me up tomorrow?'

'No! You're free to stay at home.'

He leaves without a goodbye.

My wife arrives a few minutes later, and relieves the terror.

I don't feel at ease. Back to my hideout! We hastily pack [my things], and I leave ... I only found out later that an order had been given not to take the certified sick to the camp. But not all officials followed these instructions. I heard of cases in which people with high fevers were dragged out of their beds.

The newspapers come in the afternoon: a 20 per cent tax on all Jewish assets as atonement for the Paris murder. Pensions are regarded as capital [at the rate of] 15 times their amount.<sup>5</sup> I do the sums: I will therefore have to pay a tax of around 50,000 Reichsmarks. I don't even have this much money.

My wife visits me the following day. The female porter told her that two people had come by asking for me while she was out yesterday. The porter couldn't say whether they were officials from the police or from Party organs.

I stay in my hideout for eight days. During this time my host receives the message that her brother has also been taken to a concentration camp. My wife visits me from time to time. She gives me an account of who has been arrested. Many of our acquaintances have fled. In some cases, officials have taken adolescent sons as hostages ... Jews have been

4 English in the original; probably a reference to the housekeeper.

5 See Doc. 142, 12 Nov. 1938.

ordered to have the smashed show windows replaced at their own expense. The insurance companies have been relieved from the liability to pay damages. Many Jewish business-people simply didn't have enough money. The [Jewish] religious community has to help out and has started a fundraising campaign. My wife tells me that Dr Ullstein has been asked to donate a sum of 100,000 Reichsmarks to this campaign.<sup>6</sup> Jewish shops are not allowed to reopen. My wife describes how every evening Jews hasten with their bags through the streets, each one hiding out somewhere. Preferably with an Aryan friend, if he has one. Some of the Christian population have behaved admirably. Thousands of Aryans have given Jews refuge, despite the risk of being sent to a concentration camp.

My wife has other news to tell: her cousin Margot, who has custody of the 8-year-old son of her deceased sister, paid her a visit. The boy went to a Jewish school in Caputh near Potsdam, the same one that Eveline<sup>7</sup> also attended. On the morning of 10 November, SA troops showed up at the school and began to demolish it. The director asked them to give her enough time to at least get the children out. She was granted ten minutes to do this. Most of the children were not yet dressed. They were driven into the forest, many wearing nothing other than their stockings. In this state they hiked for hours through the forest to Potsdam. The children are now, as far as it was possible, placed with various families ... I'm glad to know that Eveline is in Palestine.

[...] <sup>8</sup>

DOC. 131

**Rabbi Arthur Bluhm describes the pogrom in Krefeld and his arrest  
on 10 November 1938<sup>1</sup>**

Submission by Arthur Bluhm to a Harvard University competition (1940)

[...] <sup>2</sup>

I had two telephones. One was in my office on the second floor and the other was in our apartment on the first floor. The latter was portable. I could connect it in three rooms, the drawing-, the sitting-, and the bedroom. During the night it was on my night

6 Hermann Ullstein stated in his autobiography that at the end of Nov. he had to pay 100,000 Reichsmarks – his last remaining assets – before being granted a passport to emigrate. He did not connect this to the pogrom of 9/10 November: Hermann Ullstein, *The Rise and Fall of the House of Ullstein* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1943), pp. 306–307.

7 Correctly: Eva (later: Chava) Alkan (1925–1991), Max Reiner's niece; her father, the physician Leopold Alkan, died in 1933, while her mother, Adele, née Wolfers, was in a fatal car accident in 1936 in Belgium, where she was looking into emigration possibilities. After her mother's death, Eva was placed in a Jewish children's home in Caputh, near Berlin; Max Reiner became her legal guardian. In 1938 he took her to her brother in Palestine, where she lived with her brother's family and trained to become a graphic designer and occupational therapist.

8 In the final part of his report, Max Reiner describes the process of dissolving his household before emigrating to Palestine.

1 Arthur Bluhm, 'The Tenth of November 1938', in 'My Life in Germany before and after January 30, 1933' (1940), pp. 176–187, Harvard Competition, no. 154. The original document is in English.

2 Handwritten amendments or corrections were made to the original typed text. For the first part of this submission, see Doc. 113, 28 Oct. 1938.

table. At ten minutes past three o'clock on the morning of November ten, the telephone rang. Mr. Halperin called me.<sup>3</sup> He led in prayer and lived in a house which adjoined our Synagogue. He said excitedly, 'They're demolishing our Synagogue.' I asked, 'Did you call the police and Dr. Alexander?' he answered, 'Yes. The police declared that they were unable to bring help.' I replied, 'Do not go into the Synagogue. Close the connecting door carefully. I will try and speak to one of the authoritative civil servants. I will give you a message.' I first called the 'Überfallkommando' (the police office which one calls for help if one is attacked suddenly.) They answered that there were riots in the town, that all the police were busy, and that there was no one to send. I then called the Gestapo. They replied that all their officers were busy too, and that they could do nothing. I tried after this to reach Dr. Hürter, the police chief of our town, then Mayor Wittkugel, his substitute, and finally the chief of the Gestapo.<sup>4</sup> All these persons were neither in their homes nor in their offices. I then called Dr. Alexander. He wanted to come to me, but he could not find a taxi which would accept a Jewish passenger. I said, 'I will call Mr. Beckers, my taxi man. He will drive you, surely.' Mr. Beckers agreed.

I made all these calls from bed. Then Hanna and I arose. The windows of our bedroom opened onto the gardens of our neighborhood. As we had gone to bed late the evening before, we had not let the blinds down, so as not to disturb the neighbors and family which lived in the same house. When I dressed, I saw a bright light coming from the direction of our Synagogue. I cried, 'Hanna, look! The Synagogue is in flames.' Hanna answered, 'That cannot be.' At this moment the telephone rang, and Mr. Halperin said, moved to tears, 'The Synagogue is burning. I cannot leave the house. Storm Troopers block it.' I called the fire brigade immediately. They answered that their men were already on the way to the Synagogue. I then called all our public offices. They all replied that they were unable to help. Between all these calls, I kept trying to speak to the housekeeper of the beautiful new house of our congregation, Mr. Kober.<sup>5</sup> It was situated on another street. Unfortunately there was a telephone only in their dining room, and the occupants of the house did not hear it. At last I called Mr. Otto Meyer, a member of our Board, a clever and energetic man.<sup>6</sup> He had his car at his house. I asked him to come to me. He had known nothing about the disturbance, and was very much astonished when he heard what had happened. While I made these calls, I saw the cupola of the cathedral illuminated by the flames of the burning Synagogue.<sup>7</sup> I had just replaced the receiver

3 Leo Halperin (b. 1889), cantor of the Jewish Community in Krefeld; born in Grodno, Poland, and naturalized in 1928; imprisoned, 1938; emigrated to Belgium, 1939; deported to Auschwitz, 1943; declared dead.

4 On 1 Sept. 1937 Wilhelm Gottlieb Höhmann became head of the Gestapo in Krefeld; Friedrich Bolle assumed the role in 1938. It is not known exactly when the transfer of office took place.

5 Julius Erwin Kober (b. 1887), office employee; first lived in Beuel, near Bonn; in 1937 moved to Krefeld with his wife Emilie, née Levy (b. 1891), and son Walter (b. 1917). There he managed the office and restaurant of the Jewish community centre. Walter Kober emigrated to Britain and later to Canada. In April 1942 Mr and Mrs Kober were probably deported to Izbica and murdered there; in 1955 Krefeld District Court pronounced them dead.

6 Otto Meyer (b. 1896), factory owner; member of the board of the Jewish Community in Krefeld; detained in 1938; in Dec. 1938 emigrated to the USA via Zurich.

7 Krefeld did not have a cathedral. From his apartment Bluhm could probably see the city's main Catholic church, St Dionysius, as well as the Liebfrauen Church. It is also possible that he saw the district and regional court, since it had a cupola and was not far from the synagogue.

and gazed through the window in the direction of the Synagogue when the youngest daughter of Mr Halperin called, saying 'The flames are already in the bedroom. We cannot leave the house.' Then I called the fire brigade again. They answered that firemen were already at the Synagogue and would save the inhabitants.

After I had observed from the balcony of our drawing room that there was no one in the street, I went downstairs to open the door for Dr. Alexander and Mr. Meyer. I had to wait some minutes. Before me I saw the tower of the court illuminated by the flames of the burning Synagogue. Meanwhile I kept watching. A car stopped at the next corner. Dr. Alexander and his wife alighted. When they entered the house, I saw another car coming.

I guessed that Mr. Meyer would be in it, and he was. I said to him, 'I intended to remain in my house during the night, but Mr. Halperin and his family are in the burning house.' He answered, 'Let us ride to the Synagogue.' We alighted from the car in the Ostwall, one of the main streets of the town and tried to reach the Synagogue that way. It was impossible. We saw that people were only able to stand in the street at a distance of two blocks from the Synagogue. Through a side street we approached the Synagogue, which was situated on a corner.

In the street here there were only S.A. and S.S. and their friends, among them some women. We heard them laughing and mocking. The women were the worst. They regretted that Mr. Halperin and his family were saved. We knew it without asking anyone. We saw the high center cupola falling down. The howling crowd receded, were silent for a moment, only to roar more loudly afterward, as if it had done a heroic deed. We saw that the fire brigade protected the house in which the Halperin family had lived, as well as the other houses of the neighborhood. The doors of the Synagogue were burned. We saw casks in the room and on the staircases. From these casks flames rose. We heard later that these casks had been brought into the Synagogue filled with beurine [butyric acid] and set on fire after the interior had been demolished. I wanted to return, but Mr. Meyer said, 'There is the chief of the fire brigade. I know him. I will go to him and see whether the house of the congregation can be saved.' Mr. Meyer told the chief that important papers for emigrants were in the offices of the house of our congregation. He said we would need them, and asked whether we could remove them, or whether he could save the house. The chief turned his back without giving any answer. At this moment a leader of the Storm Troopers who knew me, came toward me and asked me to leave the street. The crowd of Storm Troopers and their followers and girls began to howl. At this moment a young man attacked me. His face was that of a criminal. If I were to meet him, I would recognize him. I defended myself as well as I could. Mr. Meyer did nothing. He was not attacked. I asked a passing policeman to help me, but he took no notice. The Storm Troopers howled and incited the attacker. I wondered that the Storm Troopers did not attack me also. The next day the Gestapo who arrested me told me the reason. They had strict orders not to molest, injure, or attack any person. In this dangerous situation four S.S. men wearing civilian clothes gave orders to the criminal to let me go. The four followed us. We feared that they would demolish Mr. Meyer's car. Therefore, we went to the taxi-stand. When we were in the car, these four men forbade the driver to accept us or any other Jews as passengers. I said that, in that case, we would go on foot. The four men followed us. After going a short distance, we turned and asked them what they wanted. They answered, 'Nothing, except that you go home.' We replied,

‘That is what we are doing. If you are gentlemen, you will leave us alone.’ This they did. We went on to my home. Hanna had every reason to be excited. She had prepared tea. We sat in the dining room, which faced the gardens not the street. Some minutes after we had returned, the bell rang. All of us turned pale. I went to the balcony of the drawing room. At the door were the son of the housekeeper and one employee of the new house of our congregation. I opened the door. Mr. Kober, Jr. was only partially dressed. The employee was barefooted and clad only in his pajama. He was bleeding at the mouth and nose. They told us how the house had first been smashed up and then ignited. The occupants of the house did not hear the S.A. and S.S. coming in. About four o’clock in the morning the doors of the bedrooms on the second floor were suddenly broken open by violent blows. The lights were switched on, and the horrified Mr. and Mrs. Kober, Mr. Kober, Jr., and the employee, in their respective rooms, saw men who held revolvers in their hands, and who cried, ‘Leave the room immediately.’

The occupants of the house were compelled to go into a room the door of which the gang blocked. The gang continually threatened to shoot them. They could hear the S.A. and S.S. demolishing the furniture, howling, and cheering. Occasionally they heard, as well as saw through the opened door, some of the men shooting with their revolvers at the light bulbs on walls and ceiling.

Later they heard an order. ‘Attention! Prepare to burn everything!’

Members of the gang said to our four people, ‘Now, we wish you much pleasure. We will burn you with this house.’ Then they cried suddenly, ‘Leave the house!’ The four went out through a lane of the gangsters and on the way both young men were kicked and beaten. By the time they reached the door of the house, they could already hear the crackling of fire in the interior.<sup>8</sup> After they reached the street, they were separated by the crowd. They saw Mr. Kober, Sr. on the other side of the street, but they could not see Mrs. Kober anywhere. At this point in their report, young Mr. Kober cried, ‘I did not see my mother leaving the house; she is in the burning building, I am sure.’ We could not quiet him. Finally he whimpered like a small child, ‘My mother, my poor mother.’ I felt I must do something. I took up the receiver and called the Gestapo. I knew Officer Dier by his voice.<sup>9</sup> I said, ‘Mr. Dier?’ He answered, ‘Yes.’ Then I told him that young Mr. Kober was afraid that his mother was in the burning house. Dier replied, ‘I cannot believe it. We had special orders that no one should come to grief. But I will go to see what happened.’ This message did not quiet the boy. We gave him some quieting medicine and placed him on the couch of our sitting room. Then we took the bleeding servant into our bathroom to wash his face. I gave him a suit of mine, shirt, socks, shoes, money, and whatever else he needed. He wanted to go immediately to his family. They lived in a small town about two hours by train from Krefeld. He said, ‘There is a good train which leaves Krefeld in half an hour. I can just make it.’ I answered, ‘No, you must wait

<sup>8</sup> The Kober family lived in the Jewish community building on Bleichpfad. It was destroyed by fire on the night of the pogrom, although the actual intent was to use it for future Nazi Party purposes. The arsonist was never found. After the pogrom the Jewish Community set up an office at 11 Südwall, which also served as the new residence of the Kober family.

<sup>9</sup> Correctly: Otto Dier (b. 1902), police officer; with Department I.A (Political Police) in Krefeld, 1934; detective sergeant, 1937; counter-intelligence in Düsseldorf, 1939; detective inspector, 1943; from 1941 to 1942 with the Marburg an der Drau (Maribor, Slovenia) State Police in the Slovenian part of Yugoslavia annexed by Germany.

until daylight. There are riots in the town. You might be molested by the marauding gangs. You can take another train later.'

For some little time we sat silent at the table. It was stiflingly hot. Nobody dared to speak. Suddenly the doorbell rang. From the balcony I saw Mr. Kober, Sr. As I opened the door, his first words were, 'Where are my wife and son?' I quieted him, saying 'Your son is here. Your wife is in safety.' It was then about five o'clock. Mr. Kober, Sr. was in a terribly nervous state. He wanted to know where his wife was. He wanted to go to her immediately. I said, 'You can see her later, but not now. Be a man and be sensible.' He answered, 'I cannot think. I can only hear their hammer and their striking with the hammer. Can you help me not to hear it any longer?' He put his hands to his ears and ran through the room like a wild creature. This only excited his son even more. He moaned, 'My mother, my mother.' Finally, I harshly bade him to be quiet. We needed our nerves for the coming events. I placed his father on the couch and left him alone in the dining room.

Dr. Alexander, Mr. Meyer and I decided to gather the members of our Board together at my house at 9 o'clock in the morning to consider what should be done. About 6 o'clock the secretary of our congregation called. Mrs. Kober had just arrived at his house. She had only a wrap over her pajamas. She was an energetic and active woman, but she had been completely upset. A policeman who knew her had met her wandering in the street. He gave her my address, which she had forgotten in her excitement, and showed her the way. He told her that she should go to my house. There she would have nothing to fear. In my house she would not be attacked. She had already been on our street when she saw a marauding group, so she turned and went to Mr. Traub. She quieted after she had spoken to her husband and her son. After this call Mr. Kober and his son went to Mr. Traub's home.

About 6 o'clock in the morning Mr. Meyer called his Jewish chauffeur to fetch his car which we had left the night before in the Ostwall. He told him to ride through the town and tell us what had happened during the night. The chauffeur did not know what had happened and was very much astonished. When he arrived, we learned from him that the few Jewish shops we still had were demolished. The glass of the show-windows was lying in the streets. Before the Jewish shops were posted guards of S.S. So far as the driver could see, everything was ruined in the shops.

Our guests had just left us early in the morning when the telephone began to ring every few minutes. In Mönchengladbach, a neighboring town, the same riots had taken place their Rabbi told me.<sup>10</sup> I called my fellow Rabbis in Düsseldorf and Duisburg, two other neighboring towns, but I did not receive any answer. Later I learned that they had arrested Dr. Neumark of Duisburg during the night.<sup>11</sup> They asked him to tell where the Jews had hidden the gold of the Synagogue. They threatened him when he answered that there was no gold at all. In Düsseldorf they demolished the apartments of the Rabbis

<sup>10</sup> Dr Siegfried Gelles (1884–1947), philosopher and rabbi; from 1913 rabbi in Lissa; rabbi in Mönchengladbach, 1921–1938; until 1933 also a teacher of religion in academic secondary schools; was arrested in connection with the pogrom of 9/10 November; emigrated to Britain in Feb. 1939; in the years before his death he was secretary of the Assembly of Rabbis in London.

<sup>11</sup> Dr Manasse Neumark (1875–1942), rabbi; liberal rabbi in Duisburg, 1905–1942; member of B'nai B'rith; in July 1942 deported to Theresienstadt, where he died.

and maltreated Dr. Klein,<sup>12</sup> the assistant Rabbi. In Viersen, a little town in our neighborhood, they had arrested all Jewish men. S.S. beat some of them. Among them was the Jewish teacher and cantor Mr. Nussbaum,<sup>13</sup> who was more than seventy years old. He had been seen on his way to jail, bleeding from the mouth and nose. Later I heard that in the evening after these men were in prison, water was poured onto them through the open windows. Such and similar messages I received continually by telephone. In Linn, a suburb of Krefeld, they had burned the Synagogue, demolished the interior of two Jewish private homes, and had arrested all Jewish men. I called Mr. Tuss,<sup>14</sup> who lived in Uerdingen, the other suburb of Krefeld. He had known nothing about the persecutions. I informed him and asked him to fetch the scrolls from the Synagogue. When he went to the Synagogue, the vandals were already there. They arrested him a short time after he returned home and demolished his shop and house. Five or six weeks later when I was in his house, I saw the remains of this vandalism.

I knew our situation thoroughly after Mrs. Servos called me.<sup>15</sup> Her husband had been in Frankfurt-Main. The night before he had been arrested and taken immediately to the concentration camp Buchenwalde.<sup>16</sup>

During mourning week<sup>17</sup> some men met at my house in the morning and in the evening for prayers. I always had 'minyan.' (the ten men older than thirteen years). Some of our prayers, such as Kaddish, the especial prayer for mourners, can only be said, according to our religious laws, if there are ten men. This morning men came sparsely and late. They were all very much excited. They had seen the burning Synagogue, the destroyed shops, and the arrest of some of our people. They feared still some other things would happen. We had just finished praying when Hanna excitedly entered the room. Two minutes earlier I had heard the bell ringing. I immediately guessed that they intended to arrest me. Since I did not want to alarm the people, I pushed Hanna out of the room into the corridor before she could say anything. But she was unable to speak. She just pointed toward the dining room. I knew who would be there, and I entered the room. Two Gestapo officers awaited me. Hanna followed me. The officers said, 'We have orders to arrest you and all the people who are in your apartment.' I answered, 'I thank you for not disturbing our service. But I ask you to consider the following. The men are here only to pray. With one exception, they are all poor people, who are here this morning. They are people who are supported by our congregation and are expecting me to give them money at the end of mourning week. What interest can you have in arresting these men?' At first they declared that they would have to see and speak to these men,

12 Dr Siegfried Klein (1882–1944), rabbi; before 1914 a teacher of religion at the Jewish Community schools in Berlin; second liberal rabbi in Düsseldorf, 1914–1938; from 1938 the only rabbi in Düsseldorf and member of the board of the Jewish Community; deported in 1941 to Łódź and in 1944 to Auschwitz, where he was murdered.

13 Israel Nussbaum (1869–1942), teacher and cantor; from 1897 to 1932 teacher in Viersen, until 1905 at a Jewish private school; visited his daughter in Palestine in 1936 and returned to Germany; deported on 25 July 1942 to Theresienstadt, where he died.

14 Correctly: Dr Paul Luss (b. 1900), retailer; interned in Dachau, 1938; deported to Izbica in April 1942; probably murdered in Sobibor or Belzec in 1942.

15 Probably Gerda Servos, née in der Elst (1902–1995); married to the retailer Max Servos (b. 1889), who was deported to Theresienstadt in 1944 and survived.

16 Correctly: Buchenwald.

17 Arthur Bluhm's mother had died at the end of Oct. 1938; see Doc. 113, 28 Oct. 1938.

but they finally agreed that I could go into the drawing room and tell all the men to go home with the exception of Mr. Nassan,<sup>18</sup> the Vice-President of our congregation. He had just appeared for our Board meeting. After the other men had left the room, I told Mr. Nassan that the Gestapo were in the dining room to arrest us. If he intended to escape, I said, he might do so. The door from the corridor to the dining room was closed. But he replied that if they wanted to arrest him, it would be better that they do it now than later at his home. We then entered the dining room where the two officers and Hanna were waiting. The officers asked Mr. Nassan his age. He was sixty-two years old. They considered and later said that they only had orders to arrest persons up to the age of sixty. They remembered that he was not on the list of persons to be arrested and said that he might go home, that there would be no danger for him.

I asked them on what basis they were arresting people. They answered that their orders were to arrest all important Jewish men and the leaders of all our Jewish organizations. The phone kept ringing the whole time, but we did not answer. I told the officers that there were many urgent matters for me to finish on behalf of our congregation and asked them to allow me to do them. This they permitted. I went to the second floor, into my office, and closed the door of our flat. The officers trusted me not to escape. As I went upstairs, I considered it for a moment, but I said to myself that it would not be right to abuse the confidence of the officers. Later, on the way to the jail, I saw that it had been wise not to try to escape. On the other side of the street was a group of the same persons I had seen before the Synagogue in the night. They called insultingly after me. I am sure that they had been waiting for me. The Gestapo officers told me then that they had arrested me only for my own protection.

In my office I could do nothing. The phone rang continually. Weeping women called, telling me that their men had been arrested and asking me what they could do. I answered, 'I have no time. I am arrested too. We must wait and see how the situation develops.' Some of the women asked me what I would advise them to do. The police had been in their homes to arrest their husbands or sons, who were at the houses of friends or who were driving through the streets in their cars. The officers had said they would return later, and the women asked me what they should do. I knew that the phone was guarded in Germany and that it was dangerous to give advice from my heart, but just the same I told these women that the men might hide themselves until the program of arrests was over.

I tried to call my friends and to give the same advice to them, but I could not reach one.

I considered again for a moment the idea of escaping. I thought I might escape through the gardens. Krefeld was a town of gardens. Most houses had gardens in the front and in the rear. On our block the gardens of four streets were arranged in the square between the houses. I knew the way to homes of Jews and Gentiles who, I knew, would help me. But I realized that I could be seen from all sides. I knew to which house I might go, but I said to myself that I did not know how the occupants of some houses might feel, and finally I decided not to abuse the faith of the two officers who had trusted me. They would lose their positions or become more cruel than ever to our people. Accordingly, I returned to our flat and said that I was ready. I asked only that they permit

18 Correctly: Julius Nassau (b. 1875), retailer; managing director of the Leonhard Tietz department store in Krefeld; emigrated to Britain in 1939.

me to take a book, cards for bridge, and a pencil. I said, 'I cannot read a book without marking what I find important in it.' In Germany prisoners of the Schupo<sup>19</sup> are forbidden writing materials. They are permitted to write only in the presence of guards. However, the officers allowed me to take what I wanted with me.

Then I was ready to leave the house, Hanna lost command of herself and began to weep bitterly. I told her that the officers only did their duty and that she should be brave. I never would give to this government the opportunity of seeing me weaken. Therefore, I asked her to remain brave.

On the stairs, the officers asked me whether we had arms in our house or not, or if I had any in my pockets. They had orders to search for them, and, they said, would return later to the house to do so. I asked them not to do this: they could believe me. The superior officer said, 'It will be enough if I search your pockets. I can say later that I was looking for arms on you.' I replied, 'If you don't smuggle them into my pockets or house, you cannot find any. None at all!' After they had searched my person superficially, they excused themselves, and we left the house.

In the street they told me that all our other people who had been arrested were put in the police-car, but that they had made an exception of me. They had received a special order to arrest me. It would be well if I were kept in jail a short time. If I were free, they said, the terrorists might molest me. I replied, 'I know that nothing can happen in this country without the permission of the Government.'

[...] <sup>20</sup>

DOC. 132

**On 10 November 1938 the Security Police submit a request  
for the denaturalization of Siegfried Gumbel and his family<sup>1</sup>**

Express letter from the Reichsführer SS and Chief of the German Police in the Reich Ministry of the Interior (S-PP [II B] 5927/38), signed p.p. Dr Zimmermann,<sup>2</sup> to Department I of the Reich Ministry of the Interior, dated 10 November 1938 (carbon copy)<sup>3</sup>

*Re:* revocation of the German nationality of the Jewish emigrant Siegfried *Gumbel*, born on 15 March 1902 in Berlin,  
last domestic residence: Berlin-Charlottenburg,  
present residence: Soviet Union,

<sup>19</sup> Schutzpolizei: urban police.

<sup>20</sup> In the final section of this chapter Rabbi Bluhm describes his release, his subsequent farewell to his congregation, and his emigration from Germany.

<sup>1</sup> PA AA, R 99 746. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Dr Herbert Zimmermann (1907–1965), lawyer; joined the NSDAP and the SS in 1933; from 1937 worked in the Gestapo Central Office (Gestapa); with the Gestapo in Münster, 1939; head of the Gestapo in Bremen, 1940; from August 1943 commander of the Security Police and head of the Gestapo in Białystok; from Nov. 1944 commander of the Security Police in Metz; deputy of the chief of Einsatzgruppe B; after 1945 worked as an engineer under a pseudonym and from 1954 as a lawyer; after two acquittals committed suicide before the start of a third trial.

<sup>3</sup> Parts of the original are underlined by hand.

and extension of the denaturalization to his wife Malwine, formerly Mass, née Günsberg, born on 10 June 1904 in Podwolocyska,<sup>4</sup> and to the child from their marriage, Peter Paul Gumbel, born on 24 August 1932 in Berlin-Schmargendorf.

*Case file:* none.

*Gumbel* is a Jew and holds German nationality. He is a book dealer by profession.

*Gumbel* was a member of the Communist Party of Germany long before the National Socialist uprising and, among other activities, served as a flag-bearer in the banned communist demonstration on 3 March 1929. He has been previously convicted of fraud and resisting state authority.

In October 1935 Gumbel emigrated from Reich territory with his family and made his way to the Soviet Union. He worked for the notorious *Deutsche Zentralzeitung*<sup>5</sup> in Moscow for a lengthy period, while his wife found employment as a German teacher in a middle school. Siegfried Gumbel was arrested in February 1938 and has been in prison since then. His wife and child left the Soviet Union in September 1938 and made their way to Finland, where they are presently receiving assistance from the Jewish community.

The requirements exist for withdrawing German nationality from the Jew Siegfried Gumbel because he engaged in communist activities while residing in Germany and worked in the Soviet Union for the anti-German *Deutsche Zentralzeitung* in Moscow. To prevent Gumbel, in the event of his expulsion from the Soviet Union, which is to be expected in light of the mass expulsion of Reich Germans that is currently taking place there,<sup>6</sup> from returning to his home country and coming into renewed contact with the German Volksgemeinschaft, I ask that the necessary action be taken with all possible expedition.

I ask that the denaturalization be extended to his wife, the Jew Malwine, formerly Mass, née Günsberg, born on 10 June 1904 in Podwolocyska, and to the child from their marriage, *Peter Paul*, born on 24 August 1932 in Berlin-Schmargendorf, for both of them left Reich territory with Gumbel and resided with him until his arrest.

A confiscation of assets and forfeiture are out of the question because the married couple no longer possess any assets in Germany.

I ask you to inform me of the outcome of the proceedings. The Reich Foreign Office and the German embassy in Moscow have each received a carbon copy of the above request for denaturalization.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Correctly: Podwoloczyzka.

<sup>5</sup> The *Deutsche Zentralzeitung* was a daily newspaper in Moscow that appeared in the years 1926–1939. It was published by the German section of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

<sup>6</sup> From 1937 to 1940 foreigners, communist emigrants, and specialists were arrested in the Soviet Union as alleged spies. Many of those who had taken Soviet citizenship were sentenced to death after their arrest and executed. The others were expelled, including some 1,000 Germans, who fell into the hands of the Gestapo.

<sup>7</sup> On 1 Dec. 1938, the German embassy in Moscow informed the Reich Foreign Office that it had no objections to the denaturalization of Gumbel, his wife, and their son: *ibid.* Siegfried, Malwine, and Peter Paul Gumbel were included on the eighty-fourth expatriation list, which was published in the *Deutscher Reichsanzeiger und Preußischer Staatsanzeiger*, no. 298, 22 Dec. 1938.

## DOC. 133

**The Gauleiter of Vienna, Odilo Globocnik, reports on the arrest of Jews and the confiscation of their property following the pogrom<sup>1</sup>**

Report by Odilo Globocnik, undated

*Report on the Jew operation that took place on 10 and 11 November*

On Wednesday 9 November, on the occasion of the comradeship evening in Munich's town hall, Party Comrade Dr Goebbels publicly announced that the murder of Legation Counsellor vom *Rath* required an appropriate response by the people. To this end he issued the directive at approximately 10 p.m. that everyone was to be given completely free rein to carry out actions on the largest possible scale against Jews, which were to result in the corresponding destruction of Jewish property. I telephoned my office in Vienna to report that actions of a demonstrative nature had to take place, adding that it was strictly forbidden to wear uniforms during this operation. I also strictly forbade any kind of arson, homicide, theft, or extortion from taking place, so the operation was to be limited to the smashing of windowpanes and similar acts. Gau Inspector Nemec,<sup>2</sup> who received these instructions, relayed them to all nine Kreisleiter at 1 a.m. In addition, they were instructed to make themselves available to the police for arresting Jews and for conducting any necessary house searches for weapons and incriminating materials.

Upon my arrival in Vienna, the Kreisleiter assembled at 8 a.m. and gave their reports, which consisted of the following:

(a) My instructions were carried out and the number of arrested Jews came to approximately 2,000.

(b) Other groups who had taken instructions directly from Berlin blew up and set fire to Jewish temples and broke into numerous Jewish shops, smashing the furnishings and handing over the stock to Volksgenossen for distribution.

(c) Furthermore, instructions arrived from the Reich Propaganda Office at 3 a.m. by telegraph, the nature of which would have had far greater consequences than the instructions I had issued.<sup>3</sup> I read aloud these instructions to the Kreisleiter, requesting that they nonetheless remain within the boundaries I had set.

My next orders read:

(a) Jewish shops are to be closed and the keys handed over to the police. Jewish proprietors are to bear the costs of replacing the damaged windowpanes.

(b) The furniture in apartments that Jews have vacated is to be placed in one room, which is to be sealed. The apartments can then be passed on to Party comrades in exchange for the corresponding rent.

(c) In those cases where it is not possible to guarantee the safety of goods in apartments and stores, the goods are to be brought immediately to appropriate facilities at the district or local branch headquarters.

1 ÖStA/AdR 04, Reichskommissar Bürckel/Materie, 2010/0; copy in DÖW, 9425. Published in Hans Safrian and Hans Witek (eds.), *Und keiner war dabei: Dokumente des alltäglichen Antisemitismus in Wien 1938* (Vienna: Picus, 2008), pp. 297–300. This document has been translated from German.

2 Probably Josef Nemec (1901–1954), civil servant; joined the NSDAP in 1932; from August 1940 to early 1942 chief of staff for the SS and Police Leader in the Lublin district of occupied Poland.

3 See Doc. 124, 9 Nov. 1938, fn. 14.

(d) According to present directives, we are to continue to arrest Jews.

All of these points required the Party to act as an adjunct of the police.<sup>4</sup>

At around eleven in the morning a meeting of the Advisory Board of the Asset Transfer Office took place, at which Gauleiter Bürckel instructed Minister Fischböck to ensure that appropriate protective measures were taken. Minister Fischböck communicated to me the outcome of this discussion, while I informed him of the measures I had taken and requested that he henceforth issue the corresponding orders due to his executive position as minister. He accepted my suggestions and asked me what he should do. He took this opportunity to inform me that the closure of shops came at an opportune moment since 5,000 retail shops had to be closed down anyway because of oversupply. Shortly thereafter, Vienna's chief fire officer<sup>5</sup> brought it to my attention that when further Jewish temples were set on fire recently, he was no longer able to extinguish the blazes since he had already mobilized all resources and crew members, including the oldest hoses. I hereupon ordered the deployment of the SA, who had hitherto stood in reserve, and the suspension of further actions. This instruction created friction between the political leaders under my command and the men charged with carrying out the arson campaign. But the campaign ultimately came to a halt.

At one in the afternoon I once more assembled the Kreisleiter to gather their reports and repeated my instructions, adding to these that those shops that were in the process of being Aryanized should also remain closed for the time being in order to prevent damage. A representative of the Vienna State Police Office also attended this meeting. In addition, I authorized the Kreisleiter to relocate Jews who had hitherto resided in small apartments to designated unrentable large apartments, whereby the Jews were free to take their possessions with them or to leave them in their old apartments in a sealed room. At the same time, I made the Kreisleiter aware that the order to terminate the operation was expected sometime that afternoon. Indeed, this order was given at four o'clock in the afternoon, and between six and seven o'clock the operation came to end.

The damage to the destroyed property has been estimated at approximately RM 1,000,000. The valuables and goods confiscated and seized by the Party are currently estimated at some RM 25,000,000, which otherwise would have been destroyed in accordance with instructions.

In the evening, patrol duty was performed in conjunction with the police and it continued over the next two nights. Upon review of the reports received from all of the police stations, it was established that only isolated cases of looting had taken place at the hands of uncontrollable elements; based on that fact, calm and security prevailed. Five days and five nights were spent examining and listing the seized goods.

The required measures regarding the usage of the goods were decided upon in a meeting with the state commissioner for private industry and the subsequent course of action was organized accordingly. The state authorities have deployed their entire apparatus, but because of the small number of personnel it has not been possible to do without assistance from the Party.

4 Here a handwritten note in the right-hand margin reads: "To be arranged beforehand with the police."

5 Engineering graduate Paul Bernaschek; Vienna's chief fire officer, 1938; head of the Fire Protection Police, 1940.

This operation has now yielded the following benefits:

(1) Of the 5,000 retail shops that were to be closed according to plans, 4,000 were closed within the shortest possible time, thereby putting the Aryan retail trade on a sound economic footing and strengthening its position.

(2) The inventories will be sold to Aryan businesspeople at the appropriate market rate under the supervision of expert commissions.

(3) Perishable food products were passed on to the NSV.<sup>6</sup>

(4) Approximately 2,000 Party comrades have received small apartments as a result of this operation.

Lastly, the enclosed orders from Gauleiter Bürckel<sup>7</sup> were sent to all Party offices with my provisions for implementation and are currently being carried out.

In terms of public sentiment, the operation generated more disapproval than approval. The instructions that came directly from the Old Reich gave the individual units so much leeway that a series of incidents occurred that alienated the population. Even though the political leadership kept the larger part of the operation within tolerable limits, as we know, one always only sees the negative side of such an operation. However, the Party disclaims any responsibility for the actual negative consequences.

Worthy of note is the fact that it can be verified, on the basis of the confiscated account books, which show an increase in deposits in the months of June, July, and August, that the Jews were conducting business of an unknown nature. Substantial amounts were withdrawn from these accounts in September in order to purchase jewellery and other items, with the intention of smuggling assets abroad in this manner. The smuggling of enormous amounts of valuables was prevented by the seizures carried out by the police and the Party, and it would now be advisable to issue a regulation stipulating the most stringent border controls possible on persons of Jewish race and other persons.

#### DOC. 134

### **SA members from Lesum fatally shoot three Jews in their apartments during the night of 9/10 November 1938<sup>1</sup>**

Opinion issued by the Special Senate of the Supreme Party Court of the NSDAP (ref. no.: Special Senate no. 6), signed Schneider, dated 20 January 1939

Enclosure 10<sup>2</sup>

In the name of the Führer

Ref. no.: Special Senate no. 6

In the case of SA-Scharführer and Party member August *Frühling*<sup>3</sup> in Lesum and SA-Rottenführer Bruno *Mahlstedt*,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt: National Socialist People's Welfare.

<sup>7</sup> Here Bürckel ordered the Aryanization of undamaged Jewish shops and the closure of all others. Confiscated goods were to be first registered and then distributed mostly among shop owners with unquestionable National Socialist convictions: DÖW, 9425.

<sup>1</sup> BArch (formerly Berlin Document Center), 'OPG, Mahlstedt, Bruno, 12.7.07', published in Wolfgang Scheffler, 'Ausgewählte Dokumente zur Geschichte des Novemberpogroms 1938', *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, issue B 44/78, 4 Nov. 1978, pp. 15–16. This document has been translated from German.

membership number<sup>5</sup>

the Special Senate of the Supreme Party Court of the NSDAP, in its session of 20 January 1939, composed of Presiding Judge

and Party Comrade *Schneider*,

and the Judges: Party Comrade *Koch-Schweisfurth*,<sup>6</sup>

Party Comrade *von Wauck* as probationary judge,

Party Comrade *Lohse*,<sup>7</sup> Gauleiter

Party Comrade *Damian*,<sup>8</sup> SA-Gruppenführer, as lay judge

*Verdict:*

The proceedings are *terminated*.

*Opinion statement:*

I. During the night of 9/10 November 1938, the Jewish married couple *Goldberg*<sup>9</sup> and the Jewish electrician *Sinasohn*<sup>10</sup> were shot dead in their apartments in Lesum and Platjenwerbe, respectively. Sinasohn was buried after the fatal shooting. The acts were carried out as part of the measures directed against Jews following the death of Legation Secretary vom *Rath*. The persons committing the acts were, in the Goldberg case, SA-Scharführer *Frühling*, and in the Sinasohn case, SA-Rottenführer *Mahlstedt*. When called to

2 The file contains only the opinion printed here and no other documents or enclosures.

3 August Frühling (1885–1966), marine engineer; worked at sea from 1908; after 1920 mechanical engineer and works manager at various companies, also unemployed for a while; joined the SA in 1933 and the NSDAP in 1937; promoted to SA-Scharführer in 1938; resumed work as a marine engineer in 1952.

4 Bruno Mahlst[a]edt (1915–2001), officer and retailer; joined the SA in 1933; promoted to SA-Rottenführer in 1938; after taking part in the pogrom of 9/10 November served as a Wehrmacht soldier and rose to the rank of captain; commercial employee, 1951; procurator, 1952; worked as a sales representative and owned a laundry, 1953; later employed at a tube factory in Singen.

5 This information was not filled out in the original.

6 Emil Koch-Schweisfurth (1907–1991), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1929; regional administrator in Saxony, 1935; served full-time on the Supreme Party Court from 1936; senior regional administration counsellor, 1941; senior regional court judge in Kassel, 1942; from 1943 Reich Main Office leader and chairman of the First Chamber of the Supreme Party Court.

7 Hinrich Lohse (1896–1964), trade merchant and bank official; joined the NSDAP in 1921; NSDAP Gauleiter in Schleswig-Holstein, 1925–1945 (except for 1932); Oberpräsident of Schleswig-Holstein, 1933–1945; from 1937 SA-Obergruppenführer; Reich commissioner for Ostland (Riga), 1941–1944; arrested, 1945; sentenced to ten years' imprisonment and confiscation of property, 1948; released in 1951.

8 Probably Leopold Danton Damian (1895–1971), teacher; joined the NSDAP in 1929 and the SA in 1931; chief of the Court and Legal Office of the Supreme SA Command, 1937–1941; from 9 Nov. 1938 SA-Gruppenführer; leader of the SA Group Upper Rhine (Strasbourg), 1941–1945; honorary member of the People's Court.

9 Dr Adolph Goldberg (1860–1938), physician; from 1888 practised medicine in his home town of Burgdamm (Lesum); medical counsellor, 1918; in 1895 married Martha Sussmann (1873–1938), who came from a Schwerin retailing family; she worked in his office as a receptionist, secretary, and accountant.

10 Leopold Sinasohn (1877–1938), fitter; mechanic's apprenticeship in Berlin, 1891–1894; worked at sea for several years; from 1911 to 1933 was employed in the shipbuilding department of the Hanseatische Siemens-Schuckert Werke GmbH in Bremen, rising to the position of senior fitter in the construction office.

account, both stated that they had received orders from Sturmbannführer *Köster*,<sup>11</sup> via Obersturmführer *Jahns*<sup>12</sup> and Obertruppführer *Harder*,<sup>13</sup> to shoot and kill the Jews Goldberg and Sinasohn and to do away with Sinasohn. Köster corroborated the statements of the SA men during his interrogation. In his defence he explained that the order to eliminate the Jews that he had given to them and to their leaders Jahns and Harder in their presence had come to him from Regiment 411 via the Truppführer *Seggermann*.<sup>14</sup> This order was in turn confirmed by the [SA] group following a telephone enquiry from his Sturmbannführer *Roeschmann*,<sup>15</sup> whom he had woken in the night.

With regard to Köster's statements the following facts can be proven on the basis of the evidence heard:

Sturmbannführer Köster, mayor of the town of Lesum, was woken by the telephone ringing at approximately 3:30 a.m. during the night of 9/10 November 1938. His caretaker rang to inform him that Regiment 411 wished to speak to him. The Truppführer Seggermann answered for the regiment. The following conversation ensued:

'Regiment 411 on the line. Truppführer Seggermann speaking. Have you received your orders?'

Köster: 'No.'

Seggermann: 'SA is on red alert all across Germany. Reprisals for the death of vom Rath. When evening comes, there are to be no more Jews in Germany. Jewish shops should also be destroyed. Please notify Sturmbannführer Roeschmann.'

Köster repeated all the orders and, surprised by what he had been told, after repeating the orders again asked, 'So what is actually supposed to happen to the Jews?', to which Seggermann replied, 'Annihilate them!' In response to Köster's next question about whether Sturmbannführer Roeschmann should confirm the orders, Seggermann gave this answer: 'No, take action!'

Thereupon Köster went to Roeschmann's house, woke him, and informed him of the orders he had received from the regiment through Seggermann. Because of the significance of the orders, both were in agreement that they should obtain confirmation from the group. Roeschmann therefore telephoned, in Köster's presence, the SA office of the group. Gross,<sup>16</sup> the Sturmführer on duty, answered because the chief of staff, Oberführer *Römpagel*,<sup>17</sup> was temporarily absent due to the night's events. When Gross answered,

11 Fritz Johann Köster (1906–1993), commercial employee; joined the SA in 1932 and the NSDAP in 1933; from 1934 to 1939 mayor of Lesum, and afterwards served in Bremen's municipal administration; from 1943 Oberregierungsrat, later deputy building senator; promoted to SA-Obersturmbannführer in 1944; imprisoned, 1947–1953; afterwards worked at Horten AG in Düsseldorf and as a consultant for Lürssen shipyard in the 1970s.

12 Friedrich Jahns (1885–1939), gardener; Obersturmführer in SA Reserve Company 29/411 Lesum-Ritterhude.

13 Anton Dietrich Harder (1904–1964), teacher; joined the SA in 1933 and the NSDAP in 1938; leader of the SA signals troop in Lesum, 1935–1939; promoted to SA-Obertruppführer in 1939; from 1953 insurance salesman and sales representative; from 1956 worked as a commercial employee.

14 Walter Seggermann (1908–1972), retailer; joined the SA and the NSDAP in 1933; from 1937 served in SA Regiment 411, Brigade 62, North Sea Group; worked full-time as a driver and clerk; promoted to SA-Obertruppführer in 1937 or 1938; from 1939 Wehrmacht soldier; served in the navy, 1942.

15 Ernst Röschmann (1913–1967), retailer; joined the SA and the NSDAP in 1931; from 1935 worked full-time for the SA; promoted to SA-Sturmbannführer in 1938; from 1939 Wehrmacht soldier; in 1945 and 1952 worked as a sales representative; managing director, 1966.

Roeschmann, who did not want to communicate the orders he had received over the phone, simply said, 'I have some bizarre orders here; are these correct?' Gross replied, 'Absolutely, the Night of the Long Knives is under way in Bremen. The synagogue is already in flames.'<sup>18</sup> When asked by Roeschmann, 'Is that official?', Gross responded, 'That's official.'

Köster, who sat at the desk opposite Roeschmann during the telephone conversation, wanted clarity. As he could not believe what Roeschmann was saying and asking on the phone, he pounded his fist on the desk during the conversation to get his point across and to emphasize his question, and asked, alluding to Seggermann's words to Roeschmann: 'What is *annihilate* supposed to mean?', upon which Roeschmann repeated: 'The Night of the Long Knives is under way in Bremen,' and ended the conversation with the comment: 'Yes, Fritz, that's how it is, we must act.'

Röschmann and Köster interpreted what Gross said as confirmation of the regiment's orders, taking the 'Night of the Long Knives' to refer to the elimination of the Jews. According to their statements, they considered the regiment's orders to be all the more confirmed when, shortly before the conversation with the group, the Vegesack police station called the SA office to inform it that a certain *Sturmführer Weber* was out picking up a Jew who had fled Vegesack in the direction of the neighbouring village of Blumenthal. Though deeply shaken inside, both Roeschmann and Köster thereupon issued the orders to their men in the certainty that such orders were given with the approval of the highest authorities, whereby Köster, when asked again by *Obertruppenführer Harder* what should be done in the case of Sinasohn, answered: 'Annihilate him, get rid of him.' The words 'get rid of him', which in Köster's view were only another expression for 'annihilate him', were taken literally by Harder, so that after Mahlstedt had shot and killed Sinasohn, Harder and his men buried him in a field. Köster himself went with one of his staff sergeants to a Jewish family, arrested them and took them in his vehicle to an open field, where he intended to shoot them. However, he could not bring himself to go through with the shooting and nor could his staff sergeant, so they fired a warning shot in the air and let the Jews go free in the field.<sup>19</sup>

Those who carried out the shootings, Frühling and Mahlstedt, are men of good repute who have been in the SA since 1935 and have no criminal record, and their SA officers in charge have attested to their good character and conduct. It has also not been possible to discover any selfish motives behind their actions. The shooting victims were unknown to both Mahlstedt and Frühling. After a difficult inner conflict, each of the men carried out the orders they had received according to the natural duty of obedience.

These facts are based on the sworn statements of the witnesses Roeschmann and Köster as well as the testimony of the witnesses Gross and Seggermann.

16 Correctly: Arthur Groß (1910–1944), administrative assistant; joined the NSDAP in 1932 and re-joined in 1934; SA officer.

17 Werner Römpagel (1911–1946), commercial employee; joined the SA in 1928 and the NSDAP in 1929; from 1933 worked full-time for the NSDAP; promoted to SA-Oberführer in 1937; from 1 July 1938 chief of staff of the North Sea Group in Bremen; leader of Brigade 63, North Sea Group in Oldenburg, 1939; served in the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories, 1942.

18 The synagogue in Bremen, which had been consecrated in 1876, was destroyed by fire during the night of 9/10 Nov. 1938.

19 This was the family of Rabbi Isaak ter Berg from Ritterhude.

II. With regard to the orders allegedly communicated by Regiment 411 to Köster through Seggermann, it was possible to determine the following:

During the night of 9/10 November 1938, the leader of Regiment 411, Standartenführer *Löber*,<sup>20</sup> was informed by the Kreisleiter and witness *Kühn*<sup>21</sup> that

- (1) Jewish shops were to be smashed up, and
- (2) synagogues were to be set on fire.

*Löber* did not receive any orders from the group. He tried that night to notify his *Sturmbannführer* of the planned measures, which is also why he tried to reach *Sturmbannführer* *Roeschmann* by telephone. When this failed, he charged Seggermann, the regiment's full-time *Truppführer*, with the task of establishing contact with *Sturmbannführer* *Köster*. *Löber* leaves open the possibility that after many failed attempts to establish contact, he allowed his staff sergeant to make contact with *Köster* and deliver the orders discussed on his behalf, namely (1) to smash up the Jewish shops and (2) to set the synagogues on fire. These were the only orders mentioned. After his conversation with *Köster*, Seggermann returned to the Standartenführer's desk to give his report. When asked which orders he had delivered, he replied that he had passed on the two orders stated above. These two orders were not overstepped within the jurisdiction of Regiment 411, except in the case under discussion here.

According to the concurring statements of all persons involved, namely the witnesses Standartenführer *Löber*, Kreisleiter *Kühn*, and *Truppführer* Seggermann, the prevailing view that night in Café *Wendt*, where the witnesses had sat together, was that the time for a complete solution to the Jewish question had finally come and that the few hours remaining until the next day must be used. There was also a consensus that shots should be fired if the slightest resistance should be encountered and that a Jew's life would not stand in the way. However, according to the statement by Standartenführer *Löber*, all leaders involved also realized that such a point of view was not supported by any official policy, but that nonetheless action could and must be taken against the Jews, and that the highest authorities also held this point of view and refrained from expressing themselves clearly because they did not want to place the Movement in an unfavourable legal position through an unequivocal order.

It was under the influence of this point of view described in Standartenführer *Löber*'s testimony that the witness Seggermann then held his conversation with *Köster*, which occurred as has already been stated and the main points of which he has acknowledged.

III. With regard to the group's confirmation of the orders as alleged by *Roeschmann* and *Köster*, the witness *Sturmführer* *Gross* does not deny having replied to *Roeschmann*'s question 'I have some bizarre orders here; are these correct?' with 'Absolutely', while at the same time explaining that in Bremen the synagogues were ablaze and the Night of the Long Knives was under way. However, he claims that the 'Night of the Long Knives' did not refer to killing the Jews, as *Roeschmann* had believed, but mainly to setting

20 Carl-Theodor *Löber* (1910–1940), commercial employee; NSDAP member; joined the SA in 1930; SA leader of Regiment 411, North Sea Group; died in a plane crash.

21 Hugo *Kühn* (1904–1943), teacher; joined the NSDAP in 1925; named Gau propaganda chief of East Hanover in 1933; from 1934 NSDAP Kreisleiter of *Wesermündung*, later *Wesermünde*; from 1939 fought in the war, where he was killed in action.

synagogues on fire, destroying shops, and putting Jews in concentration camps in accordance with the orders of the Gruppenführer, which he had learned of from the Oberführer, particularly since he could assume that Roeschmann's question concerning the correctness of the orders received alluded to the orders of the Gruppenführer, in which there was no mention of eliminating the Jews. Furthermore, Gross claims that he used the expression 'the Night of the Long Knives' solely to convey the mood that prevailed among the SA officers that night, namely that the time had now come for an entirely violent solution to the Jewish question, one in which a Jew's life would not stand in the way.

The group's chief of staff, Oberführer Römpagel, received the Gruppenführer's orders by telephone during the night of 9/10 November 1938, and summarized them in writing as follows:

All Jewish stores are to be destroyed by uniformed SA men without delay. Afterwards SA men should stand guard to prevent looting from taking place. All valuables, including money, are to be seized by the administrative leaders of the SA.

The [services of] the press are to be enlisted.

Jewish synagogues are to be set on fire immediately. All Jewish symbols should be seized. The fire brigade must not intervene. It should only protect buildings in which Aryan Germans reside. Adjacent Jewish residences should also be protected, but the Jews have to leave them since Aryans will move into these in the coming days.

The police are not to intervene. It is the Führer's wish that the police do not intervene. The identification of Jewish shops, depots, and warehouses should take place in consultation with the appropriate municipal authorities, as should that of Jewish street vendors and pedlars.

All weapons are to be confiscated from the Jews. If any show resistance, they should be gunned down at once. Signs should be put up in the destroyed shops, synagogues, etc. with text along the lines of:

Vengeance for the murder of vom Rath.

Death to world Jewry.

No cooperation with nations under Jewish influence.

This can also be extended to Freemasonry.

Chief of Staff Römpagel delivered these orders in writing to those SA officers he was able to reach personally. The others were informed of the orders by telephone. In his testimony as a witness, Römpagel stated that when he received the orders, it was clear that there would be deaths. He added that neither had he asked the group leader if it would be permissible to kill Jews nor had the group leader said anything of this kind. It was only after the group leader issued orders at 2 a.m. to take the Jews to a concentration camp did it become evident to him what would happen to the Jews. Before receiving the second set of orders, however, Römpagel had not interpreted the initial orders as meaning that one should simply assume resistance from all Jews without further ado, for he himself had arrested the proprietor of a Jewish hotel who had been in hiding without laying a finger on him. Nevertheless, according to Römpagel, the prevailing view among the SA officers that were present at the group's [office] was that a Jew's life would not stand in the way and that it would be acceptable if one or other were disposed of.

The SA officers who have been interrogated are without exception veteran SA officers. They made the best possible impression during the trial, both in terms of their

entire demeanour, their attitude and commitment, their truthfulness, from which they did not stray when they could have incriminated themselves, and in terms of how they vouched for their men and for the orders given to them.<sup>22</sup>

DOC. 135

**On 11 November 1938 the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna asks the Central Office for Jewish Emigration to work towards a moderation of the campaign of anti-Jewish terror<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the head of the Israelite Religious Community, Engel, Vienna, to the Central Office for Jewish Emigration (received on 12 November 1938), Vienna, dated 11 November 1938

The following report is submitted:

The day-to-day operations of the individual offices of the Israelite Religious Community and the institutions under its authority as well as the hours open to the public on the 11th of this month, reveal the following:

On the 10th of this month large numbers of Jews were arrested in their apartments and on the streets and taken to the various police prisons. Enclosed herein is a list of such arrests,<sup>2</sup> which contains, however, only a very small percentage of the cases reported to the Religious Community. Moreover, it must be noted that during the entire opening hours of the Israelite Religious Community, which today were dominated by the measures taken yesterday, only a fraction of the arrests could be recorded. Those arrested included several officials and employees of the Israelite Religious Community in Vienna whose services are indispensable to the emigration department, as well as officials who could potentially be assigned to the emigration department as instructions have been given to step up its operations. Enclosed herein is a corresponding list.<sup>3</sup>

Those arrested include the following community rabbis:

Dr Arthur Zacharias Schwarz,<sup>4</sup> 31 Wasagasse, 9th District, Vienna,  
Josef Babad,<sup>5</sup> Kai 17, 1st District, Vienna,

22 Köster, Harder, Frühling, Mahlst[a]edt, Seggermann, and Röschmann stood trial in 1948 for the murder of the Goldbergs and Leopold Sinasohn. Köster was sentenced to life in prison, but the punishment was reduced to a fifteen-year sentence on appeal; he was released in 1953. The court sentenced Frühling and Harder to ten and eight years' penal servitude, respectively; both were pardoned in 1951. Mahlst[a]edt received eight and a half years' penal servitude, while Röschmann and Seggermann were sentenced to four years and two and a half years in prison, respectively.

1 BArch, ZB 7050 A. 17. This document has been translated from German.

2 The list mentioned here is not in the file.

3 The list mentioned here is not in the file.

4 Dr Arthur Zacharias Schwarz (1880–1939), rabbi and literary scholar; from 1914 served as a rabbi in Vienna; imprisoned in 1938; after being severely maltreated by the Gestapo in 1939 he managed to emigrate to Palestine, where he died a short time later; author of works including *Die hebräischen Handschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Wien* (1925).

5 Josef Babad (b. 1875), rabbi; judge at the Supreme Jewish Court in Vienna; emigrated via the Netherlands to Britain in 1940.

Dr Gabriel M. Mehrer,<sup>6</sup> 7 Seisgasse, 4th District, Vienna,

Dr Albert Weiner,<sup>7</sup> 7 Wielandplatz, 10th District, Vienna.

Many of those arrested were already in possession of an entry permit for various countries, so their arrest forced them to put off their departure or cancel it altogether. Particular attention should be called to the arrest of the deputy head of the Palestine Office, Dr Maurycy Grün,<sup>8</sup> whose services are absolutely essential at the present time due to the absence of the head of the Palestine Office, Dr Alois Rothenberg, who is currently on a trip to Paris and London on behalf of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration.

In many cases houses were searched, and in several apartments furniture was damaged and fires had to be extinguished. Among other incidents reported, written materials, including fifteen affidavits for immigration to the United States of North America, were destroyed in the apartment of a member of the Vienna Israelite Religious Community's advisory council, Julius Steinfeld, 59 Donaustr., 2nd District, Vienna, who deals with emigration matters.

In several districts, tenants were required to vacate their apartments within a very short period of time, often within two or three hours. Apartment keys were collected and taken to the leadership of local NSDAP branches. It was therefore necessary to house a large number of people in several small and inadequate facilities. For instance, fifty people were accommodated at 'Zukunft', a home for apprentices, located at 26 Gr. Torgasse, 9th District, Vienna. Approximately fifteen people, all of whom were Jewish tenants from adjacent houses, found shelter in the apartment of the office director and head of the Israelite Religious Community, Dr Josef Loewenherz, 42 Nussdorferstraße, 9th District, Vienna. Office Director Dr Josef Loewenherz is at present sojourning in Paris and London on behalf of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration, in order to hold talks with foreign relief organizations concerning the provision of foreign currency and facilitating possibilities for entry. The post of head of the Vienna Israelite Religious Community and the many visitors he receives makes it vital to ensure the undiminished use of his apartment. Among other such cases, Dr Leo Landau,<sup>9</sup> a member of the Vienna Israelite Religious Community's advisory council, assigned to the head welfare office and the emigration department, who was subletting from his 76-year-old father-in-law, Jakob Schenkel, at 49 Porzellangasse, 9th District, Vienna, was ordered to vacate his apartment within a few hours. Enclosed herein are excerpts from a list of apartment

6 Dr Gabriel Meir Mehrer (b. 1876), rabbi at the Beth Aharon Synagogue on Siebenbrunnengasse; emigrated to New York in 1940.

7 Dr Abraham (Albert) Weiner (1890–1970), teacher and rabbi; district rabbi for Burgenland; inspector of Jewish religious instruction in Vienna; emigrated to Palestine, 1939; co-founder and rabbi of the Sheerit Jacob congregation in Petah Tikva.

8 Dr Maurycy Moses Grün (b. 1890), lawyer; Zionist; in 1938 deputy head and in 1940 head of the Palestine Office in Vienna; in 1939 appointed head of the Vienna branch of the Jewish Culture League by Adolf Eichmann; prohibited from emigrating; deported in 1943 to Theresienstadt and in 1944 to Auschwitz, where he died.

9 Dr Leo Landau (b. 1891), lawyer; president of the Federation of Viennese Temple Associations, 1930; chairman of the Association of Conservative Prayer Houses (with the exception of the Adass Jisroel prayer houses); Zionist; initially headed the refugee relief efforts of the Vienna Israelite Religious Community and later helped organize its general welfare activities.

evictions<sup>10</sup> reported to the Israelite Religious Community, with the comment that we have already repeatedly brought attention to the fact that the individual families must keep their accommodation until the time of their emigration. The issue of finding housing is becoming very pressing, particularly due to the order issued some time ago with respect to removing the Jews from the individual Gause in the Ostmark,<sup>11</sup> which will require a large portion of them to relocate to Vienna. Also affected by the apartment evictions were several officials and employees of the Israelite Religious Community, whose services are indispensable.

With respect to the offices of the Israelite Religious Community, the tax office, 1 Rupprechtsplatz, 1st District, Vienna, was sealed, as were the library and the archives of the Israelite Religious Community, 223 Ferdinandsstraße, 2nd District, Vienna. It is therefore not really possible to provide a list of the employees of these offices who have been prevented from carrying out their duties as a result of being arrested. Parts of the Israelite Religious Community's ceremonial halls in the Central Cemetery (Gate 1) and the New Cemeteries (Gate 4) were severely damaged; the furnishings were removed. As a result, there is no guarantee that funerals can be performed according to the proper procedures. In particular, it should be stressed that work equipment, books, an index card file, and similar items were confiscated, thus making it especially difficult to run both cemetery offices. In some cases, Jewish personnel are unable to access the office facilities.

The Luise Rosenberg company, 1 Nestroygasse, 2nd District, Vienna, which manufactures the coffins needed for the burial of corpses, was prohibited from operating and its premises were sealed. As the present supply of coffins will only suffice for several days, work in this company would need to start immediately if there is to be no delay in interring corpses.

It is requested that all measures necessary to enable the proper performance of funerals be set in motion.

A search of the Israelite Religious Community's nursing home, 9 Seegasse, 9th District, Vienna, was conducted on the morning of 10 November. The official in charge of the home's telephone switchboard was replaced with an Aryan employee following an order from the local branch. The same measure was taken in the Israelite Religious Community's hospital, 97 Gürtel, 18th District, Vienna. It should be noted that the relevant authorities have repeatedly declared their intention to replace the Jewish officials in both of these institutions with Aryan personnel.

As far as can be established, the Israelite Religious Community's district cultural offices at 22 Turnergasse, 15th District, Vienna; 8 Hubergasse, 16th District; 37 Schopenhauerstraße, 18th District, have been occupied by SA groups. In view of the physical distance between some of the districts and the Vienna Israelite Religious Community's main premises, it is absolutely essential that they [the SA] leave these offices. In some districts there were cases on the morning of 11 November where [businesses] refused to

10 The list mentioned here is not in the file.

11 A central directive requiring Jews to leave the Gause and relocate to Vienna was not issued. In Linz the Gestapo promulgated an order in July 1938 to the effect that Jews must leave the city by the end of the year; a similar order was issued in Graz in early Oct. 1938: Herbert Rosenkranz, *Verfolgung und Selbstbehauptung: Die Juden in Österreich 1938–1945* (Vienna: Herold, 1978), p. 92.

supply Jewish parties with groceries, which was another factor leading to a great sense of disquiet among the Jewish population.

Except for a few cases, all of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna's meal distribution sites had to be closed down since the furnishings were damaged and part of the stocks of food were rendered unusable, and part of them confiscated. In view of the planned Winter Relief action, it is absolutely essential that regular meal distribution be resumed.

The day-care centre, 1 Aspernbrückengasse, 2nd District, Vienna, was occupied while the children were being fed; in the process the food was rendered inedible and the furnishings destroyed. The employees working during the distribution of meals were taken into custody, as were those fathers who had accompanied their children.

As a result of yesterday's events, visits to the Vienna Israelite Religious Community's emigration department are far lower than has been the average in previous weeks, even though normal operations were resumed today as instructed. Most offices are busy consoling visitors whose family members were arrested, or handling the complaints of an impromptu delegation.

As the Religious Community cannot send announcements to its members at the present time, large signboards were put up at the building's front entrance informing people that the emigration department had resumed its work and that visitors were being dealt with as normal. Nonetheless, it must be noted that the events of the last few days have greatly affected the operation of all offices dealing with emigration. The various incidents have intimidated individuals to such an extent that they are reluctant to visit the administrative building of the Israelite Religious Community. The Vienna Israelite Religious Community is working diligently in accordance with its mandates in order to expand and intensify the emigration movement. It therefore considers it to be its duty to submit this report, with the urgent request that the efforts of the Vienna Israelite Religious Community in the area of emigration be supported by means of calming measures that enable normal office operations.

## DOC. 136

**On 11 November 1938 the Bavarian Minister of the Interior informs the Bavarian Minister President about the conclusion and consequences of the pogrom night<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the State Ministry of the Interior, Adjutant's Office (diary no. 15 764), Karl Oberhuber,<sup>2</sup> Munich, to the Bavarian Minister President,<sup>3</sup> Bavarian State Chancellery, Munich, dated 11 November 1938<sup>4</sup>

Dear Minister President,

With polite reference to the information I imparted to you by telephone in Würzburg, on the evening of 10 November, I am taking the liberty to send you enclosed the text of the communication.

Heil Hitler!

Karl Oberhuber

1 enclosure

Copy

I have the honour of sending you the following information, which I have already imparted to you by telephone:

Reich Minister and Party Comrade Dr Goebbels informed the minister of the following by telephone:

All actions against Jews are to be considered completed, now that Party Comrade Goebbels has reported to the Führer. The Führer sanctions the measures taken thus far, and expresses no disapproval of them. Moreover, he is not opposed to the individual Gaue acting on their own accord to close or Aryanize shops, depending on the situation in the Gaue. The Führer proposes that all Jewish shops be expropriated in exchange for compensation in the form of low-interest-bearing government bonds in the owner's name, with a deadline of around the end of the year.

As to the protest of the Polish consulate general regarding the death of the Jew Both,<sup>5</sup> we should not take this action all that seriously. We suggest removing the Polish Jews from Munich to keep them out of danger, since little distinction is drawn between Polish and German Jews during such spontaneous operations.

1 BayHStA, StK 6412, fols. 9–12. This document has been translated from German.

2 Karl Oberhuber (1900–1981), retailer; member of the NSDAP and the SA in 1922–1923 and rejoined the NSDAP in 1928; from 1935 adjutant to the Bavarian minister of the interior and the Gauleiter of Munich-Upper Bavaria, Adolf Wagner; from 1939 head of the Adjutant's Office; Brigadeführer in the National Socialist Motor Corps, 1942; Oberregierungsrat in the Reich Ministry of the Interior, 1943; interned, 1945; classified as a 'follower' in denazification proceedings in 1949 and sentenced to pay a fine.

3 Ludwig Siebert (1874–1942), politician and lawyer; public prosecutor in Bavaria, 1905–1906; mayor of Rothenburg ob der Tauber, 1908–1919, and of Lindau, 1919–1933; joined the NSDAP in 1931; named honorary member of the SA, 1933; from 1933 to 1942 served as Bavarian minister president and Bavarian minister of finance, and from 1936 also as minister of economics; president of the Academy for German Law, 1939–1942.

4 The original contains illegible handwritten notes.

5 Joachim (Chaim) Both (1876–1938), retailer; in 1908 moved with his family from Poland to Munich, where he opened the men's clothing store Both & Zeimer in 1909; this store was forced to close on 10 Nov. 1938. Both was shot dead in his apartment on the night of 10 Nov. 1938 by three SA men from unit 22/1 – Schenk, Schmidt, and Heinrich – after his store and apartment had been demolished: Andreas Heusler and Tobias Weger, 'Kristallnacht': *Gewalt gegen die Münchner Juden im November 1938* (Munich: Buchendorfer, 1998), pp. 112–121.

I am conveying to you the following directive from the state minister:

- 1) The Jews are to be notified that they are required to clean up their shops themselves using their own resources, and have to meet the costs of the damage themselves.
- 2) Moreover, the Jews are required to pay their employees' salaries and wages from their own resources as long as the Jews are still owners of the shops and businesses, even if these should remain closed.
- 3) The Jews are also to be notified that all sales of Jewish shops and businesses and all related sales negotiations, including those pertaining to movable and immovable goods, are subject to prior approval from the Gauleitung of Munich-Upper Bavaria.

The head of the police division, SS-Obergruppenführer Baron von Eberstein,<sup>6</sup> shall communicate this measure in the Gau of Munich-Upper Bavaria via the police stations across Bavaria.

A message for Minister President Siebert:

Some states, e.g. Oldenburg, are trying to expropriate Jewish shops and businesses straight away. You are informed confidentially that it is the Führer's opinion that a Reich regulation should not encroach upon these local regulations.

Heil Hitler!

DOC. 137

**On 11 November 1938 SA Brigadeführer Karl Lucke gives notification  
of the destruction of thirty-six synagogues in Hesse<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the head of SA Brigade 50 (Starkenburger) (Department F Br. B. no. 4309),<sup>2</sup> unsigned, Darmstadt, to SA Group Electoral Palatinate, Mannheim, dated 11 November 1938

The following order reached me on 10 November 1938 at 3 a.m.:

On the orders of the Gruppenführer,<sup>3</sup> all Jewish synagogues in the [area of] Brigade 50 are immediately to be blown up or set on fire.

6 Baron Karl Friedrich von Eberstein (1894–1979), banker; took part in the Kapp Putsch, 1920; joined the NSDAP in 1925 and the SS in 1929; member of the SA, 1930–1933; chief of police in Munich, 1936–1942; from 1937 head of the police division in the Bavarian Ministry of the Interior; from 1938 Higher SS and Police Leader in Munich; after 1945 worked as a banker in Tegernsee.

1 AJA, World Jewish Congress Collection Series C: Institute of Jewish Affairs, 1918–1979, Subseries 3: War Crimes and Retribution, 1918–1979, box C 156, file 7, published in *Der Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem Internationalen Militärgerichtshof Nürnberg*, 14. November 1945–1. Oktober 1946, vol. 27 (Nuremberg: Sekretariat des Gerichtshofs, 1948), pp. 487–489 (Nuremberg Document 1721–PS). This document has been translated from German.

2 Karl Lucke (1889–1945), administrative official; from 1920 administrative inspector in the Regional Insurance office in Baden; joined the NSDAP in 1930 and the SA in 1931; SA-Brigadeführer in Brigade 50 in Darmstadt, 1936–1942; from 1939 deputy head of the Group Electoral Palatinate (Kurpfalz); from 1942 head of the Group Middle Rhine (Mittelrhein).

3 SA-Gruppenführer for the Electoral Palatinate from Nov. 1937 to Jan. 1942 was Herbert Fust (1899–1974), farmer and estate manager; joined the NSDAP and the SA in 1930; Reichstag member, 1933–1945; special plenipotentiary of the Supreme SA Command in Hamburg and Mecklenburg, 1933–1934; SA-Obergruppenführer, 1941; interned after 1945.

Adjoining houses occupied by Aryan residents must not be damaged. The operation is to be conducted in civilian clothing. Instances of mutiny or looting are to be stopped.

Completion report by 8:30 a.m. to the Brigadeführer or the station.

I promptly alerted the Standartenführer and gave them detailed instruction. They thereupon began to carry out [the orders].

*I hereby report the following instances of destruction in the area of:*

*SA Regiment 115*

- |     |   |                                     |
|-----|---|-------------------------------------|
| (1) | Synagogue in Darmstadt, in Bleichstrasse, | destroyed by fire                   |
| (2) | ” ” ” on Fuchsstrasse                     | ” ” ”                               |
| (3) | ” ” Ober-Ramstadt                         | interior and furnishings demolished |
| (4) | ” ” Gräfenhausen                          | ” ” ” ”                             |
| (5) | ” ” Griesheim                             | ” ” ” ”                             |
| (6) | ” ” Pfungstadt                            | ” ” ” ”                             |
| (7) | ” ” Eberstadt                             | destroyed by fire                   |

*SA Regiment 145*

- |                   |                          |  |
|-------------------|--------------------------|--|
| (1)               | Synagogue in Bensheim    | destroyed by fire                          |
| (2)               | ” ” Lorsch in Hessen     | ” ” ”                                      |
| (2 <sup>4</sup> ) | ” ” Heppenheim           | ” ” ” and explosion                        |
| (3)               | ” ” Birkenau             | destroyed by fire                          |
| (4)               | Prayer house in Alsbach  | ” ” ”                                      |
| (5)               | Assembly room in Alsbach | ” ” ”                                      |
| (6)               | Synagogue in Rimbach     | interior furnishings completely destroyed. |

*SA Regiment 168*

- |     |                           |                   |
|-----|---------------------------|-------------------|
| (1) | Synagogue in Seligenstadt | destroyed by fire |
| (2) | ” ” Offenbach             | ” ” ”             |
| (3) | ” ” Klein-Krotzenburg     | ” ” ”             |
| (4) | ” ” Steinheim am Main     | ” ” ”             |
| (5) | ” ” Mühlheim am Main      | ” ” ”             |
| (6) | ” ” Sprendlingen          | ” ” ”             |
| (7) | ” ” Langen                | ” ” ”             |
| (8) | ” ” Egelsbach             | ” ” ”             |

*SA Regiment 186*

- |      |                                  |                                 |
|------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (1)  | Synagogue in Beerfelden blown up |                                 |
| (2)  | ” ” Michelstadt                  | interior furnishings demolished |
| (3)  | ” ” König                        | ” ” ”                           |
| (4)  | ” ” Höchst im Odenwald           | ” ” ”                           |
| (5)  | ” ” Gross-Umstadt                | ” ” ”                           |
| (6)  | ” ” Dieburg                      | ” ” ”                           |
| (7)  | ” ” Babenhausen                  | ” ” ”                           |
| (8)  | ” ” Gross-Bieberau               | destroyed by fire               |
| (9)  | ” ” Fränkisch Crumbach           | interior furnishings destroyed  |
| (10) | ” ” Reichelsheim                 | ” ” ”                           |

4 Repetition of '2' as in the original.

*SA Regiment 221*

(1)	Synagogue and chapel in Groß Gerau	destroyed by fire
(2)	” in Rüsselsheim	torn down and interior furnishings destroyed
(3)	” in Dornheim	interior furnishings destroyed
(4)	” in Wolfskehlen	” ” ”

## DOC. 138

**On 11 November 1938 Ruth Maier describes the pogrom and the mistreatment and arrest of Jews in Vienna<sup>1</sup>**

Handwritten diary of Ruth Maier, entry for 11 November 1938

They beat us! Yesterday was the most terrible day I have ever experienced. I know now what pogroms are; I know what *human beings* are capable of doing, humans, made in the image of God.

At school, the headmaster told us: ‘Yes, well, they are setting temples on fire, making arrests, beating ... there’s a truck in front of the door ... They have arrested three teachers.’ ... Then, one by one, we are called to the telephone ... like in a slaughterhouse, we didn’t dare go out into the street, [we] laughed ... made jokes, were nervous ... Dita<sup>2</sup> and I drove home, 100 steps away, in a taxi. We sped down the street, it was like wartime ... People stared, cold air, human shapes, and in front a truck with Jews, standing upright, like cattle for slaughter! I will never, must never, forget this sight. Jews in a truck like cattle for slaughter ... People staring.

We slipped into the house like wild game being hunted down, panting our way up the stairs. Then it started. They started beating, they made arrests, smashed furniture to bits, etc. Pale-faced, we all sat at home, and Jews looking like corpses came into our apartment from the street.

I asked: ‘What’s it like out there?’ – ‘Ugly!’

They took RM 46 off Grete L., they yelled, they beat a 75-year-old woman, and she screamed, they used a hammer to smash up her apartment, etc.

Today I walked through the alleyways. It’s like being in a cemetery. Everything smashed with zest and glee, the Jewish shops sealed up, nothing but roller shutters. Then a note: ‘Inventory of this café in Aryan hands: do not damage!’

It says in the *Volksruf*:<sup>3</sup> ‘Where is the yellow patch?’

And if we all must wear a yellow patch: morally, internally, our world, which we carry with us, this they cannot take from us. And that’s why they vent their anger on windowpanes, beat us, and scream: ‘*Judah, die!*’

1 HL-Senteret, Oslo, published in English translation in *Ruth Maier’s Diary*, pp. 102–103. This document has been retranslated from the original German.

2 Judith Suschitzky, née Maier (b. 1922), younger sister of Ruth Maier; emigrated to Britain in 1939.

3 This could not be verified.

Downstairs an Aryan says: 'I gave the Jew such a shove that he tumbled right into the corner.'

Men, made in the images of the gods! And then: 'Blessed are those who are persecuted for the sake of righteousness.'<sup>4</sup>

DOC. 139

**On 11 November 1938 Reinhard Heydrich orders Adolf Eichmann to travel to Berlin to discuss future anti-Jewish policy<sup>1</sup>**

Telegram from the Security Service II 1 of the Reichsführer SS (Air Traffic Control Service no. 71 014, dispatched on 11 November 1938 at 1:10 p.m.), signed SS-Sturmbannführer Ehrlinger, to the SD Leader of the SS Main District Danube, SS-Standartenführer Stahlecker, dated 11 November 1938

There will be a fairly large meeting on Saturday morning in Berlin to discuss the actions against the Jews and the general direction that should be pursued in the future on related matters.<sup>2</sup> Since the plan foresees the creation of a central office in the Reich similar to the arrangement in the Ostmark, [SS-]Gruppenführer *Heydrich* considers it advisable that SS-Obersturmbannführer *Eichmann* attend the meeting in order to convey his experience with the practical implementation. It is therefore requested that SS-Obersturmbannführer *Eichmann* make his way to Berlin at once. He should report to SS-Sturmbannführer *Ehrlinger* at the SD Main Office tomorrow, Saturday, at 8:30 a.m. –

DOC. 140

**On 11 November 1938 Hildegard Wagener expresses her indignation at the violence against Jews<sup>1</sup>**

Handwritten diary of Hildegard Wagener, entry for 11 November 1938 (copy)

*11 November 1938*

A German legation counsellor has been shot dead from behind by a 17-year-old Jew in Paris. –

In the night after the German's death all Jewish shops throughout Germany were demolished and many synagogues set ablaze. –

Are we upstanding Germans or a vulgar mob? Is it worthy of the German people to repay violence with violence? I am ashamed. –

4 From the New Testament: Matthew 5:10.

1 RGVA, 500k-1-625. This document has been translated from German.

2 This refers to the meeting held in the Reich Ministry of Aviation on 12 Nov. 1938: see Doc. 146, 12 Nov. 1938.

1 The original is owned by H. Wagener; copy in AdK, Kempowski-Biographienarchiv, A 37. This document has been translated from German.

No – never in my life will I be able to condone our response to the crime in Paris, and thank God there are many, many people who think as I do, people who have gone through a war, who have maturity and experience. I don't believe it is *the* German people who are perpetrating such a stupid prank. Should we now repeat the mistakes of others, whom we once dragged into the light and scolded? No – we should set an example, showing that one has a far better chance of reaching one's goal by taking a straight and clear path. Good Lord – I fear a reprisal, for what is happening here is unjust. After all, we are *human beings* and not savage beasts that pounce on the defenceless!

## DOC. 141

**On 11 November 1938 Reich Minister of the Interior Wilhelm Frick prohibits Jews from owning weapons<sup>1</sup>***Regulation Prohibiting the Possession of Weapons by Jews.*

11 November 1938.

On the basis of § 31 of the Weapons Act of 18 March 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 265), of Article III of the Law on the Reunification of Austria with the German Reich of 13 March 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 237), and of § 9 of the Decree of the Führer and Reich Chancellor concerning the Administration of the Sudeten German Territories, 1 October 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 1331), the following is hereby decreed:

## § 1

Jews (§ 5 of the First Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law 14 November 1935, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 1333<sup>2</sup>) are prohibited from acquiring, possessing, and carrying firearms, ammunition, and cutting and thrusting weapons. They must immediately surrender all weapons and ammunition in their possession to the local police authorities.

## § 2

Weapons and ammunition found in a Jew's possession are to be forfeited to the Reich without compensation.

## § 3

The Reich Minister of the Interior may authorize exceptions to the prohibition in § 1 for Jews of foreign nationality. He may delegate this competence to other authorities.

## § 4

Whoever wilfully or negligently violates the provisions of § 1 will be punished with imprisonment and a fine. In especially severe cases of deliberate contravention, the punishment is to be imprisonment in a penal institution for up to five years.

<sup>1</sup> 'Verordnung gegen den Waffenbesitz der Juden', *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, p. 1573. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> § 5 of the First Regulation defined who was considered a Jew in the sense of the Reich Citizenship Law: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1935, I, pp. 1333–1334; also see PMJ 1/210.

§ 5

The Reich Minister of the Interior issues the legal and administrative provisions necessary for the implementation of this regulation.

§ 6

This regulation also applies to Austria and the Sudeten German territories.

Berlin, 11 November 1938

*The Reich Minister of the Interior*

*Frick*

**DOC. 142**

**On 12 November 1938 Hermann Göring imposes a compulsory levy  
of 1 billion Reichsmarks on Jews of German nationality<sup>1</sup>**

*Regulation on an Atonement Fine for Jews of German Nationality.*

*12 November 1938.*

The hostile attitude of Jewry towards the German people and Reich, which does not even shrink from cowardly acts of murder, requires decisive resistance and severe punishment.

On the basis of the Regulation on the Implementation of the Four-Year Plan of 18 October 1936 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 887), I therefore order the following:

§ 1 The payment of a contribution of 1,000,000,000 Reichsmarks to the German Reich is levied on Jews of German nationality as a whole.

§ 2 The Reich Minister of Finance will issue the provisions for the implementation of this regulation in consultation with the Reich ministers concerned.

Berlin, 12 November 1938

*The Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan*

*Göring*

Field Marshal

<sup>1</sup> 'Verordnung über eine Sühneleistung der Juden deutscher Staatsangehörigkeit', *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, p. 1579. This document has been translated from German.

## DOC. 143

**On 12 November 1938 Hermann Göring forbids Jews from operating retail businesses and skilled craft enterprises<sup>1</sup>**

*Regulation on the Exclusion of Jews from German Economic Life.*  
12 November 1938.

On the basis of the Regulation on the Implementation of the Four-Year Plan of 18 October 1936 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 887), the following is decreed:

## § 1

(1) From 1 January 1939, Jews (§ 5 of the First Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law of 14 November 1935 – *Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 1333<sup>2</sup>) are barred from operating retail shops, mail-order firms, and sales agencies, as well as from running independent skilled craft enterprises.

(2) They are also prohibited, from the same date, from offering for sale goods or services, from advertising such, or from accepting orders for the same at markets of all kinds, fairs, or exhibitions.

(3) Jewish commercial enterprises (Third Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law of 14 June 1938 – *Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 627<sup>3</sup>) which operate in violation of this regulation are to be closed by the police.

## § 2

(1) From 1 January 1939 a Jew can no longer be a head of an enterprise as defined by the Law for the Regulation of National Labour of 20 January 1934 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 45).<sup>4</sup>

(2) Should a Jew hold an executive position in an economic enterprise, he can be dismissed with six weeks' notice. At the expiration of this notice period, all claims arising from the employee's terminated contract, especially those concerning pension benefits and severance compensation, become null and void.

## § 3

(1) A Jew cannot be a member of a cooperative.

(2) Jewish members of cooperatives are expelled as of 31 December 1938. A special termination notice is not necessary.

1 'Verordnung zur Ausschaltung der Juden aus dem deutschen Wirtschaftsleben', *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, p. 1580. This document has been translated from German.

2 § 5 of the First Regulation defined who was considered a Jew in the sense of the Reich Citizenship Law: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1935, I, p. 1333–1334; see PMJ 1/210.

3 The Third Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law stipulated the criteria for determining which businesses were Jewish: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, pp. 627–628.

4 The Law for the Regulation of National Labour (20 Jan. 1934) appointed the business manager or company chairman the head of an enterprise.

## § 4

The Reich Minister of Economics is empowered to issue the provisions necessary for the implementation of this regulation in consultation with the Reich ministers concerned. He may authorize exceptions insofar as this is required for the transfer of a Jewish enterprise into non-Jewish ownership, for the liquidation of Jewish enterprises, or in special cases for securing necessary supplies.

Berlin, 12 November 1938

*The Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan*

Göring

Field Marshal

## DOC. 144

**On 12 November 1938 Hermann Göring decrees that Jews must cover  
the cost of damage resulting from the pogrom<sup>1</sup>**

*Regulation to Restore the Appearance of the Streets around Jewish Businesses.*

12 November 1938

On the basis of the Regulation on the Implementation of the Four-Year Plan, 18 October 1936 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 887), I decree the following:

## § 1

All damage to Jewish businesses and apartments that occurred on 8, 9, and 10 November 1938 on account of the people's outrage over the agitation of international Jewry against National Socialist Germany is to be cleared away forthwith by the Jewish shopkeeper or trader.

## § 2

(1) The owner of the affected Jewish businesses and apartments shall bear the restoration costs.

(2) Insurance claims of Jews with German nationality will be confiscated for the benefit of the Reich.

## § 3

The Reich Minister of Economics is authorized to issue the provisions for the implementation of this regulation in consultation with the other Reich ministers.

Berlin, 12 November 1938

*The Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan*

Göring

Field Marshal

<sup>1</sup> 'Verordnung zur Wiederherstellung des Straßenbildes bei jüdischen Gewerbebetrieben', *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, p. 1581. This document has been translated from German.

## DOC. 145

**On 12 November 1938 the Bonn resident Marie Kahle and her son  
are accused of sympathizing with Jews<sup>1</sup>**

Submission by Marie Kahle<sup>2</sup> to a Harvard University competition (1940)

[...]<sup>3</sup>

The German Orientalist Congress was held in Bonn during the last week of August. My husband<sup>4</sup> ran the congress, working closely with the mayor and local authorities.

The International Orientalist Congress took place in Brussels in early September. The ministry appointed my husband to lead the German delegation. In Brussels I was even more anxious to avoid engaging in any kind of discussion about politics than I had been in Germany. When foreigners asked about my position on National Socialism, I certainly didn't say anything against the government, though I did try to avoid praising the Nazis if it all possible. We cut ourselves off from the outside world as much as we could after the disappointment that Munich had brought us.<sup>5</sup>

On 10 November 1938 the wife of a Jewish colleague<sup>6</sup> came to see me at 11:30 in the morning and reported that both of Bonn's synagogues had been set on fire and SS troops were destroying the Jewish shops, to which I replied, 'That surely can't be true!' She gave me a manuscript, the life's work of her husband, for safe keeping. One of my sons then brought the same news.

Unbeknown to me, my third son cycled at once to a Jewish watchmaker, helped this man's wife to hide several things, and brought home a suitcase containing the most valuable jewellery and watches. He then went to a chocolate shop, warned the owner, and helped her carry tea, coffee, and so forth into a room at the back. While three SS men were at the front of the shop smashing everything, he left through the back door with a suitcase full of valuable securities. Once in the street he got on his bicycle and rode home.

1 Marie (Marie) Kahle, 'Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und nach dem 30. Januar 1933' [My life in Germany before and after 30 January 1933] (1940), pp. 10–12, Harvard Competition, no. 101. This document has been translated from German.

2 Marie Kahle, née Gisevius (1893–1948), teacher; worked as a primary school teacher, 1914–1917; married Paul Kahle, 1917; lived in Bonn, 1923–1939; emigrated to Britain in 1939; author of the book *What Would You Have Done?* (1945).

3 The report comprises twelve pages. In the first part Kahle describes the situation after the start of the First World War. Her mother and her eldest son died in 1920 in an influenza epidemic. In 1933 she forbade her sons to join the Hitler Youth. After the April boycott in 1933 she was summoned to the Gestapo several times because of a denunciation.

4 Dr Paul Ernst Kahle (1875–1964), orientalist and theologian; pastor and head of the German School in Cairo, 1903–1908; adjunct professor in Halle, 1909–1914; held a professorship in 1914–1923 in Gießen and in 1923–1938 in Bonn, where he was head of the Institute for Oriental Studies; emigrated to Britain in April 1939; returned to Germany (Düsseldorf) in 1963.

5 This is a reference to the Munich Agreement and the concessions that Britain and France made on the issue of Germany expansionism: see Introduction, p. 42.

6 Margarete Philippson, née Kirchberger (1882–1993), geographer; married to the geographer Alfred Philippson (1864–1953). The Philippsons were deported together with their daughter to Theresienstadt in June 1942; all three returned to Bonn in July 1945.

He later spent several weeks selling these hidden valuables to our acquaintances, thus providing the two shopkeepers with money, of which the Gestapo was unaware. A Jewish colleague of my husband spent the entire 10th of November with us along with his wife and in this way escaped arrest.

From the 11th onward my sons diligently helped the Jewish shopkeepers clean up their shops.<sup>7</sup> I couldn't join in because I didn't want to jeopardize my husband's position. I could only visit the poor. On one of these visits a police officer surprised me and my eldest son, and took down my name.

This led to a newspaper article in the *Westdeutscher Beobachter* on 17 November 1938 titled 'This Is Betrayal of the People: Mrs Kahle and Her Son Help the Jewess Goldstein with Clean-Up Work'.<sup>8</sup> Because of this article my husband was immediately suspended and barred from entering the Department of Oriental Studies and the university building. My eldest son was also barred from setting foot on university grounds. He was given a harsh sentence by a disciplinary court; its judgment is enclosed herein.<sup>9</sup> During the night our house was attacked. The windowpanes were smashed and so on. The young people had come with the intention of abducting me, but couldn't break open the front door. The attack squad arrived after some time but left immediately. One of the policemen suggested I have a look outside. On the pavement we found written, in large red letters: 'Traitor to the People! Friend of the Jews!' We thereupon washed off the writing with turpentine. But since the people kept coming back with their car, I cycled off in full view. I didn't want my children to see me beaten to death, plus I was putting my family at risk. I found quarters in a small convent.<sup>10</sup> The nuns graciously looked after me and my youngest son. Several days later the Gestapo asked me during the interrogation if I knew the licence number of the car carrying the people who committed the attack. After answering 'No' to this question, I was released. As I was leaving the Gestapo building, the same car was parked in front of the door. I even recognized the chauffeur.

Of particular importance in this whole period was a visit in January 1939 from a noted neurologist who, as a Reich training leader, was well versed in the Jewish question.

Over two afternoons when we were alone, he told me what would happen to me and my family under the slogan 'Jews and friends of Jews must be exterminated; we exterminate friends of Jews and their entire progeny.' He then said that I was beyond res-

7 The Kahles had five surviving sons: Wilhelm (1919–1993), Hans (1920–2003), Theodor (1922–1988), Paul (1923–1955), and Ernst (1927–1993).

8 The police officer encountered Marie Kahle and her son Wilhelm in the corset shop of Emilie Goldstein (1875–1944), which was located at 22 Kaiserstraße, near the Kahles' apartment. The three-column article included the full name and address of mother and son and reproached them for 'siding with the Jews' and helping them 'against their own people'. It was followed by a list of crimes allegedly committed by Jews, ranging from fraud against savers in Bonn to the 'defilement' of Rhenish women by the 'black hordes of savage colonial troops'. The article is published in Marie Kahle and Paul Kahle, *Was hätten Sie getan? Die Flucht der Familie Kahle aus Nazi-Deutschland* [What Would You Have Done? The Story of the Escape of the Kahle Family from Nazi Germany] (Bonn: Bouvier, 1998 [English edn, 1945]), pp. 188–191.

9 Following the University of Bonn's disciplinary ruling on 6 Dec. 1938 (published *ibid.*, pp. 31–33), the universities of Leipzig and Frankfurt also rejected the music student Wilhelm Kahle, and no church in Bonn would allow him to use its organ for practice. He was never rehabilitated.

10 This was the Benedictine cloister Zur ewigen Anbetung, located at 6 Kapellenstraße in Bonn's Endenich neighbourhood.

cue, but my family could still be saved. When I asked him what I should do, he told me several stories in which the woman had committed suicide and thus saved her family. He thereupon asked, 'How much Veronal do you have?' After I answered, 'Only two grams', he gave me a prescription for the amount I lacked. I carried the Veronal around with me for several days, but then I decided not to die but rather to try to flee the country *with* my family.

Only three [of my husband's] colleagues dared to visit us during those four months.<sup>11</sup> I couldn't go out during the day; one evening I met a colleague's wife and lamented that *not a single* female friend or acquaintance had had the courage to pay me a visit. She replied, 'It is not cowardice, we are just taking the facts into account.'<sup>12</sup>

When the Gestapo, on 17 February 1939, barred my husband from speaking to colleagues (first item on my acquaintance's agenda), I realized that the time had come to leave Germany before the Nazis could put me and my sons in a concentration camp (second item on my acquaintance's agenda).

I assume that this acquaintance told the Kreisleiter that I was surely going to take my own life and that I should be given back my passport (which the authorities had confiscated after 17 November). There is simply no other explanation for why they returned my passport. Three days later I travelled with my eldest son to Holland and from there to England. Our English friends here collected money for us, and found an academic job for my husband. When all of my attempts to tell my husband to join us failed, I went to Brussels and met my husband there. After *almost* insurmountable difficulties we succeeded in getting our other sons out of Germany. On 2 April we all made the trip over to England.

In conclusion, I would just like to add that I would not have made it through the last months in Germany if I had not had a friend. He was Professor Rademacher, professor of Catholic dogma at the University of Bonn.<sup>13</sup> His last words to me were: 'Confide, filia, fidem tuam te salvam fecit!'<sup>14</sup>

Various enclosures.<sup>15</sup>

11 Rudolf Thurneysen (1857–1940), professor of Indo-Germanic linguistics in Bonn; Gerhard Deeters (1892–1961), professor of comparative linguistics in Bonn; Hans Bonnet (1887–1972), professor of Egyptology in Bonn.

12 Berly Bickel, née Braadland (1882–1972), wife of Ernst Bickel (1876–1961), professor of classical philology in Bonn.

13 Dr Arnold Rademacher (1873–1939), priest and theologian; professor in Bonn, 1917–1939, and vice chancellor of the University of Bonn, 1928–1929; editor of the *Jahresberichte der Görresgesellschaft* from 1914 to 1922 and of *Grenzfragen zwischen Theologie und Philosophie* from 1936; author of works including *Gnade und Natur* (1925).

14 This is Latin for: 'Take heart, daughter; your faith has made you well' (Matthew 9:22).

15 The enclosures include a handwritten copy of a placard dating from 17 Nov. 1938 on which Marie Kahle and her son were denounced as traitors to the people; the disciplinary ruling of the University of Bonn against the student Wilhelm Kahle; and copies of excerpts from two letters: in one Professor Walther Hinz expresses his regret to his colleague Kahle for his wife's 'lack of instinct': published in Kahle and Kahle, *Was hätten Sie getan?*

## DOC. 146

**Meeting chaired by Hermann Göring on 12 November 1938  
regarding anti-Jewish policy after the pogrom<sup>1</sup>**

Stenographic transcript<sup>2</sup> of part of the meeting chaired by Field Marshal Göring at the Reich Ministry of Aviation on 12 November 1938, from 11 a.m.<sup>3</sup>

*Göring:* Gentlemen, today's meeting is of vital importance. I have received a letter written to me on the Führer's behalf by the chief of staff of the Deputy of the Führer, Bormann, saying that the Jewish question is now to be combined into a single coherent whole and settled in one way or another.<sup>4</sup> In a telephone call yesterday, I was again told by the Führer to now centralize the decisive measures.

Since the problem is mainly a wide-ranging economic one, it is from this angle that it must be tackled. Naturally, a number of legal measures also emerge from this, which fall under the remit of both the minister of justice and the Minister of the Interior, and then there are the propaganda measures to be inferred from that, which fall under the remit of the Minister of Propaganda, and also, of course, the measures of the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Economics.

In the meeting at which, back then, we first spoke about this question and decided to Aryanize the German economy, to get the Jew out of the economy and into the debt register and send him into retirement, we merely made very nice plans, which, alas, were only very sluggishly pursued.<sup>5</sup> Then we had a demonstration here in Berlin. After that, we told the people: something decisive will happen now. But again, nothing happened.<sup>6</sup>

1 Nuremberg Document 1816-PS, published in *Der Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem Internationalen Militärgerichtshof Nürnberg, 14. November 1945 – 1. Oktober 1946*, vol. 28 (Nuremberg: Sekretariat des Gerichtshofs, 1948), pp. 499–540. This document has been translated from German.

2 The record is incomplete. Three of a total of seven partial transcripts have not survived.

3 The conference was attended by more than 100 high-ranking officials, ministers, and state secretaries, including, for the Reich Ministry of the Interior, Minister of the Interior Frick, State Secretary Stuckart, and the specialist for racial affairs Bernhard Lösener; for the Reich Foreign Office, the head of the Political Department, Woermann, and the specialist for Jewish affairs, Schumburg, as well as Adolf Eichmann; the notes made on the conference by Woermann and Schumburg are published in *Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik 1918–1945*, series D: 1937–1945, vol. 5, pp. 761–762; the notes made by Lösener are published in 'Dokumentation: Das Reichsministerium des Innern und die Judengesetzgebung', *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, vol. 9, no. 3 (1961), pp. 262–313; on the conference, see pp. 288–291.

4 This letter could not be found.

5 At a meeting of the Council of Ministers on 28 April 1938, Göring announced that the goal of anti-Jewish policy was to completely eliminate Jews from the economy. One of the resolutions passed by the Council of Ministers concerned the exclusion of Jews from certain sectors of trade and industry.

6 After Jewish businesses in Berlin had repeatedly been attacked in mid June 1938, Fritzsche, the head of the Domestic Press Department at the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, declared at the Reich press conference on 20 June 1938 that independent actions with regard to the Jewish question were no longer appropriate, since Jewish businesses were to be marked as such: on the attacks, see Introduction, p. 19, and Doc. 47, 22 June 1938.

Now we have had this affair in Paris.<sup>7</sup> That was followed by more demonstrations, and now something must happen! Because, gentlemen, I have had enough of these demonstrations. They are not damaging to the Jews but rather to me in the end, because in the final analysis it is me who has to centralize the economy. If a Jewish shop is smashed to bits today, if goods are tossed into the street, then the insurance company compensates the Jew for the damage – he suffers no loss at all – and second, consumer goods, goods belonging to the people, have been destroyed. If demonstrations, which may be necessary in some circumstances, take place in future, then I ask once and for all that they be managed in such a way that we do not cut off our nose to spite our face. Because it is insane to clear out a Jewish department store and set fire to it, and then a German insurance company bears the loss, and the goods I urgently need – whole departments full of clothing and I don't know what else – are burned up and cause shortages for me from start to finish. I might as well set fire to the raw materials when they arrive.

The people, of course, do not understand this, and for this reason laws must be made that indisputably show the people that something is being done here. I would be very grateful if the propaganda could make reference to this point and say that the damage, alas, does not affect the Jew but in actual fact the German insurance companies.

Now I have no desire, however, to let the German insurance companies bear this loss. Therefore, on the basis of my authority, I will issue a directive, and, of course, I ask for the cooperation of the ministries concerned, so that things are put on the right track and the insurance companies do not have to bear the loss.

But a second factor immediately arises: these insurance companies may be reinsured in foreign countries. If such reinsurance is possible here, I would not, on the other hand, want to forego it, because it brings in foreign currency. So that must be investigated. For this reason, I have also asked Mr Hilgard<sup>8</sup> from the [Reich Group of] Insurance Companies to join us here; he can best give us information about the extent to which the insurance companies are covered by reinsurance against such losses. Because I would under no circumstances want to forego that.

I would like to leave no doubt about this, gentlemen: the purpose of today's meeting is not to have another chat about what ought to be done. Rather, decisions are being made now, and I strongly request the departments to take the necessary steps now to Aryanize the economy in quick succession and to submit them to me as far as it is necessary.

In the Aryanization of the economy, the basic principle is this: the Jew is eliminated from the economy and surrenders his economic assets to the state. He is compensated in return. The compensation is noted in the debt register and interest paid to him at a certain rate. He must live on that interest.

<sup>7</sup> The reference is to the assassination of Ernst vom Rath.

<sup>8</sup> Eduard Hilgard (1884–1982), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1934; from 1919 to 1921, specialist for reparations issues at the Reich Ministry of Finance, later an Oberregierungsrat; in 1921 started work at Allianz AG and was a member of its board from 1921 to 1944; from 1934 to 1945 headed the Reich Group of Insurance Companies; member of the supervisory board at Allianz, 1948–1953. The insurance sums were not paid out to German Jews but were instead confiscated by the state. The negotiations between the insurers and the ministerial administration dragged on until August 1939. Hilgard finally managed to reduce the state's demands to a single payment amounting to 1.3 million Reichsmarks.

It is self-evident that if this Aryanization is to take place quickly, we cannot, say, accomplish it centrally solely in the Ministry of Economics in Berlin. Then one would never be able to deal with it. On the other hand, however, it is absolutely essential to activate very specific safety provisos, so that at the next level of authority, among the Reichsstatthalter and the Gauleiter, things are now not done in ignorance. Therefore, precise guidelines must be immediately produced on this. In addition, of course, the Aryanization of all sizeable enterprises – the Ministry of Economics has yet to determine which and how many enterprises this includes – is my domain; it must not be effected by a Reichsstatthalter or by lower levels of authority, because these things impinge on foreign trade and often touch on huge problems abroad, which the Reichsstatthalter from his position cannot possibly take stock of or solve. This [Aryanization] must be my domain, to avoid incurring damage here that exceeds the benefits to be achieved.

Gentlemen, the things most visible to the people are the Jewish shops and not, say, the participating interests. That is why the start must be made here and in fact according to the following propositions, which we have already established.

First, the Minister of Economics announces which businesses in general he intends to shut down because there is an excess of them. These businesses are eliminated from the Aryanization process from the outset. The merchandise on hand is to be made available for purchase by other businesses. To the extent that the goods cannot be sold, some way will be found to channel them to Winter Relief or otherwise utilize them. Naturally, commercialization must always be the goal; for in the process of this entire transformation, the state should not suffer but rather benefit from it. Second, categories are to be established for shops and large stores – now I'm talking only about what is conspicuously visible – in accordance with the importance of the individual branches of trade.

The Trust Office of the state appraises the business and decides what amount the Jew receives. The amount itself, of course, is to be kept as low as possible. Then the business is transferred into Aryan hands by the Trust Office, and here a markup is to be made; that is, the business is to be disposed of on the basis of its normal actual fair market value and book value.

This is where difficulties arise. It is humanly understandable that to a great extent attempts will be made to bring Party comrades into these businesses and thus give them certain compensations. I have seen appalling things in the past: the little chauffeurs of the Gauleiter enriching themselves to such an extent that in the end they have obtained possession of assets worth half a million in this way. You gentlemen know about such things? It's true, isn't it?

(Assent.)

Naturally, such things are intolerable. I will not refrain from intervening ruthlessly wherever unfair methods are used. Should it involve a prominent individual who makes the offence possible, I will be in the Führer's office within two hours and brief him on this disgrace in a completely matter-of-fact way.

We must push to ensure that the Aryan who takes over the business comes from this line of work and has a good understanding of it. Ordinarily he must also put up the money for the business out of his own funds. What we aim for, therefore, is a normal sale of a business, such as would take place between two businessmen – one who wants to sell his business and the other who wants to buy it.

Now, if Party comrades are among the applicants, they are to be given preference, provided they meet the same requirements. Specifically, a Party comrade who has been wronged is to come first, and then the others in turn, more or less according to their length of time in the Party.

Now, exceptions can be made, of course. A Party comrade has been demonstrably wronged if the Schuschnigg state or Prague has revoked his business permit, causing him to go bankrupt and be ruined.<sup>9</sup> This man ordinarily has a right to the business, and he will also be helped if he lacks necessary resources. The more efficiently the Trust Office can proceed in the other dealings involved in the transfer, the more likely it is to be able to give such help. The business can be transferred as cheaply as possible to the Party comrade. Here, one will not realize the full value but rather only the blocked value that the Jew receives. If need be, the man will also be given a subsidized loan, so that he can get by initially.

But I explicitly emphasize once again: this is possible only where the Party comrade had such a business, as in the following case: a Party comrade owned a stationery shop. Schuschnigg revoked his permit. He lost the business and went broke as a result. If a Jewish stationery store is now Aryanized, this Party comrade should be put into it, if possible on terms that he can meet. But that is the only exception. Otherwise, things must be done in a businesslike manner, whereby, as I said before, the Party comrade has preference in each case if the applicants are otherwise equal.

During the transfer process, if we take the fair market value as a basis, the result will be, of course, that for every 100 Jewish businesses subject to transfer there will be, in the best case, perhaps 60 Aryans who are willing to take over the shops. I do not believe that for every Jewish retail shop today we have a German who wants to acquire it. You must not forget that the Jew has regarded trade precisely as his main sphere of activity. His involvement in it is at a rate of 90 per cent. Whether we even have so much demand, whether we even have so many people, I doubt, especially now that people everywhere have found a line of work.

Therefore, I ask the Minister of Economics to go very far, extraordinarily far, from the outset in closing down the businesses for me, not only as far as we consider proper based on our principle, but also based on the reasoning that there are no would-be candidates for them. That ought then to go without a hitch.

The transferring of the shops and businesses will have to be left to the subordinate offices, of course, not to the central authority here but instead to the *Gaue* or *Reichsstatthalter*. Representatives of the Trust Office must be located here, even if there are only few personnel. The *Reichsstatthalter* cannot take that on with his own people; instead, the Trust Office must do so. But the *Reichsstatthalter* is the one who now supports the Trust Office under the guidelines issued to him, oversees it, and gives it instructions precisely in these matters of transfer to Party comrades.

It is self-evident that these businesses cannot now disappear simply in one fell swoop. But as of Monday,<sup>10</sup> I would say, such a start can be made, so that the transformation

<sup>9</sup> The reference is to NSDAP members who, while the NSDAP was banned in Austria, suffered disadvantages there or in the Sudetenland because of their Party membership.

<sup>10</sup> 14 Nov. 1938.

here occurs at least at the conspicuous points. In addition, to make the matter easier here, one can also proceed to close certain businesses from the outset.

An additional point! I have noted that Aryans who have taken over a Jewish business have then been so enterprising as to retain the name of this Jewish business in some form, adding the word 'formerly', or even keeping the name as it was. That must not happen; I cannot allow it. Otherwise, the sorts of things will occur that have now happened again: shops have been smashed because the name on the sign sounded Jewish and also was Jewish at one time, though these shops were Aryanized long ago. Here, the Jewish name of the previous firm may and must be erased completely, and the German must come to the fore, with his name and his company name. I ask that this be carried out in a very clear fashion. This much I would like to say, for a start, about the Aryanization of businesses and wholesale warehouses, especially the business sign, in fact, everything that catches the eye!

I will talk later about the consequences that result from this for the Jew, because it is connected to the other points.

And now for the factories. In the case of the small and medium-sized factories, a similar approach must be taken by first determining:

(1) Which factory do I not need at all? Which one can be closed down? Can it not be turned into something else? – Then it will be scrapped as rapidly as possible.

(2) If it is needed, it will be transferred into Aryan ownership under the same guidelines as a shop. But all these things have to happen quickly, because there are also Aryan employees everywhere. I would say: when businesses are closed, places must immediately be found elsewhere for the Aryan employees. In view of the enormous need for workers that we have today, that will be a small matter, even if they have to be placed in the same line of work.

As I just said: if the factory is needed, it will be Aryanized. If it is not needed, its plant and equipment will be made available to the campaign that I must undertake in the next few weeks anyway, namely the campaign to transform non-essential production facilities into ones of vital importance. To do so, I will need a great deal more space and a great many factories.

When such a factory is shut down or transformed, a check must be made immediately: what kinds of machines does the factory have? Where can I place these machines? Can I utilize them for the new task, or is there a pressing demand for such machines elsewhere? Where can they be installed? The Aryanization of factories is thus an even more difficult task than the Aryanization of retail shops.

Now come the larger factories that are run by a Jewish owner himself without a responsible corporation, or the public limited companies where the Jew is on the supervisory board or even part of the board of directors, but where, generally speaking, the factory is operating otherwise normally. Here, on the other hand, the matter is very simple: the factory continues to operate. The Jew is removed. His share is treated in exactly the same way as in the case of the retail shops and factories. That is, his share in the factory is refunded to him according to the allocation formula that we set. He thus resigns. The Trust Office has a hold over this share, and if stocks are concerned, the stocks as well. The Trust Office can now sell them again or can first transfer the stocks to state ownership and then put them to use from there. So if I have a big factory that belongs to a Jew or to a Jewish public limited company, and the Jew withdraws, perhaps

with his sons who were also in it, then the factory continues to operate smoothly. Possibly, because the Jew has been running the business himself, a manager has to be installed. Otherwise, however, especially if the factory is a very essential one, everything is as it should be.

So it is quite simple. I now have his share. I can give it to another Aryan or another group, or I can keep the stocks. The state takes them over and, if they are marketable, brings them to the stock exchange if the state considers this proper, or itself turns them to account in some fashion.

Now I will speak about the extremely large enterprises where the Jew is still, in some instances, a member of the supervisory board, where stocks etc. belong to him and he is thus either an owner or the principal owner, in any event a major stakeholder. Here, too, the matter is relatively simple: he hands over the entire amount of stocks. These stocks are purchased from him at the price set by the Trust Office. The Jew's name is thus in the debt register. The stocks will be dealt with in the way I just described. These cases, however, can no longer be regulated by the Gaue and Reichsstatthalter but rather must be handled by us up here at the top, because only we can obtain an overview of where these factories must be taken, how they will possibly be combined with others, to what extent the state itself will retain them, to what extent the state will give them to a corporation that belongs to the Reich. All these are aspects that can be clarified only from the top. I know, of course: the bigger, more substantial, and more profitable the enterprise, the more intensely the drive on the part of all the Gauleiter and Reichsstatthalter from various quarters to gain possession of these shares will make itself felt. Big promises for beautifying the metropolises etc. will thus be made. I am familiar with all that. It will not work. We must have a very clear operation here, one that will yield profit for the Reich.

The same procedure occurs where the Jew has some other stake, some share, in the economy. I am not sufficiently well versed as to know in what way that is still the case and to what extent it must still be taken away from him. At any rate, the Jew must now be very quickly removed from the entire German economy in this manner.

Now I come to the foreign Jews. We must make distinctions here. Jews who were really foreigners and have remained such are naturally to be dealt with according to the laws that we have with their respective countries. But here, too, one must ensure that they are manoeuvred out of Germany voluntarily, through gentle or stronger pressure, through skilful manoeuvres. But I ask that no consideration be shown for the Jews who in the main were Germans, who have always lived in Germany, and who in recent years, only to be out of harm's way, have acquired this or that citizenship. They will be dealt with. Or do you have reservations?

*Woermann:*<sup>11</sup> I would request that the Reich Foreign Office be involved in individual cases, because it is very difficult to make a decision across the board.

*Göring:* We cannot consult you in every instance. But on the whole, of course we will.

11 Dr Ernst Woermann (1888–1979), diplomat; joined the NSDAP in 1937 and the SS in 1938; from 1938 ministerial director and head of the Political Department in the Reich Foreign Office; in 1942 SS-Oberführer; in 1943 ambassador in Nanking; sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in 1949 and released in 1950.

*Woermann:* At any rate, I would like to assert a right to participation by the Reich Foreign Office. One cannot know what steps will be taken.

*Göring:* But only in important matters! At any rate, I do not want to show special consideration for this category, because I have only now seen the extent to which it has occurred. It applies in particular to Austria and Czechoslovakia. So if someone was a Czech previously in the Sudetenland, we don't need to show any consideration at all. And the Reich Foreign Office doesn't need to be involved there either, because one can take the view that he now belongs to us. But in Austria and also in the Sudetenland, a great many have suddenly become British or American or something else, and in general we cannot show too much consideration for them.

*Part 2 is missing.*<sup>12</sup>

*Funk:*<sup>13</sup> It is quite a crucial question for us: are the Jewish shops to be reopened?

*Goebbels:* Whether they are reopened is a different question. What we are concerned with is whether they will be rebuilt. I have set the deadline for Monday.

*Göring:* You don't need to ask whether they will be reopened. We are responsible for deciding that.

*Goebbels:* No. 2: in almost all German cities, synagogues have been burned down. The most diverse possibilities now arise for utilizing the places where the synagogues stood. Some cities want to reconfigure them as car parks, and others want to construct new buildings there.

*Göring:* How many synagogues actually burned down?

*Heydrich:* In total, 101 synagogues were destroyed by fire, 76 synagogues were demolished,<sup>14</sup> and 7,500 shops were destroyed in the Reich.

*Göring:* What does that mean: destroyed by fire?

*Heydrich:* Sometimes burned to the ground, sometimes gutted by fire.

*Goebbels:* I'm of the opinion that this must be the opportunity to close the synagogues. All those that are no longer completely intact must be given up by the Jews. The Jews must pay for that. Here in Berlin the Jews are willing to do so. The synagogues that burned in Berlin are being given up by the Jews themselves. Some of them we can turn into car parks, and in some cases other buildings will be built there. It must now, I think, be issued as a guiding principle for the entire country that the Jews themselves have to clear away the damaged or burnt synagogues and free up spots to be made available to the German Volksgemeinschaft.

No. 3: I consider it essential to issue a regulation now that will prohibit the Jews from attending German theatres, cinemas, and circuses. I have already issued such a regula-

<sup>12</sup> Parts 2, 4, and 6 are missing from the transcript.

<sup>13</sup> Walther Funk (1890–1960), journalist; editor-in-chief of the *Berliner Börsenzeitung*, 1922–1930; joined the NSDAP in 1931; from 1931 Hitler's personal economic advisor; from 1933 press chief for the Reich government and state secretary in the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda; in 1938 Reich minister of economics and from 1939 also president of the Reichsbank; sentenced to life imprisonment at the Nuremberg trials in 1946 and released in 1957.

<sup>14</sup> Under National Socialist rule a total of around 1,200 synagogues and Jewish places of worship were destroyed, most of them during the pogrom of 9/10 November 1938: Adolf Diamant, *Zerstörte Synagogen vom November 1938: Eine Bestandsaufnahme* (Frankfurt am Main: A. Diamant, 1978).

tion based on the Reich Chamber of Culture Law.<sup>15</sup> I believe we can afford that on the basis of our current theatre situation. The theatres are overcrowded anyway. We hardly have room. But I am of the opinion that it is impossible to put Jews alongside Germans in cabarets, cinemas, or theatres. Later one might consider making one or two cinemas available to the Jews here in Berlin, where they can show Jewish films. But they no longer have any place in German theatres.

In addition, I consider it essential for the Jews to be removed from the public sphere wherever they have a provocative effect. For example, it is still possible today for a Jew to share a sleeping-carriage compartment with a German. A decree must therefore be issued by the Reich Minister of Transport, stating that special compartments will be designated for Jews, and if this compartment is occupied, the Jews have no right to a seat; that the Jews get a special compartment, however, only if all the Germans have seats; that they are not to be mixed in with the Germans; and that, if there is no seat, the Jews must stand out in the corridor.<sup>16</sup>

*Göring*: Here I think it is far more sensible to give them their own compartments.

*Goebbels*: But not if the train is overcrowded.

*Göring*: Wait a minute! There is only one Jewish carriage. If it is full, then the others have to stay at home.

*Goebbels*: But let's suppose: there are not so many Jews travelling to Munich on the long-distance express train. Let's say: two Jews are sitting in the train, and the other compartments are overcrowded. These two Jews would now have a special compartment. This is why one must say: Jews only have a right to a seat if all Germans are seated.

*Göring*: I would not put it in specific terms at all. Instead, I would give the Jew one carriage or one compartment. And if it were ever really to be as you say, that the rest of the train is overcrowded, then believe me: this is how we'll do it, I don't need a law here. The Jew will be thrown out, even if he has to spend the whole trip sitting alone in the loo.

*Goebbels*: That's not what I want to say. I don't agree; rather, a regulation has to be issued.

Then there has to be a regulation banning Jews from frequenting German baths, bathing beaches, and German resorts.<sup>17</sup> This past summer –

15 In his function as president of the Reich Chamber of Culture, Goebbels instructed the managers of theatres, concert and lecture programmes, and cinema operators, and the organizers of dance shows and exhibitions, to deny entry to Jews: *Amtliche Mitteilungen der Reichsmusikkammer*, no. 22, 15 Nov. 1938, p. 77. The *Völkischer Beobachter* ran the headline: 'Reckoning of the Reich with the Jewish Criminals. Jews no Longer Allowed to Attend Public Cultural Events'. See *Völkischer Beobachter* (northern German edition), 13 Nov. 1938, p. 1.

16 On Göring's orders, Jews were forbidden to use sleeping carriages and dining cars, and separate compartments were not made available to them: see Doc. 215, 28 Dec. 1938. The ban became effective with the decree of the Reich Minister of Transport dated 23 Feb. 1939, published in Alfred Gottwaldt and Diana Schulle, *Juden ist die Benutzung von Speisewagen untersagt: Die antijüdische Politik des Reichsverkehrsministeriums zwischen 1939–1945* (Berlin: Hentrich, 2007), p. 53.

17 At many bathing resorts the separation or exclusion of Jewish guests had been common for quite some time; the Reich Ministry of the Interior had officially endorsed this practice in a July 1937 decree (PMJ 1/289). In his secret guidelines of 28 Dec. 1938 Göring again emphasized the possibility of a 'ban on Jews' in public baths, while Jews could use medical therapeutic baths, if prescribed by a doctor, 'in individual cases': see Doc. 215.

*Göring*: Above all, here in the Admiralspalast,<sup>18</sup> really unsavoury things happened.

*Goebbels*: Also at the bathing beach on the Wannsee [lake]. A regulation saying that Jews are absolutely forbidden to go to German resorts.

*Göring*: One could give them separate ones.

*Goebbels*: One could consider whether to give them separate ones or to make German baths available to them, but not the nicest ones, not so that people would say that the Jews can recuperate when they go to the baths.

It would be worth considering whether it is necessary to prohibit Jews from going into the German forests.<sup>19</sup> Nowadays, Jews are running around in packs in the Grunewald. It is a constant provocation; we have incidents all the time. What the Jews do is so infuriating and provocative that fights constantly break out.

*Göring*: So we'll put a certain part of the forest at the Jews' disposal, and Alpers<sup>20</sup> will see to it that the various animals that look bloody similar to the Jews – the elk has exactly such a crooked nose – come and establish themselves there.

*Goebbels*: I consider this behaviour provocative.

Then continuing with the thought that the Jews can't sit around in German parks. I'm reminded of the whispering campaign conducted by Jewish women in the park grounds at Fehrbelliner Platz.<sup>21</sup> There are Jews who don't look so Jewish at all. They sit down next to German mothers with children and start complaining and stirring things up.

*Göring*: They don't even say that they're Jews.

*Goebbels*: I see that as a particularly great danger. I consider it essential to make certain parks – not the nicest ones – available to Jews and to say: these are the benches where Jews are allowed to sit. They are marked accordingly. It says on them: For Jews only!<sup>22</sup> Apart from that, they have no business being in German parks.

Finally, the following should also be stated. Today the state of affairs is still such that Jewish children are attending German schools. I regard that as outrageous. I regard it as unacceptable that my boy should sit next to a Jew in a German grammar school and be taught German history. I regard it as essential to completely remove the Jews from German schools and leave them to assume responsibility for their own education, within their own religious community.<sup>23</sup>

*Göring*: Then I request that Mr Hilgard from the [Reich Group of] Insurance Companies be called in. He is waiting outside. When he is done, he can go, and we can

18 'Admiral Palace': a variety venue and revue theatre in Berlin that formerly contained a public bath.

19 No corresponding regulation was issued.

20 Friedrich Alpers (1901–1944), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1929, the SA in 1930, and the SS in 1931; from 1937 state secretary and forestry superintendent general in the Reich Forestry Office; in 1943 SS-Obergruppenführer; from 1944 in the Luftwaffe, and was seriously wounded; committed suicide near Mons, Belgium.

21 This could not be verified.

22 In summer and autumn 1937, 'Jewish benches' had been put up for the first time in Berlin and Glogau. Gera and Königsberg were among the first cities where Jews were denied use of specific park grounds.

23 A circular decree issued by the Reich Ministry of Education on 15 Nov. 1938 banned Jews from attending 'German' schools: *Deutsche Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung: Amtsblatt des Reichsministeriums für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung und der Unterrichtsverwaltungen der Länder*, 1938, IV, pp. 520–521.

continue with the negotiations. At the time Gustloff died, compensation was arranged for damage inflicted on Germany.<sup>24</sup> But I think we want to do this now with a one-time contribution rather than a specific surtax. I am better served by that.

(Hilgard enters.)

Mr Hilgard, the issue is the following. As a result of the people's justified anger towards the Jews, a considerable amount of damage has been caused all over the Reich. Windows have been broken, persons and things have come to harm, synagogues gutted, etc. I assume that some of the Jews – probably the majority – are also insured against tumult damage etc.

(Hilgard: Yes.)

So the following fact would now jump out: that the people, in justified defence, wanted to inflict damage on the Jew and that the damage is then in fact covered by the German insurance company. Here the matter would now be relatively simple, if I make a regulation that the damage arising from this outburst is not to be covered by the insurance company.

But the question of burning interest to me, the reason I asked you to come here, is this: in the event that there are somehow reinsurance policies abroad in the area of tumult damage insurance, I would not want to waive this reinsurance, of course, but rather to collect on it, and therefore I would like to discuss with you the method, the extent to which this reinsurance, which possibly will also bring in foreign currency, will benefit not the Jew but rather the German economy.

I would like to hear from you – this is the first question I have for you – in your opinion, are the Jews to a large extent insured against this damage?

*Hilgard:* I can answer that at once. As the situation stands, we are dealing with three types of insurance, and indeed not with insurance against riot damage and tumult damage, but rather with ordinary fire insurance, ordinary glass insurance, and ordinary theft insurance. The insured, that is, those who have a claim here based on these contracts, are partly Jews, partly Aryans. In the case of fire insurance, which represents the largest part here, those insured are almost all Jews. In the case of the warehouses, the damaged party is identical with the Jew, with the owner, and in the case of the synagogues, naturally, it is even more so, apart from the damage incurred by neighbours when the fire spread. However, according to my assessment, which I made just last night, in this case the damage is relatively minor.

Matters are completely different when it comes to glass insurance, which is quite a major issue. Here, by far the largest proportion of the damaged parties is Aryan. This is because the ownership of the buildings is largely in Aryan hands, while the Jew as a rule is only the tenant of the shop – a situation that you can find across the board, for example, on Kurfürstendamm.

*Göring:* That is just what we've said.

*Goebbels:* So the Jew must pay for the damage.

*Göring:* There's no point in that. We have no raw materials. It's all foreign glass; that takes foreign currency! It's enough to drive you up the wall!

24 This could not be verified.

*Hilgard:* Perhaps I may venture to state the following. The glass in the shop windows is not made in the Bohemian glass industry but rather is exclusively in the hands of the Belgian glass industry. The scope of this damage is, in my estimation, approximately as follows: we have to expect damage to glass in the amount of 6 million [Reichsmarks]; that is, for the glass that we have to provide, based on the terms of the insurance policy, as a replacement to the mainly Aryan damaged parties, we must expend around 6 million – in my estimate. But I have to make all possible reservations here, Field Marshal, because I had only one day to make the assessment.

If one reckons – I can't say with certainty, here the industry will be able to provide better information – that around half of this 6 million will wind up in trade etc., I would still expect that we more or less have to import Belgian glass for around 3 million. By the way, the damage will amount to half of the annual production of the entire Belgian glass industry. We are of the opinion that from a manufacturing standpoint, it will take six months to deliver the glass needed for the replacement of these damaged panes.

*Göring:* We need some public enlightenment here.

*Goebbels:* That can't be done right now.

*Göring:* Things can't go on this way. We just can't endure it. Impossible!

Now continue! In your opinion, the damage affects the Aryan, right?

*Hilgard:* That's right, largely the glass insurance.

*Göring:* The insurance ought to replace the glass.

*Hilgard:* That's right. It is also the case, of course, that the damaged party, the shopkeeper, is identical to the building owner, which primarily is the case with all the department store owners. In the case of the Israel Department Store,<sup>25</sup> of course, the person whose glass has been damaged is also the Jew.

*Göring:* Now we have the third category.

*Hilgard:* It includes persons damaged by theft.

*Göring:* Here I have to ask a question. When goods of all kinds were taken out of the shops and set on fire in the street, is that also covered?

*Hilgard:* I believe not.

*Göring:* Does it come under the insurance category against rioting?

*Hilgard:* That is precisely the question that we are unable to answer at the moment: does it constitute theft if, after the forced entry of an apartment or of containers, something is stolen?

*Göring:* It is a case of rioting.

*Hilgard:* Rioting plays no part in this matter, because these days we hardly have any riot insurance policies to speak of. We abolished them and phased them out long ago.

*Göring:* But in this case there is rioting. That is the legal term. There was no shoplifting, no breaking in. Instead, quite publicly, the mob rolls in and smashes things. Or else it is [classed as] tumult.

*Hilgard:* Tumult damage. It is not rioting.

*Göring:* Are they insured against tumult damage?

*Hilgard:* No, not any more. – Perhaps I can clarify it by citing a practical example. The biggest case we have in this area is the case of Margraf on Unter den Linden. The

<sup>25</sup> The N. Israel Department Store, Spandauerstraße, Berlin, was Aryanized in 1939 and transferred to Emil Köster AG.

Margraf jewellery shop is insured with us, covered by a so-called combined policy. Actually, every kind of damage that can occur is covered. This damage was reported to us as amounting to 1.7 million, because the shop was completely looted.

*Göring:* Dalügie<sup>26</sup> and Heydrich, you'll have to get this jewellery back for me by organizing gigantic raids!

*Dalügie:* The order has already been given. The people are under constant surveillance. According to the reports from yesterday afternoon, 150 have been arrested thus far.

*Göring:* Otherwise, the things will be sold on the black market. If someone with pieces of jewellery comes into a shop and says he bought them, they must be ruthlessly taken off him without further ado. He stole them or traded something for them.

*Heydrich:* As for the rest, there was looting in around 800 instances in the Reich, contrary to expectation, but we already have looters, several hundred in number, and are also in the process of bringing in the looted goods.

*Göring:* And the jewels?

*Heydrich:* That is very hard to say. Some of them were thrown out into the street and picked up there. Similar scenes occurred in the case of fur shops, for example, on Friedrichstraße in Police District C. Naturally, the mob threw themselves upon the furs, carried away mink and skunk furs, etc. It's very hard to get them back. In some cases children, too, stuffed their pockets full, just for fun. One ought to suggest that the Hitler Youth should not be used and involved in such things without the knowledge of the Party. Such things are very quickly destroyed.

*Dalügie:* Above all, it would be essential to have the Party put out an order that a report must be immediately made to the police if, for example, the neighbour's wife – one knows one's neighbours quite well – is having a fur refashioned or the people appear with new rings or bracelets, so that the Party supports us here.

*Hilgard:* This kind of damage is probably not covered by the policy, but I have to say that with reservations. May I say a word in general about our liability and state a request from the insurance industry? – We place great emphasis, Field Marshal, on not being prevented from meeting our contractual obligations.

*Göring:* But I must do that. I place emphasis on it.

*Hilgard:* If I may venture to state the reasons for it: it simply has to do with the fact that to a large extent we also engage in international business dealings. We have a very good international basis for our transactions, and precisely in the interest of Germany's balance of foreign exchange payments, we must ensure that confidence in the German insurance industry is not disrupted. If we were to refuse today to meet clear contractual obligations imposed on us by law, it would be a stain on the reputation of the German insurance industry.

<sup>26</sup> Correctly: Kurt Daluege (1897–1946), civil engineer; in 1918–1920 head of the Upper Silesian Self-Defence; joined the NSDAP in 1922; in 1926 founded the SA of Berlin and Northern Germany; worked as an engineer employed by the City of Berlin, 1927–1933; in 1933 head of the Special Detachment Daluege in the Prussian Ministry of the Interior; chief of police for Prussia, 1933–1936; chief of the Order Police, 1936–1945; deputy Reich Protector of Bohemia and Moravia, June 1942–1943; placed on leave for health reasons in 1943; executed in Prague in 1946.

*Göring*: But that wouldn't be the case the moment I intervene by means of a state regulation, a law.

*Hilgard*: I was leading up to that.

*Heydrich*: One can by all means award the insurance, but afterwards, when it is paid out, it will be confiscated. Then appearances are formally kept up.

*Hilgard*: What Obergruppenführer Heydrich just said is what I too, in fact, regard as the correct course: first, to make use of the personnel and resources of the insurance industry to assess, adjust, and also pay out claims, but then to give the insurance industry the possibility, in some sort of fund –

*Göring*: Wait a minute! You have to pay out anyway, because Germans have been damaged. But you will receive a legal ban on making the payments directly to Jews. You must also pay the damages that you would have had to pay to the Jews, but to the Minister of Finance rather than the Jew.

(*Hilgard*: Aha!)

What he [the Minister of Finance] does with it is his business.

*Schmer*:<sup>27</sup> Field Marshal, I would suggest that of the reported assets – 1 billion is supposedly to be collected – a certain percentage is specified, 15 per cent as far as I'm concerned, and slightly increase this percentage, so that all Jews pay equally and repay the money to the insurance companies from this sum.

*Göring*: No. I have no intention of refunding the money to the insurance companies. Indeed, the insurance companies are liable. No, the money belongs to the state. That is quite clear. That would be a gift to the insurance companies. They have submitted a splendid request here. They will comply. You can depend on that!

*Kerl*:<sup>28</sup> In one respect, one must nonetheless handle the matter somewhat differently. With glass breakage insurance, it is actually the case that here the claims must be paid to the owners of the buildings without fail. The glass breakage insurance companies must therefore adjust the damage claim, as has been stipulated. Now the fact is, however, that most of these companies – apart from a single public limited company in Cologne – are all very small mutual companies. They will certainly not be able by any means to bear that [financial burden]. It still must be determined to what extent they are covered by reinsurance. At the moment, I can't tell you that either.

*Hilgard*: In this context, reinsurance plays a relatively minor role, apart from the large warehouse insurance policies against fire. In glass breakage insurance, there is no reinsurance at all, for the simple reason that this type of insurance is normally one of our best insurance branches and consequently it typically has had no need for reinsurance. Here I must add, however, that the damage incurred now amounts to approximately twice the normal annual damage sum, so that it plays utter havoc with all our calculations, for the premiums.

27 Probably Rudolf Schmeer.

28 Correctly: Hans Kehrl (1900–1984), textile manufacturer; in 1933 president of the Cottbus Chamber of Industry and Commerce; joined the NSDAP in 1933; from 1933 Gau economic advisor; joined the SS in 1936; Göring's assistant in the Office of the Four-Year Plan; from 1938 section head in the Reich Ministry of Economics, responsible for the occupied territories and the Hermann Göring Works; in 1943 head of the Raw Materials and Planning Office in the Reich Ministry of Armaments; sentenced in 1949 to fifteen years' imprisonment and released in 1951; economic advisor in Leverkusen; author of *Krisenmanager im Dritten Reich* (1973).

(Interjection by Kerl)

– No, Director General, it's like this. The total premium of German glass breakage insurance, if I am correctly informed, amounts to around 14 million. The normal insurance history amounted to approximately 4 to 5 million. Glass breakage insurance is our best branch. Until now, the best earnings have been made there. But now the amount of damages in total is twice the normal annual amount. Things are quite different for individual specialized glass breakage insurance companies.

*Göring*: Wait a minute! Four to five million is normal. Twice that would be around 10 million. You are assuming 14 million. So that still leaves 4 million.

*Hilgard*: We have to pay the costs too. No, for us it is a huge catastrophe. Perhaps I may venture to state that, according to my estimates, the overall damage in all of Germany will amount to approximately 25 million marks. I wanted to be cautious.

*Heydrich*: We estimate damage to property, inventory, and merchandise at several hundred million, admittedly including the damage that the Reich will suffer as a result of tax loss. Turnover tax, tax on assets, and income tax. The Minister of Finance will surely have been told that as well.

*Krosigk*: I have no sense of the scale.

*Heydrich*: 7,500 destroyed businesses in the Reich.

*Dalüque*: One question must still be discussed. The goods that were in the shops were not the property of the owner. Rather, for the most part they are on the books of other firms that supplied these goods. Then there are the unpaid-for deliveries by firms, which are certainly not all Jewish but rather Aryan, the goods that were provided on a commission basis.

*Hilgard*: They must be paid for too.

*Göring*: I'd rather you had killed 200 Jews and not destroyed such assets.

*Heydrich*: There were 35 dead.<sup>29</sup>

*Kerl*: I think it could be done this way: if Jews are involved, payment is not made anyway. If Aryans are involved, payment must be made, and then the insurance company can contact us through the Reich Group, and we will investigate the cases. I am thinking of the small mutual associations, of which it can easily be said that they cannot cover that [cost], and the amount here is not so large. We can come to an arrangement later, I think, insofar as the insurance industry adjusts the claims, exclusively for Aryans, and otherwise enters into negotiations with us once the outcome is clear. Then we will indeed find a way for the small insurance companies. Of course, only where it is absolutely necessary.

*Funk*: This method is not necessary. I would like to return to what I said earlier about the decree. That was the simplest solution.

*Göring*: But we cannot do that. They place great emphasis on the fact that they can pay, you know.

*Funk*: If the Jews pay, then the insurance companies don't need to.

*Göring*: Precisely. – So, gentlemen, it is as clear as day. We can all agree on this. At the moment, no insurance company – excluding Mr Hilgard, who is here – thinks anything other than that it must pay for the damage. They want to do so, too, and I completely understand that. They must do so, so that they cannot be accused of not having

<sup>29</sup> According to official figures, ninety-one Jews were killed during the pogrom; the actual number of victims is unknown but is presumed to be considerably higher.

been strong enough to bear the loss. Glass breakage insurance – this has also been emphasized – was the best branch of the business until now. So it has, if it has done a good job, enough surpluses, and if it has not distributed the whole amount as dividends, then it has reserve assets, so that it can offset a major loss. Such an insurance company must be able to cover a loss of 10, 12, 15 million, three times the normal annual amount. If it cannot do so, then one must consider whether one should let such small mutual insurance companies survive. It would be madness to have insurance companies that are no longer able to absorb such losses. Such an insurance company would absolutely be defrauding the people.

I am now of the following opinion. The losses must be determined. The insurance companies must first accept them and pay to the full extent of their legal liability.

*Part 4 is missing.*

*Göring:* Now we come to the losses, first the losses incurred by the Jew, the fact that the jewels disappeared from the Margraf shop etc. They are gone and he will not be reimbursed for them. He bears the loss. If the jewels are recovered by the police, they remain with the state. Now come the other things, the goods that were thrown into the street and were stolen, burned. The Jew bears this loss too.

But now come the issues regarding commission. Here the Jew must make good the loss.

*Goebbels:* But that doesn't need to be put in the regulation. This regulation is completely adequate as it is.<sup>30</sup>

*Hilgard:* I am just thinking about the extent to which the foreign insurance companies will be affected.

*Göring:* They have to pay. We will confiscate that [payment].

*Hilgard:* Precisely in the case of these goods [sold] on commission, I can imagine that the American supplier, if he delivers furs here from England or America and provides them on commission, frequently insures them with an English or American insurance company.

*Göring:* Then they will pay him for the loss. The question is only this: do you think that there are reinsurance policies here to cover all these losses, payable into foreign countries?

*Hilgard:* Very few, a negligible number.

*Goebbels:* So the state will get it anyway.

*Göring:* Quite clearly. The Aryan cannot report a loss, because he has none. The Jew makes good [any loss]. The Jew must report the loss. He gets the insurance money, but it is confiscated. So in the final analysis, there still remains a profit for the insurance companies insofar as they do not need to pay out for some losses. – Mr Hilgard, you have reason to grin!

*Hilgard:* I have no reason to do so at all, if not needing to pay a damage claim is called making a profit.

*Göring:* Hold on! If you are legally obliged to pay 5 million, and suddenly an angel appears to you in my somewhat corpulent form and tells you: 1 million you can keep,

<sup>30</sup> The question of losses of goods sold on commission was not mentioned in the Regulation to Restore the Appearance of the Streets around Jewish Businesses: see Doc. 144, 12 Nov. 1938.

for God's sake, is that not a profit? I just ought to 'make a *kippe*' with you,<sup>31</sup> or however the saying goes. – I can tell that by looking at you. Your whole body is one big grin. You've made a big *rebbes*.<sup>32</sup>

(Interjection: Let's introduce a tumult-damage tax for the insurance companies.)

*Hilgard*: For me it is self-evident that the respectable German retailer must not be the one who suffers. I have also spoken with the firms, I have argued against letting the Aryans get stuck with the loss, but the Aryans are hopelessly stuck with it because the insurance pool – not the insurance company! – is affected thereby, in that it must pay higher premiums and gets lower dividends. As a result, it is the insurance pool that is definitively damaged. That is so and will remain so. No one will dispute that.

*Göring*: Then kindly see to it that not so many windowpanes are smashed! You are also a part of the people. Send out your agents. Let them explain things to the public right away! – If any additional specific questions arise, then speak with Mr Lange.

(Reich Group Head Hilgard leaves the meeting.)

Gentlemen, we will continue.

*Woermann*: I believe that the foreign Jews are now completely omitted in § 1. They are mentioned only in § 2. The foreign Jews ought to be taken into account in § 1 too. Otherwise they are included only if they are insured, and not if they are uninsured.<sup>33</sup>

*Göring*: Then they should just take out insurance policies, or do you mean something else?

*Woermann*: As I understand the wording, the foreign Jews are now mentioned only in § 2 or 3 with respect to insurance, but not in § 1. If I recall correctly, in § 1 you intended to say: domestic Jews. Then we will have an abundance of claims.

*Göring*: But I beg your pardon! According to § 2 they will get compensation for the insured loss.

(*Woermann*: If they are insured!)

There are few who are not insured.

*Heydrich*: May I make a basic point. We do not need to include any mention of the confiscation in the regulation. Instead, I would take that action without actually mentioning it.

*Göring*: No, you can't do it tacitly; it has to be a clear-cut legal procedure. But it doesn't affect what Mr *Woermann* is talking about. He is referring to the foreign Jews who are not insured. To the extent that they are insured, they are covered. It has to do only with the ones who are not insured. That could be the case here and there.

*Woermann*: Then we will have an abundance of claims.

*Göring*: I would like to avoid paying too much attention here to the foreign Jews.

*Woermann*: But if it is included in § 2 anyway, it could also be in § 1. The first version presented by the Reich Minister of Justice covered the matter.

31 A Yiddish colloquial term used by German Jews for 'partnership'; 'make a *kippe*': go into partnership, split the profit.

32 From *ribbis* (Yiddish): interest, usury; *Rebbes machen*: an expression used in trading by German farmers to mean 'make a profit'. Used in an antisemitic sense in connection with an accusation of dishonesty.

33 This refers to §§ 1 and 2 of the Regulation to Restore the Appearance of the Streets around Jewish Businesses: see Doc. 144, 12 Nov. 1938.

*Gürtner*: If I understand Mr Woermann correctly, he takes exception to the fact that the restitution duty is stated in general terms, but that only Jews with German citizenship are mentioned when it comes to the question of insurance. Now I ask you to consider whether some objection is to be made if the foreign Jew, too, is required to make restitution and simultaneously is told 'you won't receive your insurance sum'.

*Göring*: He can do that too.

*Woermann*: And if he is not insured?

*Gürtner*: Oh, I see.

*Göring*: That is hardly likely to be the case at all. Let's just take that chance.

*Stuckart*: If he is not insured, he has to make restitution anyway. So how does he then have a claim against somebody?

*Göring*: Then he has no claim.

*Woermann*: Then he has a claim against the state.

*Stuckart*: Under what provision? The tumult-damage law? – Tumult is not recognized!

*Göring*: Absolutely correct.

*Woermann*: May I say in general: the proviso for the foreign Jews, that the contractual situation must be factored in, was made only for the issue of Aryanization. That applies, naturally, to all the areas that are being discussed today, above all to expropriation.

*Göring*: Here, as the Führer says, we must find a way, by discussing the question first with the countries that are also undertaking something against the Jews. The fact that every dirty Polish Jew has legal status here and we are forced to tolerate him is something that must stop. The Führer was not at all happy about the deal that has been made with Poland,<sup>34</sup> and is also of the opinion that one should actually chance it in various ways, one should tell the Poles: please, we won't do that, let's talk about how we can proceed jointly; you take action against your Jews in Poland too; but as soon as the Yid is outside the country, he is suddenly supposed to be treated as a Pole. I would like to keep these foreign matters somewhat in check.

*Woermann*: It must be carefully considered whether the United States might take action against German property. Naturally, one cannot treat the question in the same way for all countries. I must state a formal general caveat here.

*Göring*: I have always said and would like to say again on this occasion: particularly with respect to the United States, our shipping companies and German companies in general should finally be smart enough to liquidate their investments, sell them, etc. This country of riff-raff does not act with any legality at all towards us. It already stole everything from us once before, and therefore I don't understand how one could invest in it again, just because one temporarily gets bigger profits from it. It is a risk. One can do that with reputable states, but not with a state where the legal side of things is as obtuse as it is in the case of the United States. When I had the ambassador in my office recently and we were talking about the Zeppelin,<sup>35</sup> I told him: 'We don't need helium, I

<sup>34</sup> This is presumably a reference to the German–Polish Declaration on Minorities, 5 Nov. 1937. This guaranteed the members of the Polish minority in Germany and the members of the German minority in Poland legal equality in the economic sphere: *Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik 1918–1945*, series D: 1937–1945, vol. 5, pp. 21–22.

<sup>35</sup> Germany and the USA had been negotiating helium deliveries for the German airship industry since 1937, but no agreement was reached. In a letter to US President Roosevelt on 2 May 1938, US

fly without helium, but the requirement is that this airship must go to civilized countries where the rule of law prevails. One cannot go to such robber countries, of course.' He looked like an idiot. It must be made clear to the Americans for once. But all the same, you are right, Mr Woermann. It must be borne in mind.

*Woermann:* So, an assurance of the general participation of the Reich Foreign Office is thereby given?

*Göring:* I'm in agreement. But I would like to request that we avoid mentioning the foreign Jews here wherever we can avoid it. Then I'd rather have the Reich Foreign Office involved in the instances where the matter is not hypothetical, so that a balance is achieved.

*Woermann:* In general and in specific instances.

*Funk:* The decisive question is: will the Jewish shops have to be reopened or not?

*Göring:* That depends on the extent to which these Jewish shops have a relatively large volume of sales. If that is the case, it is a sign that the German people, even though it is a Jewish business, are simply forced to buy there because a need exists. With Christmas coming up, if we wanted to close down all the Jewish shops that are currently shut, we would get into a real fix.

*Fischböck:* We already have a precise plan concerning this in Austria, Field Marshal. In Vienna there are 12,000 Jewish craftsmen's enterprises and 5,000 Jewish retail businesses. For this total number of 17,000 trading shops, the final plan for all tradespersons together was already in hand before the radical transition. Of the 12,000 skilled craft enterprises, almost 10,000 should be permanently shut and 2,000 preserved. Of the 5,000 retail businesses, 1,000 should be preserved, that is, Aryanized, and 4,000 closed. According to this plan, therefore, 3,000 to 3,500 of the total number of 17,000 businesses would stay open, and all the others would close. On the basis of studies, the plan is geared to each separate branch of trade according to local needs, with all relevant authorities dealt with, and it can go out tomorrow, as soon as we get the law<sup>36</sup> that we requested in September, which is supposed to authorize us to revoke business permits quite generally, without any connection to the Jewish question. It would be quite a short law.

*Göring:* I will draw up the regulation today.

*Fischböck:* It was granted to us for Austria in the context of our overall economic planning. I believe that negotiations between the Reich Ministry of Economics and the Reich Food Estate are the sole reason why it has not yet been attended to. In principle there was agreement on it. As soon as we have it, we can also officially close these 10,000 businesses. That is just paperwork. Then, for implementation, it is also essential for someone to attend to what happens to the goods in these shops. Until last week it was our intention to leave the liquidation of the merchandise more or less to the Jews themselves. Now, that will no longer be possible. We thus intend to create an economic utilization centre for all these businesses, which will see to it that these goods are salvaged. In fact, that will generally be best accomplished by transferring them to the

Ambassador Wilson reported that Göring, during a conversation on this subject, had displayed unmistakable resentment: Hugh R. Wilson, *A Career Diplomat: The Third Chapter, the Third Reich*, reprint (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1973), pp. 29–32.

<sup>36</sup> See Doc. 143, 12 Nov. 1938.

relevant branch of trade, which will then distribute them again to the Aryan businesses, and they will either sell them on a commission basis or buy them outright.

Now, if the plan is implemented in this way, we are concerned only with the approximately 3,000 remaining businesses, which are designated for Aryanization in accordance with the planning for each branch of trade. For approximately half of these businesses, there are definite buyers whose purchase agreements have been examined to such an extent that they can be approved at once. Authorization has not been issued thus far in many instances only because there was a desire to wait for the final decision on the planning question. For the remaining approximately 15,000 businesses, the negotiations are already quite advanced in a great many cases. We take the view that we should proceed by setting a deadline for approximately the end of the year. If a definite buyer has not been found by the end of the year for the sales outlets scheduled for Aryanization under the plan, then we will reconsider whether they should be liquidated after all. That will usually be possible, because craftsmen's businesses are highly personal affairs. In the case of retail shops, the matter would never be so pressing that one could say the economic loss would be too great. The Trust Office would take over the very few businesses remaining that would be deemed essential in principle but for which no buyer exists. I do not think, however, that it will be as many as 100 businesses, probably fewer. In this way, by the end of the year, we could abolish the entire outwardly visible Jewish business world.

*Göring:* That would be excellent!

*Fischböck:* Then, out of 17,000 businesses, 12,000 or 14,000 would be closed and the rest Aryanized or transferred to the Trust Office, which belongs to the state.

*Göring:* I must say: the suggestion is wonderful. Then, in Vienna, one of the Jewish capitals, so to speak, this entire affair would really be cleared up by Christmas or the end of the year.

*Funk:* We can do that here, too. For this eventuality I have prepared a regulation saying that from 1 January 1939 Jews are prohibited from operating retail shops and mail-order businesses and from independently operating a skilled trade.<sup>37</sup> Further, they are forbidden to hire employees for that purpose or to offer services, advertise, or take orders for these. Wherever a Jewish business is being run, it is to be shut down by the police. From 1 January 1939 a Jew can no longer be a company manager within the meaning of the Law for the Regulation of National Labour from 20 January 1934. If a Jew works in a managerial or executive position in a commercial enterprise without being the company manager, the employment relationship can be terminated by the company manager with six weeks' notice. After the period of notice expires, all entitlements of the employed party that derive from the terminated contract, including any entitlements to maintenance, become invalid. That is always very unpleasant and a great threat. A Jew cannot be a member of a cooperative. Jewish members of cooperatives must resign by 31 December 1938. Special authorization is not required. The relevant Reich ministers are empowered to issue the implementation rules necessary for this regulation.

*Göring:* I believe that we can sign this regulation (*Cries:* Yes); certain things, however, will still remain to be settled after 1 January, which we can also settle then by using the

<sup>37</sup> See *ibid.*

general methods that we absolutely must continue to employ for all other Jewish assets; in regard to the retail shops, however, we can proceed so rigorously – although we are of the opinion that by Christmas there will be enough buyers to purchase the retail businesses that are now fully under pressure – that the merchandise will also be secured in a form resembling what you proposed. It appears to me that the preparations have been truly outstanding.

*Funk:* In each individual business, everything is ready.

*Schmer:* Everything is in place, except that we no longer have any control over this trustee matter. Personally, I feel that we do not need it, that we have done quite well thus far with Aryanization. For the few businesses where we have an interest in seeing them stay open, we will readily find buyers. The other premises will easily be rented out. Especially in Berlin, they are in great demand.

*Göring:* But, dear friend, then the Jew gets the full amount!

*Schmer:* He gets the amount that is far below fair market value, and Aryanization must be approved as before.

*Göring:* The Jew gets the amount and is not entered into the Reich debt register.

*Schmer:* No. We can set that in motion later. He can't swallow the money either. The sum is tied up, and the Jew is required by regulation to report every change in his asset base, so that it is continually recorded. We have it in the Reich, and it will not run away from us. You merely need to issue a regulation or to delegate to the Minister of Economics the power mentioned in § 7<sup>38</sup> in order to make the confiscation of Jewish assets possible. The assets can't escape us.

*Göring:* Mr Schmer, isn't the following possible? Here somebody is Aryanized, gets handed 300,000 marks. He runs around the corner to a jeweller's shop and buys one piece of jewellery after another, so that he can cross the border before the end of the day?

*Schmer:* Then he must report this change in assets.

*Göring:* But what if he wants to run away?

*Fischböck:* Approval for Aryanization is not granted when the purchase price is paid out. Back home, this is how it's done: it is approved only on condition that either the purchase price must be paid in long-term instalments if the buyer cannot pay cash, or, if payment is made in cash, the amount is temporarily placed in a blocked account.

*Göring:* We can do that too.

*Schmer:* We can say in the implementing regulation<sup>39</sup> that payment above a certain level must be made in Reich bonds or something else. That would require only the issuing of a decree to the approval authorities.

*Dalüque:* The number of Jewish businesses is not known. As of yesterday, 7,500 Jewish businesses had been registered here, and that number won't increase.

*Fischböck:* In Vienna, 5,000 have been closed as a result of the events of two days ago. In total, there were 40,000.

38 Under § 7 of the Regulation on the Registration of Jewish Assets, the Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan could take steps 'to ensure that the assets subject to registration are used in accordance with the requirements of the German economy': see Doc. 29, 26 April 1938.

39 The existence of this implementing regulation could not be verified. The details of the arrangement proposed here were discussed by representatives of the Reich Ministry of Economics and the major banks on 24 Nov. 1938: see Doc. 175.

*Schmer:* The Austrian arrangement remains in place?

*Göring:* No change is being made there.

*Fischböck:* Just so that everything can be shut down.

*Heydrich:* I know that a very high limit is set for the [asset] registration requirement, 3,000, I believe.

*Fischböck:* Over 5,000.

*Göring:* Is that the case in the Reich too?

*Fischböck:* Yes, in the Reich too. May I call your attention to a few additional questions in this regard?

A subject that greatly occupies our minds is the Jewish-owned apartment buildings, which represent a substantial percentage of overall Jewish assets. While Jewish wealth in Austria surprisingly represents a mere 320 million marks according to the registration, the apartment buildings alone amount to 500 million. We would greatly appreciate having the provision regarding the possibility of requisitioning Jewish assets extended from now on to the apartment buildings, so that we are in a position to put these buildings into a trustee corporation and then hand out Reich debt register claims to the Jews. It would also be the occasion for levying the contribution that one could deduct up front on this occasion. The management of this huge complex of apartment buildings would be no problem at all. For that purpose, one just needs administrators. There are plenty of them. We would ask that we be able to requisition the apartment buildings in this way, and the securities in addition. Thus far the question of securities has remained open. Where we are, a very large part of the Jewish assets, in fact 266 million Reichsmarks, is invested in securities of all kinds, stocks, but also interest-bearing bonds. In my view there is no risk for the market because the securities will come to those who can be controlled by the Reich Ministry of Economics. Payment will be made with Reich debt register claims. Consequently, no burden will be placed on Reich finances, because the Reich Minister of Finance will pay merely 3 per cent for the Reich debt register claims. In return, he gets Reich bonds back. So he saves a bit more. If one also does not sell the securities, one could keep them for thirty years, until the Reich debt register claims have expired.

*Funk:* Why are Jews not allowed to keep securities any more?

*Göring:* The Jew would thereby have a participating interest.

*Funk:* That is completely new.

*Göring:* No, I said quite clearly a short while ago: stocks and shares.

*Funk:* Stocks, yes, but not Reich debt securities.

*Fischböck:* It's better after all if the Jew is paid 3 per cent instead of 4½ per cent. The possibility of monitoring Jewish assets is completely gone the moment we let him keep the securities.

*Göring:* Gentlemen, no debate, it is utterly out of the question for him to keep the securities. He has to hand them in.

*Fischböck:* Then I would ask that the matter be arranged in such a way that the securities are requisitioned, so that the securities market is not disrupted as a result. This can be done in a very simple manner. They will be handed in. For the securities, administration is much simpler too. It can be taken on by the Trust Office. It puts them in safekeeping and issues Reich debt register claims in return. Thus the matter is settled. The only question is whether one wants to place the matter elsewhere again.

*Funk:* Then the Reich will be the owner of half a billion in securities.

*Göring:* Yes, yes.

*Goebbels:* It can divest them as required.

*Fischböck:* It is indeed a profitable business.

*Krosigk:* I wonder, first, whether it will bring profits. I will concede that to begin with. But second, a completely new business is added. I can well imagine what Minister Fischböck says. With regard to the other bonds, it is a completely new idea now to forcibly dispossess, here too, the Jew, whom one intended to leave as a pension-holder.

*Fischböck:* It is very important because the whole operation is unsuccessful if the Jews retain possession of securities that they can quickly convert into cash and do something else with.

*Göring:* That's it. We want to deny the Jew the possibility of manipulating things against us again somehow, in a covert way.

*Fischböck:* If, for example, we don't want Jews to own jewellery, this could be prevented by allowing them to keep only Reich bonds, so that they could acquire jewels only in exchange for Reich bonds.

*Göring:* No one would pay them for their debt register claims.

*Fischböck:* They are not supposed to be transferable.

*Göring:* Only with approval.

*Heydrich:* Can't it be decreed in an indirect way that the Jew is not permitted to invest whatever money he has in certain assets, such as art objects?

*Göring:* The arrangement with the debt register entries is much simpler. They are not transferable. He can't do anything with them, and with the 3½ per cent he can't do much.

*Heydrich:* But the handing in of items in Jewish possession must also be arranged.

*Göring:* Whatever he now has. That should be on the way.

*Schmer:* § 7 of the regulation contains the mandate that the Four-Year Plan directs the utilization of Jewish assets for the German economy.<sup>40</sup>

*Göring:* I think that this suggestion made by Fischböck is very good. It should now actually be drawn up, first the apartment buildings, the stocks, etc.

*Fischböck:* In addition, I'd like a decision on the following question. In our country, the Jews hold debt instruments totalling 184 million Reichsmarks, and namely against private individuals rather than institutions. That is certainly also a type of investment that we by no means want. It represents money that they have loaned to some other Jew, but more often to an Aryan. That results in a dependence of the Aryan tradesman on the Jewish creditor, a dependence we reject. Now the question must be raised – I would answer it in the affirmative – whether one should entrust a trustee office with the administration of the receivables here too, and then pay the Jew according to the entry of the claim in the Reich debt register claims. The purpose should be to make the debtor independent of the Jewish creditor, interpose an Aryan trustee office, and pay the Jew his amounts receivable, to the extent that they can really be collected. It may be that the debt is uncollectable; then, of course, it is also not to be paid. So here too it would be essential to interpose a trustee office, but with the difference, in comparison with the other assets, that we do not immediately take on the debt claim permanently, but rather leave it to the trustee office for collection.

<sup>40</sup> See Doc. 29, 26 April 1938.

*Funk*: If some part of this debate gets out, we will have a run on the entire capital market tomorrow.

*Fischböck*: That's why we have always shelved these ideas. We have examples that the Jews have sold Reich bonds, stocks, and everything they have in a mad rush.

*Göring*: I could prevent that with a single regulation. The regulation would be: all movement of capital by Jews is halted immediately. Anyone who buys from Jews is liable to prosecution, and in addition, whatever he buys will be confiscated. I couldn't do it any other way.

*Part 6 is missing.*

*Frick*: The Ministry of the Interior must be involved.

*Göring*: That's what I said earlier. (Interjection by Goebbels.)

– That is a misunderstanding. It is now the commission that will hold forth about nothing other than the subject that has been broached: how should one deal with the stocks, the debt register securities? That is why I intentionally don't want to have anyone else come in, because the commission ought to be as small as possible.

*Bürckel*: Will the plan for Aryanization be discussed too?

*Göring*: Mr Fischböck will present this plan. That is what this business revolves around. I hope you have been listening the whole time, so that you know exactly what applies to the Sudetengau!

Now I am, naturally, also of the opinion that one would have to reinforce these economic matters with a number of police operations, propaganda campaigns, cultural initiatives, so that everything comes out now and the Jews get everything on their plate during this week, wham-bam, one thing after another.

*Heydrich*: Despite all the efforts to remove the Jew from economic life, when all is said and done the basic problem is still that of getting the Jew out of Germany. May I make some suggestions in this regard?

In Vienna, on the instructions of the Reich commissioner, we have set up a Centre for Jewish Emigration, through which we in Austria have got 50,000 Jews out of the country, while in the Old Reich only 19,000 could be pushed out in the same length of time, and in fact we accomplished this by working together with the Ministry of Economics, which was in charge, and the foreign relief organizations.

*Göring*: Above all, you cooperated with the local officials in charge of the land border. That is the main thing.

*Heydrich*: Those were the minimum numbers, Field Marshal. Illegally, there are –

*Göring*: The story was printed in the world press. The first night, the Jews were expelled to Czechoslovakia. The next morning, the Czechs grabbed them and deported them to Hungary. From Hungary they were sent back to Germany and from there to Czechoslovakia. So they travelled round and round. Finally they landed on an old barge on the Danube. There they lived, and wherever they went ashore, they were turned away.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>41</sup> This expulsion was the subject of articles including: 'Expulsion of Jews from Austria', *The Times*, 20 April 1938, p. 9; 'Homeless Austrian Jews: Refugee Found in Danube Tugboat', *The Times*, 22 April 1938, p. 13; 'Austrian Jews Set Adrift on Borders', *New York Times*, 20 April 1938, pp. 1 and 13; 'Expulsion of Jews is Laid to Gestapo', *New York Times*, 23 April 1938, p. 4; 'Jewish Austrian Refugees Seek Shelter Near Border', *Los Angeles Times*, 21 April 1938, p. 3. See also Introduction, p. 44.

*Heydrich:* That was this report. Not even a hundred Jews were involved.

*Göring:* But for two weeks it was more or less the case that every night, at midnight, a number of Jews left the country. That was in the Burgenland.

*Heydrich:* At least 45,000 Jews were made to leave by legal means.

*Göring:* How was that possible?

*Heydrich:* We managed it by demanding from the Jewish Religious Community a certain sum from the rich Jews who wanted to emigrate. With this sum and additional foreign currency payments, it was then possible to get a number of the poor Jews out. The problem certainly was not getting the rich Jew out, but rather the Jewish riff-raff.

*Göring:* But, children, have you thought that over? It's no use either, you know, for us to get hundreds of thousands of Jewish riff-raff out of the country. Have you considered whether this avenue may not ultimately require so much foreign currency that it is not practicable in the long run?

*Heydrich:* Only the foreign currency that every Jew has received.

(*Göring:* Agreed.)

In this way. May I suggest that we set up a similar centre in the Reich with the involvement of the relevant Reich authorities<sup>42</sup> and that we find a solution for the Reich based on these experiences, while rectifying the flaws rightly criticized by the Field Marshal?

(*Göring:* Agreed.)

The second thing to get the Jews out would have to be an emigration campaign for Jewry in the rest of the Reich, extending over at least eight to ten years. We cannot get more than a maximum of 8,000 to 10,000 Jews out per year. So a great number of Jews will remain. As a result of Aryanization and the other restrictions, of course, the Jews will become unemployed. We will experience a proletarianization of the remaining Jews. I must therefore take steps in Germany that isolate the Jew, on the one hand, so that he does not enter the normal German milieu. On the other hand, I have to create ways and means that limit the Jew to the narrowest circle of customers but permit certain activities in terms of lawyers, doctors, barbers, etc. This question would have to be considered as well.

With regard to the isolation, I would like to present briefly a few suggestions from a police standpoint, ideas that are also valuable in terms of their psychological influence on public opinion. For example, identifying the Jew with visible markers, by saying: everyone who is a Jew according to the Nuremberg Laws must wear a certain badge. This would be a way of making many other things easier – as for rioting, I see no danger – and which also makes the relationship with the foreign Jew easier.

*Göring:* A uniform!

*Heydrich:* A badge. Thereby one could also put an end to the damage that arises when the foreign Jews, who outwardly do not differ from our Jews, are affected.<sup>43</sup>

*Göring:* But, dear Heydrich, you will not avoid getting round to ghettos on a really large scale in the cities. They must be created.

<sup>42</sup> On the founding of the Reich Central Agency for Jewish Emigration, see Doc. 243, 24 Jan. 1939.

<sup>43</sup> On the discussion regarding an identifying badge for Jews, see Doc. 149, 14 Nov. 1938. The police regulation on the marking of the Jews was introduced in Sept. 1941. From the 19th of that month, all Jews aged 6 and over had to wear a yellow star in public.

*Heydrich:* I venture to state my position on the question of the ghetto right away. The ghetto in the form of completely segregated neighbourhoods where only Jews live is something I regard as not feasible from a police standpoint. A ghetto where the Jew gathers together with all the Jews collectively cannot be policed. It will remain an eternal haven for crime and above all for epidemics and similar things. As things stand, the German population – we do not want to leave the Jews living in the same residential building either – forces the Jews in the streets or inside the buildings to pull themselves together. The control of the Jew by the watchful eye of the entire population is better than if you have thousands upon thousands of Jews in one neighbourhood, where I cannot organize the supervision of daily life by uniformed officials.

*Göring:* We would only need to prohibit telephone calls to the outside world.<sup>44</sup>

*Heydrich:* I could not stop all of the Jews' outbound communication from this neighbourhood.

*Göring:* And in truly separate cities?

*Heydrich:* If I put them in completely separate cities, then yes. But this city then constitutes such a centre for criminal riff-raff that it presents the greatest danger. I would take a different route. I would set up zones that are off limits to Jews, and I would say: in Munich, the government quarter and the area –

*Göring:* Stop! I am less concerned with ensuring that Jews don't turn up in some place where I don't want them to be. What matters more to me is the following. If the Jew is now no longer employed, he will have to live modestly. On 3½ per cent, he will not be able to live it up and go to restaurants etc. He will have to work more. That will result in a concentration of Jews, which will possibly facilitate control from the outset. You know: only Jews live in this building. We must also gather the Jewish butchers, barbers, grocers, etc. together in Jewish streets. The question is, however, whether we still want to tolerate that. If not, then the Jew must buy from the Aryan.

*Heydrich:* No. I would say that for the daily essentials, the German should no longer serve the Jew.

*Göring:* Wait a minute! You can't let him starve. But now the following difficulty arises: if you say that the Jew can operate so and so many retail shops, then some Jews are back in business, and the next step is: he has to stock up from a wholesaler.

*Schmer:* In a small town, that is not feasible at all.

*Göring:* It would only be feasible if you reserve whole neighbourhoods or whole towns for Jews from the outset. Otherwise you have to allow only Germans to stay involved in business operations and force Jews to buy from them. You can't set up a Jewish barber's shop. Still, the Jew must be able to buy groceries, buy stockings.

*Heydrich:* It must be decided whether we want this or not.

*Göring:* I would like to decide that now, today. We can't undertake a kind of classification again. – It won't do – for us to say: so and so many businesses remain for the Jew; because then control ceases again immediately, since these businesses need wholesalers

44 On 19 July 1940 a decree issued by the Reich postmaster general forbade Jews to use the telephone: Joseph Walk (ed.), *Das Sonderrecht für die Juden im NS-Staat: Eine Sammlung der gesetzlichen Maßnahmen und Richtlinien – Inhalt und Bedeutung* (Heidelberg/Karlsruhe: Müller Juristischer, 1981), pp. 325–326. The telephone connections used by Jews had to be cancelled by 30 Sept. 1940. Exempt from this decree were practising physicians, lawyers, and Jewish organizations. See decree

in turn etc. I would say: everything that is a business should be an Aryan business, where the Jew can buy. One can go at most one step further and say: presumably, such and such businesses will be frequented mainly by Jews. One could have Jews set up certain barber's shops. One could grant certain permits, for something along the lines of practising an occupation in certain streets for certain purposes. But not shops.

*Heydrich:* What would it be like in the ghetto? Would the Jew then have to go into the Aryan part to shop?

*Göring:* No. There, I would say: there are plenty of German businessmen who will set up in the ghetto with grunts of delight because they'll do good business there. I would no longer deviate from the principle that the Jew has no place in the economy.

*Heydrich:* I don't want to make that decision. – Then a few things that are also of psychological importance.

*Göring:* If we have a ghetto at all at some point, we could determine what sorts of businesses have to be included there, and then it could be said: you, Jew so-and-so, are now granted, along with him and him, a permit for delivery service. Then a German wholesaler is instructed to make deliveries to this Jewish business. This business is then not a retail shop but rather a co-op, a cooperative society for the Jews.

*Heydrich:* All these measures will lead in practice and organically to a ghetto. I have to say: one should not plan to build a ghetto today. But as a result of these measures, the Jews will be automatically forced into a ghetto in the form indicated.

*Funk:* The Jews must move much closer together. What are 3 million [after all]?<sup>45</sup> The individual must stand up for the next person. The individual [by himself] will starve.

*Göring:* Now, as to what Minister Goebbels said earlier. Now comes the compulsory letting of rooms. Now the Jewish tenants gather together.<sup>46</sup>

*Heydrich:* As a further step, I would suggest that all personal credentials such as car registration documents and driving licences be revoked for Jews, that the Jew may not own a car, and that he may not drive either, because he can thereby endanger German life,<sup>47</sup> that he be still further restricted in his freedom of movement by bans on his whereabouts. I would say: Jews may no longer come within a certain distance of the Königlicher Platz in Munich, the Reich's consecrated site.<sup>48</sup> The same [applies] for cultural facilities, border fences, fortifications. Further, what Minister Dr Goebbels said earlier: exclusion of Jews from public theatres, cinemas, etc.

Concerning the health spa business, I venture to say the following. A health spa in a sanatorium is inherently an additional opportunity for physical convalescence, which is not absolutely essential for the individual. Many millions of German Volksgenossen are

of the Reich postmaster general, 29 July 1940, in Bruno Blau, *Das Ausnahmerecht für die Juden in Deutschland 1933–1945* (Düsseldorf: Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland, 1954), p. 84.

45 Funk presumably overestimated the number of Jews still living in the German Reich: there were actually only around 500,000 remaining in 1938.

46 On 28 Dec. 1938 Göring ordered that Jewish tenants had to live in certain residential buildings where only Jews lived: see Doc. 215, 28 Dec. 1938.

47 On 3 Dec. 1938, on Himmler's orders, Jews' driving licences and vehicle documents were revoked.

48 This ban could not be verified. In 1933 the Königsplatz in Munich was given a new name, Königlicher Platz, and reconfigured as the ceremonial site of the NSDAP. On the eastern side of the square, two 'temples of honour' were erected for the coffins of the 'martyrs of the Movement'.

not in a position to improve their state of health by visiting a health spa. I do not see why the Jew should go to spas at all.

*Göring*: To health spas, no.

*Heydrich*: Then I would suggest the same for hospitals. A Jew cannot be cared for in hospital together with Aryan Volksgenossen.

*Göring*: But it must be done gradually.

*Heydrich*: The same goes for public transport.

*Göring*: Are there no Jewish sanatoriums and Jewish hospitals? (Calls: Yes, there are.) That must all be carried out in order. These things must emerge one after the other.

*Heydrich*: I wanted merely to ask for agreement in principle that we are allowed to initiate these things.

*Göring*: One more question, gentlemen: how do you assess the situation if I announce today that this contribution of 1 billion will be imposed on the Jews as a fine?

*Bürckel*: The Viennese would agree wholeheartedly.

*Goebbels*: I wonder whether the Jews have the possibility to dodge it, to divert some money.

*Brinkmann*:<sup>49</sup> Then they will be liable to prosecution.

*Krosigk*: Mr Fischböck, a question: can one announce the contribution without simultaneously placing a ban on conversion into cash? Naturally, there exists a risk that they will throw their bonds on to the market.

*Funk*: All that has been registered. They must also report the money.

*Krosigk*: But they can have it at their disposal temporarily.

*Göring*: It will be of no use to them to convert it into cash. They can't get rid of the money.

*Funk*: If they sell their effects, they have the loss.

*Fischböck*: In truth, there is some risk. But I don't think it is a very great one. That assumes, however, that one actually takes the other steps in the course of next week.

*Krosigk*: They must be taken at the latest in the course of next week.

*Göring*: I would make that a requirement.

*Fischböck*: Perhaps it's good to put pressure on ourselves this way.

*Göring*: I will choose the wording that a contribution a contribution of 1 billion will be imposed on German Jews as a whole as punishment for their heinous crimes, etc. etc.<sup>50</sup> That will do the job. The swine will not be so quick to commit a second murder. Incidentally, I must state once again: I would not like to be a Jew in Germany.

*Krosigk*: That's why I would like first of all to emphasize what Mr Heydrich said at the start: we must try everything possible by way of additional exportation to get the Jews out of the country. The decisive factor must always be that we don't want to keep the whole proletarian segment of society here. It will always be a burden, a dreadful one, to deal with them.

49 Probably Rudolf Brinkmann (b. 1893), economist; from 1916 worked for the Reichsbank; in 1931 manager of the Reichsbank branch in Aschaffenburg; from 1933 a member of the board of directors of the Deutsche Golddiskontbank; from 1937 at the Reichsbank; Schacht's assistant at the Reich Ministry of Economics, 1934–1937; joined the SS in 1938 and the NSDAP in 1939; in 1938 Staatsrat and state secretary; in May 1939, at the instigation of the Gestapo, he was sent to a psychiatric hospital in Bonn until at least 1944.

50 See Doc. 142, 12 Nov. 1938.

(*Frick*: And a danger.)

I also don't envisage forcing people into a ghetto as exactly a pleasant prospect. The prospect of being forced into a ghetto is not a pleasant one either. Hence the goal has to be what Heydrich said: get as many as possible out of the country!

*Göring*: The second point is the following. If the German Reich becomes involved in a conflict regarding foreign affairs in some foreseeable future, it is self-evident that we in Germany will also think first of all about engaging in a major settling of scores with the Jews. In addition, the Führer will now finally make a foreign policy foray, initially with respect to the powers that have raised the Jewish question, in order to actually resolve the Madagascar question.<sup>51</sup> He explained that to me on 9 November. There is no other way now. He also intends to say to the other countries: 'Why are you always talking about the Jews? – Take them!' Then one can make another suggestion: the rich Jews can buy a huge territory in North America, Canada, or elsewhere for their co-religionists.

I would like to sum up once again. The Minister of Economics will head the commission and take all the necessary steps in some form within a few days.

*Blessing*:<sup>52</sup> I am concerned that in the next few days, starting on Monday, the Jews will sell Reich bonds for hundreds of thousands to provide themselves with resources. Since we are keeping our price on the Reich bonds steady with a view to floating an additional bond issue, the bond syndicate or the Reich Minister of Finance would have to absorb these Reich bonds.

*Göring*: In what way can the Jew place his Reich bonds on the market?

(Interjection: By selling!)

To whom?

(Interjection: On the stock exchange. He issues an order to a bank.)

Then I will block the sale of Reich bonds for three days.

*Blessing*: That would have to be done by a regulation.<sup>53</sup>

*Göring*: But I just don't see any advantage for the Jew in that. He also does not know how much he himself has to pay. I think, on the contrary: he won't make a move at first.

*Goebbels*: At the moment he is small and ugly and stays at home.

*Göring*: I would see no logic in that. Otherwise it must be done. Which is why I want to have the announcement quickly: we may have peace and quiet for the time being, but who can give me a guarantee that a new matter won't come up on Saturday/Sunday. I want to do away with all independent actions once and for all. The Reich has taken the matter in hand. The Jew can only sell things. He can't do anything whatsoever. So he

51 In international negotiations about countries that could become emigration or resettlement destinations for Polish and German Jews, the island of Madagascar, then a French colony, was under discussion from autumn 1937.

52 Carl Blessing (1900–1971), businessman; in 1930 worked at the Bank for International Settlements, Geneva; in 1933 an associate of Schacht at the Reichsbank; from 1934 at the Reich Ministry of Economics; in 1937 president of the Reichsbank, and in Jan. 1939 dismissed along with Schacht; member of the board of the Margarine Union, 1939–1941, and of Continental Oil, 1941–1945; in management at Unilever in Hamburg, 1948; president of the Bundesbank, 1958–1969.

53 The existence of a regulation to this effect could not be verified. The Reich bonds served as a means for dispossessing the Jews. Although they were formally still Jewish property, they were already regarded by the Reichsbank representatives as de facto government property. They were virtually non-saleable in the market by this time: see Introduction, p. 17.

has to deliver the money. One way or the other, he bears the loss. He also does not know what his share of the amount will be. The individual Jew will not think first of all now about dumping something on the market; instead, there will now be jabbering, and then the onslaught will kick off here etc. Then they will start by picking out all the big Aryans they think they'll have luck with, the so-called Reich postboxes at various levels of importance where they lodge their complaints. Then they will make a dash for me. Quite some time will pass before the matter reaches that point.

*Dalüque*: Can the confiscation of cars be announced? –

*Göring*: Also, the Ministry of the Interior and its police must consider what measures are to be taken now.

Thank you.

(End of the meeting: 2:40.)<sup>54</sup>

#### DOC. 147

### On 12 November 1938 Cell 08 of the Dornbusch branch of the NSDAP gathers information about wealthy Jews<sup>1</sup>

Note written by Cell 08,<sup>2</sup> (signature illegible), Frankfurt am Main, dated 12 November 1938

#### *List of wealthy Jews!*

Ernst Rosenthal and family, 9 Liliencronstraße – watch and jewellery shop – already arrested.

According to his wife, on 15 November the family is moving from the house, which has supposedly been let out, into a guest house in Frankfurt, before eventually emigrating to Africa!

Banker Robert Weiss and family, and Leopold Rotbarth, 17 Roseggerstraße, property owners and otherwise wealthy!

<sup>54</sup> The notes made by Woermann and Schumburg contain clues as to topics discussed during the conference but not covered in the surviving transcripts. According to these notes, a committee chaired by Reich Minister of Economics Funk was to direct the expropriation of Jewish-owned property, artworks, and jewellery. Jews who played an important role in the export business were 'not to be touched'. The relevant departments concerned with internal affairs were tasked with examining 'the question of forced labour for the Jewish proletariat'. Reichsstatthalter and Party offices were to be strictly forbidden to take independent actions against Jews. For foreign Jews, there was an inclination to make concessions with respect to the payment of damages if the injured parties came from Western countries with which there were corresponding agreements. However, there were no planned concessions for citizens of East European countries. According to Lösener's notes, it was also agreed at the conference that Jews were to be deprived of their titles whenever possible: 'Dokumentation: Das Reichsministerium des Innern und die Judengesetzgebung', *Vierteljahrshäfte für Zeitgeschichte*, vol. 9, no. 3 (1961), pp. 262–313.

<sup>1</sup> ISG Frankfurt, Vereine, V 11/16, fol. 40. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Cell 08 of the Dornbusch branch of the NSDAP in Frankfurt was formed in 1935 after a repartitioning of the district. The area for which Cell 08 was responsible comprised only a few tenement buildings. Many of the Party members held leading positions in business or other fields, such as the human geneticist Baron Otmar von Verschuer. The cell was initially headed by Emil Nold, followed by Bruno Krümpelmann from 1936 to 1940 and Dr Harry Gerber from 1940 to 1945. In early 1936, 25 Jews over the age of 20 lived in the cell's territory; on 8 March 1943 Gerber declared the territory 'free of Jews' (*judenrein*).

Joseph and Rich[ard] Neumann and family, 10 Anzengruberstraße – supposedly in Holland at the moment – property owners and other assets!

Sally Rosenberg, 5 Anzengruberstraße, & Mrs Rosenberg, Paula, née Lind (daughter-in-law), property owners and other assets.

Leontine Oppenheimer, née Levingstone, widow, 45 Grillparzerstraße, & Flory Oppenheimer, née Haas, widow (daughter-in-law of Leont[ine] O[ppenheimer]).

Own the house at 45 Grillparzerstraße and 6 Gust. Freytagstraße.

Said to be ‘enormously wealthy’ and related to [members of the] well-known British banking house Lincoln-Levingstone-Oppenheimer!

Luise Sander & Ludwig Löwenthal, 56 Grillparzerstraße – own the house at 56 Grillp. and also extremely wealthy!

Rob. Cahn, LLD, 3 Mörikestraße, and Mathilde, née Rotbarth, own the house at 3 Mörikestraße and extremely wealthy!

Daughter of the Jew Rotbarth, who lives at 17 Roseggerstraße! See above!

Felix *Ochs* and family, &

Fritz *Cohn* and family, 34 Grillparzerstraße – own the house at 34 Grillp. and also enormously wealthy! – Were the previous owners of the Wagener & Schlötel company, Frankfurt am Main, Zeil!

Are in personal contact with their successor, Director Stier, Frankfurt am Main, 16 Beethovenstraße, on a continuous basis to this day!

One may surely assume that through Stier, the Jews Cohn and Ochs still have their money tied up in the W. & Schl. company! – It is strongly advised that the company’s affairs be given closer scrutiny! – Did the DAF<sup>3</sup> examine these affairs in detail before awarding the company the ‘German shop’ sign???

Heil Hitler!

#### DOC. 148

### Luise Solmitz’s diary entries from 10 to 14 November 1938 on the November pogrom and new anti-Jewish rulings<sup>1</sup>

Diary of Luise Solmitz, Hamburg, entries for 10 to 14 November 1938 (copy)

10 Nov. 1938

A dreadful, ghastly day. Fredy<sup>2</sup> heard it first from Grünmann that Jewish businesses had been destroyed and closed down. We went into town, bought {something}. ... People were incredibly busy, occupied, groups, clusters, barriers, all the large Jewish shops were closed, at Robinsohn’s and Hirschfeld’s all the windows had been smashed, there was a non-stop rattling and clanking of clattering windows that the glaziers were repairing; I had never heard such a rattle. There were silent, shocked, and approving people. There

3 Deutsche Arbeitsfront: German Labour Front.

1 Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 622-1/140, Familie Solmitz, 1, Bd. 31; abridged version published in Hans-Jürgen Döscher, *Reichskristallnacht: Die Novemberpogrome* (Munich: Propyläen, 2000), p. 112. This document has been translated from German.

2 This is a reference to Luise Solmitz’s husband, Friedrich Wilhelm Solmitz: see Doc. 5, 27 Jan. 1938, fn. 9.

was an ugly atmosphere. 'If those people over there are shooting our folk dead, then this is what we have to do,' an elderly woman decided.

At 6 p.m. we heard on the radio that the demonstrations and actions against Jews are to stop immediately. – The Führer will issue his response to the murder of Herr von Rath<sup>3</sup> by way of a regulation. – Goebbels had it announced.

This means that we are absolutely doomed.

Most of the windows of the synagogue had been smashed; the interior had been destroyed too. People were peering in through the open doors. The police were in the front garden. An endless stream of people passed by. {Insertion: It's now all been taken away; late 1939.} In the evening Gisela<sup>4</sup> and I took a little dog to our police station, where a Jew was being interrogated and a deathly pale person was lying on a chair in the corner. The little dog sniffed at the man: 'Ugh, leave him alone,' the police officer said to him. 'That's a Jew.'

Kemal Pascha has died. Atatürk is the new creator of Turkey. – Protestant Church. – The christening of the youngest son of Rudolf Heß.<sup>5</sup> {I no longer know what was behind that. There was clearly a link, which it seemed dangerous to point out at the time.} If only the regulation that is going to destroy us all would come out immediately. – Destroyed because one Jewish Polish criminal has committed murder. With B.'s the three of us were at Baßler's. Maybe it was a good thing. But to {have to} see all the others, blithe and carefree. I'm sure they think they have their worries, but what are they compared with our despair? They can go home and sleep without fearing for tomorrow and the future. They can calmly wait to hear what the 'regulations and laws' are. But what about us?!

Paris reports from Nuremberg<sup>6</sup> to the effect that because the Führer is staying there, all Jews had to register with the police by 6 p.m. and hand in their house and garage keys. – 500 have been arrested. They say that the synagogues were set on fire in Berlin. – The police and the fire brigade failed to intervene.

I always thought things couldn't get any worse, but what do you know, it was just a taste of things to come. Now the end is nigh.

11 Nov. 1938

The day began with words of consolation from Mrs Hartmann {the cleaning lady}: 'It's the end of the story now, it's all over for the Jews.'

I was afraid she had already heard an announcement in the early morning, but I didn't ask and there wasn't anything.

A dismal, bitter, fearful atmosphere. Having courage is no help.

I went into town with Gisela; instead of windows there were wooden boards; huge destruction. The crowds were milling around in silence, not a single Jew was among them.

3 Correctly: Ernst vom Rath.

4 Gisela Solnitz, the daughter of Luise and Friedrich Solnitz: see Doc. 5, 27 Jan. 1938, fn. 12.

5 Rudolf Heß (1894–1987), began his career as a retailer; member of the Thule Society; joined the NSDAP in 1920; took part in the Beer Hall Putsch in 1923, for which he was incarcerated in the fortress in Landsberg an der Lech; private secretary to Hitler; Deputy of the Führer, 1933–1941; sentenced to life imprisonment at the 1946 Nuremberg trials; committed suicide in prison in 1987.

6 Probably a reference to a French radio station.

We went to our block leader in the evening regarding the weapons handover, as Gisela and I had read en route that all kinds of firearms, thrusting weapons, and cutting weapons owned by Jews had to be handed in to the police within four days.<sup>7</sup>

Fredy's beautiful hunting rifle, the weapons he had carried in the field. One bitter experience comes after another, there isn't a glimmer of goodwill or hope anywhere, we just have to hold our breath, constantly. Those who are not affected cannot imagine how happy, how safe their life is. They don't have to worry about their property and nothing in the newspapers or on the radio can unsettle them.

When I read about the weapons handover, I went straight home, I was worried about Fr., and I was happy to see him. It remains to be seen how much we can handle. 'Is it so hard to leave the table of life a little earlier?', [Theodor] Fontane has Effi Briest ask. Yes, it is hard for one who is bound by bands of love, who knows the value of life, its beauty, its sacred everyday routine, and {who} is aware of absolutely no national guilt, one who would never betray his country.

Himmler's regulation carries the threat of concentration camps and twenty years! of preventive detention if the weapons are not handed in as ordered.<sup>8</sup>

12 Nov. 1938

In the Alsterhaus<sup>9</sup> I bought theatre tickets for Gisela and Mrs E. and her Rita. Before going in to the Alsterhaus I read: 'The Reich government will give an answer – legally but harshly.' – I will never forget these words: legally but harshly. Our fate is sealed. I didn't notice that I had completed my task in the Alsterhaus. I didn't notice any of the bright things around me. I had to tell Gisela about the tickets; I called her and was able to talk about theatre tickets, but my voice almost broke. Then I met up with Fredy ... and we went to the Gestapo in the town hall. Fr. had not yet read the exact wording of the weapons decree, otherwise he would not have applied for a permit to keep his field dagger and the pistol. – Both of the SS people who dealt with us in a hall by the paternoster lift were rather perplexed: 'A retired major?' The civil servant up there said drily, 'That's well and truly over now.' – 'And,' he added, 'I would advise you to hand them all in.' – 'That goes without saying for me as a former officer,' Fredy replied.

We had just returned home and wanted to go out again when the doorbell rang. There were two gentlemen dressed in civilian clothes. Fredy said: 'Luise, the gentlemen are from the Gestapo.' – 'Yes?' I said, in just as calm a tone, and I actually was calm. As I entered the room with them, one civil servant said to Fredy: 'May I speak with you alone?' I left the room and just overheard him asking, 'Do you have distinctions?' – 'War distinctions? Yes, a whole lot.' – 'Show me your certificates.' – 'You were a pilot?' – 'Yes, one of the first flying officers in Germany and as such I receive 50 per cent of my pay.' They made it clear that he was to keep everything brief. Fredy said that we had just come from the secret police due to the handover of the weapons. 'You have weapons?!' – 'A lot, as a former officer at the front.' – 'Oh, then hand them all in.' Fredy repeated that

7 See Doc. 141, 11 Nov. 1938.

8 The regulation prohibiting Jews from possessing weapons stipulated that contravention would be punished with penal servitude of up to five years in particularly serious cases.

9 A department store on Hamburg's inner city lake, the Binnenalster.

this of course went without saying, as is true. 'May I enquire after the reason of your visit?' – 'You can see that everything is in order by the fact that we are now leaving.'

Without the distinctions, would they have taken Fr. with them or given him a time and place where he should turn up? He had struggled through for a terrible quarter of an hour.

In the gravest of moods, I was frozen with fear; we drove to Wanda's as we had already said that we were coming.

On the way there the newspapers screamed out at us: Jews banned from attending the theatre, concerts, and cinemas.<sup>10</sup>

We were not the cheeriest of guests ... Wanda was aghast: 'But Fr., they won't do anything to you! It's got nothing to do with you!' How can anyone live so far removed from reality. I told her she shouldn't look for a two-room apartment so quickly, maybe her third room would soon be the last refuge ... she promised it. – No, we were not exactly cheery guests.

In the evening the blow struck – I was so afraid that I could not listen. The report came from Paris: 1 billion Reichsmarks for the murder in Paris, to be paid by the Jews.

And at the same time total exclusion from business life.<sup>11</sup>

Now Fredy admitted it too: we are annihilated.

Around 45 million ... French people paid 5 billion from a rich country {in 1871},<sup>12</sup> making it 1 billion for every 9 million people. But here 600,000 people are supposed to come up with a billion in their worst state of emergency. ... it is not earnings that will be liable [for this] but whatever can be obtained by seizing assets, so that means everything.

13 Nov. 1938

A Sunday so golden, so warm, such a mockery of our fear ... We took the weapons to the police station. 'That hurts,' said the constable [who quite by chance became our sub-tenant in 1945!]; he had also been a soldier at the front. Another man praised the beautiful hunting rifle and said that the weapons were very valuable; they [the police] were astonished to receive such an arsenal from Fr. – Fr.'s dagger, on which, in the field, he swore people in; the pistol, which had accompanied him in his battles in the east and the west; the Belgian backsword,<sup>13</sup> a piece of booty; Paye's stupid little revolver, ... which I hadn't handed in in 1918; sabres, trench knives, Mauser pistols, ammunition. We received a certificate and later brought in a few more cartridges.

14 Nov. 1938

Jews may no longer attend German universities; a few exceptions have still been made.<sup>14</sup>

10 See Doc. 146, 12 Nov. 1938, fn. 15.

11 See Doc. 143, 12 Nov. 1938.

12 After the Franco-Prussian War of 1870/1871, France had to cede Alsace, Metz, and parts of Lorraine to the new German Reich and pay war reparations of 5 billion gold francs.

13 A long, heavy cutting and thrusting weapon.

14 In a telegram on 14 Nov. 1938 to the vice chancellors of German universities, Reich Minister of Education Rust ordered a ban on Jews participating in lectures as well as entering the buildings: see also Doc. 155, 15 Nov. 1938. A draft law excluding Jews from universities was announced in the *Völkischer Beobachter*: 'Juden von allen deutschen Hochschulen ausgeschlossen', *Völkischer Beobachter* (northern German edition), 15 Nov. 1938, p. 1. On 8 Dec. 1938 any remaining exemp-

Consultations are taking place regarding the final solution to the Jewish question.<sup>15</sup>

What will that be, why do we have to be afraid of it, whereas 80 million people can await it calmly?

This farewell that Fr. took from his silent war comrades yesterday. Carried honourably, but surrendered shamefully.

Oh, that we have to sleep again! ... Going to sleep now means being afraid of waking up. I'm wide awake in the middle of the night ... then the despair comes, which I try to mask by reading, without noticing what I am reading.

#### DOC. 149

### On 14 November 1938 the SS Security Service presents five badge designs for identifying Jews<sup>1</sup>

Letter from the SD Main Office II 1/II 2 (unsigned II B, II 1), dated 14 November 1938

Re: badges for Jews.

Case file: directive from SS-Gruppenführer Heydrich, 14 November 1938.

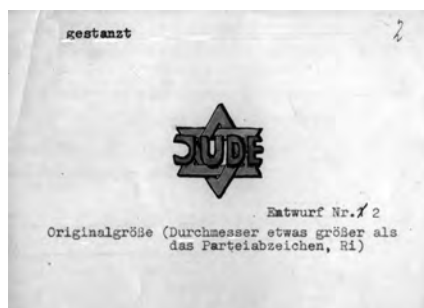
(1) Memorandum:

SS-Gruppenführer Heydrich has ordered that designs be submitted for identification badges that will have to be worn by Jews in future, in accordance with § 5 of the First Implementing Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law.

As per instructions, five designs are hereby presented:



1st design<sup>2</sup>



2nd design<sup>3</sup>

tions were forbidden by a circular decree issued by the Reich Ministry of Education: *Deutsche Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung: Amtsblatt des Reichsministeriums für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung und der Unterrichtsverwaltungen der Länder*, 1938, IV, p. 550.

<sup>15</sup> In Nov. 1938 the press also referred to the 'final solution to the Jewish question' with the formulation 'endgültige Lösung der Judenfrage'. See *Völkischer Beobachter* (northern German edition), 14 Nov. 1938, pp. 1-2.

<sup>1</sup> RGVA, 500k-1-659, fols. 120-123. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> The German text states that the black background makes the badge clearly visible on clothing of any colour.

<sup>3</sup> The German text states that the diameter is slightly larger than the Party badge.

*Design 1* shows the Jewish six-pointed star in blue on a black background, with a thin yellow border around it. The word 'Jew' is written in yellow across the middle of the Jewish six-pointed star.

The paint would be sprayed onto a small round metal plate (metal magnesium).

*Design 2* shows the Jewish six-pointed star in blue, with a black outline. The word 'Jew' is written across the middle of the Jewish six-pointed star in yellow with a black outline. The badge would be produced by being punched out and the paint would be sprayed on.



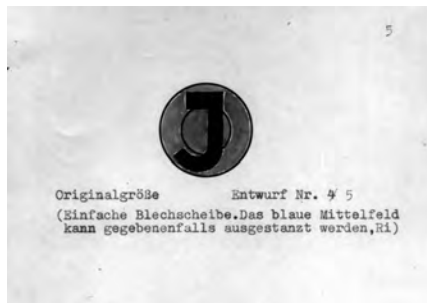
3rd design<sup>4</sup>



4th design<sup>5</sup>

*Design 3* portrays the Jewish six-pointed star in blue on a black background, surrounded by a thin yellow border. The word 'Yehudi', Hebrew for Jew, is written across the middle of the Jewish six-pointed star.

*Design 4* portrays a small circle in blue, surrounded by a yellow ring. The letter 'J' appears vertically on the badge in black Gothic script.



5th design<sup>6</sup>

*Design 5* portrays a small circle in blue, surrounded by a yellow ring. The letter 'J' appears vertically on the badge in black block capitals.

4 The German text states that the inscription reads Yehudi, which means Jew.

5 The German text states that the J is to be printed in capitals or filled out if necessary, and that the blue centre can also be punched out.

6 The German text states that the blue centre can be punched out if necessary.

No negotiations have yet been undertaken regarding the production and costs of each badge design.

(2) All designs have been submitted to SS-Gruppenführer Heydrich with the request for a decision as to which of the five designs should be chosen.<sup>7</sup>

DOC. 150

**Cornelius von Berenberg-Gossler describes the arrests in his social circle  
from 11 to 15 November 1938<sup>1</sup>**

Diary of Baron Cornelius von Berenberg-Gossler, Hamburg, entries for 11–15 November 1938

*Friday, 11 Nov.*

A terrible day for the Jews: among my acquaintances the following have been arrested: the former notary Kauffmann,<sup>2</sup> George Behrens,<sup>3</sup> Dr Warburg,<sup>4</sup> Rosenmeier,<sup>5</sup> and others. No one knows the whereabouts of those arrested. Rose[n]meier's firm was without bosses and a signatory, so at his behest his procurator Lührs turned to me. I contacted the office of the Gau economic advisor,<sup>6</sup> who named a 'trustee', a paid failed Nazi banker. I visited Mrs Behrens,<sup>7</sup> who was very brave in spite of her 83 years, then Lena, whose father died today. Breakfast afterwards in the Rée canteen. Went to the supervisory board

<sup>7</sup> Initially no decision was made regarding these designs. From 19 Sept. 1941 all Jews aged 6 and over had to wear a yellow star in public.

<sup>1</sup> Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 622-1/9 Familie Berenberg, submitted in 1992, Tagebuch v. Cornelius Berenberg-Gossler 1938. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Dr Moritz Otto Kauffmann (1879–1963), notary; emigrated to the Netherlands in 1939; after 1945 returned to Hamburg and until around 1952 worked there in the same notary's office he had been forced to leave in 1935.

<sup>3</sup> George Eduard Behrens (1881–1956), banker; from 1907 shareholder of the bank L. Behrens & Söhne; member of the supervisory boards of the Carbonit AG, the Guatemala Plantagen-Gesellschaft, the Hypothekenbank, and the Stadttheater-Gesellschaft in Hamburg; worked for the German Democratic Party (DDP); emigrated to Belgium, where he was arrested by the Gestapo; emigrated to Cuba in 1941; returned to Hamburg in 1948.

<sup>4</sup> Dr Fritz M. Warburg (1879–1964), banker and lawyer; shareholder of the M. M. Warburg & Co. banking house, 1907–1938; chairman of the German-Israelite Hospital in Hamburg; board member of the Hamburg German-Israelite Community, 1933–1938; sentenced to penal servitude in Fuhlsbüttel, Nov. 1938 to May 1939; emigrated to Sweden, 1939; became a Swedish national, 1944; emigrated to Israel, 1957.

<sup>5</sup> Correctly: Kurt Rosenmeyer (1893–1970), banker; co-owner of the Elias Calman banking house; released from Sachsenhausen concentration camp on 23 Nov. 1938; emigrated to Britain in June 1939.

<sup>6</sup> The Gau economic advisor was Carlo Otte (b. 1908), retailer; joined the NSDAP in 1930 and the SS in 1931; deputy to the member of the Hamburg state government Wilhelm von Allwörden and his representative as the economic commissioner of the Reichsstathalter; Gau economic advisor in Hamburg, June 1935–1940 (deputy, July 1933); SS-Oberführer, 1943; head of the main department for national economy in the administration of the Reich commissioner of Norway in Oslo, 1940–1945.

<sup>7</sup> Franziska Behrens, née Gorrissen (1856–1950), mother of George Eduard Behrens and widow of the Jewish banker Eduard Ludwig Behrens Jr. (1853–1925). As a non-Jew she was able to stay in Hamburg during the Nazi years.

meeting of the Ruberoi Works,<sup>8</sup> where the Nazi Otte<sup>9</sup> stated that he knew the prevailing economic climate would last for ten years. To my objection that no one can foresee the future, Otte said that he knew for certain. Last of all I went to see Mrs Blöde's mother. Mrs Blöde<sup>10</sup> has been expelled [from the country] and her mother wanted to talk to me about what steps to take for her daughter. Nadia was at the singing academy in the evening.

Hellmuth is on board the steamship on which Friedrich Vorwerk and his sister are sailing back to Chile. Dinner, then off to the park in the evening. Atatürk, the founder of modern Turkey, has died. In the park I hear the leaves falling from the trees in the evening. In the morning a visit to the Mackprang grain firm for Rée.

*Saturday, 12 Nov.*

The appalling and undignified treatment of many innocent Jews by the Nazi government is being berated everywhere. It is mostly well-respected Jews who, as Kauffmann told me, have been transported to Oranienburg near Berlin and imprisoned.<sup>11</sup> His brother is among those deported. Abroad they are reacting nervously and angrily to this new barbaric act of the Nazis.<sup>12</sup> – And such a government expects to be able to maintain its colonies, in which the natives could be subjected to the deplorable consequences of Nazi racial policy. (Yet currently Hitler has such enormous power, built on fears of being drawn into a war, that many wise people believe that colonies will be handed over to him.) – I was at the foreign currency office in the morning because of Richard Samson,<sup>13</sup> for whom I tried in vain to put in a good word with a civil servant. I was told in reply that Samson is a Jew and therefore subject to all of the restrictions to which all Jews in Germany are subject. Lunch in Niendorf. Before eating I went to the park and surroundings again. In the afternoon visited Richard Kauffmann, who is afraid he will have to share his brother's fate and be arrested. Prior to that I visited Pfeiffer-Saenz, who is in bed with a broken kneecap at the Four Seasons Hotel. *The Times* had been confiscated again, as so often recently.

*Sunday, 13 Nov.*

Apparently out of revenge for the murder of a German diplomat in Paris, vom Rath, by a 17-year-old Polish Jew, further reprisals against German Jews have been announced, after

8 Correctly: Ruberoiwerke AG. The firm produced roofing paper and insulation material and specialized in wood processing for house building.

9 See fn. 6.

10 See Doc. 115, 28 Oct. 1938.

11 This is a reference to Sachsenhausen concentration camp.

12 On 12 Nov. 1938 *The Times* and the *New York Times* both described the pogrom as a brutal relapse into the Middle Ages: 'Nazi Attacks on Jews', *The Times*, 12 Nov. 1938, p. 14; 'Nazis Warn Foreign Press "Lies" Will Hurt Reich Jews; Arrests Run to Thousands', *New York Times*, 12 Nov. 1938, p. 1. The *New York Times* also wrote that the 'bloody pogrom' was the expression of a barbarity that was not solely about the Jewish problem but that constituted a threat to all legal safeguards in general.

13 Richard Samson (1885–1945), banker; owner of the D. Samson banking house at 7 Jungfernstieg in Hamburg. In Sept. 1938 the banking house was deprived of its licence to operate as a foreign exchange bank. The customs investigation office in Hamburg carried out a house search and instigated investigations on suspicion of capital flight. On 14 Nov. 1938 the currency division ordered that Samson and his wife were no longer permitted access to their assets: Staatsarchiv Hamburg, R1938/2047, fol. 27. Richard Samson emigrated to Sweden in the spring of 1939.

many innocent Jews have been locked up. Along with the restrictions in the business world, in which Jews are no longer allowed to be active, they have been fined with a penalty of 1 billion Reichsmarks. The decree has been signed by Göring, who wants to *steal* this money for his Four-Year Plan. According to as yet unconfirmed rumours, people are saying that he arranged for many people feared by his Party to be murdered on 30 June 1934.<sup>14</sup> Any decent-thinking person ought to turn away in disgust from this Nazi Party. – Beautiful sunny weather. Edmund came to our home for breakfast; we were in the park for a long time. At 6 a.m. we set off for Frankfurt am Main on the excellent diesel train, which arrives in Frankfurt as early as 11:30. The compartments were furnished very nicely. On the train we sat together with Hasenhöller, a director of Triton Belco AG.<sup>15</sup> I spent the night in the Carlton Hotel on Bahnhofplatz (room 302). Hasenhöller told me that Triton Belco AG now has even greater orders for armaments on their books than before. I've also been informed from another source that armament production is being increased and considerably at that (there is talk of an increase of 60 per cent (?)).

*Monday, 14 Nov.* In Frankfurt am Main I paid visits to Metzler's,<sup>16</sup> Bethmann,<sup>17</sup> whom I miss, to the Frankfurt Bank, to the Metal Holdings, where I miss Georg, the German Gold and Silver Refinery, where I meet Dr Busemann,<sup>18</sup> the Deutsche Effekten- und Wechselbank, where I have a pleasant conversation with Dr Hartmann. Finally I tried to meet up with Mrs von Metzler and Mrs von Bethmann; they had gone out. Breakfast at the Carlton Hotel; departure at three o'clock; at 11:30 I meet Nadia and Nadinka<sup>19</sup> in Niendorf. A letter from Heinrich from Buenos Aires dated 9 November; still no decision regarding his future.

*Tuesday, 15 Nov.*

Visited Kauffmann in the morning; the arrests of Jews are continuing and the misery, the fear, and the worry are growing and growing among them. Even sick Jews in the sanatorium in Fürstenberg have been arrested. Breakfast in the Patriotic Building; in the

14 On the occasion of a leadership meeting of the SA on 30 June 1934, Hitler had the head of the SA, Ernst Röhm, and other members of the SA leadership murdered by the SS. Opponents within the Party, including the 'old guard' of the NSDAP, and political enemies from conservative circles were also among those murdered. The Reich government subsequently legitimated the 'Night of the Long Knives', which was allegedly intended to prevent a coup planned by Röhm, by issuing a law on 2 July 1934 declaring a 'state of emergency'.

15 August Hasenhöller (1902–1961), commercial employee and industrialist; joined the NSDAP in 1933; chairman of the board of the Triton-Belco AG, Hamburg, 1955; chairman of the Association of Specialist Suppliers of Requirements for Sanitary, Gas, and Water Pipe Installations in Bonn.

16 Probably B. Metzler seel. Sohn & Co., a private bank in Frankfurt am Main, which emerged from a trading company founded by Benjamin Metzler in 1674.

17 Probably Baron Simon Moritz von Bethmann (1887–1966), banker and lawyer; from 1913 shareholder of the Gebrüder Bethmann banking house; deputy chairman of the supervisory board of the Frankfurter Bank, 1929; joined the NSDAP in 1937; involved in the reconstruction and modernization of the Bethmannbank, 1949–1958.

18 Dr Ernst Busemann (1876–1939), banker and lawyer; from 1919 board member of the Deutsche Gold- und Silberscheideanstalt (1980–2007 Degussa AG) and from 1930 to 1939 chairman of its board.

19 Nadia von Berenberg-Gossler (1916–2005), daughter of Nadia and Cornelius von Berenberg-Gossler; later a doctor of internal medicine in Hamburg.

afternoon an interesting experience, the psychology of a Nazi. Wiesmann<sup>20</sup> fired a 65-year-old fanatical Nazi in his office. The Nazi said that he would go to the Labour Front; the money that should be saved by his leaving ought to be taken instead from Kauffmann's money. We delivered the money and he the labour, that is the agreement, he argued. He then pointed out that I am as old as he is. In the end he complained loudly about us to the Labour Front on the telephone in the large office. – Nadia was at the singing academy in the evening, Cornelia at Tita's.<sup>21</sup> Cornelia told us that the Jews had been dragged out of her Reichshof Hotel at night and taken away. Overbeck came before dinner; he was driving to the city with Nadinka. – The foreign press seems to be in uproar about the mistreatment of the Jews in Germany, and rightly so. *The Times* was confiscated again. The German press is working against England by pointing to the way that the Arabs are being treated by the English in Palestine; a very weak argument, as the Jews in Germany cannot defend themselves. The confiscation of Jewish property is robbery; the Jews are innocent of the murder of a German diplomat; the decent people disapprove of the murder.

DOC. 151

**On 15 November 1938 the Swiss ambassador in Paris reports on his meeting with State Secretary Ernst von Weizsäcker regarding the expulsion of Jews from Germany<sup>1</sup>**

Report no. 51 of the Swiss ambassador (I-B-/38./R.P.Nr.51) in Paris, W. Stucki,<sup>2</sup> to the head of the Swiss Political Department, Federal Councillor Motta,<sup>3</sup> dated 15 November 1938 (received on 18 November 1938)<sup>4</sup>

Esteemed Federal Councillor,

The criminal and mindless attack on a young secretary of the German embassy here has justifiably triggered great outrage and sympathy everywhere. This was very clearly expressed on the occasion of the funeral, which was organized last Saturday in the Ger-

20 Bernhard Wiesmann (b. 1888), procurator and banker; worked at the Wilhelm Rée Jun. banking house; from 1938 he served as the proprietor of the bank in agreement with its owner, Richard Kauffmann.

21 Clarita von Specht, née von Berenberg-Gossler (1899–1977), daughter of Nadia and Cornelius von Berenberg-Gossler.

1 BAR, Bern, E 2 300 1000/716, Bd. 345, published in Commission nationale pour la publication de documents diplomatiques suisses, *Documents Diplomatiques Suisses. Diplomatische Dokumente der Schweiz. Documenti Diplomatici Svizzeri 1848–1945*, vol. 12: 1937–1938 (Bern: Benteli, 1994), no. 449, pp. 1030–1032. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr h.c. Walter Stucki (1888–1963), lawyer and diplomat; secretary general of the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, 1917–1920; director of the Swiss Department of Trade, 1925–1935; from 1935 plenipotentiary minister and Federal Council delegate for foreign trade; appointed as Swiss envoy in Paris, 1937; after 1945 Federal Council delegate for special issues.

3 Dr h.c. Giuseppe Motta (1871–1940), lawyer; member of the cantonal parliament and leader of the Catholic Conservative Party, 1895–1911; member of the National Council, 1899–1911; member of the Federal Council, 1911–1940; federal president, 1915, 1920, 1927, 1932, and 1937; from 1920 head of the Federal Political Department, head of the Swiss delegation to the League of Nations.

man church by the German embassy and was attended by the whole French administration. Although I had already paid a visit of condolence to the German ambassador<sup>5</sup> and on this day had to travel to Dijon at 2 p.m., I did not hesitate to attend the funeral personally. It was all the more appropriate as State Secretary von Weizsäcker,<sup>6</sup> along with the ambassador, was officially representing the German government. With the occasion being a funeral, which was incidentally very impressive and beautiful, I had only a very brief opportunity to speak with Mr von Weizsäcker, and travelled to Dijon immediately afterwards. Yesterday, after my return, I spoke to Mr von Weizsäcker on the telephone. He had stayed in Paris to pay me a friendly visit. I invited him to lunch today within the closest family circle. He has just left, after open and friendly discussions in great detail on various important issues.

Allow me to report the following on the opinions he expressed.

He strongly emphasizes that, regarding France, there are no further grounds for conflict in the view of the German government, and that from Germany's side there is all the more willingness for detente and understanding since the French prime minister<sup>7</sup> has won great personal sympathies with the Führer and the German people. Without saying it expressly, he hinted that the signing of a German–French non-aggression pact would be possible, and is perhaps even likely.<sup>8</sup> Regarding the German colonial claims in particular, these of course would be vigorously pursued further by Germany, although Germany would not wage a war on account of them.

In my opinion, Mr von W. assesses the internal situation in France absolutely correctly when he says that one should not be fooled by the constant party struggles into believing that France would not immediately settle any internal disputes and stand united against any enemy if French interests were seriously at stake. I also agree with him that in the view of the French public this was not the case during the last crisis and that a war in France in September would therefore have been distinctly unpopular.<sup>9</sup>

4 Parts of the original have been underlined and annotated by hand, and at the top of the document is the handwritten comment 'very interesting'.

5 The German ambassador in Paris from March 1936 to Sept. 1940 was Count Johannes von Welczeck.

6 Baron Ernst von Weizsäcker (1882–1951), diplomat; from 1920 worked for the Reich Foreign Office; chargé d'affaires in Oslo, 1931–1933, and in Switzerland, 1933–1936; member of the NSDAP, 1938; honorary rank of SS-Gruppenführer; state secretary in the Reich Foreign Office, 1938–1943; ambassador to the Vatican, 1943–1945; imprisoned, 1947; sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in the Wilhelmstraße trial in 1949 and released in 1950.

7 Édouard Daladier (1884–1970), politician and teacher; member and chairman of the Radical Party; involved in the creation of the Popular Front, 1936; French prime minister, 1933, 1934, and 1938–1940; arrested in 1940 after his call to resistance against the German occupation and prosecuted by the Vichy government in 1942; imprisoned in France and Germany, 1943–1945.

8 In the German–French declaration of 6 Dec. 1938 the governments of both countries stated their interest in good neighbourly relationships and maintaining peace: *Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik 1918–1945*, series D: 1937–1945, vol. 4: *Die Nachwirkungen von München, Oktober 1938–März 1939* (Baden-Baden: Imprimerie nationale, 1951), pp. 409–410.

9 On 29/30 Sept. 1938 Daladier had signed the Munich Agreement together with Chamberlain, Mussolini, and Hitler, sealing the annexation of the Sudetenland to the German Reich. Opponents of the agreement in France and Britain had advocated a military response to German expansionist efforts rather than diplomatic concessions.

With reference to French–Italian relations, Mr von W. expressed the following opinion: Il Duce<sup>10</sup> despises French politics and French politicians. Certain members of his staff, particularly the minister of foreign affairs,<sup>11</sup> judge France completely inaccurately by saying that the corruption and internal disintegration are so far advanced that France would no longer be a serious opponent in the event of war. In Berlin, he added, people think quite differently and have the greatest respect for the French ground forces in particular. If, in spite of the appointment of a French ambassador in Rome,<sup>12</sup> the Italian mood towards France is still negative, the reason for this would be the aforementioned antipathy expressed by the Italian head of government towards French politicians. In his opinion, however, it is not the case that public opinion is being stirred up in preparation for an attack. Berlin, he continued, is utterly convinced that Italy already has enough ‘on its plate’ at the moment and under no circumstances does it intend to proceed aggressively in the Mediterranean area in the near future.<sup>13</sup>

To sum up, Mr von W. sees the situation thus: the danger of war between Germany and France in the foreseeable future has been eliminated, and between Italy and France it is highly unlikely in the near future.

I also turned the conversation to the currently acute Jewish question. Mr von W. did not make the slightest attempt to defend what has been happening to the Jews in Germany recently, both illegally and legally. Without losing face, he expressed his deep regret that considerable animosity has now been created towards Germany all over the world. In his opinion the National Socialist Party is so committed to its battle against the Jews that it cannot retreat, nor even stand still. The approximately 500,000 Jews still living in Germany absolutely have to be deported somehow, for they cannot stay in Germany. However, if no country is willing to take them in, as has been the case up to now, then they face absolute annihilation sooner or later.

We did not discuss Swiss–German relations in detail. Mr von W. described them as being ‘in order’ and explained that everyone in Germany shares the officially expressed view that German-speaking Switzerland would be ‘impossible to swallow’.

Mr von W. will leave Paris this evening or tomorrow, attend the funeral ceremony of Mr vom Rath in Dusseldorf, and embark on a Mediterranean trip with his wife immediately afterwards.

The long conversation developed in exactly the same friendly atmosphere as we were accustomed to from Bern and Berlin.

10 Benito Mussolini (1883–1945), Italian prime minister, 1922–1943.

11 Gian Galeazzo Ciano, second Count of Cortellazzo (1903–1944), diplomat; Italian minister of foreign affairs, 1936–1943.

12 André François-Poncet (1887–1978), diplomat; French ambassador in Berlin, 1931–1938, and in Rome, 1938–1940.

13 In the style of the ancient Roman Empire, Mussolini pursued the objective of ‘mare nostrum’ (Latin for ‘our sea’), Italian control of the Mediterranean. The Italian territorial claims on French-controlled territory, e.g. Corsica, Tunis, Djibouti, Nice, and Savoy, strained relationships between both states. However, any military enforcement of these claims initially seemed unlikely after the Italian army had fought a difficult campaign to conquer Abyssinia in 1935/1936: Roland Ray, *Annäherung an Frankreich im Dienste Hitlers* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2000), p. 246.

In the spring of this year I had been invited by our consul in Dijon to come to Burgundy in the autumn and preside over the 'Trois Glorieuses de Bourgogne'.<sup>14</sup> As the ambassadors of both the United States and Belgium as well as several accredited ministers had participated in the event before me, I did not feel that I should refuse. Therefore from Saturday evening to Monday morning, accompanied by Messrs Torrenté and Naville, I was in Dijon, Nuits-St-Georges, Clos-Vougeot, and Beaune. I do not need to stress that the whole undertaking was extremely exhausting. However, as the representative of Switzerland, I received an extraordinarily friendly welcome everywhere from the authorities, organizations, and the population. With various other Swiss nationals (director Rietmann from the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, Bittel from the Office du Tourisme, etc.) I was accepted into the 'Confrérie des Tastevins'<sup>15</sup> in a celebratory old ritual in which the 'Grand Maître'<sup>16</sup> sang the praises of Switzerland and the Swiss in an extremely funny mock Latin. Just before that, the community had assembled in the *mairie*<sup>17</sup> of Nuits-St-Georges to name me as an honorary citizen of their small Burgundy town. The ceremony was touching in its simplicity. It has no further consequences for me other than an obligation to donate a considerable sum to the poor of the community and to order a large quantity of wine. The next day I officially opened the truly intriguing wine auction of the 1938 vintage from Beaune, at which many Swiss buyers were present. In the evening there was a second large banquet, which provided a good occasion for an impressive demonstration of Burgundy's feelings of friendship towards Switzerland. I avoided any political remarks in the various speeches I had to give at this event, instead using the opportunity to promote the sale of Swiss cheese and to attract visitors to our national exhibition in 1939.

I made the most of the intervening days to pay a visit to the Swiss consulate and the Swiss stand at the current Dijon Autumn Fair. An worthwhile and excellent job has been done on a small budget here.

As my son is giving his first big concert in Bern next Tuesday, I intend to come to Bern with my wife for two days. I will take the liberty of visiting you, dear Federal Councillor, and hope on this occasion to be able to give you reasonable assurances regarding the likelihood of the new 'décrets-lois'.<sup>18</sup> At present the situation regarding this is still very unclear.

Allow me, Federal Councillor, to express my respectful devotion.

14 A wine festival in Burgundy, combined with a charity wine auction. The festival takes place every year on the third weekend in Nov.

15 French: a society of Burgundy wine enthusiasts.

16 French: grand master; highest position in a *confrérie*.

17 French: town hall.

18 French: statutory orders. With the aim of stabilizing the French currency and recovering state finances, the *décrets-lois* were used in late Oct. and early Nov. 1938 to increase taxes, cut public expenditure and abolish the forty-hour week, particularly in the industries serving national defence.

## DOC. 152

**On 15 November 1938 the Reich Minister of Education prohibits Jewish pupils  
from attending school with non-Jews<sup>1</sup>**

Reich Ministry of Education circular (E I b 745 (b)), signed Zschintzsch,<sup>2</sup> to the teaching administrations of the states (except Prussia), the Reich commissioner for the Saarland, the Oberpräsidenten, the Department of Secondary Education, the president of the city of Berlin, (a) [Dept] of Academic Secondary Education, (b) Department of Primary and Middle Schools, (c) Department of Vocational and Technical Schools, the Regierungspräsidenten – schools department – and the Prussian Minister President, the Reich Ministry of the Interior, the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, and the Deputy of the Führer, dated 15 November 1938 (copy)

Re: school lessons for Jews.

After the heinous murder in Paris, German schoolteachers can no longer be expected to teach Jewish children. It is also self-evident that it is intolerable for German schoolchildren to have to share a classroom with Jews. Although racial segregation has been applied in the school system as a whole in the last few years, a number of Jewish pupils have remained in German schools. These pupils can no longer be allowed to attend school together with German boys and girls.<sup>3</sup>

Subject to further legislation I therefore order the following with immediate effect:

1. Jews are not permitted to attend German schools. They may only attend Jewish schools. Any Jewish pupils currently attending German schools are to be expelled immediately, if this has not already occurred.
2. Paragraph 5 of the First Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 1333) from 14 November 1935 determines who is Jewish.<sup>4</sup>
3. This ruling applies to all schools under my jurisdiction, including schools providing compulsory education.

1 *Deutsche Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung*, 1938, IV, pp. 520–521. This document has been translated from German.

2 Werner Zschintzsch (1888–1953), lawyer; section head, 1924–1933, and from 1926 Ministerialrat in the Prussian Ministry of the Interior; member of the German National People's Party (DNVP), 1920–1922; joined the NSDAP in 1933 and the SS in 1936; Regierungspräsident in Wiesbaden, 1933–1936; state secretary in the Reich Ministry of Education, 1936–1945; classified as a 'follower' in denazification proceedings, 1949.

3 The Law against Overcrowding in German Schools and Institutions of Higher Education (April 1933) aimed to prohibit non-Aryans from attending German educational institutions in the long term. In 1935 Jewish children were banned from taking part in extracurricular events such as school trips. Most Jewish pupils had already left the state schools in autumn 1938 on account of the discrimination they experienced.

4 See PMJ 1/210.

## DOC. 153

**On 15 November 1938 the apostolic nuncio in Berlin reports to the Vatican  
regarding the November pogrom<sup>1</sup>**

Letter no. 25 341 from Apostolic Nuncio Cesare Orsenigo,<sup>2</sup> Berlin, to Cardinal Secretary of State Eugenio Pacelli,<sup>3</sup> dated 15 November 1938 (received on 19 November 1938)<sup>4</sup>

*Subject:* antisemitic vandalism

Most Reverend Eminence,

I regard it as my duty to add some news to what the newspapers have already reported about the antisemitic vandalism on 9th and 10th of this month in Germany.

(1) The destruction began, as if on cue, in the night immediately after the news of the death in Paris of the young diplomat, who had succumbed to the shots of the young Jew whose parents had been expelled from Germany to Poland a few days before. Everywhere the blind anger of the people followed an identical pattern: during the night they smashed all the shop windows and set fire to the synagogues; the next day they looted the shops, which were left unprotected, with the result that even the most costly goods were rendered unusable.

(2) Characterizing the events as an 'outburst by the German people', Minister Göbbels<sup>5</sup> only gave the order to stop towards the afternoon of the 10th, after a day in which the mob, unrestrained by any policeman, had given vent to its wildest feelings. This word was enough to restore calm.

All this makes it easy to recognize that the order or the permission to act came from very high up. As a result of this statement from Göbbels, that the so-called 'antisemitic reaction' was the work of the 'German people', the true and healthy German people, who certainly compose the majority, have suffered greatly: a retired Protestant superintendent, 80 years old, even came to the apostolic nuncio to protest against this statement from Göbbels.

(3) At present, there is a pursuit of laws and ministerial dispositions in order to isolate the Jews ever more, prohibiting them from engaging in any form of commerce, from attending state schools, and from entering places of public entertainment (theatre, cinemas, concerts, and cultural gatherings). Furthermore, they are to pay a total fine of 1 billion [Reichsmarks]:<sup>6</sup> it is said that the registration [of assets] imposed last spring revealed that the Jews possessed a total sum of 7 billion.

1 ASV/AES, Germania, pos. 742, fasc. 356, fols. 40r-41v. This document has been translated from Italian.

2 Cesare Orsenigo (1873-1946), priest; chaplain, 1897; later priest in Milan; appointed titular bishop, 1922; from 1922 to 1925 apostolic internuncio in The Hague and then in Hungary; successor to Pacelli as apostolic nuncio in Berlin, 1930-1945.

3 Dr Eugenio Pacelli (1876-1958), theologian and lawyer; entered the Vatican's Secretariat of State, 1901; professor at the Vatican's diplomatic academy, 1909-1914; titular bishop and papal nuncio in Munich, 1917; nuncio to the German Reich, 1920-1929; cardinal, 1929; cardinal secretary of state, 1930; elected Pope Pius XII in March 1939.

4 Handwritten note.

5 Correctly: Goebbels.

6 See Doc. 142, 12 Nov. 1938; Doc. 143, 12 Nov. 1938; and Doc. 152, 15 Nov. 1938.

(4) The Jews also had all their weapons taken away,<sup>7</sup> and although the goal was entirely different, this was good because the temptation to commit suicide must have been strong in some.

(5) All the diplomats have shown great interest in this vandalism; the Colombian chargé d'affaires even clashed with the police when they caught him taking photographs, and the government – neither wanting to acknowledge the mistake made by the police nor being able to take action against the chargé d'affaires, who insisted on his right to immunity with regard to such an innocent act, not prohibited by any law – took its revenge by refusing to accept the credentials of the new envoy from Colombia, who has been in Berlin for three months waiting for accreditation.<sup>8</sup>

(6) The diplomats from England and Holland intervened energetically in defence of the assets of those Jews who are subjects of their countries, unlike the Polish ambassador, since it was precisely Poland that, by refusing to extend the expired passports of the Polish Jews in Germany, provoked the violent action from Germany, which suddenly returned tens of thousands of Jews to Poland, including the parents of the exasperated young man who then became the assassin in the German embassy in Paris.

Kissing the sacred purple, I have the honour to remain, Your Most Reverend Eminence, with the most profound veneration,

Yours truly<sup>9</sup>

DOC. 154

**On 15 November 1938 the Chief of the Security Police informs the Reich Foreign Office about the establishment of a Reich association for the care of Jewish emigrants and Jews reliant on welfare<sup>1</sup>**

Express letter from the chief of the Security Police (S-V 1 Nr. 703/38-151-v.A.w.), signed Dr Best, to the Reich Foreign Office, dated 15 November 1938<sup>2</sup>

Re: the Reich Central Agency for Jewish Emigration.

In order to carry out the order issued by the Field Marshal at the top-level conference on 12 November 1938<sup>3</sup> to prioritize and promote Jewish emigration with all available means, I plan to create a Reich Central Agency for *Jewish* Emigration in Berlin. In cooperation with a Reich association for the care of Jewish emigrants and Jews reliant on welfare, also yet to be created, the task of the agency will be to tackle the emigration issue.

<sup>7</sup> See Doc. 141, 11 Nov. 1938.

<sup>8</sup> The Colombian chargé d'affaires in Berlin at the time was Rafael Rocha-Schloss, consular secretary. Schloss was accompanying the new Colombian envoy to Berlin, Dr Jaime Jaramillo-Arango (1897–1962). Following the incident, both diplomats were recalled from Berlin and the Colombian Ministry of Foreign Affairs appointed a new interim chargé d'affaires.

<sup>9</sup> The letter is signed by hand with the words 'most devoted – most humble – most obedient servant', Orsenigo's name, and his official title 'Archbishop of Ptolemais in L[ibya], Apostolic Nuncio'.

<sup>1</sup> PA AA, R 99 366. This letter has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> The original contains handwritten comments and the stamp of the Reichsführer SS, Chief of the German Police in the Reich Ministry of the Interior, Chief of the Security Police.

<sup>3</sup> See Doc. 146, 12 Nov. 1938. By 'Field Marshal' the author means Hermann Göring.

I hereby wish to invite you to a preliminary discussion of this matter on Thursday, 17 November 1938, at 4:30 p.m. in room 28 of my ministry.<sup>4</sup>  
(8 Prinz Albrechtstr.)

## DOC. 155

***The Times*, 15 November 1938: article on the situation of the Jews in the Reich<sup>1</sup>**

*Germany and the Jews. More Penalties. The Universities Barred. Confiscation of Capital*  
From Our Correspondent<sup>2</sup>

*Berlin*, Nov. 14

Hundreds of Jews stood in line to-day outside the British and American passport offices in Berlin in the hope, in almost every case a vain one, that they might be granted permission to enter those countries. In many cases those waiting for admittance were women, who sought only a strip of paper to say that their men-folk had an appointment with the passport authorities. Thus, they hoped, by showing evidence of intention to emigrate, to secure the release of their relatives or to safeguard them against arrest.

The German authorities announced in the meantime further anti-Jewish measures which, though less sweeping than those which preceded them during the week-end, add further burdens to those which the Jews already bear in Germany.

Hitherto a limited number of Jews, corresponding roughly to the proportion of Jews in the country to the remainder of the population, have been allowed to study at German universities. To-day the Minister of Education, Dr. Rust, telegraphed to the rectors of all universities informing them that in future no Jews whatever are to be admitted as students, or indeed allowed to enter university premises at all.<sup>3</sup>

*Financial Restrictions*

The Nazi association of private bankers<sup>4</sup> to-day informed its members that they must no longer accept orders from Jews for the sale of securities and that the present limits placed on such sales on behalf of Jews must not be increased.<sup>5</sup> The order apparently

4 In a letter dated 25 Nov. 1938, Privy Councillor Hinrichs of the Reich Foreign Office wrote that his attendance at the meeting had not been possible due to the funeral of vom Rath in Düsseldorf. The first working meeting of the committee of the Reich Central Agency for Jewish Emigration took place on 11 Feb. 1939 in the Gestapo Central Office (Gestapa). The file contains a transcript of the minutes.

1 *The Times*, 15 Nov. 1938, p. 1. The original document is in English. *The Times*, founded in 1785 as *The Daily Universal Register*, has appeared since 1788 as a daily newspaper in London under its current name. In the 1930s its circulation was 190,000 copies.

2 Probably Douglas Launcelot Reed (1895–1976), journalist; from 1921 to 1938 worked for *The Times*, where he was assistant Berlin correspondent, 1928–1935, and Central European correspondent in Vienna, 1935–1938; from 1938 freelance journalist; author of *The Burning of the Reichstag* (1934).

3 See Doc. 148, 10 to 14 Nov. 1938, fn. 14.

4 The reference is probably to the Economic Group for Private Banking (Wirtschaftsgruppe Privates Bankgewerbe). It was organized into private banker, joint stock bank, mortgage bank, independent stockbroker, and exchange broker subsections.

5 This information could not be verified.

applies equally to German and to foreign Jews, and it is understood that selling orders from the latter were not accepted to-day. It is, however, permissible for a Jew to sell securities if he uses the proceeds of the sale to buy other securities of at least equal value. As a result of this order the Stock Exchange, which had been depressed by Jewish selling by as much as 4 per cent, in some cases, rallied somewhat in the afternoon.

It is reported from Munich that restrictions have been placed upon Jews drawing from their bank accounts. No such measure has been taken generally in Berlin, but individual banks have none the less adopted their own restrictions where large sums are concerned. It is reported, for example, that a Jew seeking to withdraw 25,000m.<sup>6</sup> is likely to receive only 1,000m. over the counter.

### *The Collective Fine*

The process of 'Aryanizing' Jewish businesses proceeds apace under the influence of the heavy fine and damages imposed on the community. It seems clear enough, as was suggested in this correspondence yesterday,<sup>7</sup> that to estimate Jewish capital in Germany at 8,000,000,000m. (£672,000,000), as did Dr. Goebbels yesterday, was to place the wealth of the Jews too high. Even party members who profess to be well informed on such matters do not place the sum at more than 2,600,000,000m., and it seems likely that the larger figure was quoted to impress the German people with the wealth of the Jews, in relation to which, as the newspapers assert this evening, the fine and damages, amounting to perhaps 2,000,000,000m., 'are only a fraction.' Jewish businesses are changing hands with great rapidity and at extremely low prices. At least one case is known of a large industrial concern which was finally sold at one five-hundredth part of its value.

It is reported in Jewish circles here that about 160 wealthy Jews were summoned last night and this morning to police headquarters and that 112 attended or, if unable to do so, were represented by relatives. They were handed slips of paper upon which were written the sums of money which they would be required to pay towards repairing the damage caused by the excesses of last Thursday. The amounts, based on estimates of the fortune of each Jew concerned, are understood to total 10,000,000m. This money will be used by the authorities to defray the cost of repairing premises owned by Jews who are themselves too poor to be able to afford that luxury.

### *Jewish Motorists*

Herr Hühnlein,<sup>8</sup> leader of the National-Socialist Motor Corps, to-day ordered the dissolution of the 'Jewish Auto-Club 1927,' an organization founded, in spite of its title, in 1933, in order that all Jewish motorists might be subjected to particularly close scrutiny when applying for *triptiques*<sup>9</sup> to cross the frontier.<sup>10</sup> The exact scope of Herr Hühnlein's

6 Marks.

7 'The Jews in Germany', *The Times*, 14 Nov. 1938, p. 12.

8 Adolf Hühnlein (1881-1942), officer; member of the NSDAP and the SA; took part in the Beer Hall Putsch in 1923; corps leader in the National Socialist Motor Corps, 1930; brigadier, 1936; NSDAP Reichsleiter, 1938; plenipotentiary for motorized transport in the war economy, 1939.

9 More commonly 'triptique', a customs permit serving as a passport for a motor vehicle.

10 On the Jewish Auto-Club 1927, see PMJ 1/148.

action is not yet known, but it is clear that the organization has exhausted its usefulness, since Jews apparently cannot now take their cars out of Germany in any circumstances.

So far as can be learned the arrests of Jews continue, although some of those arrested during the past few days have been released. Many of those who remain in custody are already in concentration camps and 1,400 Jews from Berlin are reported to have reached the camp at Oranienburg during the past few days.<sup>11</sup> It is understood that some Jews have already been sent to work on fortifications in the Rhineland.

The authorities, meanwhile, seek to justify Dr. Goebbels's recent order that Jews may not visit any kind of 'cultural display,' including theatres, cinemas, and concerts. Herr Hinkel, of the Ministry of Propaganda,<sup>12</sup> whose duty it is to supervise Jewish cultural organizations, stated to representatives of the German Press to-day that the Jews had a perfectly adequate cultural life of their own which was protected and furthered by the Government.

For this purpose, he said, the *Jüdische Kulturbund*<sup>13</sup> had been founded in 1933 and now boasted 184,000 members of full-Jewish blood. In the season 1936-37, Herr Hinkel added, the organization had been responsible for 2,211 theatrical, musical, or cultural displays in all parts of Germany.

In the same way a special department had been created in the Ministry of Propaganda to take all Jewish newspapers and periodicals under its wing. These journals could not, of course, be offered for sale publicly, nor were they allowed to interest themselves in any but purely Jewish affairs such as emigration. Jewish bookshops had also been allowed in most large German cities (the one in Berlin, by the way, was wrecked and looted on Thursday).

Meanwhile many of the Polish Jews whom the German Government tried unsuccessfully to deport to Poland *en masse* a fortnight ago continue to lead a precarious existence on the German-Polish frontier. At Neu-Bentschen 6,000 of these homeless Jews are being cared for by the Polish Red Cross and Zionist organizations in a rough camp.<sup>14</sup>

The negotiations between the German and Polish Governments which are to decide the fate of these Jews have come to a standstill, which may, however, be only temporary. The Polish delegation, after making proposals which might serve as a new basis of negotiations, has now returned to Warsaw and there awaits the German reply.

11 The author means Sachsenhausen concentration camp.

12 Hans Hinkel (1901-1960), journalist; joined the NSDAP in 1921 and the SS in 1931; editor of the Berlin edition of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, 1930-1932; state commissioner in the Prussian Ministry of Science, Art, and Education, 1933-1935; from 1935 special plenipotentiary for Jewish affairs and from 1942 head of the film department in the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda; Reich film director, 1944; imprisoned in Poland, 1947-1952, then released to the Federal Republic.

13 Jewish Culture League; see Glossary.

14 The camp was in fact in the town of Bentschen (Zbąszyń) on Polish territory. On the expulsion of the Polish Jews from the German Reich, see Introduction, p. 53.

## DOC. 156

**On 15 November 1938 a French diplomat in Berlin analyses the background to the pogroms and the resulting international tensions<sup>1</sup>**

Report by Monsieur de Montbas,<sup>2</sup> French chargé d'affaires in Berlin, to Monsieur Georges Bonnet, Minister of Foreign Affairs (received on 29 November 1938), Paris, dated 15 November 1938

The death of Mr von Rath, shot dead in Paris by a Polish Jewish attacker, was the official reason cited in the Reich to justify the excesses of 'the people's anger' of 10th and 11th November and the exceptionally harsh measures which, on 12th November, put the finishing touches to this latest National Socialist offensive against the Jews.

In fact, the assassination of the German diplomat was merely a pretext and the majority of the German public itself was not taken in. In Berlin, as in the rest of the Reich, the man in the street, who, more often than not, watched the disturbances and looting with silent disapproval, soon suspected his leaders of having been delighted with the opportunity that destiny presented in the form of a young, 17-year-old fanatic.

In this respect one could even say that Mr Goebbels's propaganda has achieved quite the opposite effect to what was intended. The more effort made to give the murder a broader meaning and to present Grynszpan's action as a 'historic' crime, the more that average Germans, to the extent that they have not been led astray by Hitlerian fanaticism, have been tempted to detect or invent the ulterior motives that, in their view, could have driven their leaders. It would appear that by brandishing his weapon and cutting and thrusting indiscriminately about him, Mr Goebbels has made it less effective. Nothing is more indicative of this than the rumour, which is circulating here among the ordinary people, that the attack on Mr vom Rath was nothing but a Gestapo plot, in which Grynszpan unwittingly played the role of van der Lubbe in the Reichstag fire,<sup>3</sup> to finally allow the Nazis to brutally settle the Jewish question.

Aside from the Third Reich's principle of using violence whenever possible as a tangible sign of its actual power, it is clear that the Hitler regime's leaders decided to undertake this decisive campaign against Judaism for many reasons.

To all appearances, the main aim is to follow through and bring the policy of antisemitism, which is one of the underpinnings of the new Germany, to its end. Within the general framework of what has already been done, particularly in the form of the ban on Jews practising medicine or law that has been introduced in recent months,<sup>4</sup> the effect of the measures of 12 November and those that are still to come will simply be to

1 Source: *Documents diplomatiques français 1932-1939*, series 2: 1936-1939, vol. 12 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1978), pp. 569-573. This document has been translated from French.

2 Dr Hugues Barthon de Montbas (b. 1892), diplomat; from 1919 embassy attaché; editor in the French section of the League of Nations, 1920; French chargé d'affaires in Berlin.

3 Marinus van der Lubbe (1909-1934); sentenced to death for setting fire to the Reichstag and executed. During his trial he testified to having acted alone with the aim of encouraging the workers to stage resistance. However, the Nazi regime deemed the fire as evidence of an attempted coup by the Communist Party (KPD) and as a legitimization for the Regulation for the Protection of People and State, which was enacted the following day and handed the authorities far-reaching powers to persecute political opponents. It remained in force until 1945.

4 See Introduction, pp. 18-19.

exacerbate the pariah status of the German Jew, who is condemned to wretched stagnation and gradual disappearance from the Reich. 'We certainly do not want to re-establish the ghettos,' said Mr Goebbels yesterday, 'but we wish to institute complete separation (*schärfste Abtrennung*<sup>5</sup>) between the German people and the Jews.'<sup>6</sup>

Furthermore, this policy is currently not without considerable material and moral advantages for the government applying it. In addition to the fine of 1 billion [Reichsmarks], which will contribute to the coffers funding the Four-Year Plan,<sup>7</sup> the requirement that Jews divest themselves of their businesses, workshops, and firms quickly and under the most unfavourable conditions<sup>8</sup> provides a cheap way for the regime's leaders to make themselves popular with the growing German capitalist class, who do not know what to do with their money, and to curry favour with the German artisans and traders who, until now, had to vie with Jewish competitors. In Vienna, for example, where there were a particularly large number of Jewish firms, we have been witnessing for some time a *rush* of Germans from the rest of the Reich coming to buy the businesses, buildings, and properties surrendered by the Jews at low prices. It compensates for economic supply difficulties and is a distraction from growing discontent in trade and industrial circles.

However, on closer analysis, these reasons played only a secondary role in the decisions taken by the Führer and his more radical lieutenants in this case, or, at the very least, other reasons precipitated the decisions. Much of the background to German policy in the last few days becomes clear if one examines the part played by Mr Goebbels in the decision-making.

The Goebbels case is not new. This embassy studied it recently. The Minister of Propaganda, whose dissolute private life is common knowledge, narrowly avoided a crisis that would have been fatal to his standing with the Führer and to his authority within the regime.<sup>9</sup> With his customary dynamism, Mr Goebbels did not for a moment think of stepping aside, even temporarily. He needed a brilliant counter-attack. He sought out an opportunity to push himself forward, to completely regain the Führer's favour and to publicly display the power he had held on to within the councils of the Third Reich.

In informed Berlin circles, Mr Goebbels is held to have initiated and been entirely responsible for the expressions of 'spontaneous anger' that began on the night of 9/10 November. It is said to have been his orders that the Gestapo was following, and the police made no secret of this. Did the Minister of Propaganda act too quickly or go too far in organizing the pogroms? His appeal to the population on the evening of

5 German in the original.

6 According to the *Völkischer Beobachter*, Goebbels had declared in a Reuters interview on 14 Nov. 1938 that there was no intention to establish special neighbourhoods for Jews. Nonetheless, he continued, there would have to be an end to the 'intolerable state of affairs' whereby Jewish families had more living space at their disposal than Germans: 'Deutschlands Ziel in der Judenfrage: Reinliche Scheidung zwischen Deutschen und Juden', *Völkischer Beobachter* (Berlin edition), 15 Nov. 1938, p. 1.

7 See Doc. 142, 12 Nov. 1938.

8 See Doc. 143, 12 Nov. 1938.

9 Goebbels's affair with the Czech actress Lída Baarová (1914–2000) came to an end in 1938 as a result of Hitler's intervention. Baarová was banned from performing and left Germany.

10 November would suggest so.<sup>10</sup> But the business was already under way. Mr Goebbels's master stroke was then to recruit Marshal Goering, who doubtless felt the need to clear himself of the accusation of 'moderation' that 100 per cent committed Nazis had been making against him since the German-Czechoslovak conflict.

Where the Führer was concerned, Mr Goebbels's task could be nothing but easy. Antisemitism always strikes a chord with Mr Hitler. Nothing could be easier than to touch on it. Furthermore, the timing was very fortunate. Mr Hitler's anti-Jewish policy is being imitated by Il Duce. The race protection law, which the Fascist government has just enacted, constitutes a complete endorsement of Hitler's ideas and encourages the Third Reich to forge ahead.<sup>11</sup> Finally, a violent campaign against Judaism, following Mr vom Rath's murder, would conveniently focus the country's attention, divert it from other subjects, restore unanimity, and cover up certain purges which, it seems, are continuing on the quiet, particularly in the army.<sup>12</sup>

But above all, Mr Goebbels has, with consummate skill, managed to link the Jewish problem in Germany, a domestic issue, to the problem of the campaign against National Socialism abroad, especially in the English-speaking democracies. Through the distorting lens of German propaganda, the murder of Mr vom Rath has become not a response to the expulsion measures taken by the Reich authorities against Polish Jews,<sup>13</sup> but a direct result of the attacks of the American democrats and the leaders of the British opposition on the Hitler regime, a provocative response to the Weimar speech, which had just been given.<sup>14</sup> This is what Mr Goebbels's newspapers, in their usual style, called 'extending the Jewish question to the international sphere'. From this point on, Goebbels could be sure of the Führer's favour. Mr Goebbels had linked his personal rehabilitation offensive to one of the subjects with the strongest impact on Mr Hitler.

A foreign journalist observed a few days ago that in the German press the campaign against international Jewry had replaced all the accusations that are usually made against international Bolshevism. The unofficial editors hardly attack Moscow or communism at all any more. They save all their blows for world Jewry, a huge undefined entity intended to summarize for German public opinion all those who miss no opportunity to undermine Hitler's influence from abroad. There exists a state of war, so to speak, between the Third Reich and international Jewry. The German Jews have just been taken hostage in this war.

10 Goebbels ordered an immediate end to the pogroms, since the 'definitive response' to the Jews would be given through legislation: 'Neue Regelung der Judenfrage angekündigt: Aufruf des Reichsministers Dr. Goebbels an die Bevölkerung', *Völkischer Beobachter* (northern German edition), 11 Nov. 1938, p. 1.

11 On 6 Oct. 1938 the Grand Council of Fascism had issued a Declaration on Race announcing forthcoming legislation. On the Italian legislation, see Doc. 106, 14 Oct. 1938, fn. 10.

12 De Montbas reports in another letter that in terms of a purge in the Wehrmacht the wider public was only aware of the retirement of General Ludwig Beck and General Gerd von Rundstedt: *Documents diplomatiques français 1932-1939*, series 2: 1936-1939, vol. 12, p. 562. Beck had resigned in August 1938 due to Hitler's war plans; von Rundstedt was removed in Oct. 1938 at Hitler's behest because he had initially rejected the conquest of further territory following the occupation of the Sudetenland. He was reinstated in 1939 and appointed commander of Army Group South in the Polish campaign.

13 On the expulsion of the Polish Jews from the German Reich, see Docs. 112 and 113, 28 Oct. 1938.

14 On 6 Nov. 1938 Hitler had given a speech at the Gau rally of the Thuringian National Socialists, in which he had launched a scathing attack above all on the British 'warmongers'. The speech is documented in the *Völkischer Beobachter* (northern German edition), 7 Nov. 1938, pp. 1-2.

To correctly interpret the decisions of 12 November, one should also see them as a retort by the regime and by National Socialist propaganda, a challenge to the opinion of the English-speaking democracies (with France being spared for the moment) from Hitlerian radicalism. The day before yesterday a Party official was saying how pleased he was with the ‘punch in the face that Mr Goebbels had given not only to the Jews of New York and London, but also to English-speaking puritans’. An official at the Foreign Office recently told one of my colleagues: ‘Some circles in America want to pick a fight with Germany. They shall have it. We know for a fact that it is they who are encouraging and stirring up the English opposition, Mr Eden and Mr Churchill, against the Reich.<sup>15</sup> We will hit back harder.’

At the Oranienburg concentration camp, where many Jews arrested ‘as a security measure’ on 10 and 11 November have been sent, the prisoners, who are said to have been treated fairly well so far, are told quite openly that they are considered hostages. Their treatment in future will depend, they are told, on how well ‘Jewish’ agitators abroad behave. *L’Observateur raciste*<sup>16</sup> used the same expression.<sup>17</sup>

Washington soon understood the challenge posed by German antisemitism, and the recall of the US ambassador to Berlin<sup>18</sup> seems to indicate that all the relevant conclusions have been drawn. One might wonder, on the other hand, what is to become of the efforts at German–British rapprochement under these circumstances. What is a matter for serious concern is that the Hitler regime’s leaders seem by their actions to have drawn a line under any policy of moderation and international entente, at least as far as their relations with the United States and England are concerned, at a time when, despite the Saarbrücken and Weimar speeches,<sup>19</sup> one might have thought that the spirit of the Munich Agreement would win out in the end and spread its beneficial effects to Germany’s relationship with the great democratic powers. Is this a sign that the radicals are once again gaining the upper hand in Berlin? Should we conclude that a stable agreement with the Third Reich is impossible and that the violent, savage aspects of the National Socialist ethic will condemn Germany itself to suffer the law of the sword to which it wants to subject its adversaries? Within the Berlin-based diplomatic corps, visible despondency has taken hold of the representatives of the neutral small powers, and some of them openly say that, in their opinion, if nothing changes the course of developments within the Third Reich, a European war may well be inevitable.

15 In Britain, Anthony Eden (1897–1977) and the later prime minister Winston Churchill (1874–1965) were among the most prominent critics of Chamberlain’s appeasement policy. In Feb. 1938 Eden resigned from the post of foreign secretary in protest at the British policy of appeasement towards Germany and Italy.

16 The French in the original translates as ‘The racist observer’: the reference is to the *Völkischer Beobachter* newspaper.

17 Excerpts of a speech given by Goebbels on 13 Nov. 1938 to employees of the Winter Relief Agency were printed by the *Völkischer Beobachter*. In his speech Goebbels stated that two days earlier he had ‘made perfectly clear to representatives of the foreign press in Berlin that every campaign by international Jewry in the world only causes harm to the Jews in Germany’: ‘Alle Geschäfte in kürzester Frist deutsch!’, *Völkischer Beobachter* (northern German edition), 14 Nov. 1938, p. 2.

18 US President Roosevelt had recalled Ambassador Hugh Robert Wilson on 16 Nov. 1938 on the occasion of the November pogroms in order that he report to Washington.

19 On Hitler’s speech in Saarbrücken on 9 Oct. 1938, in which he had again primarily attacked Britain, see Doc. 106, 14 Oct. 1938, fn. 7; on the speech in Weimar, see fn. 14 above.

## DOC. 157

***Norddeutsche Hausbesitzer-Zeitung*, 15 November 1938:  
article on the requirement to terminate leases with Jewish tenants<sup>1</sup>**

*Household community is at risk if a Jew is living in the building*

In recent editions the *Norddeutsche Hausbesitzer-Zeitung* has repeatedly published court judgements regarding claims brought by homeowners against Jewish tenants. Reference can be made here to the corresponding information in issues no. 12, 15, and 18 of 1938.<sup>2</sup>

On 20 October of this year the local court in Neumünster (file ref. 4 C, 848/38) granted the eviction order made by a homeowner against a Jewish tenant. The Jew in question has been ordered to vacate the apartment by 15 January 1939. The plaintiff bears the court costs. Furthermore the plaintiff also has to pay for removal costs of up to RM 30 within Neumünster for the Jew in question, since the financial position of the homeowner is more favourable than that of the defendant. The defendant is a full Jew. Among the reasons given for its decision, the court states the following:

The complaint is justified to the extent that it is based on § 4 of the Tenant Protection Law,<sup>3</sup> as the plaintiff has such a pressing interest in obtaining the rented space that even with consideration of the tenant's situation, withholding the rented space would be grossly unfair to the plaintiff. According to § 4 of the Tenant Protection Law, a pressing interest is defined not only as use of the property by the landlord himself but also if he intends to put it to some other use. Such reasons are in evidence here. With growing clarification regarding the Jewish question, the clear segregation that has occurred in all areas between the German people and all racial foreign elements has penetrated even the smallest cell of the Volksgemeinschaft. The achievement of a clear segregation on a larger scale must necessarily be followed by segregation in every small cell of völkisch daily life. The household community of Volksgenossen dwelling together in one building constitutes such a cell. It is the duty of every landlord to ensure that the household community among the residents is not jeopardized by any circumstances whatsoever. Any such circumstances are to be eliminated. *However, the household community is undoubtedly at risk as long as a Jew is living in the building. In the long term, any responsible Volksgenosse will refuse to live under the same roof as a Jew.* He would harbour the wish either to live together solely with German Volksgenossen or to seek another abode. There can be no doubt that this wish is harboured by all German Volksgenossen who

1 'Hausgemeinschaft wird gefährdet, wenn Jude im Hause wohnt', *Norddeutsche Hausbesitzer-Zeitung*, no. 22, 15 Nov. 1938, p. 6. This article has been translated from German. The newspaper first appeared in 1894; in 1939 it had a circulation of around 36,000, as well as the supplement *Beilage für Groß-Kiel und Umgebung*. Hermann Hartmann was the editor-in-chief.

2 'Das Judentum in der Wohnwirtschaft', *Norddeutsche Hausbesitzer-Zeitung*, no. 12, 15 June 1938, pp. 1–2; 'Keine Hausgemeinschaft mit Juden', *ibid.*, no. 15, 1 August 1938, pp. 1–2, and 'Aufhebung des Kündigungsschutzes für Juden verlangt', *ibid.*, p. 2. Issue no. 18 from the same year does not in fact contain a corresponding article.

3 According to § 4 of the Tenant Protection Law, the lease could be terminated if the landlord had such a pressing interest in the rented rooms that withholding them would entail obvious inequity for the landlord, even under consideration of the tenant's interests: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1926, I, pp. 347–348.

are aware of their responsibility and of the racial issue. It is all the more so in this particular case, because there are several Party comrades among the nine tenants in the building, and furthermore a civil servant recently moved into the building who would certainly not have done so if he had known that he would be sharing the building with a Jew in the long term. It is the duty of the landlord to accommodate these justified wishes of his tenants and in so doing to establish the basis for a thriving community of residents. In order to achieve this aspiration the landlord has a pressing interest in obtaining the apartment currently rented by the defendant and in letting it to another party. There is a further pressing economic interest of the landlord in repossessing the apartment. *The plaintiff has to expect that her other tenants, in particular the Party comrades, will look for another apartment if they can expect that a Jew will be living in the building indefinitely, and it will also be difficult for the plaintiff to find suitable replacement tenants.* Therefore, if she tolerates the defendant in the building for much longer, the plaintiff may have to fear considerable trouble with her tenants and possible difficulties in attempting to let her apartments [in the future].

DOC. 158

***Marienbader Zeitung*, 16 November 1938: article on the expulsion of Jews from the spa town<sup>1</sup>**

*Marienbad is free of Jews.*

*The Jewish influence and the threat of the Jewification of Marienbad have been eliminated.*

Marienbad, 16 Nov. The last Jews residing in Marienbad are currently in the process of leaving our town. There are only a few remnants of Jewry, as the majority fled Marienbad at the end of September, immediately before the incorporation of the Sudetenland into the German Reich. In the development and history of Marienbad, 16 November 1938 will be remembered as a momentous date, because the dangerously increasing Jewification of the spa town in recent years has reached an end that is as quick as it is irrevocable. Marienbad will be Jew-free from now on, and everything that today is still reminiscent of the Jewish authority of a lost time will soon have been removed.

The Jews of Marienbad made up just under 6 per cent of the whole population.<sup>2</sup> Yet their economic and political position was much more significant. Suffice it to say that until a few months ago the first deputy mayor of the town<sup>3</sup> was a Jew and that a further three members of the city administration were of the Jewish race. Of around 520 houses in Marienbad, 64 were residential properties or spa and hotel accommodation belonging to Jews. On the trade board there were 13 Jews from the grocery industry, 14 from the textiles sector, 5 in the fashion accessories branch, and 51 in the mixed goods sector.

1 'Marienbad judenfrei', *Marienbader Zeitung*, 16 Nov. 1938, p. 1. This letter has been translated from German. The newspaper appeared weekly from 1874 to 1941.

2 In 1930, 405 of 7,200 inhabitants were Jewish.

3 Until 1938 the deputy mayor of Marienbad was Siegfried (Fritz) Buxbaum (1874–1953), hotel manager; owner of the Miramare and Klinger hotels in Marienbad; from 1929 chairman of the Jewish Community in Marienbad; city councillor; deputy mayor, 1932; emigrated to South America, 1938.

Of 72 doctors no fewer than 39 were Jews. Along with 9 Aryan lawyers there were 6 of Jewish extraction.

Moreover, there will be no return of those 'seasons' in which almost 80 per cent of spa visitors were Jews. The German population of Marienbad had to look on resentfully while the Jews and Czechs connived to suppress and pauperize our established German population. The merciless Jewish boycott of all classes of German residents of this town inflicted thousands of wounds. The Jews undertook spying missions for the Czech authorities and persecuted everyone who dared to oppose the Jews.

Did the newly arrived Jewish guests not enter establishments asking whether the building belonged to an Aryan? Did they not exclusively take their custom to Jewish business, did they not send their concierges only to the Jews, avoiding every business whose owner operated as a German, let alone a nationalist man? Cut off from Germany, in recent years Marienbad no longer had a regular season, only a Jewish season. After 1933 it was swarming with migrants and dark elements who wanted to settle here and who gathered together with their clan.

Our spa town lost thousands of loyal spa guests who were unable to bear this humiliation. The darkest days of Marienbad are now finally over.

DOC. 159

**A decree issued on 16 November 1938 bans Jews from wearing uniforms<sup>1</sup>**

*Decree of the Führer and Reich Chancellor on the Withdrawal of the Right to Wear a Uniform.*

16 November 1938.

Jews (§ 5 of the First Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law of 14 November 1935 – *Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 1333<sup>2</sup>) belonging to the old or the new Wehrmacht, the Austro-Hungarian armed forces, or the Austrian Federal Army, and who have been granted the right to wear a uniform, herewith lose that right.

Berlin, 16 November 1938.

*Führer and Reich Chancellor*

*Adolf Hitler*

*The Chief of the High Command of the Wehrmacht*

*Keitel<sup>3</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> 'Erlaß des Führers und Reichskanzlers über die Entziehung des Rechts zum Tragen einer Uniform', *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, p. 1611. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> § 5 of the First Regulation determined who was to be categorized as a Jew in accordance with the Reich Citizenship Law: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1935, I, pp. 1333–1334. See PMJ 1/210.

<sup>3</sup> Wilhelm Keitel (1882–1946), professional officer; from 1935 head of the Wehrmacht Office in the Reich Ministry of War; gained rank of general, 1937; from 1938 chief of the High Command of the Wehrmacht; field marshal, 1940; sentenced to death in 1946 at the Nuremberg trials and executed.

## DOC. 160

***Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, 16 November 1938: article on the closure of Jewish businesses and their exclusion from housing cooperatives<sup>1</sup>***Two thirds of currently Jewish businesses are disappearing*

Although in recent years as part of the Aryanization process a large proportion of Jewish enterprises in the German economy have been transferred into Aryan hands, there remains a large sector that must still be described as Jewish. According to the preliminary results of the inventory of Jewish assets ordered in April of this year,<sup>2</sup> net Jewish assets in the German Reich are estimated at RM 8 billion. Of course, only a part of that is business assets; still, this figure gives one an approximate idea of the scale of the Jewish share of the German economy.

The regulation announced on Saturday for the elimination of Jews from German business life aims to achieve a liquidation of these remaining assets as quickly as possible,<sup>3</sup> although damage should be avoided to the German economy as a whole. An orderly transfer of Jewish business into German hands is therefore an urgent necessity. It is incumbent upon the Jews to wind up their businesses in an orderly fashion. The Aryanization of those businesses is prioritized where Jews have direct contact with the majority of the consumers, namely the Jewish *retailers* and *tradespeople*. If the decree stipulates that Jews are prohibited to run retail outlets, mail-order business, etc. from 1 January 1939, it should thus be understood that by the end of the year the businesses are not to continue operating but rather *only be wound up*. Disruption to the market and the economy is to be avoided. Furthermore, the objective is *not* to continue running all Jewish businesses in Aryan hands. Rather, we count on around two thirds of the businesses never reopening and only a third being kept operational. The establishment of special Jewish businesses for Jews is out of the question. Jews will have to cover their needs by buying from German retailers.

Regarding § 3 of the Regulation on the Exclusion of Jews from German Economic Life, which states that a Jew may not be a member of a *cooperative* and that Jewish members of cooperatives have to leave by 31 December 1938, we have learnt that the specific objective is being pursued of expelling Jews from housing cooperatives. Their membership [in these organizations] has so far allowed Jews a legal right to live alongside non-Jews. As a result it will also be possible to terminate the leases of Jews living in cooperative buildings. The question of where the dismissed Jews should move to has not yet been resolved, but for example compulsory accommodation in Jewish villas is being considered.

Regarding the *payment of contributions*, the form of payment has not yet been clarified. The levying of special taxes or surcharges, or a wealth tax, may be considered, but this question will be decided by the Reich Ministry of Finance in the coming week.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Zwei Drittel der bisher jüdischen Geschäfte verschwinden', *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, 16 Nov. 1938, p. 4. This article has been translated from German. The newspaper appeared from 1883 to 1945, initially as a weekly, then as a daily from 1885, and later twice daily, and was run by the Scherl publishing house. It originally had a nationalist-conservative stance and in 1939 had a circulation of around 223,600 copies.

<sup>2</sup> See Doc. 29, 26 April 1938.

<sup>3</sup> See Doc. 143, 12 Nov. 1938.

<sup>4</sup> The implementing regulation of 21 Nov. 1938 concerning the atonement payment levied on the Jews stipulated that the contribution had to be made in the form of a wealth tax: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, pp. 1638–1640.

## DOC. 161

**Record of confiscated money, valuables, and furniture of the Jews in Markt Piesting, dated 18 November 1938<sup>1</sup>**

Memorandum compiled by the gendarmerie station in Markt Piesting, unsigned, for the Gestapo branch office in Wiener Neustadt, dated 18 November 1938

*For submission no. 2005.*

*Record*

of the monies, valuables, furniture, etc. confiscated and secured in the course of the operations against Jews (order by telephone from the district gendarmerie station, 17 November 1938)<sup>2</sup>

1	2	3	4
Place where secured (owner)	Officer in charge of the operation	Precise description of item or amount of money secured	Current place of safekeeping
Markt Piesting no. 7, home of dental technician Rosa Rado <sup>3</sup>	Gendarmerie station in Markt Piesting, Dist. I, Johann Langer <sup>4</sup>	1,000 RM 1 gold wedding ring 1 necklace with pendant 1 locket with a broken chain 3 rings to be worn with wedding band 1 pair of cufflinks 2 pairs of earrings 1 lady's watch with long chain 3 brooches 1 pair of screw-back earrings 1 necklace 3 bracelets 1 scarf-pin 1 pearl necklace	Delivered to the Gestapo branch office in Wiener Neustadt on 11 Nov. 1938 as submission no. 2005, with list.
	Günther Tomeschek, <sup>5</sup> SS-Rottenführer of Company 9/89	1 oval table 1 square table 1 small square table 1 small round smoker's table 1 upholstered bench	In the house of Rosa Rado, in use by SS Company 9/89

1 RGVA, 1323k-2-466. Copy in ÖStA, record group: Historikerkommission. This document has been translated from German.

2 The list was drawn up in response to instructions conveyed by telephone the previous day: memorandum, signed Dr Kranebitter, concerning telephone conversation with the district gendarmerie station in Wiener Neustadt on 17 Nov. 1938. It was to be submitted to the Wiener Neustadt Gestapo branch office no later than 19 Nov. 1938: RGVA, 1323k-2-466.

3 Rosa Rado, née Braun (b. 1881), dental technician; widowed; emigrated to Palestine in 1939.

4 Johann Langer (b. 1893), gendarmerie district inspector.

5 Correctly: Günther Tomeschek (b. 1914), civil servant and managing director; joined the SS in 1932.

1	2	3	4
		2 upholstered wing-back chairs 6 easy chairs with armrests 9 standard chairs 1 hall wardrobe, painted white, with mirror 1 wardrobe 2 index card boxes 1 bookstand	
Markt Piesting no. 55, Walter brothers, scrap- iron dealers <sup>6</sup>	- # - NSDAP Local Branch Head Josef Kinzel <sup>7</sup>	1 radio 1 small round table, black 3 club chairs, upholstered, black 1 ottoman 1 small typewriter table	- # - In house no. 55, in use by Party leaders
Markt Piesting, Walter brothers, scrap- iron dealers	NSDAP Local Branch Head Josef Kinzel	1 desk 4 armchairs 1 small round table 2 upholstered stools 1 wall clock 1 iron stove 1 coal scuttle 6 table lamps (electr.) 1 wardrobe 1 sideboard 1 oval table, 7 chairs, and 1 credenza <sup>8</sup> for farmhouse-style room 2 dining-room tables 6 chairs 1 iron stove 2 cupboards, painted white 2 linen cabinets 2 wardrobes 1 upholstered armchair 1 wall clock 1 wall mirror 2 carpets 3 runners 2 curtains with fittings <sup>9</sup>	In Markt Piesting, in house no. 55, in use by local Party leaders

<sup>6</sup> Hans Walter (b. 1899), retailer.

<sup>7</sup> Presumably Josef Kinzel (b. 1893), commercial employee; joined the NSDAP and the SS in 1933; in 1941 officer in the Staff Main Office of the Reich Commissioner for the Strengthening of German-  
dom; in 1943 SS-Untersturmführer.

<sup>8</sup> Dining-room sideboard.

<sup>9</sup> Curtain rods with valances.

1	2	3	4
		3 curtains with fittings 1 coal scuttle 1 wooden chest 2 kitchen stools 1 carpet 1 rug 2 armchairs, white 1 armchair, standard 1 easy chair with armrests 2 curtains with 1 fitting	
Hermann Altermann, 21 Oberpiesting	An unknown SA man	Approximately 130 RM	Unknown (the confiscation took place when Altermann was arrested on the evening of 10 Nov. 1938).

## DOC. 162

**Express letter from the Reich Minister of Economics regarding the Regulation on the Exclusion of Jews from German Economic Life, 18 November 1938<sup>1</sup>**

Express letter from the Reich Minister of Economics (III Jd-8782/38), signed Schmeer, to the Regierungspräsident in Prussia, the Berlin chief of police, the chairman of the city council of the Reich capital, the state governments of the states other than Prussia, the Reichsstatthalter in Austria in Vienna, the Reich commissioner for the Sudeten German territories, and the Reich commissioner for banking, with copies to the Oberpräsidenten in Prussia, the Reich commissioner for the reunification of Austria with the German Reich (received on 21 November 1938) in Vienna, the staff of the Deputy of the Führer, Munich, and the Reich Chamber of Commerce, on 18 November 1938<sup>2</sup>

*Re:* regulation on the Exclusion of Jews from German Economic Life, 12 November 1938. (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 1580.)<sup>3</sup>

I. (1) Under the Regulation on the Exclusion of Jews from German Economic Life of 12 November 1938, the Jews are conclusively eliminated, as of 1 January 1939, from participation as businessmen in the areas of *retail trade, skilled crafts, and street-market*

<sup>1</sup> ÖStA/AdR, Reichskommissar Bürckel/Materie, 2160/o. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> The original contains stamps, handwritten abbreviations, and underlining.

<sup>3</sup> See Doc. 143, 12 Nov. 1938.

*trading*. If Jewish retail shops and tradespeople's establishments have been closed as a result of the events of 8, 9, and 10 November, they shall, in principle, *not* be reopened as Jewish businesses. I make this request in order to prevent further excesses, if only for police reasons. Reopening is to occur only if transfer into non-Jewish hands is assured. Taking into account the ongoing transformation of retail trade through stricter application of the circular decree of 5 July 1938 (III. Jd. 2818/28), such a transfer shall be allowed only in exceptional circumstances, if the continuation of the business seems desirable for general economic reasons, particularly taking into consideration the need to supply the public with necessary goods and services.<sup>4</sup>

In all cases, however, one must work towards ensuring that the Jewish proprietor winds up his business in accordance with the regulations, fulfils his obligations, especially to the personnel, and arranges for the repair of any damage incurred. The appointment of temporary administrators is frequently out of the question. If difficulties should arise with the liquidation of existing stocks of merchandise, the Retail Trade Economic Group, which has received instructions from me, must be immediately enlisted to solve the problems.

(2) Similarly, I ask that Jewish restaurants also remain closed.

(3) The approval procedures, based on the directive of the Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan, 26 August 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 415),<sup>5</sup> and on the Retail Trade Protection Law,<sup>6</sup> are to be accelerated using all available means for the businesses that are affected by the prohibition contained in § 1 of the Regulation on the Exclusion of Jews from German Economic Life.

As part of the process, in all cases, one must first examine the preliminary question as to whether continuing to run the firm in question under non-Jewish management is actually in the interests of the economy. If the answer to this question is no, the request is to be denied without further consideration of the character of the applicant.

In order to speed up business transactions, I further request that the authorization applications be discussed jointly with those offices that are to be consulted, and that time-consuming written correspondence be kept to a minimum.

In other respects, the material baselines for assessing the authorization contracts remain in place. However, care must be taken in general to ensure that Jewish-sounding company names disappear, unless, in exceptional cases, special export interests justify the continuation of the enterprise name, with an addition indicating the successor, for a transitional period.

(4) The Regulation on the Exclusion of Jews from German Economic Life of 12 November 1938, as clearly follows from the wording of § 1, covers all Jews, even those who hold foreign citizenship. If problems arise, I am to be informed. In particular, I am to be informed before businesses are closed down in all cases involving citizens of the USA, the British Empire, or France.

4 The circular decree of 5 July 1938 clarified the Regulation on the Registration of Jewish Assets (26 April 1938). Business enterprises and real estate could now be sold by Jews only after consulting the Gauleiter.

5 The directive stipulated that the start-up, lease, sale, or usufructuary use of commercial, agricultural, or forestry operations must be registered and authorized if Jews intended to act as founders or contractual partners.

6 Retail Trade Protection Law, 12 May 1933, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1933, I, p. 262.

II. Jewish wholesale and manufacturing businesses are, for the time being, not affected by the Regulation on the Exclusion of Jews from German Economic Life of 12 November 1938. In the course of the ongoing de-Jewification procedure, great care must be taken to ensure that German export interests are taken into account, wherever possible. If, in the case of such wholesale and manufacturing businesses whose retention is in the general economic interest, an orderly conduct of business by the Jewish proprietor is no longer possible, then I ask that care be taken to ensure that the Jew authorizes a professionally qualified member of the firm's workforce to transact further business and to initiate any negotiations that may become necessary in order to transfer the firm into non-Jewish ownership. I reserve the right to issue possible further directives with respect to the appointment of special authorized administrators in exceptional cases.

I request that the authorities in charge of authorization on the basis of the directive of 26 April 1938 and the Retail Trade Protection Law be instructed accordingly.

DOC. 163

**On 19 November 1938 a father from Beuthen writes to his daughter living abroad about events during the November pogrom<sup>1</sup>**

Handwritten letter sent from Kattowitz,<sup>2</sup> unsigned, to the writer's daughter, dated 19 November 1938 (copy)<sup>3</sup>

My beloved Susel,

This letter is being sent from Poland, as it cannot be written this way from here. From here, every truth is an abomination, and then they are quick off the mark when it comes to draconian punishments. So, if I am able to write to you today, it is a piece of good luck and a blessing from God, if there still is one. But one really has to doubt that there is a God who allows such things. Is the world's conscience not stirred? Can the countries stand by impassively and see how hundreds of thousands are being bullied, tormented, and martyred? Is no finger lifted to take the poor Jews away from here? Does the world still not know that we have to leave here as quickly as possible, or else they will slaughter us all? At the least little thing the Jews must pay restitution. Whoever or whatever did something or whoever or whatever is said, the Jew is nabbed for it. Now, to the matter at hand: your last letter arrived, and I can only tell you that we were definitely in no position to write to you. It's better if I write things in chronological order. On 10 November I was planning to go on the road again early in the morning to earn at least a few pennies, illegally of course, for work of every kind is forbidden to Jews. On the way to the garage – I am not with the Silesia any more, I was given notice as of 1 October, I am with Martin Fröhlich,<sup>4</sup> Ostlandstr., a Jew of course – somebody claps me on the shoulder; it was Josef Freund, a timber dealer, brother of Friedr[ich] Freund.<sup>5</sup> Have you heard yet, he says, that

1 YVA, O. 75/188. This document has been translated from German.

2 'Beuthen' was crossed out and replaced with 'Kattowitz'.

3 The original contains a comment: 'arrived on 3 Dec.!'.

4 Martin Fröhlich (1882–1942), retailer; married to Flora Fröhlich, née Adler (1883–1942), housewife; deported to Auschwitz, where he died.

the synagogues have been burning since last night? You can imagine that I was surprised and shaken. So what are you going to do, he asked; my answer was, I'm going out on the road. I wouldn't do that, he says; I say, for me it's a workday, I have to earn at least something so that we can live; why not come along with me, I'm driving out into the countryside. But he was not willing. At Fröhlich's, I ran into Schlesinger, ready-to-wear clothing for workers, Krakauerstr., who told me that in Heinz Badrian's<sup>6</sup> apartment everything had been smashed to bits and the valuables and money had been stolen, whatever they could find. Again, attempts were made to stop me from setting out on my trip, but I went anyway; what I decide to do, I do. That was my good fortune. I worked until 1 p.m., but could not shake off an inner disquiet, so I turned around and drove back home, by a circuitous route. At 2:30 p.m. I drove into Fröhlich's courtyard and immediately saw shards of glass. Mr F. was just coming downstairs, white as a sheet; he had met with an accident and is using walking sticks. I asked him, and he said, the operation is probably not over yet. Immediately I got back in the car and drove around aimlessly. Finally I had to stop at some point and risked everything, left the car near the Ring, and crept home along Langestr. When I was already on the third set of stairs and looked upwards, my heart almost stopped, but there was even worse to come. The windows in the door were smashed, the door was broken in, and an upended clothes locker had been propped against it to keep the door shut. I was ready to turn around at once, when I heard Mrs Krause calling to me from inside her home, in a low voice. At all events, I wanted to know where Mum and Mrs Friedländer, who is living with us, might be. Because no German is permitted to stand or speak with a Jew, she was naturally afraid, and I learned only that the two of them, also to their good fortune, had gone out. As I was just about to go downstairs, Ruth Marcus came up; she had also been arrested and locked up early in the day, but was released at 2 p.m. Then we both tried to get into the apartment, and with a great deal of effort we managed to get past the knee-high fragments and shreds. Susel, I thought I would have a stroke right there and then, and then I sobbed bitterly, like a little child. No one has ever seen anything like it before; they were not human beings, either; wild animals, beasts, are more rational, not even vandals would have done that. I could never understand that people called the Germans barbarians in the war<sup>7</sup> and at the time I agonized over it, but now ... the term is too mild. The whole apartment was a heap of rubble. All the glass, porcelain, crystal, pictures, clocks, documents, blended into mush. The piano chopped up, the pump organ chopped up, my beautiful old violin smashed and trampled underfoot, the lamps pulled down. The sideboard broken open and chopped to pieces, the credenza too, all the chairs smashed to bits, etc., etc.; it is indescribable. Naturally, the few pieces of jewellery that we had were stolen. I had 160 marks on hand for the people who make my pictures, money I was supposed to send off on Saturday for my account, [and it was] stolen. Mum's last few bits of money, so that we have something to live on, stolen; it was 15 or 18 marks. Mrs Friedländer had 30 marks, provided by her brother, and was supposed to live all month on that, poor widow, stolen, naturally also little pieces of jewellery that she still had, everything gone. We are all beggars here and have no idea what is to become of us.

5 Josef Freund (b. 1881), timber dealer, and Friedrich Freund (b. 1888).

6 Probably Heinz Badrian (b. 1919).

7 In the First World War the war propaganda of France, Britain, and the USA depicted the Germans as barbaric, brutal, ugly, and militaristic.

RM<sup>8</sup> took me into her apartment, and I hid there until yesterday. Mum and Mrs Friedländer were also brought there in the evening, and we all three spent the night there; it was impossible to stay in our apartment. You can imagine Mum, she sobbed heartbreakingly, and Mrs Friedländer too. Nobody can help us, because all the men and women have been arrested and locked up. The women and children were released in the evening; the men were sent to a concentration camp. The only ones who dodged arrest were those who chanced to have a bit of luck and didn't get nabbed while out and about. Every Christian who took pity on a Jew was arrested and taken away. There's no way the people could have done that, it had been planned for a long time; a great many people were in the know. It is estimated that approximately 30,000–40,000 men were taken away. In numerous cities there are virtually no men left. Erwin, of course, was among those who were taken away, probably both of Aunt Bertha's boys too. I will speak to her in Breslau in the next few days. Both synagogues and the building where the Totscheks<sup>9</sup> were live-in managers, with all the contents, furniture, etc., have burned down. The T[otscheks] escaped by the skin of their teeth, and he was taken away; his wife was left standing outdoors in her nightgown and overcoat. The fire department took good care to ensure that everything was burning nicely and that no other buildings caught fire. Men and women, regardless of age, were beaten, especially old men and women. We know of a case of one old lady who was beaten and throttled almost to death. I could tell you an endless number of other stories, but I can't continue; I am overcome by my feelings every time I think about it. There is only one thing for us here, and that is to leave as quickly as possible. And now it is not just a favour but a most urgent duty for the uncles and Günther in America to take us in over there. In fact, it must happen very quickly, because we can't stand it much longer. There's not a day any more when we are safe; in fact we are considered fair game. We are no longer permitted to work and earn money so we can live; we are meant to starve to death or be imprisoned. There are already quite a number of Germans who are so noble and honourable that they will not sell to Jews any longer. Well, what else should I write; you can imagine it yourself. Send this letter to Günther; you can make a copy for yourself. I hope this letter reaches you safely, because otherwise, woe betide us, we are lost. Write to us *as soon as* you have received it, and let us know that it was this letter. We want to confer in Breslau and send a cablegram to America. I hope they will initiate and expedite everything as quickly as possible, because every day is valuable. Just get out of here, out of here, out of here. In such an environment, one dies 1,000 deaths every day, no one can have any idea what it's like. – If I don't write much today about you and everything else, you will understand why, but I wanted to put you in the picture and have the letter forwarded to Günther. Ruth has now received the papers from Argentina, and poor Erwin is jailed. Who knows whether the Argentines may have put a stop [to immigration]. All the South American countries are monsters if they fail to admit the poor Jews. Unless North America helps quickly, we are lost. It is all up to them now. If they are willing, everybody can be accommodated; later on there'll be time to recoup, first get everybody out, and fast. The world will no longer have any peace anyway, because of these people here. Nobody realizes that, not until it is too late. England and France had better beware. Your Lord

<sup>8</sup> Ruth Marcus.

<sup>9</sup> Probably Herbert Toćek (b. 1904) and Paula Toćek, née Černik (b. 1901). Paula Toćek was deported from Beuthen on 2 June 1942.

Chamberlin<sup>10</sup> has made a mess of everything; the English will come to deeply regret that they followed this man. If only they had left things to Eden and Churchill, Europe would have been saved. – But I'll close for now. Do everything the way I wrote, stay healthy, and warmest hugs and kisses from your loving and devoted Dad.

Beloved Susele! He has written to you about everything now; one could write volumes but lacks the courage to do so. You have no idea what it all is like. God willing, you will receive this letter. Send it to G. at once. For today, dear child, warmest hugs and kisses from your devoted Mum.

I'm just glad that you two are not here anymore.

DOC. 164

**On 19 November 1938 Reich Minister of the Interior Wilhelm Frick orders that Jews in need may draw public welfare benefits only in exceptional cases<sup>1</sup>**

*Regulation on Public Welfare for Jews.*  
19 November 1938.<sup>2</sup>

Pursuant to § 6(1) sentence 1 of the Obligatory Welfare Regulation and § 11 of the Law on Assistance for Pensioners on a Low Income, 5 July 1934 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 580), it is decreed:<sup>3</sup>

*Article 1*

After § 35 of the Reich Basic Regulations on the Conditions, Nature, and Scope of Public Welfare, dated 1 August 1931 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 439), § 35a is added as follows:

§ 35a

(1) Jews (§ 5 of the First Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law of 14 November 1935, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 1333),<sup>4</sup> if in need of aid, are to be referred to the assistance of the voluntary Jewish social welfare service. If this service cannot help, public welfare will step in. The prerequisites under which Jews are classified as needy must be rigorously examined. The following are granted: lodging, food, clothing, nursing care, assistance for invalids as well as women who are pregnant or have just given birth, midwife services, and, if need be, medical treatment. If necessary, burial costs are to be paid. The additional assistance envisaged in these regulations under B in particular

<sup>10</sup> Correctly: Chamberlain.

<sup>1</sup> 'Verordnung über die öffentliche Fürsorge für Juden', *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, p. 1649. Footnote in the original: 'Does not pertain to the Sudeten German territories.' This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> See Doc. 209, 21 Dec. 1938.

<sup>3</sup> From Sept. 1934 the elderly or those unable to work could, under certain conditions, apply for assistance as pensioners on a low income. § 11 of the law authorized the Reich Minister of Labour, in conjunction with the Reich Minister of Finance and the Reich Minister of the Interior, to issue the regulations for implementing the law.

<sup>4</sup> § 5 of the First Regulation established who was to be regarded as a Jew within the meaning of the Reich Citizenship Law: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1935, I, pp. 1333–1334; see PMJ 1/210.

is not provided to Jews. Furthermore, any benefits provided by the voluntary Jewish social welfare service are to be counted in full against the applicant when the need for help is being examined. § 35 does not apply to Jews.<sup>5</sup>

(2) Assistance that goes beyond the provisions of (1) can be granted to Jews if it promotes emigration or is otherwise in the public interest.

(3) §§ 18 to 32 are to be applied to seriously war-disabled Jews.<sup>6</sup>

*Article 2*

The Law on Assistance for Pensioners on a Low Income of 5 July 1934 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 580) and the supplementary regulation to this law, dated 24 December 1937 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 1415), do not apply to Jews.<sup>7</sup>

*Article 3*

This regulation takes effect on 1 January 1939.<sup>8</sup>

*The Reich Minister of the Interior*

Frick

The Reich Minister of Labour

Franz Seldte<sup>9</sup>

The Reich Minister of Finance

Count Schwerin von Krosigk

DOC. 165

***Berliner Tageblatt*: announcement, dated 19 November 1938, on the establishment of separate sales outlets for Jews in Munich<sup>1</sup>**

*Sale only to Jews*

*In the Israelite Religious Community in Munich*

(NdZ)<sup>2</sup> The Munich Kreisleitung of the NSDAP announces that the Israelite Religious Community, in consultation with the relevant authorities, is setting up with immediate effect several sales outlets where the Jews residing in Munich can acquire everyday essentials. Only Jews have access to these sales outlets. The provisioning of the Jews in Munich is thereby arranged so that there is no need for them to enter a German shop.

<sup>5</sup> § 35 stipulated that the states and welfare institutions were permitted to provide assistance, independently of the granting of the aid specified in the Welfare Regulation.

<sup>6</sup> The provisions for disabled ex-servicemen and surviving dependants (§§ 18 to 32) stated, for instance, that the benefits for the former should be no less than those for pensioners on a low income. In addition, the social welfare service was to be responsible for providing occupational counselling to disabled ex-servicemen and for placing them in jobs and providing work.

<sup>7</sup> The regulation of 24 Dec. 1937 included stipulations governing the provisions of welfare to 'refugees or expellees'.

<sup>8</sup> A draft for this regulation was written as early as August 1938: Helmut Heiber et al. (eds.), *Akten der Partei-Kanzlei der NSDAP*, vol. 2 (Munich: Oldenbourg/Saur, 1983), p. 413.

<sup>9</sup> Franz Seldte (1882–1947), retailer; in 1918 founder and leader of the Stahlhelm paramilitary group; joined the NSDAP in 1933; Reich minister of labour, 1933–1945; arrested in 1945 and died in 1947 in an American military prison.

<sup>1</sup> 'Verkauf nur an Juden', *Berliner Tageblatt*, 19 Nov. 1938, p. 3. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Nachricht der Zeitung: announcement from the newspaper.

## DOC. 166

**On 21 November 1938 the Jewish Central Office in Stuttgart writes to the Gestapo to ask that Jewish facilities assisting with preparations for emigration are retained<sup>1</sup>**

Letter, unsigned [Karl Adler],<sup>2</sup> to the Gestapo, Stuttgart State Police Office, dated 21 November 1938

*Re: release of the building at 30 Gartenstrasse.*

The Gestapo, Stuttgart State Police Office, requests that I be available to it to a greater extent for certain tasks. They stipulated that I should get the necessary Jewish institutions up and running again as quickly as possible and undertake to accelerate the emigration of those members of the Jewish population who are able to emigrate.<sup>3</sup>

In implementation of these demands, we submit the following:

The building at 30 Gartenstrasse had to be vacated by Jewish agencies and individuals at very short notice on Thursday, 10 November. At the same time, the building was put to use for other purposes.

The individual floors have been used since then as follows:

(a) On the ground floor is the *prayer hall* of the Israelite Religious Community, which was recently furnished at considerable expense, after a post office had previously been located there. After the abolition of the synagogue, this room was supposed to be made available again for prayer, even if only in a provisional way, by setting up chairs.<sup>4</sup>

(b) Housed on the first floor are the *office premises* of the Stuttgart Jewish Art Association, the Jewish House of Learning, and the undersigned *Central Office* required by the Gestapo.

In addition, the rooms are used for the *language courses for emigrants* taught by the Jewish House of Learning. These courses, as well as the so-called intensive courses, which are supposed to prepare emigrants linguistically for emigration in a relatively short time, were held daily, morning and evening. The rooms on this floor are also used for *youth services*.

[(c)] On the second floor is *Class 9*, the *housekeeping class* of the Jewish school. Young girls are trained for work as domestic staff. Last year, a training kitchen was set up for this purpose, at considerable expense.

In addition, another *school class* is taught in one room.

1 Archives of the Leo Baeck Institute, New York, at the Jüdisches Museum Berlin, MF 572, reel 2, box 3, folder 3. This document has been translated from German.

2 The letter, which lacks both a signature and a sender, is part of the literary estate of Karl Adler. It is signed 'K.A.' in the top right-hand corner of page 1. Professor Karl Adler (1890–1973), music educator and opera singer; director of the Stuttgart Conservatoire, 1922–1933; in 1933 founder and until 1938 head of the Jewish Art Association in Stuttgart; head of the music department of the Liaison Office for Jewish Adult Education, 1935–1939; head of the Stuttgart Jewish Liaison Office, in 1938; emigrated to the USA, 1940; professorship at Yeshiva University in New York, 1946.

3 Adler had been arrested in Nov. 1938 and was released after around a week, on condition that he cease his cultural work and organize the emigration of Stuttgart's Jews. The Jewish Liaison Office headed by Adler (presumably identical with the Central Office), a branch of the Reich Representation of Jews in Germany, was under the strict supervision of the Gestapo and the SD.

4 The Stuttgart Synagogue on Hospitalstraße was destroyed during the night of 9/10 Nov. 1938.

Also located on this floor is the *practice room* of the *Art Association*. In addition, the instruments, musical scores, and music stands essential for the work are kept there. Some of the *House of Learning* courses listed under (b) are also held on this floor.

(d) On the third floor is the *Jewish apprentices' hostel*. This shared residence currently houses 27 young people who are in Stuttgart and the vicinity for retraining; that is, they are preparing here for work in the skilled trades and in agriculture. For these young people, Palestine is considered the primary destination for further training, and particular mental and linguistic preparation is required for this country.

Considering the small means of the inhabitants, accommodation in separate rooms with families is not possible.

(e) The *building caretaker* has her quarters in the attic. In addition, a few rooms belonging to the apprentices' hostel are located there.

From this list, it can be seen that the building at 30 Gartenstrasse is used primarily for purposes that directly serve preparations for emigration. Moving these offices and facilities to other Jewish buildings is out of the question, because a central location is required for the purposes mentioned. In addition, these institutions are very closely linked to each other and to nearby offices. Recently, it was suggested on several occasions that apartments be set up in the building at 30 Gartenstr. in order to accommodate Jews who are struggling with housing difficulties. This suggestion, however, was not complied with, because the work of the aforementioned institutions must not be impaired, particularly as it was based in part on orders issued by Reich authorities and the Gestapo.

The need for the building at 30 Gartenstrasse is made even more urgent by the following circumstances: a private residence in Gartenstrasse currently houses the offices of the *Emigration Counselling Office*, the *Relief Association of German Jews*, and the *Jewish Winter Relief in Württemberg*. This building will probably pass into Aryan hands in the foreseeable future. Consequently, one must ensure accommodation for these offices as well. In addition, the *Israelite Supreme Council*<sup>5</sup> is obliged to give up its rooms at 82 Königstr. on 1 April 1939. The building at 30 Gartenstrasse is the only possible address for it to relocate to.

These brief explanations alone should make it clear that the building at 30 Gartenstrasse is currently vital to the existence of the aforementioned Jewish organizations, if the present tasks demanded of them are to be performed. Because no other Jewish property is available for these purposes, and distribution of all these offices to buildings under non-Jewish ownership is undesirable and also impossible, we request that the building be returned to its former purpose.<sup>6</sup>

5 Founded in 1828 as the Israelite Supreme Church Authority (Israelitische Oberkirchenbehörde), the Israelite Supreme Council (Israelitischer Oberrat), to which representatives of the Jewish Religious Community and of the state belonged, was responsible for the administrative and religious affairs of the Jews of Württemberg. In 1912 the Authority was granted legislative and administrative autonomy in all matters of the Jewish religious communities; in 1924 the Israelite Supreme Council assumed the tasks of the Supreme Church Authority.

6 The file does not indicate whether the request was granted or not.

## DOC. 167

**On 21 November 1938 the Reich Minister of Economics lists the Jewish assets that are immediately available<sup>1</sup>**

Circular letter (confidential) from the Reich Minister of Economics (III Jd. 8910/38), signed p.p. Krüger,<sup>2</sup> to the Reich Minister of the Interior, the Reich Minister of Finance, the Reich Minister of Food and Agriculture, the Reich Minister of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, the Deputy of the Führer, Munich, Brown House, Gestapo Central Office (Gestapa), to the Reich Chamber of Economics, the Reichsbank Headquarters – Economic and Statistical Department – FAO Reichsbank Counsellor Pieter, Berlin, the Reich commissioner for banking, Berlin, the Oberpräsidenten and Regierungspräsidenten in Prussia and the chief of police in Berlin, the chairman of the city council of the Reich capital Berlin, the state governments of the states other than Prussia, the Reich commissioner for the reunification of Austria with the German Reich, Vienna, the Reich commissioner for the Sudeten German territories, Dept III, 6 Kantstraße, Reichenberg, dated 21 November 1938<sup>3</sup>

*Re: registration of Jewish assets.*

Enclosed, for your kind and confidential attention, I send a compilation of the registrations received for the entire territory of the Reich (excluding the Sudeten German territories) pursuant to the Regulation on the Registration of Jewish Assets from 26 April 1938.<sup>4</sup>

Set out in the attached ‘Accompanying report’ is the proportion of the Jewish assets that can be considered immediately available for seizure.

*For III Jd. 8910/38.*

*Accompanying report.*

The attached survey of Jewish assets, now available for the entire Reich, gives rise to the following comments:

(1) The assets of the non-Jewish spouse of both domestic and stateless Jews is to be regarded as not vulnerable to seizure. The small amount of assets owned by non-Jewish spouses implies that there have been hardly any substantial transfers of assets from the Jewish spouse to the non-Jewish spouse.

(2) The domestic assets of foreign Jews resident in this country will also have to be regarded as untouchable. If one shares this view, then the following assets are available for seizure:

- (1) the assets of domestic Jews and
- (2) the assets of stateless Jews.

1 BArch, R7/4740, fols. 35–38. This document has been translated from German.

2 Adolf-Friedrich (Alf) Krüger (1900–1981), farmer and journalist; joined the NSDAP in 1928; SA-Obersturmbannführer; Ministerialrat in the Reich Ministry of Economics; after 1945 lived in Eutin; author of *Die Lösung der Judenfrage in der deutschen Wirtschaft* (1940).

3 Handwritten notes on the first page, receipt stamp, and round stamp of the Reich Minister of Economics.

4 See Doc. 29, 26 April 1938.

Adding up the values of the assets provides the following picture:

- (a) Agricultural and forestry assets: RM 112 million
- (b) Real estate: RM 2,343 million
- (c) Business assets (after deduction of business debts): RM 1,195 million
- (d) Other assets: RM 4,881 million
- (e) Gross assets (sum of (a) to (d)): RM 8,531 million

To be deducted from this are debts and charges, unless they concern business assets: RM 1,408 million

- (f) Net assets (registered assets after deduction of all debts): RM 7,123 million

An examination of these seizable assets from the standpoint of liquidity provides the following picture.

To be viewed as fixed assets:

- (a) agricultural and forestry assets,
- (b) real property,
- (c) business assets.

Business assets are recorded as the difference between assets and liabilities. The extent to which this includes liquid assets (bank account, post office giro account, securities, immediately sellable raw materials) cannot be determined from the data gathered, because the situation varies from business to business. In addition, the liquid assets included in the business assets are generally necessary to maintain the business operations and therefore are not subject to immediate seizure.

Only the item 'other assets', amounting to RM 4,881 million, can be regarded as liquid. At the same time, however, it must be noted that the item 'other assets' also includes life insurance policies that have not yet reached their maturity date, as well as usufruct and pension rights. A small part of this amount will thus have to be viewed as fixed. The liquid assets of RM 4,881 million are offset by a debt burden of RM 1,408 million. The data do not indicate the extent to which these debts are based on real estate and the extent to which they are unsecured debts and thus must, in the interests of satisfying the creditors, be deducted in advance when the 'other assets' are seized.

Finally, it must also be noted that the figures above are based on a statistical survey dated 27 April 1938, but that in the meantime considerable assets, which cannot even be numerically estimated, have been sold to non-Jewish businessmen at prices below their true value. Therefore, it is certainly possible that the liquid assets have increased as a result of the de-Jewification now in progress, while the fixed business assets, by contrast, have decreased.

*For III Jd. 8910/38.*

Pursuant to the Regulation on the Registration of Jewish Assets, *the following assets* have been registered for the *Reich* overall:

*(value in millions of Reichsmarks)*

	Domestic		Foreign		Stateless	
	Jews	Non-Jewish spouses	Jews	Non-Jewish spouses	Jews	Non-Jewish spouses
(a) Agricultural and forestry assets	112	9	13	0.1	0.1	0.03
(b) Real estate	2,293	126	229	3.3	50.3	1.04
(c) Business assets	1,177	59	86	1.6	17.6	0.08
(d) Other assets	4,844	216	223	4.5	37.0	0.46
(e) Sum of assets (a) to (d) (net assets)	8,426	410	551	9.5	105.0	1.61
(f) Debts and charges unrelated to business assets	1,376	65	136	1.9	31.5	0.34
(g) Registered assets (net), total	7,050	345	415	7.6	73.5	1.27
II. Number of registration documents received	135,750	6,000	9,567	153	2,269	47

## DOC. 168

**On 22 November 1938 the Protestant Bishop Julius Kühlewein reports to the clergy of the regional church in Baden about the criticism voiced by the Ministry of Education regarding the treatment of the Bible story in religious instruction<sup>1</sup>**

Circular from the regional bishop of the United Evangelical Protestant Church in Baden (no. 18 455), signed D. Kühlewein,<sup>2</sup> Karlsruhe, to the clergy of the regional church, 22 November 1938

With respect to religious instruction, particularly teaching the Old Testament

*To all clergymen of the regional church*

Various written and verbal inquiries cause me to make known an exchange of letters on the above subject, in order to prevent all potential misunderstandings or misinterpretations:

On 28 February 1938 the following letter arrived from the Minister of Culture and Education:<sup>3</sup>

1 EZA, 50/363. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Julius Kühlewein (1873–1948), pastor; pastor in Freiburg im Breisgau, 1921–1924; from 1924 prelate of the Evangelical Regional Church in Baden; regional bishop in Baden, 1933–1945; resigned from his office as regional bishop at the first post-war synod in Bretten in 1945.

3 Dr Otto Wacker (1899–1940), architect and Germanist; joined the NSDAP in 1925, the SA in 1929, and the SS in 1933; head of the press department of the gau of Baden, 1931–1933; minister of justice in Baden and Reichstag member, 1933–1934; from 1933 minister of culture, education, and justice; in 1937 SS-Oberführer; head of the Science Office in the Reich Ministry of Education, 1937–1939.

In the set of Bible stories used in religion classes for the Evangelical Protestant Church in Baden, published by Moritz Schauenburg, Lahr, 1936, story no. 13 contains, under the heading 'Jesus and the Samaritan Woman' (p. 120, loc. cit.), the sentence: But we know what we worship, for salvation comes from the Jews.<sup>4</sup>

This sentence is apt to confuse the minds of adolescents; I have also already conveyed this assessment to the Archiepiscopal Ordinariate in Freiburg and, on the strength of the pertinent facts, have prohibited the further use of the Bible story in question in religious instruction.

However, before I employ here too the means of governmental supervision at my disposal, I would appreciate being informed as to how the regional bishop intends to remedy this grievance.

Reply, dated 15 March 1938:

The sentence under criticism in story no. 13 in the set of Bible stories for the Evangelical Protestant Church in Baden is taken verbatim from the conversation of Jesus with the Samaritan woman in John 4 and is absolutely to be regarded as coming from Jesus. As such, it was also included in the Bible story. It means only that the salvation of the world had its beginning long ago in the Jewish people, in that the revelation of the law and the prophets was granted to this people and Jesus, the saviour of the world, came forth from this people. It was not intended to be a glorification of the Jews. This is made clear by the very fact that Jesus, in the same Gospel, strongly opposes the Jews and says to them: Ye are of your father, the devil (John 8:44).

If correctly interpreted, therefore, the words from John 4 should give no offence. It must be conceded, however, that the saying can confuse the young if it is taken as it stands and is not explained. The story of the Samaritan woman is, in addition, a valuable one, which should not be omitted on account of this one sentence and which can be studied even without this sentence.

The set of Bible stories undoubtedly needs reworking, particularly with respect to the Old Testament part. This adaptation is also under way.<sup>5</sup> In the process the historical material in the Old Testament is to be abridged and the prophetic material is to be brought to the fore. I would gladly complete this work quickly, if there were any prospect of its introduction into the schools. But as I gather from a communication from the Reich and Prussian Minister of Education<sup>6</sup> to the German Evangelical [Protestant] Church Chancery dated 6 December 1937, the introduction of new textbooks will come under deliberation only after the issuance of new guidelines. I would be grateful to the minister for a response on this.

On 20 April 1937, in view of the modification of the Syllabus for Religious Education at Academic Secondary Schools and considering that all Old Testament stories that are non-essential to the religious life of the pupils can be omitted or may only be dealt with briefly in class, I presented to the minister an abbreviated syllabus with the request that it be approved and announced in the official gazette. In this syllabus, twenty Old Testament stories had been completely or partially deleted. Here is the reply:

<sup>4</sup> *Biblische Geschichte für die evangelisch-protestantische Kirche in Baden*, 56th imprint (Lahr: Moritz Schauenburg, 1936).

<sup>5</sup> The adaptation could not be found.

<sup>6</sup> The Reich Minister of Science, Schooling, and Education from 1934 to 1945 was Bernhard Rust (1883–1945).

I have first presented your letter to the Reich and Prussian Minister of Science, Schooling, and Education in Berlin and requested a response.

On 17 May 1938 I enquired at the Ministry of Culture whether, specifically in the interest of the desired abridgement of the Old Testament in religion classes, the cuts proposed by me could not be recommended to the religious studies teachers as a methodological approach until a decision is reached by the Reich Ministry of Education.

Reply from the Ministry of Culture, dated 9 June 1938:

From the standpoint of the state educational administration, of course, there would be no objection if the local church authority directs that the Old Testament may no longer be dealt with in religion class. On the other hand, I cannot give my assent to any other directive because, by so doing, I might anticipate the decision of the Reich Ministry of Education.

On 26 October 1938 the following decree of the Ministry for Culture and Education, of which I too was informed, was sent to all school administrations:

The Catholic 'New Bible Stories' published by Herder is a revised edition.<sup>7</sup> According to a decree issued by the Reich Ministry of Education, however, new textbooks, including those for religious instruction, may no longer be introduced, barring a corresponding directive to the contrary in exceptional cases.

By contrast, the set of 'Bible Stories' for the Evangelical Protestant Church in Baden, dated 1936, is only a reprint. It is therefore not subject to the ban on the introduction of new textbooks. However, there are also very serious objections to these 'Bible Stories' – particularly to the 'Old Testament' contained therein, with the result that further use, as I have repeatedly made the church authority aware, now hardly seems justifiable. The regional bishop of the Evangelical Protestant Church, in his letter of 15 March of this year, has already agreed that, in future, story no. 13, 'Jesus and the Samaritan Woman', shall be studied without the words that gave rise to criticism, that is, 'for salvation comes from the Jews'. Therefore, instructions should be given for the aforementioned sentence to be deleted from the 'Bible Stories' used in school, so that there is no longer the slightest risk this sentence will be dealt with in class.

I request that further action be initiated in this matter.

That is the actual state of affairs. In addition, I note the following: a directive from the Supreme Church Council to the effect that the Old Testament should no longer be taught at all is impossible. At this time, according to the statement of the Ministry of Culture, there is no question of a major reworking of the set of Bible stories, especially from the Old Testament, until the Reich Ministry of Education has reached its decision. We do already have a partial revision of the Bible stories available that is very skilful and takes

<sup>7</sup> Probably Philipp Schumacher, *Die Biblische Geschichte für das Erzbistum Freiburg* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1936).

into account most of the objections to the current textbook. Nonetheless, for the time being we must continue with the present set of Bible stories.

As to the words in story no. 13 from the New Testament that are under particular criticism, 'for salvation comes from the Jews', indeed I do not regard a deletion in the existing books as proper. However, I am of the opinion that story no. 13 can be taught without this sentence in parenthesis, without changing the meaning and content of the story.

For pedagogical reasons I have therefore agreed that this sentence will not appear in the forthcoming reprint of the *Bible Stories* (58th edition).<sup>8</sup>

DOC. 169

**On 23 November 1938 the Reich Minister of Economics and the Reich Minister of Justice regulate the forced sale and the closure of Jewish commercial and skilled craft enterprises<sup>1</sup>**

*Implementing Regulation to the Regulation on the Exclusion of Jews from German Economic Life.*

23 November 1938.

On the basis of § 4 of the Regulation on the Exclusion of Jews from German Economic Life of 12 November 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 1580),<sup>2</sup> the following is decreed:

*Article I*

*Retail trade*

§ 1

(1) Retail outlets, mail-order businesses, and ordering enterprises owned by Jews must in principle be closed down and liquidated.

(2) If, in special cases, continuation of a previously Jewish firm of the kind named in (1) is required in order to ensure the supply of the population, it can be transferred to non-Jewish ownership. Transfer requires the approval of the authorities responsible for the decision under the Law for the Protection of Retail Trade of 12 May 1933 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 262).<sup>3</sup> This approval substitutes the approval required according to the order based on the Regulation on the Registration of Jewish Assets of 26 April 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 415).<sup>4</sup> The provisions of this order and of the implementing rules that have been issued or are being issued are also applicable.

<sup>8</sup> In *Biblische Geschichte für die evangelisch-protestantische Kirche in Baden*, 60th imprint (Lahr: Moritz Schauenburg, 1941), p. 120, the clause 'for salvation comes from the Jews' does not appear.

<sup>1</sup> 'Verordnung zur Durchführung der Verordnung zur Ausschaltung der Juden aus dem deutschen Wirtschaftsleben', *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, p. 1642. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> See Doc. 143, 12 Nov. 1938.

<sup>3</sup> Under the law of 12 May 1933, the authority specified by the supreme regional authority (central regional authority) was responsible for the decision.

<sup>4</sup> See Doc. 29, 26 April 1938.

## § 2

(1) The closure of the business must take place in accordance with the following principles:

1. Sale or auction of goods to end users is not permitted.
2. All goods must first be offered to the relevant professional group or special-purpose association or to their district or specialized subdivision, which must be responsible for storing the goods. Acceptance of the goods is based on an evaluation by experts who are appointed by the president of the relevant chamber of industry and commerce.
3. The creditors must be paid from the proceeds of the overall liquidation transaction, in the order provided for in the Bankruptcy Act.

(2) If necessary, the Reich Minister of Economics will, in consultation with the Reich Minister of Justice, issue additional guidelines for liquidation. The guidelines will be published in the *Ministerial Gazette for Economic Affairs*.

(3) The principles and guidelines for liquidation also apply to the official receiver, in the event of bankruptcy.

## § 3

(1) For the liquidation, the authority called upon to make a decision under § 1(2) can appoint liquidators, unless proper liquidation is otherwise ensured. The liquidator must exercise the diligence of an ordinary retailer and is monitored by the appointing authority. This authority, after conclusion of the liquidation, determines the compensation granted to the liquidator and the amount of expenses to be refunded to him.

(2) The costs of liquidation are borne by the enterprise to be liquidated.

## § 4

(1) The liquidator is authorized to engage in all legal and extrajudicial transactions and proceedings made necessary by the liquidation of the business. In this context, his authorization substitutes any plenipotentiary power required.

(2) The liquidator is entitled in particular to file the application for the initiation of bankruptcy proceedings in the name of the bankrupt, if the legal prerequisites are met. The liquidator can be appointed to serve as official receiver.

*Article II**Skilled craft enterprises*

## § 5

(1) Jewish owners of skilled craft enterprises are to be deleted from the Register of Qualified Craftsmen by 31 December 1938. Their craftsman's card is to be confiscated.

(2) The present provisions apply to the transfer of Jewish skilled craft enterprises into the hands of non-Jewish purchasers.

Berlin, 23 November 1938.

*The Reich Minister of Economics*

p.p. *Brinkmann*

*The Reich Minister of Justice*

*Dr Gürtner*

## DOC. 170

**On 23 November 1938 Fritz Falk, Amsterdam, asks Sam van den Bergh to enable his family to emigrate to the Netherlands<sup>1</sup>**

Letter, signed Fritz Falk,<sup>2</sup> Amsterdam, to Sam van den Bergh,<sup>3</sup> Wassenaar, Netherlands, dated 23 November 1938 (copy)

Dear Mr van den Bergh,

Your kind letter of 15 November 1939 found its way to me.<sup>4</sup> I am very grateful for your note, and it was a glimmer of consolation not only for me but also for my relatives. Today I had occasion to show your letter also to Mrs Behrens,<sup>5</sup> who has visited my relatives in Arnsberg.<sup>6</sup> After that, she spoke on the telephone with you, dear Mr van den Bergh, and you asked her for a report. I believe that, once you have read it, you will agree with me that there is nothing more dismal. I am also glad that you are receiving this report from an impartial party; otherwise, you might be forced to say that, as a son and a brother, I have exaggerated the matter. But every minute that one is aware that one's loved ones are still in Germany is so dismal and nightmarish that it really is indescribable. People sit in Germany in their ruined apartments without any help, with no one to look after them, with no money, and the Jewish families – that is, the women, as the men have all been arrested, if they are still alive – cannot even visit each other to provide mutual assistance. The fear is so great that they jump at every sound. My sister's fiancé, who wandered around in the forests for three days, was hidden in the home of a Christian family. Whether my father, who was so badly beaten in front of my mother and two sisters that he was taken to hospital covered in blood, will survive is in God's hands. Two days later, three of the main newspapers that are read there in Arnsberg published a long article, 'Jewish Atrocity Stories about the Mistreatment of the Jew Falk',<sup>7</sup> saying that it is all untrue, that my father was only kept in hospital for his own safety, even though hundreds of people witnessed him being carried off, horrifically battered. Mrs Behrens has also had confirmation of the whole matter from a Christian witness. She saw that my loved ones were sitting in a stripped, bare apartment without a bed, without

1 CZA, S7/791. This document has been translated from German.

2 Correctly: Friedrich Alexander Falk (1903–1972), sales representative, employed by the Jurgens and Van den Bergh Margarine Union in the towns of Goch and Cleves; fled to the Netherlands in 1938 after his trade licence had been revoked and he had been publicly accused of race defilement. He later worked in Britain and Israel.

3 Samuel van den Bergh (1864–1941), producer of margarine and soap; son of the founder of the Van den Bergh margarine factories, Simon van den Bergh, who moved parts of the operation to Cleves in 1888.

4 This letter is not located in the file.

5 Wife of Dr Behrens, the secretary of van den Bergh.

6 Fritz Falk's parents, Paul and Frida Falk, née Kellermann, as well as his sisters Marta and Lore, his brother-in-law Richard Plaut and his bride Herta Kellermann, were still living in Arnsberg as of Nov. 1938; Fritz Falk to the Committee for Special Jewish Affairs (Comité voor Bijzondere Joodse Belangen) in Amsterdam, 23 Nov. 1938: *ibid.*

7 'Jude Falk ist kerngesund' [The Jew Falk is in Fine Health], *Westfälische Landeszeitung Rote Erde*, 12 Nov. 1938, published in Michael Gosmann (ed.), *Juden in Arnsberg: Eine Dokumentation* (Arnsberg: Stadt Arnsberg, 1991), p. 165.

a single teaspoon, without plates, and waiting for a miracle. They have no more tears; their faces are all frozen in horror. I don't wish to tell you any more, for example, about the suicide attempt by the Jewish Community leader and his wife, who are also in hospital now, with no hope.<sup>8</sup> One could continue the report ad infinitum.

I now ask wholeheartedly that you give the requisite documents to Mrs Behrens, in order to do everything that is necessary to save my loved ones. She knows the avenues that must be pursued, and has already taken various steps, but the goal can be reached only with your help. If only I can obtain a temporary residence permit [for my relatives].

The humanity shown by you and your family will find a sympathetic ear with God. I believe there is no need to reaffirm my gratitude; you are like a ray of hope for my loved ones.

With my regards,  
in the highest esteem

DOC. 171

**On 23 November 1938 Ruth Spier describes to her friend Lilo what life is like  
at the Gehringshof Hachsharah Camp near Fulda<sup>1</sup>**

Handwritten letter from Ruth [Spier],<sup>2</sup> Gehringshof, to Lilo,<sup>3</sup> dated 23 November 1938

My dear Lilo,

Now, instead of being in ארץ,<sup>4</sup> as planned, I am here at Gehringshof. Your letter was forwarded to me here. Thank you very much. All of us, including me, are in good health, thank God. In this respect, I also have good news (as far as is possible) from home. My father went away on a trip around two weeks ago, destination unknown. – Here at G'hof, I feel quite at ease. There are twenty-two of us – unfortunately, more girls than boys (which has a negative effect on the Tarbut<sup>5</sup> work), because most of us girls are new, and also fairly inexperienced in comparison with our boys, especially the ones who are not here at the moment. So everything is difficult. Our work will definitely interest you. I work in the laundry, that is, this week and last I have been sewing for a private client

<sup>8</sup> Hugo Goldberg (1875–1943), retailer; chairman of the Jewish Community in Arnsberg; moved to Hamburg in 1940 with his wife, Emma Goldberg, née Maas (1877–1944); was deported to Theresienstadt in 1942 and murdered in 1943. His wife was deported in 1944 to Auschwitz, where she was murdered.

<sup>1</sup> YVA, O. 75/789. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Ruth Spier (1921–2018), married name Ben-David, youth worker; grew up in Haigerloch; emigrated to Britain in 1939; in 1946 emigrated illegally, via Cyprus, to Palestine; youth worker, medical secretary, and later librarian at the Tirat Zvi kibbutz.

<sup>3</sup> Lieselotte Schäfer (b. 1921), later Michal Wager; grew up in Tübingen; emigrated to Palestine in 1937; until 1939 in the Afikim Youth Aliyah kibbutz near the Sea of Galilee; from 1939 to 1960 in the Ginosar kibbutz, where she worked in wine-growing and in the children's house; after 1970 in Jerusalem.

<sup>4</sup> Hebrew script in the original here and in the following: 'Eretz Yisrael': Land of Israel (Palestine).

<sup>5</sup> Hebrew: culture.

(for a girl here who lost a suitcase full of clothing on the journey to Poland). So my sewing skills are already standing me in good stead. Otherwise, I have to wash, iron, darn, etc. Our work hours are from 8:00 to 11:30, then a meal and a break until 12:30, then back to work until 4:00. The area here is so beautiful in terms of landscape, and we have no idea at all how much longer we will be able to enjoy it. Then, from 4 to 6, we have free time, so that we can go for walks.

– I usually arrange things so that I read something with someone else for an hour and then talk about it outdoors (that is, if we don't have to abandon such plans, because there are so many other things weighing on one at the moment that it is hard to concentrate). <sup>6</sup>אבל כל האנושים, גם אבי, במחנה של כ"צ. אבי בדחו. הלא אים? You surely know the story of my disastrous love affair!!! You can't believe how unhappy I feel about it! –

<sup>7</sup>דירנו בהיגרלך הרסרן What I would like most is to leave here as quickly as possible. It is only now that I am beginning to really regret that nothing ever came of my עליה.<sup>8</sup> I would have been spared such a lot! Although it is not exactly peaceful in ארץ right now, the situation is quite different, after all. Well, why am I writing this to you, you are certainly aware of it yourself. – I have signed up for the Wizo<sup>9</sup> here, and I got a letter saying that I might hope to receive a certificate in the spring. Now, however, a lady from Holland rang us here last week and told us, among other things, that we should send a list of the girls who are Wizo applicants; she wants to speak with the Dutch Wizo on our behalf. The Wizo here is taking a break at the moment, and so it (the break) means a delay. <sup>10</sup>הלואי, that it all works! Every day here is a torment. Today my mum wrote and gave me Susi's address. For a few weeks now she has been in Stuttgart in hospital. She is not doing well at all. How the poor girl must be suffering. Oh, wherever one looks, misery and hardship!!!

Unfortunately, we have had to change our Tarbut plan somewhat. I delight in every hour, every שיעור.<sup>11</sup> We had made such a good start at creating (that is, my group started) a study group for Jewish history, using Kastein<sup>12</sup> (heart and mind), and had really got something out of it. The boy who ran the study group is away at the moment, however, so it came to a halt. That happens with many things. We study עבית,<sup>13</sup> Tenach,<sup>14</sup> etc. Then we have very good literary evenings. Study group for sociology ... etc. It is only now that I notice how easy I had it in this regard; if I didn't know something, I could go to my dad and sound him out. I think that's how it usually is, one notices something like that only when it's too late. By the way, do you know Buber's 'Der heilige Weg?'<sup>15</sup> I

6 Hebrew: 'But all the people, my father too, are in the concentration camp. My father in Dachau. Isn't it terrible?'

7 Hebrew: 'Our home in Haigerloch is destroyed.'

8 Hebrew: aliyah: ascent, emigration to Israel (Palestine).

9 WIZO: Women's International Zionist Organization.

10 Hebrew: halevai; God will it; would that it be so.

11 Hebrew: lesson on a Torah topic.

12 Josef Kastein, *Eine Geschichte der Juden* (Vienna: Löwit, 1935).

13 Hebrew: ivrit. Spelling as in original; the 'r' is missing.

14 Correctly: Tanakh. Term for the canon of the Hebrew Bible, consisting of the Torah (the Five Books of Moses), Nevi'im (Prophets), and Ketuvim (Writings).

15 Martin Buber, *Der heilige Weg: Ein Wort an die Juden und die Völker* (Frankfurt am Main: Rütten & Loening, 1919).

just finished reading it with one girl. It is very fine and especially interesting for us, because at the beginning there is a particularly good part about what we call הברה.<sup>16</sup> Overall, although our הברה was always famous and known as especially good, it is no longer good at all because so many members are gone, and cliques are developing. Although we try, especially now, to stick close together, which we are also doing, and everyone depends on each other, the הברה is really suffering from this state of affairs. – Four weeks ago, early Friday morning, there was a sudden announcement that all the Poles had to leave. Our seventeen people packed their bags at once and left. It was terrible for them, and for us who remained behind. They didn't know where to go. On the evening of שבת<sup>17</sup> we had a letter from the Polish border, and on Sunday at noon, all of a sudden, they telephoned from Kassel again. They came back. Poland did not let them in. You should have witnessed the shouts of joy. The only bad thing is that most of the parents are already there, they were a few moves ahead, and now, once we close down here at some point, the people don't know where to go. –

It is good that, where you are, you folks have managed to create a proper הברה. Doesn't it bother you that only some belong to the הסתדרות?<sup>18</sup>

Has something really changed in your work or whatever in the second year? Please write to me in detail and tell me how things are there for all of you now. I rely more on your information than on that in the Rundschau<sup>19</sup> (which is not being published now). I hear quite frequently from your dear parents. They have written to me. Don't you even have a photo of yourself? I would be so glad [to receive one]. Anyway, please write to me again soon, you have no idea how happy I am every time (and especially now) I get a letter from you! – It's very nice that you're working in nursing care now. How long do you spend in each work area?

I would really have liked to switch [jobs] here, that is, I would have liked to go to the kitchen or to do work outdoors, but there are so many of us waiting for those jobs that my turn never comes. I have already herded sheep.

The post is just about to be sent off, and as this letter is meant to go along, I'll close. My regards to you

ושלום<sup>20</sup>

Yours,

Ruth

My dear mum and Julius send their regards.

16 Hebrew: chevra; society, association; here: community.

17 Hebrew: shabbat; Sabbath.

18 Hebrew: Histadrut; labour organization, founded in Palestine in 1920; trade union.

19 The writer is referring to the *Jüdische Rundschau*, which was banned after the November pogroms.

20 Hebrew: veShalom; and peace (a Hebrew salutation).

## DOC. 172

**Conversation on 24 November 1938 between Adolf Hitler  
and the South African Minister Oswald Pirow about Germany's position of power  
in the world and the 'Jewish question'**<sup>1</sup>

Written account by Legation Counsellor Hewel,<sup>2</sup> personal staff of the Reich Minister of Foreign Affairs, Berchtesgaden; distributor: Office of the Reich Minister, state secretary, dated 24 November 1938

After a brief introductory conversation, the Führer broaches the topic of Germany's difficulty in procuring large numbers of luxury items, which it must import from abroad, as this is not possible from a foreign exchange standpoint. Pirow<sup>3</sup> thereupon expresses the hope that stronger trade relations might be kindled between Germany and South Africa, as Germany needs endless numbers of products that South Africa can provide, and conversely, South Africa is also a sales market for German goods. Pirow mentions the Volkswagen as presumably a very attractive item for import by South Africa. A short conversation arises about the Volkswagen, which, owing to its low cost and low fuel consumption, will be thoroughly competitive in the world. Pirow opines that one cannot grant the German small car any preferential tariffs, as this is not fair to the other countries. But precisely for these reasons, he says, the Volkswagen is a great hope. It can serve as Germany's bartering object with regard to South Africa, because, with customs duties remaining constant, it would continue to be absolutely competitive. The situation is similar, he says, with German radio sets. Further, he mentioned that the South African-Italian shipping contract is soon approaching its end.<sup>4</sup> It has not functioned well and will now be 'probably auctioned off to the highest bidder'. He thinks that Germany is also a potential bidder here. For South Africa, this would be very positive, as the shipping cargoes would be of great consequence in the trade exchange with Germany. He noted that the shipping agreements with Germany are dependent on the conference and that he is surprised that the English, for German goods that go to South Africa, allocate at most 5 per cent to German shipping, while the English themselves take over 95 per cent. The Führer is interested in this question and wants to be informed about it. The Führer then makes lengthy comments about his economic reconstruction work in Germany, describing the hopeless situation in which Germany found itself economically as well when he assumed power. Germany, he says, can use 2 million tons of additional cargo space. Unfortunately, he cannot build these ships now, because the shipyards are overburdened with foreign orders and such orders as are intended to fill the gaps in Germany's naval armament. Pirow regrets this and says these cargoes could

1 PA AA, R 28 885, Akten betreffend: Südafrikanische Union, März 1936-Februar 1940, fols. 14-26, published in *Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik 1918-1945*, series D: 1937-1945, vol. 4, pp. 291-295. This document has been translated from German.

2 Walter Hewel (1904-1945), retailer; joined the NSDAP in 1933 and the SS in 1937; took part in the Beer Hall Putsch, 1923; legation counsellor in the Reich Foreign Office, 1938, and Ministerialdirigent there, 1940; SS-Brigadeführer, 1942; ambassador for special duty with the rank of state secretary, 1943; liaison officer of the Reich Foreign Office at the Führer Headquarters; took his own life.

3 Oswald Pirow (1890-1959); lawyer and politician; minister of justice, 1929-1933, minister of defence, 1933-1939, and minister of transport, 1933-1938, of the Union of South Africa.

4 This could not be verified.

have been made part of the German–South African terms of trade. He then says what a profound importance a German–South African trade relationship has with regard to foreign policy. Chamberlain, he says, really listens to the South African prime minister.<sup>5</sup> Pirow asks the Führer whether he is aware that South Africa was an extraordinarily strong advocate for peace during the crisis period. After all, peaceful compromise between Germany and England is of decisive importance to the development and happiness of the peoples [of the world].

The Führer says that the *German–English relationship* cannot be consolidated as long as England continues to take the view that Germany is not a great power and that it must be influenced, lectured in a schoolmarmish way, and controlled by England. After 1918, following Germany's internal breakdown, he says, England got into the habit of negotiating with individuals about whom there is clear evidence today showing that they were in the pay of a foreign country. The habit has been formed of denying to a great power rights that are granted as a matter of course to every small country, such as Holland, Belgium, Switzerland. It is said today that Germany is a country of barbarians and that everything that was good has disappeared from Germany. Precisely the opposite is true. Never before, after a revolution of such magnitude, have even the greatest political opponents been treated with such forbearance. Anyone who has fled from Germany had to fear the police because of crimes he had committed. All this, England must first forget and become aware that it is facing the strongest power in Europe, and act accordingly, before its relationship with Germany can once again become healthy and positive.

This also includes the treatment of the *colonial question*. The Führer points out that England, with 45 million inhabitants, [claims that it] needs a quarter of the world for its existence. All the other countries, such as Holland, Belgium, France, etc., need enormous territories overseas, [and] regard them as a necessity of life. Nothing, he says, is conceded to the largest nation of Europe, Germany, with its 80 million inhabitants. This is a situation that cannot continue forever. England must also accustom itself to being painfully rebuffed by Germany whenever it interferes in Germany's domestic political affairs.

Pirow replies that the English understand this completely. The realization that Germany is the world's great power, however, dates only from the Munich Agreement.

The Führer says that he knows the limits of his power and wants to call Germany the greatest power not in the world but in Europe. In reply Pirow asserts that, for him, Germany is the greatest power in the world, and in this context he requests the Führer to help those who are full of good intentions, such as Chamberlain and Halifax. The relationship of Germany with England depends on him alone, Pirow says. If he turns away from England, the war party will come to power, and the end of this would be a terrible world war. If he helps the English statesmen, a happy cooperation can arise from it. The Führer asks what he means by 'help', and in response Pirow brings up the *Jewish question*. He says that it is indeed not the right of the English to intervene in the internal political struggle against the Jews, in response to which, however, the Führer says that it is even their duty to intervene. He feels such revulsion, he says, at the rabble-rousing and the Jewish debates in England, in which he has not heard a single positive suggestion uttered. Germany currently has a population of 141 persons per square kilometre. Nine

<sup>5</sup> James Barry Munnick Hertzog (1866–1942) was prime minister of the Union of South Africa from 1924 to 1939.

tenths of the Jews living in Germany arrived there as immigrants from the East in the past few decades. Although they brought nothing with them, they now possess 4.6 times the assets per capita of their hosts, and there is now a demand that they be allowed to take this greedily grabbed money out of the country with them. 'They have broken faith with the German people. The English gush with humanity and do nothing to help.' When the German middle classes were broken, not a word was heard. But the problem will be solved in the near future. This is his unshakeable will, he said. However, it is not only a German but also a European problem. The Jewish problem is awakening everywhere today, in Poland, in Czechoslovakia, and also in France and England. For us, the Jews are a collective community. 'What they do to us, the entire Jewish community does to us. If a German abroad is murdered by a Jew, therefore, this also reflects on the Jews in Germany.' The English have taught us this type of judgement. They have also treated the Germans all over the world as a collective community. Although the Kaiser was held responsible for the World War, the Germans have been oppressed in the world and their capital taken from them. They have been robbed of all their assets. What Germany is doing with the Jews today is no different. In addition he wants to point out that, in the whole terrible struggle he has waged, he has not a single assassination on his conscience. That method is one he has never pursued. The vigilante murders that were committed during the time of struggle, he said, must not be put down to National Socialists, but rather to organizations that have no connection with National Socialism. 'What do you think would happen in Germany, Mr Pirow, if I were to lift the protecting hand I hold over the Jews? The world could not conceive of it.'

Pirow admits that the Führer is right about everything, but says one should join forces with England and America to solve the Jewish question. Besides the Jewish question, he says, there is also the *refugee question*. He understands that Germany cannot let any capital leave the country, but he wants to know whether Germany is willing to help in the solution of this question. The Führer asks exactly how he conceives of this cooperation. The Jews will disappear from Europe one day, he says. Many countries already look with outrage on the activities of the Jews within their borders.

Once again, the Führer describes his *financial reconstruction work*. In 1933 he took over Germany, with 83 million [Reichsmark] in gold and foreign currency. He was immediately forced to introduce a vigorous foreign exchange control programme in order to prevent the German people from starving to death. He put the German economy in order and, for example, achieved an enormous increase in Germany's steel production, and he cannot take responsibility for allowing the Jews to take out of the country the small amounts of foreign exchange that exist here.

Pirow opines that foreign countries are ready to contribute to the solution to the Jewish question. Some countries will perhaps grant entry to Jews. He is officially enquiring as to whether Germany would be prepared to help. The Führer mentions that Germany has already made attempts to help. He explains the idea of *government vouchers for Jews*.<sup>6</sup> Pirow says that the solution to the Jewish question raises two important points. This is an official proposal.

<sup>6</sup> Presumably Reich bonds.

(1) Germany, he says, does not need to pay out a penny in foreign exchange; instead, an international loan would be taken out, with which the emigration and relocation of the Jews would be paid for. Germany only has to service the interest payments for this loan in the form of trade.

(2) The question of territory. Here, Germany must help to make territory available; specifically, Germany should make one of its former colonies available.

In response to the Führer's comment that we have no colonies, Pirow says that this offer to settle Jews in German colonies creates a new situation in the international discussion of the colonial question.

The Führer says that even if he is willing to do so, he cannot do this to the German people. The German people would not understand that territories in which the blood of so many German heroes has been shed, in which the likes of Lettow-Vorbeck<sup>7</sup> fought, be made available to the worst enemies of the Germans.

Pirow accepts this.

Then the Führer interjects that South Africa cannot even understand that *South-West [Africa]*<sup>8</sup> should be returned to Germany.

Pirow says that since 1918 a great deal has changed in South Africa, and the country is thus ready for negotiations. 'We want Germany to receive exactly what it used to possess.' For South Africa, South-West [Africa] is a source of economic difficulties, as it is a great competitor. It also carries great military and political weight with South Africa, he says. South Africa does not want to engage in a war with Germany over South-West [Africa]. It prefers to make other territories available for Germany in exchange.

The Führer asks, what about *East Africa*.

Pirow states that East Africa is a country that, as a result of its internal relations, has already become part of the great swathe of territory of the white Africans, in a line from Abyssinia all the way down to the Cape. It is a community of *one* white master race vis-à-vis the blacks.

The Führer asks whether Germany would form an exception there.

Pirow: 'No and yes.' No, because Germany would naturally also assume and champion the view of the whites. Yes, because the Germans would surely be outside this community, as they would always be Germans first and Africans second, while the Africans feel independent.

Dropping the issue, the Führer says that all the governments have now committed themselves so firmly on the colonial question that it is useless to talk incessantly about it. One must raise it again in five or six years.

Then Pirow brings up the *refugee problem* as distinct from to the Jewish problem.

The Führer makes lengthy remarks about the refugee problem as he understands it. Germany, he says, has taken in 1.5 million refugees from the ceded territories. Owing to

7 Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck (1870–1964), general; participated in the suppression of the Herero and Nama revolts (1904–1907) in German South-West Africa (now Namibia); in 1918 was celebrated as a war hero for the defence of German East Africa in the First World War; in 1933 rejected the offer to become colonial minister.

8 South-West Africa was a German colony from 1884 to 1915. It was conquered in 1915 by troops of the Union of South Africa and placed at first under their military administration. In 1919 it was declared a mandate of the League of Nations and administered by South Africa.

their industriousness though, they are of service to the German people. The Jews [on the other hand] would not intend to work in East Africa. Instead, as guests, they would engage in trade.

Pirow says that the Führer underestimates the powerful position of Germany. He cannot even imagine what an enormous effect a gesture of some sort would have in the world. Some sort of concession to Chamberlain and Halifax would help them both tremendously. He needs only to say: 'Germany is prepared to cooperate; what proposals do you have?' That alone would have a great impact on the world.

The Führer replies that he is already familiar with these proposals.

Pirow points to world Jewry, which could solve the problem.

The Führer: By no means does world Jewry want the Jews to disappear from Europe. Rather, the world's Jews regard the Jews in Europe as outposts for the Bolshevization of the world. The Jews hate him, he says, because he has blocked the further Bolshevization of Europe.

Pirow opines that the Führer should see world Jewry and the National Socialists as being in opposition.

The Führer replies that he is simply exporting an idea. This idea is not National Socialism, for as long as other peoples fail to grasp this concept of strength and creative work, it means a tremendous strengthening of Germany. But he is exporting anti-semitism.

Pirow says that international Jewry will rejoice if, as a result of the Jewish question, discord is produced between France and England and the Führer and his people.

The Führer replies that every country is already reacting against the Jewish question.

Pirow is of the opinion that Chamberlain must change sides if the Jewish question is not solved.

The Führer opines that no war will break out over the Jewish question. But if it were to happen nonetheless, it would prove that England is governed by a mentality that does not want peace with Germany. One cannot overcome warmongering by engaging in accommodation. Germany has a world position today and is secure, and if England wants to undertake something against Germany, it can try to do so. The Führer would be prepared. If England builds up its arms, he will build up twice as many arms. If England trains 100,000 men in the air force, he will train 300,000. They will never catch up with him. If an Adolf Hitler had led Germany during the war, the war would not have been lost.

He says that he has fought a whole lifetime for German-English rapprochement. He wrote about this in his book *Mein Kampf*. He sent to England his best man, Ribbentrop, who, he knows, regarded German-English rapprochement as his life's work, but no man was more basely treated by England than he, the Führer. He has received nothing but blows to the jaw. Finally, with a heavy heart, he set about winding up his youth work when he realized that England was not willing. But England should not cherish any false hopes. Here, armament is confronted by armament. When Pirow speaks once again about Chamberlain and Halifax, the Führer says he has the impression that these two are walking a tightrope. Behind it are the true manipulators: the press and the opposition.

Pirow thinks that in London everyone knows that the press is not so important. Now, precisely before the new arms build-up, the time is ripe for rapprochement. The people want friendship with Germany. The Führer should put himself in the position of Eng-

land. England is the second nation in Europe today, Germany the first. The Führer should give England time to get used to that.

The Führer: If England had been clever, a relationship of the closest friendship could exist between England and Germany. Germany as the strongest military power in the world and England as the strongest maritime power in the world would [together] represent the most gigantic power in the world.

Pirow says that this all depends on the Führer, on a gesture [on his part] that the English people would understand. This would strengthen Chamberlain and Halifax in their position and enable them to turn this idea into reality.

DOC. 173

***Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 24 November 1938: article about the role of the Jews in German philosophy<sup>1</sup>**

*The Jews in German philosophy*

We continue here our series of articles about the role of Jewry in the world and in every intellectual and material sphere of life. It began with 'Hear, O Israel' (*DAZ*, no. 540),<sup>2</sup> Rathenau's warning to members of his race in 1897,<sup>3</sup> which we published in excerpts. Then, in issue 542, we published 'The Jew in England', interesting essays about the rejection of the Jews in England at the turn of the century.<sup>4</sup> This week's Monday editorial, too, titled 'A Disturbing Error', presented remarks about the topic.<sup>5</sup> A further illustration was the special report by our correspondent in Jerusalem, 'Martyrs in Palestine'.<sup>6</sup>

The article below deals with the role of the Jews in philosophy and explains the justifiable natural aversion of the Nordic person to the Jewish mindset.

The reorientation that has been carried out in every sphere of cultural life since the [National Socialist] takeover of power is an inexorable and necessary outgrowth of the central idea of *race*. It is a primary concern of the German spirit of our times, a spirit that is being formed anew, to trace in concrete terms the effect of the race factor in all

<sup>1</sup> 'Die Juden in der deutschen Philosophie', *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung (DAZ)* (morning edition), 24 Nov. 1938, p. 2. This document has been translated from German. The *DAZ* was published from 1918 in Berlin, from 1922 to 1944 twice daily nationwide, and from 1944 as a daily. The editor-in-chief from 1933 to 1943 was Dr Karl Silex. In 1938 it had a circulation of 58,300.

<sup>2</sup> 'Höre, Israel!', *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (evening edition), 18 Nov. 1938, pp. 1–2.

<sup>3</sup> Walther Rathenau (1867–1922), industrialist, politician, and writer; from 1899 head of AEG Berlin; in 1914–1915 head of the Raw Materials Department in the Ministry of War; in 1921 minister of reconstruction; in 1922 Reich minister of labour; murdered by right-wing extremists. In 1897 Rathenau published the article 'Hear, O Israel', in which he criticized the poor assimilation of those Jews who had arrived in Germany as immigrants from Eastern Europe. The goal of assimilation, he said, was 'not imitation Germanic peoples, but Jews of German character and upbringing'. On the treatment of Walter Rathenau under National Socialism, see Doc. 187, 1 Dec. 1938.

<sup>4</sup> 'Der Jude in England', *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (evening edition), 19 Nov. 1938, pp. 1–2.

<sup>5</sup> 'Ein störender Irrtum', *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (evening edition), 21 Nov. 1938, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> 'Märtyrer in Palästina', *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (evening edition), 22 Nov. 1938, pp. 1–2.

areas of intellectual activity and in the entities that inform them, in the interest of working out and clarifying what constitutes our own proper nature. The core of the guiding racial principle may be formulated in three propositions: first, it implies that 'mankind' or 'the human being' exists only in the abstract, that in reality only a rich diversity of different types of human beings, a multiplicity of race-determined groups, can be shown to exist. Second: this variety has its fundamental cause in hereditary factors, rather than in type-defining power of the surrounding world or of external environmental influences (such as upbringing, education, etc.). Third: 'race' includes, for example, not only the physical and corporeal domains of the human being, but also the spiritual and intellectual domains. And also that of the *intellectual*: the requirement that, as the examination of intellectual structures gains in depth, what we have in common must decrease and race-based differentiation must *increase* is thus a dictate that applies here as well, despite the validity, by no means denied, of universal human norms, functions, and laws.

It goes without saying that [undertaking] such an examination, thought through and consolidated into a science of race-determined physiognomies, forms, or modes of intellectual life, a science that still ranks among the desiderata of present-day mankind, does not constitute an easy task. For the general applicability of the results of certain intellectual activities – for example, those of science – or the symbolism of the language of philosophy, with its limited international comprehensibility, easily obscures the workings of blood and race. And the more 'abstract' the particular intellectual climate – as in science or philosophy – the greater the obscurement. There is a profound reason for this masking phenomenon: the racial aspect, so to speak, lies upstream from the historical aspect, which initially is the only one that can be directly grasped. And the process of understanding and then independently pursuing and shaping what was gained through understanding, a process that pervades the realm of the historical and of ideas that are passed on and operate beyond all borders, allows entities that grew in racially distinct breeding grounds to infuse each other in manifold ways.

What is more, the phenomenon of racial 'stylistic inconsistency', which was especially emphasized by L. F. Clauß<sup>7</sup> and which leads to particularly difficult questions, opens up the possibility that a race or racially determined personality 'leads a separate life', so to speak, from its internal law, vaults into the style of a different race, and there – if we may put it this way – leads an imitative life, forgetful of its real nature. It is obvious that this possibility exists particularly in the intellectual sphere, which is the sphere of communication through symbol-directed understanding. Thus, the removal of the implied multilayered masks and disguises is an undertaking that requires not only comprehensive factual knowledge but also a sensitive instinct and eye for the sublime quality of intellectual structures, forms, and styles. The fact that even an effort of the aforementioned sort, systematically controlled, aware of its task and aspiring to the conceptual clarity of a heavenly crystal bell, is contingent on designs that are intentionally cryptically floated and have their pre-rational origin in the sphere of existential decisions with

7 Ludwig Ferdinand Clauß (1892–1974), race theorist; criticized differentiation between races solely on the basis of anthropological characteristics and made a case for a psychology of race; he distinguished between various racial types; author of *Die nordische Seele* (1936).

the unyieldingness of absolute antagonism is no less an insight than a problem for philosophical contemplation.

The attempts, correlatively interrelated and fostering each other through this relatedness, that are made by present-day Germans' conceptions of themselves and of others – type awakens its own self-awareness in opposition to anti-type, and vice versa – have led to attacks, known only in part to the broader public, by National Socialist thought upon Jewish thought, particularly in the field of philosophy, which inherently has a close proximity to the ideological sphere. Such attempts have been made by various parties, sometimes in monographs, sometimes in more extensive contexts. When the various racial types take shape in various intellectual *styles of creativity*, it is evident that the renunciation of Jewish philosophizing focuses not on discovered facts, not on substantive results, achievements, and problems, but rather on problem selection, how the problem is approached and linked, and the style, the spirit, in which it is treated. The historical position that serves in each case as a link – whether it is called Philo, Maimonides, Spinoza, Cohen, Cassirer, Scheler, or Husserl – is of secondary importance to the qualities of Jewish thought that are assumed to be typical.

#### *The distortions of Jewish philosophizing*

The Nordic tendency to intellectual mastery of the subject from which that [Jewish] thought distances itself, a tendency associated with a strongly developed sense of space, thus sees itself in irreconcilable opposition to what one finds in the Jewish type: the disdain for the clear and graphic and the esteem of the abstract, the strong tendency to formalism and formalizations of various sorts. For the Nordic-Aryan type, however, the subject he wants to penetrate with a clarity and insightfulness linked to perception becomes invisible in the formalisms. The Germanic-German propensity towards unity sees itself destroyed when, for example, Cohen, the founder of the neo-Kantian school and the leading authority in German philosophy during the first decade of our century, overturns Kant's timeless understanding of the indissoluble affiliation of opinion and concept, discards the factor of opinion, and one-sidedly absolutizes that of concept. And the rejection escalates into the ethical and character-related when Cohen makes use of Kant's ethics and Plato's philosophy of the state in order to stabilize his own 'ethics of the pure will', misinterpreting both, combining antithetical types, such as that of the Platonic philosopher-ruler and that of the Jewish prophet, into one, and when he denies differences in moral force, becomes set against Nietzsche's teaching on the Superman and identifies the highest ethical ideals of mankind with the ideas of the Jewish religion, in particular those of the Jewish prophets. Here, National Socialist thought, aware of its duty to the law of realistic representation, sees a distortion and falsification of the true factual situations in the direction of the systematic as well as the historical. In such forcible distortions, it beholds a universal stigma of Jewish philosophizing: in that behaviour, it sees Moses Maimonides (around 1200) commit an offence against Aristotle, likewise Philo against Plato, who according to the former supposedly drew precisely upon Moses. And in the same way Aristobulus [of Paneas], around the middle of the second century BC, attempts in his explanation of the scriptures to represent ancient philosophy as the fulfilment of the theology of the Old Testament, not baulking at falsifications of the text.

*Not the problems but the inner stance of thought is decisive*

The key to philosophy of such a kind is found in the Jewish concept of law: the pre-existing (existing before the creation of the world) law (the Torah) is set by God Himself (the Talmud is the interpretation of the Torah, given by rabbis five hundred years after the Christian era began). The clear will to contravene the rigid law, growing from pressure to assimilate to the diaspora environment, is combined with a quibbling interpretative technique that justifies this will. The technique finds the possible ways of contravening the law already established in the law itself. The essence of this Talmudic thinking, formalism's disregard and stifling of concrete reality, is found by critics also in the areas of a logical use of method, for example, in Husserl's phenomenological 'intuition of essences' and its prerequisite, the famous 'bracketing' of reality. Pushing against a formalism that is hostile to metaphysics and simultaneously against a theory of fixed objects ('ideas' and 'essences') that negates the activity of thinking, as is seen in Husserl, National Socialist thought asserts the demand for a logic and ontology of the dynamic and organic (Meister Eckhart, Paracelsus, Nicholas of Cusa, Böhme, Hegel, Nietzsche). In a hostile attitude towards the rigid mechanism of Spinozist thought with the bias for the universal over the individual, unity over multiplicity, the infinite over the finite, being over becoming, essence over existence, the search goes on for a logic that does justice to reality and elevates a new unity of the universal and the individual to a principle, a logic of the contradiction and the unity of opposites in the totality of being.

The overcoming of Jewish philosophy by a philosophy in keeping with National Socialist ideology does not demand, of course, that, in philosophy, one should resort to a narrow restriction in the choice of topics and problems, one-sidedly showing preference for those that are expedient for National Socialism. On the contrary, the Nordic man, out of an inner hardening, revolts against what is narrow, encapsulated, and dogmatic, as is distinctly emphasized precisely by the National Socialists. It is not the topics or problems that are regarded as decisive, but rather the inner attitude with which the thinker approaches his work.

However, the racial homogeneity of thinker and people is indeed posited as the absolute prerequisite for interaction between those who create and those who use, and for the improvement in the culture of philosophical thinking that is dependent on this interaction. That is the deeper meaning of the unification of personnel and eradication of racially alien elements that have been carried out in this country in the realm of philosophy, too.

H. K.

## DOC. 174

**On 24 November 1938 the Relief Association of German Jews begins to organize the emigration of children to the Netherlands<sup>1</sup>**

Circular letter B no. 303 from the Relief Association of German Jews (Dr P/Schl.), signed Dr Prinz, to the advice centres in the Reich and the in-house case workers, Berlin, dated 24 November 1938

*Re: transportation of children to Holland.*

Through an interdenominational Dutch committee<sup>2</sup> that works very closely with the Jewish Committee in Amsterdam (Comité voor Joodsche Vluchtelingen),<sup>3</sup> there is an opportunity to send to Holland several hundred, probably even more than a thousand, children, whose subsequent migration to other destinations should be ensured as much as possible.

The greatest importance is attached to selecting the children on the basis of objective principles – thus, first of all the children at the greatest risk (for example, children whose apartment is not habitable or whose father is not there or who cannot remain in their present surroundings for other reasons).

According to the information we have at present, the children must be healthy. The age may range from 3 to approximately 17 years, with the older children regarded as the more urgent cases.

Pending further news, we suggest that in the short term you start to *gather the addresses* of such children as are particularly worthy of consideration for transport. In all likelihood, only children with German citizenship or stateless children who formerly were German citizens can be considered. It is also essential to determine whether and in what way *further migration* is ensured. The Relief Association will definitely assume the task of handling the journeys. We hope to be able to provide news in the next few days about similar measures for England and Holland.

1 CJA, 2A2, no. 17, vol. 1, circular letter B 303. This document has been translated from German.

2 The Kindercomité, founded in 1938, was headed by Truus Wijsmuller-Meijer. It helped 9,300 children emigrate from Germany or Austria. At least 700 were taken in by Dutch families; the others went on to emigrate to Britain. The closing of the borders in 1939 forced the committee to discontinue its work.

3 Correctly: Comité voor Joodse Vluchtelingen. Founded in March 1933, the Committee for Jewish Refugees soon developed into an institution with more than 100 paid workers, many of them refugees; the chairman was initially André Herzberger and later David Cohen, with the support of R. H. Eitje and Gertrud van Tijn. The committee took on financial guarantees and organized re-training programmes for refugees; in its work, it remained loyal to the Dutch government and its policy on refugees.

## DOC. 175

**On 24 November 1938 representatives of the Reich Ministry of Economics and the big banks discuss the complete dispossession of the Jews<sup>1</sup>**

Memorandum (Sch/Nw.) (marked 'confidential!'), signatures illegible, Berlin, dated 24 November 1938

*Discussion in the office of Ministerial Director Lange.<sup>2</sup>*

In today's meeting chaired by Mr Lange, which was attended by a number of gentlemen from the Ministry of Economics as well as representatives of the five big banks and, for the Reich Group, Dr Fischer,<sup>3</sup> Dr Pfeffer,<sup>4</sup> and also Dr Tewaag,<sup>5</sup> two questions were discussed.

*I. Steering loans.*

On this subject, Mr Lange explained that, given the well-known scarcity of capital, it is an unavoidable necessity to guide lending capital, too, solely into channels that could be recognized as crucial from the standpoint of national policy. The Reich Ministry of Economics, he said, realizes that the present overloading of the forces of both the labour market and the capital market has reached a peak that involves substantial dangers. Therefore, the department of Ministerial Director Lange is trying hard to bring about a control of the monetary aspect, and it has produced a position paper that is intended for the Plenipotentiary of the Four-Year Plan. Mr Lange envisioned developing guidelines for all credit institutions, which are mainly designed to specify the areas that would be regarded as worthy of support in monetary terms.

In banking terms, by contrast, it was pointed out that today, given the pressing demand for investment loans, the purpose of the loan is already being taken into account to quite a considerable degree by the lenders too, but that in the individual cases it is of course incredibly difficult to decide whether an investment ultimately needs to serve this or that purpose desired by the government, or whether it goes beyond those limits and moves more into the private sphere of an individual enterprise. Nonetheless, he said, the banks

<sup>1</sup> BArch, R 8136/3692. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Kurt Lange (1895–1990), retailer; joined the NSDAP in 1930; NSDAP member of the Hamburg parliament, 1931–1933; president of the Hamburg Court of Auditors, 1933–1936; ministerial director in the Reich Ministry of Economics, 1936–1940; member of the Reichsbank board of directors; in 1940 vice president of the Reichsbank and chairman of the supervisory board of numerous firms.

<sup>3</sup> Dr Otto Christian Fischer (b. 1882), lawyer and banker; from 1923 board member of Commerz- und Privat-Bank AG; from 1925 board member of the state-owned bank Reichs-Kredit-Gesellschaft; from 1934 head of the Reich Group of Banks in the Reich Chamber of Commerce; member of numerous supervisory boards; after 1945 whereabouts unknown.

<sup>4</sup> Correctly: Dr h.c. Karl Ludwig Pfeiffer (1874–1952), banker; from 1899 partner in the L. Pfeiffer Bank; chairman of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce in Kassel, 1923–1933; committee member of the Central Association of the German Banking and Finance Industry (Economic Group for Private Banking); in 1945 president of the Chamber of Commerce of Electoral Hesse (Kurahessen); member of numerous supervisory boards.

<sup>5</sup> Dr Carl Wilhelm Tewaag (1878–1971), lawyer and banker; member of the German National People's Party (DNVP), 1921–1931; joined the NSDAP in 1937; from 1924 co-owner of the Wm. Schlutow banking house in Stettin; managing director of the Central Association of the German Banking and Finance Industry, 1933–1945.

are grateful for an indication of the top priority areas. There was a request, however, that no 'guidelines' be issued here, as they could all too easily be interpreted at home and abroad as a credit squeeze. Instead, these points of view should be put to the banks, for example, in the form of recommendations or information. It was deemed especially important that the substance of this information should be brought to the attention of government and political authorities as well, in particular in the provinces, because it is precisely the credit requests made from there that frequently contain references to political imperatives that are obviously not among the urgent tasks designated by Mr Lange.

In that context, the increasing scarcity of equity capital in industry was touched upon. It was attributed predominantly to the removal of hidden assets. It became apparent that Mr Lange was completely sympathetic towards these reservations, but that, naturally, resistance – incidentally, also as regards the banks – is to be found within the Ministry of Finance.

## II.

Afterwards, the situation resulting from the *legislation pertaining to the Jews* was discussed. This concerns, first, the raising of the contribution of 1 billion [Reichsmarks], but in addition the transfer, decided upon by the Field Marshal,<sup>6</sup> of all assets in the form of land and securities from Jewish ownership to the state initially and later, perhaps, into private hands. The Reich Ministry of Economics, naturally, is also aware that the enormous block of securities that will be set in motion in this way signifies a grave danger for all German securities trading, and Mr Lange was of the opinion that provision must be made for this, and that the approximately 1½ billion in securities becoming available in this way must first be frozen somehow.

The situation is different for the securities resulting occasionally from the contribution of 1 billion; the Minister of Finance wishes these securities to be liquidated quickly. This amount is hard to estimate because a portion of the contribution will be paid in cash, but also by means of deduction when Jewish enterprises are Aryanized. Nonetheless, here too several hundred million will surely be left over.

The total amount of Jewish assets was estimated by Mr Lange at 7 billion. Definitive surveys are not yet available, however. Mr Lange envisaged employing the services of the Reich Bond Consortium<sup>7</sup> as a fiduciary for the sale of these securities, once a catalogue of all the assets has been compiled.

Mr Bandel<sup>8</sup> from Commerz-Bank proposed the establishment of a liquidation company, which on the one hand should accept all the securities at a rate to be set by the Ministry of Finance and on the other hand should issue 3 per cent bonds, with which

<sup>6</sup> The reference is to Hermann Göring.

<sup>7</sup> The Reich Bond Consortium (Reichsanleihe-Konsortium), founded in 1890, arose from the Prussian Bond Consortium (Preußenanleihenkonsortium), established in 1835. The consortium, which took decisions on Reich bonds, combined a large number of enterprises. On 1 Dec. 1938 the Reich Ministry of Finance informed the Deputy of the Führer that non-Aryan firms no longer belonged to the Reich Bond Consortium. Those Jewish banks that acted as consortia were Aryanized by the end of 1938.

<sup>8</sup> Eugen Bandel (1879–1948), banker; joined the NSDAP in 1933; from 1920 to 1932 partner in the Barmer Bank-Verein; board member of Commerz- und Privatbank and on the supervisory board of numerous firms.

the Jews then would have to pay their taxes etc., whereby in turn the question remained open as to how far and in what way the equivalent value of such partial debentures can be made available to them in cash to cover basic living costs.

Dr Mosler<sup>9</sup> spoke quite emphatically against the establishment of such a company, because he feared that the losses potentially arising upon exchange could in some way become a burden to the banks that would have to establish this company.

On the basis of Mr Lange's statements, this concern does not seem so crucial to me, because the Reich Ministry of Economics still takes the view, as of now at least, that *only* a *fiduciary* handling of the business by the banks can be considered. On the other hand, it was rightly pointed out that even a merely gradual sale of these packages in the near future would inevitably place a heavy burden on the entire securities market.<sup>10</sup>

Given the difficulty of the problem, Dr Fischer suggested arranging for a discussion of the question at first in a small group, in the offices of the Private Banking Professional Group, in order to find a reasonably tolerable formula, whereby a distinction must in all likelihood be made between the treatment of the securities that emerge for [the] contribution of 1 billion and all the rest of the tradable financial assets. This discussion will take place tomorrow afternoon at 4 p.m. at the Central Association.

Berlin, 24 November 1938.

DOC. 176

**Das Schwarze Korps, 24 November 1938: article about the annihilation of the Jews<sup>1</sup>**

*Jews, what now?*

*It is one of the characteristics of our rise and the others' fall that we learn from experience, and in fact learn eagerly, while the others do not.*

*The real but tactical friends of the Jews in the democracies, both those who govern and those who do not govern, both the godless and the Christians, are shouting today just as they have always done since 1933. Their insults are the same ones: they do not get beyond the word 'barbarians', which leaves us completely cold, because we know for sure which side had the better men in each case, every time zealously Christianizing priests or power-hungry Englishmen set out to teach the 'savages' the blessings of their 'faith' and their 'culture'.*

*Give it a rest!*

<sup>9</sup> Dr Eduard Mosler (1873–1939), lawyer and banker; from 1930 chairman of the Berlin Stock Exchange; from 1933 to 1939 board member of the Deutsche Bank und Disconto-Gesellschaft (after 1937 Deutsche Bank AG); committee member of the Central Association of the German Banking and Finance Industry, and on the supervisory board of numerous firms.

<sup>10</sup> A regulation enacted on 3 Dec. 1938 forced Jews to deposit their securities with the foreign exchange banks; in this way the feared loss on exchange was to be prevented by free sale of the securities: see Doc. 193, 3 Dec. 1938.

<sup>1</sup> 'Juden, was nun?', *Das Schwarze Korps: Zeitung der Schutzstaffeln der NSDAP. Organ der Reichsführung der SS*, no. 47, 24 Dec. 1938, pp. 1–2. This article has been translated from German. The weekly newspaper was published from March 1935 as the organ of the Reich leadership of the SS and edited by Gunter d'Alquen. It initially had a circulation of 70,000.

Their threats are the same ones – only they have not weighed much more than a card-board sword since the days of the Czech crisis.<sup>2</sup> And their arts of political blackmail are the same, when they declare that they now could not reach any peaceful agreement with Germany – just give it a rest, dear friends. Who among us does not know that you will always grant us only the peace that we wrest from you!

In 1933 and afterwards, we were still trusting and naive. When the so-called international public went wild because our ‘barbarity’ was preventing the Jews from abusing our wives and daughters, we were seriously dedicated to explaining the Jewish question, from the ground up, to the others – oh holy simplicity!<sup>3</sup> As if such a genuine democrat would have attached even the least importance to that!

What then is the reality? Neither Mr Roosevelt nor an English archbishop<sup>4</sup> nor any other prominent self-styled democrat would put his little daughter into the bed of a greasy Eastern Jew. But when it comes to Germany, all of a sudden they are not aware of any Jewish question, only of the ‘persecution of innocent people because of their beliefs’, as if we had ever been interested in what a Jew believes or does not believe.

The reality and truth is that these self-styled democrats are in fact very familiar with the Jewish question, that they – *just look at their immigration regulations and their fear of an influx of Jews* – even derive practical conclusions from their knowledge, but play dumb and ignorant whenever they think they can cause harm to Germany as a result.

Well, a few years ago that might still have surprised us. Today we perceive their shouting as a steady noise that no longer allows for escalation. The human ear, as is well known, hears only up to a certain frequency of vibration. Any sounds and noises of higher frequency produced above this limit are no longer audible. We have become immune to escalations in the great clamour of the world’s Jews.

From it, ordinary people derive a piece of wisdom about which there is no doubt. One hears this opinion at every turn. If we had solved the Jewish question totally and with the most brutal means in 1933, the outcry would not have been greater than it has continuously been since, when we are solving the Jewish question step by step, with individual measures, to which the Jews themselves and their friends force us. This opinion, in itself, is correct. It had to remain merely a theory, because at that time we lacked the *military* power that we *possess today*. In those days, the Jews might have succeeded in inciting the nations to wage a war of revenge against us; today, the worst democratic bawlers will think that [idea] over the longest.

*Because it is necessary, because we no longer hear the world’s clamour, and, finally, because no power in the world can keep us from doing it, we will therefore from now on bring the Jewish question to its total solution. The programme is clear. It is as follows:*

*complete expulsion, utter separation!*

What does this mean?

2 This refers to the tensions between Czechoslovakia and Germany in August and Sept. 1938 that preceded the Munich Agreement and the annexation of the Sudetenland.

3 The Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour enacted in Sept. 1935 prohibited marriage and sexual relations between Jews and non-Jews and also prohibited the employment of non-Jewish women under the age of 45 in Jewish households: see PMJ 1/199.

4 In the spring of 1938 the archbishop of Canterbury, Cosmo Gordon Lang, had intervened with British Home Secretary Sir Samuel Hoare to seek approval for the admission of Jewish refugees from Austria into Britain.

It means *not only* the exclusion of the Jews from the German economy, which they have brought about as a result of their murderous attack<sup>5</sup> and their warmongering and incitement to murder.

*It means much more!*

No German can be asked to live any longer under one roof with Jews, who are branded as a race of murderers and criminals and mortal enemies of the German people.

The Jews must therefore be driven out of our residential buildings and neighbourhoods and quartered in streets or city blocks, where they are among themselves and come into contact with Germans as little as possible. One must mark them and in addition deprive them of the right to possess homes and land or interests in such property, for a German cannot be asked to be under the control of a Jewish landlord and to support him by the work of his hands.<sup>6</sup>

#### *Towards criminality*

But in this isolation, the *parasitic race*, left to itself in every respect, will become impoverished, as it is neither willing nor able to do its own original work. Let the Jews still call billions their own today, let there still be many hundreds of millionaires among them, let the individual 'poor' Jew still have illicitly sold and concealed a sufficient amount, quite soon they will nonetheless have consumed their capital, because their lifeline of the parasite has been cut off.

And when we force the rich Jews to support the 'poor' members of their race, a measure that will prove necessary, they will all sink into criminality, in accord with their innermost, blood-determined genetic make-up.

But then let no one believe that we can watch this development calmly. The German people have not the least desire to tolerate within their realm hundreds of thousands of criminals who not only ensure their existence through crime *but also want to exact revenge!*

Least of all do we desire to see, in these hundreds of thousands of pauperized Jews, a breeding ground of Bolshevism and a receiving organization for the subhuman political criminals who are crumbling away at the margins of our own nationhood as a result of the natural selection process.

If we were willing to tolerate that, the outcome would be a conspiracy of the underworld, of the sort that may be possible and conceivable in America but certainly not in Germany.

At the stage of such a development, we would thus face the harsh necessity of stamping out the Jewish underworld just as we are accustomed to stamping out criminals in our orderly state: *with fire and sword*. The result would be the effective and final end of Jewry in Germany, its complete annihilation.

Anyone abroad who might now think that he could stop this – as one will concede – logical and *inevitable development* by additional monotonous shouting, by threats and extortion, proves only that he has learned nothing since 1933.

5 On the assassination of the German diplomat Ernst vom Rath by Hershel Grynszpan, see Doc. 121, 7 Nov. 1938, and Doc. 123, 7 and 9 Nov. 1938.

6 On the debate concerning the marking of the Jews, see Doc. 149, 14 Nov. 1938; on the separation of the Jews in so-called Jew houses (*Judenhäuser*), see Doc. 215, 28 Dec. 1938.

This is now the parting of the ways. Specifically, those who in their childlike, sentimental humanitarianism seriously want to do something good for the Jews must part from those to whom the Jewish question is merely the embodiment of their hostility towards everything German.

The democratic statesmen who honestly hold the fate of the Jews near and dear should now realize that, as they achieve nothing with mere scolding, they must make a real, *a positive contribution to the solution to the Jewish question*. And the others, who with sanctimonious slyness only want to use the Jews as a buffer against Germany, should now know that *their own nations will see through them* at the point when they continue to incite and rant instead of – taking action!

Any other possibility is now no longer conceivable.

### *We have no land left*

The Jews may have thus far persuaded the democrats and the democrats the Jews that this Hitlerite Germany cannot last much longer, and that, after all, things are never as bad as they seem. We have reason to assume that the latest development is putting an end to these foolish false hopes of poor simpletons. *Now it is time to hope less and do more!*

Germany itself is not able to solve its Jewish question outside Germany, for we possess nothing but this land, which we must free of Jews. The others, however, the much-heralded democracies, the world powers controlled partly by Jews and Freemasons and partly, at least, by non-Jews who sympathize with the Jews, have land aplenty at their disposal.

They have done nothing thus far to solve the Jewish question. Neither their laudable League of Nations nor their refugee conferences nor the countless pro-Jewish associations and committees have lifted a single finger to solve the Jewish question. And when we know here that America, for example, would be willing to take in 40,000 Jews or that England is contemplating the shipment of 25,000 Jews to Guyana,<sup>7</sup> it is all the more proof that they are not thinking of doing anything, for 40,000 Jews are as good as nothing.

The democracies have thus far been too cowardly themselves even to admit that there is a Jewish question. They continue to speak only of 'German', 'Austrian', 'Czechoslovak' refugees, as if these refugees were really Germans or Czechs and not simply Jews, Jews who, wherever they come from, whether from Germany, the old Czechoslovakia, Italy, Poland, Hungary, Romania, or somewhere else, are simply Jews and therefore conceivably unwelcome in those countries.

The cause of this phenomenon is known; we have already described it clearly enough in this publication: the Jews themselves do not wish there to be any talk of a Jewish question, much less any solution to a Jewish question. For two reasons:

<sup>7</sup> British Guyana had long been under consideration as an area to settle Jewish refugees, particularly after the onset of the Arab unrest in Palestine. On 24 Nov. 1938 the British prime minister, Neville Chamberlain, described British Guyana as better suited for the settlement of whites than any other British or French colony: A. J. Sherman, *Island Refuge: Britain and Refugees from the Third Reich, 1933–1939*, 2nd edn (Ilford: Frank Cass, 1994), p. 207.

*Incapable of forming a state*

First – because they themselves know best that, as a nation of parasites, they are unable to form a state and in a Jewish state would very soon devour each other.

Second – because they know just as well that the existence of a real Jewish state – Palestine is only an English invention of convenience – would induce all the host peoples to shunt ‘their’ Jews to the very same place.

But these thoroughly negative scruples, stemming from the parasitic nature of the Jews, cannot be very significant if those non-Jews who sympathize with the Jews seriously want to solve the Jewish question. For those who are pro-Jewish doubt in fact that the Jews are parasites; and if the Jews are not parasites, the resistance offered by the Jews themselves to the creation of a Jewish state is also pointless.

Thus, anyone who opens his mouth to intercede for the Jews must, in the same breath, demand and engage in the creation of a Jewish state, for only through and in a Jewish state outside Germany can the ‘German’ Jews be saved from the ruin that surely threatens them otherwise.

The United States of North America *and above all the British Empire* are large enough to provide living space at some place in the world for the 20 million Jews who *allegedly* exist in the world. Whether this promised land is then called Kenya or Alaska or Nebraska or something else, whether the French offer up Madagascar or the Australians a portion of their unpopulated continent<sup>8</sup> – it is absolutely of no concern to us. But the Jews should not be settled in our colonies, and that would not be in their interest, either, because later they would undoubtedly come flying out of those places just as out of Germany.

*We would rejoice*

No one would welcome the creation of a Jewish state as much as we would. For even if we are ‘barbarians’, this peaceful solution is one we prefer to the other one to which we would otherwise be forced. Admittedly, in the struggle against criminality of any kind, we certainly recognize no sentimentality. But we are very well aware what it costs in terms of money and labour to guard hundreds of thousands of criminals, to lock them up in camps and feed them.

In addition, however, there is one thing the friends of the Jews must realize: the solution to the Jewish question is urgent, and in fact not only for the reasons that lie within Germany, *but also for quite universal reasons.*

If the Jews today still possess 7 billion Reichsmarks in Germany alone, where they allegedly are so downtrodden and robbed, then one can imagine that the Jews all over the world must have enormous assets at their disposal, certainly exceeding the total assets of the Germans or the French or the English.

<sup>8</sup> After the November pogroms, relief organizations, the governments of the major countries of refuge, and the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees (IGCR), founded in Evian, increasingly discussed settlement options for Jewish refugees from the German Reich. In part, the debate drew on older projects such as the Madagascar Plan. Committees were sent out to examine the settlement prospects of regions that had not been previously considered, including Alaska, Kenya, and Australia.

That means: the Jews would still be perfectly capable today of erecting a Jewish state with their own resources, building towns, villages, settlements, ports, railways, and streets, in short, financing the necessary work for a colonization of such magnitude. Presumably it would not even be any trouble for them.

In a few years, however, that can look quite different. In a few years, Germany will by no means be the only country that fends off the Jews. The needful and time-proven measures of Germany will become popular, in short – in a few years the Jews perhaps will no longer be financially able to set up a Jewish state, let alone a Jewish state that must then take in not only the ‘German’ Jews but, all at once, all the Jews or at least the European Jews.

*Please bear this in mind!*

*Actually, it is irrelevant to us what happens or does not happen a few years from now, because it is indeed beyond doubt that by then we will have solved our Jewish question, and solved it completely. Let it not be said, however, that we were not willing to make constructive contributions to the solution of international problems.*

*Especially with regard to the Jewish question, we have much to offer: a good example and a rich treasure trove of experience!*

DOC. 177

**On 25 November 1938 Ernst Englander reports from London on the situation of German Jews and asks that possible relief campaigns be considered in the USA<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from Ernst Englander to an unknown recipient, dated 25 November 1938 (copy)<sup>2</sup>

I had to go to Germany for the weekend, and flew there and back, leaving Babs with some good friends of ours in the country near London. I went to Berlin as I am not as well known there as I am in Hamburg, and prefer to have my mother meet me in Berlin.

Upon my return here I sent you a long cable as per copy enclosed,<sup>3</sup> trying to give you a picture of the situation. Unfortunately, my cable reads probably like any other report which you see in the newspapers daily. It simply comes down to the point that words cannot express the misery which exists in Germany today. All that you may read is definitely under statement. Outside of seeing my mother, I saw a large number of people who are actively trying to solve the problem, and so I received quite an insight into the situation.

The problem of the individual is of minor importance by comparison with the plight of the entire Jewish community. The problems of the immediate members of my own family are my own, and will have to be solved by me personally at, and beyond, any financial sacrifice that I can afford. That, however, leaves the distress of the masses that can only be taken care of by those people who can afford to part with hundreds and thousands of dollars without affecting their mode of living, and fortunately there are quite a few such in the United States.

1 JDC Archives, AR 33/44, p. 632. The original document is in English.

2 According to a handwritten note on the original, a copy of the letter with slight changes was sent to the lawyer Ralph Wolf (1880–1951).

3 The cable is not in the file.

To inject a personal note and give you an example that you will, no doubt, believe and appreciate, I want to tell you the following. My own brother was looked for by the Gestapo (Nazi police) at his own apartment. Fortunately, he was out and forewarned. He then went to my mother's into hiding, and when they looked for him there, he was moved on to some American friends of his. The police looked for him there as well, so he was hounded from place to place like a man who had committed a murder. He then told my mother that he could not stand it any longer, and that he was going to give himself up. With the greatest amount of persuasion my mother insisted that he continue to avoid arrest, and after this kept up for another day, he had the inevitable breakdown which affected his nerves and kidneys. One tried to get a doctor but all the Jewish doctors had been arrested themselves, and finally a Gentile doctor was called in, who seemed quite sympathetic, and made the remark that the condition my brother was in by then was quite understandable, and that he would have to be taken to a hospital whether he wanted to or not. They tried to take him to the General Hospital in Hamburg but after waiting for half an hour [he] was refused admission as they don't treat Jews there. So he finally landed at the Jewish hospital where he is now.

Other men whom I know intimately, either friends or first and second cousins, are similarly hiding in the coal cellars and other places either in their own homes or in other people's, where nobody ever answers any doorbells, and never turns on a light, thus pretending that they are not home. Of course, these are only isolated cases, as the vast majority is in concentration camps. A friend of mine whom I only saw in Hamburg a few weeks ago, a father of six children, was arrested out of bed at 3 a. m., and mind you, I know only the stories of those few whose names mean something to me, whereas, there are thousands of others in the same misery.

The man in Berlin, Dr. Beck,<sup>4</sup> who is working for the cause, and not arrested merely because he is over 65, was crying bitterly when he told me of the fate of some of the people in the concentration camps. Of course, the Germans want the Jews to get out, and they are all willing to leave every penny or piece of furniture they own behind, but the difficulty is that every country restricts the immigration, that the process is so despairingly slow. Dr. Otto Hirsch, by the way a nephew of our Mr. Hirsch, Sr., a co-worker of Dr. B[a]eck and being only about 50, has been arrested and is currently at the Oranienburg concentration camp.<sup>5</sup> Those few who have their emigration papers in order and are, therefore, able to leave, are released by the German authorities. Before leaving the camps, however, they are made to sign under oath that they will not disclose any of the goings on at the camp. Nevertheless, such men are the source of information for Dr. B[a]eck. When I told the latter that I was going to see Mrs. Otto Hirsch he told me that actually the life at the camp was dreadful and the sufferings are not only comparable to the Middle Ages but as far back as Egypt when our people were made to work with a whip behind them. He asked me not to tell Mrs. Hirsch as she was under the impression that it was not too bad.

The courage of the women is really incredible, and most admirable. This is demonstrated by a first cousin of mine whose husband is in a concentration camp, and who has a baby two years old and is shortly expecting another one. The two daughters of

<sup>4</sup> Correctly: Dr Leo Baeck.

<sup>5</sup> The author means Sachsenhausen concentration camp near Oranienburg.

Otto Hirsch, I would say about 16 and 14, were playing the piano and cello when we called there. Mrs. Hirsch was out seeing a man who had just been allowed out of Oranienburg as he had his immigration papers. When she returned she was quite cheerful because her husband had sent her regards and because she was given the impression that her husband was quite well.

The Rabbi of Frankfort<sup>6</sup> either died or was killed in the camp.<sup>7</sup> A cousin of mine who is here in London told me that he received word that his wife's uncle, a man of nearly 65, and a cousin of about 40 had both died at the camp.

When you read this and when you pass it on to your friends, I only wish that you will all try and understand what type of men are being thus persecuted. The Rabbi of Frankfort, and in other cities, is a man like Jonah Wise.<sup>8</sup> Dr. Otto Hirsch is a man like Ben Bittenweiser,<sup>9</sup> Louis Grumbach<sup>10</sup> and you yourself. He had done nothing but try to work for the welfare of the others and has devoted all his time to the solution of the problem. Fritz Warburg, Felix's brother, met a similar fate.<sup>11</sup> He, too, is a man like any respectable member of the community in New York. In fact, like his brother Felix, himself. That is why I signed my cable, 'there but for the Grace of God go we'.<sup>12</sup>

I know your interest and the work you have done for the community at large, and this is such an urgent and frightful problem that it requires men to drop their work and devote their time to help the others. Many outstanding men in Europe have done so. I have seen such men in Amsterdam and here in London, – they don't even deserve or ask for any credit for it, and they are merely doing their duty.

As the laws of America do not permit wholesale immigration, it seems that the least that should be done is to supply the European committees with funds, amounting to virtually millions of dollars, I believe the Joint Distribution Committee knows of this and is trying [its] best, but having been an eye-witness for a few hours I wanted to support their efforts by giving you my part of the story. I could write on and on and still

6 The author is referring to Frankfurt an der Oder.

7 The author means Curtis Emanuel Cassell (b. 1912), liberal rabbi in Frankfurt an der Oder; emigrated to Britain in 1939.

8 Jonah Bondi Wise (1881–1959), rabbi; from 1925 rabbi at the Central Synagogue in New York City; national chairman of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC); editor of the *American Israelite*.

9 Probably Benjamin Joseph Bittenweiser (1900–1992), investment banker; in the US Navy, 1932–1949; assistant United States high commissioner to Germany, 1949–1951; president of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies.

10 Probably Louis J. Grumbach (1874–1952), businessman and banker; worked at the investment bank Speyer & Co., 1919–1939; director of the American Lead Pencil Co., 1939–1941; a leading member of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies in New York; treasurer of the United Hebrew Charities and of the National Jewish Welfare Board.

11 Fritz Warburg (1879–1964), lawyer; emigrated in May 1938 from Hamburg to Sweden; returned in the autumn of 1938 to Hamburg; in Gestapo custody at the beginning of 1939; in May 1939 returned to Sweden; later emigrated to Palestine: see Doc. 274, 18 April 1939. Felix M. Warburg (1871–1937), banker; relocated to New York in 1895; partner at the investment bank Kuhn, Loeb & Co., 1897–1937; partner at M. M. Warburg & Co., 1914–1917.

12 The English reformer John Bradford apparently uttered the words 'But for the grace of God there goes John Bradford!' in 1550 when he saw a group of prisoners being led to their execution while he himself was imprisoned in the Tower of London.

add nothing. The Committees here are doing a wonderful job and I was told in Amsterdam that an Aryan college professor who has an annual income of 7,000 Guilders, had donated 5,000. Altogether, there are large numbers of non-Jewish contributors.

Children have arrived at the Dutch border, and thanks to the efforts of the Dutch committee have found a home in Holland, and England.<sup>13</sup> I was told by an eye-witness that those children were let out of Germany with a noose around their necks, and that you can still see the marks of same. There is a persecution mania in Germany, and these people just have to be taken out unless one wants to stand by while they are either being killed or dying as a consequence of their sufferings. Could you visualize, travelling in the *Queen Mary* or the *Normandie*<sup>14</sup> and to see a small boat in distress and to stand by idle and watch the spectacle, while the passengers of the small boat are drowning? It is not sufficient to throw these people lifebelts. The boats have to be let down and everybody has to take a hand.

As I said to you in my wire, the burning of synagogues and the ruining of shops and the breaking of glass windows, quite a lot of which I saw with my own eyes, are coincidental. The amendment of the Abortion paragraph, which is the latest concoction in Germany, viz., that it is no longer illegal for Jewish women to have abortions<sup>15</sup> because there is no interest in the procreation of the Jewish race, is also merely a joke by comparison with everything else that I have seen and heard.

Do you think it is feasible that American Jewry should acquire a large 1000-acres estate somewhere in an unpopulated part of the States and make a human training camp out of it, supported by American Jewry, where some 50,000–100,000 children up to a certain age could be brought to learn and live as human beings? Of course, they would have to come outside of the Quota, and be restricted to stay there for five or ten years until they could be gradually absorbed into the Quota, and gradually released into different parts of the country, as, if and when the first avalanche of immigration has subsided. This is merely an idea which occurred to me as a possible solution to a problem which is occupying all our minds.<sup>16</sup>

I hope that my cable to you as well as this letter, if you choose to do so, will find its way to the hands of people who will let the lifeboats down and take a hand in an emergency that has not existed since the Russian and Polish pogroms, and I don't know whether those were quite as bad.

Devotedly yours

13 See Doc. 174, 24 Nov. 1938.

14 Between 1936 and 1967 the *Queen Mary* sailed for the Cunard Line on the route Southampton, Cherbourg, New York; the *Normandie* sailed for the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique between Le Havre and New York.

15 The so-called Abortion Paragraph (§ 218) of the Criminal Code was not amended between 1926 and 1943. It is possible that Englander is referring to specific cases in jurisprudence. The amendment to the Criminal Code according to which abortions would go unpunished in the case of race defilement was never passed.

16 In Feb. 1939 the Democratic senator Robert F. Wagner and the Republican congresswoman Edith Nourse Rogers drafted a bill that would allow 20,000 children aged 14 and under entry to the USA from the German Reich – this number would not be counted against the quota of 27,000 persons allowed to emigrate from Germany to the United States each year. After lengthy discussions, the draft was amended so that the immigration of the children was included in the national quota. Wagner subsequently withdrew the draft.

## DOC. 178

**On 26 November 1938 a local branch of the NSDAP in Berlin  
denounces a pharmacist who employs a Jew<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the NSDAP Gau of Greater Berlin (O/Bgt.), head of the local branch, unsigned, Kreis V, Markgraf Local Branch, 84 Markgrafenstraße, Berlin SW 68, to Berlin Police Headquarters, Department V, dated 26 November 1938 (copy)<sup>2</sup>

Re: 'Golden Stag' Pharmacy

Owner: Hans Winkel,<sup>3</sup> 74 Lindenstrasse, Berlin SW 68.

I am in receipt of a report, confirmed by observations, stating that the aforementioned pharmacy owner still employs the previous Jewish owner, Meyer,<sup>4</sup> or his son as a salaried pharmacist in his pharmacy. Upon being summoned, the pharmacist Winkel states that he has received verbal permission from the Ministry of Economics to continue employing Jews in view of the shortage of suitable Aryan manpower. Winkel was unable to provide any written notification or written confirmation of this.

Because the German Volksgenossen living in my local branch area are no longer willing to continue being served by the Jew Meyer, there is a danger that, without my wishing it, the Volksgenossen will let themselves get carried away and engage in independent actions unless the Jew Meyer disappears from the pharmacy within one week. I explained to Winkel, the pharmacy owner, that, in order to prevent this, I would have to have his pharmacy shut down by the police, after first contacting the nearby pharmacies with regard to taking over the night duty. Winkel promised me that he intends to take care of the matter by 1 December 1938.

In addition, I have been in touch with the German Pharmacists' Association, Berlin-Brandenburg District, in this regard. The information I received from the business manager there, Dr Weber, about the pharmacy owner Winkel was downright catastrophic.

Winkel is said to have previously owned a pharmacy in Düsseldorf and to have left Düsseldorf, leaving debts in his wake. It must be assumed that the subsequent purchase of the 'Golden Stag' Pharmacy, 74 Lindenstr., Berlin SW 68, from the Jew Meyer is a downright fiddle. Proof: when one buys a pharmacy in the normal way, one is also able to boot out the previous Jewish owner. In addition, when questioned by me on the 24th of this month, Winkel declared that he intended to buy the building, which also belongs to the Jew Meyer. Here the question arises again as to how a pharmacy owner who is in debt is in a position 'to buy' the building of a Jew.

1 LAB, B Rep. 012 Nr. 580, fol. 76r-v; excerpts in Frank Leimkugel, *Wege jüdischer Apotheker* (Frankfurt am Main: Govi, 1991), pp. 63-64. This document has been translated from German.

2 The copy survives in the letter from the Berlin chief of police, Department V, dated 23 Jan. 1939, to the Regierungspräsident in Düsseldorf. The original contains handwritten abbreviations and a receipt stamp.

3 Hans Alfred Winkel (b. 1889), pharmacist; owner of the Flora Pharmacy in Düsseldorf, 1926-1928.

4 Gertrud Meyer, née Ehrlich (1879-1942), sold her pharmacy in 1937 to Hans Winkel, but initially remained the nominal owner. She was deported to Riga on 26 Oct. 1942 and murdered there on 29 Oct. 1942.

In addition, I also doubt the political reliability of the pharmacy owner Winkel, because, on the occasion of the publicity drive for the NSDAP's *Der Schulungsbrief*,<sup>5</sup> he informed the block leader in charge that he (Winkel) had been educated enough and did not need the *Schulungsbrief*.

I therefore think it is appropriate to request a political evaluation from the relevant residential group, *Oliva*,<sup>6</sup> in which Winkel resides (1 Bregenzer Strasse). I request that you attend to the matter, and at the same time am informing you that I have sent copies of this letter to the German Pharmacists' Association – Berlin-Brandenburg District – and to the district mayor of the Kreuzberg Administrative District – Public Health Authority – for appropriate use.

Heil Hitler!<sup>7</sup>

DOC. 179

**On 25 and 26 November 1938 Cornelius von Berenberg-Gossler learns about the conditions of confinement in Sachsenhausen concentration camp<sup>1</sup>**

Diary of Baron Cornelius von Berenberg-Gossler, Hamburg, entries for 25 and 26 November 1938

*Friday, 25 Nov.*

Rosenmeyer from the Calmann Bank visits me, his head shaven; he comes from the Oranienburg detention camp;<sup>2</sup> completely innocent, he was held prisoner there for weeks, simply because he is a Jew. He slept with 150 prisoners on straw, squashed next to others, so that he was unable to lie on his back. Forced labour on a canal construction project supervised by criminals; SS men also were sometimes vile.<sup>3</sup> In the rooms they were under the watch of communists, usually educated people, who were very nice to them. In Oranienburg there are 14,000 prisoners, 6,000 of them Jews. Barbaric conditions under this damned Hitler regime! May God rid us of this regime; that is something all decent Germans must wish for. – Breakfast in the patriotic building. In the park and surrounding area before [d]inner. In the evening Nadia has eleven guests, who sing un-

<sup>5</sup> *Der Schulungsbrief: Das zentrale Monatsblatt der NSDAP*: a monthly magazine for political education issued by the NSDAP Reichsleiter for organizational affairs.

<sup>6</sup> The reference is to Olivaer Platz in Berlin.

<sup>7</sup> In response to his inquiry of 23 Jan. 1939 to the Regierungspräsident in Düsseldorf, the Berlin chief of police was informed on 6 Feb. 1939 that Winkel's pharmacy in Düsseldorf had been sold at a foreclosure auction in 1928. Under pressure from the NSDAP, Winkel finally stated that, as of 1 Dec. 1938, he no longer employed Rudolf Meyer. On 30 Nov. 1939 Gertrud Meyer's lawyer filed an action to evict the debtor Hans Winkel. On 15 March 1940 Günther Arndt acquired the pharmacy, which was still in his possession as of 1955. A compensation claim filed by the heirs of Gertrud Meyer, including Rudolf Meyer, who was temporarily employed by Winkel, ended in the 1950s in a settlement totalling 20,000 marks: LAB, B Rep. 012 Nr. 580, fols. 123 and 143.

<sup>1</sup> Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 622-1/9 Familie Berenberg, submitted in 1992, Tagebuch v. Cornelius Berenberg-Gossler 1938. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> The author means Sachsenhausen concentration camp.

<sup>3</sup> The satellite camp for the brickworks was erected in the wooded area along the Hohenzollern Canal (now the Oder-Havel Canal) between Lake Grabow and Lake Lehnitz. The construction site was particularly dreaded among prisoners due to the working conditions.

der the direction of Mrs Meyer-Seelig. A delightful evening; there is even singing at the table (Mendelssohn). I sit between Mrs Fertsch and Mrs Andreae. A great deal of rain today. German Minister of Foreign Affairs von Ribbentrop will, as officially announced, travel to Paris in a few days to sign a German–French agreement similar to the German–English one (?)<sup>4</sup> English Prime Minister Chamberlain and his minister of foreign affairs, Lord Halifax, were in Paris to discuss, it is said, primarily joint armaments issues with the French minister.

*Saturday, 26 Nov.*

Breakfast in the afternoon in Niendorf. A long time in the park; rain at times. Tita comes to dinner. Almost everyone talks about the unbelievably vile treatment of the Jews, who are being locked up and robbed. ‘What good will it be for someone to gain the whole world, yet forfeit their soul[?]’<sup>5</sup> I keep thinking of this biblical saying. What are all Hitler’s successes and conquests beside these brutish meannesses, which fill all decent people in the whole world with disgust? Better a small, decently run state than a huge empire of the sort Germany is today, without justice and decency, with a government of ‘thieves and murderers’. What an education for the public, which Hitler has brought together through hatred. In France a general strike is announced for Wednesday to protest against the new austerity measures of the Daladier government.

DOC. 180

***Schlesische Zeitung*, 27 November 1938: article about the discriminatory legislation for *Mischlinge*<sup>1</sup>**

*The rights of the Jewish Mischlinge*

*A summary of the applicable legal regulations*

In connection with the *new legislation pertaining to Jews* in the Reich, the law applicable to the *Jewish Mischlinge*, who are *not affected* by these new measures, is also significant. This body of law has been summarized by the Racial Policy Office of the NSDAP, with the following specific results:

Mischlinge with two fully Jewish grandparents are classed as Mischlinge of the first degree, while those with one fully Jewish grandparent are Jewish Mischlinge of the second degree. Jewish Mischlinge of the first and second degree have provisional Reich citizen status. They can display the Reich and national flag and also employ the Hitler salute. Special provisions have been issued for the marriage of Jewish Mischlinge. While Jewish Mischlinge of the first degree who are citizens require the permission of the Reich

4 Question mark in the original. In the Franco-German Declaration (6 Dec. 1938), the governments of both countries proclaimed their interest in good-neighbourly relations and the preservation of peace: *Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik 1918–1945*, series D: 1937–1945, vol. 4, pp. 409–410.

5 New Testament, Matthew 16:26.

1 GStA PK, XVII. HA 967/126. This document has been translated from German. The *Schlesische Zeitung* was published in Breslau from 1848 to 1945. In 1931 it had a circulation of 3,400 copies.

Minister of the Interior and the Deputy of the Führer to marry persons of German blood or Jewish Mischlinge of the second degree, Jewish Mischlinge of the second degree can marry persons of German blood without further ado. Marriage should not be contracted between Jewish Mischlinge of the second degree, but marriage between a foreign Jewish Mischling of the second degree and a Jewish Mischling of the second degree who is a German subject is permissible. Jewish Mischlinge of the first degree can marry each other without obtaining authorization, and they can also marry a Jew without obtaining permission. In the latter case, however, the Mischlinge are then considered to be Jews, just as a Mischling of the first degree who avows himself a Jew by his religion is a Jew.

Jewish Mischlinge cannot be members of the Party or its organizations. Further, they cannot belong to the National Socialist Association of Legal Professionals, the National Socialist Association of Physicians, the National Socialist Association of Teachers, the Reich League of German Civil Servants, National Socialist Welfare Organization for War Victims, and the National Socialist German Technicians'. They can, however, become members of the German Labour Front and the National Socialist People's Welfare Organization, but they may not hold offices in these two organizations. In the German Labour Front, Jewish Mischlinge can also not be members of the work squads.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, they can take part in Strength through Joy events. Jewish Mischlinge cannot be members of the Reich Veterans' League. With respect to the Reich Federation for Air Raid Protection, membership is precluded only for Mischlinge of the first degree; Mischlinge of the second degree, however, can hold office only with special permission. Technical Emergency Aid, the Reich Colonial League, and the clubs and associations affiliated with the Reich League for Physical Exercise do not admit Jewish Mischlinge. Jewish Mischlinge can, in principle, obtain membership of other clubs and associations, particularly cooperative societies. However, if corresponding provisions of the articles have expressly been approved by the relevant authorities after enactment of the Nuremberg Laws, Jewish Mischlinge cannot be members.

Jewish Mischlinge cannot become civil servants or even spouses of civil servants. If the spouse is a Mischling of the second degree, an exception can be allowed. Further, Jewish Mischlinge cannot be farmers. For admission to the medical profession, the Reich Physicians' Leader has specifically decided that in the near future no Jewish Mischling may be appointed as a physician, nor may a German who is married to a Jewess or to a Mischling be appointed. Jewish Mischlinge of the first and second degree are permitted to be pharmacists. However, in future they also cannot become lawyers. Admission to the legal profession presupposes passing the bar exam, which is preceded by three years of employment in the judicial administration and thus as a civil servant, so that Jewish Mischlinge are already excluded from the legal profession by virtue of the Civil Service Law. Further, Jewish Mischlinge cannot become either editors or newspaper publishers. Jewish Mischlinge can, as an exception, be members of the Reich Chamber of Culture in some circumstances.

Jewish Mischlinge of the first and second degree must carry out their Labour Service duty. However, they cannot become supervisors in the Reich Labour Service. The same rule applies to the performance of compulsory service in the Wehrmacht and duty in the

<sup>2</sup> It was the task of the German Labour Front (DAF) work squads to ensure that National Socialist principles were practised and accepted by the personnel and that output increased.

Air Raid Protection Service. In the case of compulsory duty in the Air Raid Protection Service, however, Jewish Mischlinge can also be deployed, as an exception, in roles where they are authorized to issue orders, if this is necessary for protection of their person or property. Jewish Mischlinge can readily learn a trade without being subject to any restrictions. They are required to belong to the relevant guild. Jewish Mischlinge of the first and second degree can attend German institutions of higher education, too. Likewise, they are not subject to any restrictions when attending other forms of schooling.

*No child discount for Jews, also when it comes to the poll tax.* The Reich government has passed a law to amend the Poll Tax Law, which, in addition to formal changes, primarily stipulates for the poll tax, too, the principle that the discount for children is not granted for children who are Jews.<sup>3</sup> A corresponding regulation has been made for the tax treatment of widowed or divorced persons whose household includes a minor. If this child is Jewish, these persons are regarded in future as single for tax purposes. The law, which does not yet pertain to Austria and the Sudetenland, will first be applied to the poll tax for the calendar year 1939.

## DOC. 181

**Hedwig Jastrow, age 76, takes her own life on 29 November 1938  
so as not to have to bear the compulsory forename<sup>1</sup>**

Handwritten letter by Hedwig Jastrow,<sup>2</sup> Berlin, dated 28 November 1938

If only no one would undertake any attempts to resuscitate someone who does not want to live! It is neither an accident nor an attack of depression. Someone is leaving this life whose family has had German citizenship for over a hundred years, following an oath, and whose family has always kept this oath.

For forty-three years I have taught German children and cared for them during all kinds of hardships, and for even longer I have carried out welfare work for the German nation in times of war and peace.

I do not want to live without a fatherland, without a homeland, without an apartment, without civil rights, ostracized and reviled. And I want to be buried with the name my parents gave to me and bequeathed to me – a name which is unblemished.<sup>3</sup> I do not want to wait until a stigma is attached to it.

Every convict, every murderer, retains his name. It is an outrage!

3 First Law on Changes to the Poll Tax Law, 31 Oct. 1938, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, p. 1543.

1 LAB, A Pr.Br. Rep. 030-03/1953; published in English translation in Christian Goeschel, 'Suicides of German Jews in the Third Reich', *German History*, vol. 25, no. 1 (2007), pp. 22–45, here p. 29. This document has been retranslated from the original German.

2 Hedwig Jastrow (1862–1938), teacher and headmistress; poisoned herself with coal gas in her apartment in the Wilmersdorf district of Berlin on 29 Nov. 1938.

3 From 1 Jan. 1939 female Jews had to assume the additional forename Sara and male Jews the forename Israel, unless they already had a forename that was regarded by the Reich Ministry of the Interior as typically Jewish: see Doc. 84, 17 August 1938.

## DOC. 182

**On 29 November 1938 the SS Security Service reports that the Gestapo Central Office has ordered all Jewish organizations to merge into a single body<sup>1</sup>**

Report of SD II 112 (Hg/Be), Hagen, dated 29 November 1938<sup>2</sup>

*Daily reports*

1. A transport that left the territory of the Reich at the beginning of this m[onth] with Liberia as its fictitious destination was equipped in the Mediterranean with weapons, according to absolutely reliable reports, with the agreement of British authorities. All persons on the transport are being landed in Palestine.

(Main District Danube II 112)

2. The Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Vienna has raised the daily quota to 600 persons, absolutely all of whom already have the opportunity to emigrate.

3. On 28 November in the Gestapo Central Office, the department heads of the Reich Representation of Jews in Germany were instructed as follows: by Monday, 5 December, they must make a practicable proposal for the centralization of all Jewish organizations to form a single body.

All the office premises of the Reich Representation were reopened, so that they could carry out their task.<sup>3</sup>

## DOC. 183

**On 29 November 1938 the auditor Max Joseph asks the regional tax director in Berlin for permission to take furnishings with him to Australia<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the auditor Dr Max Joseph,<sup>2</sup> unsigned, to the regional tax director in Berlin (Foreign Exchange Office), dated 29 November 1938 (carbon copy)

*Re: shipping of emigrants' household goods.*

According to the Circular Decree of the Reich and Prussian Minister of Economics 38/38<sup>3</sup> DST,<sup>4</sup> 13 May 1938, I submit in the enclosure (in triplicate) a list of the items I propose to take with me on the occasion of my emigration to Australia, and request permission for shipment.<sup>5</sup>

1 RGVA, 500k-1-449. Copy in ÖStA, record group: Historikerkommission. This document has been translated from German.

2 The original contains handwritten annotations.

3 The Reich Representation of Jews in Germany (Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland) was based at 158 Kantstraße in Berlin-Charlottenburg. All Jewish institutions had been closed after the November pogroms. On the founding of the unified association and on the transformation of the Reich Representation into the Reich Association of Jews in Germany (Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland), see Introduction, p. 62.

4 Archive of Australian Judaica, University of Sydney, Max Joseph papers, MJ 3. This document has been translated from German.

I hereby attest that all the listed items are my property and that the information contained in the list is correct to the best of my knowledge.

The furnishings listed on page 5 (small items of furniture for two rooms) are things I have had to buy recently for my emigration, because the furniture I have owned for approximately thirteen years (for a large seven-room apartment) consists of large pieces, which are not suitable for taking with me because I will only be able to afford an apartment consisting of two small rooms in my new place of residence (Australia). The furnishings of the seven-room apartment will remain here. I therefore request that permission be granted for the new small furnishings purchased as replacements, without requiring payment of a fee to the Golddiskontbank. –

The items acquired after 1 January 1933 (listed on page 4) have been acquired over the years for use in my present apartment, not with emigration in mind. Of the larger items in this section, the electric refrigerator in particular was bought because it was essential to fully preserve food in my very warm apartment, which faces south. In the building, almost all the other residents use electric refrigerators.

The packing of the household goods for shipment is due to take place during the period 15–18 December 1938, as my family and I must leave the country by 20 December 1938.

I enclose the officially required questionnaire in duplicate.

Auditor.

*Enclosures.*<sup>6</sup>

- 2 Dr Max Joseph (1894–1974), auditor; chairman of the South-West Welfare District of the Berlin Jewish Community; arrested in Nov. 1938; in 1939 emigrated to Australia, where he held leadership roles in German-Jewish refugee organizations.
- 3 According to Circular Decree 38/38 of 13 May 1938, the household goods that emigrants wished to take with them were supposed to be reported to the appropriate foreign exchange office at least fourteen days before shipping.
- 4 Probably an abbreviation of ‘Devisenstelle’ (Foreign Exchange Office).
- 5 Enclosed with the letter is a five-page list of items that Joseph planned to take along when he left Germany, divided, according to instructions, into things he owned before 1 Jan. 1933, things he had acquired only after this date, and things that had been acquired solely for the purpose of emigration: Archive of Australian Judaica, University of Sydney, Max Joseph papers, MJ 3.
- 6 The household goods (one packing case and three chests) were checked on 6 Dec. 1938 by an expert from the foreign exchange office and shipment was approved, whereupon the items were shipped via Hamburg to Sydney: *ibid.*

## DOC. 184

**On 30 November 1938 Leopold Breisacher describes the situation for Jews  
after the November pogroms to his son, an emigrant in Palestine<sup>1</sup>**

Handwritten letter from Leopold Breisacher Jung,<sup>2</sup> North German Lloyd Bremen, Breisach Agency, Baden, to his son Sigmar,<sup>3</sup> dated 30 November 1938<sup>4</sup>

Dear Sigmar,

Today I want to make an effort and write a big litany to you also, because after the recent events, there is plenty of reason + cause to do so. [...] <sup>5</sup> So, as dear Mama wrote, it's getting worse by the day + one is glad if one has no reason to go out in the streets. It really makes one miserable to walk through the Judengasse and see the heap of rubble that was once the synagogue. It is like this everywhere in Ashkenaz [Germany]! Not a single synagogue is still intact! What many people have been through otherwise cannot be put on paper. Rarely did anyone escape without makkes [a beating], or else he is just telling shkorim [lies]. I myself can be content + got off fairly 'lightly'. Bernheim<sup>6</sup> was badly mekeymet [beaten] + and as good as gemeyest [killed]. Many others in addition. People as old as 82 were forced to perform physical exercises, but enough of that, my boy. This morning, in front of our building, there was a sign with great big letters + written in red [...]:<sup>7</sup> 'Jewish shop' and nearby an arrow leading directly to the stairs. That can only have been our shokhn [neighbour]. It is fine with us until the city has it removed again, because it can't do any more harm, no goy<sup>8</sup> comes any more anyway. Now, as to takhles [serious business]. Why can't you have a request made?<sup>9</sup> It seems to me that you haven't made the proper enquiries. Or can we turn to some place in Germany for this purpose? We would prefer to go wherever it would be quickest. Can we

1 Original in the archives of the Stiftung Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas; published in Ulrich Baumann, *Zerstörte Nachbarschaften: Christen und Juden in badischen Landgemeinden 1862–1940* (Hamburg: Dölling & Galitz, 2000), pp. 243–244. This document has been translated from German.

2 Leopold Breisacher (1877–1939), retailer; dealt in textiles, household goods, and groceries; died on 24 June 1939 due to a lack of medication. The Breisach city administration refused use of the hearse for his burial. His wife, Melanie Breisacher, née Blozheimer (1881–1944), was deported in 1940 to the Gurs internment camp in France and in 1944 to Auschwitz, where she was murdered.

3 Sigmar Benno Breisacher (1911–1993), commercial employee, metalworker, and cook; before 1931 worked as commercial employee in Freiburg, and later in Breisach in the family business; from 1933, in preparation for emigration, completed an apprenticeship in metalwork in Lithuania and six months' agricultural training in Denmark; in 1936 emigrated to Palestine, where he first lived in a kibbutz and then worked as a cook.

4 In the letter, numerous Yiddish expressions are used as code words. In each case, the English translation is added in square brackets.

5 Illegible in the original.

6 Jakob Bernheim (1867–1938), butcher. On 10 Nov. 1938 the SS forced around thirty Jewish men to walk from Breisach to Freiburg, and from there they were transferred to Dachau concentration camp, where Jakob Bernheim was beaten to death by an SS man.

7 Illegible in the original.

8 Hebrew term for 'nation', commonly used in Jewish discourse to refer to a gentile.

9 Jews who lived in Palestine could 'request' family members from abroad; that is, they could file an application with the Jewish Agency for their immigration.

go to Eretz [the Land of Israel], could you also stay there, as you are not eager to leave, after all? So, make an effort! There's no staying here any longer, at any rate, and things are hotting up. Who knows what sort of *mise meshune* [terrible death] the *meylkh* [king, meaning Adolf Hitler] is contemplating again, because if he has *dales* [poverty] once more, he will be up to his victimizing ways again, and he will surely have spent the *geganvete moes* [stolen money] again in one or two years.<sup>10</sup> Are tobacco and cigars available for smoking where you are, or only cigarettes? Now I have just about exhausted what I had to tell you. For your approaching birthday, I wish you [...] <sup>11</sup> well and want to wish you a very happy birthday at the same time. [...] <sup>12</sup> By the way, there remained a total of seven men to take part in services here, therefore not a *minyán* [quorum of ten men required for traditional Jewish public worship]. Now around eighteen have come again, all over the age of 60 with the exception of Herbert Greilsamer,<sup>13</sup> who came the day before yesterday. Selling the house is such a difficult matter; we want to make enquiries beforehand, you know, before undertaking anything. Giving it away is still feasible, and moving house before one emigrates is no picnic either. When selling a house, you can stipulate the right of residence for yourself, even in writing, until the time of emigration. They wipe their *tokhes* [arse] with the written document and throw you out nonetheless. So I think there is time, until one has something definitive in the offing. Many people aren't selling their house at all, and giving it away is still feasible.

So, my best wishes and kisses,

Your Papa

DOC. 185

**American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee memorandum,  
dated 30 November 1938, on the consequences of the pogrom in various cities,  
as well as in Jewish retraining centres and in concentration camps<sup>1</sup>**

Memorandum (Morris Troper),<sup>2</sup> dated 30 November 1938 (marked 'most highly confidential')

Dear Joe,<sup>3</sup>

I am enclosing herewith some papers which are most highly confidential. This material, which came from a most reliable source, was given to me while I was in Berlin, and you will recognize by the nature of it that it is extremely delicate and sensitive information and should be used only in the 'family circle.'

<sup>10</sup> This is a reference to the dispossession of the Jews for the benefit of the Four-Year Plan: see Doc. 29, 26 April 1938.

<sup>11</sup> Illegible in the original.

<sup>12</sup> Illegible in the original.

<sup>13</sup> Herbert Greilsamer (b. 1900), retailer; owner of a draper's shop in Breisach; imprisoned in Dachau concentration camp in Nov. 1938; emigrated to the USA.

<sup>1</sup> JDC Archives, AR 33/44, p. 632. The original document is in English.

<sup>2</sup> Morris Troper (1892–1962), lawyer; worked as a lawyer and as an accountant in New York; started working for the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) in 1920; chairman of the JDC's European Executive Council, 1938–1942; officer in the US Army, 1942–1948.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Joseph Hyman.

The report on the 'Situation of Training Centres' is greatly epitomized. For instance, under 'Bomsdorf', reference is made to the shooting of a sixteen year old boy.<sup>4</sup> The description given to me of this and other incidents was so heartbreaking that no person with the least drop of human kindness in him, could keep back the tears. The facts of the shooting are as follows:

On the famous Thursday morning, storm troopers appeared at the Jewish training centre in Bomsdorf and order the young people, still in their pajamas, into the woods. The boys were lined up and counted. The storm troopers found only 38 trainees, whereas according to information which they apparently had, there should have been 40 boys. One of the troopers thereupon demanded of the first boy on line, advice as to where the other two were. This lad, frightened beyond speech, could make no ready reply, and as a result the trooper became so infuriated that he drew his revolver, shot the boy through the forehead and then kicked aside the limp body.

I could go on telling you some more of these horrible stories, but the mere repetition of them is so upsetting that I hate imposing them on anyone. Besides, I think that most of the happenings have already been published in newspapers.

In the course of the next days, I shall try, if I can, to give you a brief report on my recent trip.

After you have read this letter, please detach it from the rest of the material and destroy it.

Sincerely yours,

P.S.: If you feel that any of the information contained in the attached may be of interest to the A.J.C., you may use your judgement in letting them see it. In any event, you may wish to show it to P.B. and J.N.R. first.<sup>5</sup>

Even before the assassination in Paris the situation of the Jews in Germany was extremely acute. With the expulsion of Jewish trade representatives, travelling salesmen and hawkers, of Jewish doctors and lawyers, real estate agents and property managers, the income possibilities of the Jews were very limited. The daily liquidations of Jewish concerns made unemployed of the Jews still working in them. The moment of complete Jewish unemployment had come into view.

In the large cities, the orders to vacate apartments belonging to Aryans, particularly real estate companies, were common. In the middle size and small towns the Jews were compelled to sell their houses, which was the equivalent of being forced to leave town, because they could not find other homes there.

In parts of Bavaria, particularly around Wuerzburg, in Hesse and parts of the Rhine province, there were disorders since the middle of September. Entry of synagogues, attacks on Jewish houses, mistreatment, deportation from certain towns (Rothenburg and others)<sup>6</sup> were brought to the attention of the competent authorities, but nothing was ever done.

4 There was a retraining centre at the Bomsdorf estate close to Bitterfeld. Here young Jews were trained in farming and horticulture in preparation for emigration to Palestine.

5 Paul Baerwald (1871-1961), honorary chairman of the JDC, and James N. Rosenberg (1874-1970), vice chairman of the JDC.

'Das Schwarze Korps', the weekly of the S.S. and therefore also of the Gestapo, published a complete program for the further handling of the Jewish question in Germany on November 2nd.<sup>7</sup> This program anticipated the complete exclusion of the Jews from German economic life and the limitation of Jewish economic activities among the Jews themselves. In view of the occupational and geographic distribution of the Jews in Germany, this was tantamount to the annihilation of their economic existence. The establishment of special residence sections for the Jews – ghettos – and the confiscation of Jewish wealth were also planned. An earlier number of the same paper proposed taking all unemployed Jews for forced labor service.

The assassination at the Embassy in Paris first [led] to the immediate closing down of the Jewish press and all Jewish gatherings, in order to isolate the Jews individually and make all exchange of opinion among them an impossibility.

The death of Mr. vom Rath was the signal for an organized campaign against the Jewish population. This was directed by the Party and all Party leaders were in Munich. The campaign, in its scope and ordered plan, surpassed anything that has ever happened in the history of the Jewish people.

In the night of November 9th–10th, the following occurred:

All over Germany the synagogues were burned. The very few synagogues which were not set on fire – for example, three in Berlin<sup>8</sup> – were saved only because they were built so closely between other houses that a fire would immediately have spread to the neighboring buildings. In certain cities, as Vienna, Beuthen, Breslau, Hannover and others, the incendiaries were not content with burning and blew up the synagogues. Together with the synagogues, many community houses and cemeteries were destroyed. The restoration of the synagogues is out of the question and the remains of those which have not been entirely burned will have to be torn down. There are no more religious services anywhere in Germany.

The same night, Jewish stores all over the Reich were demolished and in certain cases robbed. Wherever the work of destruction during the night was not thorough enough, as in Berlin, it was repeated the afternoon of November 10th. Merchandise was thrown on the street or completely ruined on the premises. In a large Jewish department store, for example, nothing at all was left of the porcelain, glass and bric a brac. The offices of this store were also demolished.

Not in Berlin, or at any rate only in small measure, but in very many cities the destruction was not limited to synagogues and Jewish stores, but the bands broke into private homes and destroyed the furniture more or less completely. Among other places, this happened in Duesseldorf, Bochum, Essen, Oberhausen, Hagen, Koenigsberg,

6 On 22 Oct. 1938, NSDAP Kreisleiter Karl Steinacker ordered the removal of all Jews from Rothenburg ob der Tauber. SA men forced their way into Jewish homes, chased the Jews to the synagogue, and demanded they leave the city.

7 The author probably means the editorial 'Das fehlte noch ...', *Das Schwarze Korps*, 3 Nov. 1938, pp. 1–2.

8 The synagogue in the Rykestraße in Berlin-Prenzlauer Berg was spared from total destruction because it was located in a densely built-up area. A policeman prevented the complete destruction of the synagogue on Oranienburger Straße in Berlin-Mitte.

Leipzig, Chemnitz, Beuthen, Hindenburg, Nuremberg, Rostock. In many Jewish homes, there was not a bit of furniture or other article intact after the attack. It was unavoidable that people were brutally maltreated and even killed, because of the fanatical fury of the hordes; besides, in most cases, they had been drinking heavily. Nor could suicides of desperate Jews, who did not know how to save themselves, be avoided.

On November 10th and 11th almost the entire Jewish male population between 17 and 60 years was arrested and sent to the concentration camps at Sachsenhausen near Oranienburg, Buchenwalde<sup>9</sup> near Weimar, Dachau in Bavaria and some others. Only in Berlin did a considerable number remain free, although here too there were several thousands [of] arrests. In many localities there was no age limit – men over 80 and 14 year old boys were taken. A few have since been freed, but not many. At the present time there must be at least 35,000 Jews in the concentration camps.

In the country and border districts the Jews were simply driven out. Usually they had to flee, leaving everything they possessed behind. They went to the nearest large towns, where they were lodged, although, as a result of the work of destruction, the inmates themselves were often living in close quarters. It appears out of the question that the refugees will be able to return to their homes, particularly as their houses have probably been destroyed. It has been learned that in one small place in the Eifel mountains a tractor was driven into the small Jewish houses.

A great number of Jewish homes for children, schools, and other educational institutions, convalescent homes, sanatoria, and homes for the aged had to be vacated. The fate of the people in these institutions is the same as that of the refugees from the country districts.

What is to become of the Jews in the next few weeks is altogether uncertain. Even if the disorders as described above and the arrests are not continued, the basis of the existence of German Jewry has been wiped out. After January 1st 1939, the date by which all Jewish stores and artisan enterprises must be Aryanized or liquidated, there will be no income from work. There will be nothing left of Jewish wealth after payment for the repair of stores and homes and the collection of the billion mark fine and the sale of real property for a fraction of its value. In Berlin the wealthier people had to give five million marks to business people for repairs, these not being able to pay themselves, and ten million marks to cover the debts of the Community.<sup>10</sup>

The notices to vacate will lead to masses being without a roof over their heads. In many localities the Jews will not be in a position to make the necessary purchases, not only because they will not have the necessary money, but also because the Aryan merchants and artisans are being forced to refuse to serve Jews.

As a ghastly bit of irony in the face of these terrible conditions, the Jewish Cultural League in Berlin was compelled to reopen its theater.

*Koenigsberg:* Not only were the children driven from the orphanage, but the interior of the house was completely demolished. The home for the aged, with 38 inmates between

9 Correctly: Buchenwald.

10 In addition to the 'atonement fine' of 1 billion Reichsmarks imposed on the Jewish community after the November pogroms (see Doc. 142, 12 Nov. 1938), the Reich Propaganda Office required Berlin's Jews to pay a 'voluntary fine' of 5 million Reichsmarks, to be deposited into a special

64 and 89 years of age, had to be evacuated. The cemetery was left in such a condition that for days no funerals could take place. Finally, one man was permitted to carry out burials alone.

*Hannover*: A large cemetery chapel was blown up.

*Rostock*: All Jewish homes were completely destroyed. In the vicinity of this city cattle and supplies belonging to Jews were burned.

*Hildesheim*: The arrested Jews were forced to sing about the burning synagogue.

*Schneidemuehl, Kuestrin, Senftenberg*: There were deaths among those arrested; four killed in Kuestrin alone.

*Duesseldorf, Bochum*: During the attacks the Jews were driven from their homes to the street, back home, and again to the street. There were cases of terrible brutality.

*Rosenau*: This town is located between Duesseldorf and Essen. The home for the aged had to be vacated at night.

*Dinslaken*: The same happened at the orphanage here.

[*Bad*] *Soden (Taunus)*: This is likewise true of the T.B. sanatorium here. The patients were driven out at the point of revolvers.

*Neu-Isenburg* (near Frankfort-on-Main):<sup>11</sup> The home for mothers, infants, children and girls was set on fire on the afternoon of November 10th.<sup>12</sup>

*Mannheim*: 90 per cent of the homes destroyed; in spite of this Mannheim is filled with refugees, principally from the Palatinate.<sup>13</sup>

*Frankfort-on-Main*: As early as November 8th and 9th many Jews from Hesse, some of them badly wounded, entered Frankfort. Some were received at the Jewish hospital, which was constantly watched and searched by an S.S. doctor, in order to send away those who were not extremely sick. The chief surgeon of the hospital, together with his family, committed suicide.<sup>14</sup> Everything was taken from the Community House. The Rothschild Museum was transferred to the Municipal Archives.<sup>15</sup> The relief organizations, placed in a special house, were for several days under a Commissar of the National Socialist relief, but were then closed. Only the Advisory Office of the Hilfsverein<sup>16</sup> is permitted to function, and this under a Commissar. Even as late as November 16th there were again house searches and arrests on a large scale.

account at Deutsche Bank. See Martin Friedenberger, *Fiskalische Ausplünderung: Die Berliner Steuer- und Finanzverwaltung und die jüdische Bevölkerung 1933–1945* (Berlin: Metropol, 2008), p. 218.

11 The author means Frankfurt am Main here and in the following.

12 A home for uprooted Jewish girls and single mothers with children.

13 After 7 April 1933 the Mannheim Jewish Community became a centre for Jews in the region. Jews from the Palatinate sought advice and help from the city's Jewish social institutions. On the night of 9 Nov. the Jewish hospital in Mannheim also became a place of refuge for the region's Jews during the pogrom, especially after the Jewish old people's home in Neustadt was set on fire. See Karl Otto Watzinger, *Geschichte der Juden in Mannheim 1650–1945* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1984), pp. 63–73.

14 Probably Dr Bernhard Rosenthal (1881–1938), who was in charge of the obstetrics and gynaecology department at the hospital for the Jewish community in Frankfurt am Main. His wife Nora, née Strauss, did not commit suicide and emigrated to Britain.

15 The collection at the Rothschild Museum documented the history of Frankfurt's Jews and the Rothschild family.

16 German in the original: 'Relief Association [of German Jews]'.

*Konstanz* (Bodensee): There were cases of great brutality in the neighborhood of this city.

*Nuremberg*: Almost all homes were demolished. Some of the men were badly wounded at the time of their arrest. Fourteen deaths are known to have occurred in Nuremberg.

*Munich*: A Jew of Polish nationality was shot.<sup>17</sup>

*Chemnitz*: The owner of a large business was shot.<sup>18</sup>

*Leipzig*: The cemetery was completely demolished.

*Bomsdorf*: A boy was shot at the training centre, because he did not reply to a question quickly enough.

*Ellgut*: This training farm in Upper Silesia had to be evacuated.

*Grossbreesen*: This training farm in Lower Silesia was severely damaged; the Director,<sup>19</sup> Inspector<sup>20</sup> and all boys over 18 years were arrested and sent to a concentration camp.

*Neuendorf*: All over 20 years were arrested and taken away from the training farm.

*Caputh* (near Berlin): The farm school had to be vacated on short notice. Because of the lack of transport facilities, the children had to go through the woods for several hours before they reached the railroad station.

*Lehntiz* (near Berlin): The convalescent home had to be evacuated.

Very little is as yet known regarding treatment at the concentration camps. It is known, however, that preparations to receive the Jews had been made for a long time. Thus, for example, in Dachau there were more than 10,000 smocks with the Star of David. Among those arrested there are at least 100 rabbis, very many teachers and students of theology, the Director of the Weissensee Jewish Deaf and Dumb Institute in Berlin,<sup>21</sup> many leading personages of the Jewish communities and organizations.

It must unfortunately be anticipated that the treatment at the concentration camp at Buchenwalde near Weimar is the same as it was known to be after the arrests last June.<sup>22</sup>

#### *Situation of Training Centres*

*Flensburg*: Farmhouse destroyed; Germans arrested; girls and foreigners sent home.<sup>23</sup>

*Buergerhof*: Farm intact; Germans arrested.<sup>24</sup>

*Urfeld*: House partially demolished; trainees had to leave everything; no work going on.

17 This was Joachim Both; see Doc. 136, 11 Nov. 1938, fn. 5.

18 On the night of 9/10 Nov. 1938, SA and SS men shot and killed Hermann Fürstenheim, the manager of the H. & C. Tietz department store, at his home.

19 Curt Bondy (1894–1972), psychologist and social education worker; honorary professor at the University of Göttingen, 1930–1933; worked at the centre for Jewish adult education, 1933–1936; director of the Groß-Breesen agricultural training farm for emigrants, 1936–1939; detained in the Buchenwald concentration camp, Nov. 1938; emigrated to the USA, 1939; returned to Germany in 1950.

20 Inspector Erwin Scheier was responsible for agricultural training at Groß-Breesen. In Nov. 1938 he was arrested and taken to Buchenwald; he emigrated to Britain in 1939.

21 Felix Reich (1885–1964), son of Markus Reich, the founder of the Jewish Deaf and Dumb Institute; the institute's director from 1919 to 1939; emigrated to Britain in 1939.

22 On the arrests in June 1938, see Doc. 39, 1 June 1938, Doc. 52, June 1938, and the Introduction, p. 22.

23 Kibbutz Jägerlust, Flensburg; Jewish men with German citizenship were arrested.

24 Probably Brüderhof, Ochsenzoll, on the outskirts of Hamburg.

Gruesen: Various attacks; one man in Jewish hospital in Frankfort-on-Main; centre occupied by SS; Germans arrested; centre in great danger; house demolished.

Sennfeld: Reports contradictory; temporarily functioning.

Geringshof: Trainees over 20 years arrested.<sup>25</sup>

Bomsdorf: House destroyed; 16 year old boy shot; those over 18 arrested; commissar put in.

Silingtal: All men arrested; three women carrying on the work.

Ellguth: All Germans arrested; house not destroyed.

Jessen: O.K.<sup>26</sup>

Neuendorf: 42 arrests; still functioning.<sup>27</sup>

Winkel: O.K.<sup>28</sup>

Ahrens Dorf: O.K.<sup>29</sup>

Havelberg: Some arrested, but later freed; centre functioning.

Steckelsdorf: Completely destroyed; older people all arrested.<sup>30</sup>

Halbe: Centre destroyed.<sup>31</sup>

Polzenwerder: O.K.

Freienstein: All older people arrested; situation of centre unknown.

Most of the Kibbuzim have been destroyed and the older people arrested.

*Authenticated Material:* The Source is Indicated by an Initial.<sup>32</sup>

*Hagenow:* Barns of Jewish estate owner were set on fire after the doors had first been carefully locked.

All stored products such as grain were destroyed and twelve cows burned to death.

The owner – name of Jew unrevealed – was arrested for incendiarism.

*Lichtenburg:* Jewish inmates of concentration camp may neither write nor receive mail on account of Vom Rath murder.

*Vienna:* All Jewish temples demolished including the Seitenstettentempel which more than 100 yrs ago was dedicated in the presence of Emperor Francis Joseph, and in which Beethoven used to listen to the young composer-singer Salomon Sulzer.<sup>33</sup>

*Vienna:* Thousands of Jewish homes were invaded – allegedly, as the press claimed, to search for weapons – and, in the absence of husbands, fathers, or brothers who had been dragged off to concentration camps, the jewelry demanded and robbed.

Old women were even deprived of their golden wedding rings, and impecunious old people of their dole from the relief station.

25 Gehringshof (near Fulda); see Doc. 171, 23 Nov. 1938.

26 Kibbutz Jessen-Mühle, close to Sommerfeld (now Lubsko in Poland).

27 Neuendorf, near Fürstenwalde in Brandenburg.

28 Winkel farm estate, near Fürstenwalde in Brandenburg.

29 Ahrens Dorf, near Luckenwalde in Brandenburg, opened in 1936; converted into a forced labour camp in 1940. The last young people from Ahrens Dorf were relocated to Neuendorf in 1941 and from there deported to Auschwitz in 1943.

30 Steckelsdorf, near Rathenow, 70 km west of Berlin; converted into a forced labour camp in 1940.

31 A municipality south of Berlin.

32 At the end of each report, the source is indicated by an initial that is not printed here.

33 The City Temple on Seitenstettengasse, consecrated in 1826, is the main synagogue in Vienna. The synagogue was set on fire but not destroyed because it was located in a residential area and the authorities did not want the fire to spread to the surrounding buildings.

*Vienna:* Before various consulates Jews who already had their promises of visas and their certificates (Unbedenklichkeitserklärung<sup>34</sup>) from the tax offices, were nevertheless arrested.

Beatings were no uncommon thing as these persons reached the police or Gestapo headquarters.

*Vienna:* Many Jewish families were simply chased out of their homes, the doors locked, the keys taken by their Aryan persecutors. Men and women had to wander around the streets penniless through the night or beg for asylum.

The coffee houses and restaurants were generally forbidden to Jews, and instructions issued not to sell them any eatables.

*Stuttgart:* All male Jews who with their wives or other relatives had been summoned to appear before the American consul on Monday November 14, were arrested from the pensions or homes the night before so that they could not make their appointment. The next morning the American consul found several hundred Jewish women, relatives of the arrested, on their knees before him, imploring him to liberate the arrested.

*Karlsruhe:* The children of the Jewish Children's home were turned out of their beds and chased on the street.

*Mannheim:* The inmates of the Jewish Home for the Aged were turned out of their rooms and out of the Home.

*Wartenstein/East Prussia:* Local burgomaster<sup>35</sup> himself carried the torch which lighted the synagogue.

*Berlin:* Nine Aryans were arrested in Dahlem Nov. 10 for saying that they were ashamed at what happened.

Ministry of Economics sent ten staff members of Regierungsrat<sup>36</sup> rank on to the streets to make an investigation into what depredations had been committed [on] Nov. 10.

Himmler took four weeks' leave just before the 'spontaneous' demonstrations began, leaving the work to Heyderich,<sup>37</sup> so that he might afterwards claim an alibi. Heyderich worked closely with the Arbeitsfront<sup>38</sup> in this matter.

At Sachsenhausen heads of Jews brought there were shaven, they were treated like swine, men with criminal records were put in charge of each barrack as monitors or 'Stubenälteste', and striped uniforms were given [to] the arrivals.

Barracks for many thousands had been standing in readiness for weeks to receive the Jews, and one of those in charge of these barracks was heard to exclaim, 'Well, at last', when the first transport of Jews arrived.

*Vienna:* Nov. 16 report: From hundreds of Jewish homes the inmates were simply dumped upon wealthier Jewish families with larger and more rooms. The apartments of those thus evicted were simply seized by German Labor Front people.

Thousands were compelled to sell their entire interior furnishings for 1/30th or 1/40th of the value and considered themselves lucky if they got even that much.

34 Tax clearance certificate: see Doc. 206, 19 Dec. 1938.

35 The author means 'Bürgermeister', i.e. mayor.

36 German in the original, senior civil service rank.

37 Correctly: Heydrich.

38 German in the original: '[German] Labour Front'.

Hundreds of Jews had to sit on park benches in the cold nights as they had no places to go to. Wealthy Jews were seen taking their good suits of clothes to pawnshops, so that they might realize enough to keep their families from starving. All their bank accounts, valuables, cash, and stocks and bonds had been taken from them.

*Moedling near Vienna:* The Jews, were compelled to throw the ‘Thorarollen’<sup>39</sup> and prayer books into the flames of the burning synagogue.

*Hamburg:* Two trainloads of Jews, altogether about 1,700 men, were transferred to Berlin headed for the concentration camp.

*Leipzig:* After the arrest of all men, the women and children were driven into the river where they had to stand for hours in the cold water.

*Berlin:* The Labor Front demanded that all hotels refuse to take Jewish patrons. The small hotels agreed, but the big ones declared that on account of their international clientele they could not comply.

*Vienna:* Nazis entered many homes and said: ‘We’ll give you 400 Marks for your entire household. If you approve, okay, if not, we’ll have you taken to Dachau!’

*Sachsenhausen:* Food is halfway good. The barracks are heated. But the treatment is barbaric. The Jews must work ten hours per day doing very heavy work, especially carrying steel girders.

*Buch[en]wald:* The first transport of Jews which arrived in this concentration camp, noted for its ‘S S Whipping Regiment’, had to stand in line for twelve hours. If anybody had a weak bladder or bowels, and consequently could not resist a call of nature, he was punished by 25 strokes of the whip for the offence of soiling his clothes.

*Mannheim:* No Jew is allowed to buy any food or drink in any Aryan shop. There are no Jewish shops, as all have been demolished.

*Munich:* Jewish shops were pillaged. Jews were forbidden to purchase food in Aryan shops. Hundreds of Jews were ordered to leave the district by Saturday, Nov. 12. (police denied this but the Party insisted.)

Nazis entered Jewish homes and took the radio outfits with them, saying these were ‘deutsches Kulturgut’.<sup>40</sup>

The banks were instructed to let Jews take out of their accounts not more than 100 RM. per week.

*Breslau:* Jewish telephones were plugged and no calls by them accepted. One wealthy family consisting of three branches ...<sup>41</sup>

### *Events in Berlin*

November 10–14, 1938

Immediately after the celebration ‘for the fallen members of the movement’, the synagogues in the entire Reich were set on fire with firebombs during the night of November 9th and 10th. Simultaneously the fire brigades appeared to protect the adjacent buildings. The news spread like wildfire amongst the Jews, who at first could not grasp the extent thereof. They hurried to the synagogues and breathed a sigh of relief as they saw the fire engine from the distance. Patiently they waited for the fire brigade to do

<sup>39</sup> German in the original: ‘Torah scrolls’.

<sup>40</sup> German in the original: ‘German cultural treasures’.

<sup>41</sup> The sentence is incomplete in the original.

something, but they soon understood the awful truth – the fire brigade only looked on. One dared to ask, ‘Why don’t they do something?’ ‘We have no orders,’ replied a fireman. The Jew was immediately arrested by the Gestapo.

In some instances, the Jews begged for permission to rescue the Scrolls of the Law from the fire, but all who came near and showed their interest in this, were arrested. ‘The Scrolls of the Law should be destroyed’, said softly a policeman, ‘It is ordered.’ With great din the cupola of the new ‘Prinz Regent’ synagogue fell and the fire in the Friedenstempel<sup>42</sup> in the Fasanenstrasse raged on for a long time.

Meanwhile the storm troopers [were] sent to all Jewish stores, smashing the windows. This ‘work’ was carried out by young boys from 16 to 19 years of age. There was no difficulty in choosing Jewish shops, as these, by police regulation, are all marked with uniform large letters and inscriptions. The organization of the pogrom was model. After this preliminary work, groups of adults of six men, – S.A. and S.S. troops in civilian clothes, – came along and walked in through the open windows, plundering the shops. They kicked over all the shelves and cupboards, and with crow-bars demolished everything. The population looked on silently in disapproval, but seldom did anyone dare to object aloud. The S.A. and S.S. men in civilian clothes threatened any who criticized with such cries, ‘You probably want to protect these Jew-dogs, eh?’ In fear the people remained quiet.

While the plundering and robbing was going on in the businesses in the West End, the young troopers broke into the apartments in the North and Eastern part of the city, rescuing the valuable objects and demolishing the rest.

I happened to be in a small vegetable store in the center of the city toward noon as the son of the proprietor, (a woman), came in bringing a huge package of boxes. As he turned to go with a large stick in his hand, the woman said to him, ‘Why do you do this my son? What if the police sees you?’ To which the boy replied, ‘But what then, what then. I have a slip giving me permission.’

Toward four o’clock in the afternoon, the newspapers appeared with an order from Goebbels to cease the plundering. This gave many the courage to approach the plunderers and to call the order to their attention. A man next to me, at 8 in the evening, as the plunderers were carrying things out of a Jewish restaurant in the Joachimstalerstrasse, shouted ‘Stop! Goebbels has ordered this to cease.’ But a man with a crow-bar, irritatedly replied, ‘I have the order from the President of the police, and will show you at once.’ The first man disappeared after this, and the plundering continued until all Jewish shops without exception had been destroyed.

Meanwhile, the Jewish organizations were demolished, locked, and the leaders arrested. The documents, particularly certificates<sup>43</sup> and emigration papers, were confiscated or destroyed. Their funds were also confiscated. The Jewish Museum was expropriated, the director, Professor Landsberger,<sup>44</sup> was arrested. The offices and rooms of the Gemeinde<sup>45</sup> were sealed by the Gestapo.

The following day, the owners of the Jewish businesses were ordered by the police to board up their shops by 11 a.m. and to clear up all *the disorder caused by their own fault*.

42 German in the original: ‘Temple of Peace’.

43 This refers to immigration certificates for Palestine.

After this, the owners were 'advised' to speed up the 'Aryanization' of their businesses. On the boardings signs appeared, saying, 'In the process of Aryanization.' The businesses were transferred at ridiculous prices. Behind the boarded-up windows people sat, broken, – people who yet a day before had hoped for a better future elsewhere, who were busy with emigration plans, and who hoped to sell their businesses in a normal way. And now they were being arrested according to a well-organized plan. Doctors, dentists, lawyers, professionals, important businessmen, artists, – everyone well known and respected among German Jewry. After that the Stateless Jews (former Russians) were all arrested. On the third day, i.e. November 14th, the number of persons arrested amounted to more than a hundred thousand.<sup>46</sup> If the people wanted were not at home, two officials waited until these unsuspecting persons came back. This is what is called 'The Traps for the Jews'. Special attention was given to the rich Jews. The proprietors of houses were 'instructed' to go to the lawyer with the officials and to declare in front of him their 'voluntary' transfer to the State of their property. Even the sick in the hospitals were not exempted. The people who were very ill died after their arrest. Those arrested were taken in large numbers to the concentration camps – in the meantime these arrests still continue at the same rate. The frightened people, who had lost all of their possessions, tried to save themselves and hoped to find shelter with their Aryan friends. But those who helped the Jews were punished by being arrested and now the people are roaming through the streets or in the environs in the fog. The hunt for Jews, which is similar to that of chasing the fox, is a special pleasure for the pleasure hunting S.A. and S.S. troops. I have spoken to some of the despairing people. If no help comes from outside, then they would prefer to take their lives than fall in[to] the hands of the Gestapo.

On the 15th November arrests are still continuing with undiminished violence. This is intended to be a pressure on the payment of a billion marks.

44 Dr Franz Landsberger (1883–1964), art historian; professor in Breslau, 1919–1933; editor of the journal *Schlesische Monatshefte*, 1917–1933; director of the Jewish Museum in Berlin, 1935–1938; interned in Sachsenhausen concentration camp in Nov. 1938; emigrated to Britain in 1939 and later to the USA, where he worked as a research professor.

45 German in the original: 'Jewish Community'.

46 In fact, 25,000–30,000 Jewish men were sent to concentration camps after the November pogroms; from Berlin, around 10,000.

## DOC. 186

**On 1 December 1938 the Reich Ministry of Education initiates a discussion  
about ways to saddle the Reich Representation of Jews in Germany  
with the costs for separate Jewish schools<sup>1</sup>**

Reich Ministry of Education memorandum (signature illegible), dated 1 December 1938<sup>2</sup>

Today there were extensive negotiations, chaired by Ministerial Director Dr Holfelder,<sup>3</sup> with representatives of the Deputy of the Führer, the Prussian Minister President, the Reich Minister of the Interior, the Reich Foreign Office, and the Gestapo regarding the regulation of the school system for the Jews. The outcome of the discussion can be summarized approximately as follows:

1. State Jewish schools are no longer allowed to exist. In future, the public purse can no longer be expected to maintain Jewish schools. If schools for Jews were previously maintained by synagogues, the synagogues have lost public status under the Law on the Legal Status of Jewish Religious Associations.<sup>4</sup>
2. School attendance is to remain compulsory for Jews; illiterates are always a danger to a community. In addition, difficulties arise when illiterates seek to emigrate.
3. Compulsory education must be distinguished from the obligation to attend school. Under the law, there is no obligation to educate Jews. Nonetheless, for political reasons the state will ensure that the Jewish children are educated.
4. It is intended to transfer the responsibility for compulsory education to a Reich Association of Jews,<sup>5</sup> which is being planned. It is expected that all Jewish organizations of every kind will be brought together in this association. This Reich Association will be able to charge dues in order to fulfil the tasks incumbent upon it. Chief among these tasks are emigration and welfare for the Jews remaining in Germany. The Jewish population in Germany has a highly disproportionate number of old people. It is said that 65 per cent of the Jews are over the age of 50. Emigration, therefore, is a possibility mainly for younger Jews. It will also be possible to include under the general heading of 'emigration' the expenses necessary for the Jewish school system.

1 BArch, R 4901/11787, fols. 100–103. This document has been translated from German.

2 Parts of the original have been annotated and underlined by hand.

3 Dr Albert Holfelder (1903–1968), political scientist; assistant at the Dresden Institute of Technology, 1930–1933; joined the NSDAP in 1933 and the SS in 1935; from 1934 to 1945 worked in the Reich Ministry of Education as Ministerialrat, head of the Ministerial Office, and from 1938 to 1945 as ministerial director and head of the Office of Schooling; co-editor of the journal *Weltanschauung und Schule*, 1936–1944; in 1940 SS-Standartenführer; in American internment, 1945; from 1953 senior editor for education at the Georg Westermann publishing house.

4 Correctly: Law on the Legal Status of the Jewish Religious Communities (*Gesetz über die Rechtsverhältnisse der jüdischen Kultusvereinigungen*); see Doc. 23, 28 March 1938.

5 In Feb. 1939 the Reich Representation of Jews in Germany (Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland) was reorganized to form the Reich Association of Jews in Germany (Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland): see Introduction, pp. 62–63.

5. The many Jewish foundations, whose capital within the framework of the Ministry of Education totals around RM 4 million, will also be brought under the umbrella of the Reich Association. They will have to be combined into a single foundation, and the interest can be used for the purposes of the Reich Association.

6. Those Jewish teachers who are civil servants will be retired. The retirement pension will have to be paid by the last pay provider, in the case of primary schools, therefore, the regional school financial office.

7. Foreign Jews, in principle, are to be treated in the same way as domestic Jews. The representative of the Reich Foreign Office pointed out that we have thus far made a distinction in the interests of foreign countries, and that this distinction must be discontinued in future. Foreign countries, he said, will have to muster understanding for the German measure. If they cannot do so, the outcry of these countries at the execution of the measure cannot be any greater than it already is at present. Therefore, he said, it is better to make a good job of it now than to execute the measures in stages. Ministerial Director Dr Holfelder added to that, saying that foreign Jews in general can hardly be expected to be subjected to continual animosity when they attend a German school.

8. At the present time, there are eighteen Jewish academic secondary schools. Whether this number will also be required in future will have to be discussed in detail. At any rate, it will be possible to maintain the existing schools only within the framework and under the administration of the future Reich Association of Jews.

9. Similarly, in the case of the vocational school, there is no recognized obligation for the state, the municipalities or other public providers to make schooling available. Jews will therefore not be enrolled in vocational schools by school providers. The Reich Association itself may examine the extent to which it wishes to set up vocational schools. There will be a need, if at all, only for unskilled labourers, because under the coming Vocational Training Law a Jew cannot be an apprentice.<sup>6</sup>

10. In the area of teacher training, two institutions exist at present – in Berlin and in Würzburg. The question of their continued existence is of little importance; it will be possible to wait and see what the situation is. Perhaps there will be a decision to combine the two schools, which have been run separately for Jewish religious reasons. Perhaps the decision will be to allow only training courses for Jews in future also, as the Jews now on hand will meet the educational needs of Jewish school pupils for years to come.

11. It will be possible to allow school events of a vocational kind only within the framework of the Reich Association of Jews. The holding of such courses will depend to a considerable extent on whether the Reich Association has means left over for these purposes.

12. It is not possible to deduct a portion of the contribution of 1 billion to be raised by the Jews (cf. Regulation on the Atonement Tax on Jews of German Nationality from

<sup>6</sup> The Vocational Training Law was discussed in 1938 but never enacted.

12 November 1938 – *Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 1579)<sup>7</sup> for use in the Jewish school system. According to information from Ministerialrat Richter, this 1 billion is already ‘oversubscribed’ several times over by the demands of almost all the specialized ministers and other offices.

DOC. 187

**The antisemitic worldview is summarized in the Wehrmacht’s guidelines for service training, dated 1 December 1938<sup>1</sup>**

‘Guidelines for Classes on Political Issues of the Day’,<sup>2</sup> 1 December 1938, no. 24

The world struggle of the Jew.

The struggle of the Jew to attain global dominance is as old as the history of the Jewish people. In the realization of his dream of world domination, the Jew simultaneously sees the fulfilment of his religion, according to which Jehovah has promised to give him dominion over all peoples. In accordance with his blood and his nature, the Jew never fought this battle as a heroic struggle. Instead, he lodged himself in other peoples, as a parasite, and let them bear the arms and do the work for him. He himself merely raked in the booty and the profit.

In this way the Jew settled in Egypt. In this way he established himself in Rome, the capital of the ancient world, and, as a trader and exploiter, accompanied the Roman legions on their military campaigns in western and central Europe.

With the beginning of the founding of cities in the German Empire, the Jew began to intervene in the history of the Germans through loans and trade. Although he was subject to the law governing aliens, he had a knack for creating wealth for himself with his usurious methods and, with this money, for obtaining power. This aroused the hatred of the people and led repeatedly to harsh countermeasures against the members of a foreign race. Over time, the good sense of the people led to an outward separation from the Jewish parasites, who were restricted to specific residential areas known as ‘ghettos’.

With the help of the Freemasons, the Jew managed, in the eighteenth century, first to raise his social position in England and France. During the French Revolution he called for liberty, equality, and fraternity for all mankind. In Germany, too, he succeeded, with the help of the Masonic lodges, in blazing a trail. In 1812 the Jews in Prussia became citizens with equal rights, although they were still not permitted to hold public office. The pro-Jewish Prime Minister von Hardenberg carried out the emancipation of the Jews. Even at that time, Fichte wrote:

Through almost all the countries of Europe spreads a powerful, hostile state: Jewry. Does not the logical idea occur to you that if you also give your states’ civil rights to the Jews, who without you are already citizens of a state that is sturdier and more powerful than all our other states, they will completely trample your other citizens underfoot?<sup>3</sup>

<sup>7</sup> See Doc. 142, 12 Nov. 1938.

<sup>1</sup> BArch, RWD 12/201. This document has been translated from German.

As early as during the Revolution of 1848, the Jew came to the fore politically. The introduction of a parliament and the emergence of political parties were under the strongest Jewish influence. The father of the conservative party programme was the Jew Stahl. Influential National Liberals were the Jews von Simson, Lasker, and Bamberger. The German workers' movement was usurped by the Jews Karl Marx and Lassalle. Just as the Jew himself pervaded the parties, he also infused them with Freemasons, who were under his spell.

Thus it became possible, as early as 1849, for the Jew Bernhard von Simson<sup>4</sup> to offer the imperial German crown to Friedrich Wilhelm IV on behalf of the National Assembly. The same Jew, von Simson, twenty-two years later, in 1871, led the deputation of the German Reichstag that offered the imperial crown to Emperor Wilhelm I.

Around the turn of the century, the Jewish influence became increasingly strong. It had an effect in the sphere of the emperor himself, for example the Jews Ballin and Rathenau; in the banking and stock exchange world, for example the Jews Bleichröder, Warburg, Goldschmidt, and Friedländer-Fuld; in the German press, for example the Jews Theodor Wolff and Georg Bernhard.

The number of Jews in influential positions was enormous, as was the influence they exercised even then within the German people: in the political parties, over banking and the stock exchange, department stores and retail shops, over the press and journals, over theatres and universities, over lodges and clubs.

Around this time the Jew and high-ranking Freemason Rathenau characterized the Jewish 'state within the state' in the following words:

Strange sight! In the midst of German life, an isolated, strange human tribe, resplendently and conspicuously adorned, hot-blooded and animated in its behaviour. An Asian horde on the sand of the Mark [of Brandenburg].<sup>5</sup> In close association with each other, strictly closed off from the outside world – thus they live in a semi-voluntary, invisible ghetto, not a living member of the German people but a foreign organism in its body –.<sup>6</sup>

2 The guidelines were issued from 1934 onwards, in order to standardize ideological instruction in the Wehrmacht and align the teaching with National Socialist ideology.

3 Correctly: 'Through almost all the countries of Europe is spreading a powerful, hostile state which is engaged in constant warfare with all the others and in some exerts terrible pressure on the citizens; it is Jewry. I do not believe, and I hope to subsequently demonstrate this, that it is so fearsome because it constitutes a separate and firmly interlinked state, but rather because this state is based on the hatred of the entire human race.' Johann Gottlieb Fichte, 'Beitrag zur Berichtigung der Urtheile des Publikums über die Französische Revolution', in J. G. Fichte, *Werke 1791–1794*, ed. Reinhardt Lauth and Hans Jacob with the assistance of Manfred Zahn and Richard Schottky (Stuttgart/Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1964), p. 292.

4 Correctly: Martin Eduard Sigismund Simson (1810–1899), after 1888 von Simson.

5 Region outside Berlin, known for its sandy soil.

6 Correctly: 'Strange sight! In the midst of German life, an isolated, strange human tribe, resplendently and conspicuously adorned, hot-blooded and animated in its behaviour. The forced cheerfulness of these people does not betray how much old, unquenched hatred rests on their shoulders. Little do they know that only an age that keeps all natural forces in check is able to protect them from what their fathers would have suffered. In close association with each other, strictly closed off from the outside – thus they live in a semi-voluntary, invisible ghetto, not a living member of the people but a foreign organism in its body.' 'Höre Israel!', *Die Zukunft*, ed. Maximilian Harden, no. 28, 6 March 1897, vol. 18, p. 454. The article was published under the pseudonym W. Hartenau.

But in the rest of the world this 'Asian horde', everywhere a foreign organism in the body of the peoples, worked on the encirclement of the German Reich, which was not yet as much in bondage to it as the Western democracies and America were. There, it already controlled the government through its own men and its intermediary agents, the high-level Freemasons. Thus, in England, of the twelve men who made up the Privy Council of the king, ten were Jews and men of Jewish kinship. For the spheres of finance, commerce, the press, the theatre, and intellectual life, what was said about Germany applies here as well as in France and Italy, only to an even greater degree. French President of the Republic Poincaré was a high-level Freemason, as were his minister of foreign affairs Delcassé and many influential politicians. Even more predominant were the Jew and his satellites in the United States of North America. Rathenau's words were rightly applied to the secret domination of the world by the Jews:

Three hundred men, all of whom know each other and seek their successor from among themselves, direct the economic fate of the continent. The hour has struck for high finance to publicly dictate its laws to the world, as it has done until now in secrecy. High finance is called on to succeed the empires and kingdoms with an authority that not only covers one country but spans the entire globe.<sup>7</sup>

The assassination arranged in Sarajevo<sup>8</sup> by the Freemasons on behalf of the Jewish world leadership was the signal for world war.

The heroic defensive action of the German people was betrayed by the Jews and their accomplices. They undermined the German power of resistance through their influence in the wartime enterprises, in the supply of raw materials, in the grain and food sector, in the press, and in the political parties. They picked up the issue raised by the Jewish and Masonic propaganda of the enemy powers and used leaflets and whispering campaigns to suggest to the German people that the war was not directed against the German people but solely against the autocratic system of government, Prussian militarism, and the House of Hohenzollern.

(World Jewry is now attempting once again to use against the German people this method that was practised in those days.)

Unmistakably, the intention of Jewry found expression in the words of the Jew Rathenau: 'Never will the moment come when the emperor with his paladins on white steeds rides victorious through the Brandenburg Gate. On that day, world history would have lost its meaning.'<sup>9</sup>

The Jewish 'Vorwärts', published by the Jew Stampfer, expresses itself with equal clarity: 'Germany shall, it is our firm wish, discard its flag forever, without having brought it home victorious the last time.'<sup>10</sup>

7 Only the first sentence is from an article about the training of young people in light of the differences between town and countryside, tradition and modernity: Walther Rathenau, 'Unser Nachwuchs', *Neue Freie Presse, Morgenblatt*, Vienna, 15 Dec. 1909, p. 5. The quotation continues to be falsified to this day in antisemitic discourse.

8 On 28 June 1914 Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, and his wife were shot and killed by a student in Sarajevo.

9 Walther Rathenau, 'Der Kaiser: Eine Betrachtung' (1919): published in Walther Rathenau, *Schriften der Kriegs- und Nachkriegszeit*, Gesammelte Schriften, vol. 6 (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1929), p. 305.

The field commander was held out to the German people as a 'scapegoat'. Rathenau expressed himself to his race comrade Eisner in this way: 'In the nick of time we succeeded in casting all the blame upon Ludendorff.'<sup>11</sup>

Who the heirs of this deplorable Jewish seed were is something that emerges clearly from the composition of the leadership after the November Revolution. At the top, the Freemasons Ebert and Scheidemann, the Jews Landsberg and Haase, the fomenter of the rebellion in the fleet in 1917; in the Executive Council, the Czech Jew Kautzky; in the leadership of the workers' and soldiers' councils, the Jew Cohen as chairman and another fifteen Jews; at the top of the regional governments of Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Baden, the Jews Hirsch, Eisner, Gradnauer, and Haas. In the subsidiary bodies, things were no better.

In 1919 the Jewish prophet Walter Rathenau wrote in the *Züricher Nachrichten* about the fate that the Jewish world leaders intended for the German people:

Anyone will collapse from shame and grief if, twenty years from now, he goes to the Germany that he knew as one of the most flourishing countries. The great cities of antiquity: Babylon, Nineveh, Thebes, and others were built of soft clay; nature allowed them to decay and smoothed out the soil and hills. The German cities will not stand as ruins but as stone blocks, half extinct, still inhabited in part by small, weak humans. A few neighbourhoods are busy, but all the splendour and all the gaiety have dissipated. Weary companions move about on the brittle cobbles, lights are shining in seedy bars, the roads are trampled, the forests have been chopped down, there are scant amounts of seeds sprouting in the fields. Ports, railways, canals have deteriorated, and everywhere stand sad apartments, tall, weather-beaten symbols from the time of greatness.<sup>12</sup> All around, old and new countries flourish in the lustre and vigour of new technology and strength, nourished by the blood of the dead country, served by its banished sons. The German spirit that has sung and thought for the world will be in the past. A people that God has called into being, that is still young and strong today, is living and is dead.<sup>13</sup>

In fact, it seemed that Germany would inevitably take the path sketched by the Jew Rathenau. In the guise of 'reparations', the Versailles dictate of shame imposed upon the German people, in addition to enormous levies, the harshest compensatory payments for the war. The Germans lost their savings as a result of the inflation that was artificially produced by Jewish machinations under the Jewish minister of finance Hilferding. With the help of deflation, the German economy was further drained and robbed of its working capital. More and more farms were expropriated, more and more enterprises

10 Correctly: 'Germany shall – it is our firm will as socialists – discard its battle flag forever, without having brought it home victorious the last time': 'Der gerade Weg', *Vorwärts*, 20 Oct. 1918, pp. 1–2. The author of the article is not named.

11 According to Ludendorff's adjutant, Wilhelm Breucker, Rathenau said during the meeting of the National Assembly in 1919: 'at the eleventh hour these circles succeeded in casting all the blame on to Ludendorff'. On the long-standing controversy over the wording of this sentence, see *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 3 Nov. 1952, p. 2.

12 Correctly: 'and everywhere stand sad reminders, the tall, weather-beaten buildings from the time of greatness'.

13 Walther Rathenau, 'An alle, die der Haß nicht bindet. Nach der Flut', in Rathenau, *Schriften der Kriegs- und Nachkriegszeit*, pp. 278–279.

ground to a halt. Poverty, both urban and rural, rose to intolerable proportions. Unemployment continued to spiral upwards. In 1932 Germany had around 7 million unemployed. Together with their family members, 20 million Germans were dependent on inadequate and demoralizing unemployment benefits. Amid the misery, the spectre of Bolshevism rose up threateningly. With it, the Jew wanted to strike a devastating blow to the last pursuit of liberty, the awakening völkisch forces, and permanently eliminate Germany from the ranks of the nations.

Only National Socialism seizing power on 30 January 1933 wrecked these plans, and with this seizure began the fight to oppose the Jewish wish for [Germany's] destruction. First of all, the Jew was excluded from the Wehrmacht and public offices.<sup>14</sup> Additional legal measures eliminated the Jew from the press, theatre, cinema, and other areas of cultural life and relegated him to separate cultural institutions.<sup>15</sup> In the professions of physician and lawyer Jews were restricted to working with their Jewish race comrades.<sup>16</sup>

The law of 15 September 1935 'for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour' ensured the maintenance of the purity of German blood and legally prohibited any mixing of blood between persons of German blood and Jews.<sup>17</sup>

Thanks to the restraint of National Socialist legislation, the Jews still had the opportunity to work in the economic sector. For that, the Jew showed no gratitude to the Third Reich.

All over the world, he incited people to boycott German goods and wage a new world war against Germany. His advocates were, in Russia, the minister of foreign affairs, the Jew Litvinov; in France, the prime minister, the Jew Leon Blum; in England, the secretary of state for war, the Jew Hore-Belisha. These three men were named as the hope of world Jewry by an article in the American journal *The American Jew* on 3 June 1938.<sup>18</sup> This article states, among other things:

It is obvious that a coalition between England, France, and Russia will sooner or later halt the triumphal march of the Führer, who is intoxicated by success. Whether by chance or by design, in each of these countries a Jew now occupies a position of the greatest importance. The fate and the actual lives of millions lie in the hands of non-Aryans.

So it may be that these three sons of Israel, these three representatives of the race that was forced to play the innocent persecuted by Hitler, will form the coalition that will send to hell the insane Nazi dictator, this greatest enemy of the Jews in modern times.

Czechoslovakia, under the high-ranking Freemason Benesch,<sup>19</sup> was supposed to provide the stimulus for world war, as Serbia had done in its day. The Munich agreements of 30 September 1938 wrecked Jewish hopes.

14 Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service, 7 April 1933 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1933, I, pp. 175–177), and Military Service Law, 21 May 1935, (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1935, I, pp. 609–614).

15 The Law on the Reich Chamber of Culture, 22 Sept. 1933 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1933, I, pp. 661–662) sharply limited the participation of Jews in cultural life. The Culture League of German Jews was founded in Berlin in June 1933: see Glossary under 'Jewish Culture League'.

16 See Introduction, pp. 18–19.

17 For the text of the Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour, see PMJ 1/199.

18 This could not be verified.

In order to disrupt the budding understanding among peoples through their statesmen, Judah now resorted once again to the method of assassination, which it had already used against the Third Reich in the killing of Wilhelm Gustloff, the regional head in Switzerland, by the Jew Frankfurter.<sup>20</sup> On 6 November 1938, in Paris, Legation Counsellor Ernst vom Rath fell at the hands of the Jew Grünspan.

The German government responded to the attack by the Jews with legal measures that eliminated the Jew from the economic sector and imposed on him an atonement fine of 1 billion Reichsmarks.<sup>21</sup>

The world has no right to be indignant at the Germans' struggle to resist Jewry's age-old wish to destroy. Other peoples, too, are already beginning to recognize that the German people are pursuing the right course. Not until the Jew has been removed from his position of power in other countries, too, will there exist the possibility of rapprochement among the peoples, based on just claims and free, independent existence.

DOC. 188

**On 2 December 1938 the Office for Kinship Research in Vienna complains about the clergy's lax approach to ascertaining Jewish descent<sup>1</sup>**

Report from the Vienna Gauleitung of the NSDAP, Office for Kinship Research (signature illegible), Gau Branch Vienna I, at 4 Am Hof, dated 2 December 1938<sup>2</sup>

Report.

In our work, it is my constant experience that the clergy and registrars in the Ostmark are not in favour of kinship research. This is shown by an ever-increasing negligence and lack of thoroughness. But there is also an increasing number of cases in which clergymen, presumably to accommodate the parties concerned, simply withhold essential information about non-Aryan ancestry. Evidence for these facts can be produced at any time. In addition, there are now a number of clergymen who write their documents for proof of descent on uncut wastepaper.

In order to remedy all these abuses once and for all, I would suggest an administrative order concerning this matter, perhaps along the following lines:

Clergy and registrars are required to incorporate into the documents for proof of descent all remarks that appear in the church books and registers. Arbitrarily abridged excerpts are inadmissible. Omissions of information that suggest non-Jewish descent are liable to prosecution. The certificates of birth, marriage, and death must be issued, as was previously customary, on proper preprinted forms. The final charge for documents

19 Correctly: Edvard Beneš.

20 On the murder of Wilhelm Gustloff on 4 Feb. 1936 in Davos, see PMJ 1/225.

21 See Doc. 142, 12 Nov. 1938.

1 ÖStA/AdR, Reichskommissar Bürckel/Materie, 2765/2, Kt. 183. This document has been translated from German.

2 The original contains handwritten annotations and underlining, and the stamp of the NSDAP Gauleitung in Vienna.

concerning birth, death, and marriage is 60 Reichspfennigs; this charge may not be exceeded without a particular reason.

The proof of ancestry is a document within the meaning of the law. Therefore, the certification process requires the greatest accuracy and care.<sup>3</sup>

DOC. 189

***Frankfurter Zeitung*, 2 December 1938: article on the annual meeting  
of the Reich Institute for History of the New Germany<sup>1</sup>**

*Scholarly battle against the Jews.*

*Additional lectures from the Reich Institute for History of the New Germany.  
(Private telegram from the Frankfurter Zeitung.)*

Berlin, 1 December. At the annual conference of the Reich Institute for History of the New Germany,<sup>2</sup> the Freiburg scholar Hans Bogner<sup>3</sup> spoke about the *concept of the soul during the archaic period in Greece*. The lecturer used a comparison to make his perspective clear. To him, Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus*<sup>4</sup> is the embodiment of the German frame of mind during a specific time: there exists a profound conflict here between natural predispositions and religious beliefs, which leads to a brokenness in life. Homeric man, by contrast, demonstrates a complete harmony between natural predispositions and prevailing value judgements, an astonishing light-heartedness even with all the discipline and moulding of life. At the same time – according to Bogner's interpretation – the soul or the intrinsic self is, to a certain extent, relocated out of the individual and into the associated community as the superordinate totality. The polis increasingly becomes the repository of the spiritual. Then, however, the decline of the polis also changes the soul from a medium of community values into an individual possession: thus the modern, later Christianized, notion of the soul is prefigured. – Examples from Greek lyric poetry, tragedy, and Plato illustrated Bogner's remarks.

Ernst Krieck,<sup>5</sup> of Heidelberg, then spoke about the *German perception of history*. For Krieck, the Germanic world view had come to fruition in its conception of history on one occasion: among the North Germanic tribes between 1120 and 1250. In *German*

<sup>3</sup> On 12 Jan. 1939 Reich Commissioner Bürckel instructed all Gauleiter to ensure that church books no longer be kept as separate registers. Instead, they were to wait for a regulation from the Reich Kinship Office; the Minister of the Interior and Cultural Affairs, Vienna, to the Reich Commissioner for the Reunification of Austria with the German Reich, 26 Jan. 1939.

<sup>1</sup> 'Wissenschaftlicher Kampf gegen das Judentum', *Frankfurter Zeitung* (Reich edition), 2 Dec. 1938, p. 2. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> The Reich Institute for History of the New Germany (Reichsinstitut für Geschichte des neuen Deutschlands), founded in the summer of 1935, was under the remit of the Reich Ministry of Science, Schooling, and Education and had the task of carrying out research on modern German history since the French Revolution.

<sup>3</sup> Hans Bogner (1895–1948), classical philologist; professor at Freiburg, 1936–1941, and Straßburg, 1941–1944; after 1945 teacher at the Blaubeuren Evangelical Seminary.

<sup>4</sup> Regarded as the first German-language adventure novel, inspired by the events of the Thirty Years War (1618–1648), written by Hans Jakob Grimmelshausen (1621/1622–1676) in 1668.

intellectual history, the speaker said, such a realization had *not* been possible, because German self-awareness has repeatedly been overlaid by foreign material. Beneath this foreign overlay, however, a unique sense of nation and of right and wrong has always been preserved. The National Socialist revolution signifies the decisive breakthrough. Its Führer justifies his mission at all times by reference to the Germans' history of becoming a people, and he demands a corresponding German conception of history.

Karl Richard *Ganzer*,<sup>6</sup> of Munich, studied the life and work of the saint *Hofbauer*. His interpretation was based on the following train of thought: Clemens Maria Hofbauer<sup>7</sup> was canonized in 1909, a few months after Joan of Arc had been beatified. The beatification of France's national heroine had been viewed in many cases as the Pope taking sides against the German Reich. Now, however, justice seemed to be restored. In reality, Hofbauer was one of the staunchest supporters of the anti-German will of the Curia and was the father of political Catholicism in Germany, the preparer of Rome's Central Europe policy, which in our times was still trying to turn Austria into an intermediate zone of the Papal States. In this Redemptorist monk,<sup>8</sup> the speaker said, lived a raging sectarian hatred. Hofbauer had his heyday at the time of the Congress of Vienna. He was the inspiration behind the conversion movement among the leaders of German intellectual life. The actual place in which he proselytized was the salon of Dorothea Schlegel, the Catholic daughter of Mendelssohn. The Hofbauer circle destroyed the plans for a German national church, which were already starting to take shape. His representatives sat in the proximity of Metternich and the emperor. At the same time, Hofbauer displayed a brilliant knack for leadership and a lack of scruples in the psychological management of other people. He advocated the primacy of the Church over the state, he cultivated the cells of his anti-reformationist order all over Europe, and his representatives were to be found both at the royal courts and in the nunciatures. He opposed every genuine spiritual movement in Germany and was thus a supporter of the old Church tradition of responding to every substantive German movement with a counteraction.

Next, the president of the institute, Walter *Frank*,<sup>9</sup> made a statement about the *scholarly battle against the Jews*. According to his sources, the institute has begun to build up the

5 Dr Ernst Kriek (1882–1947), educator; joined the NSDAP in 1932; in 1933 rector of the University of Frankfurt am Main; from 1934 professor in Heidelberg and chairman of the Office for Science in the Reich Association of German Institutions of Higher Education; in 1934 worked with the SD; died in Moosburg internment camp.

6 Dr Karl Richard Ganzer (1909–1944), historian; joined the NSDAP and the SA in 1929; from 1935 member of the Board of Experts of the Reich Institute for History of the New Germany, and from late 1941 its president; military service, 1943; killed in action.

7 Correctly: Klemens Maria Hofbauer (1751–1820), priest; from 1786 established a pastorate for charitable work at the St Benno Church in Warsaw with a school for the poor, an orphanage, and a handicrafts school, which was shut down in 1808 on Napoleon's orders; from 1813 a pastor; beatified in 1888 and canonized in 1909.

8 Redemptorists: religious order founded in Italy in 1732.

9 Dr Walter Frank (1905–1945), historian; from 1934 specialist for history in the NSDAP Commission on Higher Education; in 1935 Hitler awarded him the title of professor; president of the Reich Institute for History of the New Germany, 1935–1941; in 1936 founded the Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question in Munich; from 1937 editor of the series *Forschungen zur Judenfrage* (Studies on the Jewish Question); took his own life on 9 May 1945.

largest library in Europe on the Jewish question.<sup>10</sup> The institute – according to this statement – is aware that the scholarly fight can be won only if it is closely associated with the political fight against the Jews. On that note, Frank welcomed Gauleiter Julius Streicher. The institute does not intend to treat the Jewish question separately, in a specialized way, but rather in the broader context of German national history and world history. Resolutely, it intends to continue strengthening the anti-Jewish wing of its research activity.

Karl Georg *Kuhn*,<sup>11</sup> of Munich, spoke about the Jewish question as a problem of world history. In the course of his remarks, he said that for two thousand years the Jews have lived as an ethnic-national minority, dispersed all over the world. In so doing, they have lived since time immemorial in cities; they are history's veritable nation of traders. This characteristic has also determined their migration. The Jew does not migrate to undeveloped new land, but rather to already settled land, where he can trade more easily. At the time of the immigrant pioneers in the United States, the Jews did not yet represent even 1 thousandth of the total population; today they account for 35 thousandths. But such findings do not explain how it happens that the Jewish minorities have survived for two millennia. The Syrians, for example, who worked as traders in the Roman Empire in ancient times, have long since been absorbed and vanished. The Jewish minorities, however, are still in existence. That is due, first, to the Jewish religion, which teaches the Jewish people to feel that they are the chosen people in God's design, and thus gives them great stability. Also decisive, however, is the racial genetic endowment of the Jews, the sum of their biological attributes. For 150 years, the emancipation movement has been under way. It sought to give the Jews liberty, so that they could integrate into the national society and merge into it. Instead, the Jews have used their liberty to acquire positions of power in the host peoples everywhere. The premises for emancipation have been completely negated. The present-day opposition to the Jews in a great variety of places around the world is nothing but the reckoning due for distorting of the meaning of emancipation.

10 Much of the library consisted of books that had been confiscated from Jewish institutions and private homes.

11 Dr Karl Georg Kuhn (1906–1976), theologian; joined the NSDAP in 1932; from 1936 worked at the Reich Institute for History of the New Germany; from 1942 professor for the study of the Jewish question, Tübingen; professor in Göttingen, 1949, and Heidelberg, 1954.

## DOC. 190

**On 2 December 1938 the Gestapo appoints Max Plaut as manager  
of the Jewish Religious Association in Hamburg<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the Gestapo, State Police Regional Headquarters Hamburg (diary no. II B 2-5628/38), p.p. Götttsche,<sup>2</sup> to Dr Plaut,<sup>3</sup> legal advisor to the Jewish Religious Association, 2 Beneckestraße, Hamburg, dated 2 December 1938<sup>4</sup>

Pursuant to § 1 of the Regulation for the Protection of People and State dated 28 February 1933,<sup>5</sup> you are hereby appointed to run the affairs of the Jewish Religious Association<sup>6</sup> on your own responsibility in the upcoming period. Any provisions in the statutes that are contrary to this will be temporarily annulled. You are accountable for faultless management to the Gestapo at the State Police Regional Headquarters in Hamburg. You are to submit a plan detailing your plans for the operation of the association and the distribution of its work. Furthermore, you are hereby appointed chairman of all Jewish organizations for the upcoming period. This appointment is valid until withdrawn. It is your duty to collect contributions to fund the associations. In order to fund a regulated emigration of the Jews, you are authorized to levy a special surcharge on emigrating Jews. Accounts are to be kept of the contributions collected.

1 Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 622-1 Plaut D21. This document has been translated from German.

2 Claus Götttsche (1899-1945), police officer; from 1921 member of the Hamburg Order Police; secretary in the administration of the police authorities, 1932; joined the Gestapo and the NSDAP in 1933; in 1941 detective superintendent and specialist for Jewish affairs in the Hamburg Gestapo; took his own life.

3 Dr Max Plaut (1901-1974), banker, lawyer, and economist; secretary of the Jewish Community of Hamburg, 1933; chairman of the Jewish Religious Association of Greater Hamburg, 1938-1943; head of the north-west German district office of the Reich Association of Jews in Germany, 1939-1943; arrested several times after 1933; travelled to Palestine in 1944 with an exchange transport; in Bremen, 1950-1965, and held posts including as a procurator; in Hamburg, 1965-1974, worked to promote Christian-Jewish understanding.

4 Official stamp of the Gestapo, State Police Regional Headquarters, Hamburg.

5 § 1 of the Regulation of the Reich President for the Protection of People and State (28 Feb. 1933) annulled several articles in the constitution of the German Reich. It placed restrictions on, for example, the rights to personal freedom and the expression of opinion, as well as rights of association and assembly: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1933, I, p. 83.

6 The Jewish Community of Hamburg (Jüdische Gemeinde Hamburg) had to change its name to the Jewish Religious Association (Jüdischer Religionsverband e.V.) in 1938.

## DOC. 191

**On 2 December 1938 the German consulate general reports on the flight of the Jews from the Memel Territory and its economic consequences<sup>1</sup>**

Letter (marked 'urgent!') from the German consulate general for the Memel Territory (A. 758.), p.p. signed Mohr,<sup>2</sup> to the Reich Foreign Office, dated 2 December 1938 (carbon copy)<sup>3</sup>

Content: the flight of the Jews from the Memel Territory and its impact on Memel economic life.

Since the Sudeten crisis, a palpable sense of panic has spread among the Jews in the Memel Territory. The first signs of this were the Memel Jewish merchants Hafthal<sup>4</sup> and Eilberg putting their valuable wooden stands up for sale in September. The sense of unease grew significantly among the Jews as the state of war was lifted, and has escalated in the last weeks, so much so that it must now be described as a flight of the Jews from the Memel Territory.<sup>5</sup>

Convinced that the Memel Territory will be annexed to the German Reich immediately after the regional elections,<sup>6</sup> the Jews have not only withdrawn all of their bank deposits, but they are now also selling off all their property and trying to convert their stock into cash in drastic cut-price sales. The closing sales have already reached such a scale that the directorate of the Memel Territory sees no other option than to decree a police regulation to prevent the disruption of business life by forbidding all closing sales until further notice.

Much as the Memel people welcome the departure of the Jews from the Memel Territory, the movement has had serious repercussions on Memel business life. According to the estimates of bank specialists here, the Jews have withdrawn around 10 million litas<sup>7</sup> in bank deposits in the last six weeks.<sup>8</sup> The closure of factories and businesses has led to a large number of Memel blue- and white-collar workers being laid off, so that the city of Memel must brace itself for higher unemployment. On the housing market there is an oversupply of apartments. Whereas just a few weeks ago there was a clear shortage

1 BArch, R 2/15666, fol. 402. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Ernst Günther Mohr (1904–1991), lawyer; in the diplomatic service, 1929–1945, including consul general in Memel, 1937–1938; deputy head of department in the German Office for Peace Affairs, 1947–1949; worked in the German Federal Chancellery, 1949; German attaché to Caracas, 1952–1955; head of protocol of the West German Foreign Office, 1955–1958; ambassador in Bern, 1958–1963, and in Buenos Aires, 1963–1969.

3 Copy of F 6612–297 I, carbon copy Legation Counsellor von Grundherr.

4 Correctly: Nathan Nafthal (1864–1945), businessman; timber trader in Memel; vice president of the Memel Chamber of Commerce and the Portuguese honorary consul; fled to Kovno, 1938, and lived in the ghetto there, 1941–1944; deported to Dachau, where he died in 1945.

5 Of the approximately 6,000 Jews who lived in the city of Memel in 1938, around half had fled to western Lithuania by the beginning of 1939.

6 On the annexation of the Memel Territory to the German Reich, see Introduction, p. 44. The regional elections took place on 11 Dec. 1938; see Doc. 106, 14 Oct. 1938, fn. 14.

7 Litās: Lithuanian currency, 1922–1940; in the late 1930s the exchange rate was around six litās to the US dollar.

8 The refugees initially took their assets with them. It was only as the German occupation of the Memel Territory approached with more certainty that they mostly fled in haste, leaving their belongings behind.

of apartments, now over 100 apartments are vacant and at the moment new buildings are not being finished. Furthermore, foreign as well as Greater Lithuanian suppliers are no longer issuing credit on goods in the Memel Territory. There have even been cases of consignments from England, normally sold on the basis of three-month bills of acceptance, being stopped after arriving in Memel by English sellers demanding cash. In cases where cash payment was not made, the goods were shipped back to England.

This disruption of Memel economic life is further exacerbated by the fact that the Memel people have been withdrawing large quantities of their cash reserves from the Städtische Sparkasse<sup>9</sup> and the Memeler Bank in order to purchase land cheaply from the Jews or to stockpile goods in the closing-down sales. In the last four weeks around 7 million litas have been withdrawn from these two banking institutions.

In order to meet its obligations to pay out cash, the Städtische Sparkasse was forced to take on 3.5 million litas in credit from the issuing bank here. After exhausting this credit limit, it is now necessary to draw on a further 4 million litas in credit held by the Memeler Bank AG. This and the aforementioned withdrawals by Jews and Memel citizens alike have in turn forced the Memeler Bank to make use of a rediscount option of 1,750,000 litas, which the Lithuanian state bank Lietuvos Bankas had agreed to some time ago. However, yesterday the Memeler Bank received the information from the Lietuvos Bankas that this rediscount loan of 1,250,000 litas has been cancelled, so that the Memeler Bank only has 500,000 litas in cash reserves.

The director of the Memeler Bank AG, Mr *Sachs*, who brought the issue to the consulate general yesterday together with the mayor Dr Brindlinger<sup>10</sup> and the director of the Städtische Sparkasse, Mr *Suhr*, claims that the termination of the rediscount option by the Lithuanian state bank was intended to exacerbate the difficulties being experienced in the Memel economy due to the flight of the Jews. The Lietuvos Bankas proceeded in the same way in 1931 when, as a consequence of the crash of the English pound and the collapse of the banking sector here, withdrawals of bank deposits were carried out on a large scale. At the time, the Memeler Bank was granted reserves of 1 million Reichsmarks from the Reichsbank in Berlin for a period of three months.

The current situation, however, is much worse than in 1931. The combination of the most diverse factors: the likelihood of the continued emigration of the Jews with their entire assets, the refusal of the Lithuanian state bank to intervene with assistance, the upcoming end of year, which is placing particularly high demands on the Memel banks this month, as well as the fact that no more goods are being delivered on credit to the Memel Territory from abroad and from Greater Lithuania, all of this is bound to have a catastrophic effect if a solution is not found immediately. In order to help the Memel economy through its present difficulties, a loan of at least 3 million Reichsmarks for the Memeler Bank and Städtische Sparkasse would be necessary. The municipal administration of the city of Memel and the Memeler Bank see themselves faced with no other option than to approach the Reichsbank with the request to provide a loan of the aforementioned sum to the Memel economy.

<sup>9</sup> Municipal savings bank.

<sup>10</sup> Dr Wilhelm Brindlinger (1890–1967), lawyer and politician; regional court judge in Insterburg, 1921, then a lawyer in Heydekrug/Memel Territory; became a Lithuanian citizen in 1925; co-founder of the Memel People's Party and from 1926 its vice chairman; member of the Memel regional diet; mayor of Memel, 1931–1934 and 1936–1944.

To this end, Mr Sachs will probably set off for Berlin at the beginning of next week. Prior to that he will travel to Kovno seeking a reversal of the termination of the rediscount loan from the president of the Lithuanian state bank.

However, he is firmly convinced that his trip will not be successful, as the refusal to issue the loan is a good way for the Lithuanian government to force the Memel Territory to bow to its wishes. This is a mechanism that they will not give up easily.

The attaché in Kovno will receive a carbon copy of this report.

DOC. 192

**Erik and Magda Geiershoefer from Allersberg describe how NSDAP functionaries confiscated their property in late November/early December 1938<sup>1</sup>**

Report by Erik and Magda Geiershoefer<sup>2</sup> (unsigned), Reigate, England, dated June–July 1939

*III. Report by Erik Geiershoefer on his further experiences, with additions by Magda Geiershoefer*

22 Nov., *Tuesday*: Early in the morning I set off for Munich, taking with me the affidavit from Aunt Adele Auerbach in London, which had arrived in the meantime. The purpose of my journey was to find out from the English consul general<sup>3</sup> whether, because of the affidavit we had received, we would get an English visa without undue complications once in possession of our passports. I was notified by the consul that the Home Office had recently issued a directive to the effect that all previous regulations on obtaining visas were invalid, and that we would have to await new regulations from the consulate. Under the old conditions, the affidavit in our possession would have allowed us to obtain a visa. The new regulations should be available in eight to fourteen days. Thus, having achieved nothing, I arrived back in Allersberg towards evening.

In the meantime a letter had arrived from my mother,<sup>4</sup> whom we assumed to be in Berlin, telling us that she was only able to spend one night with her acquaintances as otherwise they would have suffered a great deal of inconvenience. As my brother who lived in Hamburg<sup>5</sup> had not been harassed – no doubt the Nazis did not suspect that a ship's officer could be Jewish – my mother fled there. Although no access permit had

1 Sammlung Familie Geiershoefer/Schulenburg, Großbritannien, Archiv/GE/EN 1. This document has been translated from German.

2 Erik Geiershoefer (1903–1971), factory owner; in 1936 took over the management of his father's Gilardi firm, which the Geiershoefer family had acquired in 1894 and which produced goods including Christmas tree decorations; expropriation, 1938; emigrated with his wife Magda, née Ruhl (1907–1996), and daughter Susanne (b. 1935) to Britain, April 1939; returned to Allersberg, 1946.

3 John Eric Maclean Carvell (1894–1978), diplomat; from 1928 in the British Foreign Office and active as consul in several countries; consul general in Munich, 1938–1939.

4 Else Amalie Geiershoefer, née Kann (1879–1942); wife of Otto Geiershoefer (1867–1936) and mother of Erik and Herbert Geiershoefer; heiress of the Gilardi company; arrested on 10 Nov. 1938, spent eleven days in protective custody, and found temporary refuge in Hamburg; on 25 Oct. 1941 deported to the Lodz ghetto, where she died.

5 Herbert Geiershoefer (1906–1962), ship's officer; lived in Heinrich-Barth-Strasse in Hamburg; from 1942 in Kampala, Uganda.

been issued for Jews in Hamburg, as in almost all other places, my brother had still succeeded in obtaining one for our mother. One of the police officers in charge happened to be an old acquaintance of his. My brother also managed to keep his apartment for Mother, although he had already terminated the lease as he wanted to emigrate to Basra, Iraq, in December. In her letter, Mother requested among other things that Magda should try to withdraw some money for her from her private bank account in Nuremberg. She should send it to her by registered post as Mother had been sent away with few means, and she also feared that all Jewish bank accounts would soon be frozen completely.

23 Nov., *Wednesday*: At the crack of dawn Magda set off for the bank in Nuremberg and was actually able to withdraw another sum from Mother's private account. We sent the sum straight to her from Allersberg in the afternoon. We spent the rest of our time writing important letters or sorting out our things.

24 Nov., *Thursday*: In the course of the afternoon the head of the local NSDAP branch<sup>6</sup> informed me that I should be ready by around five o'clock. The Kreisleitung had just announced that the gentlemen would be coming over again today and that I had to be present. At the appointed time Mr Dornberger,<sup>7</sup> Mr Forster,<sup>8</sup> and Mr Kamm<sup>9</sup> from the Kreisleitung all appeared with stern, tight-lipped expressions along with Kugler, the head of the local NSDAP branch and Inspector Burckhardt from the gendarmerie.<sup>10</sup> Dornberger said immediately: 'We come with unpleasant news. Your mother is trying to set up something crooked with your brother in Hamburg. Since we cannot get hold of them, we are taking you with us again instead. Here is the warrant for your arrest. You're going back to prison in Hilpoltstein today and the day after tomorrow you're off to the concentration camp in Dachau.'

My wife, who was pale with shock and slumped on the sofa, trembling from head to foot, was ordered to get some warm clothing together for me. While my wife was carrying out this order, the notary Dr Pfeiffer from Hilpoltstein also appeared. Together with Dornberger he was in charge of the sale of the company, the financial administration, etc. I pleaded with the gentlemen to tell me what my mother and brother were allegedly up to in Hamburg, as there must be some sort of misunderstanding. They replied that my brother's trustee, a certain Dr Seif[f]ert in Hamburg, had requested the immediate

6 Karl Kugler (1902–1978), teacher; joined the NSDAP in 1933; sentenced to three months' imprisonment for theft, 1948.

7 Georg Dornberger (1900–1980), farmer; joined the NSDAP and the SA in 1930; SA-Sturmführer, 1932; deputy NSDAP Kreisleiter as well as head of the NSDAP Kreis office and Kreis chairman in the German Labour Front; sentenced to two years and nine months of penal servitude for organized extortion, 1948.

8 Correctly: Karl Förster (1911–2005), electrician; joined the NSDAP in 1930; in 1934 joined the German Labour Front; from 1936 chairman of the National Socialist factory cell of the paper manufacturer Vereinigte Papierwerke Heroldsberg; from 1937 local chairman of the German Labour Front in Heroldsberg; sentenced to one and a half years of penal servitude for organized extortion, 1948.

9 Ernst Kamm (1912–1995), chemist; joined the NSDAP and the SA in 1931; NSDAP cell leader in the Dinkelsbühl local branch; SA-Scharführer, 1934; released from the SA at his own request in 1935; in 1948 sentenced to six weeks in prison for receiving stolen goods.

10 Correctly: Gottfried Burkart (1897–1960), police sergeant; SA-Sturmführer and sergeant in the gendarmerie; in 1948 acquitted of being an accessory to extortion and theft.

transfer of around RM 30,000 – my brother's albeit minor share in the company. They said no legal objections could be made, as my brother had not waived his share, yet my mother had surely instigated this request and they were arresting me in retaliation. I retorted that my mother had certainly done no such thing, and asked for permission to telephone my brother immediately. After some deliberation, this was granted. My brother explained to me, or rather to the gentlemen, that the application for this sum had come neither from him nor our mother. His trustee had requested it at the behest of the foreign exchange office in Hamburg, as the latter had transferred to the trustee the right of disposal over the assets of my brother, who was in the process of preparing his emigration, and as he was to be entrusted with securing the money on behalf of the foreign exchange office. Moreover, my brother said he would go straight to his trustee, who would be able to confirm these facts to everyone who was gathered by the telephone. – After conferring briefly, the gentlemen from the Party came to the following conclusion: 'It is imperative that we obtain a replacement for this sum from somewhere else, and since we know – or in the meantime have discovered – that your mother has around RM 60,000 in bonds with the tax authorities of Hilpoltstein and a private bank account containing around RM 30,000–35,000, you can only be saved from the concentration camp if your mother comes straight here and [...]'<sup>11</sup> us her entire remaining private assets' and she declared herself prepared to travel here immediately but said that this was virtually impossible, given her poor state of health. However, she intended to go to a notary this evening to get a power of attorney, allowing Mr Dornberger the full rights of disposal over her entire remaining assets.

After a short conferral the Party gentlemen declared themselves in agreement with this, as long as a telegram came from a Hamburg notary in the course of the evening confirming that the power of attorney had really been signed in his presence and sent off immediately. – After a lengthy telephone conversation had also taken place with the trustee in Hamburg, who confirmed all of these facts, also guaranteeing that he would take care of the immediate issuing and sending of the power of attorney, another discussion ensued regarding what was to happen to me. They finally decided to leave me here, but I had to pledge not to leave the house until allowed to do so the following day, when I would be arrested immediately if the power of attorney did not arrive on time.

Finally, the gentlemen went on their way. I do not need to describe what a state we were in. This incident had made it clear to us that we would no longer be safe, not even for a moment. On any given day the men could find another reason to come and take me away. For today at least they were satisfied, as they had again managed to get their hands on a substantial sum of money. – Sleep was unthinkable for us that night.

25 Nov., *Friday*: In the course of the afternoon the notary came again, bringing us money for the ship fare, etc. He was very polite and told us he was glad that I had been allowed to stay at home the day before. He said he had done his best, but his influence was of course only minimal, as he was but a lowly Party member. I also found out from him that the business had been sold to a Mr Guttman from Weissenburg, a young inexperienced person with too little working capital.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> In the original this line is illegible.

<sup>12</sup> Correctly: Hermann Gutmann (1907–1987), retailer; joined the NSDAP in 1937; founded the light alloys company Leichtmetall-Drahtwerk Hermann Gutmann in Weissenburg in 1937. After he do-

26 Nov., *Saturday*: I was in Nuremberg and paid the money to North German Lloyd for our boat tickets to the USA.

27 Nov., *Sunday*: We received forms to fill in from the foreign currency office in Nuremberg, as it had become known that we wanted to emigrate. Furthermore we found a note written to my wife in our letterbox, in which an unknown person urged her, in our interests, to turn up at a small café in Nuremberg on Monday. The note gave us new cause for unease. What did they want from us this time? Was it blackmail, a trap, or did somebody want to give us a hidden sign? We decided to hand the note to Police Inspector Burckhard. He was not at home, but visited us in the evening. He took the note and said Magda should not go to the meeting, but should pay attention to who was on the early train to Nuremberg and might come into question as the writer of this note, as Magda had to travel to the foreign currency office in Nuremberg on Monday.

28 Nov., *Monday*: We drew up a list of the few items of furniture we intended to take abroad with us. Furthermore we made a list of the furniture that the NSDAP or the NSV<sup>13</sup> and the head of the local Party branch had stipulated that they wanted themselves. It consisted of the following items of furniture: a complete guest room (mahogany), consisting of two bed frames with mattresses and support mattresses, two small bedside tables, one wardrobe, one table and two chairs plus a desk (oak) with an armchair and a large bookshelf, one chaise longue, several upholstered chairs, an extra bed (walnut) with a wire and horsehair support mattress, quilt and pillows, a bedside table, a washstand set, etc., plus an extra wardrobe and large table, one child's bedstead, various lamps, as well as almost all of our electrical appliances such as a hob, a refrigerator, a hot-water tank, and an oven. There was also one linoleum carpet, a large number of children's toys, and almost our entire library, etc.

My wife's foster sisters were meant to receive the following items providing that the Kreisleitung allowed us to use them for this purpose: two kitchen cupboards and two wardrobes, two lamps, two armchairs, four chairs, two tables, one sideboard, one chaise longue, a kitchen sink, as well as some porcelain and a few kitchen gadgets. My wife also asked for permission to give a Moses basket, bathtub, changing table, pram, etc. to a friend who is expecting her first child and for whom these things had long been intended.

In the evening, Police Inspector Burckhard of the gendarmerie showed up again to enquire as to whether Magda had seen anyone on the train who might come into question as the writer of the letter. However, this was not the case.<sup>14</sup> Then the police inspector said to me, 'I have heard that you own a very nice stamp collection. You will not be able to take that abroad with you though. I'm interested in it. Do please give it to me.' What else could I do but to say yes and hand over my European album to him. After Magda

nated 5,000 Reichsmarks to the Party, the NSDAP Kreisleitung sold the Gilardi company at a low price to Gutmann, who switched production to wire for the war industry. He was appointed an honorary citizen of Weissenburg in 1985.

<sup>13</sup> Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt: National Socialist People's Welfare organization.

<sup>14</sup> In the part of the account not published here, the Geiershoefers reported how there were several further anonymous requests to meet up, which turned out to have been written by a female neighbour.

had given him a receipt for the ridiculously small sum he gave us as the alleged purchase price, he made off with his booty.

*29 Nov., Tuesday:* We had to submit to the foreign currency office a list of all the possessions we wanted to take with us, and it was mandatory that everything had to be evaluated by an official valuer. The man who did this, a Mr Ohmann, came in the afternoon and made a record of everything. He warned us that the checks were very strict and that we had to disclose everything that we had or wanted to take with us.

In the course of the day Dornberger came again to find out how far along we were with our emigration plans, and informed me that on Thursday I would have to sign various things – he would come by with some other gentlemen to do this. I had definitely to be present.

*30 Nov., Wednesday:* Under the supervision of Kugler, head of the local NSDAP branch, I had to go into the firm and answer a lot of questions from the new owner and the employees, as nobody knew a thing about the business and rather a lot had already been done wrong.

*1 Dec., Thursday:* In the course of the afternoon Dornberger, the notary Pfeiffer, and Dr Seif[f]ert, my brother's trustee from Hamburg, turned up. I had to sign once more to the effect that my entire assets, which were tied up in the business, would belong to the Kreisleitung of the NSDAP following realization. In order to realize the assets a new company was founded, and Dr Pfeiffer and Dr Seif[f]ert were appointed as authorized representatives. In the document it stated that the former would immediately receive RM 5,000 for his previous activity and the latter, RM 1,200. In reality however, neither of the gentlemen received anything at first, as both sums went to the deputy Kreisleiter Dornberger. Both of the gentlemen told me this when Dornberger went out for a moment.

This manipulation meant that Dornberger returned to Dr Seiffert the power of attorney received regarding the private assets of my mother. However, Dornberger had already withdrawn RM 22,000 as security for the Reich Flight Tax, which I apparently had to pay (even if I had been liable for such a sum, according to the earlier agreement it would not have been Mother who had to pay this from her remaining private assets, but the Party should have paid it from my assets, which had been placed at their disposal).

Next we went to Mother's apartment, where some furniture, clothing, etc. were supposed to be put together for her from a list brought along by Dr Seiffert. It was now considered reasonable that Mother should at least be left with something. This plan was abandoned, however, as the gentlemen didn't have much time and needed to travel to Nuremberg to the Reichsbank and the foreign currency office regarding the outstanding requirements for our emigration. Dornberger said he would let us put the things together in the course of the following week. Before he left, he granted Magda his permission regarding the furniture intended for her foster sisters and her friend.

*2 Dec., Friday:* Once again I had to give explanations and instructions in the business, which no longer has anything to do with me – under the supervision of the Party, of course, so that I could not discuss anything with any employee that was not relevant to the issue in hand.

*3 Dec., Saturday:* At last the affidavit already announced by telegraph arrived from Mr Behrens in Detroit. By telegraph I immediately asked the American consul in Stuttgart,<sup>15</sup> with whom Mr Behrens had already spoken, for a meeting on Monday, as I was hoping to obtain the immigration visa to the USA on the basis of a really first-class affidavit.

Towards the evening, Inspector Burckhard came by again and said that the stamp album he had been given only contained European stamps. Surely I had to have the second album with stamps from outside Europe. – I now recalled that it was still in a trunk from my bachelor days in the porch of my mother's house, and I had to accompany him there to retrieve the stamp album. – The inspector came to our apartment later to get the obligatory receipt from Magda.<sup>16</sup>

## DOC. 193

**A regulation dated 3 December 1938 addresses the forced sale of Jewish companies and the procedure regarding Jewish bonds<sup>1</sup>**

*Regulation on the Utilization of Jewish Assets.*

3 December 1938.

Pursuant to § 1 of the Second Directive of the Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan pursuant to the Regulation on the Registration of Jewish Assets of 24 November 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 1668),<sup>2</sup> the following is decreed with the agreement of the Reich ministers involved:

*Article I*

*Business establishments*

§ 1

The owner of a Jewish business establishment (Third Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law, 14 June 1938 – *Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 627) can be given the task of selling or winding up the business within a fixed period. Conditions may be applied to the directive.

§ 2

(1) In Jewish business establishments whose owners have been tasked with the sale or liquidation according to § 1, a trustee can be appointed for the provisional continuation of the business and to facilitate the sale or liquidation, particularly if the owner of the business has not fulfilled the directive within the given time period and an application for an extension of the period has been refused.

(2) The trustee is authorized to handle all business both in and out of court as well as the legal proceedings necessary for the running of the company involved, its sale or

<sup>15</sup> In 1938–1939 Samuel Honaker was US consul general in Stuttgart.

<sup>16</sup> The Geiershoefers returned to Germany after the end of the war and rebuilt their business. Until the firm was closed down in 2006, the owner and manager of the Gilardi company was Susanne Schulenburg, née Geiershoefer, a resident of Britain since 1996.

<sup>1</sup> 'Verordnung über den Einsatz des jüdischen Vermögens', *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, pp. 1709–1712. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> According to § 1 of the Second Directive of the Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan pursuant to the Regulation on the Registration of Jewish Assets, the Reich Ministry of Economics was obliged to take the necessary measures, in agreement with the Reich Ministry of the Interior and the other ministers involved, to use the assets liable for compulsory registration in the interests of the German economy: see also Doc. 29, 26 April 1938.

liquidation. In this context his authorization replaces any power of attorney required by law.

(3) The trustee is obliged to carry out his tasks with the diligence of a prudent businessman and is under the supervision of the state.

(4) The owner bears the costs of administration by the trustee.

#### § 3

(1) The provisions in accordance with §§ 1 and 2 are to be communicated to the owner of the Jewish business.

(2) In the absence of the party concerned, notification can take place by means of an announcement in the *Deutscher Reichsanzeiger* and the *Preußischer Staatsanzeiger*. In these cases, the date of the announcement serves as the date of notification.

#### § 4

With the serving of the order that enables a trustee to be deployed according to § 2, the owner of the business loses the right of disposal over the assets to be administered by the trustee. He regains this right only when the appointment of the trustee ceases.

#### § 5

A permit for the sale according to § 1 of the directive pursuant to the Regulation on the Registration of Jewish Assets, dated 26 April 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 415),<sup>3</sup> is necessary also in cases in which the sale has been ordered. This also applies to sales conducted by a trustee.

### Article II

#### *Agricultural and forestry businesses*

#### *Real estate and other assets*

#### § 6

A Jew can be assigned (§ 5 of the First Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law of 14 November 1935 – *Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 1333)<sup>4</sup> to sell his agricultural or forestry business, his other agricultural or forestry assets, other real estate or other assets, either completely or partially, within a certain period. Conditions may be applied to the directive. The regulations of §§ 2 to 4 apply accordingly.

#### § 7

(1) Jews may not acquire land, land rights, or equivalent rights by means of a legal transaction.

(2) The provisions contained in §§ 2 and 4 to 6 of the directive pursuant to the Regulation on the Registration of Jewish Assets of 26 April 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 415) apply accordingly.

(3) In cases of a compulsory auction of property, the enforcement court is obliged to reject bids if there is reason to suspect that the bidder is a Jew.

(4) The rejection of the bid according to (3) loses its validity if the bidder immediately objects to it (§ 72(2) of the Law on Compulsory Auctions) and can prove that he is not Jewish.

<sup>3</sup> See Doc. 29, 26 April 1938.

<sup>4</sup> § 5 of the First Regulation stipulated who was to be classified as a Jew in accordance with the Reich Citizenship Law: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1935, I, pp. 1333–1334; see PMJ 1/210.

(5) Should the rejection of a bid be overruled according to (4), the decision regarding the acceptance of the bid is not to be made until two weeks after the end of the auction.

#### § 8

(1) Disposal rights regarding land and rights equivalent to land rights held by Jews require a permit in order to be valid. Disposal over remaining assets requires a permit in order to be valid if the sale has been ordered according to § 6 of this regulation. This also applies when the trustee has the rights of disposal.

(2) The provisions contained in (1) also apply to the law of obligations.

(3) The provisions contained in § 1(2) and § 2 of the directive pursuant to the Regulation on the Registration of Jewish Assets, dated 26 April 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 415), apply accordingly. Regarding the disposal of immovable assets, the provisions contained in §§ 4 to 6 of the cited directive apply accordingly.

(4) In the event of sale of property by compulsory auction, bids require a permit; should the required permit not be shown immediately, the bid must be rejected. Within the jurisdiction of the Reich Law on Compulsory Auctions and Compulsory Administration in the case of § 81(2) and (3) of this law, the property may only be sold to a bidder other than the highest bidder if the other bidder has provided a permit.

#### § 9

(1) The permit according to § 8 replaces any necessary permits required in accordance with the Property Transactions Announcement, dated 26 January 1937 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, S. 35), the Law on the Development of Residential Areas, dated 22 September 1933 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 659), the First Implementing Regulation to the Law on the Security of the Reich Borders and on Retaliatory Measures, dated 17 August 1937 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 905), as well as those required by price law regulations.

(2) In the event of sale of agricultural or forestry businesses or the establishment of usufruct in such a business, the permit as stipulated in § 8 replaces the permit as stipulated in § 1 of the directive pursuant to the Regulation on the Registration of Jewish Assets of 26 April 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 415).

#### § 10

(1) If a Jew sells a plot of land located in the region of the Reich capital Berlin, the Reich capital Berlin is entitled to the right of first refusal to carry out the city planning measures of the Inspector General of Building.

(2) The provisions contained in §§ 12 and 13 of the Regulation on the Redevelopment of the Reich Capital Berlin of 5 November 1937 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 1162) apply accordingly.

(3) The right of first refusal does not exist if the Reich, a state, or the National Socialist German Workers' Party is involved as a purchaser in the legal transaction.

### Article III

#### *Compulsory depositing of bonds*

#### § 11

(1) Within a week of this regulation coming into force, Jews are to deposit their entire shares, mining shares, assets with fixed interest, and similar bonds into a deposit account at a foreign exchange bank. Newly purchased bonds are to be deposited into such an account within a week of their purchase. The owner of such bonds belonging to a Jew may issue the bonds only to a foreign exchange bank for the account of the Jew.

(2) Should there already be bonds for the benefit of Jews in a deposit account of a foreign exchange bank or a debt register claim be registered or letters of allotment have been deposited with an administrative agency, on account of which enhanced annuities have been awarded, Jews must immediately submit a written declaration to the bank, the debt management office, or the administrative agency identifying themselves as Jews. In the case of (1) sentence 3, this declaration must be given to the owner.

(3) The deposit accounts and debt register claims are to be labelled as Jewish.

§ 12

Dispositions over Jewish bonds paid in and bonds paid out from such deposit accounts require a permit from the Reich Minister of Economics or from his designated office.

§ 13

The provisions contained in §§ 11 and 12 do not apply to Jews holding foreign nationality.

#### Article IV

##### *Gems, jewellery, and art objects*

§ 14

(1) It is forbidden for Jews to purchase, pawn, or independently sell objects made of gold, platinum, or silver, or gemstones and pearls. With the exception of the use for the benefit of a non-Jewish pledgee of a lien from Jewish ownership already in existence when this regulation comes into force, such objects may only be purchased through the public purchasing agencies listed by the Reich. The same applies to other items of jewellery or works of art where the price of the individual object exceeds 1,000 Reichsmarks.

(2) The provisions contained in (1) do not apply to Jews of foreign nationality.

#### Article V

##### *General provisions*

§ 15

(1) The permit for the sale of Jewish business establishments, Jewish property, or other Jewish assets can be issued under conditions that may also entail payments from the purchaser to the Reich.

(2) Permits of the type cited in (1) can also be issued with the proviso that bonds of the German Reich are issued to the Jewish seller or debt register claims are registered in the Reich debt register in place of payment of the whole or part of the sale price foreseen in the contract.

§ 16

The provisions for Jews stipulated in Article II also apply to businesses as well as associations, foundations, institutions, and other enterprises that are not businesses but are categorized as Jewish under the Third Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law, dated 14 June 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 627).

§ 17

(1) Subject to the particular provisions contained in (3) and (4), the higher administrative authorities are responsible for depositions in accordance with the rules of Articles I and II. The higher administrative authorities are also to supervise the appointed trustee.

(2) The authorities defined as higher administrative authorities in the context of this regulation are stipulated in § 6 of the Regulation on the Registration of Jewish Assets,

dated 26 April 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 414),<sup>5</sup> with the proviso that the following are responsible in the respective regions:

in Anhalt:

the Anhalt Ministry of State, Department of Economics;

in Baden:

the Baden Minister of Finance and Economics;

in Württemberg:

the Württemberg Minister of Economics;

in Austria:

the Reich Commissioner for the Reunification of Austria with the German Reich, or his designated offices;

in the Sudeten German territories:

the Regierungspräsidenten.

(3) As long as the assets are of an agricultural nature, the place of the higher administrative authorities is to be taken by the Oberpräsident in Prussia (department for regional culture), and by the senior housing authorities in the regional states aside from Prussia. If the assets are forestry assets, the higher forestry authorities take the place of the higher administrative authorities.

§ 18

(1) Local responsibility is held:

1. by the relevant authorities in whose district the business or property is located if the deposition concerns a business, a plot of land, or a right equivalent to a land right;

2. by the relevant authorities of the district in which the Jewish owner or designated authority is resident or usually lives if the deposition applies to other assets.

(2) In cases of doubt, the Reich Minister of Economics is to determine which authority is responsible.

§ 19

Regarding objections to dispositions pursuant to this regulation, the party concerned is permitted to file a complaint to the Reich Minister of Economics within a period of two weeks after the serving of the disposition. The decision of the Reich Minister of Economics cannot be contested.

§ 20

(1) In the case of § 18(2) and § 19 the place of the Reich Minister of Economics is taken by the Reich Minister of Food and Agriculture as far as agricultural assets are concerned, and by the Reich forestry superintendent as far as forestry assets are concerned.

(2) As far as businesses involved in agricultural trading and the processing of agricultural products are concerned (Reich Food Estate trade, Reich Food Estate industry, Reich Food Estate crafts as defined in § 1 of the Third Regulation on the Provisional Development of the Reich Food Estate, dated 16 February 1934 – *Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 100 and the relevant amendments), the Reich Minister of Economics takes the decisions in accordance with § 18(2) and § 19 in consultation with the Reich Minister of Food and Agriculture. With regard to processing and distribution businesses of the forestry and timber industry as defined by the Regulation on the Establishment, Takeover, and Extension of the Forestry and Timber Industries' Processing and Distribution

<sup>5</sup> See Doc. 29, 26 April 1938.

Businesses, dated 28 February 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 231), he will take decisions in consultation with the Reich forestry superintendent.

§ 21

(1) Dispositions of the higher administrative authorities that affect Jews of foreign nationality should only proceed with the approval of the Reich Minister of Economics.

(2) The same applies to the dispositions of the authorities cited in § 17(3) affecting a Jew of foreign nationality. The approval required in these cases is granted by the Reich Minister of Food and Agriculture or the Reich forestry superintendent in consultation with the Reich Minister of Economics.

§ 22

If these provisions cannot be applied directly in the Sudeten German territories, they are to be applied by analogy.

§ 23

(1) Anyone violating the provisions contained in §§ 4, 6 sentence 3, §§ 8, 11(1) and (2), §§ 12 and 14 will be punished in accordance with § 8 of the Regulation on the Registration of Jewish Assets, dated 26 April 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 414).

(2) According to this provision, the deliberate acquisition of assets in contravention of the provisions contained in §§ 4 or 6 sentence 3 is also punishable.

§ 24

This regulation comes into force on the day it is announced.

Berlin, 3 December 1938.

*The Reich Minister of Economics*

*Walther Funk*

*The Reich Minister of the Interior*

*Frick*

DOC. 194

**On 3 December 1938 the SS Security Service in Vienna offers the Racial Policy Office photos of emigrants from the files of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from Herbert Hagen (G II 112, 18–3, Hg/Pi), unsigned to the Racial Policy Office of the NSDAP in Berlin, dated 3 December 1938 (draft)<sup>2</sup>

Re: Jewish photographic material

Case file: none

When the identification papers of emigrating Jews are submitted, the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Vienna, which is attached to the local Main District Danube, receives three photographs of each person. This letter serves to enquire whether there is

<sup>1</sup> IfZ-Archives, MA 554, FR 5558, Fr. 5556(b) and 5557. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> In the top margin is written: 'Note (1) The original was signed on 1 Dec. after [...] being sent and returned. (2) [...], on 2 Dec. after consultation with II 1-Standartenführer.' 'II 1-Standartenführer' was Franz Alfred Six.

any interest [at the Racial Policy Office] in receiving one photograph of each. Confirmation of the personal details of the emigrating Jews would have to be carried out at the Central Office for Jewish Emigration by a member of [your] staff.

Please advise us<sup>3</sup> as to whether there is any interest in [...] viewing these pictures.<sup>4</sup>

#### DOC. 195

### On 5 December 1938 the Landrat in Glatz instructs the mayor to provide information regarding the Aryanization of the retail sector<sup>1</sup>

Letter (marked 'extremely urgent!') from the Landrat<sup>2</sup> (L.III.a.), p.p. (signature illegible), to the mayor as the local police authority in Glatz<sup>3</sup> (received on 6 December 1938), dated 5 December 1938

*Re:* exclusion of Jews from German economic life.

For the purpose of excluding Jews from the retail sector, a register listing all Jewish retail businesses by name is to be submitted to me *immediately*, including their branch of trade.

At the same time I am to be informed of those firms for which there is no economic interest in keeping the business in question running under Aryan management.<sup>4</sup> I hereby refer to [section] I clause 3 of the circular decree of the Reich Minister of Economics of 18 November 1938 – as announced by administrative circular on 25 November 1938 – L.III.a. –.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The rest of the sentence was added by hand.

<sup>4</sup> The original contains various annotations and was initialled by II 1 (Six), II 11, II 112, and II 213, among others. In its letter of reply on 14 Dec. 1938 the Racial Policy Office, Mau, expressed 'exceptional interest' in the photographs offered. On the following day it was therefore agreed by telephone that the Racial Policy Office would contact the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Vienna directly: *ibid.*

<sup>1</sup> Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu, Akta Miasta Kłodzka, 5409. This letter has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Heinrich Klosterkemper (1902–1976), administrative official; joined the NSDAP in 1933; Landrat in Unna, 1934; from 1937 Landrat in Glatz; employed in the Reich Ministry of the Interior, 1941–1945; around 1954 ministerial director in the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, and Forestry in North Rhine Westphalia.

<sup>3</sup> Leo Schubert (1885–1968), politician; joined the NSDAP in 1937 and the SS in 1939; mayor of Fulnek (Moravia), 1920–1933; imprisoned in Prague, 1933–1934; fled to the German Reich, 1935; mayor of Glatz, 1936–1941; after 1945 spokesman for the West German branch of the Sudeten German Homeland Association.

<sup>4</sup> On the document the names of the Jewish retailers in Glatz are written by hand: Borchard, Ellguther, Lewkowitz, May, [...], Reich, Schott. All business owners were already conducting negotiations for a sale at the end of Nov. 1938. In his reply of 6 Dec. 1938, the mayor wrote that except for Borchard's laundry and haberdashery shops and May's cleaning business, there was no economic interest in retaining the businesses: *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> The circular decree of the Reich Minister of Economics issued on 18 Nov. 1938 substantiated the Regulation on the Exclusion of Jews from German Economic Life: see Doc. 143, 12 Nov. 1938. It stipulated that the Jewish owners of the businesses closed during the November pogroms were responsible for an orderly winding down of the business. According to section 1, clause 3, the transfer of ownership to non-Aryans – the prerequisite for the store to be reopened – should be accelerated. However, it was necessary to investigate whether there was an economic interest in keeping the business going. The circular decree issued on 25 Nov. 1938 regulated further details and again urged interested parties 'to proceed as expeditiously as possible': BArch, R 187/240 a, fol. 1.

## DOC. 196

**On 6 December 1938 the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna reports  
on complications for emigration following the arrest of Jewish men<sup>1</sup>**

Thirtieth weekly report by the head of the Israelite Religious Community, Vienna (Löwenherz), dated 6 December 1938<sup>2</sup>

*(A) Report on activities*

*1. Emigration.*

In the period from 28 November to 3 December 1938, 749 individuals were processed by the emigration department of the Israelite Religious Community. Of these, 678 received all travel expenses and 71 of them received the sums required to obtain travel documents.

The destination countries were given in this part of the report as:

*I. European countries, 186:*<sup>3</sup> England, 109; CSR,<sup>4</sup> 23; Hungary, 21; Netherlands, 6; Lithuania and Sweden, 4 each; France and Belgium, 3 each; Latvia and Albania, 2 each; Estonia, 1; and 1 stopover for the preparation of emigration.

*II. Palestine, 11.*

*III. United States of North America, 81.*

*IV. South American states, 100:* Trinidad, 23; Brazil, 19; Cuba, 17; Uruguay and Panama, 8 each; Bolivia, 7; Costa Rica, 6; Mexico and San Domingo, 3 each; Jamaica, 2; Honduras, Argentina, Paraguay, and Columbia, 1 each.

*V. Other overseas countries, 300:* China, 283; Australia, 5; Rhodesia, 4; Iraq and Cyprus, 3 each; the Indian subcontinent and Liberia, 1 each.

A total of 15,581 persons have been processed by the emigration department of the Israelite Religious Community.

*2. Sending Jewish children abroad.*

With the consent of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration and with the help of foreign charity organizations, 400 children of Jewish faith will be sent to England and 68 to Holland in the course of this week.

At the same time preparations are being made to send a further 1,000 children in weekly transportations.

*3. Emigration of people currently in protective custody.*

The emigration department of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna has registered 1,319 detainees in protective custody. They have the opportunity to leave Reich territory in six to eight weeks, as they are in possession of entry permits for various destination countries.

The release of these individuals would also enable their family members, some 1,679 persons, making a total of 2,998 persons, to emigrate. Based on the information given by family members, checked meticulously by civil servants from the emigration

1 RGVA, 500k-1-685. This document has been translated from German.

2 The Israelite Religious Community had to send its activity reports to Eichmann's office. Parts of the original are underlined by hand.

3 The figures that follow don't add up to 186.

4 Czechoslovak Republic.

department, the records of the detainees were filed alphabetically and by place of detention, and submitted to the relevant authorities.

#### *4. Occupational restructuring*

In the twenty-ninth weekly report<sup>5</sup> it was pointed out that the activity of the advisory centre for vocational education and occupational restructuring has been considerably disrupted by the arrest of numerous course leaders as well as of closed groups of course participants. It was also stressed that the closure of several teaching workshops has made it impossible to recommence any kind of ordered occupational restructuring measures.

After most of the agricultural retraining sites had to be given up again after major difficulties and deploying not insubstantial funds, the commercial retraining work is also being endangered to the point that it could completely paralyse these measures, which are so crucial for the emigration process.

Taking into account the investments to date of the Religious Community and the foreign charity organizations, which have been repeatedly briefed at length on the occupational restructuring measures, it is requested that the occupational restructuring be enabled to continue by releasing the course leaders and participants and by reopening the closed workshops.

#### *Status report.*

As explained in the previous activity report, if those persons currently in protective custody and in a position to emigrate within a relatively short time are released, around 3,000 persons can be expected to emigrate in the following weeks.

In the course of the children's transports currently being prepared, 1,200–1,500 children should be sent abroad by the 31st of this month. Within the current schedule, 1,000 persons will emigrate to Palestine by the 31st of this month.

The normal processing activities of the emigration department of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna should cover up to 2,500 persons by the 31st of this month.

It is estimated therefore that the Religious Community and the Palestine Office will have prepared 2,500 persons for emigration by the 31st of this month.

This figure shows with particular clarity just how intensely the emigration efforts are being supported.

In the course of these preparations for emigration it will also be possible to find a satisfactory solution regarding the question of stateless Jews and of those who were until recently Polish nationals, and to set things in motion for their emigration.

The expulsion of these Jews at short notice can in no way serve to accelerate the emigration process, as it is not possible to obtain the necessary documentation and the immigration opportunities within just a few days.

The arrests and expulsion at short notice of the stateless Jews are triggering an onslaught of desperate parties seeking advice from the Israelite Religious Community and the Palestine Office, and the normal activity of the emigration department is being hindered as a result.

On the second day of this month, the head of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna, Dr Josef Loewenherz, and the head of the Palestine Office, Dr Addlois Rothenberg, visited the Central Office for Jewish Emigration and explained the effects of these

<sup>5</sup> This report is not in the file.

measures. They received the statement from SS-Obersturmführer Eichmann that future applications to leave the Reich territory are to be given a deadline of eight weeks.

In order to avoid an unnecessarily large rush in the offices of the Israelite Religious Community and the Palestine Office, these instructions should not be sent to all concerned at the same time. Instead, they should be informed in groups that they are to prepare for emigration.

The Jews living in Vienna are increasingly willing to emigrate. In order to enable the smooth processing of this emigration, however, the guarantee of shelter and a minimum standard of living is absolutely necessary.

In light of this, it is requested that those Jewish parties who still do not have the opportunity to enter their own locked-up or sealed-off apartments be able to return to their homes until the date of their emigration.

DOC. 197

**On 6 December 1938 Benno Cohn from the Palestine Office in Berlin  
reports to Georg Landauer on emigration to Palestine  
and the imminent forced merger of Jewish organizations<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the Berlin Palestine Office of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, 10 Meinekestraße, Berlin W 15, Benno Cohn<sup>2</sup> (BC/Scha) to Dr Georg Landauer,<sup>3</sup> Jerusalem, POB 92, dated 6 December 1938

Dear Landauer,

We have just spoken on the telephone. We decided to have this telephone call because we had no further solution, so to speak, to the certificate question. You are perfectly aware of the situation yourself. We do not need to paint you a detailed picture. We know from London how incredibly reserved the English are about the upcoming Palestine policy negotiations regarding new Aliyahs. It seems to us, however, that they could be persuaded to make an exception precisely on this issue. We do not know what kind of contact there is today with Colonel Mills,<sup>4</sup> the head of the immigration department, and whether he has much say over the decision. We considered here whether a delegation of new olim<sup>5</sup> of the latest Aliyah, petitioning for an extension of the Aliyah, would not be an unusual but effective means. We are convinced that everything conceivable is being done where you are, too. You recommended that I submit a list of 300 urgent cases to Tiergartenstrasse.<sup>6</sup> That is what we want to do today.

1 CZA, S/790/2. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Benno Cohn, later Cohen (1894–1975), lawyer and politician; from 1937 to 1939 president of the Zionist Federation for Germany (ZVfD) and chairman of the Palestine Office in Berlin; emigrated to Palestine, where he was secretary, director, and board member of the Association of Migrants from Central Europe (IOME), 1939–1947; co-founder of the Liberal Party of Israel; lecturer in law in Tel Aviv; member of the Knesset, 1961–1965.

3 Dr Georg Landauer (1895–1954), lawyer and politician; head of the Palestine Office in Berlin, 1924–1925; managing director of the ZVfD and head of the Palestine Office, 1929–1933; co-founder of the Reich Representation of German Jews, 1933; emigrated to Palestine, 1934; director of the Jewish Agency's Central Bureau for the Settlement of German Jews, 1934–1954; chairman of the IOME, 1947–1953; emigrated to the USA, 1953.

4 Correctly: Eric Mills (1872–1961), plenipotentiary for migration and statistics and head of the immigration office of the British Mandate government in Palestine.

The Palestine Office is absolutely inundated. Yesterday and the day before, we had around 400–500 visitors, among them many young people. An average of 100 people per day are registering for Hachsharah, of whom on average 30–40 per cent are suitable. They undergo a thorough screening process. It should therefore be possible to largely fill up the Hachsharah. This is probably the last chance we will have. As things stand, a further, short-term domestic Hachsharah is necessary, because new people who are registering can hardly be sent to the costly Hachsharahs abroad if there is a chance they may migrate to another country once we have paved the way for them to go abroad.

We are currently restructuring our organizational practice. It goes without saying that the organizational structure will be changed drastically. We assume that at the end of this week, once approval has been given by the authorities, the successor to the Reich Representation, the 'Reich Association for Jewish Emigration and Welfare', will be created, for which a detailed organizational draft has been submitted.<sup>7</sup> It will be a compulsory association for all Jews and the communities will be subordinated to it by region. It will be funded solely by the Jewish sector. All other emigration organizations will merge into the new Reich Association. The Relief Association will probably be dissolved and converted into an emigration department of the Reich Association. The political organizations will disappear, too. The Palestine Office and both of the funds<sup>8</sup> will probably remain and, considering their connection to the Jewish Agency, will be integrated into the Reich Association on a cooperative basis with rights of autonomy. It is still completely unclear how the key tasks of the new Reich Association will be funded.

A few personnel issues: Friedenthal<sup>9</sup> has now arrived over there. Rau<sup>10</sup> finally emigrated for good a few days ago. As you probably know, he has gone to London, where he wants to join the campaign for the interests of the Palestine Office. Wallbach, who is still on the outside, will probably be called back. I shall take over the management of the whole complex of the Palestine Office and funds and external representation. Dr Löwenthal, formerly of Nuremberg, will take over the day-to-day running of the Palestine Office. He has passed the test with flying colours. In a broader sense, a department for vocational training and youth migration will be incorporated into the Palestine Office, integrating the Hachsharah, the young people's Aliyah, the girls' Aliyah, and a pupils' and students' Aliyah.

5 Hebrew: Jews who emigrate to Eretz Israel.

6 The British Passport Control Office was at 17 Tiergartenstr. in Berlin. Applications for emigration to Palestine had to be submitted there.

7 On 28 Nov. 1939 the Gestapo Central Office (Gestapo) had ordered the Reich Representation of German Jews to present a proposal for the amalgamation of all Jewish organizations into one sole association by 5 Dec. 1939: see Doc. 182, 29 Nov. 1938.

8 Probably the Keren Kajemeth LeIsrael (Jewish National Fund), founded in Basel in 1901 at the Fifth Zionist Congress with the aim of raising funds to buy land in Palestine, and Keren Hayesod (Foundation Fund), founded in 1920 at the Zionist Conference in London following the Balfour Declaration (1917) with the objective of raising funds for emigration and settlement in Palestine.

9 Probably Hans Friedenthal (1900–1987), physician; in Palestine, 1920–1928; returned to Germany, where he was president of the Makkabi sports association, 1934–1936, chairman of the Reich Association of Jewish Sports Clubs, 1935, and managing chairman of the ZVfD, 1936; emigrated to Palestine, 1938; director of the Donollo hospital in Jaffa, 1952–1968, and later doctor in Kfar Shmaryahu.

10 Probably Arthur Aharon Rau (1895–1962), lawyer; regional court judge in Berlin, 1925–1933; member of the Mizrahi movement; head of the Palestine Office in Berlin, 1935–1938; emigrated to Palestine, 1939.

We will send you the organizational plan as soon as it is complete. However, it is clear that we will only erect something like a hut camp, as it is sure to be at short notice.

With a heartfelt shalom

Yours<sup>11</sup>

DOC. 198

**On 5 and 6 December 1938 Luise Solmitz describes her fears of ghettoization and the expropriation of her house<sup>1</sup>**

Diary of Luise Solmitz, Hamburg, entries from 5 and 6 December 1938 (copy)

5 Dec. 1938: There are already streets in Berlin that are prohibited to Jews. There are also streets to which they are being urged to move.<sup>2</sup>

6 Dec. 1938: The pitiless day has come that will take away our house, our home.

Jews are prohibited from owning property. If only Fr.<sup>3</sup> had signed the house over to me in time.

We immediately drafted a request for him to sign the house over to me ... He had read about our destruction in the town, he wanted to tell me about it himself. Then I read it in the evening newspaper, he was upstairs, alone ... I went up to him – now our house is gone.

DOC. 199

**On 7 December 1938 Gerda Erdmann from Berlin writes to the Pope to suggest ways in which the Catholic Church could solve the Jewish question<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from Gerda Erdmann, 23 Kiebitzweg, Berlin-Dahlem, to Pope Pius XI, Vatican City, Rome, dated 7 December 1938

Venerable Father,

Please allow a *non-Catholic Christian* to turn to you in a matter that is in general receiving a great deal of attention. It concerns the *Jewish question*. With this letter I would like to make a suggestion that I consider will make a fitting contribution to solving this question, and indeed to solving it in a Christian way.

To my mind, the problem is as follows:

<sup>11</sup> Handwritten comment: 'Post back to 10 Meinekestr. We may, however, move to new premises.'

<sup>1</sup> Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 622-1/140, Familie Solmitz, 1, Bd. 31. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> In accordance with a directive issued by the Berlin chief of police, in addition to swimming baths, libraries, museums, cinemas, sports grounds, and concert and lecture halls, Jews were not allowed to enter sections of some streets in the city centre, including Wilhelmstraße on the stretch from Leipziger Straße to Unter den Linden.

<sup>3</sup> This is a reference to Friedrich Wilhelm Solmitz, the husband of Luise Solmitz: see Doc. 5, 27 Jan. 1938, fn. 9.

<sup>1</sup> ASV/AES, Stati Ecclesiastici, pos. 566, fasc. 600, fols. 19–23. This document has been translated from German.

Essentially, it is the hand of God that is weighing so heavily on the Jews. God's Judgment has befallen them, as it has done many times in history since Christ. For since that hour of God's revelation to the world through his son, Judaism has been – guilty! It is a way of evading the commandment of love and thus an act of disobedience against God Himself. Since Christ there can be no place on earth for the Jewish faith, and certainly not among those peoples of the world who are of the Christian faith. In these parts of the world Jews are always encountered as alien elements, and are bound to become even more of a nuisance the more the spirit of Christianity flourishes among the people. In times of little faith, the gap that has widened unbridgeably between the Christian community and Judaism is less visible. And if all the signs do not mislead us, we are at the beginning of an era of burgeoning Christian life. It has not escaped my notice that at the moment it is not Christian motives but nationalist ones that have led to hostility towards Jews. Yet one should be clear about the fact that the Jewish question would not be solved even if those who are treating the Jews with hostility today were to change their stance. The nuisance would still be there!

As the European peoples in general fear a foreign infiltration of their national stock, those nations with many Jews in their ranks want to get rid of them and those who have fewer among them are closing their borders to Jewish immigration. Things are different overseas. The racial issue is of barely any importance there and the question of nationality is not as prominent. Wide, empty spaces are available (e.g. in South America, where I myself lived for a number of years). What is hindering the intake of the Jews here, along with the organizational difficulties, is the religious question. For it is understandable that the thought of the intake of larger numbers of Jews, and the possibility of the influence of the Jewish spirit on business, culture, and politics, particularly in countries with a homogeneous Catholic population, is a cause for unease. With greater Jewish immigration one fears the emergence of a closed foreign body of power, the spiritual influence of which must not be underestimated.

The situation would be quite different if the Jews emigrating from Europe were to be baptized in their new home country. The Christian community would be open in every way to converted Christians; they would no longer stand before closed doors. The children of the baptized, raised in the Christian faith, would grow into the Church and the nation, would mingle through marriage, and would become part of the new nationhood. In this way European Jewry in its entirety could be safely absorbed by the colourful peoples overseas. A revitalization by means of European intelligence could even be a benefit to some places. It does not seem advisable to me, however, that a further Jewish homeland be established, for example in the three Guyanas,<sup>2</sup> thereby giving Judaism a new stronghold within the Christian world. Palestine has already proved to be a mistake. Whoever wants to help should help embattled people, but not Judaism!

Of course, not many of the emigrating Jews would be willing to change their faith voluntarily. Pressure would have to be exerted on them such that their immigration would depend on their converting to Christianity, or those who have already immigrated would be threatened with deportation if they were not baptized by a certain date. There is no time left to try and win over the Jews by promoting Christianity. Therefore, there is no

2 French, British, and Dutch Guyana (today Suriname).

other option than to say to them: you have to leave by such and such a date; a new homeland is available for you there. As soon as you have settled, however, you have to register with the priest responsible and attend Christian teaching regularly for at least half a year. Anyone who has not been baptized a year after their entry has to leave the country again. I see no other feasible way to a decent Christian solution to the Jewish question.

The Jews themselves will no doubt regard a procedure that forces them to convert as derisory and malicious and internally they will resist it.

That, however, would be a matter between them and God, under whose hand they do not want to yield. Are such people not basically as stubborn as children, who do not want to see what is best for them? Children have to be forced to learn when something is for their own good.

It is absolutely clear to me that the churches themselves do not place much value on such an increase in numbers. But the churches should grow for the sake of Jesus Christ! I read a saying recently: 'When the world has cast us out, Jesus turns towards us.'<sup>3</sup> Let us help these outcasts to meet Jesus Christ! Then we can safely leave the rest to Him and God's grace. God often moves in wonderful ways!

What a great and beautiful task is opening up to the Christians of the world! What happy prospects are opening up for the future! Christianity can unanimously accomplish a tremendous work of active charity. There will be no shortage of means for this. Of course it must be Christianity that finds the means for resettlement on a large scale. The moment the great Christian religious communities and Christian governments take on the issue, it is bound to be a success. Of course there must be no further hesitation!

Venerable Father! It is in your hands to call the Catholic world to willingness and cooperation! Other than Central and South America, in particular the colonial lands of France, Belgium, and Portugal are worth considering. With a corresponding letter I am at the same time approaching Her Majesty the Queen of Holland and Mr Chamberlain<sup>4</sup> as representatives of Protestant countries with likewise large colonial empires. If everyone works together, the burden on the individual will be lighter. –

Venerable Father! Crown your abundantly blessed life with this work, which will go down in history as a shining example of selfless Christian love; with a work accomplished in God's glory and honour!

May the grace of God always show us the right way! –

In deepest awe and devotion<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The source of this saying could not be found.

<sup>4</sup> Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands and the British prime minister, Neville Chamberlain.

<sup>5</sup> The file does not contain a reply to the letter.

## DOC. 200

**On 9 December 1938 Cornelius von Berenberg-Gossler records his thoughts about the inhumane treatment of the Jews and its impact abroad<sup>1</sup>**

Diary of Baron Cornelius von Berenberg-Gossler, Hamburg, entry for 9 December 1938

*Friday 9 Dec.*

Nadia comes into town with me in the morning. Letter from Heinrich from Buenos Aires, dated 3 Dec. He is looking for a job there, thus far difficulties and rejections, for example, from the representatives of Barings, Roberts, Meynell & Compagnie, who could not take him on because of the uncertain business future. Breakfast in a café. In the afternoon, talks at the Rée firm with a manager of Beiersdorf AG, Claussen, and Samson. Hellmuth<sup>2</sup> at dinner at the Weitzmanns'. Before dinner, in the park at dusk. Yesterday evening, on the radio, Lord Baldwin<sup>3</sup> called on the Anglo-Saxon countries to help the Jews expelled from Germany, whose treatment he justly described as 'inhuman'. The German workers, in their vast majority, reject the improper treatment of the Jews, as I was told today by Claussen of Beiersdorf AG, which employs 4,000 workers.<sup>4</sup> The German worker, he said, is decent, as a rule. That has always been my impression, too. Hitler is suffering a great moral defeat in the eyes of the world as a result of his inhumane measures against the Jews, whose excessive influence in Germany before 1933 certainly had to be curbed, but not in the ways in which it is now being done.

1 Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 622-1/9 Familie Berenberg, submitted in 1992, Tagebuch v. Cornelius Berenberg-Gossler 1938. This document has been translated from German.

2 Hellmuth von Berenberg-Gossler (1911–1988), insurance broker; son of Cornelius and Nadia von Berenberg-Gossler.

3 Stanley Baldwin (1867–1947), politician; Conservative member of the British House of Commons, 1908–1937; president of the Board of Trade, 1921–1922; prime minister, 1923, 1924–1929, and 1935–1937; in 1937 named first Earl Baldwin of Bewdley; highly critical of Chamberlain's policy of appeasement.

4 Carl Claussen (1878–1954), factory manager; worked until 1927/1928 in his father's forwarding business; from 1920 a member of the supervisory board and from 1933 to 1954 chairman of the board at Beiersdorf AG; married to Martha Claussen, née Pulvermacher.

## DOC. 201

***Deutsches Recht*, 10 December 1938: article on the right to rescind a contract concluded in ignorance of the 'racial origins' of the contractual partner<sup>1</sup>***Rescission due to doubts concerning race*

The notion that error concerning the Jewish racial origins of the contracting party is an error within the meaning of § 119 of the Civil Code<sup>2</sup> and that, depending on the circumstances, the Jew has a legal obligation to point out his racial origins during contract negotiations, and a failure to meet this obligation makes available to the other party the right of rescission due to wilful deception (§ 123 of the Civil Code), has become a firmly founded German legal conviction (cf., for example, *Deutsche Justiz*, 1936, pp. 936, 937, 1017, 1018).<sup>3</sup> However, the content of the legally significant error of the one contracting party and the corresponding obligation to disclose of the other contracting party is by no means defined thereby. Both [the error and the obligation], that is to say, need not apply merely to actual racial origins. Rather, they also extend to the existence of doubts concerning race that would have caused a reasonable person to refrain from concluding a contract. A practical example may shed light on this. Such a case, in varying forms, is unfortunately no rarity in firms that 'are presently in the midst of Aryanization'.

A Party comrade, identified as such to the seller firm, places an order with it for equipment, and moreover with the express stipulation that the enterprise must be an Aryan one. The firm delivers the equipment without giving further particulars. Before acceptance of the items, the buyer sees in the recently published issue of a well-known political weekly, which mentions actual circumstances, that the firm is denounced as a camouflaged Jewish enterprise within the meaning of § 3 of the Third Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law of 14 June 1938.<sup>4</sup> When a statement is called for, the seller, a woman, says: the notification in the weekly came about as the result of a combination of several errors. She says that, to clarify her circumstances, she has submitted an application to the appropriate NSDAP Gau economic advisor regarding the 'Aryan structure' of her business, concerning which a decision ought to be issued quickly. She asks that the matter be deferred until then. Upon enquiry, the Gau economic advisor provided this information: the firm previously was indisputably a Jewish business. Recently, documents were supplied to the Gauleitung of the Party, according to which the firm should henceforth be regarded as a non-Jewish business. However, the Gau economic advisor has imposed on the seller a number of additional conditions and is currently verifying

1 'Anfechtung wegen Rassezweifels', *Deutsches Recht*, no. 23/24, vol. 8, 10 Dec. 1938, p. 513. This document has been translated from German.

2 According to § 119 of the German Civil Code (1 Jan. 1900), a declaration of intent is voidable if it must be assumed that the person concerned, had he known the state of affairs, would not have made the declaration.

3 In May 1936, in litigation between Jews and non-Jews, the local courts in Wanne-Eickel and Mainz had ruled in favour of the non-Jewish parties, stating that the latter had been deceived by the Jewish contractual partners as to their racial origins. The contracts were therefore voidable.

4 § 3 of the Third Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law, 14 June 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, pp. 627–628) stated that a business was also to be considered Jewish if it was under the 'dominating influence' of Jews.

whether they are being properly complied with. For the moment, he can officially announce nothing as to the Jewish or non-Jewish character of the seller. However, in a few weeks, after concluding his investigation and preparing a report, he will inform us whether the firm is to be regarded as a Jewish or a non-Jewish one. As a result, the buyer rescinded the contract because of error concerning the content of his contractual declaration and because of wilful deception.

His rescission is supported by the facts. It does not matter whether it later turns out that the seller, at the time of the transaction, should already have been accepted as Aryan. For the state of affairs affords no doubt that the purchase declaration of the buyer for the seller was perceptibly based on the assumption that the firm was, *with certainty*, Aryan. Further, there is no doubt that, had he been aware of the actually existing concerns, he would not have submitted his declaration. Thus, however, the facts of justified avoidance on grounds of error are present. The buyer, therefore, does not need to wait, for example, until the racial classification of the seller has been clearly established one way or the other. In addition, however, the seller, by remaining silent about the racial misgivings existing in regard to her, even if she considered them unfounded, has contravened her legal duty towards the buyer to reveal all those facts which she knew to be crucial in his reaching a decision. She has therefore wilfully deceived him.

DOC. 202

**On 11 December 1938 Ruth Maier of Vienna describes bidding farewell to her sister,  
who is travelling to Britain on a Kindertransport<sup>1</sup>**

Handwritten diary of Ruth Maier, entry for 11 December 1938

Nine o'clock in the evening.

Dita is gone. She is on the train now, right now, at this moment. She is laughing, unpacking her food, or maybe she is feeling homesick.

It is awful to keep a diary. Terrible. Because on the previous page, it still says: Dita is leaving tomorrow. And today: Dita is gone. And so it continues. One ought to feel ashamed.

So, yesterday at eleven o'clock on the express train. Now there is an empty place here in our 'home'. Mama says 'Dittl' to me, and Grandmother weeps and Mama weeps. 'Oh, parting, parting, parting, who thought of parting first?' That's what it says in *Danton's Death*<sup>2</sup> ... It is a banal truth that life is nothing but 'saying farewell'. Saying hello and farewell, perhaps. To every minute, every second! ... Just no sentimentalities, Ruth! It does no good.

1 HL-Senteret, Oslo, published in English translation in *Ruth Maier's Diary*, pp. 112–114. This document has been retranslated from the German original.

2 'Ach Scheiden, ach Scheiden, ach Scheiden, wer hat sich das Scheiden erdacht?' Verse from a Hesian folk song. In the play *Dantons Tod* (*Danton's Death*) by Georg Büchner, Lucile sings the song after parting from her friend Camille, not knowing that he will be executed and she will never see him again.

The scenes from yesterday can only be described in pictures. Out there in Hütteldorf,<sup>3</sup> dark and pitch-black. The Jewish stewards used electric torches to provide some light. And children, up to the age of 17, boys and girls with rucksacks and little suitcases. Again and again, just one more kiss goodbye. And another one, and one last one. Next to me, a woman was sobbing to herself, not quietly: she wailed, she moaned. Sighed deeply. Her whole face was aquiver ... Little 4-year-old children screamed. Madness! They still had to be carried in people's arms. And the mothers! The fathers of the little children are in Dachau ... A young woman turned backwards; her husband went to her side. Someone murmured: 'Both of them at once, both of them.'

'Mama,' I said, 'Mama, look, that is our youth, the Jewish youth, and they will be upstanding, they have learned in a hard school, they have suffered as few others have, and they will build a new life with their own hands. Some, the little ones, will get their hands bloody.' That's what I'm thinking to myself now. The little ones, who were torn away from their parents, may cry at night. Yes! When I saw them, Jews, nothing but Jews, whose children are being torn from them before they have had their fill of kisses, I thought, 'Must they not be special in some way, the Jews? They must endure so much suffering. So much suffering! Because they are Jews! That's why.' It sounds so beautiful, 'upon departure, heart-breaking scenes took place'. No, the heart does not break so quickly. Mama says, 'If one of the many there had howled, a single one, then they *all* would have started.' No, no one howled or cursed. They just cried. I saw only tears, nothing but tears. Dita stood there with others in a little bunch, in the dark. All I saw was her white-and-blue shawl. As we walked past this little cluster of Jewish refugees, she suddenly called out 'Mama.' And waved. They went past us. It was close! They wanted to give each another one last kiss, Dita and Mama. Their lips were quite near, but then the steward pulled them apart. 'Don't make it even harder for yourselves.'

Jewish refugees. They will be assigned to various English families. Dita will surely write soon. May she lead an honest life. May she be worthy. It sounds old-fashioned now. And yet: 'I will strive to be worthy.' And Dita too. I will not see her for a long time. And how will things look then? A year from now! By then we'll already be in America. We have affidavits. Who was it who recently said: 'We're going with our permit to Affidavit!' Yes, I let my thoughts drift, impose no constraint on myself ... yes, the image rises up again. A high railway embankment, a slope overgrown with grass. At the top, railings. Over there, the train with the lighted windows. Boys inside, the Jewish children. And when the parents saw that, the railway carriages back there with children in them (we were not allowed onto the platform), they all crept up there like animals. They shouted across, and the boys inside lowered the windows, whistled, gesticulated. 'Mama,' one of them shouted. Yes! It is all quite clear to me. In the darkness out there in Hütteldorf. We stood together. Dita had the number 258. 'Look,' I said, 'now you're only a number.' 'Oh, no, I'm still Judith Maier.' ... Yes, and when the number 258 was called out, in there like a flash, and march. Life is beginning! Yes! Otherwise, among us young people, the transition to 'life' takes place gradually, carefully, without any surprises. Now! We are thrown out. Today, still at grammar school. Tomorrow, servant girls, yes, let's not submit to sheer invention. True, Mama always says: 'Oh, come on, you're part of the house-

3 A neighbourhood in Vienna.

hold then, after all, they know who you are.' I don't care a bit. I'll be a servant girl. A proletarian! Why not? Then I will at least be one of them. Lock, stock, and barrel!

And the sky was so clear, and the kisses were endless. And the woman next to me trembled and wailed. And little children wept in the dark. It was cold and damp. Dita marched past. The blue-and-white shawl blazed with colour. Brave. And the young people, they will fight.

Jews, Jews, Papa, Heinrich Heine.

DOC. 203

**On 16 December 1938 Max Karp writes to a relative about the situation of the Polish Jews expelled from Germany and now in the Zbąszyń camp<sup>1</sup>**

Handwritten letter from Max Karp,<sup>2</sup> Zbąszyń (formerly Bentschen), to Gerhard [Intrator],<sup>3</sup> dated 16 December 1938

Dear Gerhard,

On 17 or 18 November I sent you a report on my fate and what has happened to us Jews of Polish nationality in Germany since 28 October.<sup>4</sup> Did you receive that letter? At the same time I sent a few lines to Henry Abe regarding an urgent affidavit for me. As I have had no reply to this day, I am somewhat perturbed.

Our situation here at the border is unchanged. The place is strictly cordoned off by the police, and at the railway station too there is a police check. Only refugees over the age of 65 can travel on into Poland. We others just have to see how we can get out of this cage here, and as that is possible only with an entry visa for another country, we are waiting longingly for help from outside. A number of people have already left, heading overseas, but 95 per cent are still stranded here.

One hears on various radio stations that certain foreign agencies are going to help the Jews to emigrate soon. Have we already been forgotten here at the border, where we lie around on straw mattresses in barracks, in factory rooms, and in other mass accommodation?

As a result of the monotonous life and our plight here, our faculties are increasingly benumbed with each passing day. In addition, there is also concern about our things and valuables left behind in Germany. The apartments, for the most part, are still just as we left them (except for the ones that have been looted).

In Berlin, at least, enough family members have stayed behind who can check to see if everything is in order, but they are suffering from being separated from their husbands and fathers (and vice versa).

1 Jüdisches Museum Berlin, 2005/87. This document has been translated from German.

2 Mendel Max Karp (1892–1940), musician. After his expulsion from Berlin, he remained in Zbąszyń until 29 June 1939; he was deported on 13 Sept. 1939 to Sachsenhausen concentration camp, where he died on 27 Jan. 1940.

3 Dr Gerhard Intrator (1910–1993), lawyer; was forced to abandon his legal career in 1933 and then joined the business of Jacques Berglas, a bulk producer of fabrics and yarns; emigrated to the USA in 1937.

4 On the expulsion of Jews of Polish nationality from Germany at the end of Oct. 1938, see Docs. 112 and 113, 28 Oct. 1938, and Doc. 118, Oct. 1938.

In the provincial towns of Germany the apartments have been sealed by the police. But what is to become of them all now? One hears nothing more of negotiations between Germany and Poland! Allegedly these talks are to be continued in mid January.<sup>5</sup> –

Here in the mayor's office we have been forced to state on official forms the approximate amount of the assets that belong to us in Germany or that we had to leave behind. Perhaps this measure was intended to reassure us, because one hopes, of course, that the Polish government will help us come into our own!

Many have had their clothes sent on from Berlin; the customs inspection here is quite strict, and in addition they forced a few fees out of us for the removal of the items (3.80 zloty). You see, few allowances are made here either for our fate. The committee<sup>6</sup> is intervening to help with this! I will also have Alex send various things to me now, as our stay here can drag on for many more months, unless help from outside comes before then.

I would be very grateful to Alfr. Berglas<sup>7</sup> if he could procure a residence permit in London for me until I can continue on my journey, so that I can get away from here faster. But first, of course, I must have an affidavit!

There is talk here of an emergency affidavit, on the basis of which one comes under a preferential quota. Does something of the sort exist for us refugees here? –

From A. B. I have received a comforting letter and 100 ph. = 121 zloty; he writes that considerable work is already being done in London to ensure that we get out of here soon. – He planned to present the report I sent him to the committee there. –

An English delegation passed through this place weeks ago. In the meantime it has probably informed the Evian committee about our situation.<sup>8</sup> At any rate, no help from the latter source has been provided for us up to the present day!

The food ration for us has now been decreased. Before, each person received, every day, around 100 grams of butter, ½ a cube of Tomor,<sup>9</sup> and, 3 × weekly, meat and also eggs, 3 × 1 [...] per person. From now on, the butter is reduced to 40 grams, Tomor to 10 grams a day, and meat to 2 × per week. Potatoes and bread, semolina, flour, noodles etc. are better allocated. But because fat is the most important part of nutrition, one has to buy additional butter each day. Anyone who has no money slowly shrivels up. It is also said that with the distribution and the purchasing 'of the goods something odd was going on'. Apparently, a remedy has been provided here. But it is also possible that the committee no longer has sufficient funds available! –

5 On the German–Polish negotiations, see Doc. 120, 3 Nov. 1938, fn. 19.

6 In Zbąszyń, a local relief committee came into being under the leadership of H. Grybowski, the Jewish co-owner of the local mill. It found private accommodation for a few of the expelled and later provided money for renting rooms. At the end of Oct., employees of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) came to Zbąszyń and set up a branch office there, headed by the young historian Emanuel Ringelblum. They dealt with the food supply, housing, and other problems facing the new arrivals.

7 Alfred Berglas (b. 1897), retailer and textile manufacturer; manager and owner of the Trust Company for Corporate Bodies (Treuhandgesellschaft für juristische Personen mbH), Berlin; co-owner of Gebrüder Berglas Mechanical Weaving Mills AG, founded in 1932 in Berlin; in 1938 and 1939, respectively, these firms were Aryanized and Berglas emigrated to Britain.

8 This refers to the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, founded at the Evian Conference in July 1938: see Doc. 64, 16 July 1938, fn. 4.

9 Kosher margarine.

It may also interest you that the parents of the 'famous' unlucky hero [...] <sup>11</sup> and his very beautiful sister are here in the camp. <sup>12</sup> They are helping here in a field kitchen (mobile canteen).

Well, dear Gerhard, once again I send out my SOS call to you across the ocean, and I hope that you will hear it. Please send information to me, *here*, at once!!, as to how things stand with my affidavit.

In the hope that you and the other relatives are well, I remain, with many hugs and kisses,

Your

Max

Warm regards to Abe, Henry,  
Bella, Erwin and Alex M[ ]sel! <sup>13</sup>  
as well as Aunt Ida

(1) My personal details according to my passport: Mendel Max Karp, 17 July 1892, Ruszelczyce.

(2) Temporary address until 1 Feb. or 1 March 1939: 19 Wallnertheaterstr., Berlin C 2.

(3) Current address until emigration: Max Karp, c/o Ehrlich, Zbąszyń, 31 Senatorzka, Poland.

PS I am receiving mail from my father again. Apparently my fate has 'moved' him.

DOC. 204

**Paul Eppstein, summoned by the Berlin Gestapo on 16 December 1938,  
writes notes on the discussion of the payment of the cost of pogrom damage  
and the expulsion of stateless persons<sup>1</sup>**

Note concerning the visit to the Gestapo Central Office, room 101, signed Dr Hirsch and Dr Eppstein, dated 16 December 1938

Under discussion were:

1. *The question of local financing, especially with respect to the seizure of local funds and the demand that the synagogue congregations refund the costs of debris clearance operations*

It was explained that instructions have already been issued here and that it can be presumed that order has been restored in a substantial number of communities, for example in Liegnitz. In contrast, a summary with a cover letter was submitted, to supplement our most recently presented statement about conditions in communities that have become

<sup>10</sup> A word is illegible.

<sup>11</sup> A word is illegible.

<sup>12</sup> The author is referring to the parents and the sister of Herschel Grynszpan.

<sup>13</sup> One or two letters are illegible.

1 CJA, 2B1, Nr. 1, fols. 255–257. This document has been translated from German.

destitute as a result of the recent events. At the same time, reference was also made to the repairs that have been made in the meantime. Involvement in the refund of the costs for debris clearance operations was declined on account of a lack of authorization to deal with this matter.

2. *The question of central financing*

The draft of a circular letter to the Jewish communities can be submitted, I was told, in which the requisite measures with regard to the contribution and provision of welfare costs after 1 January in the individual communities will be set in motion by the Reich Association. At the same time, reference is to be made expressly to the regulation, according to which public welfare for Jews arises only subsidiarily.<sup>2</sup>

3. *Transfer of associations to the Berlin Community*

In response to a question from Mr Stahl<sup>3</sup> as to how the transfer of associations to the Berlin Jewish Community can be accelerated in cases where the bodies of the associations themselves do not set in motion the requisite measures for this transfer, reference was made to the method of notification.

The setting up of a Jewish dining hall in the building of the brotherhood was rejected. One should wait, it was said, until an arrangement has been made that is to be implemented in an entirely different way.

4. *Release of Dr Hans Reichmann<sup>4</sup> from prison*

Reference was made to the particular necessity of having precisely this colleague available. The requisite information was accepted.

5. *Work with the Jews in Sudeten Germany*

A request should be presented, asking for care to be provided to the Jews in Sudeten Germany, from Berlin, by a welfare worker, whose name should be given at the same time.

6. *Emigration of children*

(a) *Transit of Jewish children from the Ostmark*

No misgivings are raised regarding the transit of Jewish children from the Ostmark in the context of the Kindertransport and its supervision by Jewish welfare agencies in Germany.

2 See Doc. 164, 19 Nov. 1938, and Doc. 209, 21 Dec. 1938.

3 Heinrich Stahl (1868–1942), insurance salesman; board member of the Jewish Community of Berlin from 1931 and board chairman, 1933–1940; from 1939 deputy chairman of the Reich Association of Jews in Germany; in 1942 deported to Theresienstadt, where he died.

4 Dr Hans Reichmann (1900–1964), lawyer; practised law, 1929–1933; legal advisor to and chairman of the Central Association of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith (CV), 1927–1938; after the November pogroms in 1938 imprisoned in a concentration camp; emigrated to Britain in 1939; secretary general of the United Restitution Organization, London office, 1955–1964; co-founder of the Leo Baeck Institute in London.

(b) *Children from Danzig*

The Danzig [Jewish] Community should be informed that negotiations concerning the emigration of children from Danzig must be conducted directly with the foreign organizations and independently of the emigration of children from Germany.

7. *Expulsion of stateless persons*

Information is given about the practice of expelling stateless persons under § 5 of the Police Regulation on Foreigners,<sup>5</sup> which admittedly envisages a period for appeal but links the revocation of the residence permit to expulsion from Reich territory. It is pointed out that the carrying out of such expulsions gives rise to extraordinary difficulties, similar to those of Austrian transmigrants. The persons concerned are attempting to cross the land border in the west, an effort that generally does not succeed, however, and results in their being pushed back to the other side. These persons can be given no further support in the places where they are then located, meaning that there is no alternative but to transport them back to their home towns. From there, their emigration can be duly accomplished. In the context of the need to bring about the emigration of those persons released from the camps on condition that they emigrate quickly, the deportation of stateless persons signifies an extraordinary complication of an orderly emigration process. It was explained that the problem is well known and that efforts are being made.

8. *Revision of the submission of the report on Jewish children's homes*

The report on children's homes that was handed in today was revised on the basis of information received in the meantime to the effect that the Bad Dürkheim Children's Home was able to resume operations.

9. *Letters from Jews from the Old Reich to the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Vienna*

It is pointed out that Jews from the Old Reich must write exclusively to the Jewish organizations in the Old Reich and not to the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Vienna. A corresponding notification has been prepared for the *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*.<sup>6</sup>

10. *Letters from Jews in Germany, seeking affidavits, to individuals abroad who share the same family name*

It was noted that there have been instances of Jews seeking affidavits or other support appealing directly to people abroad who share the same family name, including Aryans, who have then contacted the authorities. I was told that things of this sort must cease. The locating of relatives and the like may be facilitated only through the Jewish organizations. It was stated that there is nothing to prevent the Reich Association from publishing a corresponding notification in the *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> § 5 of the Police Regulation on Foreigners (Ausländerpolizeiverordnung) of 22 August 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, pp. 1053–1056) defined economic and criminal criteria that justified a prohibition of residence by foreigners on Reich territory.

<sup>6</sup> The notification appeared in the column 'Emigration Questions': *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, no. 8, 20 Dec. 1938, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> This could not be found. On 3 Jan. 1939 the *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt* recommended that emigrants contact the Jewish communities in the overseas countries in order to locate relatives or friends: 'Juden in Überseeländern', *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, no. 1, 3 Jan. 1939, p. 1.

## DOC. 205

**On 17 December 1938 the Warburg Bank asks the Economic Group for Private Banking to simplify the sale of securities belonging to Jews<sup>1</sup>**

Letter (N/Hh 592),<sup>2</sup> unsigned, to the Economic Group for Private Banking, Central Association of German Banks and Bankers, 35 Dorotheenstraße, Berlin NW 7, dated 17 December 1938 (copy)

*Re: sale of securities belonging to Jews.*

With the approval and at the behest of the Gestapo, the Jewish Religious Association of Hamburg is levying on emigrating Jews a tax amounting to 20 per cent of the Reich Flight Tax. In order to ensure payment of this tax, the passport authority in Hamburg has agreed to issue the passport to emigrating Jews only when they present a tax clearance certificate from the Jewish Religious Association. This tax clearance certificate will be furnished by the Jewish Religious Association as soon as the aforementioned tax and other tax debts for the past are paid or secured.

Many emigrating Jews will be able to afford this tax only by paying in the form of securities rather than cash. It might not be practicable if each individual emigrant applies separately for permission to transfer securities from his deposit account into a deposit account of the Jewish Religious Association for payment of this tax. We therefore wish to recommend that, in order to facilitate the transaction, you grant us across-the-board authorization, on trust, to move the securities of Jewish emigrants from the emigrants' accounts into an account of the Jewish Religious Association held with our firm and to use them to pay the aforementioned tax at the prevailing official rates, provided we have on hand the written assurance of the emigrating individual that he does not have available cash assets that could serve to cover this tax in full or in part.

We would thereupon suitably inform the other banks under consideration.

Heil Hitler!<sup>3</sup>

1 Warburg-Archiv, Judenvermögensabgabe. This document has been translated from German.

2 'N' was the initial used for Christian Niemeyer, lawyer; worked from the 1920s until long after the end of the war in the legal department of the Warburg Bank; confidant of Fritz Warburg; lent his support, along with the banker Berenberg-Gossler, to Warburg's release from Gestapo custody (see Doc. 274, 18 April 1939).

3 In its reply of 23 Dec. 1938 the Economic Group for Private Banking rejected the suggestion: *ibid.*

## DOC. 206

**Hermann Krips's tax clearance certificate from the Frankfurt tax authorities,  
19 December 1938<sup>1</sup>**

Certificate from the mayor, Audit Office, Tax Authorities, p.p. (signature illegible), Frankfurt am Main, for Hermann and Ilse Krips,<sup>2</sup> dated 19 December 1938

*Tax clearance certificate*

For the married couple Hermann Krips, 5 November 1910, and Ilse, née Herzfeld, 25 September 1918, residing in Frankfurt am Main at 46 Niddastr. it is hereby certified that with respect to:

- the issuance of a passport –
  - emigration –
  - the conveyance of household goods to a foreign country –
  - submission to the Foreign Exchange Office –
- there are no local tax-related concerns that pose obstacles.

p.p.

<sup>1</sup> Privatarhiv Mühlberger. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Hermann Krips (1910–1967), retailer; worked as a bookkeeper and chief clerk for various firms, 1929–1933; grocery wholesaler in Frankfurt am Main, 1933–1938; from 17 Nov. to 8 Dec. 1938 imprisoned in Dachau concentration camp; emigrated in March 1939 to Shanghai, where he worked as a grocery wholesaler and in other jobs; returned to Germany in 1947; worked from 1947 to 1953 in the grocery and second-hand materials trade; commercial director of the DEFA Film Studio, 1954–1967. Ilse Krips, née Herzfeld (1918–2004), seamstress and domestic worker; emigrated to Shanghai in March 1939; returned to Germany in August 1947.

## DOC. 207

***New York Times*, 20 December 1938: article on Schacht's proposals for the emigration of the Jews and the transfer of their assets<sup>1</sup>**

*Nazis Lay Ground for Refugee Plan. Schacht Proposals in London Forestalled Committee – Compromise Expected. Experts to Meet Today. Idea of Taxing World Jewry to Finance German Exports Is Widely Denounced*

By Otto D. Tolischus<sup>2</sup>

Wireless to *The New York Times*.

Berlin, Dec. 19. – German authorities today issued a communiqué<sup>3</sup> confirming that during his three-day conferences in London, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht,<sup>4</sup> president of the Reichsbank, had 'developed certain ideas on how the emigration of Jews could be facilitated with German co-aid.'

The communiqué states that 'no definite agreement of any kind was reached' but adds that 'preparation was made for the directorate of the well-known Evian Committee<sup>5</sup> to continue the discussions with competent German authorities.'

Although the Evian Committee's attitude is still to be decided at a meeting of its financial experts in London tomorrow, German quarters hold that this committee, which the Reich has snubbed heretofore, will gladly avail itself of any opportunity to start negotiations with Germany. Its representatives are expected in Berlin early in January.

As to the nature of the ideas that Dr. Schacht propounded, the communiqué ingenuously remarks that 'reports appearing about that in the foreign press are pure speculations because Dr. Schacht did not talk to any journalists and gave no communications to the press.' The communiqué specifically characterizes as erroneous 'every speculation that Dr. Schacht talked about any kind of credits.'

*Warburg Plan Followed*

In spite of Dr. Schacht's silence, however, there is reason to assume that the ideas he propounded follow very closely what is known here as the 'Warburg plan,' whose real author is believed to be Dr. Schacht himself. It is designed to combine forced emigration of the Jews from Germany with expansion of German exports and replenishing of Germany's depleted foreign-exchange reserves.

1 *New York Times*, 20 Dec. 1938, p. 15. The original document is in English.

2 Otto D. Tolischus (1890–1967), journalist; emigrated in 1907 from the Memel Territory to the USA; Berlin correspondent for the *New York Times*, 1933–1940; won the Pulitzer Prize for his reporting from Berlin in 1940; editor at the *New York Times*, 1942–1964.

3 Press release by the German News Agency (DNB), 19 Dec. 1938.

4 Hjalmar Schacht (1877–1970), banker; president of the Reichsbank, 1923–1930 and 1933–1939; Reich minister of economics, 1934–1937, then minister without portfolio until 1943; arrested in 1944 in the context of the assassination attempt on Hitler on 20 July; acquitted at the Nuremberg trials, 1946; founded a bank in 1953; served as a financial consultant to Egypt, Ethiopia, Brazil, Indonesia, Iran, Libya, and Syria.

This plan, named after the Hamburger [banker] Max Warburg, was first propounded late in 1935 following the imposition of the Nuremberg laws which degraded the Jews to second class citizenship. But whatever outcries these laws aroused abroad they failed to wring from the world the concessions necessary to put the plan into effect or compel the various Jewish organizations to compose their differences over ways and means for such emigration.

The prediction was freely made at that time that if the plan were rejected the National Socialist regime would apply the thumbscrews to the Jews until the world was ready to accept it. That stage is now believed to have been reached after the latest anti-Jewish excesses and the decrees that condemn the Jews to slow death or extermination by 'fire and sword.' These decrees are quite officially characterized as designed 'to further Jewish emigration.'

#### *Extension of Palestine Plan*

In its original form the Warburg plan represented the adaptation of the then existing Palestine arrangement for the emigration of German Jews to any other country. Under the Palestine arrangement the emigrating German Jew paid into the Reichsbank in marks whatever he was permitted to retain following the deduction of the flight tax and various other charges, and the equivalent of that sum was paid out to him by the Havarah Bank in Tel Aviv in Palestine currency up to a certain amount and in a certain proportion to German exports to Palestine.

The maximum amount was 50,000 marks; anything above that could be cashed only if it were used in payment for German exports up to 60 per cent of their value, while the other 40 per cent had to be paid in foreign exchange. For a while this exchange made Palestine proportionately the largest German export market.

The Warburg plan proposed to extend a similar arrangement to the rest of the world. A German Jew immigrating to any country was likewise supposed to deposit in marks in the Reichsbank whatever he possessed and the equivalent was to be paid out to him in the currency of his new homeland in a certain proportion to 'additional German exports.'

#### *Exports Had to Increase*

The condition was, however, that the German exports out of which he was to be paid would be really 'additional' – above the normal German exports. A good part, moreover, approximating one-half of the value, was to be paid to Germany in foreign exchange.

To facilitate this scheme it was proposed to create a 'liquidation bank' which would advance on additional exports and pay the Jewish émigré the equivalent of his blocked marks in free currency immediately in order to permit him to make a new start in a new land. This bank was to be financed by stock subscriptions from world Jewry.

In practice this bank was expected to become the real selling agency for additional exports and, since the émigré could hope to cash his mark holdings only if such additional exports were created, every émigré was expected automatically to become a booster and a sales agent for German goods.

5 The Intergovernmental Committee founded at the Evian Conference under the chairmanship of the American lawyer George Rublee (1868–1957): see Doc. 64, 16 July 1938, fn. 4.

How closely Dr. Schacht still follows this plan will not be revealed until the negotiations begin. At present even the members of the Evian committee, with whom he discussed it, are still not clear about its exact functioning and implications.

#### *Foreign Aid Expected*

It is held, however, to be significant that all official and semi-official German pronouncements have made financial aid 'from rich Jews abroad' almost a primary condition of Jewish emigration.

One important modification that is believed to have been made is suggested by the praise given by the National Socialist press to the system employed in Austria whereby rich Jews have been 'voluntarily' induced to finance emigration of poor Jews. The Warburg plan obviously would have facilitated the emigration of well-to-do Jews, but Germany no longer has any intention of letting them go and keeping the poor Jews.

Because of that, well-to-do Jewish émigrés from Austria have been requested to contribute, in addition to the 25 per cent flight tax and the 20 per cent levy for the billion-mark fine, another 10 to 15 per cent of their total wealth to finance the emigration of their poorer brethren, and it is proposed to set this 'voluntary' contribution at a fixed percentage of their possessions.

Similar contributions have been collected in Germany as well, but here they have been supposedly used for the relief of impoverished Jews who otherwise would have been a burden on the regular relief agencies. In Austria they were used to pay traveling expenses of expelled or emigrating poor Jews to their destination. So far they have not been employed to provide poor Jews with any capital, but presumably they could be developed to cover the necessary capital transfer as well.

#### *Quota Scheme Hinted*

Another modification hinted, in view of the problem's urgency and the absence of a 'liquidation bank,' is the replacement of the general scheme of the Warburg plan by a quota scheme applicable to individual countries. Under that, Jewish émigrés to any particular country would receive the equivalent of their blocked capital in 'quota money,' which could be used in part-payment for additional German exports, but only in part-payment because, for the rest, Germany would want foreign exchange.

Since it takes time for such additional exports to develop, the refugee organizations or their agencies would be expected to assume the functions of a 'liquidation bank' and pay out to the émigrés at least part of their blocked capital in advance to make their entry into foreign countries possible.

In that way not only German Jews but the world's entire Jewry, which is expected to put up the money, would be impressed into Germany's export drive. They would thus subsidize German exports, help break down any boycott against German goods, help parry any such counter-trade drives as the British have suggested, and indirectly finance Germany's imports of raw materials essential for her armaments.

In presenting his ideas to the Evian committee Dr. Schacht precluded any discussion of the committee's own plans. At the same time that these ideas are the subject of international discussion the German Government is paving the way for them by seeking to placate foreign resentment against its anti-Jewish measures. Although none of its decrees

has been withdrawn, the further measures already announced have been seemingly postponed for the moment.

If, on the other hand, Dr. Schacht's ideas should be rejected again, the regime's spokesmen have left no doubt about the alternative and how it will affect the Jews in Germany.<sup>6</sup>

DOC. 208

**On 21 December 1938 the Reich Minister of Education asks the Reich Minister of the Interior whether the emigration of Jewish university lecturers is to be prohibited<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the Reich Minister of Education (WT 1831, Z II a(b)), p.p. signed Zschintzsch, to the Reich Minister of the Interior, dated 21 December 1938 (copy for II SB 5656/38)

Re: work abroad or emigration of retired non-Aryan university lecturers.

In my letter of 11 May 1938 (WT 414, WA) I had provided information about a regulation that I had made, in consultation with the relevant state and Party authorities, in the matter of granting permission for retired university lecturers who are non-Aryan, intermarried with a non-Aryan, or politically unreliable to transfer their domicile. A copy of my circular decree of 11 May 1938 (WT 414, WA) is enclosed here once again.<sup>2</sup> This regulation was an attempt to prevent retired civil servants of the sort mentioned from working abroad in a position that is undesirable from the standpoint of cultural policy. In cases in which I was requested to grant permission for a change of domicile to a foreign country where the taking of a teaching post at a university or university-like institution was intended, therefore, the request generally has been denied. The regulation in question was, above all, made also at the behest of the Reich Foreign Office in order to prevent, within the limits of the means at my disposal, a presence detrimental to the *cultural* political interests of the Reich abroad, namely, a presence of non-Aryans. Whenever my action did not prove effective, the Reich Foreign Office has requested that the passport be withdrawn, if need be.

As a result of the recent development of the Jewish question, a state of affairs has been created that necessitates a review of the current arrangement for authorizing the change of domicile. To a growing extent, applications are filed with me by retired or emeritus non-Aryan university lecturers seeking permission to change their place of residence to a foreign country. It emerges from these requests that the applicants intend to emigrate *permanently*, but by obtaining express permission to change their domicile they wish to continue enjoying their retirement income, which is paid into special accounts created for pensions and related benefits. The Berlin chief of police also submits to me, in increasing measure, applications for the issuance of passports with the request that a position be taken as to whether objections exist with regard to issuing a passport. In one case, the Prussian Minister President,<sup>3</sup> through an aide, had it pointed out by

6 On the subsequent debate over Schacht's proposals, see Introduction, p. 48.

1 RGVA, 1458k-48-235. This document has been translated from German.

2 The file does not contain a copy of the circular decree.

3 The Prussian minister president was Hermann Göring.

telephone that the Jewish question is to be solved only by emigration of the Jews to a foreign country. The aide believed that he was authorized to interpret this view as meaning that other approaches, which are justified in the abstract, must take a back seat in comparison with this one.

With reference to the recent development of the Jewish question, I regard it as essential that a decision on the two questions below should be taken, also with a view to regulating applications from retired *non-Aryan* civil servants by the various departments on the basis of uniform principles.

1. I request clarification as to whether, in deference to the urgent interest of the Reich in a final solution to the Jewish question, permission for transfer of domicile to a foreign country should be granted to retired or emeritus university lecturers who are non-Aryans within the meaning of the Nuremberg Laws even if the work they seek abroad is undesirable in the interests of the Reich's cultural policy, possibly even likely to harm the interests of the Reich abroad.

Generally, this concerns cases in which non-Aryans are employed at foreign universities to which politically reliable German university lecturers, granted leave by me, would be invited in some circumstances, if it were possible to prevent non-Aryans from leaving the country. Here I venture to note that the measures taken by me in my circular decree WT 414, WA have proven effective in only a few cases, because a great many of the non-Aryan former university lecturers are not entitled to a pension and are already in a foreign country, and because even university lecturers eligible for a pension, if they had the serious intention to emigrate, have left Germany without obtaining permission for a change of domicile.

I venture to leave it to you also to involve the Reich Foreign Office in the clarification of this question.

2. Should the view be taken there that cultural-policy concerns must yield to the interests of the Reich in the emigration of the Jews, permission for the change of domicile to a foreign country would, in principle, have to be granted in future cases if the applicant is issued a passport by the police department. This authorization for the change of domicile results, under § 128(1) subparagraph 2 of the German Civil Service Law, in continued payment of pension benefits. It must be assumed that the majority of the non-Aryans will attempt to bring about the transfer abroad of at least a part of the pensions and related benefits. Applications of this sort, too, have been received by me.

The current regulation has, in my opinion, the undesirable result that retired Jewish civil servants who have emigrated continue to receive their pensions and related benefits. I therefore request, in concert with the Reich Minister of Finance, that it should be considered whether an addendum to the previous regulations may not be necessary, to the effect that a non-Aryan emigrant who is eligible for a pension loses his retirement income.

I venture to note in addition that clarification of the aforementioned questions seems to me to be necessary only for retired or emeritus university lecturers who are non-Aryans within the meaning of the Nuremberg Laws, but not for members of the same group who are intermarried with Jews, for whom, as for Aryan but politically unreliable retired civil servants, I will continue to proceed in accordance with the current regulation.

Because the number of applications received here is rising by the day, I request that the matter be handled on an urgent basis. A copy of this letter has been received by the Deputy of the Führer, the Reich Minister of Finance, the Reich Foreign Office, and the Reichsführer SS and Chief of the German Police.<sup>4</sup>

## DOC. 209

**On 21 December 1938 the Chemnitz Youth and Welfare Office instructs its agencies to stop granting benefits to Jews<sup>1</sup>**

Circular letter from the Chemnitz Youth and Welfare Office, Dr Konrad Martin,<sup>2</sup> to all agencies of the Youth and Welfare Office, dated 21 December 1938

General Directive no. 30

*Re: public welfare for Jews.*

The Regulation on Public Welfare for Jews of 19 November 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 1649)<sup>3</sup> is reproduced below and thus finds its way to all agencies of the office for their attention and consideration.

For its *implementation*, I hereby direct the following:

In accordance with Article I of the aforementioned regulation, according to which, in the event that help is needed, Jews are to be referred to the assistance of Jewish voluntary welfare, and the public welfare system must intervene only if Jewish voluntary welfare cannot assist, *all support in the form of cash and commodities as well as every other type of welfare for Jews must cease by the end of December 1938*. All Jewish recipients of benefits are now being informed of the impending cessation of benefits by the Central Department.

Because Article I provides that the public welfare system must intervene when Jewish voluntary welfare cannot provide assistance, Jewish recipients of benefits, as well as needy Jews in general, will probably furnish certificates to the Chemnitz Jewish Welfare Office or an umbrella organization to the effect that resources for support are not available. Under no circumstances is welfare to be granted in response to such a certificate. The Jewish applicants for benefits, if they come round to the agencies, are then to be referred to the assistance of the rich Jews, particularly the Jewish millionaires who still exist in large numbers in the Reich. It is the job of the Jewish welfare system to gather these enormous assets for purposes of relief.

4 The regulation under which Jewish retired civil servants and pensioners could have their pensions or retirement pay sent to them abroad was gradually restricted for individual recipient groups after the war began. The Eleventh Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law of 25 Nov. 1941 ultimately decreed that Jews whose habitual residence was in a foreign country, thus also deportees, lost their German citizenship and thereby their pension entitlements as well.

1 Stadtarchiv Chemnitz, Rat der Stadt Chemnitz 1928-1945/7001/4, fols. 242-243. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Konrad Martin (b. 1898), lawyer and notary; joined the NSDAP in 1932; from March 1936 full-time city councillor in Chemnitz; headed, among other things, the Youth and Welfare Office, Insurance Office, Office for Veterans' Welfare, and city police force; from 1943 city councillor in Litzmannstadt (Łódź); in 1950 admitted as lawyer in Hesse.

3 See Doc. 164, 19 Nov. 1938.

*Rent allowances*, as well as *special assistance* of every sort, may no longer be granted to Jews. Jews are also excluded from *hardship grants*, from price-reduction measures for fats, and from *exemption from the radio licence fee*. If benefits must still be granted at all, the case is to be submitted to the office head for decision. Cash assistance for Jews, even then, is to be granted only under the guidelines that took effect on 10 November 1938. These indicative weekly rates for benefits amount to:

RM 10.00 for a married couple,

RM 6.00 for a single person with a household,

RM 4.50 for a single person without a household,

RM 2.50 for a child under 14; beginning with the fifth child, this rate drops to RM 1.25.

All income must be counted in *full* against the benefits guideline. For Jews, therefore, no weighting provisions of any sort are applicable.

In addition, all benefits for Jewish foster children placed here or elsewhere – care allowances – are to cease immediately. Also regarded as Jews are, among others, Jewish Mischlinge who are the product of extramarital intercourse between an Aryan mother and a Jew and were born out of wedlock after 31 July 1936. These illegitimate children thus fall within the scope of the measures taken in this directive. The foster mother, grandparents, etc. may turn to the Jewish voluntary welfare system.

Reimbursements for foster children and other supported persons are no longer to be paid to out-of-town welfare associations, either. The out-of-town welfare associations are to be informed accordingly without delay.

*Contributions for food*, as has already been directed by telephone, are no longer to be sent to *Jewish institutions*. With regard to the cessation of the contributions for food for Jews placed in non-Jewish institutions, particularly in regional mental asylums and in hospitals, a separate directive is being issued.

If Jews have thus far been supported as pensioners on a low income,<sup>4</sup> the amount and type of their present assets must be established, and recovery of the benefits paid out since 1 January 1935 must be pursued as quickly as possible. With the removal of the Jews from the group receiving higher welfare benefits, the safeguarding provision for so-called 'small assets' has also lapsed for them. The office head is to be given a report every four weeks on the status of every such matter.

The question of who is a Jew is dealt with by § 5 of the First Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law of 14 November 1935 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 1333).

Doubts that arise in this regard are to be presented to the head of each office.

Jews must file their applications for benefits directly with the *Welfare Office*. In addition, all discussions that become necessary must be undertaken only by full-time workers – welfare workers or agents. *The district chiefs are thus to be relieved of all involvement in the support of Jews*. I have made this regulation in consultation with the Kreisleiter.

In order to ensure *consistency in the implementation* of all measures to be taken against Jews, the processing of all Jewish welfare cases – even if they have been processed

<sup>4</sup> According to an announcement issued on 1 August 1931, minor assets, family treasures, and heirlooms, as well as smaller properties, could not be assessed while the decision regarding welfare payments to pensioners on a low income was pending: Notification of the New Version of the Reich Principles concerning Qualification, Type and Extent of Public Welfare, § 15(1), *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1931, I, pp. 441–445.

since then by the Youth Office – must be transferred to the Central Department of Welfare, Inspector Münch.<sup>5</sup> All departments that have looked after the welfare of Jews in any way since then will *immediately* get in touch with Inspector Münch regarding the transition of all these cases, handing over of files, etc.

## DOC. 210

**On 22 December 1938 the SS Security Service orders that the scrolls and sacred objects looted from synagogues must not fall into Jewish hands again<sup>1</sup>**

Telex from the SD Main Office, SS-Standartenführer Dr Six, dated 22 December 1938 (copy)<sup>2</sup>

Accepted on 10 January 1939 by<sup>3</sup>

Re: Jewish written documents in the rag trade

Under the reference code II PA/2477/C, the Gestapo Main Office, in consultation with the SD Main Office, issued the following decree to all State Police regional headquarters on 17 December 1938:

In the South Hanover Gau of Braunschweig, Jewish scrolls and writings were found on the premises of various scrap dealers. In part, these items came from synagogues and had been passed on to the dealers to be pulped. To prevent such Jewish scrolls from finding their way back into Jewish hands or to keep written materials that are important to the Gestapo from being destroyed, I ask, in concert with the local SD offices, that spot checks be made on the premises of individual scrap dealers, and that any Jewish scrolls located there that came from synagogues, and other written materials and ritual objects [that] obviously derive from lootings from synagogues, Jewish cultural associations, and others, be safeguarded. The inspection and safeguarding of the objects handed over to the scrap dealers must also extend in particular to valuable Germanic sacred objects that had conceivably been preserved in synagogues in individual cases.

Reports on the resulting and secured materials are to be made at once. You are requested to notify the State Police regional headquarters of any observations that become known there and to ask that you be informed about the items that have been secured.

The results are to be reported.

5 Johannes Rudolf Münch (1899–1981), retailer; in 1929 chief municipal secretary; in 1931 transferred to the Youth and Welfare Office (Aid Centre) in Chemnitz; from 1934 part of the office leadership and from 1938 administrative inspector; on 15 Nov. 1945 retired from service owing to the regulation on staff restructuring in public administration.

1 BArch, R 58/6562. This document has been translated from German.

2 From the file titled 'Subject File: Telexes' it is not possible to identify the person to whom the telex was addressed.

3 Incomplete.

## DOC. 211

**On 22 December 1938 the Jewish Central Office in Stuttgart  
records attacks on Jews in Bad Mergentheim<sup>1</sup>**

Memorandum written by the Jewish Central Office in Stuttgart, unsigned, dated 22 December 1938

## I.

During the night of 15 and 16 December 1938, there was noise in front of the home of Gustav Oppenheimer<sup>2</sup> in Bad Mergentheim. The owner of the building, who is an Aryan, was ordered to open the street door, or else entrance would be gained by force. Two people then forced their way into the building and into the apartment of Gustav Oppenheimer. They searched for him in every room but did not find him. Mrs Lina Oppenheimer stated, upon being questioned, that her husband was not at home. She was told, 'If he's in there, the Jew is done for.' In addition, she and her child were slapped in the face several times.

Now Oppenheimer no longer feels safe in Mergentheim. He is thus no longer staying there for the time being.

It is being requested that the perpetrators not be named, because it is otherwise feared that they will take revenge.

## II.

During the same night, people then forced their way into the apartment of Hirsch Westheimer<sup>3</sup> as well. Westheimer himself is presently in hospital in another town. It was probably not Hirsch who was being sought but rather Isi Westheimer,<sup>4</sup> who was still in Dachau concentration camp at the time, however.

## III.

Mr and Mrs Oppenheimer had sold furniture for the amount of RM 28 around three weeks ago. Immediately thereafter, Mrs Oppenheimer was summoned to the Kreisleitung and told that she had to return the money because the sale was not approved. She explained that she needed the sum to pay the rent arrears. She was thereupon told that it was possible for her to pay for these rent arrears with a piece of furniture, but that she would have to come back (to the Kreisleitung) again beforehand.

We file the present account on the basis of written communications and personal statements.

1 Copy in Archives of the Leo Baeck Institute, New York, at the Jüdisches Museum Berlin, MF 572, reel 2, box 3, folder 1. This document has been translated from German.

2 Gustav Oppenheimer (1895–1965), retailer; initially in Bad Mergentheim, then moved in Jan. 1939, along with his wife, Lina, née Straßburger (1890–1982), and his son, Erich (b. 1927), to Stuttgart. From there they emigrated in March 1939 via Britain to the USA, where their daughter, Hannelore (b. 1925), had lived since August 1938.

3 Hirsch Westheimer (1867–1939) was the owner of a leather goods shop in Bad Mergentheim and was married to Ida Westheimer, née Rotschild (1874–1938).

4 Isi Westheimer (b. 1902), retailer; from 12 Nov. 1938 to 10 Jan. 1939 a prisoner in Dachau concentration camp; in April 1939 emigrated to Chicago.

## DOC. 212

**On 24 December 1938 Paul Fürstenberg reminds the Reichs-Kredit-Gesellschaft  
about its assurances in connection with the Aryanization of his firm<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from Paul Fürstenberg,<sup>2</sup> 13 Lietzenburgerstraße, Berlin W 15, to the Reichs-Kredit-Gesellschaft, for the attention of Director Dr Jannsen,<sup>3</sup> Berlin W 8 (received on 27 December 1938), dated 24 December 1938<sup>4</sup>

*Re: Rosenhain/Fürstenberg Aryanization matter<sup>5</sup>*

With reference to the telephone conversation with your very honoured Dr Jannsen at the beginning of this month, in which I had been given the assurance that various still-unmet conditions of our offer of purchase directed to Mr Walter Koch,<sup>6</sup> Fulmer, would be conclusively attended to, I venture to note the following.

The contracts concluded with Mr Koch at the suggestion of the Reich Ministry of Economics made sense to us only if the immediate emigration of the Fürstenberg family was associated with them. We had therefore set the following conditions, among others:

1. *Suspension of the security orders* based on § 37a of the Foreign Exchange Law;<sup>7</sup>
2. *Issuance of the tax clearance certificates*;<sup>8</sup>
3. *Delivery of the passports.*

These conditions were also incorporated in your application addressed to the Reich Ministry of Economics, and we were assured by the representatives of your corporation that all the conditions had been approved.

However, the following must be noted:

1. The suspension of the security orders has taken place only to the extent that was required for the implementation of the sales made to Mr Koch and for the transfer of the private and company assets to the trust company. However, I learned by chance yesterday that to this very day there exists a passport freeze (!) affecting various family members and dating from May of this year. The freeze was imposed by the Charl[ottenburg]-Tiergarten Tax Office at the behest of the customs investigation office. To date, no one has taken steps to rescind it.

1 BAArch, R 8136/2807, fol. 260. This document has been translated from German.

2 Paul Fürstenberg, retailer; partner at Albert Rosenhain GmbH; emigrated to the USA at the end of 1938.

3 Dr Hermann Friedrich Jannsen (1900–1998), banker; director of the state-owned bank Reichs-Kredit-Gesellschaft; from 1948 to 1966 a board member and from 1966 a supervisory board member of Frankfurt Bank.

4 The original contains handwritten abbreviations.

5 Founded in 1864 as Albert Rosenhain GmbH, in 1938 the leather goods and fashion accessories firm was owned by the Fürstenberg family. Sales in 1937 totalled around 7.5 million Reichsmarks. In the course of Aryanization, the company was taken over by the Reiwinkel firm.

6 On 5 Oct. 1938 Walter Koch, retailer, residing in Fulmer, Buckinghamshire, founded, together with his partners Ludwig Reisse and Dr Fritz Graewinkel, the gifts company known as Reiwinkel – Das Haus für Geschenke, which took over Albert Rosenhain GmbH the same day.

7 Under § 37 of the Law on the Procurement of Foreign Exchange (12 Dec. 1938), interests in German communities, corporations, and entities could be acquired by foreigners only with authorization: see *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, p. 1739. Koch, who lived in Britain, was presumably a foreigner.

8 See Doc. 206, 19 Dec. 1938.

2. In accordance with the permission granted on 4 October, we proceeded on 12 October to transfer all our assets to the trust company, whereby the prerequisite for immediate granting of the tax clearance certificates was fulfilled. But because it was left entirely to us to deal with the tax authorities, it took until 19 November, on which day an agreement was reached that also included the issuance of the tax clearance certificates. Apart from the fact that, owing to this delay through no fault of our own, we were also held liable for the Jews' contribution,<sup>9</sup> the city is now still refusing to issue its tax clearance certificates, because it has not yet reached an internal agreement with the Reich regarding a capital gains tax! This fact is so grotesque because we have no part in this dispute, nor are we materially affected by it in any way.

3. After we had waited in vain for two months, despite repeated assurances, for action on the part of the authorities in the matter of passport issuance, my father and I took the usual time-consuming avenue for me and my family. We learned of the aforementioned freeze on passports only after two weeks had passed and the [Berlin] Mitte Tax Office took an interest in the case for certain reasons.

I now venture to enquire politely whether and in what way the conditions we were promised are to be met. I certainly do not fail to recognize the existing difficulties, but ultimately it is not a matter of one iota more than we have identified from the beginning of the negotiations as indispensable terms for the contracts. On the basis of your experience, these difficulties were surely adequately known to you.

In addition, please take into account the following: as a consequence of the unanticipated delay in emigration, my father,<sup>10</sup> almost 80 years old and ailing, had to leave his home, which was sold in the meantime, without being able to move and join my brother in Holland as planned. For more than a month, my furniture has been in the hands of the shipping agent, and I had to take out a costly insurance policy, for which the premiums must later be paid in foreign currency. In addition, the conditions for shipping household goods are constantly being tightened. A further question has yet to be settled: how and to what extent we are to continue earning a living, if we are still here after the expiration of the three months envisaged?

Because I am going away on a business trip in the next few days, I request that you direct your reply to Dr Hans Bendix, 73 Kurfürstendamm, Berlin-Halensee, who is informed about the matter.<sup>11</sup>

I commend myself to you  
respectfully

I am enclosing a carbon copy of this letter for Dr Winkelmann.

9 After the November pogroms the Jewish population was required to pay an 'atonement fine' of 1 billion Reichsmarks: see Doc. 142, 12 Nov. 1938.

10 Egon Sally Fürstenberg (b. 1860), retailer and commercial judge; from 1880 employed by Albert Rosenhain GmbH, and later senior partner of the firm; from 1905 a board member of the Association of Berlin Specialist Shops; emigrated to the USA at the end of 1938.

11 The file does not indicate whether the Reichs-Kredit-Gesellschaft delivered on its commitments.

## DOC. 213

**On 25 December 1938 youngsters from a Kindertransport report  
on their reception in Britain<sup>1</sup>**

Report on the Refugee Children's Camp (Broadstairs), dated 25 December 1938<sup>2</sup>

In early December, children and teenagers in various German cities were informed that they should get ready as quickly as possible for a transport to England. There were children from Vienna (around 600), Berlin (200), Hamburg (200), and various smaller cities. Each child was supposed to take along only what he himself could carry. It soon turned out that a great many had equipped themselves inappropriately, at least with respect to the cold and damp Lowestoft Camp, which took in around 600 of them.<sup>3</sup>

The border control was quite abrasive in some cases, harmless in others. In Holland there was a very warm reception, which all the children still recall fondly. In England the children coming from the various regions of the Reich were brought together. That caused certain problems at first. The children were full of prejudices against those from other regions, while others claimed that they gained their unfavourable impressions only after getting to know their comrades.

The children who were accommodated in Lowestoft encountered quite adverse conditions there. The area is indeed quite lovely, an ideal bathing beach for the summer, but during the first few days the weather was very wet there, and in the following days unusually cold. The camp offered little protection against wet and cold conditions. The children slept in wooden huts, actually bathing huts. The common rooms were quite large and the only heating was provided by extremely small furnaces.

In addition, no group leaders were present at first, so that there was little organization and order. Over the course of the first week, group leaders gradually appeared, but the conditions were still poor in terms of organization and order. Almost all the efforts of these leaders aimed at wangling a little protection for their charges against cold and hunger. The somewhat chaotic situation resulted in some unwelcome spontaneous formations of groups. Besides the aforementioned regional antagonism, several others took shape: for example, opposition between 'Jews' and 'Christians', between the individual groups, and between individual persons.

Particularly unpleasant consequences of the weather in Lowestoft were the freezing of the water pipes and the destruction of the doors of the huts by the storm. The former event had rendered the water closets, washrooms, etc. unusable. The latter had made many dwellings uninhabitable. The group leaders had to abandon almost all requirements for hygiene and cleanliness.

The food situation in Lowestoft was uneven but also impaired by lack of organization, distribution, and discipline. It was not possible to allot time and plan the day properly. One was happy if one was not freezing for at least a part of the day. But good programmes had been prepared to keep the boys and girls busy and teach them.

1 CAHJP, HMB 3103, inv. nos. 1069–1071. This document has been translated from German.

2 The original is dated 25 Nov. 1938. It is clear from the report, however, that this must be a typographical error.

3 Lowestoft is situated in the county of Suffolk on the British North Sea coast.

After a few days, almost all the girls in the camp were sent to other places. Under the difficult local conditions, this was a necessary measure. Similarly, the clearing of the camp soon began, starting with the younger age groups.

The children had arrived in Lowestoft on Monday, 12 December. By 21 December the camp was almost completely vacated again. It is nonetheless remarkable that no serious illnesses resulted.

The group writing this report was sent to Broadstairs, Kent. Other groups were sent to Southwold,<sup>4</sup> Leeds, and other places.

Our group consists of ninety boys between the ages of 14 and 17. At the moment they are divided into four smaller groups that are approximately equal in size and into the same number of houses.

The journey from Lowestoft to Broadstairs took us through London, where the committee had prepared a light meal. Most exciting, however, was the bus trip from one railway station (Liverpool Street) to another (Victoria). We reached Broadstairs late at night.

We had a very pleasant first impression here. We found the climate much milder and calmer than in Lowestoft. True, there was also snow on the ground, but there was no harsh wind blowing around us. We went by vehicle and on foot to the St Mary's Convalescent Home, where we were all quartered for the first day and first night. This home is run by an Anglican sisterhood of nuns, who greeted us in a really friendly way and to this very day help us in word and deed in an extraordinary manner.

The next day we went to our present quarters. We live:

Group 1, Dr Paul Bergmann, 17 Stone Road, tel. 124

Group 2, Dr Willi Pollak, Stone Road, tel. 85

Group 3, Mr David Harland, Henley Lawn, Crow Bill, tel. 117

Group 5, Nurse Pappworth and Nurse Jameson, St Mary's Home, tel. 639. In a few days Group 4, like the others, will move into private quarters. The houses are nice accommodation with common rooms, which are well heated and have a radio, piano, and board games. The bedrooms contain between one and four beds. They are not warm, but – after Lowestoft – we are very content with them. There is hot water, as much as you like. The food is different in every location. At the moment efforts are being made to raise the standard in the worse houses to that in the better ones.

Broadstairs is situated on the North Sea. Our windows look directly on to the sea. It is a spa and seaside resort with around 16,000 inhabitants but gives the impression of being a deeply tranquil, prosperous small town. A single street brings together all the shops and cinemas. Everything else is villas and convalescent homes, hotels, and the like. The countryside is hilly, and in this weather, which is quite uncommon, however, would offer a good opportunity for skiing.

We are looking for work for the boys. We are not bored, but we prefer to show our gratitude to the English through useful activity and to learn something ourselves in the process. Some of us, of course, always have kitchen duty, while others help with this and that, but we hope that proper skilled manual work will soon be made possible for us. From tomorrow, eight boys will be in daytime auxiliary service at Margate Hospital, and

4 Correctly: Southwold, a small town situated in the county of Suffolk on the British North Sea coast.

one will have a job with an electrical engineer, but for most of them we have nothing as yet. To be sure, the stay here is intended to be only a provisional arrangement for them all, before they are placed in families and jobs. But nonetheless, useful work would be needed even now. Incidentally, not every type of work is welcome, as we have learned. We offered to help with clearing away the snow but were refused with thanks, as there are unemployed men in the town with nothing to do, who might resent our doing unpaid work.

Our relations with the people of the town, the committee, and individuals are the best imaginable. We are repeatedly touched by the incredible kindness of people of all classes, which, as it is Christmas now, is also shown to us in the form of many gifts of many kinds. We were invited to the cinema, to sport events, etc., and we hope we have not given too much offence through our ignorance of the English rules of polite conduct. Our English colleagues, of course, are especially helpful to us with such things.

Our mood is excellent. Indeed, during the day we often completely forget about German matters and even about our own uncertain future prospects. The solidarity of the boys is excellent, the group leaders work together readily and without any friction, and there is almost no work left to be done by the central leadership of the groups in Broadstairs. After all, the number of groups and the number of boys in each group is not so large that it would prevent easy human interaction.

DOC. 214

**On 27 December 1938 Adele Klinger of Vienna asks the Gestapo to release her husband from Buchenwald concentration camp<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from Adele Klinger, 48/7 Quellenstraße, Vienna X, to the Gestapo, Berlin State Police Regional Headquarters, dated 27 December 1938 (copy)

*Re: protective custody prisoner Isidor Klinger,<sup>2</sup> Weimar-Buchenwald, block 16a, no. 9342*  
As the spouse of the aforementioned protective custody prisoner, I venture to make the following request:

My husband has been in protective custody since 30 May 1938 and is currently in Weimar-Buchenwald concentration camp. I have tried all this time to obtain an entry permit for him, and in Palestine in particular I have taken all possible action to provide an entry possibility from there. A relative, Mr Siegfried Nagler,<sup>3</sup> has initiated the necessary steps, and I enclose a certified copy of a letter signed by the German consulate general in Jerusalem, dated 14 December 1936, confirming that the application is expected to be approved in the near future.

1 YVA, O.75/585–26. This document has been translated from German.

2 Isidor Klinger (b. 1893), retailer; after his arrest on 30 May 1938 was deported to Dachau, and from there to Buchenwald on 24 Sept. 1938; released on 29 April 1939.

3 Siegfried (Shmuel) Nagler (1914–1987), sociologist and psychologist; in 1938 emigrated to Palestine from Vienna; from 1943 until at least 1948 at Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem; in 1948 obtained a doctorate at the University of Vienna; later worked at the University of Haifa; author of a study on the psychological consequences of being raised in a kibbutz.

In addition, I have quickly requested and made a down payment on a ticket to Shanghai for my husband, concerning which I enclose the copy of a confirmation from the Vindobona Travel Agency dated 16 December 1938. The original is at the Gestapo Regional Headquarters in Vienna, where I have submitted it with a request for the release of my husband from protective custody.

In any event, my husband, if he is released from protective custody, will have the opportunity to leave the territory of the German Reich immediately. If the entry permit for Palestine arrives before that time, he will go there; otherwise he will go to Shanghai. In the latter case, the remainder of the ticket price would of course be paid at once.

I add the fact that my husband served in the military during the entire World War and has his military papers with him in protective custody. In other respects, too, he is of good standing and has never been politically active.

*Enclosures*<sup>4</sup>

#### DOC. 215

### **On 28 December 1938 Göring orders the establishment of 'Jew houses', forbids Jews to use sleeping carriages and dining cars, and regulates the status of mixed marriages<sup>1</sup>**

Guidelines (secret) issued by the Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan, signed Göring, Minister President Field Marshal, dated 28 December 1938

The Führer, in response to my presentation, has reached the following decisions regarding the Jewish question:

A.

#### *I. Housing of the Jews.*

1. (a) Tenant protection for Jews is generally not to be abolished. On the other hand, it is desirable to proceed in individual cases, wherever possible, in such a way that Jews are consolidated in one building, if the tenancy agreements allow this.

(b) For this reason, the Aryanization of the building ownership must be *placed at the end of the entire Aryanization process*, that is, for the time being the building ownership is to be Aryanized only where, in individual cases, compelling reasons for so doing are present. Top priority goes to the Aryanization of businesses and shops, agricultural property, forests, and other things.

2. The use of sleeping carriages and dining cars is to be denied to Jews. However, no special compartments shall be provided for Jews. Nor may a ban be pronounced on the use of railways, trams, suburban railways, city railways, underground railways, buses, and ships.

<sup>4</sup> The file does not contain these enclosures.

<sup>1</sup> This document has survived in the circular letter (secret) from the Reich Ministry of Transport (R/L S 3. 3426/38 g), signed Waldeck, to the subsidiary agencies and bodies of the Waterway Administration and Motor Traffic, dated 24 Jan. 1939: Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu, Naczelne Prezydium Prowincji, 1290. Published in *Der Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem Internationalen Militärgerichtshof Nürnberg, 14. November 1945–1. Oktober 1946*, vol. 25 (Nuremberg Document 069-PS) (Nuremberg: Sekretariat des Gerichtshofs, 1948), pp. 132–134. This document has been translated from German.

3. The ban on Jews shall be pronounced only for specific facilities and establishments that are accessible to the public. This category includes hotels and restaurants that are frequented, above all, by Party comrades (examples: Hotel Kaiserhof, Berlin; Hotel Vierjahreszeiten, Munich; Hotel Deutscher Hof, Nuremberg; Hotel Drei Mohren, Augsburg, etc.). Further, the ban on Jews can be pronounced for public baths, certain public open spaces, bathing resorts, etc. Therapeutic baths, if medically prescribed, can be used by Jews in individual cases, but only in such a way that no offence is given.

II. Jews who were civil servants and have been retired are not to be denied their pension. However, it is to be examined whether these Jews can manage with a smaller pension.

III. The Jewish welfare system is not to be Aryanized or abolished, so that the Jews do not become a burden on public welfare but can instead be looked after by the Jewish welfare system.

IV. Jewish patents are assets and are therefore likewise to be Aryanized. (A similar procedure was employed with respect to Germany by America and other countries in the World War.)

B.

*Mixed marriages:*

I. 1. *With children (Mischlinge of the first degree).*

(a) If the father is a German, the mother a Jew, this family may stay in its previous apartment. For these families, therefore, no ban on Jews is to be pronounced with regard to housing.

The assets of the Jewish mother can be transferred in such cases to the German husband or to the Mischlinge.

(b) If the father is a Jew and the mother a German, such families are also not to be housed in Jewish neighbourhoods for the time being, because the children (Mischlinge of the first degree) must later serve in the Labour Service and in the Wehrmacht and should not be exposed to Jewish political agitation.

With regard to the assets, action is to be taken for the time being to permit transfer of the assets in whole or in part to the children.

2. *Without children.*

(a) If the husband is a German and the wife a Jew, the statements made under 1(a) apply analogously.

(b) If the husband is a Jew, the wife a German, these childless marriages are to be dealt with as if both spouses were Jews. Assets of the husband cannot be transferred to the wife. Both spouses can be housed in Jewish buildings or neighbourhoods. Above all, however, both spouses are to be treated as Jews in the emigration process, once intensified emigration has started.

II. If the German wife of a Jew seeks a divorce, she returns to the German blood union, and all disadvantages for her cease to apply.

I have clearly obtained the authoritative view of the Führer on these questions, so that it must henceforth be regarded as the sole guideline for procedure. I ask all Reich and regional authorities to adhere strictly to this view.

I ask that the guidelines set forth above be communicated to all state bodies, down to the lowest level.

I have sent a copy to the Deputy of the Führer with the request that this letter also be sent to the Party offices.

## DOC. 216

***Deutsches Volksblatt*, Vienna, 30 December 1938: article on the compulsory emigration of the Jews<sup>1</sup>**

*Balance sheet for the Ostmark:*

*70,000 fewer Jews!!*

*230,000 more must leave!*

When 1938 began, millions of German Volksgenossen in the Ostmark still looked to the future without hope and in bitter sorrow. The heavy pressure of the *Schuschnigg system* still weighed heavily on them all. While countless Volksgenossen still languished in prisons on account of their German beliefs, and while naked poverty, hunger, and misery gripped larger and larger segments of the people, *wealth amounting to millions was concentrated in the hands of the Jews*. All the spheres of life, politics, the economy, culture either were depressed and in an indescribable state or were decayed and blighted as a result of the *prevailing Jewish influence*. Certainly, hundreds of thousands harboured the indestructible belief in their hearts that one day the time of freedom would come, but scarcely anyone would have dared to hope in their wildest dreams that it would take only a few more weeks until the storm would be unleashed and the accursed system, along with the whole Jewish clique, would be driven out.

At the end of this unforgettable year of 1938, all Volksgenossen probably have a certain interest in the question of how far the Jews have freed us of their highly undesirable presence. If one now considers that, in March of this year, there were around 300,000 Jews in the Ostmark, including the Jewish Mischlinge and those persons who are regarded as Jews under the law, *and that by the end of December approximately 70,000 Jews will have left the Ostmark*, this is an emigration figure with which one can be thoroughly satisfied.<sup>2</sup>

The layman *often does not have the right idea* about the *difficulties* that present an obstacle to Jewish emigration. First, it is self-evident that the state has a very specific interest in scrutinizing very conscientiously all the Jews who leave the Ostmark. In this context, suffice it to say that the state does not have the slightest reason to excuse the Jews from paying taxes or fees, with which the otherwise very business-minded Hebrews are usually in arrears. The second difficulty is that foreign countries are increasingly blocking Jewish immigration and erecting all kinds of barriers in the form of entry restrictions that cannot be readily circumvented.

In order to address all these difficulties in an effective manner, Reich Commissioner *Bürckel* created a *central office* in Vienna in August of this year, in which all questions regarding Jewish emigration are handled in a truly exemplary fashion.<sup>3</sup> In this central

1 'Bilanz der Ostmark: 70 000 Juden weniger!!', *Deutsches Volksblatt*, Vienna, 30 Dec. 1938, p. 1; RGVA, 500k-1-685. Copy in ÖStA, record group: Historikerkommission. This document has been translated from German. The weekly newspaper *Deutsches Volksblatt* was published from 1935 to 1945. Even before the Anschluss of Austria, it had a strongly antisemitic, pro-National Socialist orientation.

2 According to information from various relief organizations, approximately 55,000 to 60,000 Jews emigrated from Austria over the course of 1938.

3 This refers to the Central Office for Jewish Emigration: see Introduction, pp. 26 and 40-41.

office, which has its headquarters in the former Rothschild Palais, *twelve departments have their representatives*. In addition, however, the representatives of the different Jewish organizations also work here, assisting their coreligionists. The advantages of this central office are obvious. It takes away the often quite time-consuming journeys from one office to another. While it once often took weeks for a Jewish emigrant to assemble all the necessary documents and even more weeks to have the Jew's statements checked for accuracy by the various departments, today – if all the prerequisites are present – it takes *only eight to ten days* until the Jew is actually at the point of being able to emigrate. The central office created by Gauleiter Bürckel has proven its worth in every respect, and there can be no doubt at all that the Jewish emigration figure would be considerably lower if this central office had not been created.

Therefore, if it is often said that the state itself, through bureaucratic measures, places obstacles in the way of the Jews' emigration, this is *entirely inaccurate*. On the contrary, the relevant authorities are trying with all their might to further Jewish emigration in every conceivable way, and one can thus cherish the hope that the approximately 230,000 Jews still living in the Ostmark today will also leave us in the not too distant future. After all that has happened during this year, it ought to have become clear to even the most obdurate Hebrew *that there is no place for the Jews here*.

## DOC. 217

**On 30 December 1938 Cornelius von Berenberg-Gossler describes the funeral service for his business partner, who died in a psychiatric hospital<sup>1</sup>**

Diary of Baron Cornelius von Berenberg-Gossler, Hamburg, entry for 30 December 1938

Breakfast in a café. At home before dinner. Guests come for dinner: Overbeck, Miss Willink and her brother Joachim, an Englishman named Gregory, who lives in their home, Miss Scharlach, Johannes Amsinck Jr., Albert Münchmeyer, Ferdinand Schlüter Jr, and Nadia Specht, who is staying the night with us. There is dancing and drinking of punch, much merriment, the guests stay until around 2:30 a.m. Thaw. At midday in the crematorium in Ohlsdorf, funeral service for Percy Hamberg,<sup>2</sup> who died as a result of the Nazis' brutalities. On the Jewish side, everyone endlessly sad; the rabbi read out the eulogy. Everyone under great pressure, low attendance, Hermann Willink among the few present.

1 Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 622-1/9 Familie Berenberg, submitted in 1992, Tagebuch v. Cornelius Berenberg-Gossler 1938. This document has been translated from German.

2 Percy Hamberg (1883–1938), banker; from 1921 partner in the L. Behrens & Sons banking house; during the November pogroms he was in a sanatorium in Fürstenberg, from which he was deported against medical advice to the Strelitz penal institution. The diary indicates that Percy Hamberg died in a psychiatric hospital.

## DOC. 218

**On 30 December 1938 Ehud Ueberall of the Youth Aliyah Information Centre reports on his efforts to place children from Vienna in the Netherlands or Britain<sup>1</sup>**

Report, signed Ehud Ueberall,<sup>2</sup> dated 30 December 1938

Report on the stay in Amsterdam and London

I. My visit to these two cities had two objectives:

First, to become acquainted with the possibilities for placement of children abroad, and second, to exert my own influence on placement abroad.

In Holland there are by now approximately 700 children from the German Reich. The government appears willing to increase this number to 1,000, and it must be assumed that the additional 300 children will be taken to Holland in the very near future. With reference to the fact that, thus far, the children that are in Holland are almost exclusively from the Old Reich, I have suggested that the 300 additional children be drawn from Austria. The Work Group for Children's and Youth Aliyah, working through the Dutch Committee for Children's and Youth Aliyah, has conducted negotiations with the Dutch government in an effort to obtain entry permits for Holland for 500 young people who are approaching the age for Youth Aliyah,<sup>3</sup> with a certificate guarantee (but without stipulating a specific date). To facilitate these negotiations, Youth Aliyah agreed, in contrast to previous stipulations, to go ahead and send 25 certificates to Holland right now. They are for adolescents who had prior confirmation already in Germany for Aliyah and were in preparatory camps. At the moment one cannot say for certain whether these negotiations will be successful.

Activities in Holland are made more difficult by the fact that the Central Committee,<sup>4</sup> which deals with the question of refugee children, consists exclusively of non-Jewish individuals, and there was explicit refusal to involve Jews as committee members. Because of zealous efforts, particularly by Mrs van *Thijn*,<sup>5</sup> it was agreed that a Subcommittee for Schooling would be appointed, made up exclusively of Jews. This committee consists of Zionists and non-Zionists, but the non-Zionists have already left the initiative and the practical work to the Zionists.

There are very intensive and conscientious efforts to ensure that the children who come to Holland will be appropriately housed. One is aware that the placement of the

1 CAHJP, HMB 3103, inv. nos. 1076–1080. This document has been translated from German.

2 Ehud Avriel, born Ehud Ueberall (1917–1980), diplomat and politician; emigrated to Palestine in 1939; Youth Aliyah official, 1938–1940; during the Second World War a member of the Haganah and co-organizer of illegal emigration to Palestine; member of the Knesset, 1955–1957; Israeli ambassador in Ghana and Liberia in 1958–1960, in the Congo in 1960–1961, and in Italy in 1965–1968; consul general in Chicago in 1975.

3 The minimum age for Youth Aliyah was 14.

4 This probably refers to the Children's Committee: see Doc. 174, 24 Nov. 1938, fn. 2.

5 Correctly: Gertrud(e) van Tijn-Cohn (b. 1891), representative of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) and leading member of the Committee for Jewish Refugees in Amsterdam; after 1940 a member of the Amsterdam Jewish Council; in 1943 imprisoned first in Westerbork and then in Bergen-Belsen; in June 1944 went to Palestine as part of a prisoner exchange; after 1945 a social worker in Shanghai; emigrated to the USA in 1948.

Jewish children abroad is *in equal measure* a schooling problem and a refugee problem. For this reason, precisely when it comes to questions regarding education and preparation for Youth Aliyah, one encounters great and warm understanding.

A Palestinian, Uri Koch,<sup>6</sup> who himself has pedagogical experience, is in charge of devising an educational plan. In addition to him, there will soon be several other Palestinian educators dealing with the schooling of the young people in Holland. Work is presently being done to adapt a youth home in Amsterdam that will take in seventy-five young people. There are keen efforts to find additional accommodation, and there is hope that the children will soon be brought from the temporary accommodation camps in which they are now housed to their definitive places of residence. In principle, there are no plans to place families in Holland, and only children who have entered the country following requests by families will be taken to the private homes of these families.

II. In *England*, conditions are somewhat different. There, the entire activity of the 'British Movement for the Care of Children from Germany'<sup>7</sup> is regulated. This organization, which consists of Jews and non-Jews – all of them members of English society – is completely unreceptive to pedagogical issues and views the placement of Jewish children from Germany as *nothing* but a refugee problem.<sup>8</sup> The plan is to bring to England, in as short a time as possible, as many children as possible, without fixing any numbers in advance. The intention is to place these children in families, because this approach costs nothing and also because it is the best guarantee that the children will not cause an unnecessary stir.

Presently there are around 1,000 children in England, who were first in quarantine. One camp continues to operate; the other had to be abandoned<sup>9</sup> because an unforeseen change in the weather made a stay there impossible. These children have been housed in hotels, private residences, and small campsites. However, for two reasons, the persons who deal with housing now face the problem of what is to become of the children next:

The existing reception camps must be vacated to make room for new children from Germany and Austria, and not enough families were found that are willing to take in children.

All along, Youth Aliyah has taken the view that collective accommodation is the only guarantee for the young people's preparation for Palestine. While the Movement<sup>10</sup> initially opposed this idea, it has now become somewhat more receptive, because the difficulties are becoming common knowledge and there are barely any alternatives to solve them.

In London I got the impression that all the people who have something to do with the placement of Jewish children are dedicated, with the very best of intentions and the greatest devotion. That applies not only to those who are directly involved but also to

6 Uri Kochba, born Walter Koch (1910–2001), association official; emigrated to Switzerland in 1933, and in 1934 to Palestine; member of the Aliyah Committee; worked in the Netherlands on behalf of Hehalutz, 1938–1940; interned in Kreuzburg, Upper Silesia, 1940–1945; worked for Youth Aliyah, 1946–1949; head of the Central Archives of Kibbutz Hameuchad from 1976.

7 English in the original. The movement, a coalition of several non-Jewish organizations, helped to organize the Kindertransport to Britain.

8 The words 'society' and 'refugee problem' are in English in the original.

9 See Doc. 213, 25 Dec. 1938.

10 English in the original.

broad groups of the Jewish and English population, in which generous and noble-minded donations and collections are organized. Letters, sympathetic concern, even on the part of non-Jewish families, are fine proof of the understanding and willingness to help that are to be found in English society. Nevertheless, the work does not take place without obstacles. Apart from the enormous difficulties, which increase with the number of children coming to England, there is a problem in England that goes hand in hand with the conventions of public life. Specifically, there are seventy committees that deal with issues of youth placement and seek to influence the course of events in some way. I had the pleasure of being present at the founding of the seventy-first committee.

Through the goodwill of the English public, it was finally possible to find a quite excellent property for the accommodation of around 200 youths – the castle of Lord *Balfour Wittingham*, a building that seems highly suitable with respect to the architecture and surrounding countryside.<sup>11</sup> In a meeting of the Women's Appeal Committee<sup>12</sup> the day before yesterday, it was decided to acquire this building and initially to place there those 200 children who were sent to England by the Information Centre of Youth Aliyah and are now at the reception camp in Harwich. At the aforementioned meeting of the Women's Appeal Committee, I gave a report on our activities and our needs that greatly moved the ladies and gave them an appreciation of the need to accelerate the pace of the work as much as possible and to raise substantial funds.

I gained the impression that there is a possibility of taking perhaps 1,000 more children to England. It seems to me that a pause must then ensue, because some time will doubtless be needed for placing the children and for adopting the principle of *establishing rules as a collective*. As there is no set figure from the government and financial means continue to be raised, it must be kept in mind that, if the problem of housing and educational staff is solved, the Kindertransport to England will proceed in its present scope.

III. Apart from the discussions and meetings on the Youth Aliyah matter, I also had occasion to discuss other matters.

I was received by *Adler-Rudel*, who, in extensive conversations, expressed interest in all aspects of our activity here and went into all the details with great understanding. It continues to be his unconditional wish that the work for the foreign Hachsharah programme be centralized, and in addition [he] regards it as harmful and unacceptable for Vienna to make contact with offices abroad and bypass the proper route through the central office of the German Hehalutz organization. I gained the impression that Adler-Rudel takes the liveliest interest in our issues and that the questions of the Austrian Hehalutz organization are questions of the first order for him, like all the other questions with which he deals.

11 Arthur Balfour was born in Whittingehame House, near Edinburgh, in 1848. He was the British prime minister from 1902 to 1905 and was the author of the so-called Balfour Declaration of 1917, which pledged to create 'a national home for the Jewish people' in Palestine. From 1939 to 1941, Whittingehame House was used as a school for Youth Aliyah for the Jewish children who had arrived on the Kindertransport.

12 English in the original here and in the following. The Women's Appeal Committee was a committee of the Central British Fund for German Jewry, a relief organization that organized the Kindertransport to Britain.

I also had occasion to speak to Dr Georg *Josefthal*<sup>13</sup> and Teddy *Kollek*,<sup>14</sup> who also concern themselves with the foreign Hachsharah. During my presence in London, the permits for the eighty-eight Hehalutz chaverim<sup>15</sup> from Vienna and Berlin for Hachsharah in England were granted. Some of the permits have already arrived here in the meantime.

I must not fail to point out the exceptional willingness with which Mrs Eva *Stern-Michaelis*<sup>16</sup> of the [Committee for] Children's and Youth Aliyah devotes herself to every question. Also with regard to Mrs Lola *Hahn-Warburg*,<sup>17</sup> who conducts the affairs of the British Movement for the Care of Children from Germany, I gained the impression that she facilitates the work to the best of her ability and tries hard to speed up and expand the activities.

## DOC. 219

***NS-Frauen-Warte*, December 1938: article about reactions in Germany  
and abroad to the November pogroms<sup>1</sup>**

*'The poor Jews!'*

The agitation of Jewry against National Socialist Germany surges and tumbles incessantly in waves of hatred that surpass anything ever seen before. The Jew *Grünspan's* murder of Legation Counsellor *vom Rath*, which according to the murderer was directed at *Germany*, has finally put an end to the magnanimous patience of the German people and its leaders.

The spontaneous manifestations of outrage all over Germany and the measures taken by the Reich government, which prove to world Jewry that its weapons can also backfire,

13 Correctly: Dr Georg Josefthal (1912–1962), politician; from 1933 Zionist youth leader in Nuremberg; head of Youth Aliyah and Hehalutz in Berlin, 1934–1938; imprisoned in 1938, then emigrated to Palestine; employee of the Jewish Agency; in 1960 Israeli minister of labour and in 1961 minister for residential construction and development.

14 Theodor (Teddy) Kollek (1911–2007), social worker, politician, and lawyer; member of the Hehalutz movement, 1931–1934; emigrated to Palestine in 1935; employee of the Jewish Agency, 1940–1945, responsible for contacts with secret services; while based in Istanbul organized the flight of Jews from German-occupied Europe; in 1950 Israeli ambassador to the USA; director general of the office of Israel's prime minister, 1952–1965; mayor of Jerusalem, 1965–1993.

15 Plural of *chaver*; Hebrew for 'friend'; in modern Hebrew also 'member'.

16 Eva Stern-Michaelis (1904–1992), social worker; until 1932 gymnastics teacher in Hamburg and Berlin; co-founder and head of the Committee for Children's and Youth Aliyah, 1932–1938; head of the Central Youth Aliyah Office and envoy of the Jewish Agency in London, 1938–1945; after 1945 in Palestine.

17 Lola Hahn-Warburg (1901–1989), from 1933 employee of the Reich Representation of German Jews; co-founder of the Committee for Children's and Youth Aliyah, 1933–1934; emigrated to Britain in 1938; as member of the Executive Committee of the Refugee Children Movement played a leading role in organizing the Kindertransport to Britain.

1 'Die armen Juden!', *NS-Frauen-Warte*, no. 13, 2 Dec. 1938, p. 407. This document has been translated from German. The journal was published every two weeks as the organ of the National Socialist Women's League. It had a circulation of 1 million copies in 1938.

have unleashed, especially in the Western democracies dominated by Jewish influence, a new, unparalleled storm of agitation and defamation directed at Germany, a storm that reveals the true aims and intentions of the Jews and tears the mask from the murderer's face of international Jewry.

Thus, the American newspaper *New York Daily News* dared to publish a letter from the Jew Max Rosenberg in which he suggests in all seriousness that '*ten or twelve professional killers serving life sentences be freed on condition that they assassinate Hitler and his associates*'.

Apart from the fact that such things are allowed to be published in a country that, including its leader, goes along with those who get most wrought up over the 'barbarism' in Germany and yet is accustomed to the horrors of *lynching* and other 'cultural phenomena', the criminal predispositions and characteristics of the Jews have hardly ever found expression more publicly and shamelessly than in this proposal.

Nonetheless, Volksgenossen are repeatedly to be found who, when faced with broken windowpanes and Jews under arrest, shake their heads in regret and incomprehension and dare to speak of the '*poor Jews*' who, they say, were really not at fault after all.

These peculiar contemporaries of ours – who have the struggle of the Führer and the National Socialist Movement to thank for the fact that they can live, work, and earn a living in security and that the otherwise inevitable *Bolshevism* has not done away with the bourgeoisie in Germany too, to the same or an even greater extent than it has in Russia – have for the most part very quickly forgotten, in the safe security of the Third Reich, that the traitorous Jews, during the period when they held sway, smashed a great deal more than a few windowpanes where the German people were concerned. They have also forgotten that the contribution of 1 billion [Reichsmarks] that was imposed on the Jews in Germany amounts to a beggar's penny in comparison with the *gigantic theft* of Germany's national wealth that was perpetrated by Jewry over the decades, particularly during the period from 1918 to 1933.

The unpaid debit account of the Jews with regard to the German people is so vast that it can never be settled, even if one were to confiscate all the Jewish assets still present in Germany, however substantial they still may be. For the debt that Jewry has incurred in Germany is unrecoverable, and even the most concise description is unable to specify it with anything approaching accuracy.

The criminal instincts that spew forth from Jewry to a special degree, more so than from any other race, instincts whose acting out is virtually elevated to a commandment by the Talmudist religious doctrines, according to which every crime against Christians is permitted – spiritual *carte blanche* for all crimes – gave rise to conditions that enabled the Jews for decades, indeed for centuries, to enrich themselves at the expense of the German people above all others, by all available means.

But the Jews not only sought *wealth*, which already entails *power* and, in conjunction with political leadership, represented the strongest weapon in the fight for *Jewish domination of the world*. To achieve this goal, the people had to be robbed of all moral concepts that preserve the state, and here the *Jewish 'bearers of culture'* began their corrosive activities, intended to wear down the moral strength of the German people in particular. The ideal of rootlessness, the infinite candour with which Jewry dared to proclaim its '*mission*', and the diabolical cynicism with which it asserted its claim to dominance emerge from a poem by the Jewish writer Paul Mayer that was published as early as 1913 in the

journal *Aktion*.<sup>2</sup> The poem is admittedly no longer obscure, but, in its programmatic eagerness to make a statement, it cannot be evoked often enough:

Ahasuerus's Merry Wanderer's Song<sup>3</sup>

See, I am the rootless one, / not wedded to the world around me, / no homesick dream's narcosis / sends my heart dropping to my boots, / for I am steeled by sorrow.

If you drive me from your doorsteps, / I am still the most in favour, / your cries of envy ring out shrilly, / for I drink from your springs / and weigh your values in the balance.

The smooth skins of my soul / hide what I, while begging, suffered; / but my spoils are piling up, / and your sweethearts shout for joy to me, / to me, the reject of the alien desert.

Mouth agape, you puff your reefer / for respectable digestion, / but I am a clever sensor, / and I provoke you into vices / for my very own uplifting.

And thus I play the games / of my seasoned wantonness, / strange, quite subtle, / ultimate aims concealed from you, aims of my Asiatic blood.

Since 1913, a great many of these strange, quite subtle aims have become visible in the world, and we are no longer deceived. All that remains is to look back and shudder.

Fraud, unscrupulousness, exploitation, stock-exchange capers and political corruption on the grandest scale, civil war, filth and rubbish, the triumph of immorality and degradation of women to soulless sex objects, the destruction of the family, the abysmal deterioration of taste, culture's path into the gutter, and, again and again, *crime* in every form, *murder* as a political weapon, these are the achievements of Jewry for mankind and in particular for the German people, which least of all peoples has cause to indulge in inappropriate stirrings of sympathy. Forgetfulness is one of the human attributes on which the guilt-ridden most readily place reliance. For Jewry, however, it is a miscalculation that must never again be repeated.

2 Dr Paul Mayer (1889–1970), writer; an editor with the publishing house Rowohlt and literary advisor to the publisher Ernst Rowohlt, 1919–1936; emigrated to Mexico in 1939 and to Switzerland after 1945. The literary and political journal *Die Aktion*, edited by Franz Pfemfert, was published from 1911 to 1932, at first weekly, and from 1926 sporadically. It served as a forum for expressionist art and literature and at times reached a circulation of 7,000 copies. 'Ahasvers froehlich Wanderlied' appeared in *Die Aktion* on 29 Jan. 1913, p. 140. The poem has two more verses, which are not quoted in the *NS-Frauen-Warte*.

3 This is an allusion to Ahasuerus, the Wandering Jew. The term refers to the thirteenth-century myth of a Jew who taunted Jesus on his way to the cross only to then be condemned to wander the earth until Judgement Day.

## DOC. 220

**Karl Sass from Vienna describes his attempts to emigrate illegally in December 1938<sup>1</sup>**

Submission by Karl Sass to a Harvard University competition (1940)

[...] <sup>2</sup>

The Klucky Temple was destroyed, likewise the Leopold[stadt] Temple and all the others too. <sup>3</sup>

Several days passed. Gradually I came increasingly into the dead part of the city, the Leopoldstadt district. Like all melancholics, I fed my state of mind on grief, of which there was abundance. Wherever I went, the same thing was to be heard: lootings, insults, arrests, etc. Everywhere there were dead bodies, everywhere one noticed the smell of decaying corpses. Life became even more sinister than it had already been, often enough, before. We came to the conclusive realization that Hitler could strengthen himself in this country only through pogroms. I realized increasingly that I had been right earlier in thinking that he not only had not helped the country but rather had harmed it and would have to resort to pogroms again and again. I concluded that we had only one alternative: get out of the country! – if we want to be human beings again, if we want to have self-respect.

It was now vital to turn everything into cash, no matter what it cost: ‘Let’s get out!’ Admittedly, we knew that no El Dorado awaited us out there, that one is primarily a beggar out there, but the blade no longer hung above our necks as it did in Germany. The nerve-wracking existence in Germany was no longer endurable. What is more, the authorities were still pressing for emigration.

Then an acquaintance was summoned to the Gestapo. When he arrived, he was greeted with the question: ‘Do you want to emigrate, or do you want to go to Dachau?’ This way of posing the question immediately took one’s courage away. – ‘Of course, I want to emigrate!’ – my acquaintance said. ‘So why are you still here?!’ It was dangerous to say that one did not know to which country one should emigrate. He defended himself merely by saying that his papers were being processed and that he planned to emigrate as soon as he had the documents in hand. When my acquaintance, asked whether he had already been arrested or been in Dachau, said no, the official said: ‘Aha, you’ve had a knack for dodging. Next time you won’t succeed in dodging. I am granting you four weeks. Within this time period you must leave the territory of the Reich. Are you willing to put your name to that?’ – ‘Yes!’ my acquaintance replied.

1 Karl Sass, ‘Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und nach dem 30. Januar 1933’ [My life in Germany before and after 30 January 1933] (1940), pp. 19–24, Harvard Competition, no. 197. This document has been translated from German.

2 In the first part of the account Karl Sass describes the growing antisemitic mood in Vienna (see Doc. 18, spring 1938), his arrest in June 1938, the deportations of the Polish Jews, the November pogroms, and the constant attempts to obtain emigration papers.

3 The synagogue in Kluckygasse was built in 1900 by the Brigittenau Temple Association. It was destroyed on 10 Nov. 1938 and later replaced by a residential building. The Leopoldstadt Temple, built in 1858, was destroyed during the November pogroms, with the exception of the wings on either side. The only Viennese synagogue to escape destruction was the City Temple on Seitentengasse, because it was located in a densely built-up area.

In this way, the emigration question intensified more and more. No one asked any longer whether it should be done legally or illegally. The vital thing was: rescue, flee, wherever possible.

'To the border!' was now the cry of the day.

People even went to Poland to escape the Teutonic racial fanaticism. People paid whatever they had, or borrowed wherever they could, in order to get across the border.

In addition to the accelerated procurement of passports, which now proceeded at full tilt, the smuggling of human beings began to escalate. This dirty racket suddenly flourished. Here the point was not to help the people being persecuted but rather to do a good business. Among the smugglers, as always among such people, there were unprincipled swindlers who often tricked the poor out of their last penny, which they needed in order to save themselves. In this way the swindlers enriched themselves and indulged themselves in a comfortable life. There were quite a few Jews, too, who were involved in theft from illegal emigrants and then left them to their fate.

Interestingly, all this took place under the eyes of the German authorities. Although the Nazis now emphasize repeatedly that the Jews are antisocial, that they are allegedly a nation of criminals, they have directed their campaigns against scholars, artists, retailers, craftsmen, and civil servants who always earned an honest living. But the Nazis allowed evil excrescences of the sort found in border towns to flourish.

In practice, things went more or less like this: a guide or a driver took people across the border in some way. Acquaintances recommended the guide to others, and this individual now had his hands full. That was still the honest smuggling, of course. Naturally, smuggling could succeed many times and then be unsuccessful one day. For this reason, the fee for the crossing was deposited with someone on trust. So far, so good. Now, very few people knew the addresses of such honest smugglers. So people turned to this or that individual and asked for recommendations. In most cases, those making the recommendations wanted to earn something too. They now accepted the middleman fee from the emigrant and recommended a guide to him, or they arranged with a guide to bring emigrants to him in exchange for a set fee, or else in exchange for the advantage of being taken across the border at no charge, which can still be described as honest. Exploitation and abuse of the great distress now had an open door as a result, because the middlemen often greatly embellished their role and played the part of trustees themselves, demanding and usually receiving small fees on some pretext, or saying that in exchange for their efforts the fee must be paid at once, or else they would not act as intermediaries. Some middlemen often undertook the job of guiding the emigrants themselves and then abandoned the poor people to their fate. Some claimed that they had to bribe border officials and needed money for that purpose. Because the emigrants knew that the sword of Damocles was hanging over their heads, they naturally had no choice but to rely unconditionally on these individuals. In the process, those who had sufficient capital were nonetheless better positioned, in any event, than those who could scrape together only a little money. The former could try to get over a failure, negotiate with the guides, make choices, etc., while the latter, by contrast, could not. Thus, the latter usually lost even what little they had.

The crossing went approximately as follows: one drove right up to the border and presented oneself to the German border agencies for the customs and foreign currency inspection, sometimes for the passport check as well. That had to take place, or else it was very dangerous. I know of only a few cases where the German border agencies were

bypassed too. From there, one was often transported like real smuggled goods, for example, hidden in a cart, or one had to go a shorter or longer distance on foot in order to bypass the other border agencies. Somewhere a car stood ready and took the emigrants to the next aid committee, which now assumed responsibility for the emigrant. The man was henceforth saved from Hitlerism. The cheap guides, that is, those who had no car, led the people to the next border station. There the emigrant, using the money he was allowed to take out of Germany (RM 10), bought a ticket and, accompanied by the guide, went to the nearest Jewish relief authorities, and the rescue was complete. If one encountered the border agencies of the emigrant countries, the guides usually disappeared, and the emigrants were then sent back.

The Germans received those who were sent back in various ways. On occasion, someone was sent to a concentration camp, but mostly they said that the second attempt would surely succeed, or one was sent to Cologne if one had been sent back from Belgium or Holland, and from there one tried one's luck again and again, or one was sent home without further ado. Frequently, German border agencies themselves pointed out the better route to take. They were actually very humane, overall, towards the emigrants.

One larger group of emigrants set out on the Friday between Christmas and New Year. The weather was quite bad. The ground was soggy. The fields were covered in deep snow. The route was unclear and endangered by the very fact that one could either get bogged down in the snow or betray oneself by leaving tracks. Now the border officials proved very conscientious. They did not let a young girl cross the border because she was wearing shoes with overly high heels and the route was very difficult. A family with two children, one of whom had to be carried, was also not allowed through. The mother begged and pleaded, but the official did not yield, saying that under no circumstances was she equal to the exertions and that she would only be a burden for the other emigrants. So the others got through; the girl and the family returned to Cologne.

Often children were sent across the border all by themselves, in the certainty that someone would take pity on them. Once I was sitting in the town hall in Cologne and noticed a woman next to me who was weeping. I asked her the reason, and now she really burst into tears: an hour before, she said, she had sent her only daughter off to Amsterdam alone. Her husband was in a camp for emigrants in Holland, and she was sending the child off with the only hope that she too might be granted an opportunity to get to Holland, so that she could reunite with her husband and child. – The next day she told me that the child had arrived safely in Amsterdam and been accepted by the committee. She was blissfully happy and gloomy at the same time. 'Who knows', she sighed, 'when I'll see my husband and child again!'

The cost of being guided across the border varied. Most expensive were the direct guided crossings, that is, from Vienna to Brussels, from Vienna to Amsterdam, etc. Usually the guide who demanded more said this was because with him one was certain of getting across, whereas with the others this was not so certain. On the recommendation of an elderly married couple, I made contact in December with the aforementioned Mr Liebig<sup>4</sup> of 8 Wimbergergasse. He charged the highest possible rate, namely RM 500 per person. After all, he was a friend of Hitler from the latter's days in Lichtental.

After lengthy negotiations, we agreed that we should leave Vienna on Christmas Day. There were four of us: the elderly married couple, my colleague, and I. Mr Liebig de-

manded that the entire sum be paid before leaving Vienna [...],<sup>5</sup> that is, RM 2,000. Here, too, an agreement was reached. He received RM 600 as a down payment. He was to get the remainder of the money in Cologne. The couple, after selling everything that could be sold, barely managed to scrape together RM 680. A nephew loaned them 200 Reichsmarks. I loaned them 120 Reichsmarks. Equipped with this 1,000 Reichsmarks, we got things going.

During the night before the day of departure, my colleague fell ill. Because he suffered a severe nervous breakdown besides, we hesitated, wondering whether we should go ahead or postpone our departure. I now went to the couple and said that it was possible that we would have to postpone our exit from the country. If we failed to show up, they should view that as a postponement of the journey. I would have said 'no' from the outset, but my colleague again would not permit that.

The couple now set out on the journey with Mr Liebig. At the last minute my colleague thought that it was advisable to leave after all, so we took a taxi and rushed to the Vienna West Railway Station, but the train had already left. So we took the next train to Cologne and hoped to find Liebig and the couple in Cologne in the groups of emigrants or otherwise. Once in Cologne, however, we saw that it was impossible.

Cologne was overrun with emigrants. Although signs had been posted everywhere saying 'Jews not welcome', my hotelier thought that money was the deciding factor. The waiter, too, looked greedily at our hands to see whether he was being given a tip, although it was never permitted, except for the 10 per cent surcharge on consumption, and he was the nicest fellow if one gave him a tip, although he wore an SS badge in his buttonhole. Many hoteliers and waiters behaved in the same way. I now searched all over Cologne, but neither Liebig nor the couple could be found: I sent a telegram to Antwerp to the couple's nephew, but three days later received the answer that the whereabouts of the couple was unknown to him.

I was very annoyed. At the same time, I heard that crossing the border had become far more difficult then. My colleague's nervousness increased appreciably, and he pressed for a return to Vienna. However, I still wanted to sound out the situation and, if possible, keep moving forward and not go back.

In the meantime I was informed by my wife that Liebig had robbed the couple and abandoned them somewhere, indeed had allegedly even handed them over to the Border Police. Because it was I who had given Liebig the down payment, it did not occur to me to hesitate. I now decided to return to Vienna myself. I was convinced that if something could still be salvaged, I was the only one who could manage it. But before I took this step, I also tried to gain an insight into the smuggling system and to observe the life and activities of the smugglers and the people to be smuggled.

One of the wildest smugglers' pubs was the Café Jakobi at the Mauritiuswall. Gloomy though the Jewish establishments inevitably were, at least from the outside, it made a very poor impression right at the entrance. Inside, however, it was quite nice. It must have even been an elegant restaurant at one time. It was spacious and brightly lit. Groups

4 Sass writes elsewhere in his report that after 10 Nov. 1938 there was a marked increase in trade and corruption in connection with passport acquisition; Mr Liebig was recommended at this time to one of his acquaintances by a Jewish colleague: *ibid.*, p. 13.

5 A word is illegible.

filled every corner and seating area. Whenever a new man entered, he was viewed with mistrust at first. Then, after he had been seen there several times, he was approached. One knew anyway what it was about, and so one got right to the point. Haggling and negotiations began. Young men who showed off and boasted of successes offered their services, let themselves be wined and dined first, tried to sense whether one had a lot of money or only a little, so that the price for the crossing could then be set. For they took care not to quote an unaffordable price. Women of the underworld also gathered here at Jakobi's. They too offered themselves, and one could obtain women at a variety of prices. Naturally, women and girls who had nothing in mind but the border crossing came there as well. They were often accosted. Some acquiesced. There were some girls one could pick up by holding out the prospect of crossing the border. It was also a gathering place for men who had lingered in Cologne for an extended period and by now had no more money. Either they begged those who still had something to help them, or they simply sat here as unwanted guests, a bundle of misery, to which every inch of their being bore witness. So they sat here, formerly respectable, busy, capable men, among others, desperadoes, sketchy characters, harassed and hunted, and no one could understand why and wherefore.

Here people let themselves be stripped of their last penny in the hope of being released soon, very soon, from transforming yesterday's life into a beggar's existence. And the next day they were to awake, divested of all funds, brooding and agonizing, a tattered, trampled soul, wrecks, torsos of human beings.

One of them told me the following story: with four other people, he hired a motor car for the crossing. The money was paid, and the vehicle got going. Right before the border, the driver claimed to have car trouble. Everyone had to get out, and the driver began to repair the car. Then he got into the car, as if testing to see whether he could drive it, and raced away at top speed. Then it came to light that he was driving without a number plate, and one could not follow up to find out who he was. The five persons reported to the Border Police. The police wrote everything down for the record and promised to do everything possible to apprehend the swindler. The officer was downright appalled by what had happened. It was to no avail. He put them on the train and sent them back to Cologne. Now the man is sitting there and has no idea what he is actually waiting for. He doesn't even have enough money to buy poison for himself. But why commit suicide? Is he any different from a corpse anyway? He has no option but to beg other corpses for money again. – That one is a lawyer. How long ago it was that he had a flourishing practice. He was respected and admired. He had a nice income, and many have good memories of him. Now he is nothing, or rather, he is an object of derision. He is ridiculed with or without reason. He offered himself to one and all, wanting to cross the border with them. He pleaded and begged to do so, for he dared not go alone, in wind, snow, and freezing cold. So he sits first here, then there, and tries to persuade everyone to take pity on him and take him along. Wrapped in a coat that was testament to former prosperity, he sat there, his scrawny body shivering, his cheeks sunken, his gaze vacant. At times he even tried to smile when the others did, but it did not really suit his face, as if he had never before laughed in his life. Pleading and begging suited his face better, and sometimes the observer has the feeling that his heart is full to bursting. Or perhaps it has already burst, and only remnants of him testify to the fact that there stands an image of God.

There was a pretty woman from Berlin, gawped at by all, desired by many, degraded to a whore, who took up with anyone who, she hoped, would take her across the border, or, as she had already experienced many a disappointment, would at least give her a hot meal. We met a woman from Dresden there, with whom we had almost reached an agreement to hire a motor car together and deposit the money with a mutual acquaintance, when I changed my plan because of the Liebig matter. At first she was indignant, but then, considering the importance of my issue, which she even appreciated fully, she consoled herself, and, even before I had taken my leave of Cologne, she was negotiating with someone else.

A fellow approached me and offered to take us across the border at a relatively low price. He had a sister in Belgium, he said, not far from the border. He was in touch with her, he said, and with her help the border crossing would be ensured. Later I learned that he went from hotel to hotel, from room to room, and offered his help. I had reservations about him anyway, and besides, I was already determined to go back.

In addition to the Café Jakobi, there was also the Café Hirschl, where one encountered emigrants. Or they met at the town hall or in a private home, the home of a woman who came to the aid of all the needy, to the best of her ability. Everyone who wanted to stay overnight was allowed to do so, provided there was a place available somewhere, and one could also eat relatively well there, and at no charge if one had no money, or for a modest fee if one had some money. In any event, she never pestered anyone [for money].

And everywhere I encountered the same or similar eloquent eyes, sad, tight-lipped mouths, whether thirsting for prey or begging for rescue, women with dyed hair who sought to get across the border through coquettishness, or, despoiled, touted their flesh as desirable or flaunted it in order to get hold of a meal, a place to sleep. But who could throw a stone at such a person? Who was so free of sin? Who was at fault? Rather, one felt sorry that it had come to this.

On New Year's Eve, we travelled homeward. At midnight, the train stopped on the way. It was a marvellous night. We were in the middle of the Rhine region, surrounded by ridges of high hills. A starry sky twinkled down at us, and from afar, on the ridge of some hills, shone the lights on a Christmas tree. Then the bells rang out. I counted twelve chimes. Then all the attendants came into our compartment to wish us 'Happy New Year'. Honestly, I felt a terrible ache. – If people could be happy when they did not possess this power, why can criminals become so powerful? Nonetheless, life went on. It was no time for sentimental observations.

Back at home, I learned that the married couple were in Cologne at the time. That was awkward for me. No one dared to go to Liebig. After all, he could be an informer or a Gestapo man. One knew that the Jew had no rights, and that was sufficient. From Cologne came woebegone letters. The people did not have a single penny. We now started a collection and sent it to them, but what good did it do? We also had nothing. Finally we gathered together a larger sum. I myself donated around RM 80. The others, the sister and the niece, gave around RM 80, and soon we heard that they had reached Antwerp. This money, however, would have achieved little if a brother-in-law from Canada had not helped them out.

Now I learned the facts of the matter with Liebig. Not with complete clarity, of course, but approximately. Liebig was probably smuggling money across the border. He was allegedly caught in the act. That is not entirely credible, however. For I saw Liebig a few

weeks later, but I don't believe he would have been released so quickly if that had been the case. He told me that the couple had raised suspicion by their clumsy behaviour, by talking too much. So they were all arrested. Paradoxically, he had been kept under arrest for a prolonged period on account of the couple, whereas they were quickly released.

Actually, I could not find him at all at first. His wife said he had been arrested. She seemed concerned on his account. Once she told me that Gestapo men had searched their home but found nothing. In short: there were all sorts of things that remain a mystery to me to this very day. One thing I know: Liebig had the money, at least the down payment of RM 600, and he kept it. If anything, he was crass on top of that.

Now I began making further efforts to leave the country. Once again I was a daily visitor at the Religious Community office or the Palestine Office. Although faces vanished repeatedly and we asked ourselves over and over whether those who disappeared had been arrested or smuggled across the border, in the aforementioned offices, at all events, there was always movement. At the same time, the Gestapo exercised its control. Thus, I once witnessed the following incident:

Dr Murmelstein, the head of the emigration department of the Religious Community,<sup>6</sup> once got upset with an official because the latter's sloppiness had caused a file to be mislaid. He was a bit too loud, but the SS man who had just entered the room looked him up and down so condescendingly that Dr Murmelstein was taken aback. The SS man said, 'So loud!' Dr Murmelstein replied, 'I think I know how to run my own office.' The SS man said caustically, 'No! You too must keep calm.' He said it in such a way that the man addressed chose to say nothing and to pass over the matter in silence.

[...]<sup>7</sup>

DOC. 221

*Der Internationale Klassenkampf*, December 1938: article  
on the reactions of the German working class and the international bourgeoisie  
to the November pogroms<sup>1</sup>

*On the Jewish pogroms in Germany*

The Jewish pogroms in Germany are a well-considered and well-prepared government operation. The preparations for them date back to the summer of this year. At that time a regulation was issued, stating that all shops and enterprises in Jewish hands must be

6 Dr Benjamin Murmelstein (1905–1989), rabbi; from 1931 honorary lecturer at the Israelite Theological Academy in Vienna; Jewish Elder in the Theresienstadt camp, 1944–1945; in Czechoslovak investigative custody on grounds of collaboration, 1945–1947, then emigrated to Italy.

7 In the last chapter of his account, Karl Sass describes examples of the contradictory behaviour of many persons whom he encountered and who alternated between staunch antisemitism and dismay at the violence that was carried out.

1 'Zu den Judenpogromen in Deutschland', *Der Internationale Klassenkampf*, vol. 3, no. 4, Dec. 1938, p. 12. This document has been translated from German. *Der Internationale Klassenkampf* was published in Paris from 1936 to 1939 by the International Communist Opposition as its central medium of communication. In 1930 former members of communist parties, excluded in 1928 owing to their criticism of the ultra-left course of the Comintern, had joined together to form the International Communist Opposition. The strongest group was the Swedish section, which won 5.2 per cent of the votes in the 1932 parliamentary elections.

labelled to identify them as such.<sup>2</sup> The registration of Jewish assets that was ordered at the same time obviously had the aim of bleeding them dry at a favourable opportunity, an objective that has now been accomplished by the atonement fine of 1 billion [Reichsmarks].<sup>3</sup> On 15 October the passports of all Jews were revoked.<sup>4</sup> The persecution in the months of July and August and the mass expulsions of the Polish Jews were the test sample.<sup>5</sup>

There also can be no question of these having been spontaneous actions on the part of the public. What speaks against this is the fact that the 'people's anger', kept on hold for six hours after the death of the legation counsellor, then suddenly burst forth at 2 a.m., all over the German Reich. In the big cities at least, the private residences of the Jews cannot have been known to the majority of the population. However, they were well known to the NSDAP, which organized this operation.

These infamous deeds have not met with the slightest positive response among the population, either. Quite the reverse. The vast majority of the Germany population – and above all the working class – has not the least thing to do with all this beastliness. Despite all the danger, one attempts to help the victims of the terror wherever possible. The Nazis themselves are under no illusions regarding this result of their operation.

The reasons for using the incident in the embassy in Paris to bring about this operation lie in the internal difficulties in which the regime is mired, despite its foreign policy successes. They are the old difficulties of a financial and economic nature, brought on by the arms build-up and multiplied by new problems resulting, first, from the enormous costs and economic harm and challenges of mobilization and, second, from the fact that the newly conquered territories are initially economically and financially subsidized territories and will also remain so for the near future.

The Jewish pogroms would not have been possible on this scale without the success in Munich.<sup>6</sup> The increase in prestige in the foreign policy sphere has caused the Nazi government to run the risk of provoking so-called 'world opinion' in this way and thereby strengthening the position of their opponents abroad.

Inwardly the matter wears quite a different face. The Nazis have long been aware that winning over the mass of the population, especially the workers, is an utterly hopeless cause for them. They know very well what would have happened to them if they had risked a war. 'They may not love us, but let them at least fear us': that is their slogan. The persecution of the Jews with all its well-organized atrociousness is the response of the Nazis to the defeatism of the broad masses.

Naturally, the financial yield is not to be sniffed at either. It is one of the main objectives of the whole affair. This method will be continued. The next targets seem to be the

2 On the marking of Jewish shops in the summer of 1938, see Introduction, p. 19.

3 See Doc. 142, 12 Nov. 1938.

4 With the implementation of the Regulation on Passports of Jews (5 Oct. 1938) the German passports of Jews residing on the territory of the Reich were declared invalid: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, p. 1342.

5 On the expulsion of the Polish Jews from the territory of the Reich, see Docs. 112 and 113, 28 Oct. 1938. The mention of the persecution in July and August is presumably a reference to Operation Work-shy Reich (*Aktion Arbeitsscheu Reich*) in June 1938, in the course of which approximately 1,500 Jews were imprisoned in concentration camps: see Introduction, p. 22.

6 This refers to the Munich Agreement.

insubordinate clerics and perhaps the Confession Church<sup>7</sup> and the Catholic Church in its entirety. In the eyes of the Nazis, they are plainly defeatists, and above all much more can be got out of them than even out of the Jews.

Outside Germany, too, a wave of revulsion and protest against these persecutions of the Jews has arisen. Without any doubt, among the labourers and workers there is genuine anger at this barbarism. This sentiment is so strong that not even the so-called world press, the bourgeoisie, and its statesmen can escape it, even though they mostly seek to gloss over the scope and the horrors of the pogrom as far as possible. Even Mr Chamberlain has shed a few tears of sympathy for the cruelly persecuted Jews. But in his case and that of his ilk, they are merely crocodile tears. After all, today almost every country has barred entry to the Jews, and every day Jewish refugees with wives and children are being ruthlessly sent back across the German border.

Some statesmen allegedly even intend to intervene with the Nazi government and urge it to leave the refugees 30 per cent of their assets. That shows the 'compassion' of the bourgeoisie in the clearest light. If someone is bringing money along, they would still accommodate him in their country at a pinch. But the poor devils from whom everything has been taken or who had nothing even before, they can stay in the Nazis' hell. Probably they are mostly 'Reds' anyway or something similar, and, in the opinion of the well-off bourgeois, it serves them quite right, in actual fact.

It hardly needs mentioning, incidentally, that the imperialists, feeling hard-pressed by Germany's aggression, are using the opportunity to give Hitler's Germany a proper ticking-off. Leading the way is the United States. (Only the remnant of the glorious Popular Front policy in France, the Daladier-Bonnet government, is willing to get Hitler's Germany out of a jam at no charge.<sup>8</sup>)

The sympathy of the bourgeoisie for the persecuted Jews is pretence. What is genuine, however, is the feeling of fear that even its pro-fascist component – and not least the 'Aryan' bourgeoisie in Germany itself – senses whenever it sees how the concepts of sacred ownership and bourgeois legality are trampled under the boots of the brown gangs. It begins with the Jews, next it is the turn of the Church, and nobody knows how it will all end. ... What sort of 'order' is it where the keepers of order must be kept busy and diverted with such excesses from time to time; what sort of 'order' cannot exist without periods of open and lawless theft, looting, and homicide? With dismay, the bourgeoisie considers what a spirit of unbridled outrage is being nursed as a result, especially among young people, and how things will look once the masses have enough and set upon the entire bourgeoisie and the Nazi leadership they have instituted.

Undoubtedly, the persecution of the Jews has initially had an intimidating effect on the public in Germany. It will not lead directly to more significant movements in opposition to the Nazi regime itself. But because the fascist dictatorship can maintain its dominance and the bourgeois order only with such methods, it simultaneously destroys the foundations of this order to their very roots. What decades of socialist and communist

<sup>7</sup> Confessing Church; see Glossary.

<sup>8</sup> The Popular Front was a coalition of left-wing parties that was part of the French government from 1936 to 1938. Prime Minister Edouard Daladier and Minister of Foreign Affairs Georges Bonnet advocated a policy of appeasement towards Germany in 1938 and played a part in the realization of the Munich Agreement.

agitation failed to achieve, it thereby brings about: the loss of all respect for bourgeois institutions among the members of the working class. And that is the only thing in these events that is not to be regretted and not to be deplored.

## DOC. 222

**Rudolf Walter reports on the changes to Austrian cultural life after the Anschluss  
and on instances of mistreatment in police custody in 1938<sup>1</sup>**

Submission by Rudolf Walter<sup>2</sup> to a Harvard University competition (1940), unsigned

[...]<sup>3</sup>

Now, as for what I myself experienced in 1938. I spent my summer holiday at an Austrian resort on a lake in the mountains. Most of the guests at our small hotel were citizens of the German Reich. The Austrians kept to themselves in an unobtrusive way, cautiously making sure to say 'Heil Hitler'; a fanatical schoolteacher who made vigorous attempts to chum up to them conducted herself in a downright obnoxious manner.

A Prussian journalist saw, lying on my table, the Christian American newspaper for which I worked. After that day, he exhibited a conspicuous animosity. During a conversation he asked me how I happened to write for an American newspaper, when America's president, after all, was controlled by Jewish Freemasonry and was pursuing a policy hostile to Germany.

The question, in connection with a vile defamation of our paper, infuriated me, and I replied incautiously, 'In our newspapers, one certainly can't write the truth.' Then the reporter, a product of Gleichschaltung, retorted, 'Truth? Truth is nonsense!' I will never forget these words. I also told him that I would make a mental note of them, not suspecting what revenge he would take. At first I had to laugh when he later assumed the attitude of a commanding officer on the terrace and all the Reich citizens, young and old, quick to obey, gathered round him like recruits zealously falling into formation. At this moment I sensed, more strongly than ever before, the enforced physical and mental Gleichschaltung of the Third Reich.

Soon afterwards, when I attended the Salzburg Festival, I found the beautiful city altered. It was a change that must pain a connoisseur, a lover of the festival city. *Everyman* and *Faust*, the pillars of the programme, had disappeared. And the finest, best part, the incomparable festival atmosphere, which in years past had transported every visitor into a wondrous sphere of happiness, had given way to a chilly, forced stiffness. The audience, however, was also different from previous ones. The English and American contingent

1 Rudolf Walter, 'Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und nach dem 30. Januar 1933' [My life in Germany before and after 30 January 1933] (1940), pp. 7–11, Harvard Competition, no. 238. This document has been translated from German.

2 Rudolf Walter (b. 1881), civil servant, language teacher, and journalist; civil servant in the audit office of the Austrian Federal Railways, 1904–1925; imprisoned in 1938; emigrated to Britain in 1939.

3 The whole report is 13 pages long and was posted from Richborough, Kent. In the first part of his account, Rudolf Walter writes about his education in Vienna, his work in London and Austria, and his voluntary military service in the war. After his conversion to Christianity, he also wrote for a Christian newspaper.

had melted away, and there were few foreigners otherwise, but on the other hand there were all the more 'German brothers'. The opera performances and concerts were more or less on the customary artistic level, but the echo, the resonance in the properly attuned soul, was absent. It was as if a dissonance hung in the air, permitting no real joy, no happy reception. Even if there had not been the tastelessness of having the Duke of Alba in Goethe's *Egmont* appear in a mask that reminded one of Schuschnigg, the spirit of malice that was innate in the Third Reich cast its shadow even upon the site dedicated to art and recreation. As for the further development of the festival city, the programme will focus more on Mozart, to avoid competition with Bayreuth and Munich. The audience will be increasingly Prussianized, and the character of the presentations will take that into account. The advancing de-Christianization must rob the marvellous historic buildings of their significance, must deprive Salzburg of its romantic mystique. The days of cultural flowering are waning.

In similar fashion, the theatres of Vienna labour under the oppressive grip of the political authorities and their satellites. Just as, in Salzburg, *Everyman* was dropped because of its half-Jewish author Hoffmannstal<sup>4</sup> and Jewish director Max Reinhardt<sup>5</sup> (not to mention the Christian tenor of the morality play), *Faust* was dropped because of Reinhardt's staging, and Toscanini<sup>6</sup> was banned for similar reasons, the Viennese theatre, too, was 'cleansed'. Plays that were eliminated by a blind mechanism were replaced by technically poor stage works with a more or less clumsy bias, a völkisch and martial bias. *A German Doesn't Lie*,<sup>7</sup> *The Flag Is Waving*<sup>8</sup> – two titles that speak for themselves. Because the clumsier propaganda was not very appealing to the cultivated taste of the Viennese, more covert methods were adopted. Old and new plays were provided, through directorial stratagems, with biased barbs that were intended to keep alive the enthusiasm for the Third Reich that was already beginning to drain away in the summer of 1938. The freedom fighters of history were depicted as forerunners of Hitler, in particular William Tell, and his uprising was equated with the Führer and his Movement. The struggles of the United States for freedom were dramatized in order to unmask England as an oppressor. The plays of the Dollfuss–Schuschnigg era, with their monarchist complexion, sank into obscurity.

On balance, however, Vienna's theatre culture – precisely owing to its tradition rooted in the Austrian soul – has suffered less damage than was to be feared. The level of acting has remained the same. Popular artists such as Maria Eis,<sup>9</sup> Hans Moser,<sup>10</sup> and Raoul Aslan<sup>11</sup> could be Aryanized by their grandmothers, posthumously, and thus were retained for the Viennese stage. Else Wohlgemut, however, departed this life, voluntar-

4 Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1874–1929), writer, playwright, and lyric poet; co-founder of the Salzburg Festival.

5 Max Reinhardt (1873–1943), actor and theatre director; pioneered new theatrical methods; head of the Berlin Volksbühne, 1915–1918; in 1920 co-founder of the Salzburg Festival; emigrated to the USA in 1937.

6 Arturo Toscanini (1867–1957), conductor; music director of La Scala in Milan, 1898–1908 and 1920–1929; conductor at the Metropolitan Opera in New York, 1908–1915; in the 1930s at the Bayreuth and Salzburg festivals; an opponent of Italian Fascism and National Socialism, he emigrated to the USA in 1937.

7 *Ein Deutscher lügt nicht* by Hans Renz (1882–1948).

8 *Die Fahne weht* (1937) by Karl Schönherr (1867–1943).

ily.<sup>12</sup> Some good singers had gone to the Reich even before the Anschluss, so the Vienna State Opera already had to be regarded as ailing for a number of years.

As elsewhere in public life (artistic directorship, museums), Party comrades from the Old Reich were appointed to leading positions in political circles, and Vienna's universities underwent Gleichschaltung, which upset many people. Protest against that, as against worse things, was and is impossible as long as the majority is grateful to Hitler for having liberated it from the 'parasites' of every race, from unemployment, and from the tyranny of the Western powers. Only when they understand that the price paid for it is a far greater evil than the one from which they were liberated will the day of retribution have arrived for the brown demagogues.

For the time being, people are not yet generally aware that the ministers and politicians who have been unseated and in many cases incarcerated by the conquerors are to be credited with having defended their Austrian fatherland against annexation for as long as possible, although the means employed were not likely to lead to success. Federal Chancellor Schuschnigg is said to have suffered greatly from his imprisonment, Mayor Schmitz likewise.<sup>13</sup> Chief press officer Ludwig,<sup>14</sup> Dr Stepanek,<sup>15</sup> Styria's Landeshauptmann; and Lower Austria's Landeshauptmann, Reither,<sup>16</sup> are among those held under arrest; Dr Rehr,<sup>17</sup> Landeshauptmann of Salzburg, is allegedly only under house arrest (the man who has done so much for Salzburg, who was behind the construction of the Grossglockner [High Alpine] Road and is now suffering from diabetes); Baron von

9 Maria Eis (1896–1954), actress; first engagement in 1918 at the Neue Wiener Bühne; from 1925 to 1932 at the Thalia Theatre and the Deutsches Schauspielhaus in Hamburg; from 1932 at Vienna's Burgtheater.

10 Hans Moser, born Johann Julier (1880–1964), actor; worked with Max Reinhardt at the Deutsches Theater in Berlin and at the Theater in der Josefstadt, Vienna.

11 Raoul Aslan (1886–1958), actor and director; from 1906 in Hamburg, and later in Graz, Berlin, and Munich; director of Vienna's Burgtheater, 1945–1948.

12 Correctly: Else Wohlgemuth (1881–1972), actress; in 1913 given the title 'court actress' (*Hofschauspielarin*); in 1935 named an honorary member of the Vienna Burgtheater; in 1938 she was banned from performing, and emigrated; the belief that she took her own life is mistaken; in 1945 she returned to the Burgtheater ensemble.

13 Richard Schmitz (1885–1954), lawyer, journalist, and politician; mayor of Vienna, 1934–1938; imprisoned in a concentration camp, 1938 to 1945.

14 Dr Eduard Ludwig (1883–1967), head of the Austrian state news service, 1920–1936; member of the State Council, 1936–1938; Austrian Bundestag member, 1937–1938; arrested on 11 March 1938; imprisoned in Dachau concentration camp until May 1939, then under arrest in the Vienna Regional Court's prison until 1942; director of the Journalism Institute of the University of Vienna, 1946–1959.

15 Correctly: Dr Karl Maria Stepan (1894–1972), lawyer, politician, and publisher; member of the Fatherland Front; Landeshauptmann of Styria, 1934–1938; prisoner in Dachau and Mauthausen concentration camps, 1938–1940; in Flossenbürg and Dachau concentration camps, 1944–1945.

16 Josef Reither (1880–1950), farmer and politician; Landeshauptmann of Lower Austria, 1931 to May 1932, May 1933 to July 1934, 1935–1938, and 1945–1949; Austrian federal minister of agriculture and forestry, 1934–1935; imprisoned in Dachau concentration camp, 1938–1941, and in Ravensbrück concentration camp, 1944–1945.

17 Dr Franz Rehr (1890–1947), lawyer and politician; Landeshauptmann of Salzburg, 1922–1938; member of the Austrian Council of States and the Bundestag, 1934–1938; temporarily imprisoned in 1938; arrested again in connection with the attempt to assassinate Hitler on 20 July 1944; imprisoned in Ravensbrück concentration camp and in the Lehrter Strasse prison in Berlin Moabit.

Wiesner,<sup>18</sup> leader of the monarchists, was banished to a small town in Germany after a lengthy confinement in a concentration camp. He too is ailing, and was already so when we chatted together in Bad Gastein.

On 10 November 1938 I was arrested for no reason other than my inability to present the baptism certificates of my parents. In the street, before breakfast, and along with many others. We stood for hours in a little police station. My only concern was for my wife. The attempt to have her come to my side was successful. She brought warm clothes and food for me and others. Saying goodbye to her when violent SA men took us away by motor car was certainly the most painful thing I had experienced in a long while. When she wanted to hand me something more at the last minute and asked the SA man for permission, adding that she was an Aryan, he merely yelled the word 'pig' at her.

At the police department, we received the last humane treatment, also the last meal, for the next eight days. In the evening we were placed in the infamous [Spanish] Riding School, where we were greeted right at the entrance by an angry mob and pushed inside, being beaten and kicked all the while. Eyeglasses were smashed to pieces and bruises and swellings inflicted.

At other places, however, the mistreatment and abuse were even worse; swollen faces and other marks of injury were to be seen in approximately one out of every six men. Around 2,000 prisoners were crowded into a space intended for 500 persons at most. We stood there to attention, in harsh light, almost all night. One man who was standing near me fainted and fell to the ground. It was not permitted to call a doctor, and not one of the SA men or policemen who were walking around took a look at him. But the man next to him was allowed to pour some water down his throat from time to time. Towards morning we were allowed to lie down. But there was room enough for only some of us to lie down. People lay or sat on top of each other, but many had to keep on standing. The floor was thickly covered with a mixture of sand, sawdust, and horse manure. Once one had found the longed-for resting spot, one got incredibly dirty. The next day, the great question was how one was to satisfy one's needs. The few butter and sausage sandwiches that had been brought along had to be divided up into small portions. One did not know whether and when one would get something to eat. By queuing up for a long time, one could manage to get half a cup of tea and some bread, as well as a few slices of sausage in return for cash. It also took a very long time to bore one's way through the crowd to the urinals in the courtyard – or get across deep puddles to the water pipe. To wash oneself was almost impossible, but from time to time one could get some water to drink. The most time-consuming and inconvenient thing was standing in the queue for the lavatory, just imagine! Two little rooms for 2,000 persons! I came across a well-known Viennese comedian who was a prisoner there. He had given happy hours to thousands and thousands of Austrians, had lifted them above the worries of daily life – and here he stood, an outcast, humiliated. His face was one big question mark: Why? Why all this? What have I done to them, that they should treat me this way? I greeted a young cousin. He had *fought hard and earned* the medal for bravery in the World War. They tore it off him and battered and bruised his face when he showed it to them.

18 Baron Dr Friedrich von Wiesner (1871–1951), lawyer and diplomat; leader of the legitimist movement in Austria.

During the following days, we were hauled off to various jails. They were not regular prisons – the people in the police prison or regional court prison had a relatively good situation – but rather holding places in schools, facilities for gymnastics, and the like. For the most part [people were] dreadfully crowded together, so that some did not want to move from their tiny spot all day – when required to do exercises they had to move – in order to be able to stretch out a bit at night instead of squatting or sitting.

Now the slave-driving began: excessive demands of the ignoblest sort. It was not only that the rations consisted of heavy bread, hard to digest, a cup of tea, and a tiny little piece of sausage, though even that was not handed out every day or to every person. It was not only that our fate was utterly uncertain, with the concentration camp and its terrors like a spectre of horror in the mind of the people, who were worn down anyway by lack of sleep and food, as well as mistreatment – every night brought the dreaded SS men, who abruptly streamed into the room like a mob of raging hangman's assistants at 9 p.m., at 10 p.m., at midnight. Everyone had to be awake in an instant and on his feet, and then had to fall in formation for exercise. Up and down, knee bends, splits, press-ups, sit-ups, everything in the most confined space, in overcoats, so that one literally had to push and shove in order to perform the motions as ordered, under strict supervision. The SS men walked around while this was going on, in order to mete out blows left and right. It was all subject to their whim, whoever caught their eye for something at that moment, black, thick hair, outsized, diminutive, bald, crooked tie, fat, long-nosed, clumsy, or even with no distinctive features. Sometimes, for fun, they fired their rifles in the corridor to make the trembling inmates think that it would soon be the turn of one of them. (However, the young Tyrolean mountain farmer who had this duty for our group was such a poor actor that I saw through him at once and had to laugh. Unfortunately, the others were so terribly frightened that they could not appreciate the humour of this situation, although I tried hard to cheer them up.) The physical abuse, which also resulted in a number of grave injuries and deaths, as was reported – I myself saw only moderate injuries – assumed such magnitude on Sunday that the police, who sometimes were present and sought to protect those taking the worst hammering, registered protests with the Gauleitung. After that the mistreatment continued in a slightly less rough manner. Nonetheless, I saw with my own eyes how young and old were *chased* up the high ladders in the sports hall without being allowed to remove their coats. Up and down. Old men had to hang by their hands at the top while singing Hebrew songs, whether they knew any or not. Others were kicked and made to move rapidly through the long hall while in a *squatting* position, or had to do as many as eighty knee bends, although they collapsed in tears, groaning repeatedly. Others, including a father and son, were forced to slap each other *hard* or to box. Simultaneously, one heard cries of pain and moaning from the corridors. There, too, sadists (in the strict medical sense) were at work.

The abuse was usually preceded by questions about one's occupation. If the man being questioned was a physician or a young man, then he was asked how many Aryan women he had abused; if he was a lawyer or retailer – how many he had cheated, etc. The more readily one confessed (to sins not committed), the lighter were the blows. Answers in the negative or even defiant answers resulted in the worst abuse. Among the large number present, there naturally had to be a few halfwits and perfect fools too. They disagreed and made long, foolhardy speeches that made the other people's hair stand on

end. Sometimes even the SS men – young, dashing, uniformly dressed, beloved savages, bursting with zeal – fell silent in astonishment, but these grotesque scenes, which at times even slipped into comedy, always ended in physical abuse. A black-haired SS devil threatened to hang one of these semi-lunatics if he refused to confess to having made sexual approaches to his male neighbour. Although he was dreadfully beaten with the climbing rope, and the devil even placed it around his neck, the abused man did not make a false confession, with which he could have saved himself. The same devil ordered six men with an abundant crop of hair to step up and bring a pair of scissors, and then, with obviously pathological relish, he cut off their hair. They considered themselves fortunate at the time to have escaped in this way from further mistreatment. Hair will grow back, of course; teeth that have been knocked out, unfortunately, will not.

Pleas, complaints, reports of illness fell on deaf ears. For appearances' sake, after a week, a pharmacist was called into the hall on instructions from above. He treated every illness with two types of powder. The washing facility consisted of the opportunity to surreptitiously hold one's hands or face under the water tap in the corridor for one or two minutes. For the WC, it was necessary to stand in a long queue again. No change of clothes all week, no undressing! The room commandant (who was also struck in the face, by the way) had to report: 247 Jews (not, as customary, 247 men).

For me and many others, this week ended, after various humiliating interrogations, with our conditional release in exchange for a written pledge to emigrate within three to eighteen weeks. A considerable number were sent to Dachau or Buchenwalde,<sup>19</sup> without having any chance to see or to inform their relatives first. The decision was often arbitrary, dependent on chance. For all, that week was a terrible experience; for quite a number, the most terrible of their lives.

[...] <sup>20</sup>

#### DOC. 223

### **In late 1938 the SS Security Service proposes the creation of a Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration<sup>1</sup>**

Report by SD Department II 112 (4 C 15, Hg./Schw.), Six, late 1938

Re: *Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Vienna.*

Case file: *none.*

Taking effect on 20 August 1938, on the basis of suggestions made by SD Main District Danube II 112, Reich Commissioner for the Reunification of Austria with the German Reich Gauleiter Bürckel ordered the establishment of the Central Office for Jewish Emi-

<sup>19</sup> Correctly: Buchenwald.

<sup>20</sup> In the last part of the account, Rudolf Walter writes about his release from custody, after he had pledged in writing that he would leave the country. He fled to London in Jan. 1939, prior to a scheduled summons to the Gestapo.

<sup>1</sup> RGVA, 500k-1-625, published in Michael Wildt (ed.), *Die Judenpolitik des SD 1935 bis 1938: Eine Dokumentation* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1995), pp. 193–194. This document has been translated from German.

gration by way of a circular addressed to all Party and state offices, of which a copy is enclosed.<sup>2</sup> SD Leader of the SS Main District Danube and Inspector of the Security Police SS-Standartenführer Deputy Section Head Dr Stahlecker was entrusted with its direction. He, in turn, has entrusted the head of Section II 112 of Main District Danube with the conduct of business.<sup>3</sup>

In a decree dated 27 August 1938, also enclosed, the inspector of the Security Police has pointed out that the Central Office<sup>4</sup> is, for the time being, responsible for the Gau of Vienna and the Gau of Lower Danube. No further regulation of the range of authority is necessary, as the managing head of the Central Office, SS-Obersturmführer Eichmann, along with Gauleiter Bürckel, in execution of an order from the Reichsführer SS, will carry out the final cleansing of Jews in the provinces of the Ostmark by 31 December 1938.

The Central Office is headquartered in the former palace of the owner of the Rothschild Bank at 22 Prinz-Eugen-Straße.

As a result of the founding of the Central Office, accelerated issuance of emigration documents to Jews, generally within eight days, is guaranteed. In addition, the Central Office will have the most accurate overview of the number of those willing to emigrate, their occupations, assets, etc., so that it will be able to assemble the necessary emigration transports while preparing sufficient numbers of entry permits, which will be procured by the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna.

For the financial implementation of emigration there are available, first, regular contributions from the Jewish relief organizations abroad and, second, purchasable foreign currency, which was supplied by decree of the Reich and Prussian Ministry of Economics at the instigation of SD Main Office II 112. This decree provided that the foreign currency sums arriving from the Jewish relief organizations shall find their way to the Israelite Religious Community without deductions by the Deutsche Gold- und Diskont-Bank. In addition, it provides that foreign currency in the amount of RM 50,000 per month shall be made available for emigration. Finally, each emigrant, on the strength of this decree, is entitled to purchase foreign currency to the amount of RM 30 as a daily allowance without special authorization.

In recent negotiations conducted early this week with the Reich Ministry of Economics, the Vienna Foreign Currency Office, and the Central Office for Jewish Emigration, the prospect of the provision of additional amounts of foreign currency, by means of the Altreu transfer scheme, was held out. To prevent the abuses that arose during implementation by the Altreu agency in previous years, it was agreed that the Central Office for Jewish Emigration shall exercise control over the foreign currency being distributed from the Altreu funds, in the closest consultation with the Vienna Foreign Currency Office.

According to findings thus far, the Central Office has brought about the emigration of around 25,000 Jews, so that the total number of Jews who have emigrated from Austria is approximately 50,000.

2 In the letter, Bürckel justifies the creation of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration (Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung) in Vienna by making reference to 'unwelcome disturbances and delays' in the emigration of the Jews which, he said, must be accelerated.

3 The head of Section II 112 of Main District Danube was Adolf Eichmann.

4 This is the letter referred to in fn. 2.

No financial burdens are imposed on the SD Main District Danube by the establishment of the Central Office, as this office and its employees are financed by a sum that must be paid by every Jew who emigrates.

In view of the good success of the Central Office in promoting the emigration of Jews, it is proposed, with reference to the local submission of 13 January 1938 in which the establishment of an emigration office was suggested,<sup>5</sup> that consideration be given to the feasibility of implementing such a measure in the territory of the Old Reich.<sup>6</sup>

At the same time, it must be noted that the Reich Ministry of Economics would welcome such an establishment in order to ease the burden on its own offices.

II

*Disposition*

*Proposal: Submission [to] C*<sup>7</sup>

#### DOC. 224

### Fred Rodeck describes the bureaucracy at the Vienna Central Office for Jewish Emigration in late 1938<sup>1</sup>

Submission by Fred Rodeck<sup>2</sup> to a Harvard University competition (1940)

[...] <sup>3</sup>

Eventually, all Jewish passport affairs were concentrated in the Palais Rothschild, on Prinz-Eugen-Strasse in the 4th District. There, too, it was necessary to wait for hours and to go round repeatedly, but nonetheless: this passport office did at least function.

It is worth the trouble of tracing the process of acquiring a passport in one case as it played out in the last months of 1938. The prerequisite for obtaining a passport was, above all, proof of permission to enter some other country. With this permit, the Jewish passport applicant first had to go to the Religious Community, where the entry visa was checked and he was given a whole bundle of forms to fill out. There, the passport applicant also received a certificate (in view of possible conscription) stating that he was a Jew. Further, he had to establish there whether he had assets or not, and in the former case he had to pay a fee that was used to enable penniless Jews to emigrate. Finally, he

<sup>5</sup> This submission could not be found.

<sup>6</sup> On 24 Jan. 1939 Göring ordered the founding of a Reich Central Agency for Jewish Emigration (Reichszentrale für jüdische Auswanderung) in Berlin: see Doc. 243, 24 Jan. 1939.

<sup>7</sup> Chef: Chief of the Security Police and the SD, i.e. Heydrich. The report was submitted to Heydrich, and on 10 Nov. 1938 he added the handwritten note: 'SD II please submit with [Gestapo Central Office] Gestapa II and Best a proposal for the Old Reich and Sudetenland.'

<sup>1</sup> Fred Rodeck, 'Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und nach dem 30. Januar 1933' [My life in Germany before and after 30 January 1933] (1940), pp. 90–95, Harvard Competition, no. 188. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Dr Fred Rodeck (b. 1890), lawyer, economist, and journalist; worked for the *Neue Freie Presse* and numerous other newspapers; in 1938 emigrated to the USA via Britain.

<sup>3</sup> The whole account comprises 156 pages and was sent in from Pontiac, Michigan. In the first part, Rodeck tells of his studies in Vienna, his military service in the Austro-Hungarian army, and his work as an economic reporter in various editorial offices in Berlin. In 1934 he moved to Vienna.

was given a slip of paper there, which told him on what day and at what time he must report to the passport office in the Palais Rothschild. But before he goes to the passport office, he also must pay a visit to the district police office (for the purpose of confirming his identity with photographs and an official personal description), the district commission, and the city hall (for the purpose of confirming his payment of the municipal taxes).

People always come to the passport office in the Palais Rothschild several hours before the appointed time in order to be certain of having a turn, because people were repeatedly sent home despite the summons for a specific time. For a while, one even had to queue up at night. After many hours of waiting in the street and in the courtyard of the building, exposed to all kinds of stress, not only inclement weather but also the rigours of the Nazi supervisors on duty (usually seventeen or eighteen lads in SS uniforms), the people are finally allowed to enter the building. There they first have to pass through an additional office of the Religious Community (if they are Mischlinge, the office of the Gildemeester organization), where all their documents and forms are examined once again for completeness and accuracy. After waiting again for hours, they finally come to the holy of holies: the actual passport office, where officials of the Gestapo, the police, the Foreign Currency Office, tax officials, etc. are on duty. On the desks of most of these gentlemen are pots of orchids, which at any rate probably do not come from the private greenhouses of these officials. But obviously these gentlemen have been accustomed since their youth to have costly orchids on their desks. In general, the splendour of the Palais Rothschild, with its Gobelin tapestries, marble statues, and crystal chandeliers, was a strange backdrop for the densely packed throngs of poor, intimidated, and desperate Jews and the overbearing bustle of influential bureaucrats who looked down with disdainful superiority on the poor devils before them. The behaviour of the officials towards me was generally correct, in isolated cases even friendly – other people, however, had far worse experiences. Spitefulness was something I saw only on the part of the gentlemen from the Foreign Currency Office, whose job it is to grant permission to take along one's household goods. On this occasion the candidate for emigration must declare under oath and in writing that all the things he plans to take with him were already in his possession before 1 January 1938, pursuant to a regulation that was later substantially tightened. Likewise, the possession of jewellery must be declared in detail. The passport applicant must pass through a series of seventeen desks, with fees (stamps) also to be paid at various points. Every passport applicant must bring with him a postcard with his address, and a few weeks later he is informed as to when he can pick up his passport, which requires hours of standing in queues again. The prerequisite for issuance of the passport as well as for taking along any household goods, however, is the so-called 'tax clearance certificate', an official certification that the passport applicant has no tax debt.<sup>4</sup> That was previously mentioned in a different context.

Once the emigrant has his passport at last, he must, after procuring the requisite entry visas and sometimes also transit visas at the foreign consulates, go back to the Religious Community to obtain the permit issued by the Foreign Currency Office for taking along the sum of 30 Reichsmarks in foreign currency per person. If, as has become the rule, he

4 See Doc. 206, 19 Dec. 1938.

no longer has the trip money, he has to queue up again at the Religious Community, which will make trip money or tickets available to him. Then, at last, he can purchase 30 Reichsmarks' worth of foreign currency at the bank – sometimes there are problems here too, as the necessary currencies are not always on hand – and begin his journey.

As all that indicates, the acquisition of a passport is very time-consuming, exhausting, and expensive. Old people are hardly able to accomplish all of it on their own. Often the Religious Community must also provide very poor people with the money to obtain the documents. The entire process, however, with all its attendant phenomena, is dreadfully depressing. Above all, the down-and-out throngs in the narrow, gloomy street in front of the Religious Community. Besides the people queuing up for passport forms, others are waiting for the distribution of food coupons and relief. Still others are there to deal with housing matters; others, on behalf of their relatives who are in concentration camps in Dachau or Buchenwalde.<sup>5</sup> Ropes are stretched right across the street to prevent excessively large crowds from converging. Order is maintained by uniformed officials of the Gestapo and voluntary Jewish stewards from the Religious Community, to the extent that one can speak of order at all.

By the end of 1938 around 60,000 to 70,000 Jews should have emigrated in this way. There is probably hardly a country in the world to which Jews have not emigrated from Austria. In front of the Chinese consulate, for example, people stood in a queue just as they did in front of the Mexican consulate, the representations of South and Central American republics, and certain shipping lines.

The difficulties of acquiring a passport and emigrating also gave rise to passport rackets and passport forgeries, in which National Socialists themselves played a considerable role. Among interested parties the names of a number of Nazis were known, people who concerned themselves with illegal acquisition of not only domestic and foreign passports but also visas from certain foreign countries. In some cases 'passport acquisition' also took the form of confiscating valid passports belonging to other people and, after processing them accordingly, reselling them.

For example, a woman who had lived in Vienna for a long time but was a Czechoslovak citizen acquired, after much effort and at great sacrifice, a Czechoslovak passport. That very day an SA man turned up at her apartment, asked whether she had her documents in order, and demanded to see them. Then he said he had to take the passport and the certificate of family origin (the two most important documents) with him to the police station for examination, and the woman could fetch these papers there again in a few days. Upon hearing her pleas, he finally let the woman keep her certificate of family origin. At the police station, however, they knew nothing about the entire matter, and the woman was told that the police had no idea where her passport was. Such cases, she was told, were not rare.

The position of the Nazis on the issue of Jewish emigration was far from uniform. Four different lines of thought could be clearly discerned. One group holds the clear and simple point of view: Judah die! The Jews should not go abroad at all, because they will engage there in atrocity propaganda against us; they should simply croak. One large and quite influential group takes the attitude: 'Out with the Jews! For us, the Jewish question

5 Correctly: Buchenwald.

is not solved until the last Jew has left the country. They must leave as quickly as possible, but must take with them as little as possible, of course.' In economic circles, in particular in some economic bodies, the view held was that Jewish emigration should not be accelerated too greatly, in order to avoid economic losses. Various tax authorities, too, repeatedly emphasized the priority of tax payment before emigration, which in practical terms was tantamount to a slowing down of emigration.

Finally, there is another group that wants to hold the Jews back, to some extent as hostages, or regards them to a certain degree as a means for acquisition of foreign currency and wants to release them only in exchange for ransom (for example, in the form of a loan 'to finance Jewish emigration'). Dr Schacht in particular has sought to put plans of this sort into practice, and his negotiations in this regard had just reached the decisive stage when he had to resign.<sup>6</sup>

[...] <sup>7</sup>

#### DOC. 225

### **Rudolf Bing describes the November pogrom in Nuremberg and his emigration in late 1938<sup>1</sup>**

Submission by Rudolf Bing<sup>2</sup> to a Harvard University competition (1940)

[...] <sup>3</sup>

Now I come to the culmination of Hitler's policies with respect to the Jews, specifically the events of 9 November and the following days, when Legation Secretary vom Rath of the German Embassy in Paris had succumbed to the injuries inflicted by Grünspan, a Jewish Polish national. It is not as if this incident had somehow actually stirred up the public. There was not the slightest change in the street scene when the news became known. In Nuremberg, however, the entire SA received the order to report at midnight to the large marketplace, in full uniform. Then the individual SA detachments were deployed throughout the whole city. Everything, the assignment of every single street, was planned in advance; every band [of SA men] had been assigned in advance, its own

<sup>6</sup> See Doc. 207, 20 Dec. 1938.

<sup>7</sup> In the final part of his account, Fred Rodeck reflects on the role of the Church in Austria after the Anschluss and the situation of the Jews in early 1939, and describes his emigration to Britain in Dec. 1938.

<sup>1</sup> Rudolf Bing, 'Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und nach dem 30. Januar 1933' [My life in Germany before and after 30 January 1933] (1940), pp. 42–47, Harvard Competition, no. 267. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Rudolf Bing (1876–1963), lawyer; from 1903 lawyer in Nuremberg; member of the B'nai B'rith Lodge and president of the General Committee for Germany; chairman of the Nuremberg Bar Association, 1928–1933; staff member at the Palestine Office; emigrated to Palestine in 1939.

<sup>3</sup> The entire account comprises 47 pages and was sent in from Kfar Shmaryahu, Palestine. In the first part, Rudolf Bing recounts the origin of the Bing family's commercial enterprise, his studies in Munich and Berlin, his service in the First World War, the rise of the National Socialists, occupational bans for Jewish lawyers, and financial dispossession.

quite specific district under its own specific leader. Not one non-uniformed civilian was a participant when the detachments marched off to their districts. We lived on the first floor of a large building, one of my family's properties, which has quite a large undeveloped yard with buildings at the back and storehouses.

Towards 3 a.m. we, my wife and I, awoke with a start. At the street door we heard dreadful shouting, and in the darkness I could see a crowd of people standing in front of the building. They were ringing every doorbell, and voices were shouting, 'Open up, open up at once.' I immediately rang police headquarters and, after stating my name, said, 'A mob is trying to force its way into my building.' 'Are you Aryan?' a woman's voice enquired. 'No,' I replied. She immediately severed the connection without further comment.

In the meantime, the people in front of the building had smashed in the door panels. They had brought along the necessary tools, axes and the like. They stormed up the stairs, first going to the top floors. We were alone in our apartment, because we had been forced to manage without help for quite a long time, on account of the well-known difficulties for Jews in hiring domestics.<sup>4</sup> Words cannot express what I owe to the presence of mind and clear-headedness of my dear partner in these critical moments. Although suffering, she kept her wits about her the entire time.

We heard cries of misery on the stairs; obviously a Jewish neighbour – we recognized his voice – was being mistreated. 'We must not fall into their hands at any cost.' It was my wife who first made this decision. More playfully than not, we had sometimes wondered how one might escape from our apartment if there were any threat of arrest. We now acted accordingly. We bolted the door of the apartment, then the door to our bedroom with its adjoining dressing room, tied the linen sheets together and fastened them firmly to the window bars. I expressed misgivings as to whether they would be able to take our weight. We could already hear the door to the apartment being battered in. The dressing-room window opens on to a narrow street, with a hops storehouse opposite. In front of the storehouse, opposite the window, was a projecting roof, somewhat lower, so that between it and the window was a section of the street about two and a half metres wide. Making a quick decision, I tossed a mattress on to the projecting roof, risked the long jump across, threw the mattress on to the ground, and jumped down on to it. Up above, the people forced their way into the apartment. My wife thought she could not rely on the window bars and the linen sheets to hold. Suddenly she was hanging from the windowsill, her fingers clinging tightly to the sill. Then she let go and, luckily, dropped right into my arms, as I stood directly beneath her on the mattress that I had tossed down.

Naturally, I fell to the ground with all the weight, but the mattress softened the fall. We were saved. The height from which my wife dropped is the normal height of a first floor. I estimate it at approximately 10 metres. All of this took place within the space of a few seconds. We were of course only scantily clad. Luckily the night was mild. While up above, in our apartment and in all the other Jewish apartments in the building, one could hear terrible crashing noises, caused by falling pieces of furniture, and a constant

<sup>4</sup> Under the Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour (15 Sept. 1935) Jews were not allowed to employ any female Jewish domestic staff under the age of 45: see PMJ 1/199.

jangle of glass and the like, we ran across the large courtyard in the shadow of the storehouses, behind the rear building, in which a few poorer people lived. We broke slats out of a fence and crept through, until we landed in an open shed where Christmas trees were stored, beneath which we hid, shivering. The uproar and crashing noises in the building in front continued for hours. When morning broke, I knocked on a door in the rear building, the home of a Christian family on whose allegiance we could rely. We learned that the mob had left our apartment, and we went [back] to our home. We were met with an indescribable scene. We literally waded through debris and broken fragments in the rooms. Mirrors and all the dishes were broken. All the cupboards had been upended and smashed with chair legs and axes. My paintings, which I prided myself on, including valuable oil paintings, had been slashed to pieces. The stuffing of the upholstered furniture, which had been ripped open, was flying round all over the apartment. No chair, no table, remained intact. The radio had clearly been stamped on by someone wearing boots. My wife had already equipped herself for our emigration. Sixteen of her dresses, almost all of them new, had been cut to pieces. However, a few pieces of jewellery, which she had left behind in the bedroom, were found in the debris. Nothing had been stolen.

Over the course of the next day, I determined that havoc had been similarly wreaked in my law office. All the typewriters were completely smashed, as were the other furnishings. The files were scattered through all the rooms or torn to bits.

Throughout the city, the scene was the same in most Jewish apartments. In particular, though, all the shops had been utterly demolished. Soon, however, one heard far sadder tidings. The previous afternoon, my wife had entertained visitors, three women who had been friends of hers since her youth, with whom she had a regular get-together once a month. The husband of one of them had been beaten to death before his wife's eyes during the night just past; she herself was in hospital with severe injuries to her face. The husband of another had suffered injuries to his face and head; he hovered for months between life and death and had lasting damage: paralysis of one arm and considerable difficulty in speaking. The husband of the third, however, had been taken away from his home and was on a transport headed for Dachau, to the concentration camp.

If I wanted to depict only the fates of people in my circle of close acquaintances during this night, it would require a book of its own. A female friend of ours was alone with her 3-year-old daughter. The savages forced their way into the child's room and, right before the eyes of the sobbing child, taunted her and smashed her dolls and toys. Then they said to her mother, 'You can drown your brat in the Jordan.' Another lady in her group of friends was alone in her apartment. After the gang had finished its work there, the leader went up to her, hit her in the face and said: 'There you have revenge for Paris.' Another male acquaintance, following an inherently innocuous hernia operation the previous day, lay in the Jewish hospital in Fürth still under the influence of the anaesthesia and bandaged. Police officers came to fetch him in order to transport him to Dachau. They ordered him to get out of bed. He had to obey and, after a few minutes, he collapsed and died of a heart attack.

Just in the street where the aforementioned death of the husband of one of my wife's friends had occurred, three men had been beaten to death. Everywhere one heard of suicides, committed in despair. Two widows who chose this way out are known to me

by name; I mentioned previously the suicide of the two Frankenburgers, both privy councillors.<sup>5</sup>

During the same night, more than 300 Jewish men had been arrested; in addition, almost as many were arrested in Fürth. All who were under the age of 58 went to Dachau. The others, including the 78-year-old chairman of the Religious Community, spent around a week in the Nuremberg correctional institution. The fate of those in Dachau, where they encountered fellow sufferers from all over southern Germany, was to be expected. Large barracks and prison uniforms furnished with the Star of David had been prepared for them, proof that this action had been anticipated long in advance, and that, even without the murder of Mr vom Rath, it would have come to this.

Only months later did those interned in Dachau come back.

When, on the morning after this night of disaster, those members of the population who had not taken part as police or SA squads awoke and beheld the work of destruction, a consequence occurred that the initiators had not anticipated. Unmistakably, a profound feeling of depression and embarrassment came over the public. For the first time, groups from the rest of the population dared to venture out to show us their sympathy. 'I'm ashamed to be German,' one got to hear. I know of a teacher at a state institute of higher education who, affected by the ruined apartments in his building, reported to his superiors that he was ill and promptly submitted his pension application, because he was no longer willing to serve such a state.

Specifically, however, the working population was outraged. What were the Party and SA doing? In the working-class suburbs, the Party sent its spies into the pubs everywhere. They entered into conversations with the patrons about the events, trying to provoke and report incautious statements. One old worker told me this in an absolutely reliable manner. Mr Streicher, on the day after the night of terror, held a sort of victory celebration in the central marketplace.<sup>6</sup>

But I want to continue recounting my personal experiences. The night after the 'Night of Broken Glass' we spent in the home of my brother-in-law, who lived across from Streicher's villa and whose apartment escaped harm. We intended to spend the following night there too, but in the afternoon a large number of Gestapo men appeared and told my brother-in-law that he must immediately vacate his apartment and leave Nuremberg, as Jews would not be tolerated in Streicher's immediate vicinity. These Gestapo men remained in the apartment. A furniture van and packers were fetched, and under unremitting pressure from the Gestapo, the apartment was emptied in the space

5 Leonhard Frankenger (1866–1938), lawyer; practised law in Nuremberg from 1891; judicial counsellor, 1911; privy judicial counsellor, 1924; board member of the Nuremberg Bar Association, 1906–1932. Dr Alexander Frankenger (1868–1938), physician; founder and, until 1933, head of the Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis; privy medical counsellor. After the destruction of their shared apartment during the night of the pogroms, Leonhard and Alexander Frankenger decided, along with their sister, to take their own lives. The sister survived.

6 Julius Streicher (1885–1946), teacher; member of the German Socialist Party, 1919–1921; joined the NSDAP and the SA in 1922; took part in the Beer Hall Putsch, 1923; suspended from the teaching profession; editor of the publication *Der Stürmer*, 1923–1944; Gauleiter of Northern Bavaria, 1925–1928, of Nuremberg-Fürth, 1928–1929, and of Franconia, 1929–1940; imprisoned in 1930 for antisemitic agitation; in 1940 relieved of the office of Gauleiter because of personal enrichment linked to the November pogroms; executed in 1946 after being sentenced to death at the Nuremberg Trials.

of a few hours. My brother-in-law suffered from a serious heart condition, but the only one who looked after his needs was the furniture haulier. He took him in his small van to Erlangen, where he spent the night in a hotel. Nonetheless, my brother-in-law died a few weeks later, following another heart attack.

In view of these events, we left Nuremberg and, hoping against hope that something might be possible, hastened to the railway station. We travelled to Stuttgart and spent the night in the Reichsbahn Hotel. Precisely during these night-time hours, many Jews were arrested in Stuttgart hotels. We were spared this fate – probably by chance – and we travelled on to Baden-Baden, until conditions in Nuremberg had calmed down to some extent.

The situation was used in order to do away with Jewish assets, particularly real estate. There were four so-called Gau economic advisors who were charged with this task, and who exploited their position primarily to their own advantage. The validity of all these transactions was supposed to be made contingent on special government permits. The Gauleitung got wind of the fact that this provision was to become effective on a certain day and to include all property transactions that were entered in the land register by this day. The day in question was a Monday. The previous Sunday, the officials at the Nuremberg Land Registry, judges, and secretaries were hauled out of bed, and Party functionaries and Gau advisors, equipped with letters of authorization that had been forcibly obtained from the Jewish owners, worked at fever pitch in the notaries' offices. All this in order to iron out the entries in the land register before Sunday, the deadline, had passed. Independent judges and notaries had to lend themselves to these goings-on.

Several days later, however, a Gestapo commission from Berlin turned up. Not only the Gau expert advisors but also countless others who had been involved in the forcible Aryanizations were arrested. Numerous Jews were questioned, and a few optimists were already envisioning a dawn of justice. But then, all of a sudden, things calmed down again, those who had been arrested were released, and the disenfranchised Jews were paid not even a tenth of the value of their properties and mortgages that had been granted to them.<sup>7</sup> At least that was the situation when I left Nuremberg in mid May 1939.

The gleanings of the night of 9 November, which Mr Goebbels and his propaganda apparatus dared to present to foreign countries as a spontaneous popular movement, were kept by the organs of government.

Mr Göring, to fill his own coffers, imposed on the Jews as a whole the well-known contribution of 1 billion [Reichsmarks]. Within six months, in four instalments, the Jews had to hand in, to begin with, one fifth of their assets.<sup>8</sup> This was based on the list of their assets that they had been forced to provide a year earlier. The decreases that had resulted from the compulsory assignments of real estate after 9 November were not taken into account. I myself, for example, had a participating interest in such a property belonging

<sup>7</sup> In the Gau of Franconia, which included Nuremberg, the Aryanization process was particularly corrupt. Gauleiter Streicher and other Party functionaries took advantage of the opportunity for personal enrichment and to reap large profits for the Party and the Gau. While the Aryanization of businesses was largely completed by the autumn of 1938, the Aryanization of real estate began after the pogroms. Land with buildings on it was transferred to non-Jews at a price averaging 29 per cent of the fair market value; for land with no buildings, 8 per cent of the value was paid. An investigative commission appointed by Göring ensured that, beginning in Feb. 1939, the proceeds from Aryanization would go in future to the Reich.

<sup>8</sup> See Doc. 142, 12 Nov. 1938.

to my family, in its possession for the past fifty years, with a share valued at around 40,000 marks. I thus had to pay 8,000 marks for this, and in exchange was left only with a claim on the National Socialist Party amounting to 4,000 marks, which I never received and probably never will receive.

In addition, I had to pay the Reich Flight Tax, amounting to one quarter not just of my assets at the time but also one quarter of what I had given to my daughters in 1933 and 1934 to facilitate their emigration to Palestine.

Next, all jewellery and all silver had to be handed over to the municipal pawn department. My wife and I were allowed to take away with us two silver spoons, two knives, and two forks. I was also unable to wait any longer for payment of the estimated value of several thousand marks that I would have been entitled to claim in exchange. All my personal effects were smashed. I had to spend a substantial sum on new purchases and repairs in preparation for emigration. If I had been insured against riot and affray damage, it would have done me no good either, because the Reich government also seized for the Reich the insurance sums that were due, without any offsetting at all.<sup>9</sup>

As if that were not enough, however, I had to pay a lump-sum settlement of almost 10,000 marks for the belongings we were taking with us upon emigration, with an estimated value of around 4,000 marks and consisting of necessities.

In addition, there were tax payments to be made after a thorough auditing by the tax office, occasioned by the fact that the dissolution of my legal practice had naturally resulted in amounts coming in which otherwise would have been spaced out over several years.

I cite all these examples only because they are simply typical phenomena, which probably have appeared in the cases of all Jewish emigrants and which the German authorities also desired, for the Jew certainly was to be robbed of his property!

My experience was everyone's experience! Finally, after many exertions, both our own and those of our children in Palestine, we received the parents' certificate, which was so hard to get.<sup>10</sup> Time was pressing, the visa from the English consul had an expiry date, the ship fares had been bought for a specific date, and notice had been given that we would vacate the apartment. The clouds of war were gathering!

A sympathetic tax official advised me to wait until the injustice of the theft of properties was made good. 'Fair is fair,' said the good man, whom seven years of Hitler's regime had not robbed of his old-fashioned idealism. But I decided to forego the patient wait. With feverish, unflagging caution, my wife in particular saw to the preparations for our journey.

For three days before our departure, a youthful customs official with an extremely arrogant bearing lingered in our apartment and rummaged through our belongings, looking for hidden foreign currency and pieces of jewellery that had not been surrendered. Woe betide us if he had been able to find even the least little thing. But I know of other instances, chiefly in other cities, where customs officials accepted quite substantial bribes.

<sup>9</sup> See Doc. 146, 12 Nov. 1938.

<sup>10</sup> Jews who emigrated to Palestine could apply for certificates for close relatives who wanted to join them in that country.

After these remarks, one will believe me when I say that in the end not only were my assets, which had amounted to almost 125,000 marks, completely consumed, but I also had to ask close relatives for a remaining amount to meet all the expenses still necessary.

In other cities in Germany, additional methods for squeezing money out of the emigrants seem to be known. In the district of Halle, the Gestapo demands that an emigrant, at his own expense, must be accompanied to the border by one of its officials. For this Gestapo official, the emigrant must pay in advance for a third-class return railway ticket, appropriate meals, and sleeping-car expenses. In one case I know of, the official concerned told the emigrant that he need not worry further about him. Then the emigrant observed the official's presence only as far as the next express-train station. He thought that the official did not travel any further with him at all.

The day before my departure from Nuremberg, I wanted to appear in person at Deutsche Bank, where I had worked for more than thirty years, to withdraw a fairly large amount to pay my forwarding agent and buy tickets. I was strung along. Suddenly a young bank employee with whom I had never dealt before, wearing not only the Party badge but also the green-white-red shield of the Italian fasces, came up to me and snarled at me, asking how I, a Jew, came to be withdrawing such a large sum. I tried to explain it to him. But he deemed it necessary to telephone the foreign currency office of the tax authority with responsibility for me and the customs investigation office, in the hope of possibly sending to his doom someone who was trying to flee the Reich without permission. The older bank officials, whom I knew, stood to one side, embarrassed, and did not dare to comment.

A few days after this we crossed the Reich border at the Brenner Pass, each carrying 10 Reichsmarks, which was all that remained of our assets.

And nonetheless our hearts were filled with relief!

Now we are spending our old age in the homes of our children in the countryside; they furnish us with food and shelter. After outwardly worry-free, inwardly empty years, after the confusion of the war and the perplexities of the post-war period, finally, after the pressure exerted by fanatical fools and criminals, we have before us the clear and pure goal of building Palestine. We see our children and grandchildren doing all they can to accomplish that objective. More fortunate than their parents, they are permitted to tread their own path from childhood on and to shape their lives in a manner that is true to themselves.

## DOC. 226

**In 1938 Irmgard Keun describes the emigration experiences of Jews from a child's perspective<sup>1</sup>**

Excerpt from the exile novel *Kind aller Länder*<sup>2</sup> by Irmgard Keun<sup>3</sup>

A telegram from my father has arrived. He has almost reached Holland, and is now in Belgium.

The Dutch won't let him in because he can't show them lots of money. They also refuse to admit any more refugees.

My mother and I aren't allowed to stay here any longer. But we can't join my father in Belgium either, because we don't have a Belgian visa.

My father brought a whole horde of people with him from Prague and Poland, because the people there are living in fear. But everyone here is living in fear too.

I wish my father were back with us. If my father were to travel to the Belgian border, and we to the Dutch border, then perhaps we could see each other and wave. Mr Krabbe says if a war breaks out now, we'll all be locked up and shot. But the people are all so nice and friendly and the weather is so lovely too. Yet my mother no longer has any desire to go for walks.

A lot of people come to visit us in the hotel lobby. We met them in Austria, in Prague, and in Poland. Suddenly almost all of them are here in Amsterdam. They sometimes cry and say: 'You are so fortunate.'

At that my mother often starts crying as well.

In front of the hotel is the big café, where people sit under the open sky on straw-coloured chairs and drink coffee. The lawn is so green and everything glistens.

The shimmering trams chat with the cars in toots and trills. The days have turned so warm that we don't need blankets and coats. Everyone perspires so that when you shake hands with someone your hands stick together. It will soon grow cold again, though.

My father telephones us from Brussels every so often, and says: 'Calm yourself, child, calm yourself.' My father never cries.

The weather is warm, but we are hungry. We can't leave because we can neither pay the hotel nor get into any other country. But we can't stay here any longer either.

Perhaps we'll be thrown in prison, and then we'll be fed.

1 Irmgard Keun, *Kind aller Länder* (Amsterdam: Querido, 1938), pp. 108–113. A published English translation exists as *Child of All Nations*, trans. Michael Hoffmann (London: Penguin, 2009). This document has been retranslated from the original German.

2 The novel describes the pre-war world (1936–1938) from the perspective of the child Kully, a Jewish immigrant from the Rhineland. The young girl is living with her mother in Belgian and Dutch hotels, while her father, a writer, is travelling through Europe in order to raise money and secure an entry visa for the United States.

3 Irmgard Keun (1905–1982), writer, actress, and journalist; her books were banned in 1933–1934; refused admission to the Reich Chamber of Literature, 1936; in exile in Belgium and the Netherlands, 1936–1940; resided illegally in Germany, 1940–1945; after 1945 worked as a journalist; author of *Gilgi*, *One of Us* (2013 [1931]) and *The Artificial Silk Girl* (1933 [1932]), among other works.

Uncle Kranich is in prison too. We met Uncle Kranich in Vienna, and then suddenly he showed up here. He is old and round-bellied, and wears a gold ring. My mother had a gold ring once, which we sold in Nice because we ran out of soap and toothbrushes.

I don't really mind not having soap. In big cities, though, you get dirty in no time, from doing almost nothing.

Uncle Kranich would sit in the sunshine with us at the café. His necktie was as bright and lovely as the sunshine itself. He was forced to leave Austria because of prayers he had offered against the German government. He crept like an Indian across the border to Holland – and that was against the law.

Now he's kept safe in prison.

When he's let out, he can't stay in Holland. But he can't enter any other country either.

People tremble when they buy newspapers and special editions – what's gone wrong in the world?

I would so much like to play with another child again.

At night my mother clutches me so tightly that it hurts and keeps me from sleeping. Car after car rushes past our window. 'Kully, I can't take it any more,' my mother cries out, and jumps out of bed to place a call to Cologne. She wants to talk to my grandmother.

'Oh, mother,' she says, 'how are you doing? Everything is so dreadful, mother.'

I always thought my grandmother was just my grandmother, but she's also the mother of my mother.

My mother has made lots of acquaintances her own age. She orders huge breakfasts up to our room, so we no longer go hungry – breakfast in Holland also suffices for lunch and dinner.

My mother says: 'It doesn't matter any more.' She holds me tight, but her thoughts are somewhere else. She murmurs strange things and doesn't answer my questions. Is it because of the war?

My mother didn't even look at the last hotel bill. But she put lovely curls in her hair with a curling iron.

Sometimes she sits in the corner of the lobby, beside the large glass aquarium in which small fish swim silently in graceful movements. Some look as if they are capped with golden crests, and sometimes they stare at me with their round, still eyes. Every now and then two fish swim towards one another and kiss each other. That's the nicest of all.

Often sitting next to my mother is a man with dark eyes, who holds her hand tightly and kisses it. My mother's hand quivers ever so slightly like the fins of the small fish. Her eyes have grown impossibly large and blue, and also quiver.

She no longer wants to be alone, and it doesn't help any if I'm with her. Because I can't discuss Mussolini and Hitler and Chamberlain – they are what you call statesmen.

She couldn't explain it any better to me.

It has something to do with the war, though. I'll understand it all when I get older.

But what's the point in growing up when it only makes you sad?

My mother once said that grown-ups become saddled with guilt, and that nothing in the world makes one sadder than feeling guilty.

I believe, however, that my mother is saddest of all when my father is not with her. When my father kisses her and strokes his hand across her hair, she is always in a good mood. Now she sometimes wants my father to disappear so that she can start a new life. Often she is incredibly frantic and despondent. The only time she is lively and vivacious is when my father comes to visit. But it's never been like this before.

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**Siegfried Neumann from Berlin reports on his imprisonment  
in Sachsenhausen concentration camp in late 1938<sup>1</sup>**

Submission by Siegfried Neumann<sup>2</sup> to a Harvard University competition (1940)

[...] <sup>3</sup>

Over the course of Sunday more Jews who were to be taken away with our transport arrived from the smaller towns in the Kreis. Despite Sunday being a day of rest, the police summoned traders to the station by telephone so that we could buy what clothes and undergarments we still needed. But it was Monday before our transport left. As the day went on, more and more Jews kept arriving from the surrounding areas. The captain had us inspected to determine our fitness for camp. I was rebandaged. The top half of my face was still covered with plasters. One person was left behind because of diabetes. In the evening we had to assemble for departure. The accompanying officers loaded their guns in our presence. One of the older officers had tears in his eyes as he bade us farewell. Three of us, including me – all three of us combat veterans – were to travel in the captain's car on his explicit orders, with the others in large omnibuses. When we stepped on to the street to board the vehicles, a horde of people stood there shouting antisemitic abuse and threats. They were apparently acting on orders, because we later heard the same thing had happened in other towns as well. In the car the captain began to make conversation: 'Now England has capitulated before us. (Munich! <sup>4</sup>) We'll now solve the Jewish question on our own terms. This will happen throughout the world. Codreanu<sup>5</sup> will also come to power in Romania. The Arabs aren't going to put up with that in Palestine either. The English will never be able to manage them. I know the region from the war.' Considering our situation, we couldn't very well contradict him, [so we

1 Siegfried Neumann, 'Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und unter Hitler' [My life in Germany before and under Hitler] (1940), pp. 102–115, Harvard Competition, no. 165. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Siegfried Neumann (1895–1987), lawyer and dramatist; member of the left-liberal German Democratic Party (DDP); worked as a notary and lawyer in Brandenburg; from 1922 magistrate in Berlin; had his licence as a notary revoked in 1933; employed by the Palestine Office; imprisoned in Sachsenhausen, 1938; emigrated to Shanghai in 1939 and later to Israel; author of *Vom Kaiserhoch zur Austreibung* (1978).

3 The account comprises 121 pages and was submitted from Shanghai. In the first part Siegfried Neumann describes his childhood in a small town in eastern Germany, his law studies in Berlin, his service in the First World War, and the continuation of his studies after the war, as well as the destruction of his apartment and his mistreatment and arrest during the November pogroms.

4 This refers to the Munich Agreement: see Introduction, pp. 42–44.

5 Founder of the Iron Guard, an ultranationalist political party in Romania.

replied]: ‘Of course, the Jewish problem has to be solved somehow. Perhaps there’s still room in China.’<sup>6</sup> As we drove through the eastern part of Berlin, he showed astonishment that no sign of destruction could be seen here. But at one point we missed the road to Oranienburg. I had to get out and look for signs. I was greatly tempted to hop on one of the passing trams and go into hiding in Berlin. The night was dark and rainy. But I discarded the idea out of consideration for my comrades. We continued. The houses stopped, and the rural road began again. Soon we saw searchlights circle and stop in front of a barrier. It was raised. After a short stretch of road, we turned left through a tall gateway, which bore the inscription ‘Education Camp’. The car came to a stop in front of a second gateway. We got out. Our captain had promised to put in a good word for us because of our good behaviour while in custody. We had barely begun to walk through the gateway when SS men knocked the hats off the people at the very front. ‘You’d better start running, you pigs!’ So we had to trot forward quickly, carrying our suitcases, which was no easy task for the older ones. Some stumbled and fell into the dirt. We had to line up in front of a long, still-illuminated barrack. Other transport groups had to remain standing like this for twenty-four hours, during which time several people collapsed. The favourable mention from our captain apparently caused them to deal with us immediately.

SS men, who here wore greyish-greenish uniforms, placed signboards in front of us bearing vile inscriptions. One board ironically read: ‘We Jews are the chosen people.’ Another listed all the crimes that the Jews had allegedly committed. We were forced to read aloud the inscriptions, individually and in chorus. Suddenly one SS member asked us: ‘Where is your rabbi then, that swine?’ To his good fortune he had earlier been expelled to Poland. At the front next to the SS men stood other people, of whose importance we were still unaware. They advised us to put away our combat veteran insignia. We then entered the barracks, the orderly room, in stages. The work was being done by prisoners. But the SS men were going back and forth, ordering everybody to hurry. We had to completely empty our pockets and hand over valuables such as watches and fountain pens separately from the other items, giving in our money as well. All this and our personal details were taken down meticulously. Then a physician – evidently a Jewish prisoner – examined us briefly, apparently only for lice, judging by the type of examination he performed. After that we were taken to the washroom. We surrendered our clothes, for which we received a number. Next we showered, but first our heads were shaved. Before being issued prison clothes in another corner of this huge room, one had to walk past an SS officer. I had never seen such a Mephistopheles face in real life. He sat there in his black SS uniform with his cap on, tapping his riding crop against his boot. He had a pale face wrought by sensuous dissipation, jet-black hair, a small moustache, and protruding cheekbones above which a monocle was tucked. Beside him stood another SS man, with blonde hair and a stout build like Breitensträter.<sup>7</sup> The black-haired

6 In early March 1939 the Supreme Defence Council in Nanjing approved the establishment of a Jewish settlement area in south-western China, which was to take in Jews from Germany and Austria; the project never came to fruition: Mechthild Leutner (ed.), *Deutschland und China 1937–1949: Politik, Militär, Wirtschaft, Kultur. Eine Quellensammlung* (Berlin: Akademie, 1998), pp. 412–414.

7 Hans Breitensträter (1897–1972), boxer and sports teacher; twice German heavyweight champion; retired from boxing in 1927.

officer waved me forward. I stood as erect as I could, considering I didn't have a stitch of clothing on. 'How did that happen?' He pointed to my bandages. 'I fell.' 'Well, when did the fall happen?' 'In the night of 9 to 10 November.' He smirked knowingly at his comrade. He then continued the interrogation! 'You probably fell down the stairs.' I answered affirmatively. 'It was probably very dark.' 'Yes, indeed.' 'You probably weren't paying attention.' 'No.' 'Fine.' He waved me away. In another corner we were issued our clothing, which consisted of thin undergarments, socks, a jacket, and a pair of trousers. Some received striped flannel gear; others, including me, a field-grey former uniform. Thus, what was once honourable attire in the World War was now worn as prisoner's garb. We saw nothing of the warm garments that we had acquired at the last minute. We weren't issued caps or coats. Now we lined up outside and marched to our assigned barrack. The SS were no longer present. The occupants of a barrack – 150 to 300 men – were called a block and were subordinate to the block elder, a veteran prisoner. Room orderlies, who were also older prisoners, were appointed to aid the block elder. These included a secretary and persons responsible respectively for cleanliness in the barrack, sleeping arrangements, and provisions. Groups of around five to six blocks were overseen by an SS officer, the 'block leader'. Our barrack did not have any beds yet. Straw was spread out on the dormitory floor. We were each issued two woollen blankets. The time of the morning roll call was scheduled in such a way that daybreak set in by the end of the half-hour roll call, since one could not let the work squads move out in the dark. Back then morning roll call began at around six o'clock. The barrack contained a washroom with running water, in addition to basins for washing feet and a sink for cleaning dishes. For breakfast there was sweetened sago soup and coffee, and jam on Sunday. We marched out and stood now in the November rain, with shaved heads and without any head coverings or coats, to take part in roll call on the large square, which held the entire workforce, normally 6,000 men, but today roughly twice as many. It was still dark. The illuminated clock in the interior gatehouse appeared to be suspended in the darkness, as if it were disembodied. Here it was important to maintain a soldierly posture. Arc lamps mounted on high posts provided some light. Occasionally the roaming spotlights picked out a group [of prisoners]. SS men made their rounds between the blocks, which stood at attention. If someone drew attention to himself, for example, by putting his hands on his stomach or talking, he received a kick or a slap in the face from the SS. Later the entire block could also be punished by being forced to remain standing at the gateway after the evening roll call while all the others went back to the barracks. The block would eventually be sent off to bed without dinner. After the morning roll call we returned to our barrack. People were sought who had held leadership positions in the army. Thus, we Jews performed foot duty under Jewish command. While marching around between the barracks one was always running into acquaintances and relatives, because the Jews had been rounded up from everywhere and not that many had been spared. There were even some prisoners from Sudeten Germany, despite the arrangements of the Munich Agreement.<sup>8</sup> This is how I met my brother one day. There was another roll call at noon, and afterwards there was lunch in the barracks. The hot meal at lunchtime was tasty. The meat was said to be whale meat. In any case it didn't

<sup>8</sup> The Munich Agreement provided for a right of option, according to which the residents of the Sudeten German areas were to be granted the possibility of leaving the ceded territory.

taste bad. At first we could not finish our portions. After eating we did our exercises again. This went on until evening roll call, held at around six o'clock. The time changed according to the length of the day. It began when nightfall set in, once the work squads had returned. At evening roll call the names were read out of those prisoners whose release had been decided on, that is, it was announced who had to report to the orderly room the next morning. Then everyone marched back to the barracks. For dinner there was coffee, margarine and liver sausage in turns, cheese, and sometimes herring as well. The food was of good quality. The bread was comparable to the army bread we knew from military service. The bread rations were later reduced because too much was left uneaten. Lights went out at eight o'clock. At this hour the block leader would check to make sure that everyone had turned in.

Tailors were sought out. There were plans to sew the prisoner number and the yellow Star of David, the insignia of the Jewish block, on to each prisoner's [uniform]. We could not be assigned to work outside the camp until the numbers were sewn on. It is remarkable how few SS men are needed to keep this great mass of prisoners in check. The large roll-call square is so situated that it is bounded on one side by the interior gatehouse, on which a machine gun is mounted. High-voltage wire runs along the enclosing wall. It is bordered by a strip of grass, in front of which are signs bearing a skull. This means that the SS is authorized to shoot [anyone who steps] beyond the boundary indicated by these signs. At various points on the enclosing wall are machine-gun towers, which ensure that all alleyways in the camp are controlled by machine guns. With the exception of the kitchen building and the gatehouse, which contains the offices of the camp commandant, every building is made of wooden planks and would not provide any protection against machine-gun bullets. Our barrack was the last one at this end of the camp. On the first evening our block leader immediately instructed us that we were not to go beyond the end of the barrack, because otherwise we might get shot at. Right at the start someone threw themselves against the wire in order to end it all. Our block elder told us this to deter us from doing the same. 'Think of your families, who are waiting for you. We have already been here for five years, have a wife and children at home too, and are still keeping our chins up.' It was absolutely amazing what moral and psychological strength these simple men of the people were endowed with, which they often used to lift us up in weak moments; and how they maintained the necessary discipline, a responsibility with which they were charged by the SS, while at the same time acting in a comradely manner. They also looked after older and less dextrous comrades by employing them as room orderlies or assigning them special tasks that were easy to accomplish, so that these men would not attract the attention of the SS. Luckily the block leader who headed our block was one of the more decent supervisors. He gave the impression of having a more privileged background. If he entered the barrack during mealtime, he let [us] resume eating immediately. Once, during our exercises, he remarked: 'If you continue like this, you will soon be as good as the best honour-guard company.' But our block leader was evidently an exception. At every roll call we witnessed how the SS men who were walking around inspecting the lined-up blocks would suddenly kick someone in the rear or stomach with their boot, or give someone a slap in the face if he failed to look ahead or have his hands at his trouser seams. Once, when we were unloading provisions for the kitchen, I saw an SS man no older than 17 kick a prisoner in the stomach with such force that he had to be *carried* from the square.

After our prisoner number and the red and yellow Star of David had been sewn on, we were also assigned work outside the camp. I first belonged to a labour brigade that worked on a housing estate on the outskirts of Oranienburg. Our work was supervised by prisoner foremen, some of whom were Jewish. Around the outer perimeter stood a cordon of SS guards. If one went beyond this cordon, the guards had the right to shoot. They also saw to it that we did sufficient work. Here we had to convey bricks from one end [of the estate] to the other by forming a chain and tossing the bricks to each other, which we soon had down to a fine art. Or we had to lug stones. Later I worked there on the construction of a road, which consisted of pounding old bricks into gravel with a hammer and laying the road's foundation using large stones shipped in from Berlin's demolished houses – it was essentially like piecing together a mosaic. At first we marched back to the camp to have lunch. Later on, the midday roll call only lasted half an hour. During this time we could eat the food we had brought along, usually dry bread, if we didn't have any money for the cafeteria; [we] were also allowed to smoke. We then received a warm meal in the evening after the final roll call. One could see the houses in Oranienburg from this work site. In particular the large windows of a café gleamed temptingly in our direction. The bourgeois way of life and freedom: so close and yet so far out of reach. It was horrible when it rained and we had to endure an entire day outside without cap or coat. It was a blessing from God that that winter was so mild, otherwise many more of us would have perished from illness. There were no Sundays in the camp. Only once – I believe it was the Sunday of the Dead<sup>9</sup> – did we have a day off duty. We were instructed to put our things in order and were allowed to write home. The older prisoners said that in their entire five years they had never had a Sunday off. Soon thereafter the camp commandant was removed.<sup>10</sup> Rumour had it that he had been too lenient. We soon noticed the difference. On Sundays we had to work the entire day, just like during the week. Those who were not assigned work and stayed in the camp were not allowed into the barrack during the day and had to eat for lunch what they had in their pockets during the midday roll call. Heating the barracks, which had already begun, was no longer permitted.

Only very few people could be detailed as room orderlies, so the older people had to at least take part in exercises and remain outside all day. Sick people were only allowed to stay in the barrack if they had received a sick note. Otherwise they would be punished severely. Anyone who reported sick had to stand outside the gatehouse from the end of morning roll call, at around half past seven, to half past one in the afternoon, before finally being taken to the camp infirmary. Those who were truly sick were not at all able to stand around in the cold and damp weather, for that was worse than doing the exercises. Only those who collapsed and toppled over on the square, which was an everyday occurrence, were carried off. Each midday we saw coffins being taken away. The new

<sup>9</sup> *Totensonntag*: a German religious holiday observed mainly in Lutheran churches.

<sup>10</sup> Hans Helwig (1881–1952), mason and soldier; member of the SA, 1923–1929; joined the NSDAP in 1927 and the SS in 1929; head of Ankenbuck protective custody camp, 1933–1934; commandant of Lichtenburg concentration camp (until Feb. 1937 acting commandant), 1936–1937; commandant of Sachsenhausen concentration camp, August 1937 to July 1938. His successor at the camp was Hermann Baranowski (1884–1940), naval officer; joined the NSDAP in 1930 and the SS in 1931; commandant of Lichtenburg concentration camp, 1936; head of the protective custody camp at Dachau concentration camp, 1936–1938; commandant of Sachsenhausen concentration camp, 1938–1939.

camp commandant demonstrated just how downright mean he was one day when he was displeased with our exercises on the large square. He forbade us to exercise. We had to stand in the cold and damp the entire time until roll call. In some Jewish blocks there were people up to 80 years old, who had to be carried to and from roll call by their comrades. Sometimes orders were given for everyone who had more than a million [Reichsmarks] to step forward, then everyone with more than 500,000, [and then those with] more than 100,000 marks. One time even all physicians were told to step forward. We assumed that they were being photographed for *Der Stürmer*. Each week, usually on Friday, bathing was done after evening roll call. There were shower baths, which were very pleasant. We also received fresh undergarments each week.

I was very pleased when one evening, early on in my stay, my name was called out during roll call. But when I expectantly arrived in front of the orderly room the next morning, I learned that I was not among those to be released. I had to report to the camp commandant. He wanted to know where I had hidden on the night of 9 November. I told him the truth, that I had been hiding in the kitchen of the basement apartment. 'You're lying! You were at the lieutenant colonel's and at the landlord's.' I explained to him that I could not tell a lie. 'You're lying, the cellar was searched.' I said no one opened the kitchen doors. 'You were at the lieutenant colonel's.' I answered in the negative, stating that I could not say something that was untrue. 'Perhaps you want fifty [lashes] on your arse or to be tied to a post!' I again replied that I could not tell a lie. 'Tie him to the post!' The camp adjutant took me away. But the camp commandant overtook me on the half landing, glared at me askance, and said: 'You were at the lieutenant colonel's, were you not?' He apparently wanted to spare me being tied to a post in exchange for a false statement. I answered in the negative. The adjutant led me to the entrance of one of the inside walls, which ran along the back of our barracks and which I had always thought was an outside wall. An SS man opened the door and then closed it behind us. Detention cells were located in the low one-storey building. Behind it was a small courtyard, where there were three posts. Two of these were already occupied. Being tied to a post was one form of punishment used in the camp. I had to climb on to a footstool. Then my wrists were strapped above my head to the post, and the footstool was pulled away. The tips of my toes just barely touched the ground, and it was not enough to help support the weight of my body in any way. Soon I felt a strong pain in my shoulders. I prayed for the strength to hold out, so that I wouldn't harm others by making a false statement. To this, the SS man in charge said in Saxon dialect: 'Your Jesus sure won't be helping you.' After a while I thought to myself that they would just let me hang here until I gave in, and that a statement obtained from a concentration camp would not be of any great value as evidence. It also occurred to me that the landlord's and the lieutenant colonel's household would in any case have to testify the opposite of the false statement demanded from me. I announced that I would now tell everything. I was left hanging for a little while longer; then another SS man came and unstrapped me. From behind, he put a noose round my neck [and said]: 'Now you're going to be hanged.' Then he removed the noose and led me to the detention building. On the way he said: 'Now you're going to be shot. You don't believe it, do you?' In the interrogation room sat the camp adjutant. 'We're going to find out everything. We have solved cases that have dogged the police for years. You do know that X' – he said the landlord's name – 'is dead.' Now I did as requested and told them I had been at the lieutenant colonel's and at the

landlord's on the night in question. 'Now the details, tell us everything exactly.' It was a cat-and-mouse game. I waited on leading questions from him. But now he tried to keep up appearances himself and acted as if the information came freely from me, avoiding asking leading questions as much as possible. He laid great store on establishing that the persons in question had themselves allowed me to enter the apartment. 'Now let's hear about the hospitality!' At the end, he said: 'You could have spared yourself being tied to the post. Do you think it was any fun for me?' He asked about my family circumstances. 'Your wife will surely make the necessary arrangements for emigration. You will then be released and can emigrate with your family. I will have papers given to you. Write down everything exactly. As a lawyer you know what's important. If there is a trial, you will be called as a witness.' I was handed over to an SS man. He assigned me a cell. Then he led me to another cell, which had a table and chair. Because I did not catch on right away that I was to take out the table and chair, I received a blow to the lower back. Now I sat with table and chair, equipped with paper and pencil, locked up in solitary confinement. I found it ironic that the prison cells were well heated by central heating, while we in the barracks had to freeze. Why had the adjutant not taken down my statement properly right from the start? Why did they lock me up in here first? Did they want a written statement from me only in order to then execute me, so that it would not be possible for me to recant? These thoughts tormented me. I wrote down the events of that night with the requested lies, but did not sign my name. After a while two younger SS officers appeared instead of the adjutant. 'Are you finished?' 'Yes.' They looked at the paper: 'Sign it!' 'I don't want to sign it until I've been released from detention.' 'Come on! Come on! Sign it. The adjutant is waiting.' 'I'm afraid that if I do sign it I won't make it out of here alive. That's why I want to wait until I'm outside to sign it.' They were about to fall upon me. I resigned myself to my fate. I signed my name, since they had me in their power anyway. They left with the document. I was alone again in my cell. I peered at the peephole in the door. Would they simply shoot through the door? The fact that the adjutant did not come himself to take down my statement properly seemed to confirm my fears. Finally the cell door swung open, and I was led to the interrogation room again. There sat the adjutant, accompanied by an SS man at the typewriter. He had the paper in his hand and dictated my statement accordingly, omitting everything that occurred on my property, including my being dragged to the synagogue. Before letting me sign he suddenly asked whether the police had already interrogated me. He was thus fully aware that the information I had given initially had been the truth, not what was now recorded. I answered in the negative. Then he had me sign it and gave the order for my release. He left the room. The same SS man who had previously put the noose round my neck now handed me back my shoes, which upon arriving there I had had to exchange for clogs. Then he let me out of the detention house, but did not make any move to open the gate in the wall. 'Now you're going to be shot after all.' I thought of Tosca.<sup>11</sup> Had another order been issued? Was my release order, given in my presence, a sham? I ran to the gate and shook it. 'Come back here!' I returned. 'Stand against the wall.' He grabbed his gun. Then he finally opened the gate: 'Report your release to the orderly room.' I let out a gasp of relief. It was now afternoon. I walked across the large square to

<sup>11</sup> In Giacomo Puccini's opera *Tosca* the execution of the eponymous character's lover is not a sham, as she assumes, but in fact real.

report at the orderly room. No sooner was I inside than an SS man slapped me on the face and threw me right out before I was able to utter a single word. I now went back to my barrack. It had been early morning when I left and my comrades had begun to worry immensely. It was understandable that I looked distraught. I was naturally careful not to give anything away. For I could imagine what the consequences would be. The block elder was in the know, most likely getting wind of it at the orderly room. He strongly admonished me to keep quiet. It was touching how the older prisoners in our block now watched over me. They took one look at my wrists, where the weals were still noticeable, and didn't say another word. They knew what had happened. The following day they detailed me as a room orderly so that I could stay in the barrack. Such practices seemed to be quite common. I now lived in constant fear of being hauled off to a court hearing before my release, which according to the adjutant's remarks was contingent on my securing permission to emigrate. I could never have made this statement on oath. I wrote down that emigrating as soon as possible was particularly urgent in my case.

Since the pace of releases was picking up, at times 150 to 200 men a week, the older prisoners now also had to go to work in the factory outside the camp. In principle I preferred work over exercises because one at least got warm. But I was afraid of being assigned to carry heavy cement bags. I didn't feel up to the task. My comrades advised me to report, immediately after being called, to labour brigade no. such and such, which had to shovel sand. After roll call we set off at first light in a long column, escorted on both sides by armed SS guards. The marching route goes through beautiful woods. But we have no freedom to enjoy the natural surroundings. The commands shouted by the SS guards – 'Step! Keep up! Look ahead! Direction!' – never cease. If one doesn't want a slap in the face or kick of a boot, one must remain attentive at all times. For only those at the front can march properly. The rest of us must repeatedly advance at a double-quick pace because the column is constantly spreading apart. This continues for half an hour until we reach the factory. Once the entire brigade is standing in formation, a count is taken. Then the various work groups report for duty. Some SS guards, particularly when Austrian SS men were present, use this time for bullying. Next we fetch spades and march through the deep sand at a double-quick pace to the widely dispersed posts. I am in the group forming a human chain to shovel sand from one side to the other, where grading is under way. One of the foremen is witty enough to command: 'Keep going! Keep going! The Mark Brandenburg's<sup>12</sup> soil wants moving.' Here I am astounded by how many manual labourers there are among the Jews. If one is toiling away next to an excavation worker, it is impossible to keep up. Woe betide him who had a towering pile of sand in front of him when an SS man came round for inspection. Another labour brigade was known as the merry-go-round. We were somewhat modern in that we employed spades; the merry-go-round involved taking off one's jacket and putting it back on upside down, thus making it possible to fasten the top buttons at the back. One then held the lower part like an apron, had someone shovel sand into it, and marched in single file to the other end of the site, where the load of sand was deposited. Since the whole process moved in a circle – hence the name 'merry-go-round' – one returned to the initial spot, received a shovelful of sand in one's jacket tails, and everything kept

12 The Mark Brandenburg is a region outside Berlin known for its sandy soil.

going. If SS men were nearby, all work had to be done in haste. The large wagons, which another work group pushed and pulled along tracks, were decisive in determining the schedule for all labour brigades. If they pulled up seven wagons, this meant we had half an hour for midday roll call, which included walking to and fro, being counted, and eating the lunch we had brought along. I once had the misfortune to be on an assignment when a barge loaded with cement arrived late in the afternoon. Our group was ordered to help with the unloading. The barge was docked down on the canal. Two wooden landing stages led down the upper embankment to both unloading points. The cement was packed in paper bags. The main trick was to load the bag properly. Like everyone else I unfastened the top buttons on my jacket. Then it was my turn to sit down and have my hundredweight bag loaded on. I was proud that I could stand up without any help. But at first I felt as if my lower back was coming apart. With some forward momentum it was possible to make it up the running board to the embankment. One then had to trudge through deep, loose sand. Now another difficulty emerged. Since the bag was mostly resting on the nape of the neck, the weight was balanced best when one's head was lowered far down. But then one saw only the ground a few steps ahead and could not see where the cement had to be taken. I oriented myself on the legs of the man in front of me. The bag would start to slide if one tried to see more by lifting one's head. It was impossible to grip onto these jam-packed paper bags with one's hands to keep them up. Luckily nightfall was approaching and we were soon to be let off the hook, at least for now. One day someone jumped into the canal but was fetched out. Comrades told me that since then no one was ever taken away from the large wagons to carry cement. We first had to shovel sand into the wagons until they were full, making sure the sand went in a high arch and did not scatter in the air as it fell into the high-sided wagon. Two SS officers appeared one day at this worksite, got on top of the sand pile, and sprinkled sand on our heads, an act which seemed to give them immense pleasure. Once the wagon was full, it was pulled along the track on which it stood to the opposite end of the site. A dozen men stationed at two long ropes, each equipped with three poles, pulled from the front like tugboats on the Volga, while others pushed from behind and on the sides. Manoeuvring around curves was particularly difficult. When the end of the track was reached, we dumped out the wagon's load, after which we always had a nice rest until the other wagons arrived and were also unloaded. The route ran along the outermost part of the site, where it sloped down to the edge of a pine grove. A cordon of SS guards was positioned along this boundary. We once saw how an SS man called for a prisoner to come down. This person was stupid enough or scared enough to comply. The SS man had him lie down, roll in the sand, etc. Our block elder had instructed us that we did not need to heed the guards' orders to leave our work and that the guards were also not allowed to leave their positions. It happened once, he said, that guards had a prisoner roll in the sand for so long that he ended up over the perimeter line. Then they shot him. Hence labour deployment at this factory was also known as 'Firing Range Brigade'. I personally never witnessed anything like this.

One afternoon two SS leaders turned up in our barrack.

At the command 'Attention' we didn't jump up and stand to attention fast enough for their satisfaction. Only the room orderlies, that is, older people (except me) around 60 years old, were present. They commanded: 'Down! Attention! Down! Attention!' Then: 'March to the dormitory!' Our block elder also shouted: 'Remove your glasses!'

In the dormitory the straw for sleeping was heaped in a big pile. We had to burrow ourselves into it. 'Take full cover! Lower! We don't want to see any part of you.' They were killing themselves laughing. This was their entertainment, a way for them to overcome their boredom.

Another time the fire alarms went off at night. The older prisoners had told us that if a barrack caught fire no one would survive. The machine-gunners would shoot everyone who attempted to leave the barrack. Bright firelight glowed in the sky. Luckily the fire was not in the camp, but at the barracks of the SS regiment stationed on the other side of the road.

One day the announcement came that another inspection visit would be taking place, this time from a group including senior officers from the Reichswehr.<sup>13</sup> From the morning on, we were not allowed to use any of the lavatories. The ban on entering the barracks during the day was rigorously enforced. Hour after hour we, including the particularly large number of older people among us, marched round and round the large roll-call square. Since sometimes nature is stronger than fear and one's will, older people simply urinated while marching or while 'standing at ease', wherever they happened to be. It was a blessing that it rained and the square was wet anyway. No one said a word. Evidently discipline has its limits too. During this inspection visit a Reichswehr officer shouted at a block elder, wanting to know why there was no heating. Permission was now granted to heat the barracks. Inspection visits took place often; one time press representatives were among the visitors. It was our good luck that Berlin was close by.

On another day I received orders, as did several other comrades from my home town, to report to the orderly room after evening roll call. Much to our chagrin, while our block marched off to bathe, we had to stand around for hours and hours without knowing what it was about. We finally heard someone say that the notary had not arrived yet. We were all property owners. It was rather cold, and since the early morning we had eaten practically nothing and had been on our feet outside without hats or coats. That evening I almost passed out, especially since we had to remain standing in one spot for hours on end. We were finally called in one by one. The police demanded that we sell our property. I was to give my wife a notarized power of attorney. I wanted to add to the power of sale something about the purchase price. The notary said: 'I am unable to include anything about the price. The government will determine the price.' Of course, we all signed. What were we supposed to do in our predicament?

Since the *Völkischer Beobachter* and *Der Angriff*<sup>14</sup> were available in the blocks, we had read about the laws. But laws only set the tone. What was critical was what the entire orchestra of the Party apparatus made of it. And we in the concentration camp had no way of obtaining such information. A day or two later, one of the comrades at my table was already so ill at morning roll call that he was unable to stand up without assistance. As I was table elder,<sup>15</sup> the block elder charged me with looking after him. I took him to the brigade for infirmary patients. When we learned that we would have to stand in line at the gate until half past one, I told him that neither of us would hold out that long and that we should instead report to another labour brigade. Here I must mention something

13 The author means the Wehrmacht, which replaced the Reichswehr in 1935.

14 *Der Angriff* was the NSDAP newspaper for the Gau of Berlin.

15 Table elder (*Tischältester*) was a rank within the prisoner hierarchy.

about an incident that happened at the inspection visit mentioned above. One of my comrades at our table was severely diabetic. Ever since he had lost consciousness in the barrack, he received regular insulin injections. On the day of the inspection visit, the medical orderly (all were prisoners) was administering his injection when the SS physician appeared and threw out our comrade, in the process giving him a kick that resulted in the syringe breaking. He immediately told us what had happened. Let us return now to the account at the beginning of this paragraph. All labour brigades had already departed, except for the oldest people, who had been taken to the woodyard. We entered the yard, which lay between the camp's inside and outside walls. Here brushwood was being carried back and forth from one pile to another. My comrade was vomiting frequently and I had to hold up his head. No one paid us any particular attention, since one could see that he was really sick. Luckily the sun came out and provided the December day with some warmth. But we got ourselves into a critical situation after all, since on this day of all days an age inspection took place, and we were much too young for this labour brigade. We fortunately succeeded in dodging inspection. As evening approached, my comrade told me: 'You're such a good person that I have the feeling you're going to be released today.' As we were returning to the roll-call square that evening and wanted to enter our block, our block elder winked for me to come over. I moved nearer. 'You will be released tomorrow. Congratulations.' The relief and joy I felt is not possible to express in words. The next morning I stood with some 200 other men, 'freshly shaved' as the release order stipulated, in front of the orderly room. Waiting. Waiting. Then some names are called. More waiting. Now groups are formed, apparently based on the capacity of the washroom. I am in one of the last groups. We see our bundles of bags approaching on the handcart. The first group is already dressed in civilian clothes and waiting next to the interior gate. We are now standing outside the entrance to the bathing barrack. Anyone who had a long trip ahead of him could sign up for a meal. He gets a nicely tied-up package containing bread and butter sandwiches. We all would have signed up if we had known how long the release procedure would drag on. It is finally our turn to bathe. So that we can get dressed, our civilian clothes are tied up in a bundle waiting for us. They were disinfected in this state. And that is exactly how they looked. Now we understood why released prisoners, whom we often saw from the worksite at the housing estate, always carried their hat in their hands. All hats had shrunk and no longer fitted. Once we were dressed, we had to turn all our pockets inside out. We knew that we could not take any kind of communication whatsoever with us, not even the post we had received. We were only allowed to keep official documents. SS men made an inspection. Then, after our names were called, we approached a table where another SS man returned our wallet and valuable items such as watches, fountain pens, and the like. Sometimes he would make comments about things, for instance, about a picture of a woman: 'So that's Sara.' One person's fur coat could not be found. He was taken round all the storerooms until he finally found his fur coat. Now we were allowed to leave this room. We were once again where we had stood this morning, but now clad in civilian clothes and wearing warm undergarments and a coat. The blocks had already reported for midday roll call. After a while we marched across to the gatehouse and fell in on the inside, facing the roll-call square. The camp commandant appeared and said: 'You are being released so that you disappear from Germany as quickly as possible. Don't let me see you here a second time. If any one of you has a complaint, step forward.' No one

stepped forward. We were then allowed to pass through the inside gate. Now we were standing in front of the offices located within the outer surrounding wall. It was already afternoon. Those who had a long journey ahead unpacked the sandwiches they had been given. But they shared them out in a comradely way. We were called out by name for the purpose of signing a form stating that we had not suffered any damage to our health and did not have any claims to make against the camp administration. In another office we were given a precise account of the money handed out to us – we had received weekly instalments of 15 marks for the canteen – and the rest was paid out in cash. The cost of telegrams we had received was also factored in. Now we were essentially ready. But we stood there and stood there. Every moment SS men passed by, which required us to stand at attention. One of them ordered us to turn around, so that the sight of us did not insult his refined Aryan eyes. It grew dark. We were still standing there. We were supposed to take several others on our transport, but they were apparently still waiting for telegraphed directives confirming their release. Finally, during the evening an SS man appeared in a steel helmet. Left turn! And our column marched through the outer gate. He led us as far as a barrier close to Oranienburg. Then he set us free. Free! We now broke up into groups of friends and acquaintances. Some immediately bought cake or cigarettes in the city shops. After all, we hadn't eaten anything since the morning. I hurried to the train station, in order to get to Berlin as quickly as possible. The suburban train finally left at seven o'clock. Upon arrival at Friedrichstrasse Station, as I was taking the escalator up to change platforms, someone whispered behind me: 'Are you on the way back from Oranienburg?' I gave a start; the Gestapo already? He continued: '[I'm] from the Jewish Relief Association. Do you need anything?' I thanked him. Some of us didn't even have the fare to get back home. I first went to see my brother, who had been released earlier. My wife had just left Berlin that very day. I telephoned her.

[...] <sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> In the final part of his account Siegfried Neumann reports that, following his release from Sachsenhausen concentration camp, he found that his house had been looted. He was forced to sell it to an SA officer at a compulsory auction. He then moved to Berlin for a few months before departing for Shanghai in March 1939.

## DOC. 228

**The children's book *Der Giftpilz* (1938) explains the term *Ostjude*<sup>1</sup>**

Excerpt from the children's book *Der Giftpilz* by Ernst Hiemer<sup>2</sup>

*How the Jews came to us*

In a small, old town the sun shines down upon neat houses and tidy lanes. The clock tower of the town hall has just struck four. School is now over. With satchels of books on their backs or under their arms, the children scurry homewards. Two of these are Fritz and Karl. They have made plans to go swimming together. The water may be a bit cold, but that doesn't matter. German lads are not soft. They can certainly endure quite a lot.

Suddenly, Fritz stops in the middle of the street. A group of three men have caught his attention.

'Karl, look over there! Good heavens, those men are a real sight!'

'Oh, you mean the Ostjuden up ahead? I've already seen them. They arrived in our town yesterday.'

Though little Fritz has seen lots of Jews, he has never laid eyes on such filthy and unsightly ones as these.

'Why do you say Ostjuden?' asks Fritz.

Karl knows why. It is not for nothing that he's a year older than Fritz and the best pupil in his class.

'Now listen closely, Fritz! Those Jews there come from Galicia or Poland. And because their native land lies to the east of Germany, they are called Ostjuden. Do you understand that?'

Fritz, of course, understood immediately. But he is still shocked by what he sees.

'Just look at those guys! Those gruesome Jewish noses! Those louse-infested beards! Those filthy, protruding ears! Those crooked legs! Those flat feet! And those greasy, stained clothes! Look how they wave their hands about! How they haggle! And those are supposed to be men?' asks Fritz.

'And what men they are!' replies Karl. 'They are criminals of the worst sort. They lie and they cheat, they thief and they sell stolen goods; so much villainy could give you the jitters. They start off trading in rags, bones, paper, cast-off furniture, and other rubbish. They eventually open small shops, and collude with thieves and burglars who give them stolen goods to sell. They make lots of money this way.'

'And what do they do when they have grown rich from their roguery?' asks Fritz.

Karl replies: 'When they have enough money, they get rid of their dirty clothes, cut their beards off, delouse themselves, put on modern suits, and go about as if they were

1 *Der Giftpilz: Ein Stürmerbuch für Jung und Alt*, illus. Fips [The Poisonous Mushroom: a *Stürmer* Book for Young and Old] (Nuremberg: Der Stürmer, 1938), pp. 12–14. This document has been translated from German.

2 Ernst Hiemer (1900–1974), writer and editor; joined the NSDAP in 1933; managing director of the publishing house National-Verlag-GmbH in Augsburg; worked for the *Fränkische Tageszeitung*; from 1935 employee and from 1938 to 1941 editor-in-chief of the National Socialist newspaper *Der Stürmer*; after 1945 resided in Nuremberg; author of *Der Giftpilz* (1938) and *Der Jude im Sprichwort der Völker* (1942), among other works.

not Jews. In Germany they speak German and behave as though they were Germans. In France they speak French and act as Frenchmen. In Italy they want to be Italians; in Holland, Dutchmen; in America, Americans; and so on. So they carry on throughout the whole world.’

Fritz has to laugh at this.

‘But, Karl, that doesn’t do them any good. They can’t cut off their bent Jewish noses, their Jewish ears, their crooked Jewish legs, and their flat Jewish feet. They will always be recognized as Jews!’

Karl nods.

‘Of course you can spot them if you look properly. But, unfortunately, there are still many who fall for the Jewish swindle.’

‘Not me!’ exclaims Fritz. ‘I know the Jews! I also know a fine verse about them:

‘From the East they once came,  
Filthy, lousy, no money to their name.  
But in scarcely a year or two  
They had become well-to-do.  
Today their garb is very fine,  
To be Jews no more they pine.  
So eyes open and hold in view:  
Once a Jew, always a Jew!’

#### DOC. 229

#### **Paul Martin Neurath reflects on sickness and death in a concentration camp in 1938<sup>1</sup>**

Excerpt from Paul Martin Neurath’s doctoral thesis<sup>2</sup>

##### *Sickness and Death*

The death rate in a concentration camp is extremely high, but the number of men who die from direct mistreatment or who are shot is considerable smaller than people outside seem to assume. The camp usually kills its victims in less spectacular ways. It is comparable not so much to a ferocious murderer who runs amok, as to a dreadful machine that slowly, but without mercy, grinds its victims to bits.

The greatest number of deaths are due to the general conditions; usually one cannot even define what exactly killed a person. When one hears of a man’s death and asks, ‘Anything special the matter with him?’ the answer, more often than not, is ‘No, nothing special. The Buchenwald<sup>3</sup> has swallowed him.’

1 Paul F. Lazarsfeld Archiv, NAW-71.10-TA. The original document is in English. Neurath completed the manuscript in 1943 entitled ‘Social Life in the German Concentration Camps Dachau and Buchenwald’ and submitted it as a doctoral thesis to the Department of Political Science at Columbia University in June 1951. It is published as *The Society of Terror: Inside the Dachau and Buchenwald Concentration Camps*, eds. Christian Fleck and Nico Stehr (London: Routledge, 2005).

2 Dr Paul Martin Neurath (1911–2011), lawyer and sociologist; arrested in Vienna after the Anschluss of Austria; deported to Dachau on 1 April 1938, and in Sept. from Dachau to Buchenwald; released in May 1939; emigrated to the USA via Sweden; professor of sociology in New York.

3 German: ‘beech forest’; the name of the concentration camp near Weimar.

People are overworked, under-clothed, and underfed. They work in every kind of weather, in rain and snow and burning sunshine. Wounds and illness are not treated until they have reached a stage where they are immediately apparent, and treatment is discontinued before the patient is actually cured. Almost no treatment is given for internal diseases, because those who complain of illnesses that cannot be seen are considered fakers. No special diet is available for those with intestinal diseases, except for the few cases which are taken into the infirmary. There is no insulin or other treatment for diabetics, no treatment ordinarily for cardiac cases or for illnesses of the respiratory tract. Only fully developed pneumonia is acknowledged, and the death rate from it is about sixty to seventy percent. Arthritis is an unknown sickness, because you can't see it. So are practically all nervous diseases. Only actual insanity is given some recognition – and then, not in the form of treatment, but in the form of segregation. Those who are undeniably insane are put into a special group and work together.

Because of weakened body resistance, injuries and small infections immediately develop into large festering sores. Men must continue to work in the dirt, until finally the affected limb will no longer function. Blood poisoning sets in and the infected cellular tissue begins to rot away. This is one of the most typical concentration camp diseases: 'cellulitis,' or 'a phlegmon.'<sup>4</sup> Then the infirmary intervenes and cuts. Sometimes that stops the rotting process. If not, they amputate fingers, hands, arms, feet.

When the men have colds, which ordinarily would keep one in bed for a few days or perhaps only make one uncomfortable for a while, they have to work on until the fever has gone up to at least 103 degrees. Then, if they are lucky, they are taken to the infirmary – but frequently it is then too late, and pneumonia has already set in.

During the winter frostbite reached the proportions of a catastrophe. Men came in by the hundred with frostbite, and there were too many for the infirmary to treat. Most of them were sent away. Some received the only treatment available: bathing their hands in lukewarm water for an hour a day. Then back to work. In exceptional cases they were granted a few days off from work.

During the summer the prisoners were not allowed to drink water. Instead, they were driven to speed up the work. Many died of sunstroke or of general exhaustion.

It is amazing that under these conditions there were not more epidemics than was the case. In Dachau there were none while I was there. In Buchenwald a typhoid epidemic developed during the spring of 1939. For two months it ravaged the camp. The prisoners in charge of the infirmary fought a terrific battle to hide from the administration the fact that there was an epidemic. They knew that releases would be stopped immediately if it became known. But at length it could no longer be hidden. All releases were stopped for six weeks.

The administration, fearful that the disease might spread to the SS camp and the surrounding country, had all the men in camp vaccinated three times. A few infirmary attendants stood on the roll call square and vaccinated the men, who lined up by the thousand. No hypodermic needles were exchanged or sterilized between the separate vaccinations. The administration was afraid that this might cause the spread of venereal diseases; and they were also afraid that men who feared vaccination might be able to

4 A purulent inflammation of the connective tissue.

escape vaccination. The only measure they took was to threaten, 'Anyone who has syphilis and is vaccinated, gets "twenty-five."<sup>5</sup> Anyone who does not go to be vaccinated also gets "twenty-five.'" Actually no one was given 'twenty-five' for either of these two reasons, but many, including syphilitics, were whipped for disorderly conduct while lining up; and others, especially gypsies, who were afraid of the hypodermic and therefore hid in the forest, were punished for loafing.

It was a relatively light attack of typhoid. There were only about 350 cases (that is, about four percent of the total number of prisoners), of which about 180 died. The germs did not stop at the fence, and the SS men and some of the neighboring villages got their share of typhoid.

In December, 1938, an epidemic of an intestinal disease developed. It was not lethal and ended when heavy frost set in, which apparently killed the germs. An epidemic of meningitis was stopped in January, 1939, after it had cost fifteen lives. This time the administration took effective action and provided first-class serum. The danger was too great.

At the beginning of the typhoid epidemic, and on other occasions as well, the SS doctor's first attempt to halt the disease was always to kill the germ carriers by injecting an overdose of morphine. This policy of individual murder was continued until either the disease had disappeared or the epidemic had taken over the camp. This fact, unknown to many prisoners, was told to me by a man who worked in the infirmary and who was repeatedly a witness to scenes when the SS doctor ordered the prisoner-attendants to kill a particular germ carrier; and when, on the next inspection, he found the sick man still alive, the doctor himself performed the fatal injection.

The infirmary at Dachau consists of two barracks with about 80 beds; that at Buchenwald of three barracks with about 170 beds. In Buchenwald it is divided into two completely separate units, one for the non-Jews (120 beds) and one for the Jews (50 beds). The non-Jewish infirmary is inside the barbed wire in the forest below the camp; the Jewish infirmary is one of the regular camp barracks.

In both camps the infirmaries are under the supervision of the SS doctor, who is also in charge of the SS infirmaries. But he either does not have much time or does not worry much about the prison infirmary. Actually most of the time the infirmary in Dachau is run by two SS attendants and a few prisoners, and in Buchenwald almost exclusively by prisoners. These prisoners are ordinarily not former doctors, of whom many would be available, but men of other occupations: for instance, a printer, a carpenter, and so forth. These men train each other in the treatment of wounds and sickness and, after years of training, they achieve a surprising ability. They perform major operations, such as the amputation of arms and legs. How the first of them ever learned it, I do not know.

During my time the head attendant of the Buchenwald infirmary was an ex-printer, and the man who performed the most complicated operations was a former cabinet maker. It is not quite clear why former physicians are practically never selected as infirmary attendants. The reason which is frequently advanced, namely that the administration wants to keep them from thinking that they are better than the rest of the prisoners, does not seem very convincing.

5 Blows from a stick.

At any rate, the men in the infirmary develop a great professional pride and a guild spirit that makes it rather difficult for them to consult with former doctors among the prisoners. Such consultation takes place only infrequently and through personal channels.

The infirmary gives clinical treatment as well as taking care of men who are hospitalized. There is a minimum of medical supplies and instruments and medicines. The number of injured men seeking help is usually greater than can be treated during the rest period at noon, at night, or on Sunday, and those for whom there is no treatment are simply sent away. If they come back, they are beaten, perhaps with sticks and clubs – and if then they are afraid to come back until the wound has become too bad, they are blamed for not having come earlier, when the treatment would not have taken so long.

The infirmary issues passes that certify that the bearer need not work. The free time thus gained must usually be spent sitting in a clearing in the forest, rain or shine. However, during the winter a barrack was given over to the sick men. Of course only the worst cases received such passes. Frequent checkups by SS officers weed out those who get into this crew by pretense or bribery. Other passes entitle men to do special work, such as mending socks, repairing shoes, etc., work that has to be done, but which is easier than the regular work and is therefore available only to invalids.

The atmosphere in the infirmary is rough and harsh. The men are 'hard-boiled.' They have seen the utmost in human suffering. No man can observe what they must without breaking down or becoming callous. They are callous and ruthless with most of their patients. But when special action is required, they rise splendidly to the occasion. When it is a question of saving a life that they want badly to save, they will take every risk. Their attitude will be no less rough, but they will smuggle and steal whatever supplies are needed, risking their own good places in an effort to save the man. Ordinarily this is done with the greatest discrimination, primarily in favor of political prisoners. But when the worst catastrophe of all befell the camp, when the Jews were forbidden treatment for weeks during the November pogroms in 1938, these men offered all their help indiscriminately for the thousands of Jews.

The total number of deaths is unknown, but a few figures obtained from men who worked in the infirmary may indicate the extent. Between November 12, 1938, and February 22, 1939, about 900 men died in Buchenwald. At the beginning of this period the camp contained about 20,000 prisoners, and at the end about 10,000. (The difference is accounted for by the Jews who were brought in during the pogroms, and most of whom were released within a month or two.) During the second half of November, when the Jews were brought in and treatment in the infirmary was forbidden to them, there were about fifteen deaths a day. About the same number died per day during the first half of December, when there was a bitter cold wave. The maximum was 32 during a single day, when the prisoners stood for half a night on the roll call square while a search was made for two fugitives. Seven dropped dead from the cold while we were still on the square.

During the summer of 1938 about 1,600 Jews from Berlin were brought to Buchenwald, 130 of whom died during the month of July.

When a man dies, a case history is written by one of the men in the infirmary. The case history is written in medical terms, reporting that he died of heart disease, or arteriosclerosis, or tuberculosis, or any other sort of internal disease. It contains a detailed description of how he was delivered to the infirmary with such and such symptoms, how

on such and such a day his condition became worse, a crisis arrived, and then he passed away. This case history is written no matter what the man actually died of. He may have been killed in an accident, shot, beaten to death, or forced to commit suicide; he may have died of blood poisoning due to a wound, or of the after-effects of a leg amputation, or anything else. The only connection between the deceased and his alleged disease is that for the most part diseases are attributed which seem fairly plausible in view of the patient's age, such as arteriosclerosis for an old man and tuberculosis for a young one.

This case history is then added to the man's personal dossier, and from then on for all future reference he has died of cardiac disease, or arteriosclerosis, or whatever the SS doctor happened to dream up for him. The men in the infirmary of course have to write these reports as ordered.

This information about forged case histories of casualties, unknown even to most former prisoners, was given to me by one of the men who wrote the reports. He quoted to me both actual case histories of dead men, and the faked reports which he wrote about them, and which are now on file in Buchenwald.

It is the same queer bent toward legality that runs through all Nazi terror. Everything has to have its place in a file box, where it can be looked up, and where anyone can convince himself that all the due legalities were observed, and no illegal means were used to bring a man from life to death – if he happened to be a cardiac case, too bad for him – don't blame it on the concentration camp!

DOC. 230

***Aufbau*, New York, 1 January 1939: editorial on negotiations on the transfer of Jewish assets from Germany<sup>1</sup>**

*Editorial*

*A severe blow*

One will probably never know the full truth about the outrageous deeds that Naziland has committed – and is still committing at this very moment – to celebrate its triumph in Munich.<sup>2</sup> In view of the details that have come to light thus far, which represent only a tiny fraction of everything that has happened, one can already say that the comparison to the devastating consequences of tornadoes and earthquakes, which Harold Callender made in his commendable *New York Times* series, seems inadequate and tame.<sup>3</sup> It would be rendered completely invalid if the Third Reich now actually succeeded in subjugating the entirety of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe under its rule, thus leading, if circumstances required it, to a well-prepared and 'spontaneous' outbreak of 'people's anger' that would transform a 'legally' cold pogrom into unbridled fury.

1 'Editorial: Der grosse Anschlag', *Aufbau*, 1 Jan. 1939, p. 5. This document has been translated from German.

2 This is a reference to the Munich Agreement: see Introduction, pp. 42–44.

3 Harold Callender, the Paris-based editor of the *New York Times*, chronicled his impressions of his trip through Germany in a five-part series of articles. The series appeared from 19 to 25 Dec. 1938.

One has attempted to explain this monstrosity, as well as derision of practically every conceivable sort, in purely economic terms. This endeavour is supported by facts insofar as the finances of the new Germany are in utter disarray, and those who are bankrupt and have no way out tend to take desperate measures. In the case of the Hitler Reich, however, one must combine the economic and rational aspects with the moral and mental perversion of the ruler to draw the correct lesson from the situation: Berlin seeks the financial rehabilitation of its regime with the same urgency that it desires the complete extermination of the Jews. This fine plan, which has become one of the dominant topics in international discussions – particularly since the recent London visit of the honourable Mr Schacht<sup>4</sup> – is tailored to achieve both these aims.

The reports that have come in so far regarding the infallible project differ only in details. The basic gist of the plan is as simple as it is brazen: the assets of Jewish property owners that still remain in Germany should be pooled together (using, of course, the tried-and-tested methods of the Reichsbank president and of Goebbels) in order to provide the basis for issuing an international bond. The inflow of real money should (in theory!) make it possible for the Nazis to allow the Jews – who will effectively be dispossessed – to emigrate. Permission will be granted on one small condition: the expelled persons must take with them the equivalent value of their property – which in accounting terms will remain in their possession, but in essence will accrue to the Third Reich – in the form of goods (the loan would also be serviced from the proceeds of the export of German goods!).

What would happen if the world – despite its wealth of experience thus far of Nazi German credibility and integrity – were to be taken in by this plan?

Jewish bond subscribers would be compelled to staunchly oppose the boycott of the Hitler Reich and to clear the way for the sale of the goods imported by the immigrants. In the countries of destination for the new arrivals, industrialists, workers, and the merchant class would immediately turn against Hitler's involuntary merchants, and if the imported goods actually find a market, the quality of the substitute products would quickly arouse among consumers a contagious resentment against the immigrants. The Nazis, however, would be laughing up their sleeve, for the boycott would suffer a practically irreparable crack, and enough good money would, at any rate, flow in and enable them not only to allay internal discontent but also to step up the belligerent attack on culture and intensify the spread of pogromism around the globe on an unfathomable scale.

One must, of course, also consider the possibility that once the Nazis had the spoils from the *praenumerando*<sup>5</sup> loan firmly in their clutches, they would dispose of the Jewish hostages in the manner proclaimed repeatedly by Streicher<sup>6</sup> and *Das Schwarze Korps*. This eventuality alone should be warning enough for the Jews to ruthlessly oppose the most horrendous plot ever hatched. Better ways exist to rescue our imperilled brothers and sisters from the brown mouth of hell. One cannot put forth the argument that a realistic appraisal of the situation rules out the point-blank rejection of the bond-and-

4 Reichsbank President Schacht travelled to London in Dec. 1938 for negotiations with the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees (IGCR): see Doc. 207, 20 Dec. 1938.

5 Latin: payable in advance.

6 This is a reference to Julius Streicher.

export project! Before the capitulation on 30 September 1938, the realism of cowardly self-deception was already gone for good among our people.

Gideon.<sup>7</sup>

DOC. 231

**On 3 January 1939 Herbert Nothmann from Breslau asks a distant relative for help in emigrating<sup>1</sup>**

Typewritten letter from Herbert Nothmann to a Mr Nothmann, dated 3 January 1939<sup>2</sup>

Dear Mr Nothmann,

I hope this letter finds you and your dear wife hale and hearty and that you have weathered well the unhappy times of the last few weeks.

I wish to ask you for some information, provided that you are in the position to provide it:

1. Was my *father Sigismund N.* (9 May 1870–12 March 1937) born in Keltsch or Langendorf?

2. On which day in April 1879 did my *grandfather Julius N.* pass away?<sup>3</sup>

3. On which day and in which month in 1788 was my great-grandfather Salomon N. born?<sup>4</sup>

4. When and where was my *grandmother Johanna N., née Freund*, born? And *when did she pass away in Gleiwitz?*<sup>5</sup>

I need the information, among other purposes, to obtain a certificate of origin,<sup>6</sup> and I would be much obliged if you could respond at your earliest convenience. Thank you very much in advance for your kind efforts.

The last few weeks have brought about my complete ruin, and I now find myself in a dreadful situation. Until 10 November I was, one can certainly say, well off and led the most orderly of lives. My father-in-law lost three shops all at once, and had to sell his parcel of land to meet all of his obligations. Now he has nothing left. I haven't found it easy to make a living [either], however. Since 1933, when my livelihood was taken away, I have stood behind the counter twelve hours [a day] in my new occupation. That's how I've spent the last six years. When I peer into the future, there only seems to be one course left for me to take – the *noose*. I am committed to emigrating as soon as possible. However, I lack most of the resources needed for this and have already become quite

7 Dr Hans Gideon, the pseudonym of Dr Josef Lamm (b. 1882), grammar school teacher and writer; deputy president of the Association of German and Austrian Immigrants in Israel.

1 CJA, 1/75 E, Nr. 562–14847. This document has been translated from German.

2 The original contains several handwritten notes.

3 Here a handwritten note in the left margin reads: '25 Nisan 5639, 1879'; in the Gregorian calendar: 18 April 1879.

4 Here a handwritten correction in the left margin reads: '1786'.

5 Here a handwritten note in the left margin reads: '[...] 5. 1840–1928'.

6 An official document attesting to membership of a particular municipality. Possession of such a document entitled people who became destitute to receive poor relief from their home municipality and granted them the right to continue living there.

desperate. Do you know anybody that could help me? Aren't there any big-hearted people in the large family of Nothmanns who would still be in a position to help me? [Dear] Mr Nothmann, the instinct for self-preservation demands that I now resort to the only means left, begging. I don't want to perish; that is my daily prayer and my plea to God. – I can obtain a visitor's visa to Peru through a Dutch travel agency, for which I would have to pay 150 Dutch guilders (that's 81 US dollars). I have appealed to five offices abroad in order to obtain the 150 guilders. I received negative replies from three offices and no response from the other two. Do you know of any place abroad to which I could appeal? I will certainly be in a position to pay back the money later. Should you have any connections abroad, esteemed Mr Nothmann, I would be greatly indebted to you if you could kindly appeal to someone on my behalf. For my overseas passage, which is very expensive, I still lack 700 marks. I can hardly dare to hope that I will be able to raise this entire amount. However, I must at least make an effort to come up with the sum, and must employ all available means to do so. Perhaps you can help me in this matter; you'll certainly be doing a good deed, and you shall be rewarded for it.

Warm regards to you and your dear family from your devoted  
[...]<sup>7</sup>

DOC. 232

**On 4 January 1939 Sigmund Geller in Paris attempts to facilitate the emigration of his sons and his wife from Vienna<sup>1</sup>**

Handwritten letter from Sigmund Geller,<sup>2</sup> 23 rue Wesley, Paris, to the Relief Association of German Jews, Action for Children, Mrs Stern,<sup>3</sup> Kantstrasse, dated 4 January 1939<sup>4</sup>

I appealed here to the Alliance Israélite Universelle,<sup>5</sup> which referred me to you in light of the particular urgency of my case. Want to briefly describe the situation and urgently beseech you to accept and review my case along with the others. I have been in Paris for two years and barely have the means to feed myself. My wife,<sup>6</sup> on the other hand, lives in Vienna with two boys aged 12 and 14 and a half. For months already [I] have been running round trying to get [my] wife and my two children out of there but these efforts have been unsuccessful so far. My request has been under review by the ministry for six months. My wife (*Adele Geller, 82 Schönbr[u]nnerstraße, 5th District, Vienna*) has

7 Here a handwritten note, partially illegible, reads: 'Moritz N. from Breslau, Amanda née Adler. 2 Aug. 1939 to Lima. Daughter married to Herbert N. Lima, Peru.'

1 CAHJP, HMB 3103, inv. nos. 229–230. This document has been translated from German.

2 Sigmund Geller (1891–1942), retailer; deported from Pithiviers, France, to Auschwitz on 17 July 1942; pronounced dead in 1960.

3 Probably Eva Stern-Michaelis.

4 The letter contains some handwritten underlining and has an illegible receipt stamp.

5 The Alliance Israélite Universelle was founded in 1860 in France with the aim of combating anti-semitism and promoting a Judaism that respected tradition but also adopted a liberal approach. The Alliance established numerous schools for Jewish and non-Jewish pupils in various countries.

6 Adele Geller, née Stahr (1890–1942); deported with her son Norbert Geller (1924–1942) to Izbica on 15 May 1942; both were shot on arrival there.

personally carried out all the necessary steps, also at the Israelite Religious Community, but so far with no success. As she *suffers from severe nervous strain* [and] after *major surgery* is verifiably unable to devote herself to this matter day and night, I ask that you treat her with special consideration in this case, for we are both weary and distraught. The children wander about – aimlessly – and without any perspective for the future. Want my elder son to be assigned *an* occupation and entrust to you the task of determining his future direction and his field of training.

Again ask that you attend to my case and send you my thanks in advance.

My wife's address is:

*Adele Geller, Vienna, 5th District,  
82 Schönbrunnerstraße*

The children's names are:

*Norbert Geller, Vienna,*

*born 13 April 1924*

*Richard Geller,<sup>7</sup> Vienna,*

*[born] 26 April 1927.*

The case of my son Norbert is especially pressing. My brother, Isidor Geller, Strasbourg, would like to take custody of him. His emigration is now the main concern. The fact that he is approaching the age of 15 makes this all the more urgent because afterwards he will have greater difficulty obtaining residency. Awaiting your reply,

I sign,

Respectfully,

(Note that the children have passports but no visas.)

DOC. 233

***Jewish Chronicle*, London, 6 January 1939: report on refugee camps  
in different European countries<sup>1</sup>**

*'No-Man's Land' Camps and Barracks for Jews.  
Mostly Result of Munich Pact*

There are at least twelve 'no-man's-land' refugee camps along the German, Slovakian, Hungarian, Polish, and other frontiers, and thousands of refugees are confined in barracks in fifteen isolation camps in Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland. This is shown by surveys of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and other Paris central relief organisations. Some of the camps have sprung up as a result of Germany's merciless expulsion of her Jews, but most of them are a direct result of the Munich Pact and the cession of territories to Germany, Hungary, and Poland.

Sixteen Jewish families in the 'no-man's-land' camp near the Sudeten town of Louny, and other similar scattered groups along the Czech-German frontier, live in ditches. The

<sup>7</sup> Richard Geller (1927–2007), physicist; emigrated to France, where in 1944 he became active in the Francs-Tireurs et Partisans resistance group; taught at the University of Grenoble, 1974–1985.

<sup>1</sup> JDC Archives, AR 33/44, 541. The original document is in English.

Red Cross has supplied them with tents and straw, but it has failed to obtain permission for them to enter Czecho-Slovakia. In the Pilsen region, a number of Jews live between the two frontiers in two separate camps near Manetin and Domlice. Near Brno, 128 Jews live under similar conditions, and over 200 German-Austrian refugees from Czecho-Slovakia live in a demolished factory in Ivance.<sup>2</sup>

Some 650 Jews live in the Belgian isolation camp at Merxplas and 750 in the camp at Marneffe, where they are being trained. Barracks were provided for them by the State, and heating and food are supplied by the Jewish organizations. In Switzerland, there are 900 refugees confined in about a dozen camps. They are maintained by local Jewish organizations.

The Dutch Jewish Community has had to deposit half a million guilders with the Dutch Government as a guarantee for the maintenance of the Jewish refugees in the camp at the Hook of Holland,<sup>3</sup> which has housing accommodation for 1,500 people.

The Jewish deportees from Slovakia who have for some weeks been stranded in 'no-man's-land' on the Slovak-Hungarian frontier have now been taken to specially-erected camps on both sides of the frontier (reports the Prague Correspondent of *The Jewish Chronicle*). Some of them have found homes with private families. The 'Hicem' is seeking to arrange their immigration to South America and Palestine, and that of the children (if of German or Austrian origin) to England. Funds for this object have been contributed by the local Jews and by the Lord Mayor of London's Fund for Czech Refugees.<sup>4</sup>

2 Correctly: Domažlice, Ivančice. From November 1938 the Czechoslovak state's Refugee Aid Institute (Ústav pro péči o uprchlíky) was responsible for refugees from the Sudetenland. Beyond that, private aid organizations also involved themselves in refugee relief, above all the Czechoslovak Social Democrats and different British foundations.

3 In Jan. 1939 the Dutch Ministry of the Interior resolved to set up three camps for illegal refugees, one of them initially in the Rotterdam school holiday camp in the Hook of Holland, and from April in a former slaughterhouse for sheep in the same town: Corrie Berghuis, *Joodse vluchtelingen in Nederland, 1938-1940* (Kampen: Kok, 1990), p. 225. In March 1940 the camp was officially dissolved, though approximately sixty to eighty refugees continued to live there until May for lack of an alternative: Bob Moore, *Refugees from Nazi Germany in the Netherlands, 1933-1940* (Dordrecht: Nijhoff, 1986), p. 88.

4 This appeal fund was established on 5 Oct. 1938 in Britain for the assistance of refugees from the Sudetenland; after three weeks the collection had already yielded £220,000: Ari J. Sherman, *Island Refuge: Britain and Refugees from the Third Reich, 1933-1939*, 2nd edn (Ilford: Frank Cass, 1994), pp. 145 and 153.

## DOC. 234

**On 9 January 1939 the Jewish Central Office in Stuttgart appeals to the Gestapo for the release of sick inmates from Dachau<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the Jewish Central Office, unsigned,<sup>2</sup> 15 Gartenstraße, Stuttgart, to the State Police Regional Headquarters in Stuttgart, dated 9 January 1939

Several protective custody detainees are still interned in the camp at Dachau, some of whose names we put forward for release several weeks ago. In most cases external illnesses (frostbite) may be the reason for their delayed return, as returning protective custody detainees have informed us.

The relatives of those left behind are now appealing to us constantly, asking whether it is permitted for detainees to be collected by truck from Dachau and brought into home care or to hospital for treatment. Reference is sometimes made to the fact that in Buchenwald, for example, it is permitted for detainees to be collected by truck.

We do not know the extent to which this request can be met, one which is certainly understandable from a human perspective. However, we venture to propose that the question be thoroughly investigated and clarified.

We enclose a list of the Jewish protective custody detainees whose relatives have contacted us as described above.<sup>3</sup> The list is certainly incomplete, as we could only cite the cases which have become known to us.

We would be much obliged if the matter were clarified soon.<sup>4</sup>

## DOC. 235

**At Hermann Göring's request, on 10 January 1939 the Reich Minister of the Interior stipulates that no one be denounced on account of having previous contact with Jews<sup>1</sup>**

Letter (confidential) from the Reich Minister of the Interior (I c 672/38/5u12), signed Frick, to the Reichsstatthalter (including Austria) and state governments outside Prussia (including Austria), dated 10 January 1939

Re: the Jewish question and denunciation.

During the discussion of the measures he has planned and ordered for the effective legal exclusion of Jews from the German economy and the utilization of Jewish assets for the goals of the Four-Year Plan<sup>2</sup>, one matter that Field Marshal Göring, as Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan, has mentioned is how it has recently been observed that *German*

1 Archives of the Leo Baeck Institute, New York, at the Jüdisches Museum Berlin, MF 572, reel 2, box 3, folder 1. This letter has been translated from German.

2 The initials K.A. appear at the end of the document, which is from the literary estate of Karl Adler.

3 This is probably a reference to the sheet after next in the file, listing eight persons by name with their dates of birth and addresses.

4 The file does not contain a letter of response.

1 BArch, R 58/276. This document has been translated from German.

2 See also Doc. 29, 26 April 1938, and Doc. 42, 14 June 1938.

Volksgenossen have been denounced because they once bought from Jewish shops, lived with Jews, or otherwise had a business relationship with Jews.

For all that it is necessary to properly enlighten the people with regard to the urgency of a general exclusion of Jews from the German economy, the spying on and denouncing of such cases that are often long past creates a situation that is disagreeable from every angle. For Field Marshal Göring, this situation is particularly liable to place obstacles in the way of the consistent and steady exertion required of all Germans in carrying out productive and essential tasks for the German nation as an absolute prerequisite for the implementation of the Four-Year Plan. He therefore wishes that every effort is made to put a stop to this dreadful state of affairs.

I hereby inform you of this matter, with the request that this order be followed and secondary authorities, communities, and associations be informed respectively. This circular decree is not to be published.

DOC. 236

**On 11 January 1939 the Department of German Studies at the University of Greifswald reports all books in its library holdings declared to be Jewish<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the Department of German Studies at the University of Greifswald, p.p. Meyer,<sup>2</sup> dated 11 January 1939<sup>3</sup>

Re: Jewish and Hebrew literature.

The following books were removed from the holdings of the library of the Department of German Studies on account of their being Jewish and contrary to the spirit of the Third Reich:

René Schickele,	<i>Heart of Alsace</i> . Fischer, Berlin 1927
idem,	<i>The Wolf in the Pen</i> . Fischer, Berlin 1931
idem,	<i>Maria Capponi</i> . Wolf, Munich, 1927
idem,	<i>Trimpopp and Manasse</i> . Berlin 1914
Johannes R. Becher,	<i>Of God</i> . Inselverlag, Leipzig 1921
Max Krell (editor),	<i>The Unfolding: Novellas for our Time</i> . Ernst Rowohlt-Verlag, Berlin 1921
Walden/Silber (editors),	<i>Expressionist Poetry from the World War to the Present Day</i> . Berlin 1932
Hans Mühle,	<i>The Proletarian Destiny: An Overview of Contemporary Workers' Poetry</i> . Gotha 1929
Franz Werfel,	<i>Verdi</i> . Berlin 1928

1 BArch, R 4901/15057, fol. 44r-v. This document has been translated from German.

2 Hans Meyer (b. 1914), German philologist; studied at university in Halle and Tübingen and, from 1936 to 1939, at the University of Greifswald; worked there from Jan. 1938 to Jan. 1939 as senior academic counsellor in the Department of German Studies.

3 The letter is in response to a request by the Reich Minister of Education on 17 August 1938 (W A 1797) to record the Jewish and Hebrew literature in all libraries for the purpose of academic analysis in the context of National Socialist research into the Jewish question.

idem,	<i>Poems</i> . Berlin 1927
Alfred Döblin,	<i>Lobenstein's Trip to Bohemia</i> . Müller, Munich 1917
Otto Julius Bierbaum,	<i>Prince Cuckoo</i> , 2 vols. Müller, Munich
Alfred Döblin,	<i>Berlin Alexanderplatz</i> . Fischer, Berlin 1929
Georg Kaiser,	<i>Gas: A Play</i> . Fischer, Berlin 1919
Hellmuth Kaiser,	<i>Franz Kafka's Inferno</i> . Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, Vienna 1931
Karl Bröger,	<i>Contemporary Workers' Poetry</i> . Berlin 1929
A. V. Lunat-Scharsky, <sup>4</sup>	<i>Russian Revolutionary Film</i> , 1929
Herbert Ihering,	<i>Reinhardt / Tessner / Piscator or the Death of the Classics?</i> Berlin 1929
W. E. Süskind,	<i>Mary and Her Servant</i> . Stuttgart/Berlin 1932
Schnitzler,	<i>Mrs Bertha Garlan</i> . ???
Jakob Wassermann,	<i>Alex in Babylon</i> . Fischer, Berlin 1905
idem,	<i>The Spirit of the Pilgrim</i> . Vienna 1923
idem,	<i>Melusine</i> . Langen, Munich 1896
Dr Max Hochdorf,	<i>The German Society of Theatre Employees</i> . Potsdam 1921

## DOC. 237

***Völkischer Beobachter*, 12 January 1939: article on a series of lectures  
at Berlin University, in which renowned academics justify anti-Jewish policy<sup>1</sup>**

*Academia in the battle against world Jewry*

*Series of lectures from 12 to 28 January at the University of Berlin*

*et*<sup>2</sup> Berlin, 11 January. At a press conference and on German radio, the president of the Reich Institute for History of the New Germany, Professor Walter *Frank*, spoke on Wednesday about a series of lectures taking place from 12 to 28 January at the University of Berlin which will treat the *Jewish question* from an academic perspective. There will be no entry fee, hence the lectures are open to everyone.

Today it seems almost self-evident that German academia is also making its contribution to the great *battle of the new Germany against world Jewry*. Yet it is only a few years ago that an unwritten law of the liberal age of academia – both German and international – prevented the Jewish question from being addressed at all by pledging alleged ‘objectivity’. This ‘objectivity’, however, mostly consisted of cowardice in the face of insights gained from the conclusions arising from research into the Jewish question.

4 Correctly: Anatoly Vasil'yevich Lunacharsky (1875–1933), Russian Marxist revolutionary and first Soviet People's Commissar for Education.

1 ‘Wissenschaft im Kampf gegen das Weltjudentum’, *Völkischer Beobachter* (Berlin edition), 12 Jan. 1939, p. 6. This article has been translated from German.

2 Probably the initials of the author.

The National Socialist academic community wishes to provide a weapon for the political struggle that can be deployed against the Jews alongside other political instruments. It is aware that research into the Jewish question is only one part of the complete National Socialist renewal, just as antisemitism within the National Socialist programme driven by racial-völkisch thinking is only one part of the big picture.

In order to support the political struggle against the Jews, the Reich Institute for History of the New Germany is now presenting itself to the German general public in a series of lectures from 12 to 28 January.

The results of rigorously academic research will be directly available for use in our nation's battle against world Jewry and will undoubtedly have a strong public impact, both here and abroad.

Professor Walter Frank will begin [the lecture series] on 12 January at 8 p.m. in the large auditorium of the Friedrich Wilhelm University in Berlin. He will be speaking on the topic 'Alfred Dreyfus – the Eternal Jew: On Being a Soldier and a Jew in France during the Third Republic'. On Friday, 13 January, at 8 p.m., Professor Gerhard Kittel<sup>3</sup> from Tübingen will be speaking on 'The Historical Prerequisites to the Racial Mingling of the Jews'; on Saturday, 14 January, at 8 p.m.: Professor Baron Otmar von Verschuer of Frankfurt am Main, on 'The Physical Characteristics of Jews'; on Tuesday, 17 January, at 8 p.m.: Professor Hans Alfred Grunsky<sup>4</sup> of Munich, on 'Baruch Spinoza: His Life and Work in Light of the Jewish Question'; on Wednesday, 18 January, at 8 p.m.: Dr Max Wundt<sup>5</sup> of Tübingen, on 'Jews in Philosophy'; on Thursday, 19 January, at 8 p.m.: lecturer Dr Karl Georg Kuhn of Tübingen, on 'The Talmud'; on Friday, 20 January, at 8 p.m.: Dr Karl Richard Ganzer of Munich, on 'Richard Wagner and the Jews'; on Saturday, 21 January, at 8 p.m.: Professor Friedrich Burgdörfer, on 'Jews in Germany and the World'; on Wednesday, 25 January, at 8 p.m.: Professor Kleo Pleyer<sup>6</sup> of Königsberg, on 'Jewish Capitalism'; on Friday, 27 January, at 8 p.m.: Dr Erich Botzenhardt<sup>7</sup> of Berlin, on 'The Political Rise of the Jews up to the Revolution of 1848'; and the series closes on Saturday, 28 January, at 8 p.m., with a lecture by Professor Walter Frank on the topic 'Apostata – the Eternal Jew: Maximilian Harden and the Jewish Position of Power in Imperial Germany'.

3 Dr Gerhard Kittel (1888–1948), theologian; professor in Greifswald, 1921, and in Tübingen, 1926; joined the NSDAP, 1933; co-founder of the Reich Institute for History of the New Germany, 1935, and employee at the Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question, from 1936; professor in Vienna, 1939–1943; imprisoned, 1945; pastor in Beuron, 1946–1948.

4 Dr Hans Alfred Grunsky (1902–1988), philosopher; joined the NSDAP, 1930; worked at the office for the ideological education and training of the NSDAP (Amt Rosenberg) from 1936; member of the Reich Institute for History of the New Germany; appointed by Hitler as professor of philosophy in Munich, 1937; dismissed in 1945; co-founder of the Freie Akademie, which advocated *völkisch* religion. Author of works including *Der Einbruch des Judentums in die Philosophie* (1937).

5 Dr Max Wilhelm August Wundt (1879–1963), philosopher; professor in Marburg, 1918, in Jena, 1919, and in Tübingen from 1929; became a member of the Erfurt Academy of Public Sciences, 1936; retired, 1945.

6 Dr Kleophas Pleyer (1898–1942), politician and historian; took part in the Beer Hall Putsch, 1923; joined the Sudeten German National Socialist Party in Prague, 1925; professor in Königsberg, 1937, and in Innsbruck from 1939; member of the Reich Institute for History of the New Germany.

7 Correctly: Dr Erich Botzenhart (1901–1956), historian; editor of the works of Baron vom Stein, 1931–1937; employee, 1935, and from Oct. 1943 acting head of the Reich Institute for History of the New Germany; professor in Göttingen, 1939–1945; administrator of the Stein Archives at Cappenberg Castle and head of research at the Freiherr-vom-Stein League from 1945; took his own life.

## DOC. 238

**Report for the World Jewish Congress, dated 14 January 1939,  
on conditions for Jews in the Free City of Danzig<sup>1</sup>**

Report, unsigned, undated<sup>2</sup>

*Free City of Danzig, 1938.*

*I. The status of the Jews in relation to the state.*

*(a) Legislation issued in 1938.*

(1) The so-called Aryanization legislation was introduced *by means of the Regulation for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour of 21 November 1938*<sup>3</sup> in Danzig. By and large the regulation follows the Nuremberg Laws. It gives the legal definition of German race legislation. It deprives Jews of their right to vote on political matters and excludes them from public office. It prohibits Jews from hoisting the state flag. Female 'Aryan' staff under the age of 45 are not to be employed in Jewish households! Marriage between Jews and non-Jews is prohibited, and sexual relations outside marriage is punished! By violating the Danzig constitution as guaranteed by the League of Nations, this law essentially puts Danzig Jews in the same position as German Jews.

(2) *The regulations of 21 December regarding the possession of weapons and the amendment of the tax law for income, assets, and inheritance*<sup>4</sup>

are an extension of the race legislation to the extent that Jews are prohibited from owning and purchasing firearms, cut and thrust weapons, and ammunition. Tax benefits, in particular deductions for people with children, will also cease to apply to Jews in the future.

(3) *The regulation of 23 September 1938 regarding the amendment of the ordinance on the issuance of a physicians' code on 1 September 1933*<sup>5</sup>

introduced the revocation of those doctor's licences that are no longer valid in the state in which they were issued. All Jewish doctors in Danzig who acquired their licence when Danzig was a part of the Reich have therefore lost their licences and are excluded from practising this profession.

*(b) The attitude of the authorities towards the Jewish population and towards Jewish problems.*

The attitude of the authorities towards the Jewish population is clearly characterized by the fact that Danzig has a National Socialist government that receives its instructions from Berlin. The League of Nations has either not intervened or such interventions have yielded no results.

1 AJA, World Jewish Congress Collection, Series A: Central Files, Subseries 2: Executive Files, 1920, 1931-1974, box A22, file 12, Jewish situation reports 1938. This report has been translated from German.

2 Written for the meeting of the executive board of the World Jewish Congress in Paris, 1 to 16 Jan. 1939.

3 *Gesetzblatt für die Freie Stadt Danzig*, 1938, pp. 616-617.

4 Regulation on the Amendment of the Tax Law for Income, Assets, and Inheritance, 10 Dec. 1938, published on 21 Dec. 1938, *Gesetzblatt für die Freie Stadt Danzig*, 1938, pp. 716-717; Ordinance on Weapons, 13 Dec. 1938, published on 21 Dec. 1938, *Gesetzblatt für die Freie Stadt Danzig*, 1938, pp. 709-713.

5 *Gesetzblatt für die Freie Stadt Danzig*, 1938, pp. 486-487.

Even before the race legislation was announced, the practical approach of the authorities was clearly focused on the destruction or emigration of Danzig Jewry. For years the Jewish population has been living under the greatest pressure from the authorities, which in practice were already following the Nuremberg Laws before they were officially introduced. Jews were already excluded from all official positions. Doctors and lawyers were subjected to the worst kind of bullying when practising their professions. Even before they were excluded from their professions, Jewish doctors were practically excluded by the administrative procedures of the statutory health insurance companies. The business life of the Jewish population in Danzig was characterized by a heightened boycott, officially supported with all available means, as well as by arbitrary administrative measures targeting Jewish business owners (arrest, fiscal pressure), which has led to the ruin and emigration of a large part of the Jewish population. In particular, this caused important Jewish grain and seed trading to disappear completely from Danzig during the reporting year. Similarly, any timber trading in Jewish hands has moved from Danzig to Poland. At the same time, bank deposits of Danzig Jews were frozen.

On 17 December 1938 the entire Jewish population of Danzig was summoned to the large Danzig synagogue in the presence of the Danzig police authorities to discover that the emigration of all Jews from Danzig is to be carried out as soon as possible and that every Jew has to prepare for emigration.<sup>6</sup> Due to this ultimatum from the Danzig authorities, the Jews of Danzig are currently winding up their affairs.

(c) *Attitude towards foreign Jews.*

The attitude of the authorities towards foreign Jews living in Danzig is marked by the fact that there are a large number of Polish Jews living in Danzig, who, because of the Polish–Danzig Treaty of 1920, are accorded the same rights as the citizens of Danzig.<sup>7</sup> Nonetheless, the administrative practice towards the Polish Jews is similar to that towards Danzig Jews. Although when the race legislation was introduced it was clearly established that the regulations applied only to subjects of Danzig, the ultimate demand to leave the country was also directed at Polish Jews, and has led to protests from the Polish government.<sup>8</sup>

*II. The situation among the Jews.*

The Jews of Danzig are incorporated within the synagogue community of Danzig, which represents Jewish interests in dealings with the authorities. In the reporting year in particular it was in charge of the entire Jewish welfare sector. It has set up Jewish schools and cultural organizations and it supports the emigration of the Danzig Jews with all means available.

<sup>6</sup> The Jewish Community sought to assist the emigration of its members with all means available, including illegal ones. The Danzig Senate promised to support the matter if Jews publicly declared themselves willing to leave the city. This happened at the meeting mentioned here.

<sup>7</sup> In the treaty ratified on 9 Nov. 1920, Poland and Danzig agreed to apply the protection of minorities in the Free City.

<sup>8</sup> In the weeks following the November pogroms, the Polish government protested several times to the Danzig Senate against anti-Jewish policies, which also affected Polish citizens and violated the laws of the Free City. It held the Danzig Senate responsible, among other things, for the destruction and looting of Polish-Jewish shops, as the Danzig police had failed to protect them during the pogrom. See the letter from the diplomatic representative of the Republic of Poland, Chodacki, to

### III. The Jewish population.

No new statistical information regarding the Jewish population was published in the reporting year. In 1936 the Jewish population was estimated to be 9,000, of whom 2,300 were subjects of Danzig and the remaining part chiefly Polish nationals. In the meantime, the number has dropped significantly as a result of emigration. Today it is estimated at 4,500 to 6,000.

#### DOC. 239

### On 16 January 1939 the Reich Minister of Economics instructs municipal pawnbrokers on how to proceed with the jewellery and valuables of Jewish emigrants<sup>1</sup>

Circular from the Reich Ministry of Economics (V Dev. 3/1774/39), p.p., signed Dr Schlotterer, to the municipal pawnbroker institutions of Berlin, Bamberg, Chemnitz, Breslau, Darmstadt, Dortmund, Dresden, Düsseldorf, Erfurt, Frankfurt am Main, Hamburg, Hanover, Karlsruhe, Kassel, Cologne, Königsberg, Leipzig, Mannheim, Munich, Nuremberg, Stettin, and Stuttgart and the pawn office in Vienna (Dorotheum), dated 16 January 1939

Re: the securing for the Deutsche Golddiskontbank of duties imposed on Jewish emigrants via the deposit of jewellery and valuables.

In consultation with the Reich Minister of the Interior I request that jewellery and valuables from Jewish emigrants be taken into safekeeping according to the following conditions until the procedures of the public purchasing offices established in accordance with § 14 of the Regulation on the Utilization of Jewish Assets, dated 3 December 1938 – *Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 1709<sup>2</sup> (§ 5 of the implementing regulation of 16 January 1939, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 37<sup>3</sup>) – have been finalized:

(1) The emigrant must produce notification from a foreign currency office proving that he is required to pay a Reichsmark fee to the Deutsche Golddiskontbank.

(2) By signing a form (attached as Enclosure 1<sup>4</sup>) issued to him by the foreign currency office, the emigrant must provide authorization to the pawnbroker:

(a) To sell the jewellery and valuables deposited in due course to the designated public purchasing offices listed in the regulation of 3 December 1938.

(b) To retain 5 per cent of the proceeds obtained as a safekeeping and administration fee.

(c) To transfer the fee from the proceeds obtained to the Deutsche Golddiskontbank, Department for Additional Exports, Berlin C 111, as designated in the notification from the foreign currency office.

(d) To pay any remaining sum in Reichsmarks into a credit account for emigrants at a foreign exchange bank.

the head of the Senate of the Free City of Danzig, Arthur Greiser, 3 Dec. 1938, PA AA, R 103 961. The editorial of the *Danziger Vorposten* on 14 Nov. 1938 rejected any differentiation between German and Polish Jews and called for the removal of all Jews from Danzig.

1 BArch, R 3101/34.741, fol. 1r–v. This document has been translated from German.

2 See Doc. 193, 3 Dec. 1938.

3 § 5 of the implementing regulation of 16 Jan. 1939 stated that the Reich Ministry of Economics was to regulate the procedure of the purchasing offices regarding works of art, in consultation with the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda.

4 The cited enclosures 1 and 2 are not printed here.

I request that care be taken to ensure that the fee stipulated in the form matches the fee set by the currency office.

(3) A certification (see the form attached as Enclosure 2) in duplicate regarding the deposit and its estimated value is to be issued to the emigrant – one copy for the emigrant and one to be submitted to the currency office. The following are to be entered as the estimated value: for precious metal items, the highest price set for the precious metal; for diamonds, precious stones, and pearls, 60 per cent of the sum that could be paid out as a loan when pawning the goods.

I request that the jewellery and valuables deposited be brought under my control in due course and that the proceeds obtained [from the sale] in Reichsmarks in accordance with points 2(b)–(d) be placed at my disposal. The reference code of the currency office should be quoted when making transfers to the Deutsche Golddiskontbank.

DOC. 240

**On 17 and 18 January 1939 Nahum Goldmann records his impressions of talks with representatives of the League of Nations regarding legislation on Jews in Danzig<sup>1</sup>**

Note, undated and unsigned<sup>2</sup>

Report on Dr Goldmann's discussions in Geneva on 17 and 18 January 1938 during the council meeting of the LN.<sup>3</sup>

I was only able to stay in Geneva for 1½ days and in my various meetings focused on the Danzig question, the Romania question,<sup>4</sup> and the refugee problem.

Regarding the *Danzig* matter I saw members of the Committee of Three, Mr Sandler (the Swedish minister of foreign affairs) [and] Mr Makins (the English member), and I had a lengthy telephone conversation with the French member.<sup>5</sup>

1 AJA, The World Jewish Congress Collection, Series A: Central Files, Subseries 1: Organizational History and Activities, 1919–1970, box A1, file 1, Government interventions in: Austria, Czechoslovakia, Danzig, Poland, and Romania, 1936–1939. This document has been translated from German.

2 Parts of the original are annotated and underlined by hand.

3 League of Nations.

4 In 1938 the Romanian government had revoked the citizenship of several hundred thousand Romanian Jews and ordered the closure of numerous Jewish organizations. As a result, in early 1939 the Jewish World Congress urged the League of Nations to intervene in favour of the denaturalized Jews. See also Doc. 13, Feb. 1938, fn. 2.

5 In 1936 the Council of the League of Nations founded the Committee of Three, consisting of representatives from Britain, France, and Portugal (later also Sweden). Its task was to examine petitions before deciding whether to officially present them to the council. It also checked whether the terms of the Treaty of Versailles were also applied in Danzig. In Jan. 1939 the members of the committee, who were from the Council of the League of Nations, were: Rickard Sandler (1884–1964), teacher and social democratic politician (Swedish prime minister, 1925–1926, and minister of foreign affairs, 1932–1939; president of the Assembly of the League of Nations, 1934); Sir Roger M. Makins (1904–1996), lawyer and diplomat (from 1928 worked in the UK Foreign Office, in 1939 as head of the West Europe division; British ambassador to the USA, 1952–1957); and the French minister of foreign affairs, Georges Bonnet (1889–1973).

I also saw the high commissioner for Danzig, Professor Burckhardt.<sup>6</sup>

I protested to all of them in the strongest terms regarding the League of Nations authorities' silent tolerance of Aryan legislation in Danzig and the actual expulsion of the Jews. I told the gentlemen that we understand that the Council of the League of Nations cannot effectively change anything regarding the situation, as it is powerless. However, they have to do everything in their power to prevent their passive attitude from being interpreted as tacit consent, which would set a dangerous example for the antisemitic governments of Eastern Europe.

In concrete terms I demanded that the League of Nations cancel its guarantee of the constitution of the Free City of Danzig and recall the high commissioner of Danzig as the guarantor of the constitution.

The members of the Committee of Three and Professor Burckhardt had a great deal of sympathy for this argument. Mr Sandler and Professor Burckhardt in particular declared frankly that they also consider the current situation to be untenable and completely understand that the guarantee of the constitution of Danzig cannot be upheld for much longer.<sup>7</sup> When I came to Geneva, the members of the Danzig committee<sup>8</sup> were considering constituting a legal committee to investigate whether the Nuremberg legislation is a flagrant violation of the constitution. I protested in the strongest terms against this farce of requiring an expert legal report to establish that the Nuremberg legislation is indeed a flagrant violation of the democratic constitution of Danzig. The idea of the legal committee was then dropped. However, the Committee of Three, particularly under English influence as it seems, could not resolve to annul the guarantee of the constitution and recall the high commissioner, as Poland and Germany had apparently expressed the wish that the high commissioner, whose task is also to mediate between Germany and Poland in matters regarding Danzig, should remain for the time being, at least until the Danzig question is settled between the two states on the occasion of Ribbentrop's visit to Warsaw on 26 January.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, new elections of the Volkstag (the Danzig parliament) are due to take place in Danzig in a few weeks, whereupon the Danzig Nazis want to alter the constitution in line with their totalitarianism.<sup>10</sup> The

6 Dr Carl J. Burckhardt (1891–1974), publicist and historian; professor in Zurich, 1929, and in Geneva, 1932–1937 and 1939–1945; League of Nations high commissioner in Danzig, 1937–1939; president of the International Committee of the Red Cross, 1944–1947; Swiss envoy to France, 1945–1949.

7 The League of Nations guaranteed the constitution of Danzig dating from 11 August 1920. As a result of the increasing alignment of Danzig's legislation with that of the German Reich (including the adoption of the Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour on 21 Nov. 1938), the British and French governments considered revoking the guarantee and recalling the high commissioner from Danzig. However, the guarantee formally remained in force until the expulsion of the high commissioner from Danzig on 1 Sept. 1939. See Doc. 238, 14 Jan. 1939.

8 The Committee of Three is meant here.

9 Joachim von Ribbentrop (1893–1946); started his career as a retailer; joined the NSDAP in 1932 and the SS in 1933; from 1934 foreign policy advisor to Hitler (Ribbentrop Office); ambassador in London, 1936–1938; Reich minister of foreign affairs, 1938–1945; arrested in 1945; sentenced to death at the Nuremberg trials and executed. Ribbentrop's visit to Warsaw on 26 Jan. 1939 was part of the German attempt to include Poland in a pact against the Soviet Union and to achieve an agreement regarding Danzig and the Polish Corridor.

10 There were no new elections to the Danzig Volkstag prior to the incorporation of the Free City of Danzig into the German Reich on 1 Sept. 1939. The Danzig Senate cancelled the elections already called for Feb. 1939. The last elections had taken place on 7 April 1935.

Committee of Three was of the opinion that this would then be the right moment to withdraw the League of Nations guarantee, because of course the League of Nations can neither approve nor guarantee a totalitarian constitution.

The communiqué finally published by the Committee of Three for Danzig<sup>11</sup> is therefore a compromise between our demands and the original intentions not to undertake anything further at this moment. The communiqué states that violations of the constitution have occurred in Danzig (without it being specified that the Aryan legislation was meant), that the committee is monitoring the development of the situation and will soon convene a new meeting (this means the moment after amendments are made to the constitution by the Danzig Volkstag), and that the Danzig high commissioner will be on leave of absence for the time being and not return to Danzig. This communiqué represents a partial success of our endeavours, but is not satisfactory. We have therefore written again to the members of the Committee of Three expressing our disappointment about this decision. What we have accomplished at least is that the question has actually been posed. The annulation of the League of Nations guarantee is likely to take place within a few weeks.

DOC. 241

***Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, 20 January 1939: the Reich Representation of Jews in Germany announces the establishment of a transit camp for refugees in England<sup>1</sup>**

*Transit camp in England*

The Reich Representation of Jews in Germany announces the following:

Endeavours of the Reich Representation to aid and accelerate emigration have led to the setting up of a transit camp<sup>2</sup> in England, initially for 3,000 and later for up to 5,000 Jews from Germany, including Austria, in an existing barracks camp in Richborough (Kent). The camp is to provide temporary accommodation for men aged between 18 and 35, in exceptional cases up to 45, whose emigration is imminent and whose onward migration overseas or to Palestine is certain but only feasible after a minimum of three or a maximum of nine months. A further requirement is that a provisional stay elsewhere is not possible.<sup>3</sup>

11 The communiqué of the Committee of Three was published on 19 Jan. 1939. It established that the Danzig Senate's regulations against the Jews contradicted the constitution of Danzig. However, there was neither an explicit condemnation of the regulations nor a recalling of the high commissioner.

1 'Durchgangslager in England', *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, 20 Jan. 1939, p. 1. This document has been translated from German. This newspaper appeared twice a week from Nov. 1938 to 1941 as the bulletin of the Reich Representation (Reichsvertretung) of German Jews, from June 1939 the Reich Association (Reichsvereinigung) of Jews in Germany. It was censored by the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda.

2 English in the original, followed by the German equivalent, *Durchgangslager*, in parentheses.

3 The camp set up by the Council for German Jewry, named the 'Kitchener Camp', housed 3,500 male emigrants and former concentration camp prisoners. After the outbreak of the war the camp was turned into a training camp for the Pioneer Corps – an unarmed section of the British Army.

The people accommodated in the transit camp are to be prepared for their placement, and for physical work in particular, in their destination country.

The Reich Representation of Jews in Germany has taken on the task of selecting Jewish emigrants to be sent abroad from the Old Reich (at first 2,000), in cooperation with the Jewish migration organizations (Relief Association,<sup>4</sup> Palestine Office) as well as the communal and district welfare offices.

Registrations for the transit camp are *to be made exclusively at the corresponding local emigration advisory centres of the Relief Association of Jews in Germany or, if the destination of the final migration is Palestine, to be submitted to the appropriate local branches of the Palestine Office*. These offices will issue the prescribed questionnaire to those seeking camp admittance, to be filled in completely accurately, and will inform them of further requirements to be met. After verification by the Reich Representation, the applications will be sent to a commission that has been specially established in order to make the final decision. The decision will be made as quickly as possible and applicants will be notified of the decision immediately. At the same time they will receive further necessary information.

In order to rule out cases of avoidable disappointment and so as not to unduly burden the selection process, *no* communications should be submitted that do not completely fulfil the aforementioned requirements for admittance to a transit camp, especially as in the interest of a fair distribution from the individual districts it is understandable that only a limited number of applications can be accepted. Furthermore, the Reich Representation requests that applicants refrain from direct written correspondence as well as from visits and calls. As a matter of principle, such enquiries cannot be answered as this would only delay the institution's work.

Places in the transit camp<sup>5</sup> resulting from further migration are to be successively filled with new emigrants from Germany who fulfil the conditions described.

DOC. 242

**On 21 January 1939 Mrs D., who is looking for an apartment in Berlin, expresses her hopes that leases to Jewish tenants will be terminated<sup>1</sup>**

Handwritten letter from Mrs D., Berlin, to her husband in Leipzig, dated 21 January 1939

My dearest sweetheart,

Today, Saturday, I came home from my search for an apartment as early as 2:30, as my legs simply couldn't carry me any more and I had a splitting headache. I've got to give myself some rest today and tomorrow, otherwise I won't be able to cope with the strain. A trip with the Reich school is mere child's play compared with the stress of apartment hunting. I've just received your humorous letter by special delivery, sweetheart, which really cheered me up and chased away the blues. Now for some news about the

4 Relief Association of Jews in Germany.

5 English in the original.

1 AdK, Kempowski-Biographenarchiv, 1786. This letter has been translated from German.

two apartments. First of all I looked at the apartment for RM 95 on Stubenrauchplatz. I really liked the layout of the apartment; only a few things need doing. The façade makes a pretty shabby and dilapidated impression; but even this shortcoming, along with RM 95 rent for March and the immediate proximity to Schloßstraße with its bustle and traffic couldn't prevent me from visiting the landlord straightaway on Konstanzer Strasse, near Fehrbellinerplatz. I found my way to an office with several employees, as the landlord owns a number of houses. As I described my plight to one of the employees there and he then told me that fifteen Jews are still living on Konstanzer Straße, for instance, in one of his houses, and that they are all expected to terminate their leases before long, I slowly forgot all about the apartment on Stubenrauchstraße. An apartment on Konstanzer Straße, 3 rooms with a pantry, hot water, heating, and a lift for RM 125. *Grand* houses – I could be happy forever there. I left him my address and asked him to think of me if a 3½, 4, or 4½-room apartment came up; then I went up and down all the side streets off Konstanzer Straße. Firstly, loads of Jews are still living there at the moment and, secondly, a bus goes down Konstanzer Straße to Zehlendorf. Plus, in these streets each house is even grander than the next; the Jews certainly knew how to pick the nicest districts. A very friendly porter woman in one of these buildings promised me that if any Jews hand in their notice on the lease, she will write to me immediately. A grand building with hot water, central heating, a lift, 4 rooms with a pantry for RM 135, and 5 rooms with a pantry for RM 150. Of course I promised the woman a reward for this. I'd be happy to pay RM 15 to get such an apartment in such a posh, quiet street. Yes, my sweetheart, these are real gems! On average a 4½ to 5-room apartment costs RM 155–220. With my questioning and searching I also came across an apartment in a central location on Düsseldorf Straße for 155 marks, a *grand* building, hot water, a lift, central heating, but on the *ground floor*. There aren't any shops below the apartment, my dearest. You can say that the apartment is really at ground level. I think, if I were alone, I would be afraid in that apartment. Apart from that, the sun never shines into the ground floor, as tall trees are planted all along the street. There are no shops anyway in these buildings, my love. Yes, it's just really difficult; every apartment has its drawbacks. But this particular apartment was so nice that I simply can't get it out of my head. The apartment was completely renovated two years ago, too. It's a real beauty.<sup>2</sup>

You're bound to say so yourself that the apartment is unique in its construction. There is hardly anything nicer than this. Most apartments have such an ugly and impractical layout that you wonder whether a cobbler built them!<sup>3</sup>

2 In the original, a small sketch of the floor plan of the apartment is added here.

3 Partly illegible note in the margin: 'It is [...] to me in these difficult circumstances we just have to take it immediately [...].'

## DOC. 243

**On 24 January 1939 Hermann Göring orders the founding of the Reich Central Agency for Jewish Emigration<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan, signed Göring, to the Reich Minister of the Interior, dated 24 January 1939 (copy)

The emigration of the Jews from Germany must be advanced by all possible means.

In the Reich Ministry of the Interior a Reich Central Agency for Jewish Emigration will be set up, composed of representatives of the departments involved. The Reich Central Agency will undertake the following tasks, consistently across the entire Reich territory:

1. To carry out all measures to *prepare* an intensified emigration of the Jews, including the establishment of a suitable Jewish organization for the standardized preparation of immigration petitions abroad. To do everything in its power to obtain the provision of domestic and foreign funding and its appropriate utilization, and to determine suitable destination countries for emigrants in cooperation with the Reich Office for Emigration Affairs.<sup>2</sup>

2. To *channel* the emigration, also ensuring the preferential emigration of poorer Jews.

3. To speed up the emigration process in *individual cases* through the central processing of emigration applications by obtaining the necessary state identification papers and certificates required for each individual emigrant and by monitoring the enforcement of the emigration.

The Chief of the Security Police will be in charge of the Reich Central Agency.<sup>3</sup> He will appoint the manager and direct the management of the Reich Central Agency.

I will be informed of the Reich Central Agency's work on an ongoing basis. My opinion must be sought before any significant measures are taken. Apart from the representatives of the departments otherwise involved, Envoy Eisenlohr,<sup>4</sup> as the plenipotentiary for official negotiations between states, and Ministerial Director Wohlthat, as the plenipotentiary for the negotiations on the Rublee plan, will both belong to the committee.<sup>5</sup>

1 BArch, R 58/276, fols. 195–196, published in Hans Buchheim, Martin Broszat, Hans-Adolf Jacobson, and Helmut Krausnick, *Anatomie des SS-Staates* (Munich: dtv, 2005 [1967]), pp. 594–595. This document has been translated from German.

2 The Reich Office for Emigration Affairs (Reichsstelle für das Auswanderungswesen) in Berlin, with branches in several German cities, had been founded in 1902 as the Central Information Bureau for Emigrants (Zentralauskunftsstelle für Auswanderer). The authority fell under the remit of the Reich Ministry of the Interior as the Reich Migration Office (Reichswanderungsamt), 1919–1924, and subsequently as the Reich Office for Emigration Affairs, 1924–1945.

3 Reinhard Heydrich.

4 Ernst Eisenlohr (1882–1958), lawyer and diplomat; from 1911 in the diplomatic service, with postings in cities including Sao Paulo, Lisbon, and Belgrade; envoy in Athens, 1931, and in Prague, 1935; worked at the Reich Foreign Office in Berlin, 1939–1943; mayor of Badenweiler, 1946–1955.

5 The Reich Central Agency for Jewish Emigration (Reichszentrale für jüdische Auswanderung) was assigned a committee that in its working meetings in the Gestapo Central Office (Gestapa) discussed the activities of the Reich Central Agency, the progress of Jewish emigration, and anti-Jewish policy. On the Schacht–Rublee Plan, see Introduction, p. 48, Doc. 207, 20 Dec. 1938, and Doc. 230, 1 Jan. 1939.

## DOC. 244

**On 25 January 1939 the Reich Foreign Office outlines to the German representations abroad the importance of the 'Jewish question' for foreign policy<sup>1</sup>**

Reich Foreign Office circular (83–26 19/1), p.p. signed Legation Counsellor Schumburg,<sup>2</sup> to all diplomatic and consular offices abroad, dated 25 January 1939 (copy)

*Content:*

*The Jewish question as a foreign policy factor in 1938.*

1. German policy on Jews as a requirement and consequence of foreign policy decisions made in 1938
2. The aim of the German policy on Jews: emigration
3. Means, routes, and destinations of the Jewish emigration
4. The emigrated Jew as the best propaganda for the German policy on Jews.

It is surely no coincidence that the fateful year 1938 and the implementation of the Greater German idea has brought the Jewish question closer to its solution, as the policy on Jews was a requirement as well as a consequence of the events of 1938. The penetration of Jewish influence and the subversive Jewish mindset in politics, the economy, and culture has done more perhaps to cripple the resurgence of the energy and will of the German people than the power-political hostility of the former alliance of enemy powers in the World War. Curing the racial corpus of this disease was therefore one of the most crucial requirements for the physical effort that enforced the union of the Greater German Reich against the will of the world in 1938.

The necessity of a radical solution to the Jewish question came about as a consequence of foreign policy developments, which in addition to the 500,000 Jews by faith living in the Old Reich brought in a further 200,000 from Austria. The Jewish influence, which had grown out of all proportion in the Austrian economy under the Schuschnigg system, made immediate measures necessary, aimed at excluding Jews from the German economy and utilizing Jewish assets in the interest of the general public. The course of action taken, as recrimination for the murder of Legation Counsellor vom Rath, has speeded up the process so much that Jewish retail trade – still with the exception of foreign businesses – has completely disappeared from the German high street.<sup>3</sup> The liquidation of Jewish warehouses and manufacturing businesses and of the ownership of property and land in Jewish hands is gradually being advanced in such a way that in the foreseeable future there will no longer be any talk of Jewish ownership in Germany. It

1 PA AA, R 104 791, published in *Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik 1918–1945*, series D: 1937–1945, vol. 5, pp. 780–785. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Emil Schumburg (1898–1961), lawyer; in the Reich Foreign Office from 1925, with postings in cities including Paris, Stockholm, and Oslo; specialist for Jewish affairs in the Reich Foreign Office, 1936–1940; head of the department dealing with Germany from June 1939; joined the SS in 1936 and the NSDAP in 1938; in the administration of the Reich commissioner for the occupied Norwegian territories, April 1940; representative of the Reich Foreign Office with the military commander for northern France, June 1940; head of the Reich Foreign Office bureau in Cracow, 1943–1945; interned until 1948; classified as 'exonerated' in denazification proceedings, 1949.

3 On the prohibition of Jewish retail and skilled craft enterprises after the assassination of vom Rath and the November pogroms, see Doc. 143, 12 Nov. 1938.

should be noted, however, that this is not a case of the confiscation of Jewish assets without compensation, as for example church property was confiscated during the French Revolution. The expropriated Jews receive Reich bonds for their property and are entitled to the interest on these.<sup>4</sup>

The final objective of German policy on Jews is the emigration of all Jews living on Reich territory. It is foreseeable that the far-reaching economic measures that have already transferred the Jews 'from earning a living to retirement' will further the will to emigrate. Looking back on the last five years since the seizure of power, it can certainly be seen that neither the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service nor the Nuremberg Jewish laws with their implementing provisions, which prevented every tendency of the Jews to assimilate, have significantly contributed to the emigration of German Jews. On the contrary, every period of domestic calm gave rise to such a return flow of Jewish emigrants that the Gestapo saw no other option than to place returning Jewish migrants with a German passport into an instructional camp for political monitoring.<sup>5</sup>

The Jews had been excluded from politics and culture. But until 1938 the Jew's economic position of power in Germany and thereby his tough will to keep going until the advent of 'better times' remained unbroken. Characteristic for these tactics of a stalling resistance is the programme of a newly founded Jewish party in Poland to fight all Polish measures aimed at the emigration of Jews.<sup>6</sup> As long as the Jew was still able to make a living in the German economy, in the eyes of Jews worldwide there was no need to give up the Jewish bastion in Germany.

The Jew, however, underestimated the consistency and power of National Socialist thinking. As in the case of the state system in Central Europe, created in Versailles to suppress Germany, the Jewish position of power in Vienna and Prague also collapsed in 1938. With its racial legislation Italy sided with Germany in the battle against Jewry.<sup>7</sup> In Bucharest a specialist on the Jewish question, Professor Goga, took over the government with a programme directed against the Jews,<sup>8</sup> though without being able to succeed in resisting the overwhelming international pressure from Paris and London. In Hungary and Poland, Judaism was subjected to special legislation.<sup>9</sup> Everywhere now, even in far-flung states, like the tremors of an earthquake, the German foreign policy success of Munich is shaking up the solid position Jews have held for centuries.

It is also understandable if the Jews of the world 'who have chosen America as their headquarters' perceive the Munich Agreement, which according to the American view

4 With the help of the Reich bonds the Jews were *formally* compensated for their property, but in reality they were not allowed to cash in these bonds.

5 See Doc. 266, 17 March 1939.

6 In the communal elections of 18 Dec. 1938 the General Jewish Labour Bund party, which had positioned itself against the mass emigration of Jews from Poland, significantly gained votes in comparison to the Zionists. The party mentioned here could be the Democratic Alliance (Stronictwo Demokratyczne), whose organizational committee was constituted in June 1938; the constituent assembly, however, did not take place until April 1939.

7 On anti-Jewish legislation in Italy, see Doc 106, 14 Oct. 1938, fn. 10.

8 On anti-Jewish legislation in Romania, see Doc. 13, Feb. 1938, fn. 2.

9 On the laws in Hungary, see Doc. 26, 13 April 1938; on the situation in Poland, see Doc. 106, 14 Oct. 1938, fn. 12.

signals the collapse of the democratic front in Europe, as their own defeat. For the system of parliamentary democracy has, as experience has shown, always helped the Jews to achieve wealth and political power at the cost of the host nations. For the first time in modern history, the Jews must now vacate a previously secure position.

The decision to do this was not reached until 1938. It found expression in the attempt by the Western democracies, in particular the United States of America, to now place the final decision regarding a Jewish retreat from Germany, i.e. the migration of the Jews, under international control and protection. The American president Roosevelt, 'who is known to be surrounded in his inner circle by a wide range of supporters of the Jewish race', already convened a conference of states in mid 1938 to discuss the refugee question. The conference, held in Evian, did not produce any particularly concrete results.<sup>10</sup> Both questions, the answers to which create the precondition for an orderly Jewish migration, remain open: first, the question of *how* this migration is to be organized and funded, and, second, the question of *to where* the migration should be directed.

The international Jewish community in particular did not seem inclined to contribute to answering the first question. Instead, the conference – and the committee it later formed under the leadership of the American Rublee in London – regarded it as its main task to place international pressure on Germany to force it to release Jewish assets to the greatest possible extent. Hence, [the view was that] Germany should pay for the migration of its 700,000 Jews by relinquishing German national assets. It is to be doubted whether international Jewry can seriously wish for the mass emigration of its race out of Germany and other states without the equivalent of a Jewish state. The tactic followed in Jewish proposals so far at any rate aims less at the mass emigration of Jews than at the transfer of Jewish assets.

It is self-evident that the transfer of even just a fraction of the Jewish assets would be impossible for foreign currency reasons. The funding of a mass emigration of German Jews is therefore as yet not clarified. In response to questions raised during discussions it should be said that the German side expects that international Jews – in particular the relatives of emigrated Jews – would also firmly support the migration campaign just as their destitute cousins enabled immigrants to come to Germany at a time when Germany's weakness could not stem the flow of Ostjuden. It can at any rate be proved from police and tax files that the greater mass of Jews arrived as immigrants in Germany without means and accumulated wealth within a few years or decades, whereas the German people lost property or become unemployed as a result of the tribute [reparations] stipulations of the Treaty of Versailles. From the German perspective, therefore, there is no understanding for the sympathy with which the allegedly humanitarian world is bewailing the expropriation [from the Jews] of property taken from the German people through Jewish business methods.

The second question, regarding the destination countries to which an organized migration of the Jews should be guided, could also not be answered in Evian, as, despite professing underlying sympathy, each of the countries involved declared itself incapable of taking large numbers of Jewish immigrants into its own territory due to the refugee

<sup>10</sup> For more on the conference in Evian, see Doc. 59, 8 July 1938, and Doc. 64, 16 July 1938.

problem. After over 100,000 Jews from Germany had found their way abroad either legally or illegally in the years 1933/34<sup>11</sup> and had managed to settle in a new host land with the help of their Jewish relatives living abroad, or with the pity of those circles with humanitarian inclinations, almost all the countries of the world have since hermetically sealed their borders to the bothersome Jewish intruders. For the time being, the problem of Jewish mass migration has thus practically come to a standstill. Many states have already become so cautious of Jews entering their country quite normally with German passports that they are demanding a certificate from the German authorities that there is nothing to stop them from returning. The migration movement of only around 100,000 Jews has already sufficed to rouse many countries' interest in, if not their understanding of, the Jewish threat. We can imagine that the Jewish question will grow to be a problem of international politics if large numbers of Jews from Germany, Poland, Hungary, and Romania are caused to migrate by increasing pressure from their host nations. For Germany too, the Jewish question will not be solved even when the last Jew has left German soil.

Today it is already an important task for German politics to control the flow of Jewish migration and to steer it whenever possible. However, there is no reason to cooperate with other states such as Poland, Hungary, and Romania, which themselves are striving to bring about the migration of the Jewish parts of their populations. Experience has shown that similar interests compete in this process, thus restricting the fulfilment of Germany's urgent claim to having German Jews accepted in destination countries.

The Romanian government has admittedly addressed an official appeal to the Reich government, under the motto of human ethics and justice, to work together on an international campaign for the solution to the Jewish problem.<sup>12</sup> Yet, on the other hand, Poland issued a decree at the end of October last year, the implementation of which would have made it practically impossible for 60,000 Jews of Polish nationality living in Germany to return to Poland.<sup>13</sup> As is known, the Reich government then had to decide to deport around 16,000 Jews of Polish nationality, whose families will follow them, back to Poland shortly before the Polish decree came into force. – The Hungarian government has shown understanding for German policy on Jews to the extent that it has voluntarily held out the prospect of the Aryanization of Jewish-Hungarian businesses in Germany, i.e. the replacement of Jewish owners with Hungarian nationalists.<sup>14</sup> In general, however, what can be seen is that the self-seeking interest of the states in question regarding the deportation of parts of their own people takes precedence over any international solution. Germany will therefore take the initiative at the outset to find ways, means, and destinations for Jewish migration from Germany.

11 Between 52,000 and 60,000 Jews actually left Germany in 1933; however, only 37,000 of them left permanently. It is estimated that 23,000 Jews emigrated in 1934: Herbert A. Strauss, 'Jewish Emigration from Germany: Nazi Policies and Jewish Responses', *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book*, vol. 25 (1980), pp. 313–361, here pp. 326–327.

12 On 7 Dec. 1938 the Romanian government had proposed to several other governments that a Jewish state be founded in which the Jews of Romania, Poland, and other Eastern European countries would be settled.

13 See Docs. 112 and 113, 28 Oct. 1938.

14 This could not be verified.

Palestine, already declared by popular opinion to be a destination for immigrants, is not an option for Jewish emigrants because of its limited capacity to take in a mass influx of Jews. Under pressure from Arab resistance, the British Mandate government has limited Jewish immigration to Palestine to a minimum. From the German side, the emigration of German Jews to Palestine was at first broadly supported by the signing of an agreement with the Jewish representation in Palestine, allowing the transfer of Jewish assets by means of additional exports (Haavara Agreement). Apart from the fact that this method only allowed a small number of wealthy Jews but not the masses of impoverished Jews to emigrate, foreign policy issues were also an obstacle to this form of emigration: the transfer of Jewish assets from Germany contributed considerably to the construction of a Jewish state in Palestine. Germany must, however, see a danger in the creation of a Jewish state which could only absorb a fraction of the Jews, but which also in a miniature form would constitute a similar platform for action for world Jewry as the Vatican State does for political Catholicism. Recognition of the fact that the world Jews will always be an irreconcilable opponent of the Third Reich forces one to the conclusion that any strengthening of the Jewish position must be prevented. A Jewish state would afford the Jews of the world greater power under international law. Alfred Rosenberg<sup>15</sup> formulated these thoughts as follows in his speech in Detmold on 15 January this year:

Jews are striving today for a Jewish state in Palestine. Not, however, in order to give a home to all the Jews of the world, but rather for other reasons. The Jews of the world need to have a miniature state so they can send exterritorial envoys and representatives to all countries of the world, thus driving forward their desire to dominate. Chiefly, however, what they want is a Jewish centre, a Jewish state in which all the Jewish impostors hunted by the police of other countries of the world can be accommodated, issued with new passports, and then sent to other parts of the world. It is desirable that the friends of the Jews in the world, particularly the Western democracies who have so much space throughout the world, accord the Jews an area of their own outside Palestine, *however, not with the purpose of establishing a Jewish state, but instead of establishing a Jewish reservation.*<sup>16</sup>

That is the orientation of Germany's foreign policy stance regarding the Jewish question. From the German side there is a greater interest in maintaining the fragmentation of Judaism. The calculation that flashpoints for boycotts and anti-German centres may arise all over the whole world ignores the development that can currently be observed. That is to say, the influx of Jews into all parts of the world is meeting with the resistance of the native populations and is therefore the best piece of propaganda for German policy on Jews.

15 Alfred Rosenberg (1893–1946), architect and illustrator; joined the German Workers' Party (DAP) in 1919, the SA in 1921, and the NSDAP in 1925; took part in the Beer Hall Putsch, 1923; editor-in-chief, 1923–1924 and 1926–1937, and editor, 1938–1945, of the *Völkischer Beobachter* newspaper; head of the Foreign Policy Office of the NSDAP, 1933–1945; plenipotentiary of the Führer for the supervision of the entire intellectual and ideological training and schooling of the NSDAP (Amt Rosenberg), 1934–1945; Reich minister for the occupied eastern territories, 1941–1945; sentenced to death at the Nuremberg Trials in 1946 and executed; author of works including *Der Jude* (1918) and *The Myth of the 20th Century* (1982 [1930]).

16 'Alfred Rosenberg über Juden und Kirchenfrage', *Völkischer Beobachter* (northern German edition), 16 Jan. 1939, p. 2.

In North America, in South America, in France, in Holland, Scandinavia, and Greece – wherever the Jewish migrant stream is pouring in, antisemitism is already clearly on the rise today. It has to be the task of German foreign policy to support this antisemitic wave. It will be fulfilled less through German propaganda abroad than the propaganda the Jew is forced to adopt for the purposes of his defence. Its impact will ultimately work against the Jew. The reports of the German foreign authorities prove the correctness of this interpretation.

Press and official coverage from North America reports continuously on anti-Jewish rallies among the population. Perhaps it is symptomatic of the development of domestic policy in the USA that the throngs of listeners of the prominent anti-Jewish ‘radio preacher’ Coughlin have grown to over 20 million.<sup>17</sup> – The embassy in Montevideo reported on 12 December last year ‘that the Jewish influx has been going on week after week for months – it is evident that antisemitism is on the rise here’. – Salonica reported on 30 November 1938 ‘that there are forces at work stirring up hatred against the Jews’ and at the same time that Greek Freemasons are trying to stem the antisemitic movement.

In France, the Paris City Council was tasked with discussing a motion in April this year on the basis of which the naturalization of Jews is to be rejected in future.<sup>18</sup> The discussion of the Jewish question ended in a brawl among the speakers at the debate. – From Lyons it was reported on 20 December last year: ‘The immigration of Jewish refugees has recently led to unpleasantness here. The general aversion towards the new intruders in France, for reasons of business and competition, is unmistakable.’ – This aversion has swelled so much in the meantime that a Jewish defence against antisemitism has been organized in France (report from Paris, 19 November last year). – The embassy in The Hague reported on 30 December last year: ‘Under the impression of the many emigrants from Germany who are swarming all over Amsterdam in particular, antisemitism in Holland is increasing rapidly. If this continues, it could be the case not only that the Dutch gain understanding for the German stance towards Jews, but also that they desire to deal with them as we are doing.’ – The embassy in Oslo reported on 8 April last year:

Whereas a few years ago the high streets of Oslo were barely tarnished by the sight of Jews, a significant change has taken place of late. On the streets, in restaurants, and particularly in cafes the Jews sit clustered together in ghastly clumps. Norwegians are being increasingly pushed out. The Norwegian press, which previously had no understanding of the Jewish question, has suddenly noticed what it means when the children of Israel swoop down on a country one day like a swarm of locusts. This is a salutary lesson for Norway.

17 Charles Edward Coughlin (1891–1979), Catholic priest; the most heard radio preacher in the USA in the 1930s; gave increasingly antisemitic addresses; at Roosevelt’s instigation banned by Archbishop Edward Mooney from speaking and writing on political matters in 1942; community priest in Detroit until 1966.

18 The motion was submitted by Louis Darquier de Pellepoix, later Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs in the Vichy government. He demanded that all Jews, regardless of whether they were French citizens or immigrants, be given the status of foreigners and that their economic and cultural activities be restricted: Michael Marrus and Robert Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), p. 44.

These examples from the press coverage of foreign authorities can be repeated ad infinitum. They confirm the accuracy of the expectation that criticism of the measures to exclude Jews from German Lebensraum, measures that, due to a lack of facts, are not understood in many countries, is a temporary phenomenon and will turn against the Jews themselves as soon as, on closer inspection, the public realizes what the Jewish threat means for their stock. The poorer and therefore more burdensome the immigrant Jew is for the country of immigration, the stronger the host country will react, and therefore the more desirable the effect in the interests of German propaganda. The objective of this German approach is to provide an international solution to the Jewish question at a future time, one which is dictated not by false pity for the 'displaced religious Jewish minority', but rather by the mature realization by all peoples of just what a threat the Jews pose to the ethnic stock of the nations.

DOC. 245

**On 26 January 1939 the mayor of Friedrichstadt writes to the Landrat in Schleswig to approve the sale of Jewish property below its market value<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the mayor of Friedrichstadt as the local police authority,<sup>2</sup> unsigned, to the Landrat in Schleswig,<sup>3</sup> dated 26 January 1939

In the original resubmitted to the Landrat in *Schleswig*,  
with an enclosure.

Here there are no reservations of any kind regarding the Aryanization of the Jewish property belonging to *Meier*.<sup>4</sup>

Although its rateable value amounts to RM 13,600, the purchase price of RM 10,000 can be considered reasonable because a corresponding depreciation occurred through the damage caused on 10 November 1938.

(2) In the original to the Landrat in *Schleswig*,  
returned with an enclosure.

There are no reservations whatsoever regarding the Aryanization of the Jewish property belonging to H. D. *Levy*.<sup>5</sup>

1 Stadtarchiv Friedrichstadt, M 14. This document has been translated from German.

2 Albin Rühling (1889–1964) initially held the post of town administrator in Friedrichstadt, before serving as its mayor from May 1938 to Sept. 1945.

3 Hans Kolbe (1882–1957), career officer; retired from active service as a vice admiral, 1934; joined the NSDAP in 1934; Landrat in Schleswig from 1934; Gau office head of the Reich Colonial League from 1936; served with the SD in 1941; served as a wartime replacement for Landräte in Eckernförde, 1941–1943 and 1944–1945; interned in the Gadeland camp, 1945–1946; initially classified as a 'follower' during denazification proceedings, but exonerated on appeal.

4 Leopold Meier (b. 1893) ran a retail shop at 6 Am Markt in Friedrichstadt; deported to Minsk on 8 Nov. 1941; his subsequent fate is not known.

5 Correctly: Nesanel David Levy, owner of a textile shop at 10 Westerhafenstraße; its manager was Bruno Levy (b. 1890), retailer, who emigrated to Brazil in 1939.

The difference between the rateable value and the purchase price (5,770 versus RM 5,000) can be considered reasonable because a depreciation occurred through the damage caused on 10 November 1938.

(3) in *Schleswig*,

returned with an enclosure.

The Jewess *Falk*<sup>6</sup> purchased the residential property several years ago for a sum of RM 8,000. Its rateable value of RM 13,900 no longer reflects its actual value because the house's structure has been badly neglected for several decades, and because it has changed owners frequently. The Jewess also allowed the house to fall into even greater disrepair, so that the present fair market value is estimated to be RM 6,000 to 7,000. The house was not damaged on 10 November 1938 because Eberhardt<sup>7</sup> had already taken ownership of the property beforehand. There are no reservations whatsoever regarding its Aryanization.

#### DOC. 246

#### Oscar Schloss describes his departure from Germany on 26 January 1939<sup>1</sup>

Submission by Oscar Schloss<sup>2</sup> to a Harvard University competition (1940).

[...] <sup>3</sup>

We set off on the twenty sixth of January. We passed Heidelberg, and I probably will never see my birthplace any more, never more will I be able to visit the places where lie my parents and my brother!

We met the doctor<sup>4</sup> in Karlsruhe. While passing Baden-Baden woeful tears came to the eyes of my wife as she remembered the beautiful times spent there. After a short journey we arrived in Kehl where our papers and luggage were to be examined. Our train was to stop for about an hour before we continued to travel to Strasbourg. There the doctor's brother and his wife, a cousin of my wife's, were to meet us. As no visas

6 Viola Falk, née Heymann (b. 1885); moved to Hamburg in 1935 following the death of her husband Baruch Falk, and married a Mr Lewinski there. Her subsequent whereabouts are not known. The property was located at 3 Am Markt, Friedrichstadt.

7 Probably Johannes Eberhardt (1865–1955), retailer; proprietor of a retail shop in Friedrichstadt; worked part-time as a property manager.

1 Oscar Schloss, 'Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und nach dem 30. Januar 1933' [My life in Germany before and after 30 January 1933] (1940), pp. 134–138, Harvard Competition, no. 201. The original document is in English.

2 Oscar Schloss (b. 1875), wholesaler; managed several companies in Heidelberg, Dresden, and Berlin, 1922–1930; salaried employee in Berlin, 1930–1932; emigrated to the USA in 1939 via Paris, Brussels, Dover, and London.

3 The entire report comprises 150 pages and was sent from New York City. In the first part, Schloss reports on his youth, his apprenticeship, his travels in Europe and in the USA, and his experiences managing several wholesale companies and as a reservist in the First World War. In 1936 and 1937 he worked in Frankfurt am Main as a travelling salesman. Due to his age, he was not arrested during the November pogroms.

4 Oscar Schloss used the title 'the doctor' to refer to a physician friend from Frankfurt am Main who decided in early 1938 to emigrate to the USA together with Schloss and his wife: *ibid.*, pp. 103 and 116.

were granted for France, and our train was not an international express-train, we were the only passengers to be examined.

Firstly we had to wait about an hour till the customs-officers were good enough to receive us. We were not unhappy about this delay, believing that the remainder of time would be too short for a thorough examination of our luggage. Although we had the official statement that we could take along this luggage and having nothing with us besides, everybody is generally more or less nervous while crossing a frontier, and this crossing was an especially significant one.

We knew that the examinations at all German borders were very peculiar for Jewish emigrants, but what we lived to see in Kehl exceeded all limits! The farewell to Germany was made to us 'very easy', just because it turned out so 'very hard!'

Four officers occupied themselves with us exclusively. All our papers were in a spacious portfolio as of course we needed many statements; we had letters of recommendation and letters of value with us. This portfolio – to begin with – was a special attraction to the customs-officers. Two of them occupied themselves with it, looked and read through every single paper, every letter, and took some of them as the contents seemed suspicious to their minds. Of course it would have been silly to take any paper along which would create the slightest difficulties, but the instructions of these officers seemed to be of such type that they were obliged to find fault with as many things as possible. The examination of our papers had so far taken up more than half an hour; the third officer and a woman who had to examine the lady-passengers were sitting around idle as my wife and the doctor were; no bag or suit-case had been touched as yet. Our train had left already, and when we took the liberty to call the attention of the officers to that fact we were scornfully informed that further trains would leave for Strasbourg during the evening and night!

Finally my portfolio had been examined, and now it was the turn of the doctor's papers. Whilst nothing – besides some confiscated harmless letters – had been found among my papers, the doctor's papers produced more excitement among the gentlemen, and they called an S.S.-man for assistance. This half-grown youth took the doctor to the Gestapo, which had its quarters in another room of the station. A simple photocopy of his driving-license which had to be given up by all Jews a while ago excited these scoundrels, and they alleged that it was a forgery! It took quite a time till the doctor returned, pale as a sheet. The S.S.-man threw the papers on the floor and disappeared, having previously made some impudent remarks.

In the meantime I had been taken into a cell where I had to strip myself entirely. The officer examined my pockets, the lining of my clothes, my shoes and everything where anything could possibly be hidden. Afterwards he searched my scanty hair, probed between my toes (probably for jewels!) and left no part of my body unexamined. I had to control my feelings in order not to beat down this rascal.

My wife who was examined by the female officer in a cell has been treated in a more reasonable manner; this woman seemed to have a small rest of human feeling and of dignity. She told my wife that she would have to examine her bags and suit-cases minutely in the presence of the officers but that she would do no harm whatever.

When I returned from the cell, the doctor was about to get ready with his luggage and disappeared to the French customs-house, which is just next door. My wife followed soon[,] whilst my luggage was being still examined most carefully and the contents were

being thrown about so that it took me quite a time to get ready. When I still had one foot on the German side of the customs-house I couldn't keep back the remark: 'Finis coronat opus!'<sup>5</sup> The head-officer who obviously believed that I was greeting him answered: 'Heil Hitler!' That was the last word which I heard in Germany!

If there was still in us the least bit of regret on leaving Germany it would have disappeared after the unworthy treatment which we had undergone. But there was nothing of the sort in our minds, and when the French customs-officer asked me politely: 'Est ce que vous avez quelque chose a déclarer?', all I could have been able to declare was that I was thankful to the Providence which had allowed me to leave this wretched country. The French customs-officer did not even open a single piece of my luggage, he trusted my words more than my former compatriots had done; he dismissed me with a charming: 'Bon voyage!'

## DOC. 247

***Deutsche Steuer-Zeitung und Wirtschaftlicher Beobachter:*  
article dated 28 January 1939 on the Levy on Jewish Assets<sup>1</sup>**

*The Levy on Jewish Assets*

By Regierungsrat *W. Donandt*,<sup>2</sup> Berlin, Reich Ministry of Finance  
Contents:

1. The Atonement Fine Regulation of 12 November 1938
2. General information on the implementation of the Atonement Fine Regulation
3. Personal tax liability
4. Substantive tax liability
5. Valuation
6. Payment of the Levy on Jewish Assets
7. Payment from physical assets
8. Taking securities as payment
9. Taking real estate as payment
10. Concluding remarks

1. *The Atonement Fine Regulation, 12 November 1938*<sup>3</sup>

After the Paris murder, Field Marshal *Göring* as Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan issued the *Regulation on an Atonement Fine for Jews [of German Nationality] of 12 November 1938* (Atonement Fine Regulation), which imposed on Jews the payment of a

5 Latin: 'The end crowns the work!' (Ovid).

1 'Die Judenvermögensabgabe', *Deutsche Steuer-Zeitung und Wirtschaftlicher Beobachter*, 28 Jan. 1939, pp. 78–84. This document has been translated from German.

2 Walter Rudolf Ferdinand Donandt (1904–1998); Regierungsrat and later Oberregierungsrat in the Reich Ministry of Finance; served intermittently as a captain in the war, August 1939–1943; probably moved to Liegnitz in Upper Silesia, 1944; released from British captivity, 1946; later Ministerialrat in the Federal Ministry of Transport.

3 See Doc. 142, 12 Nov. 1938.

contribution of 1 billion Reichsmarks. This regulation is based on the right reserved by the Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan in § 7 of the Regulation on the Registration of Jewish Assets of 26 April 1938 (Registration Regulation)<sup>4</sup> to take those measures necessary to ensure that Jewish assets are used in a way that corresponds with the interests of the German economy. The measures taken on the basis of this provision *prior* to 12 November served first and foremost the *de-Jewification of the German economy*. The sole purpose of the Atonement Fine Regulation of 12 November is to '*decisively resist and severely punish*' the *hostile attitude of Jewry* towards the German people and Reich.

The atonement fine could, in general, only be imposed on those members of the Jewish race who as subjects of the German Reich fall under German sovereignty (see section 3). If the German Reich had furthermore levied the atonement fine on Jews of *foreign* nationality domiciled on its territory, this would have brought about difficulties in terms of foreign policy. If the *atonement* could therefore only affect a limited section of Jewry, then it is the *most effective defensive measure* of all against the hostile attitude of Jewry. It shows world Jewry that the German Reich is not willing to tolerate its attacks and will exact *retribution* on those members of the Jewish race who are in its reach.

## 2. General information on the implementation of the Atonement Fine Regulation

In the Atonement Fine Regulation, the Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan stipulated that the *Reich Minister of Finance*, in consultation with the Reich minister concerned, has the responsibility for enacting implementing provisions for the collection of the contribution. After consultation with the Reich Minister of Economics and the other participating Reich ministers, the Reich Minister of Finance issued the *Implementing Regulation to the Atonement Fine for the Jews of 21 November 1938*.<sup>5</sup> The task of collecting the contribution is herein transferred to the *tax offices*. The tax offices are thus being deployed right on the front line in the battle of the National Socialist Reich against Jewry.

In accordance with the implementing regulation, the contribution of 1 billion Reichsmarks shall be *apportioned* among the Jews *on the basis of their assets*. That means that the *fixed sum* of 1 billion Reichsmarks is to be raised on the basis of the assets belonging to persons liable to pay. This made it possible to *simplify* the *provisions* determining the atonement fine to be paid by individual persons. It can be assumed that if individual persons pay too little, it will be necessary to raise these outstanding sums from among the entire group of persons affected as long as the total sum of 1 billion Reichsmarks has not yet been reached.

*The Levy on Jewish Assets is an atonement fine and not a tax.* The sole reason why § 9(2) of the implementing regulation provides for the *mutatis mutandis* application of the Reich Tax Code, the Tax Adjustment Law, and the Tax Delinquency Law is to simplify the tax offices' work. The aim is to adapt the procedure for collecting the Levy on Jewish Assets to the administrative apparatus of the tax practice. Apart from the laws mentioned, the *tax laws*, in particular the Reich Valuation Law,<sup>6</sup> *shall not be applied* directly (for further information, see section 5).

4 See Doc. 29, 26 April 1938.

5 The Implementing Regulation to the Atonement Fine (*Sühneleistung*) for the Jews included sections on, policies and procedures concerning the basis of assessment, the amount and method of taxation, and the scope of the tax offices' authority: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, pp. 1638–1640.

The tax office in the district in which the taxable person has his place of residence or his habitual residence is responsible for collecting the Levy on Jewish Assets. In districts in which the personal taxes of taxable persons are assessed by a different tax office than the tax office of their place of residence pursuant to special directives issued by regional tax directors, the regional tax directors are authorized to regulate responsibility for the Levy on Jewish Assets accordingly. Solely the Moabit-West Tax Office in Berlin is responsible for taxable persons whose place of residence or habitual residence was *abroad* when the Atonement Fine Regulation of 12 November 1938 was issued.

An *assessment procedure* is *not* foreseen in the implementing regulation. However, experience with the collection of the first instalment of the Levy on Jewish Assets shows that the work of the tax offices when it comes to determining the Levy on Jewish Assets is often *tantamount* to an assessment procedure. Although § 4(3) of the implementing regulation mandates that payments towards the Levy on Jewish Assets shall be made without the receipt of a special request for such payment, it has proved expedient in particular in the interests of an effective handling of cash to *issue an assessment notice*. The tax office, however, is under no *obligation* to issue such a notice unless the taxable person *files a request* (§ 9(3) of the implementing regulation).

In line with the need to *expedite* the collection procedure, § 9(5) of the implementing regulation allows only the *grievance procedure* and not the appeal procedure when decisions of the tax offices are contested. Moreover, for the purpose of expediting the *recovery procedure*, § 9(6) of the implementing regulation makes an exception to the general provisions of the Reich Tax Code concerning enforcement, stipulating that it is permissible to *institute* the enforcement action *even if* the taxable person was not sent a demand for payment and *even if* a period of a week has not elapsed.

The procedural provisions governing the *deferral and abatement* of taxes shall be applied *mutatis mutandis* to the Levy on Jewish Assets. The Reich Minister of Finance has issued individual directives through *administrative orders* (see section 4) in order to make it easier for the tax offices to determine whether equitable considerations are appropriate. The Reich Minister of Finance has also reserved for himself the right in certain cases to *abate payment* of the Levy on Jewish Assets *on equitable grounds*.<sup>7</sup> When applying equitable considerations to the Levy on Jewish Assets, it is essential that the tax should constitute *atonement* and that each such atonement should have a considerable impact on the person concerned. On the other hand, it should be noted that the amount abated for the individual taxable person must be raised from among all of the *remaining taxable persons*. The reduction of the Levy on Jewish Assets in individual cases will therefore not be made at the expense of the German Reich. The tax office may generally grant a *deferral* provided that a request is filed for this, and compelling reasons are presented for the deferred payment. In view of the fact that arrangements concerning the

6 The Reich Valuation Law (16 Oct. 1934) laid down rules concerning tax collection in the Reich: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1934, I, pp. 1035–1049.

7 The principle of abatement of taxes on equitable grounds had its origins in the Reich Tax Code of 13 Dec. 1919 and stipulated that a complete or partial remission of tax debt was possible if, for example, the economic livelihood of the parties concerned was under threat: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1919, I, pp. 1993–2100.

instalment on 15 December could not be made until shortly before the due date, it will be possible to retroactively grant a deferral if the delay in payment appears excusable.

The penal provisions of the Reich Tax Code shall also be applied to the Levy on Jewish Assets. Any taxable person who evades his tax liability or obtains unjustified benefits by fraudulent means shall consequently be prosecuted for evasion of the Levy on Jewish Assets in accordance with § 396 of the Reich Tax Code (see section 7).<sup>8</sup> Punishment may be imposed by administrative penal procedure.

### 3. Personal tax liability

All Jews of German nationality are liable to the levy, irrespective of whether they reside in Germany or abroad. All Jews of foreign nationality, as specified in section 1, have no tax liability. Because the atonement fine is aimed at Jewry in its entirety and only limits its scope of application insofar as an individual Jew stands under the sovereignty of a foreign power, it was logical to include stateless Jews within the category of taxable persons in the implementing regulation. However, for reasons of expediency, the tax shall not be collected from a stateless Jew whose place of residence or habitual residence is outside Germany.

Every Jew has tax liability for himself alone. Accordingly, § 2 of the implementing regulation stipulates that in the case of mixed marriages only the Jewish spouse shall have tax liability (see section 4).

The term 'Jew' is defined according to the well-known provisions of the Reich Citizenship Law and its implementing regulations. According to these the Jewish profession of faith shall be the deciding factor only where *Mischlinge* are concerned, and then only in very special cases. A non-Jew who has professed the Jewish faith can never be deemed a Jew. Accordingly, the non-Jewish wife, for example, who has joined the Jewish religious community shall not be liable to the tax.

The day on which the Atonement Fine Regulation was issued, 12 November, shall be decisive in determining personal tax liability. One is to regard the end of 12 November as the exact point in time that is decisive in determining personal tax liability. A Jew who died on the course of 12 November or who acquired foreign nationality on 12 November shall therefore not be subject to the tax.

### 4. Substantive tax liability

The atonement fine is levied as a tax on assets. The total value of assets – both those assets in Germany and those held abroad – on 12 November 1938 shall be decisive in determining the amount of tax. The exact point of time for determining asset value, just as in the case of personal tax liability, is the end of 12 November. The assets of the spouse and children are not to be included in the assets of the taxable person. The tax liability shall lapse if the value of assets subject to the tax does not exceed 5,000 Reichsmarks (§ 3(4) of the implementing regulation).

In order to spare the tax offices difficulties in determining the level of tax (see section 2), § 3(2) of the implementing regulation stipulates that the assets that the taxable person reported pursuant to the Registration Regulation of 26 April 1938 are to be used as the starting point for the determining the total value of assets.<sup>9</sup> Liabilities and changes

<sup>8</sup> § 396 of the Reich Tax Code of 22 May 1931 laid down the penalties for tax offences: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1931, I, pp. 161–222.

<sup>9</sup> The reference is to the Regulation on the Registration of Jewish Assets. See Doc. 29, 26 April 1938.

occurring up to 12 November shall be taken into account. Upon issuance of the implementing regulation it was assumed that the Jews had largely fulfilled their duty pursuant to § 5 of the Registration Regulation, according to which they are required, of their own accord, to *report any changes in their assets* unless the changes result from appropriate lifestyle or regular business operations. This assumption has generally proven to be incorrect. Experience thus far has shown that the large majority of the taxable persons submitted a notification of changes, or even multiple notifications of changes, only *after the implementing regulation had been issued*. Among the notifications of changes there are some cases in which the total value of assets declared was substantially lower than that declared on 27 April 1938 (see section 5). In order to enable the tax offices to *conclusively assess* the Levy on Jewish Assets, the Reich Minister of Finance has instructed the tax offices to take into account only those *notifications of changes submitted up until 31 December 1938* for the purposes of the Levy on Jewish Assets. If the notifications of changes submitted prove that the taxable person knowingly made a false declaration with regard to asset value in the *registration* of his assets pursuant to the Registration Regulation, the tax office shall refer the matter to the Public Prosecutor's Office so that it can institute criminal proceedings pursuant to § 8 of the Registration Regulation.

Registrations and notifications of changes made by the Jews pursuant to the *Registration Regulation* were used for the *first time* on the occasion of the collection of the Levy on Jewish Assets. One should bear in mind, however, that the Registration Regulation was *not* issued for the purpose of levying a tax on the Jews, but rather to facilitate, in general, the *deployment of Jewish assets* in the interests of the Germany economy. It is for this reason that the *higher administrative agencies* and not the tax offices are responsible for receiving the registrations and notifications of changes. This responsibility must be designated. The individual Jew should fully understand when submitting his registration or his notification of changes that the German Reich is continuously monitoring his assets and reserves the right to take further action. He should not think that the declarations he makes are the same as tax returns. This is the basis of the instruction, which is frequently misinterpreted, that stipulates that the notifications of changes submitted to a tax office are to be returned to the taxable person with instructions to submit the notification of changes to the higher administrative authority.

The question as to what the individual taxable person should *include* as assets shall be determined in accordance with the provisions of the Tax Adjustment Law, in particular the provisions in §§ 1, 6, 11, and 12 of the same law.<sup>10</sup> However, in order to spare the tax offices complex investigations, *outward legal arrangements* should *initially* be taken as the starting point. If a Jew transfers his assets to his non-Jewish spouse prior to the end of 12 November in a way that is formally correct and there are no grounds for believing that the transfer is a sham transaction, then the disposal of the assets shall be taken into account when calculating the Levy on Jewish Assets. The same shall apply even if the Jew transferred these assets in anticipation of a tightening of legislation on Jews.

<sup>10</sup> § 1 of the Tax Adjustment Law of 16 Oct. 1934 stipulated that tax laws were to be interpreted in accordance with the National Socialist world view; § 6 prohibited the abuse of 'methods and alternatives from civil law' for the purpose of providing tax relief; §§ 11 and 12 laid down taxation rules governing the attribution of economic assets and family endowments: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1934, I, pp. 925-941.

Nevertheless, in such a case there are often grounds for doubting *whether* the assets are *actually* henceforth to be attributed to the spouse in accordance with the principles set forth in the Tax Adjustment Law. This shall not be the case if the Jew retains internal control of the management of the enterprise that he transferred outwardly to his non-Jewish spouse. In some cases a transfer that seems unobjectionable in itself might have been done under promise of compensation, such as in the form of a pension. It would then be necessary to include the entitlement to compensation among the Jew's assets.

Non-Jews who are *entitled or expect* to purchase a Jew's assets due to legal or actual circumstances *cannot bring* their interests to bear. Anything that has happened, or should happen, to the assets after 12 November 1938 *cannot* be taken into account when calculating the Levy on Jewish Assets. If, however, contracts, arrangements, and the like were concluded shortly after 12 November, it is necessary to ascertain whether the agreements between the parties had already been so firmly in place at the end of 12 November that one can speak of them as being concluded, even if they are not yet formally in order. The same shall apply to unilateral debt obligations of a taxable person.

According to the Registration Regulation, a Jew's entire assets are generally subject to the registration requirement. The provisions set forth in §§ 67 and 68 of the Reich Valuation Law,<sup>11</sup> according to which certain economic assets are not to be treated as miscellaneous assets when making an assessment of wealth tax, *shall not apply to the Registration Regulation*. According to the Registration Regulation, solely for reasons of expediency *household effects* and those movable objects intended exclusively for the *personal use* of the person subject to registration are not to be treated as assets. This exception shall not apply to such household effects and objects of personal use that are luxury items. Pursuant to § 3(2) of the implementing regulation, assets *subject to the registration requirement* shall serve as the basis for the *Levy on Jewish Assets*.

It follows that the capitalized value of those pension claims mentioned in § 68 of the Reich Valuation Law (claims from social insurance, old-age pension entitlements, entitlements to war-disabled and supplementary pensions, and entitlements based on statutory support obligations) is subject to the Levy on Jewish Assets. Taking into account the fact that in most cases it would be impossible for the recipients of such pensions to pay a levy of a fifth of the capitalized value, a general order has been issued for reasons of equity, stating that the provisions set forth in § 68(1-6) of the *Reich Valuation Law* shall *apply accordingly to the Levy on Jewish Assets*. This shall also apply to the decision as to whether the total value of assets exceeds the tax-free amount of 5,000 Reichsmarks. However, should such a pension claim be later released through a lump-sum payment, it thus seems legitimate to collect a fifth of the amount of the lump-sum payment for the Levy on Jewish Assets, because the equitable considerations undertaken have proven to be without substance.

<sup>11</sup> § 67 of the Reich Valuation Law defined the term 'miscellaneous assets' (*sonstiges Vermögen*), which included capital claims, saving deposits, bank deposits, and foreign currency holdings. § 68 specified those economic assets that were not to be treated as miscellaneous assets, such as pension and insurance claims or entitlements to lump-sum payments: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1934, I, pp. 1035-1049.

### 5. Valuation

The *fair market value on 12 November 1938* shall be decisive in the valuation of the individual economic assets that are subject to taxation. Although the provisions of the Reich Valuation Law do not apply to the Levy on Jewish Assets, it will still be necessary to *follow the valuation principles* of the Reich Valuation Law when determining the fair market value of the economic assets for the Levy on Jewish Assets. According to these, the fair market value is, in general, to be determined according to the price for which the economic asset in question could be *acquired* in the ordinary course of business (saleable value). With regard to the valuation of securities and shares and of capital claims and debts, the fair market value is to be determined according to the guidelines set forth in §§ 13 and 14 of the Reich Valuation Law.<sup>12</sup>

*Actual sales proceeds* shall be taken into account only insofar as they were realized in the *regular* course of business. The sales transactions that have occurred over the last several months as part of the de-Jewification of the German economy *cannot* be regarded as regular business transactions. These transactions have been influenced to a large degree by personal circumstances, namely, the necessity for Jews to sell within a short period of time. This has been especially true for landholdings. In the *registrations* made pursuant to the *Registration Regulation*, in which assets were to be reported according to their status on 27 April 1938, the real estate of Jews subject to the registration requirement is listed in many cases with a value far *exceeding* the assessed value of 1 January 1935. This is partly explained by the fact that the Jews expected that their landholdings would be expropriated and hoped that the information they provided would be taken into account when determining the amount of compensation. It was often the case, however, that the reported value corresponded to the *appreciation in the value* that the landholdings had achieved in the opinion of the Jew subject to the registration requirement. The measures taken by the Reich commissioner for price setting in the real estate market are proof that since 1935 a general appreciation in the value of landholdings has actually occurred to a certain extent. Such an appreciation in value has been particularly noticeable since 1935 in *landholdings situated in large cities*, to which the Law on the Restructuring of German Cities applies.<sup>13</sup> Thus, if there are *notifications of changes* submitted for the Levy on Jewish Assets in which real estate is reported at a *lower* value than the assessed value of 1935, this information is to be received with extreme caution. Real estate can only be reported at a value lower than the assessed value of 1935 if price records or the like show indisputably that a depreciation in the value of real estate has occurred in the area in question. There can be, however, only a few exceptional cases where this is true. *Generally speaking, the fair market value of landholdings on 12 November 1938 exceeds the assessed value of 1935.*

The provisions set forth in § 14(4) of the Reich Valuation Law can serve as the starting point for determining the *capitalized value of life and endowment insurance policies*. Likewise, the *capitalized value of pensions and other recurrent benefits* is to be calculated in

12 §§ 13 and 14 of the Reich Valuation Law laid down principles for valuing for securities and shares, as well as for capital claims and debts with regard to taxation: *ibid.*

13 'Gesetz über die Neugestaltung deutscher Städte', 4 Oct. 1937. This law governed the expropriation of real estate for the Reich government's urban redevelopment plans and granted implementation authority to the Reich Minister of Labour: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1937, I, pp. 1054-1055.

accordance with the provisions set forth in §§ 15 to 17 of the Reich Valuation Law.<sup>14</sup> Although the interest rate has generally fallen since the implementing provisions for the valuation were decreed on 1 January 1935, the calculation of the capitalized value will nevertheless be based, for reasons of simplicity, on the interest rate of 5.5 per cent and on the multiplier specified in § 76 of the Implementing Provisions for the Reich Valuation Law.

#### 6. *Payment of the Levy on Jewish Assets*

The obligation to pay the Levy on Jewish Assets *in full* arose a day after the implementing regulation was announced. The Reich's claims shall therefore be met in full insofar as this appears necessary. The provision in § 4(1) sentence 2 of the implementing regulation, which states that the Levy on Jewish Assets is to be paid in four instalments, only concerns the payment method.

Pursuant to § 7 of the implementing regulation, *payments arising from insurance claims* that, on the basis of the Regulation to Restore the Appearance of the Streets around Jewish Businesses of 12 November 1938, have been confiscated for the benefit of the Reich shall be made to the relevant tax offices. They are to be credited towards the Levy on Jewish Assets of those Jews who were entitled according to the insurance contract. It will take some time before arrangements for the implementation of this provision can be made. Therefore, it has been ordered that the Levy on Jewish Assets may not be deferred due to an allegedly existing insurance claim.

In accordance with the statements made in the paragraph before last, no objections can be raised against the payment of the Levy on Jewish Assets in *one instalment*. In fact, the tax office shall *only* grant emigrating Jews a [tax] clearance certificate,<sup>15</sup> which is required for issuance of a passport, if they have paid the Levy on Jewish Assets *in full*. Taking into account the fact that the tax offices have not been able to process all the notifications of change, there have been individual cases where the amount due on the Levy on Jewish Assets was reduced after payment of the entire amount had been made. According to the existing legal situation, in such a case no objections can be raised against making a refund of the overpayment (see section 8).

#### 7. *Payment from physical assets*

In accordance with § 8 of the implementing regulation, the Reich Minister of Finance shall issue provisions through *administrative channels* concerning the extent to which tax offices can *accept securities and landholdings as payment*. This rule is based on the consideration that Jews have been prohibited by law from disposing of landholdings and securities, a measure that had to be taken for economic policy reasons. This ban deprives Jewish taxpayers of the possibility of liquidating their assets, insofar as they consist of securities and landholdings, and of paying the Levy on Jewish Assets in cash.

The Reich Minister of Finance has issued several administrative directives concerning the acceptance of securities and landholdings as payment for the first instalment of the Levy on Jewish Assets. It can be assumed that these directives shall also apply, until

<sup>14</sup> §§ 15 and 16 of the Reich Valuation Law prescribed rules for determining the capitalized value of recurrent and lifetime benefits and payments, such as pensions, for taxation purposes. § 17 governed how the annual value of benefits and payments for taxation purposes was to be determined: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1934, I, pp. 1035–1049.

<sup>15</sup> See Doc. 206, 19 Dec. 1938.

further notice, to those cases where payment of the Levy on Jewish Assets is made in full. When, however, securities are accepted at another point in time than the date of maturity, certain discrepancies arise concerning the acceptance value and the calculation of accrued interest (see section 8).

The common requirement for the acceptance of securities and real estate as payment is the assessment that the taxable person is *unable* to pay the amount due under the Levy on Jewish Assets *in legal tender*. *In no case* should exceptions be permitted with respect to this assessment, because, pursuant to the existing directives, the Levy on Jewish Assets *must* in the first instance be paid in legal tender. When assessing whether a payment in cash is possible, it is necessary to allow the taxable person to keep a *limited amount of pecuniary resources*, taking into account the fact that he must have the means to cover his subsistence costs and those of his family. Of course, this shall be less of a consideration if the taxable person can expect a regular inflow of funds, such as pension payments, or if, in the case of mixed marriages, the non-Jewish marital partner is able to support the Jewish spouse. The amount of pecuniary resources permitted shall be calculated such that the taxable person can cover, over the next several months, *for approximately a quarter of a year*, his *reasonable* subsistence costs and those of his family. *Pressing obligations* of the taxable person must also be taken into account, in order to prevent the Levy on Jewish Assets from causing German Volksgenossen who have claims against the taxable person from facing difficulties. If the taxable person has *intentions to emigrate*, then these intentions shall be supported by including the costs for the *departure* in the amount of pecuniary resources permitted. Moreover, the taxable person must be required to *dispose of valuables*, such as jewellery and works of art, in order to use the *proceeds* to pay the Levy on Jewish Assets in cash. At the same time, however, it shall not be necessary to dispose of such items whose sentimental value to the taxable person is greater than the proceeds that could be generated from selling them. The Reich Minister of Economics had announced in the press that an *office for purchasing* precious jewels, jewellery, and works of art is to be set up at the Berlin Chamber of Industry and Commerce. It has not yet been possible to set up such a purchasing office; further communications on this matter are expected.<sup>16</sup>

In accordance with § 8 of the implementing regulation, the administrative directives that the Reich Minister of Finance has issued concerning the acceptance of securities and landholdings as payment are also *legally valid* in the judicial system at large. The provision that the acceptance of physical assets as payment shall be given consideration only if it is *impossible* for the taxable person to render payment in legal tender is *mandatory*. Should a taxable person, in violation of this provision, provide securities and landholdings as payment in spite of being able to make payment in pecuniary resources, he shall then be *prosecuted* for gaining an unjustified benefit by fraudulent means under § 396 of the Reich Tax Code. It is therefore advisable for every taxable person to leave the decision regarding the amount of permitted pecuniary resources and valuables solely to the *discretion of the tax office*.

<sup>16</sup> The *Wirtschaftsblatt der Industrie- und Handelskammer zu Berlin* pointed out in issue 5/6 of 23 Feb. 1939 that, according to the regulation of 16 Jan. 1939, public pawn offices had been designated as the purchase point for precious metals and gemstones owned by Jews. It also reported that the public purchasing agency for cultural goods in Berlin was responsible for the acquisition of jewellery and works of art.

### 8. *Taking securities as payment*

If the conditions for accepting physical assets as payment are met, it is necessary to assess specifically whether, in accordance with the directives issued by the Reich Minister of Finance, the submitted economic asset is actually eligible as payment. With regard to the acceptance of *securities* as payment, the banks have largely relieved the tax offices of the responsibility for this assessment. Jews subject to the tax are legally obliged to deposit all their securities in the securities account of a foreign exchange bank. Should these securities be used to pay the Levy on Jewish Assets, this transaction shall take the form of the bank transferring the entire securities account, or a portion thereof, to the Prussian State Bank (Seehandlung) as the trustee of the German Reich and issuing a certificate regarding the transfer, which shall be forwarded to the relevant tax office.<sup>17</sup> For the purpose of calculating the acceptance value, a *quotations sheet* has been issued containing a list of those securities that are eligible to be considered as payment of the first instalment of the Levy on Jewish Assets. The Reich Minister of Finance has provided the banks with exact instructions as to how the acceptance of securities shall proceed, including in particular instructions for cases where the Levy on Jewish Assets is to be paid in full through securities. The Prussian State Bank shall review every single certificate that the foreign exchange bank forwards to the tax office and request its execution, where appropriate. The *tax offices* therefore only have to review whether those securities of the taxable person have been taken as payment that, according to the tax files and other records, are initially eligible to be considered as payment. *Only the securities listed on the quotations sheet* shall be taken as payment, and these shall be accepted in the following order:

- First, stocks and other shares in companies,
- then bonds of companies under private law,
- then mortgage bonds,
- then bonds of mortgage banks and of public credit institutions,
- then bonds of the Reich, of the states, and of the municipalities.

In the case of a refund (see section 6), the taxable person who paid his Levy on Jewish Assets, either in full or in part, in securities shall first be given a refund in securities. Should the acceptance value of the securities taken as payment exceed the refund amount, it is then necessary to first return those securities that were the last to be taken as payment in accordance with the aforementioned list. The refund procedure is formally quite difficult, because transferring the securities from the foreign exchange bank back to the securities account of the taxable person can only be carried out by the Prussian State Bank, which in turn can only act on the instructions of the Reich Minister of Finance. Consequently, in cases where the amount due on the Levy on Jewish Assets could be reduced as a result of notifications of changes, it is expedient to defer the portion of the amount due that has not yet been definitively determined against provision of a security.

<sup>17</sup> The Seehandlungsgesellschaft was founded in 1772 as a maritime trading company and operated its own fleet of ships; in the early nineteenth century it was converted into a state bank, but at the same time served as the state's semi-military shipping company, and its ships flew the Prussian war flag. Its name was changed to Königliche Seehandlung (Preußische Staatsbank) in 1904 and to Preußische Staatsbank (Seehandlung) in 1918.

Certain difficulties are encountered when calculating the acceptance value of securities taken as payment *after the date of maturity*, namely, the fact that accrued interest is calculated differently for fixed-interest securities and that the prices of stocks may have fallen substantially in the meantime as a result of dividend distributions. This applies in particular when securities are to be used to pay the Levy on Jewish Assets in full. The Reich Minister of Finance has issued the *banks* instructions on these matters since it is their task to calculate the acceptance value.

The procedure for taking securities as payment is new to the Reich Tax Authorities. It will, as experience has shown thus far, pose a number of difficulties, which, however, generally relate to the field of banking matters and shall be resolved for the tax offices by the banks.

#### 9. Taking real estate as payment

As regards the acceptance of real estate as payment, areas of uncertainty have developed only to a limited extent. This is explained by the fact that real estate may be taken as payment only in cases where it has been ascertained that the taxable person can pay the Levy on Jewish Assets *neither* in legal tender *nor* in securities. As only the first instalment of the Levy on Jewish Assets has so far been due, taxable persons have generally been able to pay the amount due by means of such assets. Moreover, it will not be possible to regulate the procedure for taking real estate as payment as extensively as the procedure for taking securities as payment. This is due to the fact that, for real estate, a decision must be made *in each individual case* as to whether the real estate offered is suitable to be purchased by the Reich and as to the value at which it is to be accepted as payment.

In accordance with the directives issued by the Reich Minister of Finance, the *regional tax director* (Real Estate Group) who is in charge of the district where the real estate is located shall make the decision on these matters. It is the task of the *tax offices* to reject those real estate properties offered that from the outset are not eligible to be considered as payment. The Reich Minister of Finance has specified that such a *rejection* may be made on the following *grounds*:

the taxable person is not the sole owner of the real estate offered. An exception is allowed only where all joint owners wish to transfer their shares in the property to the Reich;

the real estate is overly encumbered;

the real estate's value is clearly overstated, that is, the value of the property after deducting encumbrances and transfer costs clearly exceeds the amount the taxable person owes under the Levy on Jewish Assets.

These grounds for rejection are intended to prevent the regional tax director from undertaking negotiations regarding real estate that could become a legal and financial burden to the Reich or would even require the Reich to pay out money. If, incidentally, the tax office is aware that the real estate property offered is unusable for the Reich's purposes, it is then, of course, obliged to inform the regional tax director of its judgement when forwarding him the offer. This shall apply, for example, to plots containing buildings in a dilapidated condition.

Further enquiries regarding the real estate shall be made solely by the regional tax director. Once the acceptance value of the real estate has been determined and the Reich registered as the owner in the land register, the regional tax director is to issue a *certificate of acceptance*. On the basis of this certificate of acceptance, the tax office assigned

to the taxable person shall credit the acceptance value of the real estate as payment under the Levy on Jewish Assets *after* deducting all taxes and costs incurred from the transfer of ownership. The portion of the Levy on Jewish Assets that is to be paid through the acceptance of the real estate shall be *deferred* by the tax office upon forwarding the offer to the regional tax director until the receipt of the certificate of acceptance.

10. *Concluding remarks*

The Levy on Jewish Assets is *not collected as compensation for the damages* that Jewry has inflicted on the German people. Volksgenossen who have personally suffered damage at the hands of a Jew can therefore not assert any claim to payment of a portion of the revenue raised by the Levy on Jewish Assets. This shall apply in particular to those Volksgenossen who formerly entered into contractual relations with Jews and were cheated by their Jewish contractual partners. *The revenue raised by the Levy on Jewish Assets will go solely to the Reich*, which will use the revenue for its general activities and thus for the well-being of the entire German people.

DOC. 248

**On 30 January 1939 Adolf Hitler threatens to annihilate the European Jews<sup>1</sup>**

Excerpt from a speech by Adolf Hitler to the Greater German Reichstag, fourth legislative period, first session, 30 January 1939<sup>2</sup>

[...] <sup>3</sup>

Germany did not attack America, but America attacked Germany, and as the investigative committee of the American House of Representatives concluded: it did so without any compelling reason, merely for capitalist motives. (*Applause*) Yet everyone should understand one thing clearly: these attempts cannot in the slightest influence how Germany, in particular, deals with its Jewish question. (*Applause*)

I would like to make the following remarks on the Jewish question: it is a shameful spectacle to observe today how the entire democratic world gushes with sympathy for the poor, tormented Jewish people, but remains hard-hearted and unyielding in the face of what should then surely be an obvious duty to help them. The arguments advanced to justify the lack of assistance actually apply only to us Germans and Italians. For it is said: 'We' – that is, the democracies – 'are not in a position to take in the Jews.' Yet these empires do not even have 10 people to the square kilometre, while Germany has 135 people

1 Text taken from an audio recording: DRA, 05-0223/2 and 05-0223/3. Excerpts of the speech were published in the *Völkischer Beobachter* (northern German edition), 1 Feb. 1939, pp. 4–9; this excerpt is published in Walter Roller, *Judenverfolgung und jüdisches Leben unter den Bedingungen der nationalsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft*, vol. 1: *Tondokumente und Rundfunksendung 1930–1946* (Potsdam: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 1996), pp. 140–142. This document has been translated from German.

2 The speech lasted for a total of 127 minutes and 30 seconds.

3 At the beginning of his speech, Hitler spoke about the situation in Germany before and after the National Socialists' entry to power and demanded the return of Germany's former colonies. He then commented on several topics, including the conditions in Austria before the Anschluss, German economic policy and development, the annexation of the Sudetenland, and the idea of a *Volksgemeinschaft*.

per square kilometre to feed, and is still supposed to take them in. Secondly, they assert: 'We cannot take them unless Germany, for example, provides them with a certain amount of capital for their immigration.' Yet for centuries, Germany was good enough to take in these elements even though they possessed nothing except infectious political and hygiene-related diseases. (*Applause*)

But what these people possess today they have gained through the most odious manipulations at the expense of the less astute German people. Today we are merely putting right the wrongs committed by these people. When the German people were deprived of their entire savings from decades of honest work through the inflation that the Jews engineered and put into effect, when the rest of the world took away the German people's foreign assets, when we were divested of all our colonial possessions, these philanthropic considerations evidently did not yet have such a meaningful influence on these democratic statesmen. I can only assure these gentlemen that, thanks to the brutal lessons that the democracies gave us for fifteen years, we are today completely hardened against all sentimentality. (*Applause*)

We witnessed how, after more than 800,000 German children had already died of hunger and malnutrition at the close of the war, nearly one million head of dairy cattle were driven away from us under the cruel terms of a dictate that the humane democratic apostles of the world foisted upon us as a peace treaty. We witnessed how, one year after the end of the war, more than one million German prisoners of war were still held captive for no apparent reason. We had to endure well over one and a half million Germans from our border regions being torn away from all their possessions and brutally driven out with little more than the clothes on their backs. We had to endure millions of Volksgenossen being torn from us, without being granted a hearing or afforded even the slightest possibility to preserve their lives. I could add to these examples dozens more of the most horrifying sort. So spare us any talk about humanity. (*Applause*)

The German people do not wish for their interests to be determined and governed by a foreign nation. France for the French, England for the English, America for the Americans, and Germany for the Germans! (*Applause*) We are resolved to prevent an alien people from implanting itself here, a people that has known how to snatch all the leading positions, and we are resolved to expel it. For we intend to educate our own people for these leadership roles. We have hundreds of thousands of the most intelligent children of peasants and workers. We shall have them educated – and have already begun to do so – in the hope that one day they, and not the members of a people alien to us, will hold the leading positions in the state alongside the rest of our educated classes. Above all, however, German culture is, as the name already suggests, German and not Jewish, and we shall therefore place its administration and care in the hands of our people. Should, however, the rest of the world assume a hypocritical stance and create an outcry about the barbarous expulsion from Germany of such an irreplaceable and singularly valuable cultural element, then we can only be astonished at the conclusions drawn from these circumstances. For how grateful one should be to us for setting free these magnificent bearers of culture and placing them at the disposal of the outside world. (*Laughter*) According to their own statements, they cannot find a single reason to justify their refusal to admit these most valuable people into their own countries. It is incomprehensible why members of this race should be imposed upon the Germans, of all people, while the countries that are so enthusiastic about these 'splendid people'

suddenly refuse to admit them with every imaginable excuse. I believe that the sooner this problem is resolved, the better.

For Europe cannot find peace again until the Jewish question has been dealt with. It may well be that sooner or later an agreement on this problem will be reached in Europe, even between nations that otherwise might not have reconciled themselves so easily with one another. There is enough space for settlement in this world, but we must, once and for all, put an end to the belief that the good Lord has chosen the Jewish people to exploit a certain percentage of the bodies and productive labour of other peoples. The Jews will have to adapt themselves to respectable, constructive activity like any other people, or, sooner or later, they will succumb to a crisis of unimaginable proportions. And there is another thing that I should like to say on this day, which is perhaps memorable not only for us Germans: in my lifetime I have very often been a prophet, and this has mostly brought me ridicule. At the time of my struggle for power, it was primarily the Jewish people who laughed at my prophecy that one day I would take over the leadership of the German state, and thus of the entire nation, and that I would then, among many other things, also resolve the Jewish problem. I believe that the resounding laughter at that time by the Jews in Germany has meanwhile got stuck in their throats. (*Applause*)

Today I wish to be a prophet again: if the international Jewish financiers within and outside Europe should succeed in plunging the nations once more into a world war, the outcome will not be the Bolshevization of the earth, and thus the victory of Jewry, but rather the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe. For the era of the propagandistic defencelessness of the non-Jewish peoples is over. National Socialist Germany and Fascist Italy possess institutions that can, if necessary, enlighten the world about the nature of a question about which many peoples have an instinctive awareness and only lack awareness about from a scholarly perspective. At the moment, the Jews in certain states may be conducting their smear campaign under the protection of the press, which they control, as well as film, radio propaganda, theatre, literature, etc. But should this people succeed once more in agitating the millionfold masses of the nations into a struggle that is utterly senseless for them and serves only Jewish interests,<sup>4</sup> then we shall see the efficacy of an enlightenment to which the Jews in Germany have wholly succumbed within a few short years. Nations are no longer willing to die on the battlefield so that this rootless international race may profit from the business of war and satisfy its Old Testament vengeance. (*Applause*) The Jewish slogan, 'Workers of the world, unite!' will be conquered by a higher knowledge, namely: 'Productive members of all nations, recognize your common enemy!'

[...]<sup>5</sup>

4 The passage 'awareness [...] Jewish interests' is unintelligible in the recording; here the text is taken from the *Völkischer Beobachter* (northern German edition), 1 Feb. 1939, p. 8. The text published in the *Völkischer Beobachter* was only slightly edited, and is essentially identical to the version reproduced here.

5 Hitler went on to speak about the volunteer soldiers who fought on the side of Franco during the Spanish Civil War, the German-Italian friendship, Germany's peaceful intentions and how these had been allegedly misrepresented by the foreign media.

## DOC. 249

**On 2 February 1939 the president of the Viennese branch office of the Reich Institute for Labour Placement and Unemployment Insurance considers using Jewish forced labourers<sup>1</sup>**

Memorandum from the Viennese municipal authorities, head of Group III, Oberregierungsrat Dr Pamperl,<sup>2</sup> dated 2 February 1939

*Official memorandum dated 2 February 1939*

regarding a discussion with President Friedrich Gärtner of the branch office of the Reich Institute for Unemployment Insurance and Labour Placement.<sup>3</sup>

Despite my referring to the large sum that the city of Vienna has expended thus far for the provision of regular support to those whose benefits expired prior to January 1930, President Gärtner stated that my request for a reimbursement of at least a portion of the expended funds, in accordance with the firm assurance given in April 1938, had little prospect of success. However, he asked that I again submit the request to him in writing, and he would forward the petition to the Reich Ministry of Labour in Berlin. To my objection that it was well known that the Reich Institute had a vast amount of assets at its disposal, he responded that the existence of such reserves was undeniable but that they had been negatively affected all the same by the significant expenditure incurred in the Ostmark, and that the Reich Minister of Finance was drawing heavily on these funds in order to be able to carry out particularly urgent Reich tasks. In conclusion he said that there was hardly any hope of obtaining even a partially favourable settlement and that perhaps the only way of securing a reimbursement of at least a portion of the expended funds might be if the mayor appealed to the Reich Minister of Finance in person.

President Gärtner also broached the problem of labour placement for those Jews who were fully fit for work and declared that he would attempt in the very near future to win the mayor<sup>4</sup> over on this issue. In his opinion, the utilization of Jewish labourers in agriculture for planting or harvesting work is out of the question, mainly because one cannot reasonably expect the rural population to take Jewish labourers into their households. He does, however, view the utilization of Jewish labourers for road construction, drainage work, and the like as having a good potential for success, even within the Gau

1 WStLA, M.-Abt. 212, Karton 24 R 30, Arbeitsfürsorge 1938–1941. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Hans Pamperl (b. 1884), lawyer; from 1907 worked as a civil servant for the Viennese municipal government; head of the Vocational Guidance Office and the Chamber of Labour, 1926–1933; from 1937 head of Administration Group III, which was responsible for the Welfare Office as well as the administration of social welfare and public health; sent into retirement for political reasons, 1941, and subsequently worked as an aide in a law office; his application for membership of the NSDAP was rejected in 1941.

3 Correctly: Reich Institute for Labour Placement and Unemployment Insurance.

4 Dr Hermann Neubacher (1893–1960), forestry engineer and economist; joined the Austrian NSDAP in 1933; general manager of the GESIBA housing association in Vienna, 1921–1934; mayor of Vienna, March 1938 – Dec. 1940; special plenipotentiary for the South-East, 1940; from 1943 plenipotentiary of the Reich Foreign Office with the military commander in Serbia; sentenced in Yugoslavia to twenty years' imprisonment in 1951, but released in 1952; subsequently worked as a building contractor in Salzburg; assisted with the administrative expansion of Ethiopia, 1954–1956.

of Vienna, for here it would be possible to take the labourers to the worksite early in the morning in separate transportation and to ferry them back from the site to the city in the evening.

Finally, as regards my request to view the building XVI, at 44 Thaliastraße, President Gärtner stated that nothing stood in the way of such a request and that he would at once instruct the representatives of the Viennese municipal authorities to allow a viewing of the building. He also hinted that even as early as the end of this year he might no longer need the building for his operations.

However, this statement by President Gärtner contradicts the message received on the same day by Dr Hans Kraus of the Vienna Employment Office, informing him that the Reich Institute must attach the greatest importance to retaining this building because one of the three unemployment insurance offices was due to be established there.

The building XVI, at 44 Thaliastraße, was originally constructed for use as a hospital and housed the Archduchess Stephanie Hospital for many years. It is owned by the Vienna Hospital Fund, which allowed the former Ministry for Social Administration to use it for labour placement purposes for several years already without requiring the payment of rent or any other compensation.

DOC. 250

**On 6 February 1939 Paula Schwab asks the Relief Agency for the Evacuation of Children to arrange accommodation abroad for her son<sup>1</sup>**

Handwritten letter from Paula Schwab,<sup>2</sup> 54 Spitalstraße, Lörrach (Baden), to the Relief Agency for the Evacuation of Children,<sup>3</sup> Badenerstraße, Zurich, dated 6 February 1939

Having learned your esteemed address from family friends, I venture to put the following request to you. My son will be 14 years old this month and has been prohibited from attending school since 10 November.<sup>4</sup>

Since there is no Jewish school in our area, I would be very much obliged if you could assist me with regard to arranging lodgings for my son somewhere in Switzerland or some other place abroad, so that he will at least be able to complete his schooling.

1 The original is privately owned by Gerald Schwab. This document has been translated from German.

2 Paula Schwab, née Kleefeld (1896–1995), businesswoman; initially emigrated to Switzerland in April 1933 with her husband David Schwab and her son Gerd, and later to France; returned to Germany in 1935; the family emigrated to the United States in May 1940.

3 The author means the Swiss Aid Organization for Emigrant Children (Schweizerisches Hilfswerk für Emigrantenkinder, SHEK). It was founded in 1933 and organized stays in Switzerland for approximately 5,000 children until 1939. Once the war started, the SHEK coordinated the placement of refugee children in children's homes and foster families. It was co-founded by Nettie Sutro-Katzenstein (1890–1967), who also served as its director, 1935–1947.

4 Gerald (Gerd) Schwab (b. 1925), diplomat; came to Switzerland in April 1939 with the help of the SHEK; emigrated to the United States in May 1940; soldier in the US Army in Europe, 1944–1946; translator at the Nuremberg trials, 1946–1947; worked for the US Department of the Interior, 1951–1955; served in the diplomatic corps, 1955, later at the US Agency for International Development, and from 1976 to 1986 at the International Labour Organization (ILO).

Since it is unfortunately not possible to provide him with private lodgings, and we do not have good prospects for him [to stay] with relatives abroad, I ask you for your assistance and support in making this request possible.

With many thanks in advance for your efforts and with the highest esteem

DOC. 251

**SS Security Service memorandum, dated 11 February 1939,  
regarding Quaker activity in support of Jews<sup>1</sup>**

Memorandum prepared by the SD II 122 (VA 1855/36, p.p. Kä.-H.),<sup>2</sup> signature illegible, Berlin, dated 11 February 1939 (draft)

1. *Memorandum:*

The matter concerning the Society of Friends<sup>3</sup> was discussed with [Departments] II 112 and II 113. Taking into consideration the Quakers' earlier activity for Germany, it is not possible to simply institute a ban on their activity in Germany. The Quaker policy of extending support to all people in need, without distinction, is in keeping with their religious convictions. Active efforts against Germany have hitherto not come to light. Their interference in the Jewish question is entirely unwelcome and must be eliminated.<sup>4</sup> The Quakers' pacifist stance means that any expansion of their activity would be regarded as undesirable.

A ban on the Quakers is sought, but it is necessary to wait for the appropriate moment.

2. Letter:

*Order*

To the SD head of the SS Main District *Danube*,<sup>5</sup> *Vienna*

Re: Society of Friends (Quakers).

Case file: letter therein, II 122 VA 65/39, dated 26 January 1939.<sup>6</sup>

1 BAArch, R 58/6026, fols. 264–265. This document has been translated from German.

2 Department II 122 in the SD Main Office was responsible for the surveillance of so-called reactionaries and was headed by Karl-Julius Stübel (b. 1908). 'Kä' was the abbreviation for Werner Kämpf (1909–2000), teacher; joined the NSDAP in 1930 and the SS in 1935; member of the SA, 1931–1935; from 1935 worked in the SD Main Office; head of Einsatzkommando 9 of Einsatzgruppe B in Belarus.

3 The Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) was founded in the mid seventeenth century. In 1920 an international Quaker office in Berlin was established that organized relief work throughout Europe and, in the wake of the First World War, primarily provided meals for the poor. The Quakers were kept under surveillance in the National Socialist state because of their pacifist beliefs and their connections to Jewish organizations. In 1937 there were 330 Quakers in the German Reich.

4 Handwritten note in the margin: 'Insofar as it concerns an active involvement or preferential treatment in Germany. Financial donations to Jewish organizations are accepted. Additional [information learned] upon inspection of local files on 28 Jan. 1939.'

5 Franz Walter Stahlecker was the SD head of the SS Main District Danube.

6 In the letter, Department II 122 of the SS Main District Danube informs the chief of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) of a report on the Quakers in which they are accused of supporting 'Marxist-minded individuals'. The report also proposed dissolving the Society in the Reich because its activity constituted 'a significant disruption' of the work of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration.

Note was taken of the report on the Society of Friends. All available material will be needed for the proposed action against the Quaker association. It should be taken into account that the Quakers did a great deal in the post-war period to alleviate need in Germany. The fact that they make no distinction whatsoever in their relief work is in keeping with their religious and pacifist beliefs. Their interference in the Jewish question is unwelcome and, as [Department] II 112 has already been informed via teletype, to be prevented.<sup>7</sup>

It is requested that, in cooperation with Departments II 112 and II 113, all material be compiled for the purpose of facilitating the imposition of a ban on the Quakers' further activity in Germany.<sup>8</sup>

DOC. 252

**On 14 February 1939 the Neue Frankfurter Versicherung instructs its agents to cancel the insurance policies of their Jewish clients<sup>1</sup>**

Circular from the headquarters of the Neue Frankfurter Versicherungs-AG (organization no. 10/39), Alfred Wiedemann,<sup>2</sup> Josef Cramer,<sup>3</sup> to the branch offices, dated 14 February 1939<sup>4</sup>

*Re: Jewish insurance business.*

With reference to our circular no. 84/38, dated 20 December 1938,<sup>5</sup> we inform you that we also intend to terminate the active insurance policies of Jewish policyholders in the event that difficulties arise in collecting the insurance premium after a payment reminder has been issued. In these cases we shall exercise the right to terminate the policy granted to us under § 39 of the VVG.<sup>6</sup>

7 Handwritten note in the margin: 'I propose using the phrase "active involvement in Jewish emigration"'

8 The Religious Society of Friends was neither banned nor closed down. Its members, however, ran the risk of being criminalized as a result of their humanitarian engagement, which included providing assistance to those being persecuted. The letter was countersigned by the heads of Departments II 112 (Hagen) and II 113 (Hartl) and initialed by the head of Main Department II 12 (Knochen). The letter also contains a note at the end instructing that it be resubmitted to Departments II 122 and II 1134.

1 FHA, S 17.7/92. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Alfred Wiedemann (1883–1963), lawyer; head of the regional headquarters of Allianz Insurance Saxony and Silesia, 1921–1934; joined the NSDAP in 1933; general manager of the Neue Frankfurter Versicherungs-AG (Neufag), 1934–1945; removed from office by the American military government, 1945; on the supervisory board of the Frankfurter Versicherungs-AG until 1958, and on its advisory board until 1962.

3 Dr Josef Cramer (1901–1944), lawyer; worked at Frankfurter Allgemeine Versicherungs-AG from 1925; from 1929 legal advisor to Neufag; joined the NSDAP in 1937; from 1938 deputy director of Neufag.

4 The original is stamped with the inscription 'Not to be repeated in internal communications' and contains a partially illegible handwritten note with a list of the different branch offices to which the circular and letter of 22 and 23 Feb. 1939, respectively, were sent.

5 In the circular the headquarters of the insurance firm issued a policy that branch offices should stop entering into new insurance contracts with Jews. It also called on the branch offices to terminate insurance policies for Jewish commercial, agricultural, and forestry enterprises if these had not passed into Aryan ownership: FHA, S 17.7/91.

We accordingly request that you take no further action if Jewish policyholders fail to settle their premiums after a payment reminder has been issued, but rather send the certificate without delay to us, so that we can issue the notice of termination from here.

Furthermore, it is requested that you ascertain if your branch has any *synagogue* insurance policies, and, if so, which ones (fire, riot, theft and burglary, liability, water damage). Please post to us at your earliest convenience information on the insurance policies in question, specifying the policy number and the type of insurance. Nil returns are also to be submitted.

## DOC. 253

**SS Security Service memorandum, dated 16 February 1939,  
on the demonstrative singing of hymns that console the people of Israel<sup>1</sup>**

Memorandum prepared by the SD II 1131 (See/Mu.), See[ck],<sup>2</sup> Berlin, dated 16 February 1939<sup>3</sup>

*Memorandum*

Catholicism and Judaism

Re: Roman Catholic hymns pertaining to Judaism

Case file: Gestapo Central Office II B 1 28/39, dated 21 January 1939

The hymn 'O come, O come, Emmanuel, and ransom captive Israel! Rejoice! Rejoice! Emmanuel shall come to thee, O Israel!' was sung in several Catholic churches in the district of Saarburg during the morning mass. Some members of the congregation took umbrage at this hymn and reported the incident to the local mayor, who saw in the singing an intentional act of defiance and an insult to the whole National Socialist people.

The aforementioned hymn was also sung in the church in the town of Rhens, Kreis Koblenz Land. Rumours surfaced thereafter that the windowpanes of the church and the rectory would be smashed should the hymn be sung again in the church. The Roman Catholic priest *Ignaz Schmitt, born 1 August 1875* in Koblenz, residing in Mainzerstraße in Rhens, who is well known to the State Police head office due to his concealed attacks on the Movement, and against whom proceedings have already been initiated, though subsequently dropped, at the special court in Cologne, got wind of this rumour.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Gesetz über den Versicherungsvertrag*: Law on Insurance Contracts. § 39 of this law of 30 May 1908 stipulated that insurers could terminate policies without honouring the notice period if the insured was behind on premium payments: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1908, pp. 263–312, here p. 271.

<sup>1</sup> BArch, R 58/5696, fol. 99RS. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Gerhard Seeck (b. 1911), locksmith; joined the NSDAP and the SA in 1930 and the SS in 1932; from 1935 worked in the SD Main Office; responsible for the surveillance of the Catholic Church in the 'Political Churches' Department, Sections II 1131 and II B, at the SD Main Office and the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), respectively, 1937–1940; section head for 'Political Churches and Sects' in the SD office in Brussels, 1940–1944; from 1944 worked in the RSHA; after 1945 whereabouts unknown.

<sup>3</sup> Parts of the original are underlined by hand.

<sup>4</sup> Ignaz Schmitt (1875–1952), priest; from 1929 served in Rhens; banned from teaching, 1935. Two trials against Schmitt for offences under the Law against Treacherous Attacks on State and Party and for the Protection of Party Uniforms at the Cologne Higher Regional Court and the Cologne Special Court ended in 1937 with an acquittal and a stay of the proceedings, respectively.

He nonetheless allowed this hymn to be sung on the same day and on Sunday, 27 November 1938.<sup>5</sup> He then sent for a retired police officer and asked him to notify the police so that they could prevent disturbances, which, according to rumours, were planned for the night of 27 November to 28 November 1938.

DOC. 254

**After fleeing Germany, on 21 February 1939 Simon Meisner gives Jewish welfare organizations an account of the living conditions in Antwerp<sup>1</sup>**

Letter to the Jewish Winter Relief and other Jewish welfare organizations, signed Simon Meisner,<sup>2</sup> dated 21 February 1939 (copy)<sup>3</sup>

Dear Winter Relief, Relief Association, Office Adler, Supreme Council, Emergency Aid,

It's now high time that you heard something from me. I left Germany on 3 February because I didn't want the expatriation certificate from the Polish state to be sent to Freudental. It was brought to my attention in Kehl that without an endorsement I would not be able to return to Germany. Otherwise absolutely nothing happened. I had a cabin all to myself and no one bothered me. I spent several joyful days in Paris and had the Belgian consulate give me a visa so that I could travel through Belgium on my way to Holland. The two Dutch passport controllers rejected my passport and denied me entry into the country. Since I disagreed with them, they called for their supervisor, who upheld the rejection. Since I still disagreed, two police officers were ordered to escort me to Rotterdam. Upon arrival at the police office, I was interrogated by various detectives and the result was expulsion. I protested and the police called the Ministry of Justice in The Hague, which confirmed that they were right in not permitting me to board the ship. From Belgium I appealed to the Queen of Holland<sup>4</sup> but received no reply. I was escorted to the Belgian border. The Belgians, however, refused to take me and sent me back. The Dutch did not take me either, so I spent several hours being shuttled back and forth between two countries. I then suggested to the Belgians that they should let me travel to France. They found the suggestion reasonable and I received a transit visa. With this in my possession I disembarked in Antwerp. I expected that there would be difficulties, but didn't think that these would begin in Europe. Now I must continue my journey and want to reach France or England and from there find a way to travel over-

5 In response to an enquiry made to the Vicar General Heinrich von Meurers, Schmitt was informed that the hymn should naturally continue to be sung during mass: Martin Persch, 'Spurensuche – Spurensicherung: Vom Einsatz Trierer Bistumsgeistlicher für jüdische Mitbürger', *Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch*, vol. 36 (1996), pp. 303–317, here p. 311.

1 Archives of the Leo Baeck Institute, New York, at the Jüdisches Museum Berlin, MF 572, reel 2, box 3, folder 4. This document has been translated from German.

2 Simon Meisner (1912–1994), teacher; taught religion in Freudental, 1933–1935; headmaster of the town's Jewish school from 1935 to April 1938; served as a refugee helper; from Nov. 1938 headmaster of the Jewish school in Rexingen; emigrated in Feb. 1939 to Belgium via France; from 1948 private teacher of religion in Belgium.

3 The typewritten original contains handwritten abbreviations and is misdated ('1929').

4 'Queen of the Netherlands' is meant here.

seas. There are 5,000 refugees who came here illegally. There is a committee that gives the refugees food and pays 30 francs per person each week for rent. Since the committee supports only (verifiably!) stateless persons and German nationals because of an agreement with the government, the committee had no choice but to reject me because Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, and Romanians have a homeland to which they can return. In Belgium's eyes I am not yet stateless. If I am found here twenty days after receiving expulsion orders, I will be put in prison until a freight steamer sets out for Gdynia. The Poles will not, of course, want to accept unordered goods and will not allow passengers to disembark. There are reports, however, that the ships have orders to remove passengers from the vessel at those times when the harbour is left unguarded. One may then have to stay at the harbour for several weeks. This is what I had imagined disembarkation in Peru would be like. The committee said I should see a rabbi, one who has the same party affiliation. I think I visited every last rabbi and am particularly proud of the fact that all of them threw me out. Perhaps I was the 500th person on that day who had to leave without being seen. Here 10,000 professional cadgers and 5,000 refugees live off the backs of 50,000 Jews. Every mass phenomenon peters out and generates no interest. One must console people with this fact every day. Everyone talks about the generous donations he made in Germany, and here no one wants to acknowledge any recommendations. Most have forgotten that one helps for help's sake, and whoever tells others about it negates the good deed he has done. –

I don't hold a grudge against anyone here for not wanting to see my papers. Here there are a great number of intellectuals and former mayors. The fate of every emigrant is not a matter of the past but of the future. One must seek out paths for the future and not patronage and promises based on one's past in Germany. It's difficult to find such paths. I visited a large number of diamond cutters, butchers, bakers, shoemakers, etc. and satisfied myself that it's impossible to earn even a small income, because very rigorous inspections prevent clandestine work and can imperil all refugees. I badgered a plantation owner to take me to the Belgian Congo. He refused because he said that because of the climate white people cannot do the work of black people. The French Foreign Legion is not accepting any more Jews since there are already 14,000 among its ranks. I visited the English<sup>5</sup> consul and tried to persuade him to issue me with an English transit visa. He is the only consul in Anvers<sup>6</sup> who does not laugh at my passport. But I still haven't found a way to ensure that the officials in the Foreign Office in London won't cause me difficulties when I disembark. The French consul would issue me a visa if Poland would recognize my citizenship. For the time being I'm staking everything on England, and if the English have no use for me in London, they should send me to a colony. The cost of living is very low here. One can buy a loaf of bread for 1 franc (= 8 pfennigs). One pays 45 cents for an egg, 50–60 cents for a cup of tea or coffee, and 1.20 francs for a kilogramme of oranges. This means I can get by on 2 francs a day. Ten Reichsmarks are 112 Belgian francs. I can therefore get by for 56 days. Since I didn't have to pay for my first couple of meals, I am provided for until 15 April 1939. Rent doesn't cost me anything. My room is in an attic, and in exchange I tutor the children of the Anysz family, at 24 Jordanstraat. (Apartments have become scarce here, and every cellar and every attic is inhabited by refugees.) In this way I have at least been able to secure an apartment thanks

<sup>5</sup> 'British' is meant here and in the following.

<sup>6</sup> French name for Antwerp.

to my former occupation. The committee pays holders of German and Nansen passports<sup>7</sup> 30 francs a week and gives them lunch every day. In Brussels it is 55 francs per person but without lunch. For 2–3 francs one can get a simple kosher meal. It's cheaper to cook for oneself. One washes one's own clothes, and anyone who knows something about the craft of shoemaking purchases leather and nails, thus saving the 12 francs needed for new soles. Anyone wishing to smoke can buy a dozen cigarettes for 1.10 francs. If the committee can stick it out, the refugees will be spared hardship for a while. What worries us are those left behind in Germany. If only it were possible to raise enough foreign currency to enable all of them to obtain a transit visa until they are able to migrate further to the United States or to other overseas countries. Because of the great moral pressure brought to bear, everyone here donates money to the refugees who are here, making it difficult to give those in Germany seeking to emigrate the assistance they need. What progress has been made at the American consulate in Stuttgart, and what else is going on in the community? I have not lost interest in Württemberg and send my warm regards to everyone.

Yours

DOC. 255

**On 21 February 1939 the SD conveys its approval to the staff of the Deputy of the Führer regarding the establishment of a lectureship for Talmudic studies and modern Hebrew at the University of Berlin<sup>1</sup>**

Telex from the Reichsführer SS of the Security Service (no. 7640), signed Dr Six, SS-Standartenführer, to the Staff of the Deputy of the Führer, for the attention of Regierungsrat Kusserow,<sup>2</sup> Munich, dated 21 February 1939<sup>3</sup>

Re: establishment of a lectureship for Talmudic studies and modern Hebrew

Case file: your telex no. 4087 of 9 February 1939<sup>4</sup>

The establishment of a lectureship for Talmudic studies within the Faculty of Arts and Humanities at the University of Berlin would be very welcome, as this field remains for the moment almost exclusively a domain of the theologians. Previous research in the field of Hebrew literature has, almost exclusively, taken the religious and ecclesiastical position

<sup>7</sup> Nansen passports were travel documents for stateless refugees first issued in 1922. They were named after the polar explorer and Nobel Peace Prize laureate Fridtjof Nansen (1861–1930), who had supported stateless persons in his capacity as the League of Nations high commissioner for refugees.

<sup>1</sup> BArch, R 58/5696, fol. 95v. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Albrecht Kusserow (1909–1991), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1929 and the SS in 1930; with the provincial governor's office in Münster, 1937–1938; from 1938 with the staff of the Deputy of the Führer; SS-Hauptsturmführer, 1939; military service from August 1939 to Jan. 1941 and 1943–1945; acting Landrat and head of the SD field office in Minden, Jan.–July 1943; interned, 1945–1948; ministry official in Westphalia, 1953–1974.

<sup>3</sup> The original contains handwritten annotations.

<sup>4</sup> Kusserow had informed Six about a discussion with Reich Education Minister Rust, during which the minister had made it known that he wanted to propose the establishment of a lectureship for Talmudic studies and modern Hebrew at the University of Berlin, 'in order to become familiar with Jewry in its quintessential written works', which the Jews used, he said, 'as a means to combat the National Socialist state'. Kusserow had asked Six for an opinion: telex from Kusserow to Six, *ibid.*, fols. 94v–95.

as a starting point and has completely disregarded the viewpoints of National Socialist racial doctrine.

The planned lectureship could constitute an important academic foundation for the struggle against the Jews. However, a precondition would be that an ideologically reliable person must be put forward for the lectureship.<sup>5</sup>

DOC. 256

**On 22 February 1939 the Gau personnel office in Vienna advocates the auctioning of stolen Jewish property in Vienna rather than Berlin<sup>1</sup>**

Memorandum, dated 22 February 1939, from the Gau personnel office in Vienna, Central Office for Political Evaluations (signature illegible)

*Re:* valuables from Jewish holdings seized during the operation in the Gau of Vienna on 10 Nov. 1938.<sup>2</sup>

*Memorandum:* most of the valuables etc. that the local branches seized at this time in the homes of Viennese Jewish families were transferred to the Vienna Gauleitung, which deposited them in vaults at the Länderbank, 1st District, at 2 Am Hof.

I myself was instructed by the Gauleiter in early December 1938 to hand over these valuables to the State Police head office in Vienna. To obtain an overview of the valuables, two government valuation experts from the Dorotheum, with several assistants, were deployed to appraise the valuable objects handed over to the State Police.<sup>3</sup> The process of conveying the items is expected to continue until mid April 1939.

I have now learned from rumours that official Berlin tax authorities are weighing up the idea of taking all the valuables to Berlin in order to sell them there at auction. This fact leads me to bring the matter to the attention of the Gauleiter, as the Gau of Vienna itself would incur a substantial loss if these valuables were to be auctioned in Berlin.

In this regard, I wish to note that the Dorotheum, which has already begun the appraisal process, would have to be reimbursed, apart from the fact that the receipts of the Dorotheum have declined by 40 per cent owing to the upheaval, and the senior management is occupied with cutback problems. In addition, the municipality of Vienna, which has a 10 per cent share in the profits of the Dorotheum, would be harmed. Besides, it is emphasized that an auction at the Dorotheum affords a greater prospect of clear profit than an auction in Berlin, where all the auction houses are in private hands. The announcement of an auction sale of these items by the Dorotheum in Vienna would also give a substantial boost to restaurants and tourism, because numerous potential buyers from the Old Reich would be present. It is therefore necessary to inform the

5 A lectureship for Talmudic studies and modern Hebrew was never established.

1 DÖW, 9538. This document has been translated from German.

2 This refers to the destruction and looting of Jewish institutions, shops, and homes during the November pogroms in 1938.

3 The Dorotheum, Vienna's tradition-steeped, state-run auction house, served from March 1938 as the main collection point for confiscated Jewish belongings in Austria. Household items and valuable objects, jewellery, and precious metals belonging to Jewish emigrants or deportees were auctioned off there.

proper authorities promptly that the sale of these assets at auction will be handled by the Dorotheum in Vienna.

Therefore, the following offices or authorities would have to be informed of the intention of the Gauleiter:

- (1) the Reich Ministry of Finance in Berlin,
- (2) the Gestapo in Vienna,
- (3) the Gestapo Central Office in Berlin,
- (4) the Deputy of the Führer,
- (5) the Reich Commissioner for the Reunification of Austria with the German Reich,
- (6) the regional tax director in Vienna.

*Heil Hitler*

#### DOC. 257

#### **On 1 March 1939 the Chief of the Security Police provides information about plans to register Jews for forced labour in wartime<sup>1</sup>**

Memorandum (secret) from the Chief of the Security Police (SV 8 Nr. 152 III/38-553-1-g.), p.p. signed Dr Best, Berlin, to Oberregierungsrat Dr Siegert<sup>2</sup> (Section SV 2), Ministerialrat Dr Zindel<sup>3</sup> (Section SV 1), Regierungsrat Lischka<sup>4</sup> (Section S-PP II B), Ministerial Director Danckwerts<sup>5</sup> (Department I of the Reich Ministry of the Interior), dated 1 March 1939 (copy)<sup>6</sup>

On 28 February 1939 a discussion about arrangements for the provision of services by Jews in the event of war took place in Department I of the Reich Ministry of the Interior, chaired by Ministerialrat Dr Loesener<sup>7</sup> and with the participation of representatives of the High Command of the Wehrmacht, the Main Office of the Security Police (Ministe-

<sup>1</sup> BArch, ZB 7050 A.6, fols. 277–279. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Dr Rudolf Siegert (1899–1945), lawyer; initially worked at the Saxon Ministry of Finance; joined the SA in 1933; Ministerialrat in the Reich Ministry of Finance, 1934–1936; from 1936 in the Gestapo Central Office (Gestapo) and Main Office of the Security Police; joined the NSDAP in 1937 and the SS in 1939; in the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), 1939–1943; in 1943 SS-Oberführer; in 1943 transferred to the Reich Economics Ministry; shot and killed in his home by Soviet soldiers.

<sup>3</sup> Dr Karl Zindel (1894–1945), lawyer; until 1934 in the Württemberg state administration; joined the NSDAP in 1933; in the Reich Ministry of the Interior, 1934–1937, and head of section in the Main Office of the Security Police from 1936; joined the SS in 1937; Ministerialrat, 1939–1940, and head of Law Group in Office I of the RSHA; from 1940 with the International Criminal Police Commission and in 1941 special plenipotentiary of its president; in 1944 head of the Attaché Group of the RSHA.

<sup>4</sup> Dr Kurt Lischka (1909–1987), lawyer; joined the SS in 1933; worked for the Gestapo from 1935; joined the NSDAP in 1937; in 1939 head of the Reich Central Agency for Jewish Emigration; in 1940 head of the Cologne Gestapo; from Nov. 1940 worked for the senior commander of the Security Police and the SD in Paris; in 1943 in the section for the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia in the RSHA; arrested in 1945; extradited to Prague in 1947; released to the Federal Republic of Germany in 1950; sentenced in absentia in France to lifelong penal servitude; procurator in Cologne; sentenced by the Cologne Regional Court to ten years' imprisonment in 1980 and released in 1985.

<sup>5</sup> Dr Justus Danckwerts (1887–1969), lawyer; in the Prussian Ministry of the Interior, 1920–1923; deputy Regierungspräsident of Stade, 1923–1930; Ministerialrat in the Prussian Ministry of the Interior and the Reich Ministry of the Interior, 1933–1940; in 1941 worked for the quartermaster general of the army, with responsibility for the military administrations; in a POW camp, 1945–1947; Ministerialrat in the state chancellery of Lower Saxony, 1948; participated in the Constitutional Convention at Herrenchiessee, 1948; state secretary in Lower Saxony, 1951–1954.

<sup>6</sup> The original contains handwritten remarks and underlining.

rialrat Dr Zindel; Regierungsassessor Hülff,<sup>8</sup> S-PP II; Regierungsrat Thorn),<sup>9</sup> the Main Office of the Order Police (Captain Sehart), and the head of the concentration camps, [SS-]Gruppenführer Eicke. Special regulation of the Jews' service obligation in wartime was made necessary by the fact that, after amendment of the Draft and Recruitment Regulation by the OKW, Jews are no longer liable for service in Supplement Reserve II and are completely excluded from service in the Wehrmacht.<sup>10</sup>

(1) *Question regarding registration of Jews:*

It was necessary to clarify the initial question regarding the extent to which the Jews are to be deployed for suitable services. It was agreed that a specific deployment of Jewish women and children would be incommensurate with the required expenditure of manpower (supervision) and resources. In terms of work, no effectiveness is to be expected from the deployment of Jewish women and children. Since the Jews are to be used primarily for public roadwork, the criterion of fitness for military service must be taken as a basis for their utilization. In keeping with the military conscription of the male population between the ages of 18 and 55 in East Prussia, such an age range seemed appropriate. With a total of around 600,000 Jews, one must expect that approximately 200,000 Jews will qualify for service in wartime.

Although labour deployment is a possibility only for those Jews between 45 and 55 who are fit for military service, a restriction of conscription to this age group of male Jews does not appear expedient. A special overall registration of all Jews from the perspective of specific deployment in wartime was generally considered to be practical. Decisive for this approach was the observation that in wartime, in some cases on an ad hoc basis, certain Security Police measures (such as special monitoring) will become necessary with respect to the Jewish community. Such measures can be facilitated by comprehensive registration of the Jews in peacetime.

The plans envisage dealing with this registration of the Jews by requiring them, by way of a Reich police regulation,<sup>11</sup> to register with the police (a measure analogous to

7 Dr Bernhard Lösener (1890–1952), lawyer; initially worked for the customs and tax authorities; joined the NSDAP in 1930; from April 1933 to the end of 1942 in the Reich Ministry of the Interior, where he was specialist for racial and Jewish affairs in Department I (Constitution and Legislation) from mid 1933; from 1943 at the Reich Administrative Court; from 1944 to 1945 in custody in connection with the attempt to assassinate Hitler on 20 July 1944; worked in the Cologne Main Tax Office, 1949–1952.

8 Wilhelm Hülff (1907–1954), lawyer; member of the SA, 1930–1933; joined the NSDAP and the SS in 1933; insurance broker, 1935–1937; worked in the Gestapa and RSHA, 1938–1940; Regierungsrat, 1940; in the State Police office in Tilsit, later with the senior commander of the Security Police and the SD in Rovno (Rivne), Ukraine, 1940; commander of the Security Police and SD in Dijon in 1943; in the RSHA in 1944; SS-Obersturmbannführer in 1945; died in a French POW camp.

9 Willi Thorn (b. 1903), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1932; member of the SA from 1933 to 1935; SS-Sturmbannführer; probationary judge in Frankfurt am Main, 1931–1934; from Oct. 1935 to May 1936 in the Gestapa in Berlin, with responsibility for emigrant affairs (Section II 1 B 2 E); from 1936 to 1937 head of the State Police office in Erfurt and member of 'Special Commission 3', which from 1937 oversaw the sterilization of children of German mothers and black soldiers of the occupying army in the Rhineland; from 1938 head of section in the Gestapa; after 1945 legal practitioner.

10 Under § 15(1) of the Military Service Law (21 May 1935) Aryan descent was the prerequisite for active military service. Further, § 15(5) stated: 'The service of non-Aryans in wartime is subject to special regulation'. *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1935, I, pp. 609–614, here p. 611.

11 The existence of such a regulation could not be verified.

military service registration of men who are fit for military service). The persons in charge at the OKW and the Main Office of the Order Police will discuss this matter in detail and make arrangements.

(2) *For what tasks are the Jews to be deployed?*

Ministerialrat Dr Loesener stated that the Jews are to be deployed in work groups, separate from the German-blooded workforce. They ought to be suited primarily for deployment in road construction and in the acquisition of the materials required for this purpose (quarry work). Owing to the Führer's large-scale road construction programme and the extra strain on the entire road network in wartime, use of all able-bodied Jews for this sort of work is to be considered.

(3) The question of their *accommodation* depends in turn on the nature of their employment. Since the treatment of the Jews in wartime will arouse the particular interest of the population, one must proceed from the principle that the Jews should not have better living conditions than our Volksgenossen of German blood. Their deployment for labour is the substitute for the completion of military service, for which they cannot be called up because of their race.

Their employment and accommodation must therefore also be along military lines. The population would undoubtedly be unsympathetic to permitting the Jews to pursue their civilian occupations with no particular change to their living conditions in wartime, while our Volksgenossen of German blood meet their military service obligation for the fatherland at the front and in the homeland. For this reason, the Jews' placement in special camps, comparable to the [Reich] Labour Service camps, would be advisable.<sup>12</sup> The possibility of using the Labour Service camps for these purposes will be the subject of a specific letter of enquiry to the Reich Ministry of Labour.<sup>13</sup>

(4) *Question regarding the setting up of camps:*

Then next question to resolve is that of to whom the task of erecting the camps falls, how many camps [there will be], where they are to be erected, [and] how the camps must be guarded. Because the obligation to carry out labour service substitutes the requirement to carry out military service, both the creation of suitable accommodation facilities for the Jews and the registration of the Jews appear to be tasks for the Wehrmacht. The preparation for and execution of these tasks by the Wehrmacht might also be appropriate because the funds required must be provided by the Wehrmacht as special mobilization expenses. If the creation of these camps were to be assigned to the head of the concentration camps, Gruppenführer Eicke, the Administrative Office of the SS would already have to factor in the requisite funds when declaring the special mobilization cash requirement. But the necessary documents for declaring this item are not yet available at this time. Inclusion in the registration of special mobilization cash requirements for the Security Police is impossible before a decision is made on the question of who, as sponsor, must construct the appropriate facilities for housing the Jews.

<sup>12</sup> The Reich Labour Service (*Reichsarbeitsdienst*) was established by the Reich Labour Service Law of 26 June 1935, which stipulated that males between the ages of 18 and 25 carry out labour service in order 'to educate the German youth in the spirit of National Socialism': *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1935, I, pp. 769–771.

<sup>13</sup> It could not be confirmed whether this enquiry was actually submitted.

The outcome of the discussion was summarized by Ministerialrat Dr Loesener as follows:

(1) Registration of the Jews on the basis of the introduction of a special requirement to register with the police authorities. During registration, unsuitability for labour service is to be verified. Verification is effected by presentation of a medical certificate from a Jewish doctor. Jews who are certified as unable to work by Jewish doctors are subject to a special follow-up examination. After registration, no additional medical examination takes place. Final determination of ability to work is not made until the individual is in the camp.

These principles are to be summarized in a special Reich police regulation. Preparation for and direction of the registration will be carried out by the Main Office of the Order Police in consultation with the High Command of the Wehrmacht.

(2) No special legal regulation is necessary to substantiate the duty of labour service, since the enlistment of Jews' services can take place on the basis of the War Service Law or the Emergency Service Regulation. For enlistment of their services, a general administrative regulation suffices (based on the Emergency Service Law, with instructions to the individual public agencies).<sup>14</sup>

With regard to the question as to which work is to be performed by the Jews in wartime and how they are to be housed, the opinion of the Reich Institute for Labour Placement and Unemployment Insurance must first be obtained and then forwarded to the departments concerned as the basis for the viewpoints to be presented by them. The representative of Gruppenführer Eicke has been additionally requested to arrange for communication of Gruppenführer Eicke's opinion on the question of accommodation. Regierungsassessor Hülff (S-PP II B) will compile the points and the requisite measures that are especially noteworthy from the Security Police perspective and forward them to the section heads of SV 1 and SV 8.

<sup>14</sup> By invoking the War Service Law (*Kriegsleistungsgesetz*) of 1873 and the Emergency Service Regulation (*Notdienstverordnung*) of 1938, the state could, in the event of war or emergency, require individuals to perform forced labour and could impose compulsory levies: War Service Law, 13 June 1873, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1873, pp. 129–137, and Third Regulation for Securing Labour Required for Tasks of Particular National Policy Significance (Emergency Service Regulation), 15 Oct. 1938, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, pp. 1441–1442.

## DOC. 258

**On 2 March 1939 the Synagogue Community in Gleiwitz asks the Reich Association of Jews in Germany about the requirements for surrendering precious metals<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the head of the Synagogue Community in Gleiwitz, unsigned, Judicial Counsellor [Arthur Kochmann],<sup>2</sup> to the Reich Association of Jews in Germany, 158 Kantstraße, Berlin-Charlottenburg 2, dated 2 March 1939 (carbon copy)

Submission of gold etc.

On the understanding that we had received implementing regulations, the pawn office here referred to our community those community members who, in compliance with the directive of 21 February 1939, sought to hand in the objects listed in it.<sup>3</sup>

Upon querying the pawn office, we were informed that an internal directive had been issued informing the communities of the implementing regulations. Upon further enquiry as to whether the pawn office was aware of any implementing regulations, we learned that:

- (a) for each individual, a four-piece cutlery set as well as
- (b) wedding rings

could be retained, but that gold watches, regardless of type, must be handed in without exception.

The directive states in § 3 that the Reich Minister of Economics will issue the regulations necessary to implement and supplement the order.<sup>4</sup>

As the deadline given in this directive may expire on 8 March, we ask that we be informed by telephone, tomorrow perhaps, whether and which regulations for implementation have already been issued.

Naturally, we are being queried by our community members, but are unable to provide further information. We can only point to the regulations contained in the directive.

1 ŽIH, 112/16, fol. 132r–v. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Arthur Kochmann (1864–1944), lawyer; from 1892 lawyer at the Gleiwitz Regional Court; from 1899 city councillor; from 1915 chairman of the synagogue community in Gleiwitz; served as a member of the German Democratic Party (DDP) in the Prussian Landtag, 1919–1924; from 1933 representative for Upper Silesia in the Reich Representation of German Jews; deported to Auschwitz in Dec. 1943.

3 The directive issued by Göring provided that Jews with German citizenship were obliged to hand in, within two weeks and in return for payment to be determined, all objects made of gold, platinum, or silver, as well as precious stones and pearls: Third Directive based on the Regulation on the Registration of Jewish Assets, 21 Feb. 1939, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1939, I, p. 282.

4 The directive of 21 Feb. 1939, which the Reich Minister of Economics issued in early March, included provisions for exemption from the requirement to surrender personal wedding rings, silver wristwatches and pocket watches, two four-piece cutlery sets of used table silver per person, small silver objects (maximum of 200 grams per person), and dentures made of precious metal 'in personal use': letter from the Reich Minister of Economics, signed Landwehr, to the Foreign Exchange Offices, 2 March 1939, Allgemeiner Erlass Nr. 37/39 D.St./Ue.St., Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 314–5 Oberfinanzpräsident, 9UA 9.

## DOC. 259

**Paul Eppstein of the Reich Association of Jews in Germany records a summons to the Gestapo on 7 March 1939 on the subject of emigration, particularly to Shanghai<sup>1</sup>**

File note (Dr E./My), signed Dr Eppstein, on the summons of Hirsch and Eppstein on 7 March 1939 to the Gestapo Central Office (Regierungsrat Lischka, SS-Hauptsturmführer Hagen), dated 9 March 1939

*1. Communications to the office*

To expedite communications and avoid errors, it is requested that, in future, any letters required be addressed to Regierungsrat Dr *Lischka* directly.

*2. Immigration opportunities*

A verbal report on the immigration situation in the major countries of immigration is given, on request. A written report on the situation in the major countries of immigration and on efforts to increase immigration is to be submitted.

*3. Travel abroad*

It was stated that senior officials from the Reich Association require passports so that they can attend negotiations on emigration issues.

Thereupon, it was requested that a travel report be submitted, naming those persons who are to travel abroad to deal with emigration matters and stating the specific tasks and purposes of these trips.

*4. Shanghai*

It was stated that the Zentrum Travel Agency has chartered a ship of the Woermann Line, which is to sail for Shanghai on 25 April. This ship will presumably sail. An attempt is thus to be made to ensure occupancy of this ship by accepting only direct payment at first, in view of the high cost of passage. Attention was called to the threat to future emigration that will result if a special ship carrying Jews arrives in Shanghai.<sup>2</sup> To avoid this danger, the shipping lines concerned should stipulate, for regularly scheduled ships, that no more than 60 per cent of the passengers aboard each ship may be Jewish emigrants. In addition, it was pointed out that this ship is apparently intended specifically for Jews from the Ostmark. According to the information provided by the Stettin representative of the Zentrum Travel Agency, only around 100 places are available.

In reply, it is stated that it would be ascertained how many places have been booked for Jews from the Ostmark and how many places, if any, are still available.

Essentially, it was emphasized that a requirement for occupancy of this ship will not be imposed, and that it is instead the task of our group to identify or to seek out such opportunities [for achieving occupancy]. It was said that it is out of the question to monopolize one travel agency; instead, we can negotiate with the travel agencies available. The Zentrum Travel Agency should thus also be contacted in this regard.

1 CJA, 2B1, Nr. 1, fols. 226–227. This document has been translated from German.

2 Behind this warning was the fear that the arrival of predominantly Jewish refugees might give rise to antisemitic reactions and pose obstacles to the emigration of Jews.

### 5. *Foreign exchange*

With reference to the trip report by Dr *Hirsch*, the question of the available foreign currency was raised. Dr Hirsch stated that, of the total amount for 1939, which is £100,000, £50,000 is needed for educational clearing,<sup>3</sup> and that, in addition, the relief organizations have granted £10,000 thus far. The granting of the remaining amount of £40,000, it is said, is still the subject of negotiations with the relief organizations.

With regard to the transfer procedures, a special discussion with the representatives of Paltreu and Altreu is to take place.

### DOC. 260

#### **On 8 March 1939 Robert Thompson Pell, an official in the US State Department, reports to his superior on the difficulties associated with the emigration of Jews from Germany<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from R. T. P. [Robert Thompson Pell],<sup>2</sup> Intergovernmental Committee, 1 Central Buildings, Westminster, London, SW1, to Pierrepont Moffat, Esq., Washington, DC, Department of State, dated 8 March 1939<sup>3</sup> (copy)

Dear Pierrepont,

I enclose a copy of a confidential memorandum of my conversation with Wohlthat in Berlin.<sup>4</sup> I think that it gives you the full picture. My impression is that Goering wishes to go ahead with his program, but desires ammunition with which to justify his activities to Hitler.<sup>5</sup> This ammunition in the first instance is to take the form of the memorandum on settlement projects which I am to take back to Berlin in a fortnight's time. Goering's other preoccupation is that the financing machinery on the inside of Germany and on the outside shall come into being simultaneously, that is, that the private corporation

<sup>3</sup> Jewish parents could deposit Reichsmarks in Germany to pay the school fees for their children who were in a foreign country for the purpose of education. The equivalent was paid out to the children in the schools or Hachsharah camps by the Jewish relief organizations in the respective national currency, while the amount paid in by the parents was used to finance assistance for Jews in Germany.

<sup>1</sup> NACP, RG 59, CDF, State Department Office or Lot Files 840.48 Refugees/1538. Copy in National Archives Publication M-1284, roll 25. The original document is in English.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Thompson Pell (1902–1969), journalist and diplomat; from 1925 to 1956 served at the State Department, where he held posts such as deputy head of its Europe section; member and, since the beginning of 1939, deputy director of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees (IGCR), which was established in summer 1938 at the Evian Conference; after 1945 employed by the US representation in the Vatican, secret-service consultant in Europe, and professor at Fordham University.

<sup>3</sup> The letter was presented to American president Franklin D. Roosevelt on 21 March 1939 with the remark that it painted a vivid picture of the difficult working conditions of the IGCR and the uncooperative stance of several countries.

<sup>4</sup> The memorandum is not in the file. After Hjalmar Schacht's dismissal as president of the Reichsbank and the resignation of George Rublee as director of the IGCR, negotiations on the emigration of German Jews were continued by Pell and Helmuth Wohlthat, the head of the foreign currency department of the Four-Year Plan. An abridged version of the report on his negotiations with Wohlthat that Pell wrote for Sir Herbert Emerson, then director of the IGCR and successor to George Rublee, is published in United States, Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1939, II (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1956), pp. 95–97.

shall be set up at the same time. In studying the situation it seems to me that the clue to the timing lies with the appointment of the third or foreign trustee.<sup>6</sup> When he has been approved by both sides, his appointment can be held off until both corporation and trust can be announced to the public. It is my impression that Wohltat is in agreement with this way of proceeding.

As I indicate in my memorandum, I had a long secret conference with the Jewish leaders in Berlin. They are, of course, very nervous and jumpy, and inclined to discount much of what we are doing. At the same time, they are ready to acknowledge that there has been an easing of the situation, and that it is all to the good that Goering is centralizing the administration of the emigration.<sup>7</sup> They were quite frank about the ship loads of their co-religionists which they are heading [sending] in various directions such as Shanghai, the Mediterranean and the Caribbean. They said that they had to get their people out, whether there was an easing of the tension or not. At any moment an incident might occur which would endanger the very lives of their people. They could not afford to take chances, with the consequence that they were very ready to yield to the pressure of the secret police and the enticement of the shipping companies and to emigrate their people without papers and without a fixed destination. They said that no opportunities for infiltration existed any longer, with the exception of the American quota and the refuge opportunities offered in England. The rest of the world had dried up. They had, therefore, to fall back upon force majeure, and reveal to the world in this dramatic fashion what was their plight. I pleaded with them that they were doing more harm than good by this way of proceeding, that they were defeating our efforts to open up places in Latin America, but they laughed in my face. After six years of dealing with this problem they are very hard. They do not believe in promises. Too many promises have been broken. They want action and are in a state of mind where they will force action.

Following my return from Berlin, I conferred at length with Lord Winterton and Sir Herbert Emerson,<sup>8</sup> also Monicy<sup>9</sup> of the French Embassy. It was agreed that I should make a draft memorandum which would then be submitted to the American, British and French Governments in the first instance, and by way of courtesy to the other officers

5 The negotiations with the IGCR were controversial on the German side. Göring advocated negotiations as Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan because the German export economy would have profited from the funding of emigration in accordance with the Schacht-Ruble plan.

6 The Schacht-Ruble plan envisaged that 25 per cent of Jewish assets in Germany would be paid into a trust fund for the purchase of equipment and materials. This was to be administered by a private company presided over by three trustees, two German and one foreign. A trust was furthermore to be established abroad in order to pre-finance the settlement of the emigrants. On the Schacht-Ruble plan, see Introduction, p. 48, Doc. 207, 20 Dec. 1938, and Doc. 230, 1 Jan. 1939.

7 On 24 Jan. 1939 Göring had given instructions for the establishment of the Reich Central Agency for Jewish Emigration and appointed Heydrich to head it: see Doc. 243.

8 Sir Herbert Emerson (1881–1962), diplomat; worked from 1906 in the British colonial administration in India; home secretary of the colonial administration, 1930–1933; governor of the Punjab, 1933–1938; from 1939 director of the IGCR; League of Nations high commissioner for refugees, 1939–1947.

9 Correctly: Emmanuel Monick (1893–1983), tax official and banker; from 1920 inspector general of the French Ministry of Finance; financial attaché at the French embassy in Washington, 1930–1934, and in London, 1934–1940; secretary general of the government in exile, 1940; minister of finance in the Provisional Government of the French Republic, 1944; president of the Banque de France, 1945–1949, and later also president of the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas.

of the Committee. When the text had been approved I would be authorized to take it back to Berlin. As a first setback in the preparation of this draft, the Foreign Office informed me this morning that I could say nothing about Palestine. They also warned me that I would have to be most cautious in my references to British Guiana and to Northern Rhodesia.<sup>10</sup> Just by way of further encouragement, the Dominican Charge d'Affaires, for whom I gave a luncheon yesterday, said that the statement with regard to his country would have to be most general.

With regard to Northern Rhodesia, a terrific row has been going on here throughout the last two weeks. The basis was that the Rothschild emigration committee<sup>11</sup> was authorized by the Government to assemble a Commission which would be sent to Rhodesia for the purpose of surveying possibilities of 'small scale settlement'. The Rothschilds replied that they could not send out a mission at great expense unless its terms of reference were agreed upon with the Government in advance. They also asked that an official of the Government should be assigned to accompany the mission. The Government, in answer, said that no official either from this end or from the local government in Rhodesia could have any connection with the mission. They then produced terms of reference which were so poor that Lord Hailey, the Chairman of the Co-ordinating Committee, threatened to resign.<sup>12</sup> Sir Herbert Emerson, who is magnificent, rushed into the breach and saved the situation temporarily. The Colonial Office is now reconsidering terms of reference, but so far has not given any indication that they will be very satisfactory. The battle continues.

*Sir Herbert* returned from his visit of inspection in *France, Belgium* and *Holland* about the same time that I got back from Berlin. He has given me a *very confidential* indication of what he discovered in these countries. The conditions in *France* are appalling. The government is doing little or nothing to cope with the situation, and is treating the people who have escaped across the borders as criminals, housing them in abandoned jails, depriving them of proper medical attention, and generally behaving badly. Sir Herbert was given very little cooperation by the French in his investigation; in fact it might be said that they did everything to hamper his efforts. In *Belgium* he found that there were between 8,000 and 9,000 adult refugees, and about 500 children. The number of adults is continually increasing, since although the Belgian Government has formally closed the frontier, no serious attempt is being made to carry out the closure, and both private organizations and government services told him that it was in fact impracticable to close the frontiers. While, therefore, the Government is still at liberty to expel those who have entered the country illegally, there is no immediate prospect of it exercising that right, although it might be compelled to do so if the numbers continue to increase at the present rate. The rate of irregular entry into Belgium is about 400 a week, and there is at present little evidence that the rate is declining. The excess of entries over

10 In 1938–1939 the British government examined the possibility of settling Jewish refugees in both colonies.

11 The Emigration (Planning) Committee was led from Dec. 1938 by the British banker Anthony Gustav de Rothschild (1887–1961).

12 William Malcom Hailey, first Baron Hailey (1872–1969), colonial official; worked in India from 1895; director of the African Research Survey from 1935; chairman of the Coordinating Committee for Refugees until May 1939; from 1941 chairman of the Committee on Post-War Problems in the Colonies.

departures constitutes the main problem in Belgium, both for the Government and the private organizations which are hard put financially. There is practically no anti-semitic feeling in the country at present, although there is some evidence that there is a trend in this direction. Private organizations have been very generous in organizing funds, but they are rapidly reaching the point where they cannot afford to make further large contributions, so that without external support the situation may very quickly get out of hand. Most of the refugees at present are being supported in Brussels or in Antwerp. The cost of board and lodging of a refugee is approximately 8 Belgian francs a day and this is very near the subsistence limit and cannot be cut down any further. It allows a man to live but little more. Other refugees are in a camp, or rather settlement, at Merxplas, about 45 miles from Brussels. This village is the headquarters of the State Workhouse for Vagrants, and the Government has placed at the disposal of the private associations some of the buildings. There are facilities for sports and there are workshops with adequate rooms for training purposes. Between 600 and 1,000 refugees are in this settlement. Most of them are between eighteen and thirty-five and belong to the shop-keeper, salesman, clerk and petty merchant class. There are virtually no skilled mechanics or agriculturalists. The Superintendent is a refugee doctor and he is assisted by two Government officials. The conduct of the persons in the camp is excellent and the morale is high. The Belgian Government is now planning to set up a second camp at Marneffe, about 60 miles from Brussels. There is a large government building there which was originally a castle, later a Jesuit College, and was recently used for the accommodation of Spanish children. It has large out-buildings which might easily be converted into excellent work shops. The surroundings are beautiful and healthy and there are about 100 acres of land available for agricultural training. At least 1,000 refugees can be accommodated there. The Government is prepared to stand the expense of conditioning this settlement if its maintenance will be taken over by the private organizations. Special facilities are being organized for children. The Germans have recently adopted the practice of placing children from three to ten years old on trains with a tag pinned on their chest stating 'I am so and so, going to join my mother in Brussels'. Of course, there is no mother at Brussels, and the children have to be taken care of upon arrival by the Red Cross and other agencies. Many of these children are so young that they only know their first names. They carry no papers or other indications of who they are or where they have come from. These children are coming across the frontier at such a rate that Belgium will soon have well over 1,000 children on its hands. On the Belgian side they are being very well and efficiently treated, and are being placed in private homes as soon as this can be arranged. Facilities are rapidly being exhausted, however, and the Belgians will soon be in need of outside help.

In *Holland* Sir Herbert found that there were approximately 22,000 refugees. The great majority of these are old or middle-aged persons, some sufficiently financed to carry them along for a short time. Many of these are living outside Government control, but are obliged to report at regular intervals to the authorities. The Dutch Government is using military authorities to seal the frontier, and there are few regular entries into the country at this time. Briefly, the Government's policy appears to be to allow the earlier legal entries to melt into the population, but to make things very difficult for the recent illegal entries. Sir Herbert was not permitted to visit the camp where illegal entrants are maintained, but he understands that these places are more in the nature of concentration camps than settlements. Camps are under the command of officers of the Army Reserve

who, he is informed, are very sympathetic towards the refugees. The food is said to be good and there are certain facilities for outdoor exercise. A certain amount of teaching in English and other languages is being given and a small beginning is being made in instructing these people in the crafts. Generally speaking, facilities for retraining are very meagre. Most of the refugees are said to be too pleased to be out of Germany to worry about their present disabilities. The Government is said to have plans now for setting up one central camp where from three to four thousand refugees will be housed, where there will be facilities for retraining and recreation and where less rigorous methods will be adopted than are now the rule. The Government will pay a part of the cost which is estimated to be around £125,000. The private organizations will have to defer the remainder of the expenses. There are approximately 1,500 refugee children in Holland and in accordance with its general policy, the Government does not allow these children to be placed with private families. They are accommodated in homes, and Sir Herbert found that the administration of the homes was efficient and the character of the children excellent. Unfortunately, the Government is not prepared at present to allow the children to attend ordinary schools, and the associations are finding it difficult to make arrangements to teach children of varying ages. The cost of living in Holland is high. There is very little, if any, anti-semitic feeling in the country. At the same time, unemployment is high, and if refugees were seriously to compete with domestic labor, public opinion might rapidly change. Private charity has been very generous and the resources of private organizations for this purpose do not seem to be exhausted.

Of course, all these Governments, together with the *British Government*, are insistent that the refugees should be moved on to places of final settlement within a year, and both Sir Herbert and I are very much worried about the situation on the settlement side. It is quite clear, no matter what may be said, that Latin America is sealed at the present time. The two projects in the British Empire, that is British Guiana and Northern Rhodesia, are of a long range nature, with the accent on the 'long'. The British are not even sure they will be permitting anybody to go to Rhodesia. What does this leave? The Dominican Republic and the Philippines for settlement and the United States for infiltration, with 3,000 a year to Australia. It is understood, however, that this 3,000 will be drawn from the refugees now in England.

Sir Herbert and I had a confidential talk with Home Office experts here this week, and we asked them frankly how many people they were prepared to retain permanently after the end of this year. They said that they could not permit more than 3,000 to remain in England. Outlets would have to be found for the others. The people while here are not allowed to work. They have to be supported by private charity, and conditions are not made easy for them. The condition, in almost every case, for temporary entry into England has been evidence that these people were included on the American quota. Now that the British have discovered that application for the quota does not necessarily mean that the applicant could obtain a visa, entry of persons on a temporary basis here has virtually been stopped. So we are pretty close to rock bottom.

The *Godman* affair is boiling briskly.<sup>13</sup> (1) Godman's solicitors have notified us that he is suing the Committee and/or its responsible representative to collect the sum of £2,500 for services rendered. (2) The legal advisers of the British Government have decided (a) that Lord Winterton is Chairman of the British Delegation and, as such, Chairman of the Intergovernmental Committee without executive authority or responsibility; (b) that

Sir Herbert Emerson, as an official of the League of Nations, enjoys under the covenant of the League full diplomatic immunity and cannot be sued in the British Courts; (c) that other officials of the Committee (meaning me) who are not at the same time officials of the League of Nations, do not enjoy diplomatic or any other immunity or any special status, and are regarded as private citizens, subject to be sued and taxed. Parenthetically, this is flatly contrary to what I have been given to understand from the outset of our establishment here. I have been repeatedly told, although I can find no record in writing, that the Director and the Assistant or Vice-Director of the Intergovernmental Committee should have the same status as officials of the League of Nations on duty in London. The Foreign Office now says that there is no precedent for this and that it cannot be granted.

This, I believe, covers the week's developments. With best regards to you and to Ted Achilles,

Yours ever,

DOC. 261

**Franziska Schubert describes her efforts to obtain the release of her husband from prison, the attempts at intimidation made by the Vienna Gestapo, and her emigration on 8 March 1939<sup>1</sup>**

Submission by Franziska Schubert<sup>2</sup> to a Harvard University competition (1940)

[...] <sup>3</sup>

On that day, 10 November, we were rudely awakened in the morning, startled from an already badly haunted sleep and thrust into the abyss of a hellish dream from which there was no longer any chance of a merciful awakening. The dreadful event had come to pass; anguish and torment made our blood run cold, demoralized our thoughts, and whipped our heartbeat to bursting point. Beneath the dark, starless sky sirens howled, in troubled streets the windowless vans zoomed along, one after another, another, yet another, and still they kept coming, and a dense crowd of women stood in front of a

13 In autumn 1938, even before Rublee and Schacht commenced direct negotiations, Lieutenant Commander Thomas Godman had offered to provide the IGCR with contacts to German government circles, since he was married to a cousin of Göring's. He had internal information at his disposal, but neither the Germans nor the IGCR took him seriously. In March 1939 he demanded payment from the IGCR for introducing Rublee to Schacht.

1 Franziska Schubert, 'Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und nach dem 30. Januar 1933' [My life in Germany before and after 30 January 1933] (1940), pp. 73–83, Harvard Competition, no. 205. This document has been translated from German.

2 Franziska Schubert, alias Margarete Neff (1892–1984), actress; in 1909 had her first acting job with Max Reinhardt at the Deutsches Theater in Berlin, 1909; member of the Meiningen Ensemble, 1914–1918; featured in several German films, 1919–1921; at the Deutsches Nationaltheater in Weimar, 1929–1935; after being banned from the profession, emigrated to Vienna and, in 1939, from there to the USA.

3 The account comprises 83 pages and was posted from New York City. In the first part of her account, Franziska Schubert describes her professional background, her emigration from Weimar to Vienna, the Anschluss of Austria, and the destruction of Jewish homes and the arrest of her husband, Alfred Junck, during the November pogroms.

former hotel<sup>4</sup> and wept, entreated, begged, and were chased away and came back and were chased away again. They ran up and down the streets and stood for hours in front of some convent, a school, or a shed and waited, until someone dispersed them again. And, blinded by tears, they ran on to the next gate, closed to them. – And after seven eternities a card arrived, bearing a furtively scribbled note: 'I'm in the convent school at 2 Kenyongasse, I'm all right.' Then the word was suddenly: Tonight they will all come home – and many did come, many did not. Then again: He was released on 17 November, is he not back at home? – We will look into it. – We are truly sorry; he has vanished without a trace. – – One knew what that must mean.

One raced from morning till night, one raced against something terrible; at least stay one step ahead, just keep running. And fear ran alongside, ran ahead, and ran behind, the lashes of its whip made the shredded air scream, one panted and wheezed, the spit flowed like water and saltpetre in one's mouth, one's eyes bulged from their sockets and – suddenly one was in the 'den of thieves'. I had been advised to get in touch with the lawyer Dr Jerabek.<sup>5</sup> He was a very influential lawyer in the Party; he defended the man who assassinated former Federal Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss.<sup>6</sup> – An old, white-haired man opens the door of the law office. 'Is Dr Jerabek available please?' 'Yes, but you'll have to wait, Madam. Take a seat near the stove, right there! It will be a long while; there are a great many people here.' The old man looks like a vain, run-down comic actor. The room is full of bursting. I wait. I hear telephone conversations: 'The Weghuber file, please – no, not yet – yes, please, dear colleague – unfortunately, no – we are not permitted to act as representatives, no, I have already told you, quite out of the question, no, we are not allowed to represent Jews.'<sup>7</sup> – The old comedian repeatedly touches my shoulder lightly. 'Go on, take off your coat; there, you see, when you're so grown up, you can certainly take off your coat. Are you Aryan? Your spouse is a Jew? Oh dear! Well, just go ahead and wait.' – We all sit in the thieves' den of Dr Jerabek, who at the time defended the heroes who slaughtered a man and let him bleed to death. – Finally, after endless waiting, I managed to speak to the office colleague of Dr Jerabek. He had the manner and behaviour of an Austrian aristocrat. He recorded the exact information; then he promised me that he would try everything possible to ascertain the whereabouts of my husband and get him released, if possible. He was especially friendly when he heard that my husband was a fellow lawyer. When I asked whether I should pay a retainer and in what amount, he took both my hands in his and said: 'The wife of my colleague should not ask such a question, not ever.' –

4 From March 1938 the Vienna Gestapo was headquartered in the Hotel Metropol on Morzinplatz in Vienna.

5 Dr Erwin Jerabek (1896–1969), lawyer; member of the Greater German People's Party (GDVP), 1923–1925; lawyer in Vienna, 1930–1969; joined the NSDAP in 1932 and the SS in 1933; in 1938 legal advisor to the 89th SS Regiment in Vienna; on 16 Dec. 1941 was dismissed from the SS 'at his own request', as he was suspected of having helped Jews.

6 Dollfuß was shot and killed on 25 July 1934 by Otto Planetta, a member of the SS.

7 On 22 April 1938 the Regulation against Support for the Disguising of Jewish Firms (*Verordnung gegen die Tarnung jüdischer Gewerbebetriebe*) was issued, according to which persons who did legal business for Jews were threatened with prison, penal servitude, and fines.

I spent every night in a different place. I was nothing more than a bundle of nerves. The word was that Alfred had been released, but he did not come.<sup>8</sup> Now I wrote a letter directly to Emmy Goering.<sup>9</sup> I had booked a cabin with the United States Line for passage to New York on 28 December 1938.

I sent a telegram to the Gestapo and to all the offices indicated to me, saying that everything was ready for the departure, because it was said that prisoners would then be more likely to be released. Nothing helped. With great difficulty, I had searched through the heap of rubble to find the most important documents. A man who had previously worked in a shop that belonged to friends helped me; he kept the documents and some money for me, because they were not safe with me. He was at my disposal at all times; he was distressed at the misfortune that his Nazis had brought upon us. He himself had been a Party member for many years, he was terribly ashamed.

Finally, at long last I succeeded in learning Alfred's whereabouts; he was in the police prison in Vienna. Thank God! I could not have been happier if I had learned that he was taking a pleasure trip along the Riviera. He had not been deported, and I had heard that people were treated decently in the police prison. – On 13 November I got a telephone call from a man who had been locked in a riding school for two days along with my husband. I met up with him; the SS had beaten him up so badly that he could barely walk. The first night, Alfred and the others had to stand all night long. For twenty-four hours they did not get a bite to eat or a sip of water to drink; they were forced to watch while people were beaten with iron bars; they had to undergo barbaric abuse. One night the police volunteered to do guard duty, after being on duty all day. This was done to save the innocent people from the SS, which was trained to kill. –

When I learned where Alfred was, I made up a parcel, warm clothes, soap, a toothbrush, a pair of shoes, and some biscuits and chocolate. Women with parcels stood in a long queue in front of the police prison; finally we were admitted and allowed to deliver our treasures. The police officials were decent and even allowed the chocolate to be passed on, which was actually prohibited. I was also allowed to send in 10 Reichsmarks by post. 10 Reichsmarks to Alfred J., Police Prison, Vienna IX, Cell 95. – – Cell 95! The childhood friend with whom I played a piano duet as a child, to whom I had been married for the past two years, had been in a cell since 17 November! And I was glad about it! What had become of us within the short space of eight months! Every criminal had the right to defend himself and to be heard; he had the right to humane treatment even if his guilt had been proven. And us?

On 26 November 1938, when, after hours of wandering between the offices of lawyers and the authorities, I reached the flat of my mother-in-law, both her maids, joyful and excited, were already waiting for me: 'The doctor has just telephoned, he is home again.' I phoned home. 'I'm coming,' I said, 'I'm coming right away.' The reply, barely audible, reached my ear: 'Yes – yes –' then the voice broke off. 'I'm coming!' I shouted again. Then I ran down the stairs, jumped into a taxi and promised the driver a princely tip if he would put his foot down. On the way I had him stop at a fishmonger's and bought

<sup>8</sup> Alfred Junck, lawyer.

<sup>9</sup> Emmy Göring, née Sonnemann (1894–1973), actress; had acting engagements in Stuttgart, Weimar, and Berlin; married Hermann Göring in 1935. Emmy Göring and Franziska Schubert knew one another from the days when both were performing at the Deutsches Nationaltheater in Weimar.

the biggest trout there was to be had, in spite of my haste, although I could not wait to get home. The vehicle stopped. Suddenly I was in front of the door to the apartment; suddenly I was in the entrance hall of our apartment. In the middle of the entrance hall stood a person, a creature in a filthy suit, looking about helplessly, his shirt collar unbuttoned – he stood there without moving, as if he could never again move from the spot on which he stood. His face was swollen and his expression so dazed and vacant that I probably would have walked past him without recognizing him, if I had encountered him in the street. I said: ‘Come, let’s go into the next room.’ He looked at me with the same helpless, uncomprehending gaze. I put my arm around him and led him into the living room, which was still in a dismal state. I pulled up a chair for him; he remained standing. Carefully taking him by the hand and shoulders, I guided him down onto the chair; the next second he jerked to his feet, his glassy eyes looking straight ahead. I drew his poor face to mine and held his head in both my hands; I felt his breath against my ear, in a toneless whisper: ‘They are people’ – and a sob. I took him into the bedroom, I undressed him. His feet and legs were horrendously swollen. He took a bath, then I put him into bed; he should have slept, but he could not. He had gone from total apathy to equally unnatural animation. He had to talk. When I brought him the trout, he thanked me and said it was far too fancy, and behaved like a supplicant who is embarrassed and fears that, in the end, he will be a nuisance after all. But he ate, and gradually he became calmer. Although he still talked continuously, he no longer spoke with such feverish haste. – Towards evening, his mother’s maids came, along with three other cooks from the neighbourhood, to wish him the best, and they all wept for joy.

A few days later came confirmation that Emmy Goering had interceded for us. We received the following letter:

The Chief of the Staff Office  
of Minister President Field Marshal Goering  
Ministerial Director Staatsrat Dr Gritzbach<sup>10</sup>  
J. no. 8774/38  
Berlin W 8, 29 November 1938

In response to your letter of 23 November 1938 addressed to Mrs Goering, I most respectfully inform you that I have forwarded your request, making reference to your intention to emigrate, to the Chief of the Security Police.

p.p.  
Dr Joachimi<sup>11</sup> m. p.<sup>12</sup>

10 Dr Erich Gritzbach (b. 1896), administrative official; joined the SS and the NSDAP in 1933; chief commissioner for the Olympic Games, 1933–1936; chief of the Staff Office of Prussian Minister President Göring, 1938–1945; editor of the journal *Der Vierjahresplan: Zeitschrift für nationalsozialistische Wirtschaftspolitik*; interned in 1945; after his release a senior official with the European Coal and Steel Community.

11 Dr Paul Joachimi (1909–1993), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1937; official at the main post office headquarters in Berlin, 1936–1937; worked for the government in Frankfurt an der Oder, 1937–1938; with the Prussian Ministry of State in Berlin, 1938–1945; military service and captivity, 1939–1947; with the Representation of the Federal State of Lower Saxony to the German Federal Government, 1949–1953; head of department in the Federal Ministry for Housing, 1953–1975.

12 *Manu propria*: Latin, ‘[signed] with one’s own hand’.

On the morning of 5 December 1938, the maid announces to us that a gentleman has arrived who wishes to speak with me. In the entrance hall stands a fresh-faced man whom I do not know. He is excessively friendly and behaves as if we had met before. I hear him mention a name, which sounds like Rivoli; I know no one of this name. I take him into the living room to Alfred, because I think that the man perhaps had some dealings with him as a lawyer at one time. Alfred has never seen him before either. The man keeps talking insistently to me, saying that he comes from Zagreb. Now I believe I have a clue; I think he may be an acquaintance of my brother-in-law in Zagreb and is supposed to bring us his regards. I offer him a seat and hand him cigarettes. He begins to smoke. Then he looks at me half submissively, half challengingly, and asks: 'Do you really not know Rivoli?' The matter becomes awkward for me. I don't know: is *he* Rivoli? What is certain is that I have never seen him before, he is mistaken, but out of exaggerated politeness and to put an end to the uncomfortable situation, I say: 'My brother-in-law always speaks of so many people, it is possible that he mentioned this name too on one occasion, but –' Here my guest interrupts me: 'So, now I have you, you know him,' and, with a smarmy grin: 'I am from the *Gestapo*.' The colour drained from my poor husband's faced. My heart was thumping wildly, and at the same time I felt myself become ice-cold. I looked him in his gloating, hideous face and asked him: 'And what is it you want?' – 'You know Rivoli!' – 'I have told you from the outset that I do *not* know him.' – 'But you betrayed yourself just now, you said that you had heard the name from your brother-in-law; here, take a look at this piece of paper.' – With these words he showed me a slip of paper on which, beneath some names I did not know, my name and that of my brother-in-law were also written. 'What does that have to do with me?' I asked him. – 'Don't pretend!' – he shouted at me, – 'You spoke to Rivoli on the phone on Friday evening.' – 'I did not even speak on the phone at all on Friday evening.' – 'Yes, you did.' – 'That is not true.' – 'You said: You dirty dog, I'll report you!' – I was scared to death; what had happened here? The sneering secret police spy rambled on: – 'Don't deny it; you spoke with me on the phone.' – I tried to smile: 'But you yourself must know that you did not speak with me.' – 'You talked on the phone with Rivoli.' – 'I give you my word that I did not speak with him on the phone and that I do not know him.' – 'I don't need your word; you are required to report to the *Gestapo* at 3 p.m. today in the Hotel Metropole, room 305.<sup>13</sup> There you will tell the truth.' – 'I will tell the truth, just as I have told it now.' – 'At *Gestapo* headquarters, you'll sing quite a different tune.' – 'I can't say anything different there from what I've said up to now.' He sneered at me continuously. 'Or will the *Gestapo* possibly force me to say something that is not true?' He suddenly changed his tactics and tried to coax me: – 'Your husband was locked up. Didn't you commission Rivoli to seek his release?' – 'I asked quite a number of people to intercede for my husband; that is permitted, and if you wish, I'll give you the names of the people concerned, but I have never heard anyone except you speak of someone named Rivoli.' – He quibbled a bit longer. Then he looked around the room as if he intended to conduct a search. He picked up a letter from a friend in Hamburg that had recently arrived and read it avidly. – 'Why are you receiving a letter from Hamburg?' – I could give no reply to this idiotic question. – 'Who is that?' – 'A female friend of

13 Correctly: Hotel Metropol.

mine.' – 'Is she an Aryan?' – 'Yes.' Then he made a note of her address and hissed: – 'We'll deal with *her* too.' – Then he removed from the typewriter a letter I had just begun, read the inconsequential lines and threw it angrily on to the table. Finally, jubilant, he pounced on a little address book and leafed through it; we had bought it the previous day, and it was still completely blank. Raging like a bad comic actor, he trumpeted: – 'I see that I've come too early, I should have come an hour later!' – He gave me a summons to the Gestapo, and then came what one would have least expected of this sinister idiot, who turned to address my husband: – 'It may be a long time until your wife comes back, don't be alarmed.' Then he left.

The police spy was gone, but it brought no relief. Alfred and I stood alone in the room, artificially calm; we tried to plan. I decided to go to the parliament building to consult my protector; Alfred went to seek a colleague's advice. I had to wait in the parliament building. I sat in the corridor on a bench with four or five other women; sighs, barely restrained tears, a halting conversation. Here one encountered exclusively Aryan women, whose husbands or sons were in the concentration camp; most of them were persecuted because they were suspected of being monarchists or loyal supporters of the Dollfuss–Schuschnigg regime. The wife of former Defence Minister and Federal Chancellor Vaugoin<sup>14</sup> sat next to me. After I had waited for some time, my name was called. I briefly told my protector what had just taken place. He was unable to help me and only gave me this advice: 'Never say I don't know or I can't remember. It makes a bad impression.' I went home. Alfred had no word of comfort for me either. The cook brought the midday meal, and I tried to eat a few morsels. I put on warm clothes, because I assumed that I would be arrested. I said to Alfred: 'If they try to force you to make a false statement while I am not here, don't get involved in anything, I'm sticking with the truth.' He embraced me without saying a word, I pushed him away, and then my feet began to move. –

I entered the Hotel Metropole, the headquarters of the Gestapo, presented the summons at the entrance, and climbed up to the fourth floor. Door after door in a long corridor. Next to the wall was a wooden chair, half smashed. Some people with frightened faces shuffled a few steps in one direction, a few steps back, up and down, to and fro. One stopped for a moment to take a deep breath; one was as breathless as if one had raced up a mountain. I brushed past a woman slightly in passing, she looked at me searchingly; the second time we passed, I murmured, my lips almost closed: 'Rivoli?' 'Yes,' was the reply. The third time, we stopped, without attracting attention. The woman did not know why she had been summoned either. We resumed our wandering. I was so exhausted that I wanted to sit down on the chair. The woman warned me. 'Get up,' she said. 'Earlier an old woman sat down there, and then a civil servant came and berated her dreadfully.' We continued wandering. For hours. Sometimes one of the many doors opened, and an official came out and went into a different room. At the end of this corridor was a staircase; one could see from the fourth floor all the way down to the ground floor; if one stared down for a long time, one felt a pull. I kept on wandering. If only one had been allowed to sit down for a few minutes! I began to understand how it happened that people could take the blame for something they had never done. I began

<sup>14</sup> Carl Vaugoin was vice chancellor of Austria from 1929 to 1930 and chancellor from Sept. to Dec. 1930; he was arrested after the Anschluss.

to understand, and the torment had been going on for only a few hours. – Finally I was called in to see an official. He was a nice-looking young man, and he politely offered me a seat. He asked me questions. After I had assured him that I really did not know Rivoli, he said: 'I believe you, you are telling the truth.' Then he asked me whether I perhaps had relatives in Zagreb who could have instructed Rivoli to make efforts to have my husband released. It dawned on me; naturally, it was possible, but they had not informed me of the fact. The official explained to me what it was about. The aforementioned Rivoli was a swindler who took advantage of the opportunity and pretended to the relatives of those under arrest that he could obtain their release and would procure an entry visa for Yugoslavia for them. This swindler had been caught, and proceedings against him had been instituted. As I learned much later, he actually had got my address from my brother-in-law in Zagreb. – The door opened, and the police spy who had been in our apartment that morning came into the room. 'The matter is completely clear,' the friendly official said and looked at the police spy indignantly. 'The lady really does not know Rivoli.' 'You didn't see the look the couple exchanged when I spoke of him,' he insisted, sly-faced; then he went away again. I answered a few more questions. The official made a written record of our conversation, which I had to sign. He was just about to let me leave when the other fellow entered the room again. The young official said to him rather sharply: 'The matter is settled.' 'We'll just see whether a Jew or a Jewess tells the truth once, for a change,' was the idiot's laughing reply. The young official bowed as I left the room.

We worked tirelessly to obtain the documents required for our emigration. Our Reich Flight Tax and the so-called Levy on Jewish Assets<sup>15</sup> were settled at the end of December 1938, so that nothing more stood in the way of issuing our passports. We hoped to be able to depart in the first half of January 1939. From day to day we waited for notification that we could pick up our passports in the former Palais Rothschild. That was the location of the Central Office for the Emigration of Non-Aryans and Jews. In front of the Palais, where people stood in long queues day and night waiting to be let in, the wildest scenes were played out. The people were either harassed in the crudest way or were chased off after they had stood and waited an entire night; these were preferred jokes of the SA and SS. Without a summons, one was not allowed to enter the building; it was thus impossible to conduct one's own so pressing affairs in person and obtain information about their status. One was forced to avail oneself of the assistance of persons who, allegedly thanks to their connections, were admitted there at any time and could have access to the files. We delegated three persons in succession to keep track of our matter. All of them assured us that everything was in order and passports had been issued, and we most definitely would be notified the next day that we could come to fetch them. The 'next day' was delayed for endless weeks.

On 15 January 1939 came an excessively polite telephone call from the Gestapo, ordering my husband to appear in the afternoon at the Hotel Metropole, bringing with him all documents that could provide evidence of his efforts to emigrate. There he was received initially by a civil servant from old Austria, who examined the documents. Suddenly, from the next room, came a very young north German, who roared in a threatening

15 See Doc. 247, 28 Jan. 1939.

tone of voice: 'Your wife has lied to Field Marshal Goering. She promised in her petition addressed to Mrs Emmy Goering that you would leave the country on 28 December 1938; how does it happen that you are still here?' My husband replied that, as per the documents produced, he had done everything in his power to emigrate; nonetheless, he had not been able to obtain the passports until now. The official replied: 'That is no concern of mine; I am giving you both, as a final deadline, the date of 15 February 1939. If you have not left by then, you and your wife will be sent to Dachau.' My husband requested written confirmation of the 15 February expulsion date, so that he could present it at the passport office and thus speed up the issuance process. The official refused to provide it, and he also denied the request that the passport office be officially notified of the expulsion. With the words: 'It is your job to obtain passports for leaving the country,' he left the room.

During this unnerving time, a humorous interlude had also occurred. My husband possesses a small collection of autographs, which he was eager to take along. To do so, he had to have it appraised by an expert and obtain an export permit from the National Library in Vienna. He went there with his collection. At the entrance he caught sight of the inscription: 'Entry strictly forbidden to Jews.' Despite this friendly invitation, he entered the building. He was politely received. The director took a personal interest in the collection and chatted with my husband about the various items, all of which he read. Then he said: 'You may take along everything with the exception of one manuscript, which we absolutely must have.' My husband feared that the director wanted to keep a letter from Beethoven, but to his immense astonishment he asked for the manuscript of a poem by Heinrich Heine from the 'Deutschland' cycle, explaining that the library did not possess a single Heine manuscript. In reply to my husband's comment that manuscripts of Jewish authors had probably been withdrawn from the library, the director said: 'How can you think such a thing of us, Doctor?!' My husband offered the Heine as a gift. Then the director enquired, visibly embarrassed: 'The doctor is not perhaps a non-Aryan, is he?' In reply to my husband's answer that this was the case, he expressed his regret that under these circumstances he was unable to accept the gift. He must purchase the manuscript, he said, but before doing so wanted to determine the value, so that my husband would not be harmed in any way. A few days later the director informed him, once again with great embarrassment, that the library's financial situation was very bad, and therefore payment of only 8 (!) Reichsmarks could be offered. Smiling, my husband assented. The large amount could not be paid out in cash, as doing so would require obtaining the permission of the Ministry of Education. – To this very day, he has not received the money.

As 15 February 1939 approached and we still had not received the passports, I succeeded, with the help of a lady who had excellent connections to the Vienna Society of Friends,<sup>16</sup> in gaining access to Mr Gildemeester.<sup>17</sup> He was the head of the organized effort named after him, whose purpose was to assist the non-Aryans who were perse-

16 On the Society of Friends (Quakers), see Doc. 251, 11 Feb. 1939.

17 Dr Frank van Gheel Gildemeester (b. 1855), theologian; after 1918 campaigned for causes including the release of German prisoners of war from French and Russian captivity; worked in Austria from 1920; from 1934 campaigned for National Socialists incarcerated in Austria; founder of the relief organization named after him, which assisted non-Aryan Christians.

cuted by the Nazi government in their attempt to leave the country. The Gildemeester operation functioned in concert with the Gestapo. Mr Gildemeester, a Dutchman, had always made a point of helping those who were politically persecuted. During the days when the Nazis were still illegal, he had thus attended to their needs, and now he lent his support to those being persecuted by the Nazis. The operation was carried out in the grandest style. Gildemeester himself received no one in person, but a recommendation from the Quakers opened to me the door that was closed to all others. – I came into a large, almost empty room. In one corner stood a desk. On the wall hung a large image of Adolf Hitler, which was garlanded with fir sprigs; a lean man in a dark suit rose from the chair behind the desk and bowed when I entered. I stated my concerns. Silently and without moving, but with great attention, Mr Gildemeester listened to my account. Then he rang and instructed the man who had appeared to ascertain the status of the matter and to report to him on the result. He extended his hand to me; it felt like wax, unbelievably smooth, cool, and lifeless. From the moment I felt this hand in mine, I completely forgot what his face looked like. – Twenty-four hours later it was determined that my husband's passport was ready but mine was not; thus the endless delay was explained. After thirty-six hours more, my passport too was completed, at the instigation of Mr Gildemeester, and we were able to receive both passports the next day. A nice practice had developed of late: people were shown their completed passports, but they were issued only on condition that, depending on the whim of the Gestapo official concerned, an additional payment was made, often amounting to many thousands. It was virtually impossible to fight against this extortion. We were prepared for it, and my husband had thus brought along all the documents and pieces of evidence as proof that he no longer possessed any cash and that even the tax office had therefore allowed him to pay all the taxes by consigning securities, whose sale was prohibited.<sup>18</sup> The official was not prepared for these arguments, which were immediately presented, and we were thus not subjected to the usual extortion, for a change.

In the meantime the expulsion deadline, 15 February 1939, had arrived, and we were forced to request an extension; it was granted until 15 March 1939.

On 8 March 1939 at 2:30 p.m., our train left Vienna's West Station for Zurich, via Salzburg and Buchs. We sat alone in our second-class compartment; use of the dining and sleeping cars was prohibited to Jews as of 1 March.<sup>19</sup>

On 9 March at 5:30 a.m., in total darkness and a snowstorm, accompanied by thunder and lightning, we reached Zurich. The porter greeted us in good Swiss German: 'We're going to have war; first, there is a snowstorm, and second, we have an exhibition in the summer. Whenever we have an exhibition in Zurich, there's always war; it was the same in 1914.'

<sup>18</sup> See Doc. 247, 28 Jan. 1939.

<sup>19</sup> See Doc. 215, 28 Dec. 1938.

## DOC. 262

**On 10 March 1939 Aurel von Jüchen and Karl Kleinschmidt  
protest against Protestant pastors being instructed not baptize Jews<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from Aurel von Jüchen<sup>2</sup> and Karl Kleinschmidt,<sup>3</sup> Rossow and Schwerin, to Regional Bishop Walther Schultz,<sup>4</sup> 4 Bischofstraße, Schwerin, and to the clergy of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Mecklenburg, for information,<sup>5</sup> dated 10 March 1939 (copy)

Dear Regional Bishop,

In your capacity as head of the regional church, you issued a law on 13 February 1939 concerning the ecclesiastical status of the Jews.<sup>6</sup> [It is] not based on a particular understanding and reading of Holy Scripture or the confessional documents of our church, but rather ‘under §§ 1 and 2 of the Canon Law of 13 September 1933 on Appointment of a Regional Church Leader and pursuant to § 2(1) and § 3(1) of the Seventeenth<sup>7</sup> Regulation on the Implementation of the Law for the Protection of the German Protestant Church, 10 December 1937, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 1346’.<sup>8</sup>

Do you believe that these sections of the law can *replace* the absent rationale from Holy Scripture and the confessional documents of our church?

Or do you believe that actions related to church governance require no such rationale? – The sole task of church governance is the legal and administrative protection of the organized and scriptural proclamation of the word of God, and it is therefore subject to the same standard and the same responsibility as the ministry of proclamation. Are

1 EZA, 611/29, published in Karl Heinz Jahnke, *Widerstand und Opposition gegen das NS-Regime aus den Kirchen in Mecklenburg 1933–1945* (Rostock: Jugend und Geschichte, 1994), pp. 35–36. This document has been translated from German.

2 Aurel von Jüchen (1902–1991), Protestant theologian; member of the League of National Socialist Pastors, 1935–1937, then of the Confessing Church; military service, 1940–1945; from 1945 pastor in Schwerin; expelled from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED), 1949; forced labour in the Soviet Union, 1950–1955; prison chaplain in Berlin, 1956–1972; author of numerous theological works.

3 Friedrich Wilhelm Karl Heinrich Kleinschmidt (1902–1978), Protestant theologian and journalist; from 1927 pastor in Weißbach; arrested in 1933; from 1934 cathedral preacher in Schwerin; member of the League of National Socialist Pastors; in 1937 converted to the Confessing Church; military service and American captivity, 1939–1945; joined the SED in 1946; member of the Regional Synod of Mecklenburg, 1946–1952.

4 Walter Schultz (1900–1957), Protestant theologian; joined the NSDAP in 1931; in 1933 head of the League of National Socialist Pastors and regional church leader; in 1934 regional bishop and head of the German Christians in Mecklenburg; in 1945 interned in Schleswig-Holstein; from 1950 worked as a pastor.

5 The letter was sent to all pastors in Mecklenburg.

6 In Feb. 1939 the Protestant regional churches of Anhalt, Thuringia, Mecklenburg, Saxony, and Lübeck issued almost identically worded laws ‘on the ecclesiastical status of Protestant Jews’. They stated that Jews could not become members of the respective regional church. Members of the clergy were not obliged to officiate at religious ceremonies involving non-Aryan Christians who had converted before this canon law came into force. In the German Protestant Church, the adoption of such provisions was discussed in the spring of 1939, but the regulation, already drafted, was not issued. The text of the first four regional church laws and the draft of the German Protestant Church regulation can be found in EZA, 1/3071, and the Lübeck law in EZA, 1/3072.

7 *Kirchliches Amtsblatt für Mecklenburg-Schwerin*, vol. 21 (1933), EZA, 1/1245. Under pressure from the German Christians, the office of regional church leader (*Landeskirchenführer*) was established in canon law.

you aware that you place the pastors of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Mecklenburg in an impossible position when you expect them to act or to refrain from acting in categorical opposition to the New Testament, to which they are accountable in what they do and preach, and when you demand of them an obedience that compels them to disregard the obligations they undertook in their ordination vows?

Or is the baptismal commission of Jesus Christ not included in your New Testament? – It is, however, part of *the* New Testament that lies on the altars and pulpits of Mecklenburg's Lutheran churches! – How do you intend to bring your law of 13 February 1939 into line with that? – Is there to be no more preaching in the Lutheran churches of our region of the Epistle to the Romans, the Epistles to the Corinthians, the Epistle to the Galatians, the Epistle to the Ephesians, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Synoptic Gospels, all of which are in contradiction to your law? – Or are the pastors of Mecklenburg to *act* in a way counter to the one they *preach*?

Is the gospel entrusted to the Church the good news of the salvation that God in Jesus Christ wants to give to *all* sinners – *or not?* – Did Christ the Lord make known his will that *all* men should be helped and should come to know the truth – *or not?* – Did he send out his disciples to *the entire* world to teach and to baptize *all* peoples – *or not?* Is it the good news that God excludes *no one* from salvation in Jesus Christ and also wants to know that no one is excluded from it by other men – *or not?*

However, if it is the will of God and his holy gospel that *all* men should be helped – how, then, can *you* wish to block God's universal saving and loving will? – And how can you then wish to prevent God's servants from obeying this will? – Or even wish to acquit them of the obligation to obey this will? – And how can you then wish to put in the place of this gospel a law that you yourself have devised?

Do you really think *you* have been given authority to decide what a Christian is obligated to do and not to do? – Do you really believe that you have a right to *dissolve* where our Lord has *bound together*? – And do you really expect the Lutheran pastors of Mecklenburg to disobey the baptismal commission of our Lord Jesus Christ merely because you so command?

But when you devised this law, perhaps you assumed that the Lutheran pastors of Mecklenburg would at least not clash with you publicly, fearing that this would be interpreted as 'friendliness towards Jews' or as 'sabotage of the legislation pertaining to Jews'. – We cannot, however, prevent you from evading the call for an *evangelical* justification of your law by invoking *political* arguments and seeking to cast political suspicion on those who question you. Nonetheless, we believe that we owe it to you to declare to you *openly* and *publicly* that we cannot accept and cannot obey this law until you can justify it on the basis of Holy Scripture and our church's confession of faith.

*That is what we ask of you*, dear Regional Bishop! – Openly, before all the Lutheran pastors of Mecklenburg! – They have not appointed us as their spokesmen. But we are certain that every Lutheran pastor in Mecklenburg has on his mind these questions to you. And even if that were not so – the holy Christian Church itself asks you how you

8 The cited passages of the Seventeenth Regulation on the Implementation of the Law for the Protection of the German Protestant Church stated that the church administrations were in charge of the regional churches and thus entitled to issue regulations.

plan to justify a law that attacks the Church's innermost substance, attacks the principle of justification by faith alone!

It is pointless to polemicize against your questioners. It is not the questioners who are important, but rather the question that is asked. It cannot be silenced; it must be answered.

Most reverentially<sup>9</sup>

DOC. 263

**Jolanthe Wolff's passport, dated 10 March 1939, with instructions on how German refugees should behave in Britain<sup>1</sup>**

Passport belonging to Jolanthe Wolff<sup>2</sup>




<sup>9</sup> Schultz did not reply to the two authors of the letter. On 24 March 1939 the high consistory opened disciplinary proceedings against von Jüchen and Kleinschmidt, but these were not concluded.

<sup>1</sup> Literary estate of Jolanthe Fromm, née Wolff, in the possession of her son Raymond Fromm, London. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Jolanthe Wolff (1911–1979), office worker. In spring 1939 she emigrated to Britain, where she intended to work as a maid; in preparation for her emigration she had attended a cookery school in Hamburg. On 10 March 1939 an official of the British consulate in Hamburg stamped a visa in the passport that was valid for one entry into Britain. On 13 March 1939 Wolff exchanged foreign currency at the Dresdner Bank branch in Hamburg-Harvestehude for 10 Reichsmarks – she was not permitted to take more cash than this out of the country. The conditions for exporting valuables were listed in the Reichsbank's Foreign Currency Instructions for Journeys Abroad. On 14 March 1939 Wolff left Germany from the port of Hamburg. Upon arrival in Southampton on 17 March 1939 she was told that she must immediately register with the police and that she was permitted to have only one job in a private residence. She also received instructions on how to conduct herself.

<sup>3</sup> Page 1 of the passport contains the following information: 'German Reich; J[ew]; Passport no. 3464'; 'Name of passport holder: Wolff, Jolanthe Maria Gabriele Sara'; 'Nationality: German Reich; This passport contains 32 pages'. The stamp is from the Hamburg chief of police.



Unterschrift des Paßinhabers  
*Jolante Sara Wolff*  
Ehefrau

Es wird hiermit bescheinigt, daß der Inhaber die durch das obestehende Lichtbild dargestellte Person ist und die darunter befindliche Unterschrift eigenhändig vollzogen hat.  
Hamburg, den 10 März 1939  
Der Polizeipräsident.  
261 VII  
*[Signature]*

PERSONENBESCHREIBUNG

Ehefrau

Beruf *Kontistin*

Geburtsort *Hamburg*

Geburtsdag *16. 2. 11*

Wohnort *Hamburg*

Gestalt *mittel*

Gesicht *oval*

Farbe der Augen *braun*

Farbe des Haares *dark brown*

Besond. Kennzeichen *Keine*

KINDER

Name	Alter	Geschlecht
/		

IMMIGRATION OFFICER  
(15)  
17 MARCH 1939  
SOUTHAMPTON

ALBEN REGISTRATION OFFICE  
20/3/39  
LINES STATION

Hamburg, Hafen, ansgereist am 14. MRZ. 1939

RCN<sup>o</sup>. 716412

13 März 1939

Das Einverständnis der Besondere für Auswanderungen auf Grund der...

Ordinary

Visa for UNITED KINGDOM

Date 10 MAR 1939 No. 2677

Granted at HAMBURG.

SINGLE JOURNEY ONLY.

*[Signature]*  
British Vice Consul

H.O. auth only

No. D. 1783 of 31.1.39

Ins. Fees. R. Para. 13.

BRITISH CONSUL HAMBURG

CONSULAR SERVICE

- 4 Page 2 of the passport contains the following information: 'Signature of the passport holder: *Jolante Sara Wolff*'; It is certified herewith that the [passport] holder is the person pictured in the photograph above and has administered the signature below with their own hand'; 'Hamburg, 10 March 1939. The Chief of Police. Dept VII.' The stamp is from the Hamburg chief of police. Page 3 of the passport contains the following information: 'Personal description; Profession: *office clerk*; Place of birth: *Hamburg*; Date of birth: *16 Feb. 1911*; Place of residence: *Hamburg*; Build: *medium*; Face: *oval*; Eye colour: *brown*; Hair colour: *dark brown*; Special features: *none*'.
- 5 The rectangular stamp in the middle of page 6 of the passport reads: 'Port of Hamburg, departed on 14 March 1939'. The stamp in the bottom left-hand corner of page 6 reads: 'Foreign currency submitted in return for the amount of RM 10, Hamburg, 13 March 1939, Dresdner Bank in Hamburg-Harvestehude'. The stamp in the bottom right-hand corner of page 6 reads: 'Issued with the Foreign Currency Instructions of the Reichsbank for Journeys Abroad.'

6

**SIE SIND GAESTE GROSSBRITANNIENS.**

Hoeflichkeit und gutes Betragen werden Ihnen ueberall herzliche Aufnahme und Sympathie zusichern.

Sprechen Sie nicht laut auf der Strasse, besonders nicht am Abend.

Nehmen Sie Ruecksicht auf die Bequemlichkeit anderer Leute und vermeiden Sie, deren Eigentum und Moebel zu beschaedigen.

Vergessen Sie nie, dass England's Urteil ueber die deutschen Fluechtlinge von IHREM Verhalten abhaengt.

7

**ACHTUNG.**

Deutschen Fluechtlingen wird dringendst geraten, ueusserst vorsichtig in ihren Gesprächen zu sein.

In Ihrem eigenen Interesse empfehlen wir Ihnen dringend, keine Arbeitsangebote irgendwelcher Art anzunehmen, ohne vorher die Erlaubnis der englischen Regierung eingeholt zu haben.

6 The text of the instructions issued in Southampton reads: 'You are guests of Great Britain. Politeness and good manners will ensure you a warm reception and sympathy everywhere. Do not talk loudly on the street, especially not in the evening. Be considerate of the comfort of other people, and avoid damaging their property or furniture. Never forget that England's verdict on the German refugees depends on *your* conduct.'

7 The text of the instructions issued in Southampton reads: 'Attention. German refugees are most strongly advised to be extremely cautious in their conversations. In your own interest we strongly recommend that you not accept any employment offers of any kind without first obtaining the permission of the English government.'

## DOC. 264

**On 10 March 1939 Adolf Eichmann points out that legal discrimination  
against the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna would result  
in the loss of foreign exchange<sup>1</sup>**

Letter (marked 'Personal! Delivered by orderly') from the Central Office for Jewish Emigration (c 2-664/39 Ech/L), p.p. Eichmann, Vienna, to the Reich Commissioner for the Reunification of Austria with the German Reich, for the attention of Ministerialrat Loos,<sup>2</sup> Vienna I, Parliament, dated 10 March 1939<sup>3</sup>

*Re:* withdrawal of the public corporation status of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna.<sup>4</sup>

*Case file:* telephone conversation of SS-Hauptsturmführer Eichmann with Ministerialrat Loos on 10 March 1939.

As early as the middle of last year, in contrast to Berlin, the Jewish financial institutions abroad, such as the Council for German Jewry, the American Joint Distribution Committee, HICEM, etc., began to provide substantial amounts of foreign currency 'for Jewish emigration from Austria'. This result was achieved, first, after the people in authority here at the Jewish organizations were correspondingly approached and, second, after various agreements with the Reich Ministry of Economics were reached. In the period that followed, up to present, a total of 20,000 pounds sterling and 798,292 US dollars has accordingly been transferred from Paris and London to Vienna. These foreign currency holdings are controlled and administered by the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in cooperation with the Vienna Foreign Currency Office.

In view of the intended purpose, the Reich Ministry of Economics authorized exemption from the tax obligation and, in addition, allowed the continued sale of these foreign currency sums at arbitrary rates to Jews in the Ostmark.

These foreign currency sums enabled two things to be achieved. First, it was possible to cause the Jews to emigrate, as, by virtue of this foreign currency, they possessed the requisite proof of means. Second, the financial needs for the Jewish organizations of the Ostmark could be met. (The monthly budget of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna, for example, amounts to more than 1 million Reichsmarks. The tax receipts of the Israelite Religious Community are constantly declining, for obvious reasons. The Israelite Religious Community at present must provide food etc. for around 20,000–22,000 Jews each day, the entire Jewish personnel apparatus must be maintained in the interest of a forced exodus of the Jews, etc.)

1 ÖStA/AdR, Reichskommissar Bürckel/Materie, 1762/1. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Roman Loos, policeman; director of Secret Field Police Group 510.

3 The original contains a stamp of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration, in addition to handwritten comments and underlining.

4 While the Jewish communities in the Old Reich had been denied the status of public corporation as early as March 1938 (see Doc. 23, 28 March 1938), the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna retained this status until its dissolution in Oct. 1942, although the Reich Ministry of Finance pushed for a change, in part to prevent the membership fees for Jewish religious associations from being tax deductible.

As a result of these foreign currency receipts and the associated domestic revenue, and through creation of additional immigration opportunities, it was possible by legal means to cause the following numbers of Jews to emigrate from the Ostmark:

by 15 December 1938	66,848 and
from 15 December 1938 to 15 March 1939	22,779.

These Jews emigrated as follows:

to European states	39,038
” North America	19,092
” South America	8,433
” Palestine	5,459
” Asia	13,721
” Africa	2,535
” Australia	1,349

(Emigration to European states serves these Jews merely as a springboard for further emigration overseas.)

Because these Jewish organizations abroad would immediately discontinue any further remittance of foreign currency if the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna is deprived of its status as a public corporation, in view of the ensuing consequences it is requested that, in the interest of further increased emigration of Jews from the Ostmark, you refrain from depriving it of this status, especially as the religious communities of the individual Gause of the Ostmark have been in the process of being dissolved for some time anyway and the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna will presumably be dissolved in approximately 1 to 1½ years.

#### DOC. 265

#### On 14 March 1939 Luise Solmitz writes about repeated demands for emigration<sup>1</sup>

Diary of Luise Solmitz, Hamburg, entry for 14 March 1939 (copy)

On my own, telephone call from the Foreign Exchange Office, asking to speak with Fredy, all cheerfulness at an end, my gasp of relief yesterday already punished: – Do we want to emigrate, the caller asked. No, I said. – –

The morning post had brought ... the clearance certificate for the Land Registry.<sup>2</sup> – I told that to the gentleman from the Foreign Exchange Office, too ... Fr[edy] went to the Foreign Exchange Office at once. He was led through all sorts of rooms. Mr Wagner<sup>3</sup> asked about everything; the Property Tax of March (April?) 1938<sup>4</sup> ... Fr[edy] was also asked whether he intended to emigrate. – ‘I am a former officer, born in Germany; I’ll

1 Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 622-1/140, Familie Solmitz, 1, Bd. 31. This document has been translated from German.

2 The tax clearance certificate had been delivered by post and presumably had to be presented to the Land Registry so that the mortgage could be signed over: see Doc. 206, 19 Dec. 1938.

3 Wagner, administrative official; from at least 1938 to 1940, worked in the Supervisory Department/ Security Orders and as an auditor of foreign exchange transactions in the Hamburg Foreign Exchange Office.

4 See Doc. 30, 27 and 28 April 1938.

die in Germany too.' – 'I had to ask you.' – 'May one know what all this is about?' – 'Just wait!' And Mr Wagner went into the office of his superior, Regierungsassessor Dr Croon,<sup>5</sup> spoke, came back, and said solemnly: 'I exempt you from all compulsory measures that affect your property. You can have free rein to act as you wish. You can sign over the mortgage to your wife. Should any office make difficulties for you, always turn to us. You will not receive written notice; I am saying it to you here officially and bindingly.'!!!

The house, the silver, free rein over property, – three beautiful, marvellous, wonderful successes in twelve days.

After midnight Strassburg announced that German troops had marched into Czechoslovakia through Moravská Ostrava, and that Czech President Dr Hacha<sup>6</sup> and his foreign minister, Chvalkowsky<sup>7</sup> – have travelled to Berlin. Have done what appeared to be the least likely thing! ... And France ... remains silent, acquiesces, like England.

Slovenes<sup>8</sup> and Czechs are now separated.

Göring back from holiday. Just before it worked out in Czechoslovakia, he ordered the 8¾ hour day for work done below ground.

Carpatho-Ukraine also wants to establish its own state. (Hungarians invaded the region on 15 March.<sup>9</sup>)

#### DOC. 266

### **On 17 March 1939 Joseph Hyman from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee reports on the employment ban for Jews, returning emigrants and children being detained in concentration camps, and Jewish refugees in Europe<sup>1</sup>**

Memorandum from Joseph Hyman, Paris, to George Backer,<sup>2</sup> dated 17 March 1939

I have set down in this memorandum, without particular regard to order or sequence, a number of paragraphs which underscore dramatically and movingly the general facts concerning overseas situations which are familiar to you. This may be of assistance to you in making public addresses or in talking with important individuals on your forthcoming trip.

5 Correctly: Dr Werner Kroog, lawyer, head of the Supervisory Department at the Hamburg Foreign Exchange Office.

6 Dr Emil Hácha (1872–1945), lawyer; president of the Supreme Administrative Court in Prague, 1925–1938; president of the state, 1938; president of the 'autonomous administration' of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, 1939–1945; arrested as a collaborator in May 1945, and died in the prison hospital.

7 Correctly: František Chvalkovský; see Doc. 124, 9 Nov. 1938, fn. 12.

8 The writer means Slovaks.

9 In the typescript the last sentence is enclosed in parentheses; in the handwritten original it was evidently inserted later in smaller script. On the situation in Carpatho-Ukraine, see Doc. 106, 14 Oct. 1938, fn. 15.

1 JDC Archives, AR 33/44, p. 631. The original document is in English.

2 George Backer (1902–1974), publisher and politician; president of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, 1935–1950; member of the board of directors of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) from 1936; vice chairman of the JDC, 1937–1943; held a seat as a Democrat on the New York City Council, 1938–1939; president of the American ORT, 1938–1950, and of the World ORT, 1946–1949; publisher of the *New York Post*, 1939–1942; author of various theatre pieces.

I. *Germany.*

The utter desperation of German Jews to emigrate – anywhere – is emphasized when we realize that about 4,000 of them have taken boats to Shanghai. Because of the exceedingly difficult conditions in that war-torn city and because of the total inability of the small Jewish population in Shanghai to care for the thousands of penniless refugees who have come there, the J.D.C. and other relief agencies have requested the Hilfsverein<sup>3</sup> in Germany to stop sending people to Shanghai. This was done at the specific request of the Municipal Council of the International Settlement<sup>4</sup> in Shanghai, and at the desire also of a number of foreign governments, including the United States, who are diplomatically represented in the International Settlement in Shanghai.

The reply made by the Hilfsverein, coming as it does through the regular German mails to the Paris office of the J.D.C., tells its own story:

1. In the present plight of German Jewry it would probably be impossible for us to stop the emigration to Shanghai even if we absolutely wanted to do this. We ask you to be aware of the fact that the Hilfsverein controls effectively only a *part* of the emigration of German Jews – the other and larger part proceeding spontaneously without any kind of control by Jewish authorities. The situation being what it is, no Jewish organization in Germany is able to prevent their emigration to any place they can get to.

2. Quite apart from the above mentioned considerations, we are convinced that most of the emigrants are far better off in Shanghai – in spite of all the drawbacks of the situation – than they would be in Germany. Of course, we do not deny that there is very great misery and unemployment among the refugees in Shanghai – but we do believe that within an efficient organization and the most indispensable financial assistance a great part of the refugees could be helped comparatively cheaply to gain their livelihood.

3. We know very well that the mass emigration to Shanghai and similar places is nothing but an unavoidable emergency measure. We probably would not be in so desperate a need of such solutions if there would have been in time some really comprehensive colonization scheme. And we have now the very greatest misgivings whether these plans which the Sub-Committee in London<sup>5</sup> is studying now might not take such a long time for preliminary work that the practical realization might come *too late for a very great part of German Jewry.*

We believe, dear sirs, that it is an English principle to trust the man on the spot. Please trust us when we tell you that we are unable to diminish the emigration from Germany and that the only possibility to prevent our people from going to such places as Shanghai lies in the finding of some more constructive opportunities for the emigration.

<sup>3</sup> German in original: 'Relief Association of German Jews'.

<sup>4</sup> The Shanghai Municipal Council administered the British and American controlled districts of Shanghai, which together formed the International Settlement.

<sup>5</sup> The author probably means the investigation of opportunities for emigrants to settle in the British colonies; see Doc. 260, 8 March 1939.

In 1933 there were 7,500 Jewish physicians practicing in Germany; today only 709 physicians have been authorized to practice. Since there are still about 320,000 members of the Jewish faith in Old Germany, we find that there is now one physician for every 450 Jews. It must be remembered that the Jewish population is spread over the entire Reich, which has an area of more than 200,000 square miles. In a state like Bavaria, which is two and one-half times as large as Holland, there is only one Jewish surgeon, one gynecologist, one skin specialist and one eye specialist. There is not a single specialist in x-ray work, nervous diseases, neurology, or children's diseases. In 13 Jewish hospitals, with a total of 1,600 beds, only 20 assistants are authorized. Two Jewish hospitals in Berlin must care for all of Eastern Germany, with the exception of Silesia. They have a total of 465 beds for an area of 113,665 square kilometers. In German cities, other than Berlin, Jewish physicians may not practice in their homes but only in Jewish 'ambulatories' or clinics. In Hamburg there are only two of these for instance, which means that the Jewish population from every other part of the city must go to one or the other of these centers. In view of the large number of aged people among the Jews remaining in Germany, patients are very often unable to travel the large distances required from their homes to these centers.

What happens to German emigrants who are forced to return to Germany?

In a personal letter from an eminently reliable refugee now in London, we learn that 'the Jews who return to Germany are usually arrested when crossing the border and taken to a concentration camp until they can prove their ability to re-emigrate. In many instances, however, they are not released even if satisfactory proof is submitted, until such time as the results of the beatings are no longer apparent on their bodies. Hundreds of camp inmates are known to have a definite immigration permit, but they cannot get out because the scars are too obvious on their skins.'

The events of November 10th in Germany have been discussed and reported at length in almost every channel of public information. The wholesale arrests, smashing of property, burning of synagogues, etc. are well-known. One or two typical incidents which have come to us from well-documented sources will serve to accentuate the tragedies of that pogrom far more poignantly than the over-whelming statistics which show how many synagogues were burned and how much valuable property was irreparably damaged:

On the famous Thursday morning, storm troopers appeared at the Jewish training center in Bomsdorf and ordered the young people, still in their pajamas, into the woods. The boys were lined up and counted. The storm troopers found only 38 trainees, whereas according to information which they apparently had, there should have been 40 boys. One of the troopers thereupon demanded of the first boy on line, advice as to where the other two were. This lad, frightened beyond speech, could make no ready reply, and as a result the trooper became so infuriated that he drew his revolver, shot the boy through the forehead and then kicked aside the limp body.<sup>6</sup>

Children from an orphanage in Frankfurt-on-Main were chased out of bed. All were lined up and ordered to lie down on the ground in their nightshirts; then the S.S. whipped them; they were ordered to stand up, lie down again, beaten again, told to stand up and this was repeated many times.

There are children in the concentration camps, but they are being released gradually after having spent 8 days there and even longer.

<sup>6</sup> See Doc. 185, 30 Nov. 1938.

Children in homes are underfed, partly because of lack of food and partly because they refuse to eat non-kosher meat. They are kept in corners of destroyed orphanages with no roof over their heads. Many were beaten during the disorders and there is a look of fear and despair in their eyes, which I am afraid will remain with them for a long time, if not for life.

A man in one apartment in Nuremberg pleaded that nothing be done to him as he was emigrating to the United States the following day, all his papers being in order. 'Hand over the papers,' demanded the S.S. trooper, tearing them to bits, at the same time kicking against a glass-doored closet, shattering it. 'Never, damned Jew, will you leave alive: You have probably already been rejoicing how you will incite against us Germans, once you are out.' With a crow-bar he broke the legs of the man who had again gotten up.

## II. *Refugees in Europe.*

Thousands of German Jews stand ready to risk their lives in an attempt to get out of Germany rather than face the slow torture that remaining in that country means. The border between Germany and Switzerland has been closed to refugees for some months,<sup>7</sup> but still almost every day handfuls of refugees climb over the snowclad mountains, considered impregnable from a military standpoint, into Switzerland. They arrive with frozen feet and hands which in many cases have to be amputated.

In fleeing illegally into such bordering countries as Switzerland, Holland, and Belgium, refugees risk not only their own lives and futures, but seriously endanger the status of the native Jews in those countries. In Holland, for instance, the local Jewish population has made heroic efforts to care for refugees who have found shelter in that country, but unless some way is found of emigrating the refugees there the Jewish people of Holland face grave difficulties. The following plan from the Central Refugee Committee in Amsterdam<sup>8</sup> tells its own story:

'In order to solve the refugee problem in Holland at least to some extent, emigration from there will have to receive very serious consideration. Although we advocate a policy of absorption of a certain number, a small country like Holland, with 8,000,000 inhabitants, 400,000 registered unemployed, and a Jewish population of about 120,000 of whom some 40 % are paupers, cannot carry the burden of supporting well over 20,000 people for any length of time. Moreover, Holland, through its geographical position, might be destined to play a large part in the temporary evacuation problem of German Jewry. It is quite certain that unless the Government sees some movement, we will not get the permission to fulfill this task.

'As regards the financial responsibility, we should like to point out that during the last 6 years we had raised without any interruption large amounts for German Jewry. There is no intention on the part of Dutch Jewry to shirk its responsibility in the future. On the other hand, there must be some proportion between the responsibility that is forced on us and the local funds which reasonably can be made available. We hope, therefore, that as heretofore, this whole problem will be considered as one entity, and that the accidental question of where the refugees happen to be, will not have the consequence of leaving the small countries bordering on Germany to carry all the burden.'

<sup>7</sup> On Swiss refugee policies, see Doc. 271, 3 April 1939, especially fn. 15.

<sup>8</sup> Comité voor Joodse Vluchtelingen: see Doc. 174, 24 Nov. 1938.

The impoverishment of the Jews in Poland is almost a by-word among people who are conversant with Jewish problems overseas. It has been said, without exaggeration, that fully one-third of the Jewish population of Poland is virtually starving. But when 20,000 Polish Jews living in Germany were deported from Germany on the night of October 31st and dumped over the Polish border, the Jews of Poland [...] and generously shared their own pittances with the deportees.<sup>10</sup>

A special campaign for the benefit of the deportees was conducted by the Central Refugee Committee in Warsaw<sup>11</sup> in about 400 localities throughout Poland. In three months they succeeded in collecting about 850,000 zlotys. In addition, large quantities of linen, clothing, blankets, etc. were collected as contributions in kind. The local collections, however, were supplemented by grants from the J.D.C. and other foreign relief organizations.

DOC. 267

**On 18 March 1939 the Church Chancery in Berlin advises the High Consistory in Vienna to show restraint regarding the Grüber Office, which supports Protestant non-Aryans<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the Church Chancery, Berlin (K.K. III 186/39), p.p. unsigned, to the Protestant High Consistory, Vienna, dated 18 March 1939 (copy)<sup>2</sup>

In response to the kind letter of 26 January 1929 (Z. 601) we inform you most respectfully<sup>3</sup> that a Dr Erwin Reisner<sup>4</sup> in Vienna is not known to us. However, we are indeed aware of the existence of what is referred to as the 'Church Assistance Office' for Protestant non-Aryans in Berlin, headed by Pastor Grüber.<sup>5</sup> This assistance office is not an official

9 This word is illegible in the scanned original. One possibility based on the context would be 'gladly'.

10 On the deportation of Polish Jews, see Docs. 112, 113, and 115, 28 Oct. 1938; Doc. 118, Oct. 1938; and Doc. 122, 8 Nov. 1938.

11 The committee, which coordinated local relief organizations, was already established in early 1933 to support Polish Jews who emigrated back from Germany, fled, or were deported after the Reichstag fire; until 1935 this number was about 9,000 persons. Due to financial difficulties, the committee was forced to reduce its activities temporarily, but it became more active again from autumn 1938.

1 EZA, 1/3071, fol. 202r-v. This document has been translated from German.

2 The original contains handwritten notes, abbreviations, corrections, and a stamp.

3 The Protestant High Consistory had forwarded a letter from Dr Erwin Reisner, in which he stated that Pastor Grüber's Office had appointed him as its representative for Vienna and the Ostmark: *ibid.*, fol. 201.

4 Dr Erwin Reisner (1890–1966), philosopher of religion; secretary of the Jewish Mission Department of the International Missionary Council in Vienna, 1937–1939; worked until Feb. 1939 as head of the representative office of the Grüber Office in Vienna, and then in the Grüber Office in Berlin; after 1945 a professor in Berlin.

5 Heinrich Karl Ernst Grüber (1891–1975), pastor; from 1934 a pastor in Berlin-Kaulsdorf; from 1938 to 1940 head of the Church Assistance Office for Protestant Non-Aryans, which was dissolved in 1940; imprisoned from 1940 to 1943 in Sachsenhausen and Dachau concentration camps; after 1945 provost in Berlin; authorized representative of the Protestant Church in Germany to the East German government, 1949–1958.

ecclesiastical establishment. Rather, it has been created voluntarily, in particular to provide pastoral counsel and care during the emigration process of Protestant non-Aryans. In addition, it tries to help with the schooling of non-Aryan Protestant schoolchildren who, as a result of their descent, cannot attend public schools. Finally, in cooperation with Pastor von Bodelschwingh<sup>6</sup> in Bethel and Pastor Braune<sup>7</sup> in Lobetal, near Bernau, it provides care for non-Aryan Protestants who are in need (the elderly, ill or infirm persons, war invalids). As we learn from the Reich Ministry for Ecclesiastical Affairs, the relevant state authorities (Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs, Ministry of the Interior, Reich Foreign Office, Gestapo Central Office) take the assistance office for granted and deal with it on pertinent questions, although there are certain reservations regarding the individual at its head, Pastor Grüber, who belongs to the Dahlem wing of the BK.<sup>8</sup> The extent to which it seems appropriate to allow representatives of the assistance office to speak before an officially fixed gathering of pastors is something we must leave to be decided locally. Financial support for the assistance office from official church funds is out of the question, in our view.

K.K.<sup>9</sup>

DOC. 268

**On 24 March 1939 Siegfried Simon of Berlin asks Ruth Kimmel to help his father-in-law obtain an immigration certificate for Palestine<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from Siegfried Simon,<sup>2</sup> 24 Horst Wesselstraße, Berlin O.2, to Ruth Kimmel, Jerusalem, dated 24 March 1939<sup>3</sup>

Dear Miss Kimmel,

I hope that you still remember me from the time when you worked in the finance department and I worked in the main bookkeeping office. In the meantime you have of course become a high-up person in Jerusalem, and when one is in need, one tries to exhaust all possibilities. I am not coming to you on my own account, as I am going to

6 Dr Friedrich von Bodelschwingh (1877–1946), theologian; head of the Bethel social welfare foundation near Bielefeld, 1910–1946; Reich bishop of the Protestant Church, May–June 1933; member of the Confessing Church; leading member of the Central Committee for the Inner Mission.

7 Dr Paul Gerhard Braune (1887–1954), pastor; from 1922 head of the Hoffnungstal institutions for the homeless established by Friedrich von Bodelschwingh; from 1929 mayor of Lobetal, where he was pastor until 1954; vice president of the Central Committee for the Inner Mission, 1932–1954; in 1940 the author of a position paper opposing euthanasia; in Gestapo custody, August–Oct. 1940; from 1945 a member of the governing body of the Regional Church of Berlin-Brandenburg and vice president of the Provincial Synod and the Synod of the Protestant Church in Germany.

8 Bekennende Kirche: Confessing Church. From Oct. 1934 the radical Dahlem wing established itself within the Confessing Church. It refused to cooperate with the ecclesiastical authorities.

9 Kirchenkanzlei: church chancery.

1 CZA, S7/791. This document has been translated from German.

2 Siegfried Simon (b. 1903), emigrated to London in August 1939.

3 Fritz Cohn, the son of Moritz Cohn, forwarded the letter from his brother-in-law, Siegfried Simon, to Ruth Kimmel: letter from Fritz Cohn to Ruth Kimmel, 31 March 1939: *ibid.*

Eretz in the next few weeks anyway, but on behalf of my father-in-law. I have the following favour to ask of you:

When I go to Eretz, I will leave my father-in-law behind here, *Moritz Cohn*,<sup>4</sup> 24 *Horst Wesselstr.* My father-in-law is 70 years old and, once we emigrate, he will be all alone (he is a widower) and without any livelihood, as I have been supporting him. He would therefore have to draw welfare benefits. He has one son, who has lived in Eretz since 1933. The son has already made application for him once. The application was rejected the last time, and now a new application is pending for this schedule.<sup>5</sup> My brother-in-law immigrated after obtaining a capitalist certificate,<sup>6</sup> and he works as a mason and has his own house in Kiryat Bialik. I would be very grateful to you if you could possibly do something to help with this matter.

In addition, I want to mention that the Palestine Office here has placed my father-in-law on the priority list. I have sent this letter to my brother-in-law, who will send it to you from there directly, with an accompanying letter, because, as I mention, I am leaving for Eretz. I would be very grateful to you if you could do something.<sup>7</sup>

Regards

DOC. 269

**On 25 March 1939 Simon Meisner describes his experiences in a refugee camp and with the Police for Foreign Nationals in Belgium<sup>1</sup>**

Letter written by the teacher Simon Meisner, Brussels, dated 25 March 1939 (copy)<sup>2</sup>

It is Saturday night, and I want to reply to your letters of 5 and 8 March at last. I get everything forwarded promptly from Antwerp, and a great deal of post is still going to my old address. My correspondence has not diminished with emigration. But now I have to struggle against a crisis of confidence. In the USA there is unwillingness to forgive me for having got stuck in Europe, and I'm only worried lest it have adverse

4 Moritz Cohn (1869–1942), retailer; deported from Berlin to Riga on 13 Jan. 1942; subsequent fate unknown.

5 Immigrants in Palestine had the opportunity to file an application on behalf of their direct relatives remaining in Germany. After approval by the immigration authorities of the Mandate government, the family members could enter Palestine as immigrants, with the help of a so-called certificate for relatives (category D certificate).

6 Persons with assets of £1,000 sterling could enter Palestine as immigrants with so-called capitalist certificates.

7 Ruth Kimmel worked for the Immigration Department of the British Mandate government in Palestine, but the Central Office of the Mandate government in Jerusalem had sole responsibility for applications filed for parents and children over the age of 18. In April 1939 Kimmel asked the Palestine Office in Berlin to place Moritz Cohn on the list of applicants for D certificates and to recommend him for such a certificate: letter from Ruth Kimmel to the Palestine Office in Berlin, 7 April 1939, *ibid.*

1 Archives of the Leo Baeck Institute, New York, at the Jüdisches Museum Berlin, MF 572, reel 2, box 3, folder 4. This document has been translated from German.

2 The addressee is not named; the letter is part of the literary estate of Karl Adler.

consequences for other people. I can observe here how quickly things go downhill for the formerly wealthy. They go for a time to the public soup kitchen, receive a couple of cents handed out through a little window a few times, have been to the office of a charitable society or the committee several times, and already people have the look and mindset of a professional freeloader. Such thoughts readily surface in the subconscious mind of the Americans, and to dispel them, I wrote emphatically that nothing has changed in terms of my attitude to life and that no personal, private desires of mine will trouble the addressees. Here in Brussels, too, I preach that one must not put faith in the assistance of people who would turn one into a beggar if one took them seriously. Only our own work, our own achievement, can save us. In a foreign country one is the intruder, and one must remain true to oneself if one wishes to walk a path from darkness into the light. But because many people cannot emigrate from Germany on their own, I am appealing as before for affidavits and foreign currency, so that people can be helped to stand on their own two feet again. I believe in eternal godly retributive justice and want to make my contribution by keeping the promises I made in Germany and upon leaving the country. –

The majority of the refugees are run-down, shabby, dishevelled. A wonderful facility tries to combat this. One hour away from Brussels is the Merxplas refugee camp. My colleague Warscher is there.<sup>3</sup> The camp holds 650 people, and a second one is planned for 700 more. Merxplas is a facility set up by the Belgian government; it has been in existence since 1905 and has become famous under the name ‘vagabonds’ camp’ among all who are well versed in this modern method of incarceration. All vagabonds and persons in need of reform are interned. The camp contains, on average, 2,000 to 3,000 inmates on 600 hectares of land, and constitutes a state within a state. Everything that is consumed here is produced by the inmates themselves. All the trades that are needed are present. There is an infirmary, a mental institution, a church, a cemetery, a swimming pool, a slaughterhouse, a school, and a small light railway that connects the separate parts. Within this strange state, the emigrants have been allocated only two complexes of buildings, which they themselves manage. There are strict measures to ensure that they do not come into contact with the vagabonds. They form, in turn, a little independent body politic within the vagabond state. They keep the buildings clean, deal with the stoves, wash the dishes, operate the laundry-washing machines, and run their own retraining courses. The result of this sharp but necessary separation is that the émigrés can move about at will only within a small area around their two buildings. The farmworkers, of course, go freely out to their land, which they are learning to fertilize, weed, and cultivate. They are so good at their job that they were allowed exclusive use of the smaller farm with eighty head of livestock and several hectares of land for cultivation. –

*A working day:*

The day in Merxplas begins at 6 a.m. In the large playing field between the two main buildings, they assemble for morning exercises. Then it is off to the washroom, which

<sup>3</sup> Moritz (Moshe) Warscher (1902–1940), teacher; taught religion and was shochet (ritual slaughterer) in Freudental, 1927–1930; taught religion in Schwäbisch Gmünd, 1932, and later in Rottweil; spent six months in Welzheim concentration camp, 1936; fled to Belgium, where he taught in a refugee camp; was presumed to be a German spy and shot dead in France.

holds more than 200 persons. Soon everyone has also made his bed and gathers in the huge dining room for breakfast. There is coffee and bread. At 7:30, they march off to the individual retraining courses. Only the 'house personnel' stay behind to clean the rooms, keep the stoves warm, prepare the midday meal, etc. (There is an observant section and a non-observant section.) Every week different stewards are designated, so that everyone, sooner or later, is involved in these tasks, which serve the community at large. At noon everyone returns from work, hungry. In the afternoon, retraining is pursued industriously, and at 6 p.m. the evening meal is served. Then there are language courses (English, Spanish, Hebrew, and French), and bedtime is 8:30 p.m. Each dormitory holds forty persons. Two comrades are chosen as representatives for the committee in Brussels. An internally selected camp police force preserves the public peace. An administrative office, a post office, nursing care for the sick, a canteen, etc. are provided. There are various committees, for discipline, health, education, retraining, welfare, and theatre performances. All the prerequisites for social education are present. –

Mr Czarnolewski, head of the Protestant mission in Antwerp, was willing to support me adequately if I attended the lectures regularly. There is no thought of persuading me to be baptized. But because I did not want to cause disappointment later by not becoming a Protestant missionary after all, I turned down the offer. I did not make use of the five-day visa for England that I could have obtained, because Foreign Office official would have allowed me to land, and the costs would have been wasted. I did not take the committee's advice to stay in Antwerp without registering, and I dared to take the risky step of going to Brussels, against which I had been warned. Because the same things apply in Brussels as in Antwerp, it was impossible for the committee to accept me and request that I be allowed to stay. So I tried the method of filing charges against myself, which many have tried before me, in order to get into prison. Because I could not remain in Belgium, I wanted to be deported to France. On 7 March 1939, that is, one day after I filed charges on 6 March, I was placed under arrest at 6 a.m., still in bed, and taken by two officials to the lovely courthouse. I had to take all my bags with me. At the courthouse, I had to empty all my pockets. All the letters, all the documents, were examined for the investigation. Afterwards I was taken to the investigative custody room. At midday a meal was brought. In the afternoon, at 3:30, I was fetched and told that the Sûreté Publique (the central police for foreign nationals) had declined to have me transferred to the prison. As there was nothing objectionable in my past, they said, I was being granted a residence permit until such time as I emigrated to the USA. However, they said, I must immediately have my name entered on the list of foreign nationals at the residence registration office. Quite surprisingly, therefore, I avoided the ten-day minimum time in prison, expulsion, and forced deportation. No one believed my experience, and at the committee I was told that it just could not be that I was under arrest for such a short time, and that I must have been served with an expulsion order. So, I can stay in Brussels without being bothered and can continue making my plans without the prospect of being collared at any moment. In the meantime I have managed to sell a suit for 250 francs and a fountain pen for 100 francs. There are four of us living in one room, so that each person has to pay only 15 francs a week. So, as you can work out, I am assured a livelihood for quite some time. I hope I will succeed in giving lessons, and everything will be all right. Anyone who can keep calm and retain his self-confidence is never lost in life, for there always must be a way

up. Yesterday I was able to leynen<sup>4</sup> in a synagogue for the first time. One is more likely to become known in this way, and tomorrow I think I will hold a Seder<sup>5</sup> for the refugee children.

DOC. 270

**On 29 March 1939 Hanna Kaack of Hamburg endeavours  
to entrust her son to the care of the Quakers<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from Hanna Kaack,<sup>2</sup> 16 Werderstraße, Hamburg-Lokstedt, dated 29 March 1939 (copy)<sup>3</sup>

Dear Doctor,<sup>4</sup>

My attention has been drawn to you by the wife of Prof. Ernst Bruck,<sup>5</sup> because she believes you may perhaps be able to find a place for my boy at the agricultural enterprise in Ommen.<sup>6</sup>

As a non-Aryan Christian, a Protestant, I am divorced from my Aryan husband. I have two sons,<sup>7</sup> 11 and 15 years old, and for the younger an English family has been found that will provide a guarantee of several years. He will leave as soon as the permit from the Home Office arrives.

My concern has to do with the older boy, who will be 15 in April. He is a somewhat difficult child. Physically robust, he suffers from speech defects and inhibitions of nervous origin. A year ago the primary school dismissed him from the second form. He has not completed the first form and has no leaving certificate.

<sup>4</sup> From Yiddish: to read. The author is presumably referring to reading aloud in the synagogue.

<sup>5</sup> Hebrew: order; signifies the Seder evening ritual that marks the beginning of the festival of Pesah, or Passover. On this evening, families or the Jewish community recall the Exodus from Egypt.

<sup>1</sup> BArch, R 58/6026, fols. 223–224. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Johanna Kaack, née Strelitz (1898–1991), physical education and home economics teacher. The planned emigration mentioned later in the letter did not succeed: Kaack was arrested several times by the Gestapo between 1939 and 1941 and was deported to Theresienstadt in 1942. She was liberated in 1945.

<sup>3</sup> The letter is from the files of Section II 1134 of the SD Central Office, responsible for surveillance of the Quakers. This copy results from the postal surveillance to which Dr Hans Albrecht was subjected: *ibid.*, fols. 183v–190.

<sup>4</sup> Dr Hans (Johannes) Albrecht (1876–1956), engineer; worked first in the Hamburg Regional Office for Statistics, and later as an engineer specializing in tonnage measurement for shipping; from 1919 active in the Quaker movement and from 1927 to 1947 in an executive function; member of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD); dismissed from the civil service in 1934; helped to establish the Quaker school in Ommen (Netherlands).

<sup>5</sup> Margarete Bruck, née Kaeß, wife of Dr Ernst Bruck (1876–1942), the compulsorily retired director of the Department of Actuarial Science at the University of Hamburg; he was dismissed in 1935 because of his Jewish ancestry.

<sup>6</sup> The Dutch municipality of Ommen was known from 1933 for its Quaker school, which became a place of refuge for Jewish children from Germany. The school, housed in Eerde Castle, still exists today as the Eerde International School.

<sup>7</sup> Hans Kaack (b. 1924) attended primary school in Hamburg-Lokstedt and various boarding schools in Ratzeburg and Gland, Switzerland; spent 1938–1940 at the Rauhes Haus training institution in Hamburg (see fn 8), later went to Commercial College and was employed in various printing shops as a delivery boy. Rolf Kaack (b. 1927), optician; emigrated to Britain in July 1939.

I have tried everything to find a place for him somewhere, and have encountered the greatest difficulties everywhere. The lack of a leaving certificate and the fact that he is a 50 per cent Mischling have made it impossible to procure an apprenticeship position for him.

Finally, in October, he was accepted at Rauhes Haus (Wichern Foundation),<sup>8</sup> with the promise that he could remain there for many years, until completion of his training for an occupation. Suddenly, and without being given specific reasons, I learn that he cannot stay there.

Because it is my intention to leave Germany in the near future, and I have also been urged to do so by the authorities, I am now utterly at a loss, especially as I see no way of taking the boy with me.

His father pays a monthly allowance of RM 90 but otherwise does not look after the child. He would be entirely on his own, because no one remains who could look after him. By giving him a piece of property that is still in my possession at the moment, I want to provide the boy with some financial security, and an application for permission to do this is already pending. The income from the building is approximately RM 150 per month.

Because I have no foreign currency at my disposal to finance training abroad, it occurred to me that, if the Foreign Currency Office would grant permission, I might make this sum available to the Society of Quakers each month for use in this country. In view of the urgency of the matter, I would be very obliged to you for an early reply, and I close most respectfully.

DOC. 271

**On 3 April 1939 representatives of the police and the judiciary in Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Switzerland hold a meeting in Brussels to discuss the illegal immigration of refugees from Germany<sup>1</sup>**

Minutes (confidential) of the meeting held on 3 April 1939 at the Sûreté Publique,<sup>2</sup> undated and unsigned<sup>3</sup>

The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg was represented by Mr Wester, judge at the Supreme Court of Justice in Luxembourg; the Netherlands, by Mr Tenkink,<sup>4</sup> legal secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Switzerland, by Mr Rothmund, director of the Federal Police

<sup>8</sup> The Rauhes Haus was a Protestant social welfare and training institution in Hamburg, founded in 1833 by the Protestant social reformer Johann Heinrich Wichern. Wichern is regarded as having paved the way for modern Protestant social welfare organizations.

<sup>1</sup> AGR, AADB, 37C1. This document has been translated from French.

<sup>2</sup> Belgian state security service, to which the Police for Foreign Nationals was also accountable.

<sup>3</sup> Parts of the original are underlined by hand.

<sup>4</sup> Dr Jan Coenraad Tenkink (1899–1986), lawyer; worked from 1926 in the Dutch Justice Ministry, where he was head of department, 1938–1940, and secretary general (state secretary), 1940–1941 and 1945–1965.

Department in Bern; and Belgium, by Messrs de Foy,<sup>5</sup> administrator of the *Sûreté Publique*, and Schneider, director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade.

*Mr de Foy* opened the meeting by announcing that His Majesty's Government desired an exchange of views with the three states present in order to examine the problem of the illegal influx of refugees from Germany and to consider, in the light of events and given the fact that the said states are in the same situation as Belgium in respect of the refugee problem, what rules should be followed to resolve this delicate problem. It threatens, in fact, to create insoluble complications if it is not addressed without delay.

He added that by the time of the Evian intergovernmental conference, the states represented at the meeting could already be considered to have done their duty amply with respect to the victims of the Nazi regime's persecution and, in relation to the right to asylum, to have reached a saturation point beyond which, in principle, they could not go.

Events, however, have unfolded rapidly and, despite the efforts it had already made, over the last year Belgium has been subjected to the arrival on its territory of a further 750 children, 3,000 legal refugees, and over 13,000 refugees from Germany who entered Belgium illegally and remain there as illegal immigrants. The latter group, which was already disturbingly large, is swelling weekly and one must remember that large contingents from Russia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Spain are being added to it.

Belgium, which had resorted to the only possible remedy to this sensitive situation, namely the expulsion of those who had entered the country illegally, had to suspend the expulsion measures it had begun to implement in response to calls from the refugee aid committees, public opinion, and parliament. In fact, the minister of justice made a commitment before the chamber to temporarily abandon this essential defensive measure.<sup>6</sup>

The effects of this immediately became apparent, and illegal immigration, which had been falling slightly, automatically regained momentum and assumed increasingly dangerous levels, bringing a flood of refugees. Recently, the average number has been a shocking 700 people per fortnight.

Two communiqués,<sup>7</sup> which appeared recently in the press, indicated that Belgium could no longer tolerate the illegal entry of refugees into the country and that it would, in the coming days, definitively resort once again to the only solution that is, in fact, appropriate: expulsion.

Since His Majesty's Government presumes that the Grand Duchy, the Netherlands, and Switzerland will be obliged to follow the same course of action, it wishes to be informed as to the position taken by the said countries in order to be able to counter the criticism that would certainly be levelled at it as soon as it applied the essential expulsion measures envisaged. It would also like to establish that its defensive measures are iden-

5 Robert de Foy (1893–1959); worked in the justice department of the Belgian occupation army in the Ruhr, 1922–1925; deputy director, 1925, and director, 1933, of the Belgian secret service; head of the Belgian *Sûreté Publique*, 1925–1944 and 1947–1958; on 10 May 1940 responsible for the evacuation of Jewish refugees from Belgium to southern France; arrested by the German military administration; released following the intervention of the SS; secretary general (state secretary) in the Belgian Justice Ministry, 1943. In 1975 Yad Vashem recognized de Foy as Righteous Among the Nations.

6 The Belgian justice minister from Feb. to April 1939 was Auguste de Schrijver (1898–1991), lawyer and politician; Belgian minister of agriculture, 1935–1936; minister of the interior, 1936–1937 and 1940–1944; state minister, 1948; minister for Belgian Congo, 1959–1960.

7 These communiqués could not be found.

tical to those to which Germany's neighbours have necessarily had to resort to protect themselves from a phenomenon that has become a veritable scourge.

Mr de Foy added that if the Reich were to all intents and purposes prevented from resorting to easy measures that are unscrupulous and inhumane, we would help the London committee with the task it has undertaken, namely to resolve the problem of Jewish emigration rationally and to make such emigration possible through the necessary cooperation.<sup>8</sup>

Moreover, it becomes clear that the problem cannot be solved in the short term if one takes into account that it is influenced by the immigration policy of each and every one of the American states represented at the London intergovernmental conference.

*Mr Rothmund* pointed out that if the three states invited to the meeting were prepared to give an honest account of the position their governments have taken on this matter, it should be understood that they cannot be implicated and that what they say must be kept strictly confidential.

*Mr de Foy* responded that this was of course the case and that both the Belgian government and the governments invited to the meeting could certainly spare the participants any criticism that might be directed at them by avoiding any reference to the meeting, and by attributing any information that they might be obliged to mention in response to campaigns that might be launched against them to enquiries undertaken and information collected by their official representatives in the states involved. Mr de Foy concluded by setting out the policy that Belgium has adopted as follows: the country cannot, in principle, accept further groups of refugees until the world finds a solution to the problem. No exceptions can be made to this principle except (1) in cases where those concerned are personally at serious risk of losing their lives or liberty; (2) where those concerned have family ties in the kingdom; (3) where those concerned are of particular scientific or economic interest to Belgium.

*Mr Wester*, the representative of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, pointed out that because of its very extensive borders, his country could not, in practical terms, prevent refugees from entering illegally. It had, however, found it necessary to take rigorous measures to avoid being overwhelmed by the immigration of refugees from neighbouring Germany.

Before the events of September<sup>9</sup> there had been 3,700 refugees on its territory.

After September 1938 there had been a surge of illegal immigrants back on to its territory, 400 of whom were detained.

At that point, the Grand Duchy was forced to take strict measures to stabilize the situation. These measures should now allow the country to expel illegal immigrants on an ongoing basis.

On the basis of a broad interpretation of the law on the protection of the national labour force,<sup>10</sup> the Grand Duchy has been able, without resorting to re-establishing visa

8 This is probably a reference to the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees (IGCR), which was established at the Evian Conference and met in London: see Doc. 64, 16 July 1938.

9 This is a reference to the annexation of the Sudetenland: see Doc. 103, 8 Oct. 1938.

10 Grand Ducal resolution of 30 Nov. 1929, which fixed the conditions that foreign employees had to fulfil in order to be accepted into the Grand Duchy and permitted to work: *Memorial des Großherzogtums Luxemburg*, no. 61, 7 Dec. 1929, pp. 1045–1056; Grand Ducal resolution of 20 Jan. 1936, by which residence in the Grand Duchy for foreigners was provisionally subjected to an entry permit: *ibid.*, no. 5, 22 Jan. 1936, p. 58.

requirements for passports, to justify the expulsion of those who have entered the country or been found there and have not been able to demonstrate that they have sufficient funds to prevent them from having to seek work.

The Grand Duchy admits practically no one on to its territory except for refugees with immediate relatives in Luxembourg, Jews who can prove they formerly had an establishment in the Grand Duchy, and elderly people.

Those concerned are required to deposit funds (50,000 to 70,000 francs) in a blocked account and to undertake to live in a hotel assigned to them in one or other of the tourist areas.

Other refugees are only accepted on a temporary basis provided they offer satisfactory evidence that they will be able to emigrate again shortly.

As far as illegal immigrants are concerned, penalties are imposed both on those concerned and on those who assist them.

Mr Wester added that the Grand Duchy's policy has proved so effective that the problem can essentially be considered to have been solved.

*Mr Rothmund* reviewed the history of the refugee issue in Switzerland.

Over the last twenty years, as a result of its domestic situation and in order to protect its national labour force, Switzerland has had to strictly control immigration.

The percentage of the foreign population had risen to 15 per cent, then fallen to 10 per cent, and stood at 9 per cent in the last census.

In 1933 refugees from Germany had found temporary refuge in Switzerland; they had been forbidden to settle or to apply for naturalization, with a view to avoiding the creation of minority groups in the country, with all the dangers these bring, as recent events in Europe have all too clearly shown.

Three camps were set up and 3,000 men interned there.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, there were 10,000 refugees in the Basel region alone.

Around 1935 a considerable increase in the number of refugees arriving in the country was recorded at the time of the Anschluss,<sup>12</sup> when 4,000 Austrians, with funds, took refuge in Switzerland over a period of less than 15 days.

Given the continual increase in the number of refugees, Switzerland was obliged to re-establish visa requirements for passports in April 1938.

In July 1938 the Germans issued Reich passports to former Austrians to replace their old federal travel permits. Pressure was brought to bear on refugees, with a view to getting them to leave the country in which they resided, as mentioned above, on a temporary basis.

They were also threatened with internment in concentration camps<sup>13</sup> if they did not obey the order to leave the country.

11 From spring 1938, makeshift mass accommodation for refugees was set up in the vicinity of heavily frequented border crossings, for instance in empty factories. One such place, financed by the Jewish Refugee Aid, was in Diepoldsau near St Gallen, and two were in Basel: the so-called summer casino and the home for immigrants on Hammerstraße.

12 This is probably a typing error. The year should be 1938.

13 In the original: 'Camps de concentration'; this is a reference to assembly camps in which the refugees were interned.

The effect of these threats was to slow the invasion [of immigrants] into Switzerland and to develop immigration flows towards other countries, particularly Hungary.

In July 1938, however, a significant batch of refugees came over the mountains and around 1,500 refugees entered Swiss territory illegally.

At a meeting of the cantonal authorities, it was decided that illegal immigrants would no longer be tolerated on Swiss territory and would instead be expelled.

For its part, the Federal Council decided to revert to a strict application of the law: a ban on persons without the right documentation or without legal authorization entering the territory; ruthless expulsion of all illegal immigrants.<sup>14</sup>

In particular, to ensure that illegal immigrants are tracked down in accordance with the federal order of 1933,<sup>15</sup> refugees are required to register themselves within forty-eight hours of their arrival in Switzerland and hoteliers to report them within the same time period.

However, certain exceptions have been permitted. Thus, the Socialist Assistance Committee was allowed to take 120 Austrian refugee children under its patronage at its own expense.<sup>16</sup>

In September 1938 the events in Czechoslovakia and the anti-Jewish laws passed by Hungary, Romania, and Poland, as well as strict control of the Swiss border by France, led Switzerland to review the question once again.<sup>17</sup>

Further inflows of refugees led to even stricter new instructions and the decision to make no further exceptions.

This measure was necessary given the overpopulation of foreigners in Switzerland and in view of the new threats with regard to Jews settled in other countries.

In January the Federal Council decided that, for all immigrants, entry to Switzerland would only be permitted with documents carrying a legal visa issued by the appropriate Swiss consul.

In March 1939 Swiss visa requirements were reintroduced for Czechoslovaks, just as will be the case in the future for Hungary, should such a measure be considered necessary.

### *The domestic situation*

Responsibility for refugees lies with the welfare organizations.

Switzerland has a central body for the assistance of Jewish immigrants. There are other bodies that take care of Protestant, Catholic, and political refugees of various kinds.

14 On 19 August 1938 the Swiss Federal Council decided that those in possession of Austrian passports without a visa would be denied entry into Switzerland; on 29 Sept. 1938 a visa requirement was introduced for 'German non-Aryans' and on 20 Jan. 1939 a visa requirement for immigrants.

15 According to the Federal Council's resolution of 7 April 1933, Jews were only recognized as political refugees if they were persecuted explicitly for their political activities.

16 This is probably a reference to the Swiss Workers' Aid Agency, which organized holidays in Switzerland for workers' children and refugee children from Paris.

17 This is a reference to the German invasion of Prague in March 1939 and the preceding annexation of the Sudetenland. In Poland, Jews were increasingly ousted from the civil service, industry, and universities from 1935 onwards. In Hungary, the anti-Jewish legislation issued in May 1938 limited the number of Jewish employees in various sectors of the economy; see Doc. 26, 13 April 1938. On anti-Jewish legislation in Romania, see Doc. 13, Feb. 1938, fn. 2.

In 1937 all the committees were combined to form a *central office* for assistance to immigrants.

This central office works with the Sûreté Publique and has, in particular, explicitly agreed to the expulsion of illegal immigrants. It has grasped the fact that, in order to continue its work, it is necessary to avoid encumbering it with too heavy a burden. It must also avoid fuelling growing hostility towards the unbridled influx of refugees, which poses a risk to its cause.

The committee had the responsibility of supporting 3,000 destitute refugees at an estimated cost of 300,000 Swiss francs. These costs were covered by the circles concerned and by a national collection, which brought in 340,000 Swiss francs.

Aside from the 3,000 destitute refugees, Switzerland has between 10,000 and 12,000 refugees with some income.

Several hundred children should be added to these refugees.

For future immigration, which will be dealt with on a case-by-case basis, the Federal Council will have to rule that immigrants must declare their presence within forty-eight hours and that this must be done through landlords. They will be required to fill in a detailed questionnaire and will not receive a residence permit.

Entry visas will continue to be subject to a guarantee of immediate emigration provided by a *reliable visa* from the destination country (Palestinian, Chinese, Albanian, and certain South American countries' visas are excluded, and, furthermore, the American affidavit alone will not suffice).

By way of exception, a visa will, however, be granted to elderly people with no children and with sufficient funds, and they will be required to live in particular areas of the country.

*Mr Tenkink* recalled the traditional hospitality of the Netherlands, which had been so welcoming to the Huguenots from the fifteenth century onwards.<sup>18</sup> The people of the Netherlands remain attached to the tradition of providing asylum and so the country has experienced a considerable influx of refugees from Germany. Several thousand Jews have been taken in and tolerated, but in May 1938 there was a strong public reaction; people were no longer accepted unless they had parents, brothers, or sisters already settled in the Netherlands.

For the others, it has become necessary to more or less close the border.<sup>19</sup>

The aid committees and left-wing politicians in general are calling for a more generous policy, given the thousands of refugees who are arriving at the borders and are not allowed to enter the Netherlands.

Given the burden they already bear, the authorities oppose this tendency, which became stronger during the period when whole groups of refugees, in particular groups of children, were being taken to the border with the support of the Reich authorities.

18 The Huguenots in fact only fled from France to the Netherlands after the repeal of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.

19 On 7 May 1938 the Dutch justice minister decreed that a refugee was to be regarded in future as an 'undesirable element' and rejected at the border or expelled, unless he could prove that his life was in danger. As a result, border controls were tightened, though the number of refugees still continued to rise. The new approach was contentious in parliament – in 1938 only eleven related enquiries were submitted to the justice minister: Moore, *Refugees from Nazi Germany*, pp. 77–82.

The Dutch authorities expelled a group of children (thirty)<sup>20</sup> and decided that groups would no longer be accepted in order to guard against the arrival of further groups organized systematically by the Reich and probably made up of hundreds of refugees.

In November and December 1938 a thousand refugees (men and women) took advantage of the difficulty of effectively guarding the long Dutch-German border and entered Dutch territory illegally.

As a result of this influx, in January 1939 the Dutch government decided to end, in principle, the toleration of illegal immigrants who were subject to expulsion measures, except in the case of lone women and the children taken in previously.

Mr Tenkink added that it was precisely this decision that had led to the Netherlands being accused of failing to respect the right to asylum, yet 10,000 adult refugees and 1,100 children were authorized to remain in Holland, as were several hundred illegal immigrants.

On the other hand, the arrival of large numbers of Jews in the country has caused hostility towards both the Jewish refugees and the aid committees, even in Jewish areas such as those in Amsterdam.<sup>21</sup>

Under the current circumstances, the Netherlands decided, in February 1939, to accept no further groups of refugees on its soil since the burden borne by the country was already heavy enough, attesting as it clearly did to Holland having done its duty as far as was humanly and socially possible, to such an extent that the country considers it impossible to agree to bear a further burden in view of the new anti-Jewish outbreaks in Czechoslovakia and in Austria or further outbreaks yet to occur.

As regards transit by emigrants, Holland has to be wary of the kinds of fraud that have emerged (affidavits, passes with no guarantee issued by some states, departure for China, Palestine, etc.).

On the other hand, where the large American states are concerned, inclusion in the emigration lists is only taken into account if the number the emigrant is allocated provides assurance that waiting time in Holland will be very short.

### *Deserters*

At Mr Rothmund's request, Mr de Foy indicated that deserters and draft dodgers are not regarded as refugees requiring protection. They fall outside the system provided for the latter.

The representatives present added that their countries share this point of view.

Mr de Foy concluded the discussion and noted that the approach his administration plans to adopt shortly is the one successfully employed by the Grand Duchy, Holland, and Switzerland to end the flow of immigration, the consequences of which they rightly fear. With the benefit of their experience, Belgium will be in a position to apply this approach with every hope of success.

He thanked the delegations for their valuable information and reiterated that in keeping with the wishes of all the states, the unofficial, confidential nature of the information would be taken into account.

<sup>20</sup> In Dec. 1938 a Kindertransport near Nijmegen was sent back to the German Reich.

<sup>21</sup> From 1939, illegal refugees in the Netherlands were interned in camps, though as a rule not deported back to Germany.

## DOC. 272

**On 14 April 1939 Chaim Selzer of Vienna attempts to obtain a place for his daughter on a Kindertransport to England<sup>1</sup>**

Handwritten letter from Chaim Selzer,<sup>2</sup> 14/3 Grüne Torgasse, Vienna IX, to the Movement for the Care of Children from Germany,<sup>3</sup> London, WC1, dated 14 April 1939 (copy)

I have registered my daughter Vera Selzer<sup>4</sup> with the Jewish Religious Community in Vienna for [travel to] England, which my brother in London attended to at the same time.

As I have received no notice of action thus far, I was told at the Jewish Religious Community that I might turn to you, and that if your organization enquires directly with the Religious Community it will give you confirmation of the urgency of the case.

Vera Selzer, born on 3 March 1925 in Vienna, a secondary school pupil, like me stateless and homeless, now lives with me where I am a lodger, c/o Hajek, Grüne Torgasse 14/3, Vienna IX, because she was not able to stay with her mother, from whom I have been divorced for thirteen years. The child's mother is mentally disturbed, and the child was in danger. I myself have been out of work since 15 May 1938 and also without unemployment benefits since 9 October 1938. These are the facts, from which one can form an opinion as to the difficulty of the conditions the child has to endure.

I request that you look after the case and arrange for what is necessary, or tell me what I should undertake so that I can place the child in conditions fit for a human being.

I thank you in advance for your efforts and remain

Respectfully,

## DOC. 273

***Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*: on 17 April 1939 the Reich Ministry of Economics issues instructions regarding the items that emigrants are permitted to take with them when they depart<sup>1</sup>**

*Household goods that emigrants can take with them*

*Circular Decree 49/39 D. St., Ue. St., dated 17 April 1939*

Household goods within the meaning of § 57 of the Law on Foreign Currency Acquisition are movable property of the emigrant that constitutes part of his household contents

1 CAHJP, HMB 3103, inv. nos. 110–111. This document has been translated from German.

2 Chaim Selzer (1886–1939), business manager; in Oct. 1939 deported to Buchenwald concentration camp, where he was murdered in Dec. 1939.

3 See Doc. 218, 30 Dec. 1938. After its founding in Nov. 1938, the organization was known as the World Movement for the Care of Children from Germany: British Inter-Aid Committee; in March 1939 it was given a new name, Movement for the Care of Children from Germany, and in 1940 it was renamed again, now as the Refugee Children's Movement. The organization was formed from a union between the Inter-Aid Committee and a subcommittee for aid to refugee children of the Council for German Jewry.

4 Vera Selzer (b. 1925), schoolgirl; emigrated to London in July 1939.

1 'Mitnahme von Umzugsgut durch Auswanderer', *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, no. 33, 25 April 1939, p. 1. This document has been translated from German.

or serves for his personal use or the personal exercise of his profession or business.<sup>2</sup> The following provisions do not apply to other items that are not household goods, for example merchandise and securities.

Revoking RE 38/38 D. St., Ue. St.; AE 11/39 D.St., Ue. St. Item II; and AE 49/39 D.St., Ue. St., I decree the following in accordance with section IV no. 63 of the Guidelines for Foreign Exchange Control:<sup>3</sup>

I.

*Objective treatment of applications.*

A distinction must be made between old possessions, new possessions, and items which emigrants are completely prohibited from taking with them.

1. *Old possessions.*

Emigrants can obtain approval to take items with them if it can be proven that these were in their possession before 1 January 1933, unless individual objects are subject to the complete prohibition under no. 3.

2. *New possessions.*

Emigrants are, in principle, not to be permitted to take with them items acquired only since 31 December 1932.

*Exceptions can be made for:*

(a) Items that emigrants have acquired within the bounds of necessity to replace clothing and underwear that have become unusable (*replacements*);

(b) Items that the emigrant has acquired within the bounds of necessity for the purpose of emigration (*pieces of furniture and equipment*). Approval can be made contingent on the payment to the Deutsche Golddiskontbank of a tax, without substitution, in the amount of the acquisition value. The tax that has been levied on the emigrant through issuance of an assessment by the Foreign Exchange Office may be paid, without obtaining authorization, from assets frozen under § 59 of the Foreign Exchange Law, or from the personal emigration assets of the payer if the transfer is made directly by the bank in charge of the account to the Deutsche Golddiskontbank in Berlin.<sup>4</sup>

3. *Completely prohibited items.*

Permission to take the following items is to be denied:

(a) *Objects made of gold, platinum, or silver, as well as precious stones and pearls.*

*Exceptions can be made for:*

(aa) personal wedding rings and those of deceased spouses,

(bb) silver wristwatches and pocket watches,

(cc) used table silver, specifically, four-piece sets of cutlery, consisting of a knife, fork, spoon, and teaspoon, per person,

(dd) in addition, other silver items up to a weight of 40 g per piece and up to a weight of 200 g per person.

2 *Gesetz über die Devisenbeschaffung*, 12 Dec. 1938, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, pp. 1734–1748.

3 'Richtlinien für die Devisenbewirtschaftung', *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, no. 11, 30 Dec. 1938, p. 2; *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, pp. 1851–1890; decrees RE 38/38 D.St., AE 11/39 D.St., and AE 49/39 D.St. could not be found.

4 *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, p. 1742.

(b) *High-value export items* that are new acquisitions *and* suitable for resale, such as cameras, other optical devices, musical instruments, and the like. The emigrant can only be permitted to take these goods with him by way of exception in return for payment to the German Deutsche Golddiskontbank of a tax, without substitution, in the amount of the acquisition value, if the emigrant absolutely requires these items for the personal pursuit of his profession or business and in order to establish a modest existence abroad. The last sentence of no. 2(b) applies accordingly.

(c) Items which it is prohibited to export under the *Regulation on the Export of Works of Art*, 11 December 1919 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, no. 236),<sup>5</sup> by the Austrian federal law of 24 January 1923 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, no. 80),<sup>6</sup> or in the Sudeten German regions by the regulation of 11 January 1939 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 36).<sup>7</sup> Further, authorization for emigrants to take other items of *particular* historical, artistic, or cultural significance with them is to be withheld.

#### 4. *Emigration in the case of foreign nationality.*

In the decision on applications filed by foreign nationals, the restrictions above do not apply. Applications by foreign nationals to take household goods with them are therefore generally to be granted.

Members of foreign diplomatic and consular missions are to be issued upon request a general permit to take or ship to another country the household goods belonging to them. These persons are not required to submit lists of their household goods.

## II.

### *Procedures.*

#### 1. *Application*

The emigrant must apply for the permit to ship household goods three weeks before his emigration, at the appropriate Foreign Exchange Office. He must fill out the application form obtainable at the Foreign Exchange Office along with a questionnaire, and must prepare, on a pre-printed form, typewritten lists of the items he intends to take, in accordance with the instructions in the leaflet 'Instructions Regarding Household Goods that Emigrants can Take with Them'.<sup>8</sup>

A separate list must be prepared for each category, depending on [how] the things are to be transported:

(a) in furniture vans, in specially covered goods wagons, as a sealed shipment in other means of transport, or in containers or packing cases that can be closed according to customs regulations;

(b) as passenger baggage, express goods, dispatch goods, or freight goods;

(c) as hand luggage.

In case (b), a separate list must be made for each piece. Articles made of precious metals and the like (cf. item I no. 3a) are always to be carried in hand luggage and therefore to be placed on the list of household goods being taken as hand luggage. Otherwise,

<sup>5</sup> 'Verordnung über die Ausfuhr von Kunstwerken', *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1919, I, pp. 1962–1963.

<sup>6</sup> Amendment to the Law concerning the Ban on Export and Sale of Objects of Historical, Artistic, or Cultural Significance, *Bundesgesetzblatt für die Republik Österreich*, 1923, no. 80, pp. 203–207.

<sup>7</sup> Regulation for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in the Sudeten German Territories, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1939, I, pp. 36–37.

<sup>8</sup> 'Merkblatt für die Mitnahme von Umzugsgut durch Auswanderer', RGVA, 500k-1-685, fol. 68.

hand luggage must be limited to the articles absolutely essential for personal use on the trip.

Within the separate lists, the individual articles are to be listed separately in three sections, as follows:

Section 1

Items that were acquired before 1 January 1933 (old possessions; cf. no. 1).

Section 2

Items that have been acquired within the bounds of necessity by the emigrant as replacements for clothing and underwear that have become unusable (replacements; cf. I 2a).

Section 3

Items that the emigrant has acquired within the bounds of necessity for the purpose of emigration (pieces of furniture and equipment; cf. I. 2b).

2. *Inspection*

The Foreign Exchange Offices must generally forward the applications to court officers, as experts, for examination. The household goods must always be inspected *before* emigration and, in principle, in the residence of the emigrant and in his presence. Exceptions are permissible only with the consent of the Foreign Exchange Office.

The emigrant must pledge in the application to bear the *costs* of the inspection and appraisal of his household goods. If the household goods are inspected by a court officer, he can directly collect fees in accordance with the 'Schedule of Fees for the Inspection of Household Goods by Court Officers as Experts of the Foreign Exchange Offices'. If articles are inspected by specialized experts, they will charge fees that are set by the Chamber of Industry and Commerce.

The applicant can raise an objection against the assessment of an article. Should he do so, the expert must pass the case files back to the Foreign Exchange Office, which will forward them to the appropriate Chamber of Industry and Commerce. The latter, if need be after charging an advance on costs, assigns a senior expert to re-examine the disputed assessment.

3. *Permit*

Once the inspection is complete, the Foreign Exchange Office makes a final decision as to which articles may be taken along and in what amount taxes are to be paid to the Deutsche Golddiskontbank.

The permit may, as appropriate, be issued only if:

(a) the emigrant, by presenting a receipt from the Deutsche Golddiskontbank, a Reichsbank institution, or the Prussian State Bank (Seehandlung), proves that he has paid the tax imposed on him to the Deutsche Golddiskontbank and

(b) foreign assets as well as foreign trademark rights of the applicant (cf. declaration on the reverse of the preprinted application form) have been secured, unless they are being unfrozen.

*The Reich Minister of Economics.*

p.p.

signed Dr Schlotterer

## DOC. 274

**On 18 April 1939 Cornelius von Berenberg-Gossler recounts a visit to the Berlin Gestapo to advocate the emigration of Fritz Warburg<sup>1</sup>**

Diary of Baron Cornelius von Berenberg-Gossler, Hamburg, entry for 18 April 1939

Travelled to Berlin at 7 this morning. Went to Deutsche Bank to see Director Ermisch and then Baron Ritter (at Merck, Finck) for Rée. In between, in the Gestapo building (Secret State Police Central Office), 8 Prinz-Albrecht-Straße, went to see Gruppenführer Wolff,<sup>2</sup> the adjutant to Chief of Police Himmler, on behalf of Dr Fritz Warburg, who is being detained in Hamburg. Very friendly reception. Wolff speaks on the telephone in my presence with his superior Heiderich<sup>3</sup> (who is in the same building) about the case in a thoroughly sympathetic manner. I have the impression that there is a desire to hold Warburg, because he is a prominent Jew, as a hostage in the event of foreign complications. Should such complications fail to ensue in the foreseeable future, there may possibly be a way to free Warburg to cross the border, if he takes Jews without financial means with him on his account. – In the afternoon in Potsdam, where I ate with Margarete at the Einsiedel Hotel. Took a walk across from Sakrow,<sup>4</sup> ancient poplars are being blown up. Coffee in Margarete's apartment. At 8:30 p.m., left Berlin for Hamburg with Niemeyer, legal advisor to the Warburg firm.<sup>5</sup> At home Hellmuth has visitors, young people: the Harbecks, Rumohr, Willi, Miss Scharlach. [Unter den] Linden in Berlin has been widened and its continuation behind the Brandenburg Gate decked out with columns, which were illuminated in the evenings, resembling a beautiful *via triumphalis*<sup>6</sup> (for Hitler's birthday).

I learned in Berlin that butter is in short supply there.

1 Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 622-1/9 Familie Berenberg, submitted in 1992, Tagebuch v. Cornelius Berenberg-Gossler 1939. This document has been translated from German.

2 Karl Friedrich Otto Wolff (1900–1984), banker; joined the NSDAP and the SS in 1931; SS officer on the staff of the Reichsführer SS, 1933–1945; chief of the personal staff of the Reichsführer SS, 1936–1939; Reichstag member, 1936–1945; plenipotentiary general of the Wehrmacht and head of the military administration in Italy, 1944–1945; incarcerated, 1945–1949; general agent of the *Illustrierte Revue* in Cologne, 1949–1960; in 1964 sentenced to fifteen years in prison for complicity in the murder of 300,000 people; released in 1969.

3 The author means Heydrich, though he was not Wolff's superior.

4 Correctly: Sacrow.

5 The author means the M. M. Warburg & Co. bank or the so-called Sekretariat Warburg, a charitable foundation.

6 Latin for 'triumphal way'.

## DOC. 275

**On 20 April 1939 Ottilie Spitzer and Hermann Göbbels write to Adolf Hitler  
to request a marriage permit<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from Ottilie Spitzer,<sup>2</sup> 1 Junkerstraße, Potsdam, and Hermann Göbbels,<sup>3</sup> 1 Kreuzstraße, Potsdam, to the Führer and Reich Chancellor Adolf Hitler, Haus Berghof on the Obersalzberg near Berchtesgaden (received in the Chancellery of the Führer on 17 May 1939), dated 20 April 1939<sup>4</sup>

Under § 3 of the First Regulation to the Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour,<sup>5</sup> the undersigned Herm. Goebbels, with reference to the enclosed copy of a letter from the Regierungspräsident of Potsdam, dated 21 January 1939,<sup>6</sup> was denied permission to marry Ottilie Spitzer.

Regarding the personal particulars of the undersigned individuals, the following information is provided:

1. Hermann *Goebbels*, born on 20 November 1904 in Dortmund, member of the Catholic Church.

*Ancestry:*

Paternal: Aryan

Maternal: non-Aryan

*Grandparents:*

Paternal: Aryan

Maternal: non-Aryan

Both parents were born in Germany, lived in Germany all their lives, and had no criminal record.

My father served in the war for four years.

2. Ottilie *Spitzer*, born on 16 February 1907 in Falkenberg in Silesia, member of the Catholic Church. – Grandparents and both parents are Aryan, have no criminal record, and have lived in Germany all their lives.

I, Herm. Goebbels, was in the Labour Service from June 1933 to February 1934. I am a member of the NSV,<sup>7</sup> the DAF,<sup>8</sup> and the Reich League of the German Hard of Hearing (RBS), Potsdam Local League.

I, Ottilie Spitzer, am a member of the DAF.

The requisite documents and proofs cannot be enclosed here, because they are still in the hands of the Reich Minister of the Interior and have not been returned as yet.

1 BLHA, Ph Br. Rep 2A Reg. Potsdam I St./489, fols. 394–395. This document has been translated from German.

2 Ottilie Göbbels, née Spitzer (1907–1971), worker; married Hermann Göbbels after 1945 and lived with him in Potsdam until her death.

3 Hermann Göbbels (1904–1981), construction worker.

4 The original contains handwritten underlining and comments.

5 *Erste Verordnung des Gesetzes zum Schutz des deutschen Blutes und der deutschen Ehre*: § 3 stipulated that Jewish *Mischlinge* with two Jewish grandparents had to obtain permission to marry non-Jews or Jewish *Mischlinge* with one Jewish grandparent. In virtually all cases permission was denied.

6 In the letter the Regierungspräsident had informed Hermann Göbbels that his request to marry was denied and that this decision was final: *ibid.*, fol. 386.

7 Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt: National Socialist People's Welfare Organization.

8 Deutsche Arbeitsfront: German Labour Front.

We do not fail to recognize the efforts of the Reich government to protect German blood, and therefore we expressly state that we are prepared, in the event that permission to marry is granted, to produce no children in our marriage.

As a result of the refusal of permission to marry, we find ourselves in extreme emotional distress and therefore request, trusting in the goodness of our Führer, that we be granted a marriage permit.

We pledge to support and promote, in every conceivable way, the efforts of the National Socialist state. – We further pledge to lead a proper, civilized, decent, and hard-working life and affirm that we, just like our grandparents and parents, have no criminal record.

Even though the denial of permission to marry, attributable to the fact that my, Herm. Goebbels's, mother is non-Aryan, is justified in principle, we children are not to blame for that and are firmly convinced that our Führer will not let us languish in our emotional distress.

We trustingly place our fate in the hands of our Führer and request wholeheartedly that we not be denied permission to marry.<sup>9</sup>

Heil to our Führer!

DOC. 276

**On 25 April 1939 the Reich Office for Emigration Affairs  
reports on the course of emigration in the second half of 1938<sup>1</sup>**

Report by the Reich Office for Emigration Affairs (ref. no. A 1002/24,4,39), Schmidt,<sup>2</sup> 49/52 Dorotheenstraße, Berlin, dated 25 April 1939<sup>3</sup>

*Re:* emigration in the second six months of 1938.

*Reporter:* Ministerialrat Dr Müller.<sup>4</sup>

*Co-reporter:* Regierungsrat Flemke.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>9</sup> In a letter dated 14 June 1939, the Regierungspräsident informed Hermann Göbbels that his application had been definitively rejected. The reasons for this had nothing to do with him as an individual, the letter said, but rather with the 'necessity of maintaining the purity of German blood': *ibid.*, fol. 396.

<sup>1</sup> BayHStA, StK 6266. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Dr Schmidt was, until his death in 1939, the head of the Reich Office for Emigration Affairs, part of the Reich Ministry of the Interior.

<sup>3</sup> The letter, along with a circular from the Reich Ministry of the Interior (VI c 6588/39, 5101) dated 9 May 1939, was sent to the Reich Ministry of Labour, the Reich Ministry of Economics, the Reich Ministry of Food and Agriculture, the Reich Ministry of Finance, the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, the regional governments other than Prussia, and the Reich commissioner for the Saarland, in Saarbrücken.

<sup>4</sup> Dr Adolf Müller (1886–1974), lawyer and administrative official; from 1914 worked in the Bavarian Regional Statistical Office; in the Reich Statistical Office, 1919–1921, and in the Reich Ministry of Food and Agriculture, 1921–1922; specialist for economic affairs in the Reich Ministry of the Interior, 1922–1933; deputy director of the Reich Office for Emigration Affairs, 1933–1944; after 1945 founder of the Social People's League (*Sozialer Volksbund*) in Hesse-Palatinate, a forerunner of the liberal Free Democratic Party (FDP).

<sup>5</sup> Hugo Flemke (b. 1886), teacher and farmer; head of the Foreign Department of the Welfare Organization for Returning German Migrants (*Fürsorgeverein für deutsche Rückwanderer*), 1909–1917; Regierungsrat at the Reich Office for Emigration Affairs, 1918–1944; from 1924 editor of its news bulletin.

The demands on the twelve larger public information centres for emigrants, which had reached hitherto unseen proportions by the first half of 1938, show a redoubling in the second six months of 1938. This enormous increase in work is attributable solely to the increased urge of the Jews to emigrate from Germany. In addition to obtaining information about their future countries of destination, they had to obtain from the public information centres for emigrants a voucher for acquisition of a passport valid for travel abroad, for the purpose of emigrating or preparing for emigration. During the recent headlong rush of Jews into the public information centres for emigrants, it was evident in numerous cases that the information-seekers, until that time, had not considered the idea of emigration at all.

In the second half of 1938 more than 50,000 vouchers were issued to Jews for the purpose of acquiring a passport. Thousands of applications had to be denied or delayed because the Jews were unable to demonstrate that their emigration plans were ready. The total number of advice-seekers rose from 57,749 in the first six months of 1938 to 112,513 in the second half of 1938 = by more than 94 per cent. The information centres for emigrants had to provide numerous expert reports for the chambers of industry and commerce, chambers of skilled crafts, chambers of agriculture, Deutsche Golddiskontbank, and control authorities of the banks for the purpose of unfreezing Jewish assets for emigration.

The number of Aryans who received advice (around 23,000 in the second half of 1938) has declined by around 11 per cent in comparison with the first six months of 1938. The composition of the Aryan enquirers was the same as in the first six months of 1938. Once again, they were frequently younger people, for example retailers and engineers who wanted to acquire experience in their field in foreign businesses and to learn foreign languages. The female enquirers were seeking work in households as domestic staff, lady's helpers, governesses, or home nurses. Occasionally those seeking advice also included young girls who because of their existing ties wanted to get married abroad, usually to Germans. In a few cases, individual craftsmen or small farmers who could no longer become hereditary farmers<sup>6</sup> sought information about the prospects and opportunities for working their way up to independence in another country. Most of the enquirers were young Germans, who, besides their strong desire for training, asked about a job in the German colonies, so that they could take part in development there. Only in isolated cases were health concerns cited as the reason for seeking to go abroad. In a few cases, migrants returning from areas overseas, who thus far had not quite managed to settle back into the German economy permanently, enquired about job possibilities in their previous destination countries. It was made clear to them, as to the craftsmen, farmers, and domestic staff, that they had a national duty to employ their capabilities at home, in the service of the homeland. To the extent that Aryan enquirers gathered information about countries overseas, they primarily sought information about opportunities to get ahead in the United States of America, Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay. Some of them had been summoned by their acquaintances or relatives in those countries. In a few cases the Aryans also sought to go to Chile, Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. Enquiries about the German colonies have significantly declined in the second six months of 1938 in comparison with the first six months. German South West Africa had 630 enquiries (in comparison with 1,211), German East Africa 568 (1,081), Cameroon 85 (246), and Togo 20 (90).

6 See Reich Hereditary Farm Law (*Reichserbhofgesetz*), 29 Sept. 1933, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1933, I, p.685.

The Jews wanting to emigrate enquired about countries where there was the least amount of opposition to their immigration, and about Palestine, where the transfer of assets was still most advantageous for them. The twelve larger information centres for emigrants, during the second half of 1938 (= II/38), provided information (almost exclusively to Jews) to the following numbers of persons: about the United States of America, in round figures, 28,000 (in contrast to 15,000 in I/38); Great Britain and Ireland, 10,300 (2,900); the Netherlands, 9,300 (3,000); Palestine, 8,300 (6,000); China, 4,300 (100); France, 3,300 (1,300); New Zealand and Oceania, 3,200 (100); Switzerland, 2,300 (1,100); Belgium, 1,700 (700); Italy, 1,500 (2,400); Sweden, 1,100 (400); and Czechoslovakia, 1,000 (1,200). In this six-month period it was also quite striking that, although the number of Jews wanting to emigrate who were foreign nationals or stateless was quite large (almost 25 per cent of the total), virtually no inclination to emigrate to the Bolshevik Soviet Union was evident among the Jews. In total, there were 20 enquiries about the Soviet Union.

The following summary from the Berlin Information Centre for Emigrants is typical with regard to the destination countries for which foreign exchange reports have been issued. In the second half of 1938 this centre issued 923 foreign exchange reports and approved more than 11.2 million Reichsmarks' worth of assets for export, specifically for the main [destination] countries:

Countries	Number of foreign exchange reports (figures in ( ) are the results from I/38)	Approved amounts in RM 1,000
1. Palestine	564 (571)	8,469 (9,559)
2. Paraguay	103 ( - )	275 ( - )
3. United States	52 (64)	303 (280)
4. Czechoslovakia	33 (22)	775 (327)

The information centres for emigrants, in turn, frequently helped the employment offices to prevent the emigration of workers where it was not desired and, where it was desirable, to obtain information about employers abroad and about the adequacy of wages and salaries.

The actual emigration of citizens of the German Reich to an overseas country via German ports in the second half of 1938 totalled 13,583 persons, in comparison with 8,457 in the first half of the year. Of that number, 10,908 were Jews (in comparison with 5,691 Jews in I/1938).

Of that total, the following travelled:

	via Bremen	via Hamburg	total
in July 1938	209	1,537	1,746
in August 1938	302	1,576	1,878
in September 1938	369	1,529	1,898
in October 1938	446	2,367	2,813
in November 1938	277	2,126	2,403
in December 1938	289	2,556	2,845
July to December 1938	1,892	11,691	13,583

## DOC. 277

**A Reich law, dated 30 April 1939, restricts the rights of Jewish landlords and tenants<sup>1</sup>**

*Law on Tenancy Agreements with Jews.*

*Dated 30 April 1939.*

The Reich government has enacted the following law, which is promulgated herewith:

§ 1

*Easing of tenants' protection*

A Jew cannot claim legal tenants' protection if the landlord, upon terminating the lease, proves by means of a certificate from the municipal authority that accommodation of the tenant elsewhere is ensured for the period following termination of the tenancy agreement. This does not apply if the landlord is also a Jew.

§ 2

*Early notice of termination*

A rental agreement, if only one party to the contract is a Jew, can be terminated by the other party at any time with the legal period of notice, even if the agreement has been concluded for a certain length of time or if a longer time than the legal period of notice has been agreed upon. The tenant, however, can give notice for a date earlier than the one permitted by law only if he proves upon termination, by means of a certificate from the municipal authority, that accommodation of the tenant elsewhere is ensured following termination of the tenancy agreement.

§ 3

*Subtenants*

Jews are permitted to conclude subtenancy agreements only with other Jews. The permission of the landlord is not required if he is also a Jew.

§ 4

*Accommodation*

(1) In living quarters that he occupies in the capacity of owner or on the basis of a legal right of use or that he has rented from a Jew, a Jew must, when so required by the municipal authority, take in Jews as tenants or subtenants. If the conclusion of a corresponding contract is declined, the municipal authority can rule that a contract with the terms that it [the municipal authority] has stipulated is deemed to have been agreed upon. The amount of compensation for the use of the quarters and any sublease surcharge is determined by the municipal authority in consultation with the appropriate price authority, unless the municipal authority itself is the price authority.

(2) The municipal authority can collect fees for the arrangement of lease contracts and sublease contracts.

(3) The lessor or sub-lessor may terminate a tenancy agreement established under (1) only with the permission of the municipal authority.

<sup>1</sup> 'Gesetz über Mietverhältnisse mit Juden', *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1939, I, pp. 864–865. This document has been translated from German.

## § 5

*Reletting*

Jews may relet premises that are empty or that become vacant only with the permission of the municipal authority. The provisions of § 4 apply to these premises accordingly.

## § 6

*Influence of the loss of administrative powers*

To the extent that the application of §§ 1 to 5 depends on the fact that the lessor is a Jew, the property owner or the holder of rights of use is regarded as the lessor even if, as a consequence of the loss of his administrative powers, he himself has not concluded, or cannot conclude, the lease agreement.

## § 7

*Mixed marriages*

If the application of this law depends on the fact that the lessor or the tenant is a Jew, the following applies in the event of a mixed marriage on the part of the lessor or the tenant:

1. The provisions are not to be applied if the wife is a Jewess. The same holds if there are progeny of the marriage, even if the marriage no longer exists.
2. If the husband is a Jew and if there are no progeny of the marriage, the provisions are to apply, regardless of whether the husband or the wife is the lessor or the tenant.
3. Progeny deemed to be Jews are not taken into account.

## § 8

*Change in the right of disposition*

(1) If the right of disposition (ownership or right of usage) over a property passes from a Jew to a non-Jew after this law comes into effect, the provisions of this law remain applicable in the same way as before the transfer; however, early termination (§ 2) is excluded. This applies also to a further change in the right of disposition.

(2) The provision of (1) does not extend to premises that the holder of the right of disposition himself intends to use, or to premises the right to whose utilization the municipal authority has waived. As evidence of the waiver, written confirmation from the municipal authority is sufficient.

## § 9

*Period allotted for vacating the premises*

(1) If a Jew receives an eviction order under the provisions of this law, a notice period may be granted to him only if he produces written confirmation from the municipal authority that there exist obstacles to his accommodation elsewhere, or if the premises cannot be immediately vacated without serious harm to the health of a person concerned. The period allotted for vacating the premises can be extended under the same conditions.

(2) The provision in (1), unless the person evicted has terminated the agreement himself, is to be applied accordingly, unless the eviction notice has been imposed by a judgement or if the conditions for the granting of a notice period arise only after the delivery of the judgement. The local court with jurisdiction for the action of eviction decides whether to grant the notice period. If a notice period is approved and an enforceable eviction judgement is not present, the decision must simultaneously state that the premises are to be surrendered after expiration of the notice period. This decision is equivalent to an enforceable eviction judgement.

(3) The immediate appeal against the decision by which the granting of a notice period is denied proceeds even if a judgement is contested only because of disallowance of the notice period.

(4) Until the surrender of the premises, the previous parties to the contract have the same rights and duties as prior to the termination of the tenancy agreement.

(5) In the procedure according to (2), the same court fees and lawyer's fees are imposed as in the procedure regarding application for provisional suspension of compulsory execution. For the assessment of the amount involved, § 10(1) of the Court Fees Law applies accordingly.

§ 10

#### *Definition*

(1) § 5 of the First Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law of 14 November 1935 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 1333) determines who is defined as a Jew.<sup>2</sup>

(2) Except in the application of § 9, a Jewish enterprise is the equivalent of a Jew within the meaning of Article I of the Third Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law of 14 June 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 627). Moreover, the discontinuation of the conditions under which an enterprise is regarded as Jewish is to be viewed as a change in the right of disposition within the meaning of § 8.

§ 11

#### *Treatment of pending actions regarding termination of tenancy*

(1) If, when this law comes into effect, a lawsuit regarding termination of tenancy is pending against a Jew or the spouse of a Jew, the court must abate the proceedings at the request of the plaintiff, in order to enable termination in accordance with the provisions of this law. If the plaintiff terminates the tenancy agreement, he can request the instigation of proceedings and switch from an action for termination to an action for eviction. If the litigation is resolved by the tenant's moving out or acknowledging the eviction order, the court costs resulting from the termination lawsuit are to be dropped. The extrajudicial costs are to be borne by the tenant.

(2) If the plaintiff withdraws the termination action, the court costs are to be dropped and each party shall bear its own extrajudicial costs.

§ 12

#### *General obligation to register*

(1) The municipal authority can issue ordinances regarding the registration of premises that are leased to Jews or can be used for the accommodation of Jews under the provisions of this law.

(2) Anyone who wilfully or negligently fails to accomplish the prescribed registration or fails to accomplish it in sufficient time is punishable by a fine of up to 150 Reichsmarks or by imprisonment.

§ 13

#### *Exclusion of claims for compensation*

Compensation claims against the municipality cannot be derived from ordinances of the municipal authority that are based on the provisions of this law.

<sup>2</sup> See PMJ 1/210.

§ 14

*Proviso, authorization*

(1) The right is reserved to implement this law in the country of Austria and in the Sudeten German territories.<sup>3</sup>

(2) The Reich Minister of Justice and the Reich Minister of Labour are empowered, in concert with the Reich Minister of the Interior, to issue regulations for the implementation and supplementation of this law and for the introduction of corresponding provisions in the country of Austria and in the Sudeten German territories.

Berlin, 30 April 1939.

*The Führer and Reich Chancellor*

*Adolf Hitler*

*The Reich Minister of Justice*

*Dr Gürtner*

*The Reich Minister of Labour*

*p.p.*

*Dr Krohn<sup>4</sup>*

*The Deputy of the Führer*

*R. Heß*

*The Reich Minister of the Interior*

*Frick*

DOC. 278

**On 1 May 1939 Moritz Mailich asks Jos. A. Schwalb  
to support his emigration to the USA<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from Moritz Mailich,<sup>2</sup> 36a Artilleriestraße, Berlin N 4, to Jos. A. Schwalb, Esq., 620 E. 26th Street, Brooklyn, NY, dated 1 May 1939

Dear Sir,

I received your address from the Briefwechsler family in Berlin, 5 Gipsstrasse, and I am writing with a heartfelt request for your kind assistance in the following matter:

I am in the possession of an affidavit for the U.S.A., but unfortunately I am registered at the American Consulate under the Polish quota. As a matter of fact I was born in Germany but the place has become Polish and so I am belonging to the Polish quota. Same has been restricted and therefore I shall have to wait for my visa for another year.

<sup>3</sup> The law was introduced in Austria and the Sudetenland on 10 May 1939: Regulation for the Introduction of the Law on Tenancy Agreements with Jews in the Ostmark, 10 May 1939, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1939, I, p. 906; Regulation for the Introduction of the Law on Tenancy Agreements with Jews in the Sudeten German Territories, 10 May 1939, *ibid.*, p. 907.

<sup>4</sup> Dr Johannes Krohn (1884–1974), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1938; from 1920 worked in the Reich Ministry of Labour, where he was ministerial director of the Main Department for Social Insurance and Social Welfare in 1932; state secretary in the Reich Ministry of Labour, 1933; Reich commissioner for the handling of enemy assets in the Reich Ministry of Justice from 1941; chairman of the Federal Committee of Physicians and Health Insurance Companies, 1955–1968.

<sup>1</sup> CJA, 1/75, Nr. 534–14821, fols. 61–62. The original document is in English.

<sup>2</sup> Moritz Mailich (1883–1943), retailer; deported to the Lodz ghetto on 24 Oct. 1941.

But in no case I can pass this time of waiting here in Germany and the only chance would be to go to England and wait there till my turn will be. The only way however to get to this country being that a friend or relative is guaranteeing for my support during my stay in England. I am in a very desperate condition, as I have neither relatives nor friends abroad. I am a widower and also here in Berlin I have no more relatives.

It really means a relief for me that my friends Briefwechsler gave me the advice to write to you and asking your advice. Could you perhaps help me, dear Sir? Believe me I shall refund you all expenses arising by assisting me, when I shall be in the U.S.A. There I will work with diligence and prudence and then I shall soon be in the state to make up what you have done to me.

I shall be very grateful if you will let me have a reply to this letter. I assure you I would not apply to you if I had any relatives or friends who could help me in my great need.

I thank you in advance for your kind reply and remain, faithfully yours

DOC. 279

**On 2 May 1939 the director of the Talmud Torah School in Hamburg outlines his ideas for a Jewish school for immigrant children in the USA<sup>1</sup>**

Enclosure for a circular from the director of the Talmud Torah School, Arthur Spier,<sup>2</sup> 25 Bornstraße, Hamburg, to his emigrant colleagues, dated 2 May 1939<sup>3</sup>

*Outlines of a plan to set up, near New York, a traditionally observant school community – a forest school<sup>4</sup> – for children of immigrants from Germany, with the assistance of teachers at the Talmud Torah School in Hamburg.*

One can justifiably start from the premise that there already exists a large group of Jewish immigrants from Germany who are inspired by the aim to preserve for their children the religious way of life and intellectual culture that had shaped their own life in the old homeland. Fully burdened – economically and emotionally – by the necessity of creating new lives for themselves, they are no longer able to provide their growing children with the well-rounded overall education that will nurture them as fully fledged

1 CAHJP, AHW TT/104. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Arthur Spier (1898–1985), teacher; director of the Talmud Torah School in Hamburg, 1926–1940; organized the Kindertransport to Britain, 1938–1939; the Gestapo made him head of the entire Jewish school system in the Reich in 1940; in 1940 emigrated to the USA, where he was head of the School of Religion at the Jewish Center in New York.

3 The circular in which Spier reports on the development of the Talmud Torah School is not reproduced here; it was addressed to his colleagues in North America: Dr Loewenberg, Grünebaum, Kahn, Goldschmidt; in South America: Schloss, Dr Strauss; in England: Dr Mandelbaum, Dr Jacobsen, Klein, Dr Weinberger; in Luxembourg: Herz; in the Netherlands: B. S. Jacobsohn; in Palestine: Michaelis, Mayer. The original contains a stamp of the Talmud Torah School of Hamburg. See also Doc. 60, 11 July 1938, and Doc. 310, 11 July 1939.

4 Forest school (*Waldschule*) is based on an open-air educational concept using forests and woodland as a learning environment to support the learners' acquisition of social, personal, and practical skills. The concept originated in Germany in the early 1900s as part of the progressive education movement.

Jews and self-sacrificing citizens by providing an *example* in the shared life of the family, by creating *schools* that conform to their ideal of religious commitment in conjunction with an openness to the great values of the common culture, and by offering an *environment* that promotes what the school and the parental home seek to instil. Further, it can be taken for granted that, with respect to all the authorities that deal with the problem of immigration to the USA, there is a serious concern to prevent a concentration of new immigrants, at least young ones, in the cities. Therefore, one must welcome all endeavours intended to channel the inclinations and abilities of young people into skilled crafts and agricultural occupations, and in the case of girls particularly into household occupations too.

A small attempt to fulfil the two urgent requirements outlined above, by making extensive use of the instructional and general pedagogical experience accumulated at the Hamburg Talmud Torah School in over a century of ongoing development, is this proposal: to establish a religious educational community assisted by educators from our school.

Let me attempt to show, quite briefly, the *general outline and plan* of such a forest school. A start should be made, not too close to New York, with around 80–100 girls and boys from NY. The area should be so constituted that, in addition to space for a synagogue and buildings for living, sleeping, and lessons, there is also an opportunity for skilled manual and agricultural activities (for example animal husbandry and horticulture). Naturally, suitable sports facilities would also be set up. General instruction would be completely geared to the state educational requirements and provided by teaching staff with American qualifications. By providing a sufficiently large number of teachers who speak exemplary English, the school will help pupils to immerse themselves completely in the everyday language and culture of America. Thorough instruction in the various disciplines of Jewish learning, in addition to the general transmission of knowledge, is a prime objective of the schooling to be sought. The chief significance of a community as close-knit as the one planned here lies in the fact that it is possible to ascertain all aspects of a young person's character to a far greater extent than any lessons can achieve, and his inclinations and abilities can be nurtured to the greatest possible extent. Each child and each adolescent will participate responsibly and gladly in the building and development of this community. Guided according to plan, they will be taught independence at an early age and will be trained to help with the housework and farming and skilled manual labour. In addition to the actual subjects of instruction, important factors are the cooperation and self-determination of the young people and the profound influence that an exemplary community life exerts unobtrusively but all the more effectively on character and disposition.

To make it clear what can be expected from the realization of such a plan, the objectives and the desired outcomes must be outlined individually and in somewhat greater detail, even in this first proposal.

*Religious education* will have a far more profound and comprehensive influence than the school and the parental home have been able to achieve thus far. First and foremost, in the formative years there will be none of the obstacles to a young person's development that inhibit a natural unfolding of the innate religious inclination of the young person in the big city. The community to be created, consisting of all those working for the school community, will allow teachers to become friends and leaders of young

people to an even greater extent than before. As a result, Jewish *education* will exert a stronger influence than other school subjects. Jewish education will not be – as in the Jewish schools oriented towards the large Torah academies of Eastern Europe – one-sidedly Talmudic. Instead, all areas of Jewish learning, including Jewish history, current affairs, and living Hebrew, will be cultivated. With all due respect for the established forms of observant life, the established basic orientation of the Hamburg Talmud Torah School will be preserved, that is, to educate individuals who are rooted in religion, and who, with open minds, remain receptive to life and its beauty. The impact of the teaching will be enhanced by the young people designing the religious services and festivals themselves. The meaning of an education linked to religion is inherent, but one may nonetheless point out the secondary effect it has for immigrants. People who have experienced a genuine, pervasive religious education that is free of mystical enthusiasm and superficial, purely ethical instruction will become modest, self-sacrificing citizens and not rootless and floundering immigrants.

The characteristics of religious understanding described here mean that it will be *receptive to general education*. Beyond the general statutory requirements, liberal arts and natural sciences subjects are to be eagerly pursued in voluntary study groups appropriate to the level of understanding of each age group. Experience in the general forest schools has shown how the feeling, interest, and aptitude for art awaken and grow in communities. *Cultivation of the fine arts* will also be an important part of the community's work.

An educational institution like the one planned can become a very suitable place for appropriate *civic education*. The American educators will teach and demonstrate to the young people the liberal-democratic mindset that is typically American. All that the Jewish teachers from Germany have learned in the youth leagues<sup>5</sup> in working together *with young people*, what we might term 'bündisch',<sup>6</sup> will contribute greatly to the creation of a self-sacrificing, evolving citizen who selflessly aligns himself with the community.

The all-round education, which requires the involvement of young people in all aspects of managing the household, gardens, and livestock and in the areas where skilled crafts are taught, will do a good job of providing suitable *vocational education*. A genuine feeling for nature, free of sentimental enthusiasm, will grow to maturity in the adolescent. This quiet relationship with nature will affect many boys and girls in their choice of occupation and guide them towards horticulture or agricultural pursuits. The vocational school, which as soon as pupils reach their early teens, will be linked up with theoretical teaching, will in turn awaken in many other young people the inclination to devote themselves to handicrafts or skilled crafts. In the case of the girls, great emphasis is to be placed on their training for household occupations; they will learn to take delight in specifically female occupations. Adequate *sporting activity*, which will guard against excesses, however, should help to train a happy and healthy generation.

From here, we cannot judge what paths our obliging brothers in America may be able to pursue in order to create the economic prerequisites for the project, which will be a blessing not only for the immigrants but also for American Jewry.

5 This refers to the 'bündische Jugendbewegung', the collectivity of youth associations, groups, and leagues in Germany prior to 1933, including boy scouts and the progressive education movement.

6 See fn. 5.

We would be glad and grateful to be granted the opportunity to put our valuable contributions with respect to experience, tradition, zeal, and energy toward a creative task that serves the eternal richness of Judaism.<sup>7</sup>

DOC. 280

**On 3 May 1939 the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Vienna reports on the trade in entry visas for Monaco<sup>1</sup>**

Memorandum compiled by the Central Office for Jewish Emigration (B/Lu.), Brunner,<sup>2</sup> Vienna, dated 3 May 1939

*Re:* entry visas from the consulate of Monaco.

From the following report by a Jew from the 'Gildemeester Assistance Office', it is apparent that visas for entry into the Principality of Monaco were indeed sold in Vienna. They are completely worthless, however, as France is not issuing any transit visas.

The report of the 'Gildemeester Assistance Office':

According to information from various parties, a flourishing trade in Monaco visas has supposedly developed in Vienna of late. These visas, for which a consular fee of RM 10 per passport must be paid, are offered at the price of RM 150 and more. In this regard, it must be noted that visas for Monaco have only questionable value, as this state is bordered, on land, by France on every side and its borders can be crossed in both directions without restriction, so that an entry permit for Monaco is tantamount to an entry permit for France. As a consequence, France is denying entry to Monaco by refusing transit visas to persons seeking to enter Monaco as immigrants. For these reasons, Monaco visas are scarcely recognized as destination visas any longer. For the sake of completeness, let me note that, in isolated cases, attempts were made to reach Monaco illegally by sea from Italy, that is, without touching French soil.

Incidentally, the trade in Monaco visas is said to have ceased in the past few days.

<sup>7</sup> In 1943 Arthur Spier founded the Manhattan Day School in New York, which he modelled on the Hamburg Talmud Torah School. To this day the Manhattan Day School pursues an educational concept that follows the principles of Orthodox Judaism.

<sup>1</sup> BArch, R 58/6562. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Alois Brunner (1912–c.2010), began his career as a retailer; joined the NSDAP and the SA in 1931 and the SS in 1938; SS-Hauptsturmführer, 1942; until 1938 worked as a shop assistant and decorator; from 1938 an employee of the SD and the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Vienna, and from 1941 its head; organized the deportation of Jews from Austria in 1939 and 1941–1942, from Berlin in late 1942 to early 1943, from Greece in 1943, from France in 1943–1944, and from Slovakia in 1944; lived under a false name near Essen from 1947 to 1954; in 1954 sentenced to death in Paris in absentia; fled to Syria.

## DOC. 281

**On 5 May 1939 Mr and Mrs Malsch of Düsseldorf tell their son Willy in the USA of their growing despair and their hopes of emigrating<sup>1</sup>**

Handwritten letter from Mr and Mrs Malsch, Düsseldorf, to Wilhelm Malsch, Chicago, dated 5 May 1939

My beloved Willy,

On the 1st [of this month] we sent you a letter with the *Queen*;<sup>2</sup> you have probably received it by now. We hope you've also written the letter you promised, we're still awaiting it eagerly. One year ago today we were in Stuttgart. What we would have been spared if things had worked out there!<sup>3</sup> We really mustn't think of it again. Alfred wrote to us again yesterday, complaining that you have *still* not sent the patterns back to him, and he says it is quite embarrassing for him with respect to his firm. You must rectify this at once. We've often written to you about this, and you haven't even mentioned it once yet. We have already written to him quite often, saying that we have told you. Have you heard anything there concerning Krüger?<sup>4</sup> It is said here that there are holidays in Stuttgart, but I don't know that for sure. So month after month goes by, and we are still sitting here and just can't get out of the country, it is often enough to drive one to despair. Now summer is coming, no gas, no water, I still have to turn on the stove, such things are unheard of. If only Stuttgart would work out after all, everything would be taken care of all at once. Then we would also get the journey paid for by the Relief Association; several people here have had it too. In August of last year we definitely could have travelled differently, but may the dear Lord grant that it happens quite soon, even in this way. We are satisfied with everything, we just want to be with you, then everything will be all right, and for you, dear young man, it would certainly be much better too. Please let us know right away whether you have heard anything about Krüger. As yet we have no reply from Stuttgart to our enquiry; they are taking their time. If, as I said, anything there is open for business at all. Did Mr Wolff receive the letter sent to his shop there?<sup>5</sup> You were surely not happy about it, but we were quite frantic, when you didn't write for weeks. So write to us soon, a really *detailed* letter, so that we hear something from you personally, too.

So, I will stop for today, keep well, and warmest regards, always, your loving Mother.

My dear young man, please have your bosses tell you when they have instructed the indicated money to be paid, through which bank. It will take three weeks, at any rate. Alfred is also making efforts on our behalf, to at least get us to England temporarily (for

1 USHMM, RG-10.086/9 of 13. This document has been translated from German.

2 A ship.

3 Amalie and Paul Malsch had applied for a visa at the US consulate in Stuttgart.

4 Mr Krüger (Brewster Shirt Co., New York) wrote an affidavit for the Malsches, but the first time it was sent to the US consulate it failed to arrive.

5 Correctly: Alfred Wolf (1887–1952), maker of leather goods; partner in the firm Geyer & Wolf, a general partnership that manufactured and distributed ladies' handbags and purses, first in Neu-Isenburg and later in Offenbach. Paul Malsch had worked for the firm as a sales representative. It was sold in 1937 to Wilhelm Beetz; Wolf emigrated to the USA the same year.

this reason alone, you must get matters straightened out for him with the patterns). Every additional day of waiting becomes an unbearable torment. You may count yourself lucky to be there. Have you undertaken anything else in addition in W. (DC)?<sup>6</sup> – The latest children's game here is: how many states of the USA can you name? The one who knows the most names is the winner! That would make a newspaper article. We are expecting a detailed letter from you extremely soon.

Warm regards and a kiss from your loving  
Papa

DOC. 282

**6-Uhr-Abendblatt, Vienna, 8 May 1939: report on an antisemitic exhibition  
at the Natural History Museum in Vienna<sup>1</sup>**

*The appearance of the Jews*

*An interesting special exhibition at the Natural History Museum*

A special exhibition, *The Physical and Psychological Appearance of the Jews*, has been put on by the Anthropological Department of the Museum of Natural History in Vienna. As the head of the department, Director Dr *Walzl*,<sup>2</sup> explained during a press viewing, this special exhibition is intended to display objects brought together on the basis of scientific knowledge which offer proof that the Jews are very different from the German population, both physically and with respect to their mental and psychological constitution. However, he said, the exhibition requires a certain amount of attentiveness on the part of the visitor, as it is naturally devoid of all propagandistic means, and it is shown *by purely scientific methods* that the distinguishing features of the Jews are *determined by heredity* in every respect and that a solution to the Jewish problem can be achieved only by strictly separating the Jews from the non-Jews.

The exhibition begins with a chronology of Jewish history, which shows that the original homeland of the Jews is probably in Mesopotamia. It can be considered significant that the Jews have quite likely developed from the *greater Oriental race*, but that a *blending never* took place. Instead, the Jews always retained their characteristic features.

With respect to rituals, too, the Jews always had a separate life. For example, there was only one original version of a typical symbol of Judaism, the *seven-branched candel-*

6 Washington, DC.

1 'Das Erscheinungsbild der Juden', *6-Uhr-Abendblatt* (Vienna), 8 May 1939, p. 9. This document has been translated from German. The *6-Uhr-Abendblatt* was published from 1938 to 1939 as a regional edition of the newspaper *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*.

2 Correctly: Dr Josef Wastl (1892–1968), anthropologist; joined the NSDAP in 1932; custodian at the Museum of Ethnology in Vienna from 1934; head of the Anthropological Department at the Natural History Museum in Vienna from 1938; director of the Museum of Ethnology, 1942–1948; then a court expert for genetics. Wastl came up with the idea for the exhibition, for which, in addition to many scientific institutions, the Gestapo and the Office for Kinship Research were requested to provide support and exhibits. Adolf Eichmann had allowed Wastl to include in the show the inventories of the Jewish Museum in Vienna, which had been closed in March 1938. The exhibition was shut down in 1942 because of the war.

*brum* (menorah), in the Temple of Jerusalem. Depictions of this candelabrum on monuments support the conclusion that the Jews had dared to wander long distances even during the Roman Empire; at the beginning of the fourth century AD their presence in Cologne can already be verified. From many pictorial representations on Egyptian and other Near Eastern monuments, one realizes that the Jews, three thousand years ago, had basically *the same facial features* as today. The same *basic racial types* that disclose the Jew to us are seen again and again.

In addition, the exhibition deals with all the phenomena of Jewry that are typical of this race. We see from a large number of pictures, made on the basis of photographs in the Vienna police headquarters, that the original racial elements show through *despite the admixture of Caucasian* races, as can repeatedly be seen. Pictures from the Anthropological Institute of the University of Vienna prove that, in Jewish children, their membership of the Jewish race can be established *on the very first day* of their life by means of outward appearance.

Insight into the religious and legal customs of the Jews is provided by the comprehensive display of cultural objects and Jewish codes of law, which come from museums.

The final exhibit in the show is a juxtaposition of the German Reich's laws for the protection of German blood and German honour and the laws for the preservation of the Jewish people. The wording clearly indicates that international Jewry has not the slightest reason to be upset about the provisions to safeguard the German people, for these provisions are *extremely mild* in comparison with the Jewish laws. Incidentally, a compilation of the Spanish and Gallic synodal decrees<sup>3</sup> proves that in the early days the *Catholic Church*, too, already sensed the necessity of protecting its coreligionists against the noxious influence of the Jews.

<sup>3</sup> This refers to several ecclesiastical synods held in territories that are now part of Spain and France. For example, at the Synod of Elvira in the early fourth century, Christian women were forbidden to marry Jews. Further, both clergy and laymen were forbidden to sit at the same table with Jews. At the synods of Toledo in 589, 633, 638, and 693, various resolutions were adopted in order to forcibly convert Jews or to marginalize them economically and socially.

## DOC. 283

**On 14 May 1939 Julius Bernheim of Buchau asks his son Manfred  
to bring him and his wife to a place where they are safe from antisemitic attacks<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from Julius Bernheim,<sup>2</sup> Buchau, to his son Manfred,<sup>3</sup> dated 14 May 1939 (copy)<sup>4</sup>

My dear Manfred,

It was quite violent again last night. Around 1:30 a.m. things were hurled at all the windows, one window in the downstairs bedroom has been smashed, and the rolling shutter too is broken; a large rock lay in front of the window. This emotional upset that we felt again, this is something we can't endure much longer, the best thing would be the cemetery. You need to arrange for us to go to a home soon; this is no longer any kind of life. Just come here soon, the matter must be settled; otherwise they'll stone us to death, as well. It's not a trivial matter when one has such disturbances at 1:30 a.m. and has to listen to crashing and banging that make one tremble from head to toe.

Goodbye, with regards and kisses,  
Your Father

## DOC. 284

**On 15 May 1939 the Audit Office in Frankfurt encourages the mayor to commission  
the Municipal Welfare Office with the task of systematically rehousing Jews<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the Legal Department, Audit Office (Dr A./Schu.), Müller,<sup>2</sup> Frankfurt am Main, to the mayor<sup>3</sup> (received by the Main Administrative Office of Frankfurt am Main on 16 May 1939), dated 15 May 1939<sup>4</sup>

*Re:* tasks of municipal authorities under the provisions of the Law on Tenancy Agreements with Jews.

As a result of the Law on Tenancy Agreements with Jews of 30 April 1939 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 864), in conjunction with the implementing provisions according to the circular decree of 4 May 1939 (MBliV 996), the municipal authority must issue written

1 Archives of the Leo Baeck Institute, New York, at the Jüdisches Museum Berlin, MF 572, reel 2, box 3, folder 1. This document has been translated from German.

2 Julius Bernheim (1869–1942), retailer. On 9 May 1939 the local branch of the NSDAP in Buchau ordered him to sell his house by the end of the month. Together with his wife, Karolina, née Weil (1877–1942), he moved before the end of the year into the Jewish Home for the Elderly in Herrlingen, near Ulm. In 1942 they were both deported via Stuttgart to Theresienstadt, where Julius Bernheim died; shortly thereafter Karolina Bernheim was deported to Treblinka, where she was murdered.

3 Manfred Bernheim (1917–1991), in 1938 a teacher at the Jewish private school that had been established in Bad Mergentheim in 1936; emigrated to the USA in 1939 and settled in New York under the name Fred H. Bern.

4 The document is from the literary estate of Karl Adler and bears the stamp 'Karl Adler 3820 Waldo Avenue New York 63, N.Y.'

1 ISG Frankfurt, Magistratsakten/4.039, fol. 120r–v. This document has been translated from German.

confirmation as to whether alternative accommodation of the tenant is ensured for the period after termination of the tenancy agreement.<sup>5</sup> The municipal authority should therefore be able to arrange for a systematic resettlement of Jewish tenants into Jewish buildings.

The task in question is therefore one that is most closely connected with the orderly management of housing, which is the responsibility of the municipal housing supervision and housing assistance authorities. This area of responsibility is affiliated with the Welfare Office, to which the municipal police with responsibility for housing and the homeless is also accountable.

In addition, because these families are receiving public welfare, the Welfare Office already knows many of the Jewish tenants who are to be resettled as well as the circumstances that are relevant to their referral to other rental properties. The Welfare Office, through its district offices, also has at its disposal field personnel who know the local conditions in precise detail. Moreover, through the social workers and investigators, it has at its disposal civil servants who can undertake additional assessments at any time.

In agreement with the Welfare Office, therefore, we consider it advisable that the tasks of the municipal authority, under the Law on Tenancy Agreements with Jews and the implementing provisions for this law, be transferred to the Welfare Office. We therefore request that a corresponding decision be made.<sup>6</sup>

2 Dr Bruno Müller (1889–1968), lawyer; began his career at the local administration in Frankfurt an der Oder; mayor of Höchst, 1926–1928; city councillor in Frankfurt, 1928–1945; from 1933 responsible for the municipal utilities and the legal department; joined the NSDAP in 1933; resigned from the municipal administration in 1945; responsible for the endowment department, 1949–1957.

3 The mayor was Dr Friedrich Krebs (1894–1961), lawyer; judge at the regional and district court, 1923–1925, and regional court judge in Frankfurt, 1928–1933; from 1922 with the 'Völkischer Bloc' of the NSDAP; joined the NSDAP in 1929; from 1933 NSDAP Kreisleiter and mayor of Frankfurt; interned, 1945–1948; classified as a 'lesser offender' in the denazification process; until 1952 a member of the right-wing German Party in Frankfurt city council, then worked as a lawyer.

4 The original contains handwritten annotations, underlining, corrections, and the administrative stamp of the Main Administrative Office, dated 21 June 1939.

5 Circular decree issued by the Reich Ministry of the Interior concerning the Law on Tenancy Agreements with Jews, in *Ministerialblatt des Reichs- und Preußischen Ministeriums des Innern*, no. 19, 10 May 1939, pp. 996–998; on the Law on Tenancy Agreements with Jews, see Doc. 277, 30 April 1939.

6 After handwritten notes, the letter ends as follows, with an illegible signature: 'Building Office 1/04 Frankfurt am Main, 7 June 1939 U., returned to the Main Administrative Office with reference to the telephone conversation with Chief Inspector Schramm. I consider it advisable to transfer the tasks of the municipal authority to the Welfare Office on the basis of the Law on Tenancy Agreements with Jews.'

## DOC. 285

**On 25 May 1939 the Reich Minister of the Interior and the Reich Minister of Labour regulate the payment of welfare benefits to Jews who live with non-Jews<sup>1</sup>**

Circular decree issued by the Reich Minister of Labour (II b 2790/39), p.p. signed Dr Engel,<sup>2</sup> and the Reich Minister of the Interior (V W I 43/39–7808), p.p. signed Surén,<sup>3</sup> to (A) the state governments (social services administrations), excluding Prussia, Ostmark, and Sudeten German territories (received on 17 June 1939, Bavarian State Chancellery); (B) the Reich commissioner for the Saarland; (C) for Prussia: (a) the Regierungspräsidenten, (b) the chairman of Berlin City Council, (c) the Oberpräsidenten, for information, and (d) the mayor of Berlin, dated 25 May 1939<sup>4</sup>

*Re:* implementation of the Regulation on Public Welfare for Jews.

The Regulation on Public Welfare for Jews of 19 November 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 1649),<sup>5</sup> which came into effect on 1 January 1939, contains no particular provisions as to whether and under what circumstances, in the implementation of this regulation, higher welfare benefits or assistance for persons with meagre pensions is to be granted to persons reliant on welfare who are not Jews and live together with Jews in a family unit (household unit). We request that you proceed in accordance with the following principles:

1. If a Jew to whom, but for the regulation, higher welfare benefits or assistance for persons with meagre pensions would have to be granted lives as head of household with a spouse or in a family unit with offspring who are not Jews, the family allowances of higher welfare benefits or assistance for persons with meagre pensions are to be granted at the standard rate to these individuals, even if they personally do not meet the requirements for higher welfare benefits or assistance for persons with meagre pensions. The Jew himself is to be supported under the regulation.

If a Jew who, but for the regulation, would have to be supported as a person with a meagre pension lives in the capacity of head of household in a family unit with one or more recipients of public welfare or unemployment benefits who are not Jews, the difference between the rate prescribed in § 5(2) and the rate prescribed in § 5(1) of the decree of 25 March 1938 (II b 3800/38), re Reich subsidies for recipients of meagre pensions,<sup>6</sup> is to be paid as a Reich subsidy.

1 BayHStA, StK 6412, Nr. 10 897, fol. 204r–v, published in *Ministerialblatt des Reichs- und Preussischen Ministeriums des Innern*, no. 25, 21 June 1939, cols. 1298–1299. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Hans Engel (1887–1945), lawyer; Regierungsrat, 1920; Ministerialrat, 1929; ministerial director in the Reich Ministry of Labour (head of the Social Insurance and Labour Market Department), 1933; state secretary, 1942; shot and killed by Soviet soldiers in April 1945.

3 Dr Friedrich Karl Surén (1888–1969), lawyer; member of the German People's Party (DVP); joined the NSDAP in 1933; worked in the Prussian Ministry of the Interior from 1920; ministerial director and head of the Municipal Department, 1932; state commissioner for public welfare; chief judge the Reich Administrative Court, 1944–1945.

4 The original contains the stamp 'Copy for the Ministry of State. (The relevant ministry has received a copy)', the stamp of the Chancellery of the Reich Ministry of Labour, annotations, and handwritten abbreviations.

5 See Doc. 164, 19 Nov. 1938.

6 Published in *Deutscher Reichsanzeiger und Preussischer Staatsanzeiger*, no. 74, 29 March 1938, and *Reichsarbeitsblatt, Teil 1, Amtlicher Teil*, no. 10, 5 April 1938, pp. 104–106.

2. If a head of household who is not a Jew and meets the requirements for higher welfare benefits or assistance for persons with a meagre pension lives together with Jews in a family unit, he is to be supported in accordance with the valid standard rate for the head of household; the Jewish family members are to be supported in accordance with the regulation.

The head of household, as a person with a meagre pension, receives the simple Reich subsidy under § 5(1) of the decree of 25 March 1938. If the head of household lives in a family unit with, in addition to Jewish family members, one or more recipients of public welfare or unemployment benefits who are not Jews, the higher Reich subsidy is to be paid, under § 5(2) of the decree of 25 March 1938.

This decree will be announced in the *Ministerialblatt des Reichs- und Preussischen Ministeriums des Innern* and published in the *Reichsarbeitsblatt*.

DOC. 286

**On 31 May 1939 Oberregierungsrat Kurt Krüger, Vienna, asks the SS Security Service for its opinion regarding the status of the leaving certificates of Jewish schools<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from Oberregierungsrat Kurt Krüger<sup>2</sup> (Zl. IV-3c-325041-1939), 5 Minoritenplatz, Vienna I, to SS-Hauptsturmführer Gahrmann,<sup>3</sup> Security Service of the Reichsführer SS, 16 Theresianumgasse, Vienna IV, dated 31 May 1939<sup>4</sup>

Dear Comrade *Gahrmann*,

In Vienna there was a well-attended academic secondary school of the Jewish Grammar School Association, the so-called Chayes Grammar School (now Jewish Lyceum) in Vienna's 20th District, which had parity with state schools (the right to issue credentials that were valid nationwide and to hold university entrance examinations). By a universally valid decree issued by the local Ministry of Education,<sup>5</sup> at the beginning of the current school year of 1938/39 all private schools, including the Chayes Grammar School, lost their parity status and, in addition, the number of pupils at this Jewish academic secondary school was restricted to 2 per cent of the total number of pupils at all other academic secondary schools in Vienna.

Next, the Chayes Grammar School approached the Ministry of Education, seeking restoration of parity status. It is clear that there is no longer any question of parity status for this school. I am forwarding to you a copy of the planned disposition of the request and asking for your opinion, with the following comment:

1 BArch, R 58/6562. This document has been translated from German.

2 Kurt Krüger (1906–1987), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1925; co-founder of the NSDAP and the SA in Danzig; lastly SA-Sturmbannführer; Regierungsrat in Danzig, 1934; in the Reich Ministry of Economics from 1935; responsible for churches and schools in Vienna, 1938; head of the Main Office for Church and School Affairs in the Munich NSDAP headquarters from 1940; lawyer in Nuremberg after 1945.

3 Theodor Gahrmann (b. 1910), retailer; joined the NSDAP and the SA in 1928 and the SS in 1935; in 1936 specialist in the SD Main Office; inspector of the Security Police and the SD in Vienna in 1939.

4 The original contains handwritten notes.

5 This could not be verified.

The 'school-leaving examination' after completion of the course of study in the presence of a representative of the state educational authority (the city schools inspector for Vienna) would still lend a certain weight to the 'school-leaving certificate' even if it does not become a 'university entrance certificate' as a result. That could, for example, be conducive to the certificate holder being readily admitted to foreign universities as a regular student.

Now, the opinions of my specialists are greatly divided as to whether the presence of an official representative at the aforementioned school-leaving examination should be enabled or not: some think that the Jews would be encouraged to emigrate if their children received credentials that were highly rated abroad. The other specialists think that a highly rated certificate from the Chayes School might tempt many Jews from the Ostmark (and possibly from the rest of the Reich) to pursue their studies in Vienna at this school, and as a result an influx of Jews to Vienna could once again ensue.

I therefore request, in view of the insight you have regarding the Jewish question, that you inform me of your opinion on the point of contention.

*Heil Hitler!*<sup>6</sup>

DOC. 287

**The SPD in exile reports on the situation of the Jews in the Memel Territory at the end of May 1939, after the German assumption of power that March<sup>1</sup>**

Sopade report on Germany,<sup>2</sup> Paris, dated July 1939 (typescript)

[...] <sup>3</sup>

1. (c) *The Memel Territory*

After the occupation, the Jews in Memel knew that it would only be a matter of days before the occupation of their homeland too.<sup>4</sup> A mass exodus to Lithuania took place. Of the 5,000–6,000 Memel Jews in total, only 2,000 were still left in the town, of whom

<sup>6</sup> Handwritten note at the foot of the letter: 'In my opinion we have no interest in raising Jewish intellectuals. The attendance of an official representative is therefore to be declined.' Gahrmann also worded his reply dated 12 June 1939 along the same lines: *ibid.* Further, it was stated that highly rated credentials were not required as an incentive for emigration, as Jewish adolescents possessed especially good emigration opportunities.

<sup>1</sup> AdsD, Emigration/Sopade, Deutschlandberichte [der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands], vol. 6, no. 7, part A 89–90, published in Klaus Behnken (ed.), *Deutschland-Berichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (Sopade) 1934–1940*, 7 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausend-eins, 1980), vol. 6, pp. 908–909. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> The executive committee of the Social Democratic Party of Germany in exile (Sopade) in Prague collected and analysed reports and newspaper articles about the political, cultural, economic, and social situation in Germany, which it published on a monthly basis from May 1934. After the Wehrmacht had entered Prague in March 1939, the party executive of Sopade moved to Paris.

<sup>3</sup> The first part of the report provides an overview of the general political and economic situation in Germany and the persecution of the Jews in the Old Reich, Bohemia, and Slovakia.

<sup>4</sup> In Memel there was a German-oriented Jewish community and an Orthodox community of Russian, Polish, and Lithuanian Jews. Zionist organizations had a strong presence. In February 1937 the city council adopted a law restricting the Jews from practising their professions, and Jewish shops were boycotted in the autumn of 1938. In 1939 Jews made up around 14 per cent of the urban population in Memel. Thousands had fled the region to Lithuania, even before the German invasion on 23 March 1939: see Introduction, p. 44.

around 1,500 managed to flee at the last minute. On the morning of 23 March, several people from the last refugee trains were arrested by the SS. The travellers' luggage was searched and every Jew was allowed to take only one item of luggage. The remaining pieces of luggage were 'confiscated'. Trucks carrying Jewish possessions to Lithuania were stopped at the border and forced to return to the Memel Territory.

Some of the largest tobacco, textile, and chocolate factories of the Memel Territory, as well as wholesale businesses and department stores, fell into the hands of the National Socialists. The premises of the Jewish Community and all Jewish organizations were immediately occupied by droves of Storm Troopers. Three synagogues were destroyed, and many Jewish apartments were demolished.

At the same time, all of the synagogues in the provinces of the Memel Territory were destroyed and Torah scrolls were thrown on to the street, torn and stamped on. The SA and SS occupied all Jewish factories and shops. There were serious cases of ill treatment. On 30 March the 'Trustee for Jewish Property in the City of Memel' published the following confiscation regulation in the *Memeler Dampfboot*:<sup>5</sup>

*By decree of the deputy transition commissioner for the reunification of the Memel Territory with the German Reich from 27 March 1939, I have been appointed as the trustee for the entire Jewish assets of the city of Memel. I therefore order that the following be reported to me in writing immediately:*

*1. All Jewish deposits in banks, savings banks, and similar institutions. 2. All payments owed by firms or individuals to Jewish businesses, shops, and private persons. 3. All property, provided it is still in Jewish possession, and all Jewish property that is still in other hands. 4. (By property owners) all business, retail, or storage spaces which were, or still are, let to Jewish business owners. 5. All claims on Jewish businesses, shops, and private persons.*

*Payments may not be made to Jewish creditors. Any failure to adhere to this regulation will be punished.*

*W. Betke.*

All Jews still living in Memel had to hand in all of their jewellery by 31 May. They were each allowed to keep only one silver watch, one set of silver cutlery, and their false teeth.

An 'advice centre for Aryanization questions' has been set up at the local court in Memel. Special accounts have been opened at the banks, into which all Aryans must pay the amounts that they owe to the Jews.

Straight after the troops marched in, the Gestapo came to Memel and arrested around 100 people, mostly Lithuanian Jews, on suspicion of spying.

The Memel Jewish doctor Dr Hanemann,<sup>6</sup> a Lithuanian citizen, has been sentenced by a German court to fifteen years of penal servitude. An explanation of the reasons for this has yet to be published.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *Memeler Dampfboot*, founded in 1849 by supporters of the liberal movement, was one of the oldest German-language daily newspapers in East Prussia. It underwent *Gleichschaltung* with the National Socialist press in 1939.

<sup>6</sup> Dr Moritz (Moshe) Hanemann (b. 1896), physician; lived in Memel until the National Socialists assumed power, then in West Prussia.

<sup>7</sup> The report goes on to describe the persecution of the Jews in Austria and Danzig, the November pogroms, and conditions of imprisonment in Dachau concentration camp, as well as the difficult situation on the refugee ships: see Doc. 316, July 1939.

## DOC. 288

**On 2 June 1939 the Brussels-based Aid Committee for Jewish Refugee Children  
asks the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna for support  
with the organization of the Kindertransport<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the Comité d'Assistance aux Enfants Juifs Réfugiés<sup>2</sup> (signature illegible), 2 Rue Joseph Dupont, Brussels, to the Israelite Religious Community, Vienna I, dated 2 June 1939<sup>3</sup>

*Re: Kindertransport to Belgium.*

In the enclosure we send you a list of those on the next transports to Brussels from your town and surrounding area.<sup>4</sup>

*The children have to be at the local association office in Cologne am Rhein, 33 Rubensstrasse, by 2 p.m. on Thursday, 15 June 1939, from where they will be taken to Brussels by Belgian Red Cross delegates.*

In each case we shall also inform the children's parents, but we request that you contact them directly at the same time and issue the information that may be necessary, in order to avoid enquiries to our committee which we are often not in a position to answer due to a lack of knowledge regarding the various German regulations.

We enclose the regulations to be adhered to regarding tickets, luggage, items to be taken along, etc., and request that you ensure these regulations are indeed followed.<sup>5</sup>

As you may well know, the German authorities do not permit either children or adults to take money, jewellery, silver, gold, etc. with them. We request that you make the parents keenly aware of the fact that spot checks will be carried out in Cologne and that the children will have to leave the transport should they be found carrying any valuables. Should we find any other valuables while unpacking here, the *children will be sent back on the next train!* It cannot be permitted that our transport be jeopardized through the negligence of *one person*.

The letters addressed to the individual children should be taken along and presented in Cologne.

Please draw the parents' attention to the fact that neither relatives nor acquaintances may appear here at the station.

We hope that the transport will proceed smoothly and we send greetings to you on behalf of the committee:

*2 enclosures.*

1 CAHJP, HMB 3103, inv. no. 875. This document has been translated from German.

2 The committee was founded in Nov. 1938 on the initiative of the lawyer Max Gottschalk, with the aim of bringing Jewish refugee children to safety. It obtained approval from the Belgian government to grant asylum to children until they were able to travel on to other countries. Marguerite Goldschmidt-Brodsky headed the committee from 1939. By that year around 1,000 children had come from Germany and Austria to Belgium.

3 At the end of the document is a stamp of the 'Comité d'Assistance aux Enfants Juifs Réfugiés'.

4 The list contained the names and addresses of Elfriede Kofler (b. 1932) from Vienna and Gerti Perschak (b. 1924) from Brno: *ibid.*, inv. no. 877.

5 *Ibid.*, inv. no. 876.

## DOC. 289

**On 2 June 1939 Georg Landauer lists the distribution of 25,000 refugee certificates for immigration into Palestine<sup>1</sup>**

Memorandum written by Dr Georg Landauer, Jerusalem, dated 2 June 1939

*Distribution of 25,000 refugee certificates.**Preliminary note:*

The following list makes no distinction between persons who are still in Germany and refugees in so-called refugee countries (incl. Zbanszyn<sup>2</sup>). This classification is being prepared.

2. Assuming the acceptance of a Jewish population numbering
- |         |  |
|---------|--|
| 350,000 | in Germany (Old Reich)   |
| 80,000  | ” Austria  |
| 220,000 | in territories of the former CSR (excluding Subcarpathian Rus but including and with equal treatment of Slovakia), |

I suggest distributing the certificates according to the following percentages:

- |     |                     |
|-----|---------------------|
| 44% | Germany (Old Reich) |
| 24% | Austria             |
| 32% | CSR.                |

It should be kept in mind, however, that in some categories, particularly youngsters, Germany and Austria have already selected a substantial number of their best candidates for emigration and that for this reason Czechoslovakia should be more seriously considered.

I suggest distribution in the following categories:

		<i>Germany</i>	<i>Austria</i>	<i>CSR</i>	
I. 10,000 children and teenagers					
Of whom, children	7,000:	3,000	1,700	2,300 <sup>3</sup>	
(12–15 years)					
Teenagers (15–17 years)	3,000:	1,200	700	1,100	
	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...] <sup>4</sup>	
		4,200	2,400	3,400	= 10,000.

Inspection authorities: Waad Leumi<sup>5</sup> and the offices of the Youth Aliyah.

1 CZA, S7/793. This document has been translated from German.

2 Correctly: Zbąszyń; town on the German–Polish border, in which Jews with Polish nationality deported from Germany were interned in a camp at the end of Oct. 1938: see Doc. 203, 16 Dec. 1938, and Introduction, p. 53.

3 Added by hand above the four figures, barely legible: 1,500, 660, 580, 480.

4 Illegible handwritten figures added.

5 Jewish National Council: existed from 1920 until the founding of the state of Israel in 1948 and was the provisional government of the Jews while Palestine was under British mandate. The inspection authorities decided whether the respective applicant met the requirements.

		<i>Germany</i>	<i>Austria</i>	<i>CSR</i>	
II. 7,000 relatives <sup>6</sup>					
Materially provided for	2,000	900	600	500	
Financed	5,000	2,200	1,200	1,600	= 7,000

Inspection authorities: HOG,<sup>7</sup> Palestine Offices, Rosenblueth.<sup>8</sup>

- Order of priority:
1. Zionists
    - (a) endangered
    - (b) settlers
    - (c) financial security or economic significance
  2. Endangered
    - (a) settlers
    - (b) financial security or economic significance
  3. Relatives of settlers or settlement candidates
  4. Others

III. 1,000 students		400	250	350	= 1,000
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Inspection authorities: Palestine Offices and WIZO.

Suggestions made by institutions here should be accepted by the German Department and sent on to the Palestine Offices.

IV. 5,000 <sup>9</sup> workers		2,200	1,200	1,600	= 5,000 <sup>10</sup>
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Inspection authorities: Palestine Offices, Overseas Hachsharah Central Agency of the Hehalutz in London, Rosenblueth, WIZO. Danzig Chaluzim<sup>11</sup> should also be considered.

V. 2,000 families (5,000 persons) <sup>12</sup>					
Of category A(1), A(4), A(5): <sup>13</sup>		850	500	650	= 2,000 <sup>14</sup>

Inspection authorities: Palestine Offices and Rosenblueth

A distribution plan for the Palestine Offices outside Germany is being prepared. The Danzig A(1) cases<sup>15</sup> should also be considered.

<sup>6</sup> Figure added by hand, barely legible, probably: 6,000.

<sup>7</sup> Hitachdut Olej Germania: an organization of German immigrants from Germany in Palestine, founded in 1933, included immigrants from Austria as of March 1939.

<sup>8</sup> The reference is to Martin Rosenblüth.

<sup>9</sup> Added by hand: 10,000.

<sup>10</sup> Added by hand above the four figures, barely legible: 4,400, 2,700, 2,800, 10,000.

<sup>11</sup> Hebrew: pioneers.

<sup>12</sup> Added by hand above the figures: 3,000 [families] 8,000 [persons].

<sup>13</sup> Certificate category A comprised persons with their own assets: so-called capitalists were allocated to category A(1), as were immigrants who had equity of over £1,000 sterling; category A(4) was for pensioners; category A(5) was for persons who practised a profession seldom represented in the country. Certificates were also issued to labourers, craftsmen, and youngsters.

<sup>14</sup> Added by hand above the four figures, barely legible: 1,320, 720, 980 = 3,020.

<sup>15</sup> The reference is to category A certificates: see fn. 13.

## DOC. 290

**In June 1939 the purser of the *St. Louis* reports on the journey of the refugee ship after being refused permission to land in Havana<sup>1</sup>**

*St. Louis*<sup>2</sup> travel report by purser Ferdinand Müller, part II, from 2 to 11 June 1939 (copy)

18. 2 June.<sup>3</sup>

This morning, shortly before setting sail, six passengers with a permit granted by Presidential Order<sup>4</sup> were set on land. Dr Loewe, who had jumped off the ship, is still in hospital in Havana,<sup>5</sup> so that the total number of disembarked passengers is 29, and 907 remain on board. Both of the gentlemen from the Joint Relief Committee,<sup>6</sup> who were on board yesterday evening, spoke to the assembled passengers once again before leaving, and reminded them to stay calm, saying that, a solution would certainly be found, and only if the *St. Louis* set sail would further negotiations be possible. – The agency brought the captain the order by telegram from Hamburg to embark on the journey home, and informed us that Director Schröder from New York had telephoned to say that the ship should slowly head north. At the same time, the agency announced that the possibility of a return to Havana had to be entertained and that the Republic of San Domingo had declared itself willing to take in passengers. We hereupon left the port at eleven o'clock and sailed slowly north. According to an order telegraphed from Hamburg, all passengers are to receive third-class board from today in accordance with regulation 33 regarding board; the passengers are in full agreement with this. For travellers who eat ritually prepared food there will be dairy products, pasta, and cereals available every mealtime. – Due to the slow pace of the ship and the encouraging telegram from the JDC, the passengers are in good spirits.

19. 4 June.

(We are heading north at full steam.) The ship is travelling slowly northbound through the Florida Straits. During the day different telegrams came from the JDC, saying that negotiations are continuing and that there is still hope for Havana. Director Schröder telegraphed from New York to say that there is the prospect of landing in Havana and that the ship should stay put for twenty-four hours. The passengers are continuously informed of the incoming messages on the noticeboard. To reassure them, they were informed that a nearby state has declared its willingness to take them in.

1 YVA, O. 33/4284. This document has been translated from German.

2 The cruise ship *St. Louis* had left Hamburg for Cuba on 13 May 1939. Most of the 937 passengers were emigrating Jews, to whom the head of the Cuban immigration authorities had issued entry permits without being authorized to do so. On 6 May 1939 the Cuban government had already declared these permits invalid, yet the passengers of the *St. Louis* first learned of this when the ship was refused permission to land after reaching Havana at the end of May.

3 Müller numbered his diary entries and also marked them with the date.

4 English in the original.

5 Dr Max Loewe (b. 1891), lawyer; imprisoned in Buchenwald concentration camp at the end of 1938. Fearful of a possible return to Germany he attempted suicide several times; after his recovery he returned to his family, who were staying in Britain after the failed attempt to emigrate overseas.

6 English in the original. Correctly: American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC).

[2]o. 4 June.

We are heading north at full steam. The captain<sup>7</sup> informed the passengers that the negotiations were proceeding without interruption and that in no case should hopes of Havana be abandoned. The ship left the Florida Straits today and headed for a point that is at an equal distance from New York, Havana, and Haiti. As the passengers were agitated, they were urged to be calm and not to express any unnecessary criticism of the measures taken by the ship's officers or of the cooperation of the passengers' committee.<sup>8</sup>

[21.] 5 June.

An order came in from Hamburg during the night that due to the JDC's negotiation with the President of Cuba,<sup>9</sup> the results of which are not expected until today, we should sail slowly until given further notice. The slow pace of the ship calmed the passengers, who were very, very agitated yesterday, and the mood became a little more confident. Towards evening a telegram arrived from the Centro Israelita<sup>10</sup> that the landing of the passengers on the island of Pinos, on the southern coast of Cuba, had been permitted by the authorities.<sup>11</sup> This news was greeted by the passengers with great joy, which was also expressed by the fact that the evening entertainment was well attended, which had not been the case since leaving Havana.

[22.] 6 June.

This morning the order came from Hamburg to sail back to Hamburg at full speed. A few hours later New York telegraphed to say that there was a prospect of landing on Pinos and we should await instructions from Hamburg. The passengers were told that an official confirmation of yesterday's message regarding Pinos was expected at any minute and that Hapag had declared itself ready to sail to another port in Central America if all passengers agreed that all extra costs would be covered by their return journey deposit.<sup>12</sup> As no confirmation regarding Pinos had arrived by the evening, the passengers once again became very unsettled and nervous.

7 Gustav Schröder (1885–1959), captain; officer, 1912–1940, and from 1936 captain of the Hamburg–New York line operated by the Hapag shipping company; in the field service of the German Naval Observatory, 1940–1946; author of *Heimatlos auf hoher See* [On the High Seas without a Homeland] (1947). Schröder was posthumously honoured in Israel as one of the 'Righteous Among the Nations' for his endeavours to help the passengers of the *St. Louis*.

8 The passengers' committee was founded at the suggestion of Captain Schröder as a point of contact between him and the passengers; the committee had five members at this point, and on the return voyage it had seven.

9 Laredo Brú (1875–1946); secretary of state for the interior in Cuba under José Miguel Gómez; in 1936 initially vice president and then president after Gómez was voted out.

10 The Centro Israelita de Cuba was a non-Zionist Jewish organization in Cuba. The Centro organized aid and language programmes for immigrants, and ran a theatre group, a health centre, a library, and an evening school.

11 Isla de los Pinos, a small island off the coast of Cuba, which long served as a penal colony.

12 Upon emigrating, passengers had to deposit a sum of money for their return ticket, allowing the shipping line to avoid any financial risk should entry to a country be refused. The money was to be transferred to an account in Germany after the emigrants arrived at the port of destination.

23. 11 June.

Since no confirmation regarding Pinos came on 7 June either, the passengers were told that negotiations were under way with San Domingo. The passengers were constantly informed of the telegrams arriving and being sent out, and one had to keep inventing a new excuse to maintain some degree of calm. On 8 June each passenger gave a written declaration agreeing that extra costs arising for the HAL<sup>13</sup> would be covered by the return journey deposit. The captain received a telegram from New York, saying that a landing in Cuba was no longer an option. The passengers now pinned all their hopes on San Domingo, but had become mistrustful and no longer believed a thing they heard. The atmosphere became more and more unsettled and nervous. To calm them down the passengers were told that the ship could still turn around. Most of all, the passengers, around 300 of whom had been in concentration camps, feared that they would have to go back to Germany and openly said that if this were the case there would be numerous suicides. To prevent such desperate acts, the watch on board was reinforced and the railing around the ship was monitored constantly. All of us think that the security measures taken are appropriate and necessary. When the final confirmation came on 9 June that neither San Domingo nor Havana was any longer an option, the passengers were gripped by an immense anxiety; they gathered in groups and discussed and wept. The captain went up on deck and spoke some words of encouragement and comfort to the groups. A gathering was called in the hall on the promenade deck, where first the lawyer Joseph<sup>14</sup> and then the captain spoke to the passengers. This calmed the passengers down somewhat, but they were very disheartened. Yesterday the news reached us that negotiations were under way with England regarding a temporary intake. At Hapag's request, it was established today how many passengers with an English visa were on board. To calm down the passengers, all of the passengers who had received or applied for a visa for England or for other countries were registered in the purser's office. The passengers have now calmed down again and are pinning great hopes on England.<sup>15</sup>

13 Hamburg-America-Line.

14 Dr Josef Joseph (b. 1882), lawyer; worked in Rheydt, where he had supported the unsuccessful writer Joseph Goebbels in the early 1920s; arrested in Nov. 1938; spokesman of the passengers' committee on the *St. Louis*; emigrated at first to Britain, then to the USA.

15 After all efforts to obtain a landing permit in an American port had failed and the *St. Louis* had headed back to Europe, the governments of Belgium, France, the Netherlands, and Britain declared themselves willing to take in around 250 passengers each: see also Doc. 292, June 1939; Doc. 297, 16 June 1939; and Doc. 316, July 1939.

## DOC. 291

**Writing to Stephan Lackner on 4 June 1939, Walter Benjamin expresses his thoughts  
on the situation in exile and on the suicides of Jews in Vienna<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from Walter Benjamin,<sup>2</sup> Paris, to Stephan Lackner,<sup>3</sup> dated 4 June 1939

Dear Mr Morgenroth,

By now you will have gained a first impression of the city, if not the continent. I would be much obliged to hear news of what you have seen here and there. Or would such a wish be difficult for you to fulfil? Has the bustle of the American pace of life already swept you away? Even if this be the case, I cannot imagine you hurtling around for long without meeting mutual friends. That ought to inspire you to send me a line or two.

Have you run into Gumpert<sup>4</sup> yet? I assume so. Wiesengrund?<sup>5</sup> Have you come across my friend Wissing in Boston? And have you, after the Russian pact<sup>6</sup> (which the coming days will bring us), planned a date for your return journey yet? The risk of war could be considered less with this pact in place.

As for me, there is little news to report; even less so of an optimistic nature. Horkheimer's<sup>7</sup> last letter to me began with the words: 'Even without having heard from you since the arrival of your last letter, I can imagine that you are understandably worried about the future.' This sentence, as you see, hints at the darkest prospects. By the way, the letter provides me with no substantial news at all.

1 Max Beckmann Archiv, FMBA VI 6, published in Stephan Lackner, *Selbstbildnis mit Feder: Ein Tage- und Lesebuch. Erinnerungen* (Berlin: Limes, 1988), pp. 135–136. This document has been translated from German.

2 Walter Benjamin (1892–1940), philosopher; emigrated to Paris, 1933; worked for the exiled Institute of Social Research in Frankfurt; imprisoned for three months in the autumn of 1939; took his own life after a failed attempt to flee to Spain via France (Marseilles); author of works including *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (1968 [French edn, 1936]).

3 Stephan Lackner, born Ernst Morgenroth (1910–2000), philosopher and writer; emigrated to France, 1933; had his citizenship revoked by the German Reich, 1939; emigrated to the USA; worked as a journalist for *Das Neue Tage-Buch*, *Pariser Tageszeitung*, *National Zeitung* (Basel), *Aufbau*, and *Argentinisches Tageblatt*.

4 Martin Gumpert (1897–1955), physician and writer; from 1927 physician in Berlin and active in healthcare reform; barred from his occupation, 1933; emigrated to the USA, 1936; from 1952 head of the Geriatric Clinic at the Jewish Memorial Hospital in New York.

5 Theodor Ludwig Wiesengrund Adorno (1903–1969), philosopher and sociologist; until 1933 tutor in Frankfurt am Main; emigrated to Britain in 1934 and to the USA in 1938; returned to the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949; director of the Institute of Social Research, 1958; author of works including *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1972 [German edn, 1947], with Max Horkheimer).

6 In the summer of 1939, representatives of Britain, France, and the Soviet Union held negotiations on a mutual assistance pact. However, the German–Soviet Nonaggression Pact was signed instead on 23 August 1939, dividing up the spheres of interest in East-Central Europe.

7 Max Horkheimer (1895–1973), philosopher and psychologist; co-founder and from 1931 director of the Institute of Social Research; emigrated in 1933 to Switzerland and in 1934 to the USA, where he re-established the institute; returned to the Federal Republic of Germany, 1949; rector of the University of Frankfurt, 1951–1953.

I wrote to your father in the same batch of mail.<sup>8</sup> I think it would be appropriate for him to initiate the meeting with Horkheimer, if this has not already occurred. If I were him, I would do a figurative *acte de présence*.<sup>9</sup> Nothing would be more disastrous for me right now than to impress *in absentia*.

I sent your father a little French manuscript along with the outline of a chapter about Baudelaire.<sup>10</sup> I actually wanted to make another attempt [at writing] in French, with subject matter that I grasp fundamentally. If the result does not appear too discouraging, it would indicate that the reserves of material and ideas when writing in a foreign language must be substantial enough to compensate for [one's facility in] the language learned from childhood.

The next issue of *Maß und Wert*<sup>11</sup> contains an essay on Brechtian dramaturgy which I wrote not so long ago. Incidentally, Baudelaire is completely occupying my mind. The *flâneur* chapter has been completely revamped. I think you will find it interesting.

Josef Roth died a few days ago.<sup>12</sup> I do not know whether his chosen death – intentional alcohol poisoning – is less terrible than the one Toller chose.<sup>13</sup> Incidentally, nobody here knows anything about the circumstances surrounding Toller's suicide. Are they known over there?

There is a story from Vienna that would have found its true chronicler in Karl Kraus:<sup>14</sup> the gas has been cut off in Jewish households over there, at least for the time being. It was getting too expensive for the gas company to supply the Jewish customers. They were using too much. And since they were using it to commit suicide, the gas bill often remained unpaid afterwards. –

I have read a lot of Joubert in recent weeks. He is the last of the great French moralists; he lived during the era of Chateaubriand. I have found in him not only one of the great masters of style, but one of the greatest theorists of written expression.

What are you up to? Are you busy with the novel? Art dealing? Probably both and much more besides. Have you had a look at the market for Klee?<sup>15</sup>

8 Sigmund Morgenroth (d. 1963), retailer; initially lived in Franconia; in around 1910 established a telephone company in Paris; factory owner in Berlin, 1914; manager of a watch factory in Bad Homburg, 1919; emigrated to France in 1933 and to the USA in 1939.

9 French in the original: put in an appearance, show one's face.

10 Probably the 'Notes sur les Tableaux parisiens de Baudelaire', in Walter Benjamin, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 2: *Aufsätze, Essays, Vorträge 1892–1940*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schwepenhäuser (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1991), pp. 740–748.

11 Bimonthly magazine edited by Thomas Mann and Konrad Falke; it appeared from Sept. 1937 until Oct. 1940.

12 Joseph Roth (1894–1939), writer; journalist, 1919–1920; Paris correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* from 1925; emigrated to Paris, 1933; author of works including *Radetzky March* (1933 [German edn, 1932]).

13 Ernst Toller (1893–1939), lawyer and dramatist; leading member of the socialist Bavarian Council Republic in Munich, 1918–1919; imprisoned, 1919–1924; denaturalized in 1933 and emigrated to Switzerland, then to Britain in 1934 and later to the USA; hanged himself on 22 May 1939 in a New York hotel.

14 Karl Kraus (1874–1936), publicist and writer; founder, author, and co-editor of *Die Fackel*, 1899, and editor of the journal from 1911; author of works including *The Last Days of Mankind* (1974 [German edn, 1918–1919]).

15 Paul Klee (1879–1940), painter; from 1920 at the Bauhaus, Weimar (later in Dessau); co-founder of the artists' group Die Blaue Vier, 1934; emigrated to Switzerland, 1933.

If you could possibly send me a little aid by 15 July, that would be most helpful. I wanted to add: and very friendly of you. But you could interpret that as meaning that such support would benefit a friendship. This is not supposed to be the case. (I do not wish to and I cannot approach your father, as I already told you, for as long as he is attending to.)

Erika has not been in touch.

I wish you a wonderful, bright summer.

*Bien à vous*,<sup>16</sup>

4 June 1939

Paris XV

10 rue Dombasle

Yours,

Walter Benjamin

PS I really enjoyed the poem ‘Der preußische Friedrich’, which I have just come across.<sup>17</sup>

DOC. 292

In June 1939 Eduard and Emma Weil report on the hopes and fears  
of the passengers aboard the refugee ship *St. Louis*<sup>1</sup>

Diary entries by Eduard and Emma Weil<sup>2</sup> for 5 to 11 June 1939<sup>3</sup>

*Monday, 5 June 1939*

Still on board the MS *St. Louis* cruising between Havana and Florida. ‘Going on a voyage means you have a lot of stories to tell,’ they say. The end of our [previous] report said that we would be landing in Havana on Saturday, but the forces of fate are fickle. On Saturday, 27 May, we reached Havana at four o’clock on the dot. Breakfast was announced for five o’clock, so it was reasonable to assume that we would soon be landing. At first we really believed that we could not leave the ship because it was Pentecost, but when Tuesday came around we discovered that the reason was difficulties with the Cuban government. Until Friday we were still expecting that we could reach our destination. On Friday morning, however, we learned that the ship had to leave the harbour before negotiations could start. Since that day we’ve been sailing on the high seas and waiting for what will come next. Today it’s still uncertain whether we will reach Havana

<sup>16</sup> French in the original: yours truly.

<sup>17</sup> Stephan Lackner’s poem ‘Der preußische Friedrich’ (‘The Prussian Friedrich’) appeared in the magazine *Das Neue Tage-Buch*, ed. Leopold Schwarzschild, vol. 7, no. 18, 29 April 1939, reprint 1976, p. 431.

<sup>1</sup> YVA, O. 33/4284. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Eduard Weil (1869–1957), retailer; emigrated in 1939 with his wife Emma, née Kornmann (b. 1876), from Stuttgart to Britain, and later to the USA.

<sup>3</sup> For more on the voyage of the *St. Louis*, see Doc. 290, 2–11 June 1939, fn. 2, and Doc. 297, 16 June 1939.

at all, but apparently one thing is for sure – there will be no return to Germany. Now a report of what happened in the meantime: a lot of dismay and disturbance on the ship. A great concoction of fear and conjecture had imaginations running wild. People with decorum (and luckily there are plenty of those), anxious souls, suicidal folk, and one victim.<sup>4</sup> While we were moored in the port of Havana and the negotiations were taking place, boats kept approaching us with smaller and larger groups of people. They were not allowed to come too close but close enough to cheer us up by shouting their greetings up to us. Mr Gutmann came twice every single day in one such boat, with our cousin Emil and his brother Simon. While in the first few days we optimistically thought that it was just a little delay, we soon noticed the hopelessness of our situation from the facial expressions of our visitors. On Friday morning none of the little boats was let through, so as not to make us any sadder. We were due to leave the port at ten o'clock, a voyage into the unknown, when something unexpected happened. The passengers were summoned into the large hall and on the stage was the committee: Dr Goldschmidt<sup>5</sup> from the JDC, a second important man from the JDC, the gentlemen from the ship's management, and a member of the Cuban police force. (We had been watched over by a large number of Cuban police officers on the ship up to this point.) Their address was deeply moving, calming, and brought most people a sense of certainty that we are safe with the JDC and other institutions, however the dice may fall. The appeal to good behaviour has had a long-term effect on many, for in reality we have been rolling on open sea for ten days. Some telegram notices are supposed to [...].<sup>6</sup> The ship's officers and in particular the captain are doing their level best with heartfelt sympathy. 'Negotiations with Cuba are ongoing and not looking too bad. Don't lose heart, we're doing all we possibly can for you.' The captain has been authorized by Hapag to change his travel route daily according to the circumstances. The ship is now travelling in a direction that is equidistant between Havana, Haiti, and New York. Yesterday the captain sailed quite close to Miami along the Florida coast to show the passengers this wonderful beach resort. The notice that the ship would certainly not be returning to Hamburg caused great relief. Today's notice says: Joint committee in negotiation with the President. Outcome probably available on Monday. For the captain there was the command: 'Proceed slowly and await further instructions.' So this is where we stand today, Monday morning, and we hope to finally hear a redeeming word. Another state, not yet named, has offered to allow the passengers to land. The word is circulating that it's Haiti.

Today, *Friday, 9 June*, we are still at the aleph.<sup>7</sup> We keep on floating around the seas and we don't know where we're heading today either. But at some point we will land and have solid ground beneath our feet; just the question of when this will be is the main one bothering all passengers. The daily news we hear is contradictory and it would be a good thing if all passengers remained as calm as we are, but one can also understand the desperate ones, as the question keeps arising of whether we will land in G[ermany] again after all. The weather has worsened, it's raining, and we are heading towards the Azores,

4 Passenger Max Loewe had tried to take his own life; see Doc. 290, 2–11 June 1939, fn. 5.

5 Correctly: Dr Milton J. Goldsmith (1861–1957), author and publisher.

6 The original is illegible here.

7 An idiom meaning: 'We are still at the beginning.' Aleph is the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

so we're nearer to Europe again. Since yesterday the waves have also been a little wilder, wind force 6, so no major problem, but a lot of people were seasick. People are losing their resilience. As old sailors ourselves, we have always been well and hope to remain so; we too want to be patient and persevere, the more so as we have no other option. Telegrams are being sent out to high- and highest-level people and positions everywhere, but up to now we have only heard words of consolation. We are very disappointed with America, which up to now has only been dealing with the pecuniary side of things, but has otherwise shown no signs of letting us disembark there. Now we want to observe the Shabbos<sup>8</sup> and see what happens.

*Sunday, 11 June.* The Shabbos was good. On Friday afternoon at five o'clock there was a meeting of all the passengers, at which a man from the ship's committee spoke, as well as the captain, but all just words of comfort and lots of tranquillizer pills to swallow. We can barely stomach such medication any longer. Finally there was a dignified service on Friday evening and a similar one on Saturday morning. On both occasions a short address was held, which was really nice, but just as it always or mostly was with the sermons in Stuttgart, those to whom it was really addressed or should have been addressed were mostly absent. So the Shabbos is over and the week has begun, but how will it end, where will we be next Sunday? Now Warburg has got involved,<sup>9</sup> but only in theory; the practical aspect still eludes us. Today the news came, although not officially, that Cuba and San Domingo are done, which is to be assumed because we are seven days away from Havana. Records were made of how many passengers have visas and how many have permits for England.<sup>10</sup> Affidavits for America have also been looked into already. It would be one of the greatest jokes in world history if we were to make a five-week sea voyage to get to England. But we are waiting patiently. Of course we hear nothing from the outside world. Yesterday we were pleased to get a telegram from our lodger, Bloch, asking how we are. Our mail is in Havana and unobtainable. All theory is grey. For once we would like to see real facts at last, but I fear we are still far from them. Now we want to wait and see what Sunday brings, and if there is no news again, then in God's name we will carry on waiting.

We hope that our relatives and friends in Germany are well. It goes without saying that we wish the same for our children. We haven't heard anything at all from them in England.

<sup>8</sup> Shabbat (Sabbath).

<sup>9</sup> The banker Max Warburg supported the emigration of the Jews from Germany using resources including the so-called Sekretariat Warburg, a charitable foundation, which he established. No details are known about his efforts for the passengers of the *St. Louis*.

<sup>10</sup> Britain is meant here.

## DOC. 293

**On 7 June 1939 the City of Frankfurt passes on the welfare costs for Jews  
to the Jewish Community<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the Welfare Office (Na/Wbg.), Fischer-Defoy,<sup>2</sup> Frankfurt am Main, to Mayor Krebs, dated 7 June 1939

*Re:* cooperation with the Jewish social welfare

*Case file:* transcript of the meeting held in the mayor's office on 27 March 1939<sup>3</sup>

Local case file from 16 May 1939 (III/E/str.)<sup>4</sup>

*Case officer:* Administrative Assistant Nahm,<sup>5</sup> extension number 2693

No new aspects have come to light regarding the provision of welfare for Jews. As before, the regulation exists that Jews in need of welfare will be supported by the Welfare Office. Developments since January 1939 show the following picture:

Number of cases:

	In public welfare	Old-age welfare	Hospital care	Foster children
January '39	1,077	35	111	47
February '39	1,123	180	135	47
March '39	1,152	125	104	49

Total welfare costs in January 1939	=	RM	55,260.25
" " " " February 1939	=	"	59,755.97
" " " " March 1939	=	"	61,706.24
<i>Total</i>	=	RM	176,722.46

The following were reimbursed by the Jewish social welfare:

in January 1939	=	RM	25,000.00
" February 1939	=	"	35,000.00
		"	60,000.00
<i>Remaining</i>		RM	116,722.46

1 ISG Frankfurt, Magistratsakten/8.718, fol. 38r–v. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Werner Fischer-Defoy (1880–1955), physician; doctor in Quedlinburg, 1908–1913; assistant director of the Hygiene Museum in Dresden, 1913–1919; from 1919 municipal school doctor in Frankfurt am Main; joined the NSDAP in 1929; city councillor in Frankfurt am Main, responsible for the department of the city health, welfare, and registry offices, 1934–1945.

3 At the meeting the decision had been taken that the Welfare Office of the City of Frankfurt should claim back from the Jewish Community the welfare payments previously made to Jews, although its revenues had fallen sharply, and even if this meant the Community using money put aside for emigration to fund this. Furthermore, an additional fee of 20 per cent was to be charged for administration costs: *ibid.*, fol. 39.

4 On 16 May 1939 the Main Administration Office of Frankfurt had enquired at the Welfare Office whether the resolutions made at the meeting of 27 March 1939 had already been implemented: *ibid.*, fol. 37.

5 Friedrich Nahm (1894–1973), bookkeeper; worked in Frankfurt am Main from 1919, first at the Pension Office, then from 1921 at the Main City Treasury, and from 1925 at the Welfare Office.

The financial capacity of the Jewish Community and its welfare institutions has been verified by the auditing office. Reference is made hereby to the auditing report of 23 March 1939. According to the result of this audit, the asset situation of the Jewish Community is difficult. Only by selling its real estate and liquidating its fixed assets will it be possible for the Jewish Community to meet its obligations, particularly in the area of welfare care.

In spite of all this we see ourselves obliged to demand the reimbursement of the entire welfare costs spent on Jews with effect from January 1939. This has occurred chiefly in view of the fact that due to the so-called emigration fee, considerable means (of around 1½ million [Reichsmarks]) have accumulated, which are not directly available for Jewish welfare but, alongside the financing of Jewish emigration, are also earmarked for welfare purposes.

The Jewish social welfare has in the meantime declared itself willing to reimburse the entire costs as of the date specified. In order to secure this claim, the purchase monies that the city owes to the Jewish Community from the sales of real estate will be paid into a blocked account at the town's savings bank, with the instruction that payments may only be made to the Welfare Office to cover welfare costs previously paid out to Jews.

Further details are not yet known about the Regierungspräsident appointing the plenipotentiary for the Jewish welfare institutions as the authorized representative of the Regierungsbezirk.

DOC. 294

**On 14 June 1939 Bernhard Heun, lawyer in the Personnel Office of the city of Frankfurt, interprets the provisions regarding tenancy agreements with Jews<sup>1</sup>**

Memorandum from the Personnel Office of the City of Frankfurt am Main (R/-ck), signed Heun,<sup>2</sup> dated 14 June 1939

*Re:* tenancy agreements with Jews

The law of 30 April 1939 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 864)<sup>3</sup> does not prohibit an Aryan from letting to a Jew. The executive decree of the Reich Minister of Labour and the Reich Minister of the Interior dated 4 May 1939 states the following (*Reichsministerialblatt der inneren Verwaltung*, column 996 and following pages) in no. 4:

*The basic premise of the legislation is that Jews are to be concentrated in certain buildings – forcibly if necessary.*

It is expressed even more clearly in no. 5 of the executive decree:

1 ISG Frankfurt, Magistratsakten/4.039. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Bernhard Heun (1899–2000), lawyer; judge at the regional court in Frankfurt am Main, 1926–1927; municipal councillor, 1928–1945; after 1945 city councillor in Frankfurt, managing director of the Hessian Association of Cities, and representative of the Association of German Cities at the Frankfurt Economic Council; from 1949 chief municipal director in Krefeld.

3 See Doc. 277, 30 April 1939.

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*It is envisaged that the local authorities will be heavily involved in enforcing the law, that is, in moving Jews who have previously lived in non-Jewish buildings to alternative accommodation. The local authorities are also in a position to force a move to alternative housing.*<sup>4</sup>

However, the law itself does not give the local authorities the coercive powers for rehousing the Jews in Jewish buildings. Nor does it prohibit a Jew from renting a new apartment from an Aryan. Only subletting contracts between Aryans and Jews are forbidden (§ 3 of the law), due to the fact that a household community is established through a subletting arrangement.

It is therefore not entirely correct that, as stated in the extracts quoted above from the executive decree, Jews can be forcibly concentrated in Jewish buildings. The executive decree in no. 7 expresses it more accurately, stating:

*In the event of apartments becoming vacant that were previously occupied by Jewish tenants in non-Jewish buildings, it will be ensured, befittingly, that these are made available wherever possible to German Volksgenossen previously living in Jewish buildings. The landlord's right to let freely remains unaffected, just as German Volksgenossen are not forced to give up their apartments in Jewish buildings on account of the law.*

This point makes it clear that the local authority cannot prevent a Jew from renting another separate apartment from an Aryan.

Coercion as stated in the executive decree can therefore only be effective insofar as, according to § 4(1) of the law, every Jewish homeowner is obliged to accept Jews as tenants or subtenants when so required by the local authority or, if necessary, on the basis of a lease set up compulsorily by that authority. Furthermore, the authority can only compulsorily exercise a right by advising Aryan landlords to make use of §§ 1 and 2 of the law (of tenant's protection and early notice of termination). To this end, the authority will approach the local Party officials responsible, as recommended in the executive decree pertaining to eviction notices in no. 1. Furthermore, the authority can indirectly force evictions by introducing compulsory registration for rooms let to Jews in accordance with § 12(1) of the law. Up to now such an order has not been issued in Frankfurt am Main; the issuing process will therefore be accelerated.

<sup>4</sup> According to the implementing provisions, the termination of leases with Jewish tenants was effective only if the municipal authorities provided them with alternative housing. Jewish residential property and housing rented to Jews had to be registered with the local authorities (§ 12 of the law, no. 2 of the implementing provisions).

## DOC. 295

**On 15 June 1939 Max Plaut, Hamburg, writes to Arthur Spier about being told to report unemployed Jews to the Employment Office and the Gestapo<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the Jewish Religious Association of Hamburg (Dr. F/5), signed Dr Max Israel Plaut, 38 Rothenbaumchaussee, Hamburg 13, to Director Arthur Spier, 30 Grindelhof, Hamburg 13, dated 15 June 1939

Yesterday at noon a meeting took place at the Gestapo headquarters, attended by a civil servant from the Employment Office, from the branch at 59 Ferdinandstr., Section II 3. The meeting was held at the instigation of this office. The subject of the meeting was how to fulfil labour requirements in Hamburg. The civil servant from the Employment Office made it known that there is currently an unusually high need for labour. In different fields of work, particularly manual labour, unskilled workers could earn a relatively high standard wage. Although a large number of Jews have left their professions, he continued, only a few are in work. The state cannot afford the luxury of allowing jobless people to loaf around; it is expected that all those capable of work also seek it. I have been given the task of arranging everything in my field to get those unemployed Jews who are able to work back into work. I request that all offices involved do what is necessary, and that in particular those individuals who are supported by us and able to work should be sent to the office named above. A record should be made of everyone who is sent there; I am to submit the lists to the Employment Office as well as the Gestapo. This applies also to stateless or foreign Jews. The branch of the Employment Office is at 59 Ferdinandstr. Opening hours are Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday from 1 to 3 p.m.

## DOC. 296

***The Times*, 15 June 1939: announcement that Charlie Chaplin wants the proceeds from his new film to go to Jews<sup>1</sup>**

*From our correspondent  
Vienna, June 14*

It is learned that Mr. Charles Chaplin has instructed his distribution company to pay the receipts of Continental showings of his new film, *The Dictator*, to the Vienna Jewish Kultusgemeinde,<sup>2</sup> for the purposes of facilitating emigration of Jews from Central Europe.<sup>3</sup>

1 CAHJP, AHW TT 72. This document has been translated from German.

1 *The Times*, 15 June 1939, p. 14. The original document is in English.

2 German in the original: religious community.

3 This was a declaration of intent. The film *The Great Dictator* premiered on 15 Oct. 1940.

## DOC. 297

**On 16 June 1939 Paul Eppstein of the Reich Association of Jews in Germany notes what he stated regarding the fate of Jewish refugees when he was summoned to the Gestapo<sup>1</sup>**

Notes written by Dr Eppstein (Dr E./My) regarding his summons by the Gestapo (Regierungsrat Lischka) on 14 June 1939, Berlin, dated 16 June 1939

*1. Hapag steamship St. Louis*

A report was given on the outcome of the negotiations in Paris and London.<sup>2</sup> From these negotiations, it follows that:

(a) The passengers on the steamship *St. Louis* will be accommodated in Belgium, England, France, and Holland for a stopover pending their further migration. The distribution will probably be handled so that 250 persons are placed in each of the first three countries, Belgium, England, and France, and the remainder in Holland.

(b) The JDC has provided a financial guarantee for one year in the amount of \$150 per capita.

(c) The landing of the passengers is presumably to take place in Antwerp, and from there the families will be distributed among the countries in question. Hapag is willing to make a smaller steamer available to take the passengers bound for England to their destination. Those destined for France will also sail on this steamer to Cherbourg if Belgian transit visas cannot be obtained.

(d) Accommodation possibilities near Cuba (Martinique, Guadalupe) could not be arranged, despite negotiations to that end. The scheme for placing a group of passengers in Tangier has also foundered.

Of the 937 passengers, 743 will continue on to the USA. The number of craftsmen is around 200.

When questioned about experiences in these negotiations, the answer was given that Sir Herbert Emerson sent a telegram to Hapag on 8 May 1939, warning against the dispatching of this ship; that, as far as we have learned, an official letter from the high commissioner was sent, saying that this was the last time the foreign relief organizations would make provision for the placement of passengers from special ships. Regierungsrat Lischka confirms the receipt of this letter to Ministerial Director Wohlfahrt.<sup>3</sup> The suggestion in this letter that the passengers should return to Hamburg and from there be selected for further placement is regarded as obsolete on the basis of the negotiations in recent days.

1 CJA, 2B1, Nr. 1, fols. 158–162. This document has been translated from German.

2 The representatives of the Reich Association of Jews in Germany travelled abroad quite often, with the Gestapo's permission, in particular to negotiate with the relief organizations regarding emigration possibilities. From the memoranda concerning summonses by the Gestapo, it is apparent that in the early summer of 1939 both Otto Hirsch and Heinrich Stahl travelled to London; the latter also went to France and Belgium in June 1939: *ibid.*, fols. 172 and 176.

3 Correctly: Helmuth Wohlthat (1893–1982), economist; head of the Reich Office for Foreign Exchange Control in the Reich Ministry of Economics, 1934–1938; in the Office of the Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan, 1938–1945. After Reichsbank President Schacht was removed from office, Wohlthat took over the negotiations with High Commissioner for Refugees Emerson regarding the emigration plan for the German Jews that Schacht had presented to George Rublee, the head of the Intergovernmental Committee: see Doc. 207, 20 Dec. 1938; Doc. 230, 1 Jan. 1939; and Doc. 260, 8 March 1939.

In addition, it was pointed out that the measures taken by the Cuban government are not directed exclusively against Hapag. Rather, the passengers aboard the French ship *Flandre*,<sup>4</sup> insofar as they could not land in Cuba, must also be brought back.

A written report on the journey was waived; a further trip, probably to Antwerp, for the disembarkation and allocation of the passengers was announced.

### 2. *Expulsion of Poles*<sup>5</sup>

It was stated that emigration in general is at risk of being affected by the practice of the expulsions at short notice. In England,<sup>6</sup> we have heard that unless the expulsion deadlines are met, they plan to place the Poles in custody in concentration camps pending deportation. If this happens, there is a danger that England will close its borders to stop-overs as well, since the view in England is that such a measure is not in keeping with the fundamental principles of the statement made by the Intergovernmental Committee or the German government. If emigration in general is put at such risk owing to the practice in the case of the Poles, it is probably necessary for the Reich Central Agency [for Jewish Emigration] to intervene in order to align the implementation of the expulsions in England with the actual opportunities for immigration. It is reported that a short account of the most important issues has been sent to Department SV 7 of the Ministry of the Interior<sup>7</sup> (Oberregierungsrat Wetz)<sup>8</sup> and that it seems expedient for that office to make immediate contact. The prospect of such contact is held out.

### 3. *Relocation of the ORT school*<sup>9</sup>

While the events were being presented, there was a question [from the listeners]: what does the relocation of the ORT school to England signify in terms of promoting emigration? After all, it is only a matter of transferring the present number of pupils to

4 German, Austrian, and Czechoslovak refugees began their voyage on the French vessel *Flandre* on 16 May 1939. After landing in France, they were interned. The JDC provided financial assistance to the group: see Doc. 316, July 1939.

5 On 8 May 1939 Heydrich had ordered the Police for Foreign Nationals to force Jews still living in the Reich who held, or had formerly held, Polish citizenship to leave the country by 31 July 1939. He instructed the police to deport them – if necessary, across the land border – or send them to concentration camps as detainees pending deportation. Mass transports like those at the end of Oct. 1938, however, were to be avoided. The order affected, first, under the terms of a German–Polish agreement, the wives and children of the people deported to Poland in Oct. 1938 and, second, all Polish Jews who had avoided the deportation in autumn 1938, but regarding whose destination the German and Polish authorities had been unable to reach an agreement: H.-G. Adler, *Der verwaltete Mensch: Studien zur Deportation der Juden aus Deutschland* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1974), pp. 101–102.

7 The department was in charge of the passport system and police matters involving foreigners, including expulsions and deportations.

8 Dr Wolfgang Wetz (1903–1945), lawyer; from 1928 worked in the interior affairs administration of Baden; from at least 1936 to 1940, head of Section 7 (police for foreign nationals and border security) in the Main Office of the Security Police (Administration and Law); Oberregierungsrat; then worked for the Reichsstatthalter in Graz.

9 ORT organized the technical training of young Jews, as well as the provision of the workshops with materials and tools. It also arranged for the support of agricultural settlements. In August 1939 ORT moved its school to England.

England and not, however, of creating additional opportunities for emigration. The reply to this was that the relocation of the school to England facilitates the emigration of the approximately 140 pupils who would otherwise remain here, and that as time goes on the school will accept new interns for training. To that extent, the relocation of the ORT school to England is desirable for us, especially since the machines in the Berlin training workshop are the property of the English ORT Society.<sup>10</sup>

#### 4. *Emigration tax for pensioners*

The draft of the circular<sup>11</sup> was approved. Another verification and report was recommended with regard to the currency law question, as to whether application for the transfer of the emigration tax from pensions and related benefits accounts can be made by a pensioner before his emigration.

#### 5. *Emigration to South America*

There is an enquiry about the possibility of craftsmen emigrating to Chile in connection with a special application from the Jewish Community of Vienna to the relief organization in Santiago.<sup>12</sup>

Further, it has become known that Brazil, in response to an intervention by the Pope, intends to admit around 3,500 persons, presumably non-Aryan Christians.<sup>13</sup> This [information] was imparted for the purpose of verification and application.

#### 6. *Fritz Warburg*

It was asked whether the efforts of Mr Fritz Warburg regarding a training farm in Sweden have led to success in the meantime.<sup>14</sup> A report about this was requested.

#### 7. *Karminski camp case*<sup>15</sup>

On the part of the authorities, the information was provided that the pastor Mr Grüber has made it known that placing Mr Karminski in the transit camp in England has become impossible, presumably due to the intervention of the Reich Representation [of German Jews]. Upon questioning, the information was provided that the applications of non-Aryan Christian camp applicants are sent directly by the relevant organizations to England, and that the Reich Representation therefore exerts no influence of any kind with respect to the selection and also has no say in these cases. The confirmation of

<sup>10</sup> See Doc. 59, 8 July 1938, fn. 20.

<sup>11</sup> On 15 June 1939 the Reich Association of Jews in Germany had sent out a circular about the emigration tax. It stipulated that recipients of pensions from public funds also had to pay the emigration tax, unless they had to use their pensions and related benefits to support close relations remaining behind in the Reich and in need of financial assistance: CAHJP, JCR 57 S 7.

<sup>12</sup> Probably the HICEM committee in Chile.

<sup>13</sup> At the request of the St Raphael Society, Pope Pius XII obtained from the Brazilian president 3,000 entry visas for non-Aryans who were baptized Catholics. Brazil insisted at first that baptism must have taken place before 1933, but later eased this requirement. However, in May 1940, when the first group arrived in South America, the rescue operation came to a standstill because most of the emigrants had not been baptized until 1939.

<sup>14</sup> Fritz Warburg intended to open a boarding school in Sweden to train young Jews youths in preparation for emigration to Palestine. As early as 1938 he had his eye on a property in Västmanland county that belonged to Hildegard Herzberg, a German living abroad who wanted to return to Germany. The negotiations faltered as a result of Warburg's internment from Nov. 1938 to May 1939. The Gestapo endorsed the project, but it failed in Sept. 1939 because of the objections of the Reich Ministry of Economics and the ban on paying the sales price in Reichsmarks.

<sup>15</sup> No further information could be obtained about this.

Karminski's placement was retracted after news about the imminent arrival of Mr Karminski became known in the camp itself and caused the greatest agitation among the camp occupants, since Mr Karminski in his capacity as a foreman in Sachsenhausen treated the Jews there in a specific way. His arrival in Richborough would have given rise to considerable anxiety with respect to his person, so that the administration in Richborough arranged for the confirmation by the Home Office to be retracted. After this explanation, the matter is regarded by the authorities as having been settled.

#### 8. *Palestine migration*

A report was given about the London discussions with reference to the schedule being published on 15 June 1939, as well as about the foreign currency problems involved in conducting transports for special Hachsharah.<sup>16</sup>

#### 9. *Carrying out the work of the Relief Association*

On the part of the authorities, information was provided about a letter from Mr Paul Israel Toller, 60 Tresckowstr., Mahlsdorf (50-8467), in which complaints are made about the work within the Relief Association, specifically concerning three individual cases: Schlesinger, Löwenthal, and Rubin.<sup>17</sup> In the Löwenthal case, it is expressly mentioned that a letter dated 17 May did not reach the case handler until 9 June. The writer asserts in this letter that he works as a volunteer for the Reich Representation and the Berlin Jewish Community. Insofar as it concerns the Reich Representation, it was stated that there is no knowledge of such volunteer work. The information given by Mr Toller is to be checked.

#### 10. *Emigration of teachers*

The question was asked whether there are now grounds for dealing officially with the emigration of Jewish teachers from the perspective of maintaining Jewish schools and, if necessary, whether certificates of dispensability should be introduced. It was stated that verification and reporting would take place.

#### 11. *Administration of relief*

The authorities have in their possession a letter from the Provincial Association of the Rhine Province, dated 17 April 1939, to the Relief Department,<sup>18</sup> in which the introduction of a new bookkeeping and accounting method is presented as bureaucratic and is criticized. A report on the issue was requested, with the comment that at this stage it is not appropriate to make administrative work more onerous by introducing formal complications.

#### 12. *Reports for discussion*

Reports are to be made about the following matters:

- (a) Emigration tax for Elli *Weil*, Beuthen
- (b) Written confirmations concerning agricultural work

<sup>16</sup> Illegal transports to Palestine, bypassing the British immigration checkpoints; the transports were financed in part by the Reich Association. Foreign currency was needed to acquire ships: see Doc. 316, July 1939.

<sup>17</sup> Paul Toller (1886-1943), retailer; deported in 1942 to Mauthausen, where he was murdered. Löwenthal: probably Hans Löwenthal (1912-1942?), rabbi; from 1933 to 1939 in the Welfare and Youth Office of the Jewish Community of Berlin; from 1939 a volunteer in the Migration Department of the Jewish Community of Berlin; deported in 1942 to Auschwitz, where he died.

<sup>18</sup> This letter is not in the file.

(c) Letter from the Palestine Trust Agency regarding the allocation of school fees<sup>19</sup>

13. *Sudetengau*

Notwithstanding the still-pending general decision, the ban on the use of sleeping carriages and dining cars by Jews can be announced to the Jewish Communities in the Sudetengau.<sup>20</sup>

14. *Gailingen proclamation*

The proclamation by the mayor of Gailingen announcing curfews for Jews was presented, and a copy of the part of the proclamation under consideration was placed in the files.<sup>21</sup>

DOC. 298

**On 19 June 1939 Felice Schragenheim writes a poem about forced emigration<sup>1</sup>**

Poem 'Times Are Changing' by Felice Schragenheim, dated 19 June 1939 (typescript)

Times are changing – – –  
 We used to dream of travels,  
 Of deep blue seas, fringed with palms.  
 Today our view is quite different:  
 We no longer travel, at best we are wanderers.

Whoever once allowed themselves the occasional voyage,  
 Wishes now he could but stay  
 Without lists and packing cases and learning languages,  
 And should he venture forth – then only following Baedeker stars.<sup>2</sup>

Trunks that once sailed to Biarritz,  
 Now go on quite different routes  
 To countries barely discovered  
 And therefore unsullied  
 By gilded courtesies,  
 Not elegant, but far away.

19 The author probably means the foreign currency for the school fees of the Jewish children who emigrated to Palestine.

20 Such a ban had been issued by Göring for the territory of the Reich – including the Sudetengau – on 28 Dec. 1938: see Doc. 215, 28 Dec. 1938.

21 This proclamation could not be found. A curfew issued by the mayor has survived only for the period after the November pogroms. Under the curfew, the Jews of Gailingen could only go for walks between 6 and 7 a.m., and only in front of the Jewish cemetery.

1 Jewish Museum Berlin, Sammlung Wust-Schragenheim, donated by Elisabeth Wust (2006/37/193); published in Erica Fischer, *Aimée & Jaguar: A Love Story, Berlin 1943*, trans. Edna McCown (New York: HarperCollins, 1995 [German edn, 1994]), p. 68. This poem has been retranslated from the original German.

2 Travel guide named after its founder, Karl Baedeker (1801–1859).

To seek the promised land,  
 One firstly has to book ahead.  
 And one travels, that is the end of the story,  
 On luxury liners into exile. –

## DOC. 299

**On 22 June 1939 Hermann Ritter informs the Reichs-Kredit-Gesellschaft  
 that the leather manufacturer Adler & Oppenheimer can be bought at a low price<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from Hermann Ritter,<sup>2</sup> member of the board of Martin Brinkmann AG, 14 Kaiserallee, Berlin W. 15, to Dr Hermann Jannsen,<sup>3</sup> Reichs-Kredit-Gesellschaft AG, 21/22 Behrenstraße, Berlin W. 8, dated 22 June 1939

Dear Doctor,

Dr Heuser calls my attention to *Adler & Oppenheimer*.<sup>4</sup> This leather factory, he says, has only a single competitor in Germany, and that is the Aryan firm of Freudenberg in Weinheim, which has Tack in Berlin.<sup>5</sup> Adler & Oppenheimer, he says, is quite a phenomenal thing, which one could buy cheaply today *if* one could get foreign exchange for 1–2 million Reichsmarks. When I asked *how* one could get this currency, he said that he did not know.

It is *perhaps* not without interest for you to discuss this once again with me or my son Wolfgang. Admittedly, we are otherwise bound by bids at the moment, but the day will come when they fall into place or expire.

Heil Hitler

Your devoted<sup>6</sup>

1 BArch, R 8136/2988. This letter has been translated from German.

2 Hermann Ritter (1878–1949), tobacco dealer; member of the German National People's Party (DNVP); joined the NSDAP in 1937; from 1900 owner of the Martin Brinkmann tobacco and cigar factory in Bremen; in 1929 chairman of the supervisory board of Martin-Brinkmann AG; in 1933 minister for trade and shipping in Bremen.

3 Dr Hermann Friedrich Jannsen (1900–1998), banker; director of the state-owned bank Reichs-Kredit-Gesellschaft; board member, 1948–1966, and member of the supervisory board, from 1966, of Frankfurter Bank.

4 On the leather producer Adler & Oppenheimer, see Doc. 77, 9 August 1938.

5 This refers to the Tack shoe shops in Berlin.

6 At the end of the document is a handwritten note: 'proposed by me, Mr R. senior, months ago. 23 June 1939', in addition to an illegible signature. The shares of Adler & Oppenheimer were bought up by a bank syndicate led by Deutsche Bank, and in July 1940 the firm was renamed Norddeutsche Lederwerke AG.

## DOC. 300

**On 23 June 1939 Jacques Cahn fears that charges will be brought against him  
after his visit to the Berlin-Schöneberg police station<sup>1</sup>**

Note by Jacques Israel Cahn,<sup>2</sup> identity card A. 492 991, place of issue: Berlin, date of issue: 9 February 1939, Jew, 21 Rosenheimer Straße, Berlin W. 30, dated 23 June 1939

*Notes*

Written immediately after my return from the Schöneberg Police Station on Friday, 23 June 1939. 12 p.m.! ...

I was summoned to appear this morning at Police Station 173, room 6, to fetch my application for a travel permit (for my business trip to Switzerland in the autumn), which I had handed in there yesterday. –

I received the application in a sealed envelope for submission to the Schöneberg Police Department – room 117.

Because the doors had been freshly painted and the number in question was hard for me to read, I knocked on a door (it was room 11), entered the room, and, as there were several persons in the room besides the two officials at the desk, I remained standing at the door in a military posture. –

When the official (behind the desk, on the left) asked what I wanted, I took one step forward, holding my identity card with the ‘J’ *facings outward*, so that it was visible – over my briefcase, in my left hand, and asked the official whether this was room 117, so that I could hand in my application for travel authorization.

The official said that it was not and directed me to room 123, asking me at the same time whether I was a Jew, to which I replied:

‘Yes, Inspector – I have had my identity card in my hand here the whole time.’

Then the official in question asked for the card, made notes for himself and enquired about my residence, whereupon I asked with extreme politeness whether his note constituted a criminal charge, which the man affirmed. Despite my repeated assertion that I was holding my card so that it could be seen and at the moment was merely asking about the room, he retorted that all further argument was superfluous and that he recommended me – should I return – to present – my identity card – at once. –

I went home and am writing this note immediately, with this in mind:

- (1) in the certain feeling that an injustice was done to me today!
- (2) to act as an aid to my own memory
- (3) in case criminal charges are brought against me!<sup>3</sup>

1 CJA, 1/75 E, Nr. 421–14708, fol. 27. This letter has been translated from German.

2 Jacques Cahn (1880–1943), sales representative; worked in Berlin before the Second World War; several attempts to emigrate failed; on 19 Feb. 1943 he was deported to Auschwitz, where he was murdered.

3 The Berlin Moabit District Court sentenced Cahn to pay a fine of 30 Reichsmarks or spend six days in prison after he allegedly failed to show his identity card unprompted; summary penalty order, 10 July 1939, *ibid.*, fol. 31.

## DOC. 301

**On 24 June 1939 Adolf Eichmann reports to Reich Commissioner Josef Bürckel  
in Vienna on the progress of emigration<sup>1</sup>**

Letters from the head of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration (C 2-1370/39 Ech/L), unsigned, Vienna, to the staff of the Reich Commissioner for the Reunification of Austria with the German Reich, Vienna, dated 24 June 1939 (carbon copy)<sup>2</sup>

*Re:* report on the emigration of Jews from the Ostmark.

*Case file:* local letter dated 20 June 1939, III F/Di.-12065.<sup>3</sup>

*Enclosure:* 1 survey map (2 May 1938–20 June 1939).<sup>4</sup>

1. At the time of the radical transition, there were 165,000 Jews of the Mosaic faith in Vienna and 15,000 Jews of the Mosaic faith in the individual Gau of the Ostmark. In addition, there were approximately 120,000 Jews within the meaning of the Nuremberg Laws who were not of the Mosaic faith, and whose number was estimated with the greatest accuracy achievable by the relevant offices, such as offices of statistics etc., so that the total number of Jews in the Ostmark, within the meaning of the Nuremberg Laws, could be estimated at around 300,000.

The 180,000 Jews of the Mosaic faith in the Ostmark maintained  
34 religious communities,  
88 prayer house associations, and  
537 so-called 'secular associations'.

The efforts of both the precursor of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Vienna<sup>5</sup> and the Central Office itself aimed, in the period that followed, at orienting absolutely all the activities of the Jewish political organizations towards the emigration of the Jews from the Ostmark and, beyond that, from the territory of the Reich.

With due regard to this fact, all existing Jewish political organizations in the Ostmark were dissolved and prohibited, and their assets were confiscated by the State Police.

In the interests of a forced outflow of Jews from the Ostmark, only three Jewish organizations were allowed to remain active following the changeover of the operation to emigration. They were the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna, as the sponsor of all the religious communities in the Ostmark; the 'Zionist Regional Association', responsible for immigration to Palestine by Jews of the Mosaic faith; and 'Agudas Yisroel', responsible for the emigration of Orthodox Jews.

For emigration by Jews not of the Mosaic faith, the 'Gildemeester Organization for Assistance to Emigrants' was reorganized in the interests of a forced emigration of Jews in this category and was integrated, as an aid centre, into the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Vienna.

1 BArch, R 58/6562. This document has been translated from German.

2 Handwritten note, illegible.

3 The file does not contain this letter.

4 The file does not contain this map.

5 The precursor was Section II 112 (section for Jewish affairs) of the SD, which assumed responsibility for anti-Jewish policy after the Anschluss in March 1938. The Central Office for Jewish Emigration was established by Bürckel in August 1938 and was de facto run by Eichmann: see Introduction, pp. 40–41.

2. Before the establishment of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration, it was recognized that compliance with the order for forced emigration of Jews from the Ostmark is possible only if this outflow is centrally handled and managed.

At the suggestion of the inspector of the Security Police and SD head of the SS Main District Danube,<sup>6</sup> in August 1938 the Reich Commissioner for the Reunification of Austria with the German Reich approved the establishment of a 'Central Office for Jewish Emigration' from the Ostmark, with headquarters in Vienna.

In addition to setting up the organizational structure of this office, the management of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration had focused its attention on finding immigration opportunities and acquiring foreign exchange.

The heads of the Jewish political organizations were enlisted to find immigration opportunities. They were sent to Paris and London, as well as Palestine, to attend conferences of major Jewish political organizations that were held abroad, with instructions to represent the concerns of the Jews willing to leave the Ostmark and to identify as many immigration opportunities as possible for Vienna.

At the same time, a requirement was imposed on the officials of the Jewish organizations in Vienna: to speak to the Jewish financial institutions, the Council for German Jewry in London, and the American [Jewish] Joint Distribution Committee in Paris<sup>7</sup> and request that 100,000 dollars in cash, in foreign currency, be sent to Vienna each month for the emigration of the Jews from the Ostmark.

It was agreed with the Reich Ministry of Economics that the Central Office for Jewish Emigration will be released from tax liability for this foreign currency, provided it is put to use for the emigration of Jews from the Ostmark, and that the Central Office for Jewish Emigration has the right to sell this foreign currency, at a rate acceptable to it, to Jews in this country who are willing to emigrate.

Thus far it has been possible to bring 1,400,000 dollars in cash, in foreign currency, to Vienna in this manner. These funds are administered and controlled by the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Vienna, the Foreign Exchange Supervisory Office, and the Regional Tax Directorate.

As a result of the raising of this foreign currency, it was possible for the Central Office for Jewish Emigration not only to have the necessary proof of means available but also, through sales of this foreign currency, to supply the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna with the Reichsmark amounts required for its domestic activity.

As a result of the forced outflow of Jews that began in the period that followed, there was naturally a decrease in the tax revenue of the religious communities in the Ostmark. At the same time, the religious communities had higher costs associated with feeding impoverished Jews until their definitive emigration. Hence, for example, these funds are still being used – following approval by the Central Office for Jewish Emigration – to feed 36,000 Jews a day, until they emigrate. As a consequence, they do not become a burden on the state.

3. The procurement of immigration opportunities was for the most part dependent on the progress of the redeployment of Jews for work in the skilled trades and agriculture.

<sup>6</sup> The inspector of the Security Police was Franz Walter Stahlecker.

<sup>7</sup> The European headquarters of the JDC were in Paris.

For this purpose, around 300 occupational restructuring sites for the skilled crafts were established in Vienna,<sup>8</sup> at which manual skills were imparted to Jews, mostly from the liberal professions. Similarly, steps were taken to set up occupational restructuring facilities for agriculture.

The Central Office for Jewish Emigration currently has twenty-two occupational restructuring sites for agriculture.

At present there are

3,448 Jews being redeployed to skilled crafts and

920 Jews being redeployed to agricultural work.

This occupational restructuring generally takes approximately three months. After this time, the occupational restructuring sites receive a new group of trainees.

4. It is a well-worn tactic of the Jews themselves and of their organizations to express emigration plans in the form of extensive exposés. However, these plans mostly remain hypothetical due to their complexity.

Here I have in mind in particular the elaborations that ultimately aim at the transfer of goods.

In almost every case an attempt was made to achieve [...] for the Ostmark, following the principle of the 'Altreu' and the 'Paltreu', that is, the 'Haavara system', as has been practised in the Old Reich for several years, admittedly with little success.<sup>9</sup>

Since experience has shown that the Reich Ministry of Economics, for obvious reasons, is sceptical about these projects in most cases, complicated proposals of this kind have generally not been dealt with in any detail by the Central Office for Jewish Emigration, because even the hoped-for results are incommensurate in every way with the effort required.

The sole *exception* is the transfer of Jewish partial assets from Graz to a foreign country.

In Graz there were a number of well-to-do Jews (around 100) who, despite the requirement imposed by the State Police, were apparently not planning to emigrate.

Here the Central Office, during negotiations several months ago with the appropriate department head in the Reich Ministry of Economics, obtained permission for a so-called *individual transfer* in the amount of RM 600,000 that is, these Jews in Graz bought up, for around RM 600,000 with a corresponding surcharge, goods from the commodity group of hard-to-sell goods authorized by the Reich Ministry of Economics. These goods are exported to Palestine, thus giving the Jews themselves the opportunity to emigrate to Palestine in the capacity of so-called 'capitalists'.

This matter was also approved by the Berlin offices with responsibility for it, taking the political situation into account. The operation is currently under way.

Apart from this so-called individual transfer, no goods transfers of any kind were carried out in the Ostmark, as the commodity groups that can be considered of interest to those concerned can be provided through standard export channels, thus earning foreign currency in any case, while even in Jewish circles there is no significant interest

<sup>8</sup> Sites providing training in skilled crafts or agricultural occupations for those Jews who had previously worked as members of the professional classes or in commerce.

<sup>9</sup> This sentence is incomplete in the original. The writer means that the Jews tried to arrange a transfer of goods to Palestine from Austria as well.

in purchase and export anyway, with respect to the so-called 'positive commodity list' approved by the Reich Ministry of Economics.

Because the Jews in the Ostmark, with very few exceptions, no longer have any assets, any endeavours to carry out more or less large-scale transfers of goods are in any case to be regarded as illusory.

5. The confirmed total number of Jews within the meaning of the Nuremberg Laws who have emigrated from the Ostmark was, as of

20 June 1939, 107,772.

The number of those who have migrated to European countries is 49,818.

(However, in most cases the European countries are to be regarded not as destination countries but merely as transit countries.)

These numbers of Jews have emigrated:

to North America	21,124
" Central America	2,578
" South America	6,578
" Palestine	6,338
" Asia	17,135
" Africa	2,583
" Australia	1,618

The number of Jews of the Mosaic faith living in Vienna dropped, by 20 June 1939, from 165,000 to 76,400.

The number of Jews of the Mosaic faith in the individual Gause of the Ostmark dropped, by 20 June 1939, from 15,000 to 539.

Only one Israelite Religious Community with *status as a corporation under public law* is still in existence in the Ostmark. The Israelite Religious Communities in the territory of the Reich were stripped of their status as a corporation under public law some time ago.

The Central Office managed to preserve the status of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna as a corporation under public law, because the Jewish financial institutions abroad take the view that they can release substantial amounts of foreign exchange only to such entities.

As the liquidation of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna can be anticipated in early 1940, this retention of status thus does not play too great a role.

Almost all the other Israelite Religious Communities in the Ostmark have either been liquidated or are currently undergoing liquidation.

The numbers of Jews of the Mosaic faith in the individual Gause of the Ostmark dropped by 20 June 1939

in Lower Danube	from	8,010	to	339
in Upper Danube	"	980	"	19
in Styria	"	2,028	"	163
in Salzburg	"	189	"	5
in Carinthia	"	275	"	1
in Tyrol	"	346	"	7
in Vorarlberg	"	18	"	0
in the Burgenland	"	3,222	"	5

6. After the Chief of the Security Police and SD Head of the SS Main District Danube visited the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Vienna, he ordered that a Central Office for Jewish Emigration be established in Berlin, along the lines of the Vienna office.

Employees of the Vienna Central Office for Jewish Emigration established and set up this office in Berlin on 27 February 1939, so that, since this date, there has also been a central office in Berlin that ensures the emigration of the Jews from the Old Reich.

The enclosed map is designed to illustrate the contents of the letter graphically.

*Heil Hitler!*

DOC. 302

**On 27 June 1939 Adolf Eichmann denounces a director of the Dräger company to the Security Service in Vienna for having expressed sympathy for Jews<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the head of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration (S 2-1418/39 Ech/L), signed p.p. Eichmann, Vienna, to the head of the SD in the SS Main District Danube, for the attention of SS-Sturmbannführer Polte,<sup>2</sup> Vienna, dated 27 June 1939<sup>3</sup>

*Re:* letter from 'Dräger' to the Jewess Gaertner,<sup>4</sup> 26 Gustav Czermakgasse, Vienna XIX. Case file: none.

*Enclosure:* 2 letters, 1 memorandum.<sup>5</sup>

For your kind attention, two original letters are enclosed for further action. They were written here by the director of 'Dräger' in Lübeck, *Haase-Lampe*.<sup>6</sup>

The conclusion of the letter dated 22 December 1938 seems especially interesting. In it, the Aryan manager Haase-Lampe informs the Jewess 'that he is distressed about the situation which the current events have put her in'.

Also interesting is the letter of acknowledgement that the same director provides to the Jewess Gaertner. In it he writes a testimonial regarding the work of the Jew, a document that the Jewess intended to use abroad when calling on various foreign governmental offices.

1 BArch, ZA I/7358 A.11. This document has been translated from German.

2 Friedrich Polte (b. 1911), historian; joined the SA in 1932 and the SS in 1933; from 1934 employed by the SD; from 1936 specialist in the SD Main Office; from 1938 head of Main Office II of the SS Main District Danube; in early 1943 on the staff of *Einsatzgruppe D*; in 1944 head of SD Main District Berlin.

3 Handwritten 'II 112' (section for Jewish affairs), illegible note in the margin. At the foot of the document is the stamp of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration 1.

4 Melanie Gaertner, née Schalek (b. 1870), emigrated to Milan and later to the USA.

5 The file contains a memo from Eichmann and two letters from Haase-Lampe to Melanie Gaertner, the one cited here, dated Dec. 1938, and a second one, dated July 1939. One of the things that Haase-Lampe elaborates on in the letters is the protective breathing apparatus, which Melanie Gaertner's husband, Gustav Gaertner (1855-1937), had been involved in developing: *ibid*.

6 Wilhelm Haase-Lampe (1877-1950), book printer and journalist; worked for Dräger, 1912-1942; head of the public relations department, then until his death editor of the company magazine. The denunciation had no consequences for him.

## DOC. 303

**In June 1939 the Reich Representation of Jews in Germany is informed that pressure to emigrate is impeding emigration to the USA<sup>1</sup>**

Letter, undated and unsigned, to the Reich Representation of Jews in Germany<sup>2</sup>

Re: emigration to the USA.

We consider it our most urgent duty to call your attention to the fact that emigration to the USA is currently being put at risk and made more difficult by two factors. These are:

(A) the expulsions,

(B) emigration with a specific time limit, imposed on Jewish emigrants by various authorities, particularly in the Rhineland and in Frankfurt am Main. If such Jews who are compelled to emigrate on an urgent basis possess waiting-list numbers and sponsorship papers for immigration to the United States, they endeavour, through their own efforts and also by having recourse to the Relief Association and other organizations, to accelerate the processing of their application and summons to appear at the American consulate.

Our office<sup>3</sup> and the consulate are preoccupied to such an extent by these urgent cases that the normal work of advising and handling emigration cases is suffering. For technical reasons these repeated queries and this pressure on the already-overburdened American consulate in Stuttgart cannot possibly result in success.

A summons for the purpose of applying for an immigration visa can take place only if:

- (1) the waiting-list number of the person concerned has been reached, because the American immigration law requires the strictest compliance with the waiting period;
- (2) the sponsorship papers and the proper evidence concerning the sponsor's employment and assets have been verified and found to be in order.

Ever since the June operation<sup>4</sup> the American consulate in Stuttgart, which issues the majority of the immigration visas under the German quota (in quota year 1937/38, from a total of 18,000 visas issued worldwide under the German quota, 10,000 were issued in Stuttgart), has been under extraordinary pressure.<sup>5</sup> In late November there was a new onslaught on the consulate by both the American sponsors and the German emigrants, so that the handling of the incoming post is almost two months behind schedule. That means that the sponsorships that have arrived since early December have not yet been verified, and the supplementary papers, which are indispensable for the issuance of the summons and the visa, are largely still in the in tray of the American consulate, unopened and unverified. Neither the emigrants nor the Jewish emigration organizations

1 Archives of the Leo Baeck Institute, New York, at the Jüdisches Museum Berlin, MF 572, reel 2, box 3, folder 3. This document has been translated from German.

2 The letter comes from the literary estate of Karl Adler, the head of the Jewish Liaison Office in Stuttgart. The dating here is based on the context of the file.

3 Presumably this refers to the Jewish Liaison Office in Stuttgart: see Doc. 166, 21 Nov. 1938.

4 The arrest of so-called asocials (*Asoziale*) and Jews with a criminal record: see Doc. 39, 1 June 1938, and Introduction, p. 22.

5 On the immigration quota system, see Glossary (under 'immigration certificates').

can do anything to alter this regrettable state of affairs. The consulate, which has introduced some night work in order to speed things up, is unable for technical reasons to bring about these urgent emigrations by the dates required by the German authorities.

We therefore venture to present the facts of the matter to the relevant Reich offices, in the interests of ensuring that cooperation with the consulate proceeds smoothly and in order to avoid any delay in the normal, orderly process of emigration to the USA, which regrettably suffers as a result of these fruitless attempts to speed things up. We also venture to state that, as a result of such expulsions and fixed-term emigrations, Jewish emigration is not accelerated but rather delayed and hindered, for the reasons mentioned above.

DOC. 304

**On 3 July 1939 Martin Fuchs asks the mayor of Breslau and the Minister of the Interior for permission to emigrate with continued payment of his pension<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the retired City Councillor, signed Dr Martin Israel Fuchs<sup>2</sup> (-K. -K. -Nr. A 085 008), 12 Jenaer Straße, Berlin-Wilmersdorf, to the mayor of Breslau and, through the Regierungspräsident, to the Prussian Minister of the Interior in Berlin, dated 3 July 1939 (copy<sup>3</sup> 1124 Fu 19/3)

Re: approval for transfer of residence to a foreign country.

At the end of August 1939 I intend to give up my residence in Germany and to relocate first to England, later probably to the USA. My residence is being relinquished – involuntarily – because the relevant authority has made it clear to me in a way that cannot be misconstrued that my emigration is expected.

I therefore request approval of the transfer of my residence to a foreign country with the proviso that my pension be transferred to a ‘Special Account for Pensions and Related Benefits’.

I retired on 30 January 1931. My pension – after more than twenty-nine creditable years of service – amounts to RM 8,486. After the last income tax assessment for 1938, my net income totalled around RM 14,000. After the last property tax assessment based on the level of assets as of 1 January 1939 (against which an appeal is pending), taxable assets of RM 73,000 were taken as the basis for my assessment. After payment of all the taxes still due before my emigration (particularly the Capital Flight Tax<sup>4</sup>) and expenses, I will still have assets of around RM 50,000 remaining. To all intents and purposes, however, I cannot dispose of these assets, because I have a brother (61 years old) to maintain, who has no income or assets. If I myself attempt to transfer at least a part of my remaining assets, I will receive as a result not even the amount of funds needed for

1 Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu, Reg. Wrocław I/1317. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Martin Erich Fuchs (b. 1881), lawyer; city councillor in Breslau; emigrated to Britain in August 1939; co-author of *Die Stadt Breslau und die Eingemeindung ihres Erweiterungsgebiets* (1925–1927).

3 The copy was made on 18 July 1939 and signed by an administrative official, Rappel. At the foot of the document is a stamp, ‘Capital City Breslau’.

4 The Reich Flight Tax is meant here.

the most modest existence for one year. I am 58 years old and – quite apart from that fact that I cannot count on the issuance of a work permit in England – as a lawyer and in view of my age, I have no chance of finding a way to earn a living. My wife also has no occupation. My son is a student in the field of mathematics. I am dependent on the goodwill and help of friends and organizations abroad. The continued payment of my pension and related benefits into a special account is therefore of vital importance for my family and me. It also means, if a transfer is not allowed, an easing of the pressure on living expenses: partly directly, as a result of the authorized possible uses of the special account; partly indirectly, to the extent it makes possible the transfer of part of my remaining assets, funds with which I must try to build up an existence. In addition, from the ‘special account’, the costs of the further education and maintenance of my son (adopted son) can be paid. He is a non-Jew and can complete his education in Germany.

I would be greatly obliged if the decision could be expedited.

DOC. 305

**On 5 July 1939 an unknown author reports to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee on expulsions and illegal emigration from the Reich<sup>1</sup>**

Report, unsigned, dated 5 July 1939<sup>2</sup>

*Emigration from Germany and Austria*

The Nazi government is very anxious that Jews from Germany and Austria should emigrate as quickly as possible. By violence and persecution of all kinds, by putting people into concentration camps, etc., they try to make the people panic stricken and willing to emigrate under all circumstances. The Nazis even help in the wholesale smuggling of thousands of people.

On the other hand, by trying to get the last marks out of these people before they leave Germany, or by trying to keep people back who may have been associated with political or social groups which are suspicious to the Nazis, or who may have some information which the Nazis do not want to be divulged to the neighboring countries, they withhold the passports from such people, thus making it impossible for them to emigrate.

Therefore, in addition to what we may call regular emigration from Germany and Austria, there is a great deal of irregular emigration going on.

The irregular emigration, on the one hand, is such that it is supported by the Gestapo and the Nazis, or is forced by these. Such forcing over the borders was done on a very large scale at the beginning of the Nazi regime in Austria, where the Burgenland Jews were driven over the Hungarian-Czechoslovakian borders by force, only to be sent back by the police of these countries. Then they were again driven out at the point of bayonets to these countries which did not want to receive them. We know of the hardships of

<sup>1</sup> JDC Archives, AR 33/44, 658. The original document is in English.

<sup>2</sup> The fourth-last paragraph indicates that the unknown author might have been located in Switzerland.

many of these groups, and especially of those who lived for months on a barge in the Danube, and who were finally helped to immigrate to Palestine by the J.D.C.<sup>3</sup>

We know of other groups in No-Man's Land between the Austrian-Jugoslavian border, especially the one helped by the intervention of Prinz-regent Paul<sup>4</sup> who permitted them to stay in Jugoslavia for a few weeks until arrangements could be made for them to go elsewhere. There are still such groups on the Slovakian-Hungarian border and on other borders.<sup>5</sup>

The most horrible expulsion of this kind was the driving back of 18,000 Polish Jews in one night over the Polish border, where there are still about 4,000 in the camp at Zbanszyn.<sup>6</sup> Others are daily forced to go back to Poland, and are not received by that country.

On the western borders of Germany, the Gestapo put thousands of Jewish people over the frontier. On the Belgi[an], Dutch and French borders, many cross in the death of night at a moment when the guards change or when by some trickery the guards are induced to leave that part of the border without leaving any watch to replace them. Others have been put on busses or taxis, and as harmless travellers are put over the borders. Even if the police of these Western countries saw some of the illegal entrants, they were so moved by their plight that they did not obey the orders of their superiors to send these people back, and brought them instead to the nearest Jewish refugee committee.

In Luxembourg, when the police was order[ed] to send one of these groups of refugees back to Germany, they threatened to resign from their posts, if they had to do this again.

The Gestapo in Germany and Austria use other means, for instance, in a little town on the Swiss border, the Gestapo brought a group of German Jews to the Jewish community, and told them that this group must be put over the border in some way by the community, else the latter would have to suffer. It is clear that the Jewish community did everything possible to help these illegal refugees over the border.

Other instances of enforced emigration are the following: In Danzig the police told the Jewish community that a boat was ready to take 500 people by a given time. The community had to provide these 500, else they would meet with severe punishment. These 500 had to go on the boat which sailed for weeks and weeks trying to reach Palestine, and if this wasn't possible, Shanghai.<sup>7</sup>

The Gestapo goes to the various Jewish communities, telling them there is a boat sailing with destination unknown, which still has room for 2–300. The Jewish community has to provide passengers for the unknown destination. In most cases, the Jewish

<sup>3</sup> See Doc. 146, 12 Nov. 1938, fn. 41.

<sup>4</sup> Prince Paul (Pavle) of Yugoslavia (1883–1976); regent of Yugoslavia, 1934–1941.

<sup>5</sup> See Introduction, p. 45.

<sup>6</sup> Correctly: Zbąszyń. On the expulsion of Polish Jews, see Docs. 112 and 113, 28 Oct. 1938, and Doc. 118, Oct. 1938.

<sup>7</sup> On the night of 2/3 March 1939, a train with 400–500 Jews from Danzig travelled via Breslau, Vienna, and Budapest to Reni on the Black Sea, where the freighter ship *Astir* was waiting to collect the refugees. This event in Danzig caused quite a sensation. International journalists and the British consul general were in attendance at the meeting point in Danzig.

community is forced to pay for the costs, sometimes, however, the Gestapo pays out of funds they have taken from Jewish organizations, communities or individuals.

In cases where people want to emigrate and are prevented from doing so by the Gestapo, there are quite a few persons connected with the anti-Nazi groups inside and outside Germany who help such people to emigrate. Many instances are known where such people are put on busses, which daily carry workers across the borders to factories in which they are employed. These busses, it is known, are not searched as this is a regular daily transport of workers. The people concerned are clad as workers and go over as such without arousing any suspicion.

Many hundreds of children are smuggled over the borders of France. Once in France, there is no possibility of procedure against them, as they are minors and cannot be sent back.

Hundreds of emigrants walk over the Swiss border, over the mountains, through swamps and through the Rhine at its lowest parts. These have been encountered in the mountains and woods by friendly Swiss people and peasants, who brought them to the nearest refugee camps in spite of risking heavy penalties.

I personally saw a man who had attempted to cross the border in this way six times, each time only to be sent back. The seventh time he was caught again but the police had pity on him and allowed him to stay.

A woman with three children came over at the same time. When I asked the young girl whether it was very difficult, she had a bitter smile on her face and said, 'No, I was in the water only up to my hips.' The police did not send them back.

A young girl who could not get a visa for Belgium or France but who was in great danger in Vienna working for some social organization, smuggled herself over the Belgium border, walking along the beach to the French border. There she met a French taxi driver who took her into his taxi and drove her into France. It was on the 30th of September, 1938, when France was mobilized, and soldiers were swarming all over the beach.<sup>8</sup> The girl was terribly frightened, but the driver told her to be quiet, as he had three times driven regular passengers to France, and the soldiers knew him. When the soldiers saw this cab, they greeted it warmly and did not search the cab. Thus, the girl came to France and could later regularize her position in France.

There are hundreds of cases where French, Swiss and English people connected with some progressive political group go into Germany to the homes of people whom they know cannot get passports, take them to the border, provide them with necessary identity papers, and bring them over to the Western countries. Although the guards on the border are ordered to send back anybody who is suspicious, the guards obey their human feelings rather than the orders of their superiors. There are also many instances where German Aryans on the borders help Jews to cross over together with their families when they pretend to be going on a picnic or excursion, – this despite the great risk they are taking.

<sup>8</sup> The French army was placed on alert as a result of the Sudeten crisis.

## DOC. 306

**On 6 July 1939 the Central Office for Jewish Emigration  
announces the expulsion of the Jews from Baden near Vienna<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the head of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration (S 2-1545/39 G/L), p.p. Günther,<sup>2</sup> Vienna, to the head of the SD in the SS Main District Danube (II/112),<sup>3</sup> Vienna, dated 6 July 1939<sup>4</sup>

Re: distribution of leaflets in Baden near Vienna.<sup>5</sup>

Case file: none.

Enclosures: 2 leaflets.<sup>6</sup>

Enclosed I submit two leaflets,

*'Jews, get out! Baden must be free of Jews! Last warning!'*

*'Jews! What are you still after in Baden? Remain here at your own risk!!!'*

which were distributed in Baden near Vienna in the past few days.

The Jews living there were ordered to leave Baden by 31 July 1939 at the latest and, if they have no opportunity for immediate direct emigration, to move to Vienna for the time being.

Please take note.

## DOC. 307

**The Institute for the Study and Elimination of Jewish Influence  
on German Church Life reviews Protestant hymnals in July 1939<sup>1</sup>**

Report by retired Superintendent Pich<sup>2</sup> on the conference of regional church specialists for an Institute for the Study and Elimination of Jewish Influence on German Church Life<sup>3</sup> in Eisenach on 6 and 7 July 1939

The conference was chaired by the managing director of the institute, Dr Hunger.<sup>4</sup> The head of the institute, *Oberregierungsrat Siegfried Leffler*,<sup>5</sup> also took part in the proceedings and addressed the assembly repeatedly.

1 BArch, R 58/6562. This document has been translated from German.

2 This refers to either Rolf Günther or his brother Hans. Rolf Günther (1913-1945?), commercial employee; member of the SA, 1929-1937; joined the NSDAP in 1931 and the SS in 1937; from 1938 worked at the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Vienna; Eichmann's deputy in the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA); attended the second follow-up conference to the Wannsee Conference on 27 Oct. 1942. Hans Günther (1910-1945?), bookkeeper and retailer; member of the SA, 1928-1937; joined the NSDAP in 1929 and the SS in 1937; worked at the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Vienna, 1938-1939; head of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Prague, 1939-1945.

3 The head of the SD for the SS Main District Danube was Franz Walter Stahlecker.

4 At the foot of the document is a stamp of the 'Central Office for Jewish Emigration'.

5 The small town of Baden, south of Vienna, is one of Austria's best-known resorts, famed for its sulphur springs.

6 The file contains only the second of the two leaflets mentioned here.

1 EZA 1/2834. This document has been translated from German.

2 Hugo Pich (1882-1946), Protestant theologian; curate in Hohensalza, 1907-1911; pastor in Romanshof/Poznań from 1911, in Poznań from 1922 to 1929, and in Steinbach, near Annaberg, Saxony, from 1929 to 1934; from 1934 dean in Schneidemühl, and in 1938 placed on the retired list; joined

After the conference was formally inaugurated in the Luther Room at Wartburg Castle, *Schoolmaster Gimpel*,<sup>6</sup> as managing director of the Association for *Hymnal Revision*, reported on the status of this work. The provisional result of the preparatory work thus far, which is being submitted to the regional churches for decision, is as follows:

At present, thirty different hymnals are still in use in the German Protestant Church. The following guidelines were applied to the examination of its treasury of songs. To be eliminated are songs or verses:

1. that are Jewish with regard to words and thoughts,
2. that are *markedly dogmatic in attitude*,<sup>7</sup>
3. that are saccharine, tasteless, *self-degrading*, or ridiculous from a literary perspective.

Overall, 2,336 songs were examined to see if they are useable. Of these, 102 (4.4%) are proposed unchanged for incorporation in the new hymnal; 263 songs (11.2%) are recommended for further scrutiny and reworking; for 1,971 songs (84.4%), the recommendation, based on the guidelines above, is that they *not* be included in the new hymnal.<sup>8</sup> The preparatory work also extended to scrutiny of the tunes, with the result thus far that 212 tunes were declared to be valuable German cultural assets, which must absolutely be retained.

the NSDAP in 1937; member of the German Christians; co-founder of the Institute for the Study and Elimination of Jewish Influence on German Church Life; author of *Frei vom Juden – auch im Glauben!* [Free of the Jew – in Faith too!] (1943).

6 Britain is meant here and in the following.

3 The Institute for the Study and Elimination of Jewish Influence on German Church Life was inaugurated at a ceremony at Wartburg Castle on 6 May 1939. More than fifty professors of theology, dozens of young researchers, and around a hundred pastors and bishops, as well as numerous laypeople, were affiliated with the institute. In 1940 it published, for the first time, a revised version of the New Testament, entitled *Die Botschaft Gottes* [God's Message].

4 Dr Kurt Fritz Heinz Hunger (1907–1995), Protestant theologian and sex educator; in 1933 curate and from 1938 pastor in Friedebach, Thuringia; from 1939 on leave and working at the Institute for the Study and Elimination of Jewish Influence on German Church Life; member of the German Christians; editor of the journal *Der evangelische Religionslehrer an der Berufsschule*, 1957–1973; religious studies teacher in Westphalia, 1951–1955; pastor at vocational schools in Frankfurt am Main and Münster, 1955–1973.

5 Siegfried Leffler (1900–1983), Protestant theologian; joined the NSDAP in 1929; co-founder of the German Christians; from 1933 Oberregierungsrat in the Thuringian Ministry of Education; undertook military service; interned, 1945–1948; made public admission of guilt in 1947; sentenced to labour camp and a fine; received occupational ban; in 1949 reinstated in church service; pastor in Bavaria, 1959–1970.

6 Paul Johann Moritz Gimpel (1887–1979), teacher; from 1921 primary school teacher in Altenburg; in 1940 awarded the title 'pastor'; pastor in Stadtlengsfeld from 1942, in Altenkirchen in 1944, and in Kapellendorf (Thuringia) in 1945; dismissed and had title of 'pastor' withdrawn in 1946; in 1946 parish assistant and later parish vicar in Kapellendorf.

7 Illegible written note.

8 In the hymnal co-published by the institute in 1941, entitled *Großer Gott, wir loben dich* ['Great God, we praise Thee'], words such as 'amen', 'hallelujah', 'hosanna', and 'Sabaoth' were removed. Because of numerous advance orders from parishes all over the Reich, a first edition of 100,000 copies was printed.

*Professor Lic.*<sup>9</sup> *Dr Eisenhuth*<sup>10</sup> of Jena spoke about ‘*The Significance of the Bible for Faith*’. Beforehand, he emphasized the academic advisory council’s principle that all research work must be as closely related to biblical research as possible. The question of the significance of the Bible must be judged from the academic and critical aspect *and* from the inner religious aspect. We must not adopt an affirmative or negative stance towards the Bible today as a result of our labelling it a ‘Jews’ book’; rather, we wish to reach an authentic *understanding of faith* with regard to the Bible. – Luther translated the Bible into German because he recognized the significance of the *Gospel* contained in the Bible for the German people and wanted to make this accessible to the German people. – Our understanding of the Bible goes beyond Luther’s devout and critical view at three stages of its development:

(a) The findings of historical-critical research give us new criteria for assessing the value and meaning of the Bible.

(b) For Luther’s actions, the decisive thing was not being legally bound to the words of the Bible but rather the attachment to God and his will which was alive in Luther’s heart. That still holds true for us today. In addition, for us Germans in the present, in our great *völkisch* experience as well, the words of the Bible are no longer a law that would be decisive for the assessment of *völkisch* events. What must be proper and valid in *völkisch* life arises from the fundamental laws of the community of the people and from the will of God, which prevails and manifests itself therein. *Völkisch* ethics, too, require an inner religious foundation.

(c) For the shaping of the *doctrine* of the Church, too, it is no longer the literal interpretation of the word that is definitive and decisive for us. Instead, we must ascertain the principles of Church teachings by beginning with the *community* and specifically with today’s community.

The OT<sup>11</sup> is the expression of an alien race-soul. In addition, however, it is also the expression of a religious attitude. But religion is always more than the product of the race; it is revelation. In the documents of religious history, we can recognize God as the father who guides his children. The OT can apply to the extent that we find within it traces of God the Father, as Christ proclaims Him to us. But because we find traces of God the Father also in the documents of Germanic religious history, for *us the OT must be replaced, in religious and pedagogical terms, by the Germanic religious experience*.<sup>12</sup> In the OT we encounter a non-Christian religion and a people of an alien race. Therefore, the OT can no longer provide a basis for our preaching. Inwardly devout, we stand by the message of Christ and in allegiance to God, but we do not stand in uncritical allegiance to the text of the Bible. The key words for our preaching can be only those that contain the gospel within themselves. Only those, indeed all of them, even if they are not in the Bible but have instead ensued from the encounter between the German soul and the gospel.

<sup>9</sup> Licentiate.

<sup>10</sup> Dr Heinz Eisenhuth (1903–1983), Protestant theologian; joined the NSDAP in 1933; professor in Jena in 1938; intermittently chief researcher at the Institute for the Study and Elimination of Jewish Influence on German Church Life from 1943; pastor in Jena in 1945; dean in Eisenach, 1952–1969.

<sup>11</sup> Old Testament.

<sup>12</sup> Handwritten note: ‘*only the OT?*’

*Professor D. Redeker*<sup>13</sup> of Kiel spoke about 'Spinoza's Influence on German Spiritual Life'.

It is frequently thought that the work of studying the German influence in church life can only relate to the past; in present-day Christian life, it is thought, there is nothing at all to be de-Jewified. In contrast, it must be stated that the present convulsion and disintegration of the religious life of our people, a process that began around the turn of the century and is now operative again, can be traced back to Jewish influence, for it dates back to the Jew Spinoza, by way of Ernst Haeckel<sup>14</sup> and neo-Kantian philosophy.

The influence of Spinoza's philosophy on German intellectual life was exerted at the end of the eighteenth century. His Jewish influence had to do with presenting the visible material world as eternal. What we call 'God', he said, is nothing other than the original substance of the material world; everything develops from it. 'God' is therefore perceptible for the human being. What we call the 'soul' is only the body's idea. In the processes of nature and the world, Spinoza denies all purpose; he sees everywhere only the mechanical relationships of causes and their effects. Spinoza denies the possibility of free will in man. All human action is only the effect of natural drives.

The speaker showed in detail how the influence of the ideas of the Jew Spinoza is present in [the thought of] influential Germans, in particular Ernst Haeckel.

The question as to what extent the ideas disseminated by Spinoza are Jewish was answered in this way: as the Jew does not recognize and see the living God and his will but only the Torah, the law and its elaboration in the Talmud, nature is not a living reality for Spinoza; he sees only fixed laws of nature and seeks to construe them. Natural law, for him, also takes the place of God's law. The Jew lacks the reverence for nature that the German possesses, and he is indifferent to the relationship with nature because he only sees fixed natural law. The Teuton experiences God as the one who prevails in the background of all that occurs and who influences all that occurs. The Jew lacks this gaze of faith behind the surface of life and events; for him there exists only the visible, material world.

What is incomprehensible for us is that this Jewish poison was absorbed by an Aryan like Ernst Haeckel and that countless Germans are absorbing it again today, from him. De-Jewification would have to take the path here of bringing Germans to the realization that *the influence exerted on them by Ernst Haeckel traces back to the Jew*.

Moreover, neo-Kantian philosophy, which today again often has an impact on confessional theology, is nothing other than the exposition of Kant's philosophy, but by a Jew: Cohen.<sup>15</sup> Wherever great and significant Aryans gained decisive influence in German intellectual life, the Jew took their works in hand in order to make them, in his false interpretation, accessible to the German.

13 Dr Martin Redeker (1900–1970), Protestant theologian; joined the NSDAP in 1933; professor in Münster from 1934 and in Kiel from 1936; after 1945 lecturer and professor in Kiel; director of the Institute for Social Ethics; Landtag member, 1954–1967; Grand Cross of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany.

14 Dr Ernst Haeckel (1834–1919), zoologist and philosopher; from 1865 professor of zoology in Jena.

15 Hermann Cohen (1842–1918), philosopher; in 1876 professor in Marburg; from 1912 taught at the Higher Institute for Jewish Studies in Berlin.

*Church Councillor Dr Bauer*<sup>16</sup> of Eisenach gave a talk on the planned *life's companion book*.

The term 'life's companion book' should firstly be a key concept that encompasses the design and planning of several tasks.

I. A type of *breviary*. It is intended as a collection of liturgically framed edifying observations, which can be used for quiet divine worship every Sunday and holiday. The pericopes<sup>17</sup> that are used in the book would have to be limited to the words of Jesus. The interpretation would have to take various forms: conversation, letters, pages from a diary, meditative reflection, discourse, and the like. A prayer or a word from German intellectual life that leads to inner stillness would have to conclude every instance of divine worship.

II. A home treasury of the power of Christian faith and Christian wisdom. This anthology would have to contain:

1. Evidence of the life and ministry of Jesus. The life and ministry of the Saviour could be presented to the reader in the manner of a gospel harmony and in the form of pericopes. Each section would have its own header, emphasizing the inner substance or the meaning of the section in a distinctive way that stimulates the reader. Each section would be followed by a short story or a prayer, or some thought-provoking words that touch the reader in a heartfelt way.

2. A series of observations that take a stand on those great vital questions that are of concern to people, based on the Christian faith and religious experience, dealing with topics such as: destiny, birth, death, harvest, war, the hereafter, and the like.

3. A kind of catechism for German life, in which the duties of the German, based on the Christian faith, is illuminated in topics such as: homeland, people, fatherland, honour, military tradition, guilt, labour, and the like.

III. A manual intended for teaching religious education and confirmation classes, offering follow-up materials taken from German Christian thought and experience.

IV. The publishing of small, inexpensive booklets for special occasions, which should be distributed in the community: for baptism, marriage, times of illness, death, and the like.

At the conclusion of the conference, a social evening was held in the student fraternity house with the head of the institute's research programme, *Professor Grundmann*<sup>18</sup> of Jena, who outlined his stance on several important questions of a fundamental and organizational nature in a general address.

16 Dr Wilhelm Bauer (1889–1969), teacher; member of the Wierertal Pastors' and Teachers' Circle, which gave rise to the German Christians movement; from 1933 on the Regional Church Council of the Thuringian Protestant Church, responsible for press and school affairs; in 1935 church councillor; in 1937 deputy head of the theological seminary; in 1942 regional church councillor; in 1945 dismissed from the employ of the Thuringian Protestant Church; schoolmaster in Bad Segeberg, 1953–1954.

17 Divisions of the biblical texts for sermons into different series, each covering one liturgical year, beginning with the first Sunday in Advent.

18 Dr Walter Grundmann (1906–1976), theologian; joined the NSDAP in 1930; in 1932 head of the National Socialist Pastors' League in Saxony, and in 1933 co-founder of the German Christians there; lead researcher at the Eisenach Institute, 1939–1943; served in the military and was a prisoner of war, 1943–1945; from 1956 known as unofficial collaborator (IM) 'Berg', an informant for the Ministry of State Security (Stasi) in East Germany; rector of the Eisenach catechetical seminary, 1957–1975; in 1974 church councillor; author of *Die Entjudung religiösen Lebens als Aufgabe deutscher Theologie und Kirche* [The Dejewification of Religious Life: A Task for German Theology and Churches] (1939).

## DOC. 308

**Frankfurter Zeitung, 7 July 1939: article about the German philologist Friedrich Gundolf and the Jews as an object of research for German historians<sup>1</sup>**

*'Friedrich Gundolf, the Jew.' From the workshop of the Reich Institute.*

*(Wire report from our special correspondent)*

lg<sup>2</sup> Munich, 6 July. Among the aims of the lectures and discussions about the Jewish question that took place during the workshop of the Reich Institute for History of the New Germany<sup>3</sup> was the specific desire to illustrate the characteristics of Jewish nature in all its representatives, even when they have achieved a seemingly high degree of assimilation. Along these lines, as reported previously, Walter Frank had sketched out an image of Rathenau, and a further contribution was made by Professor Höfler<sup>4</sup> (Munich) with his presentation 'Friedrich Gundolf<sup>5</sup> and the Jews in Literary Studies'. As was stated, Gundolf was a Jew who, like no other, claimed to be more German and more authentic than most Germans, and who showed himself to be an aggressive opponent of liberalism and lambasted Heinrich Heine, a fellow member of the Jewish race, as a globally significant exponent of decay and decadence. Why, Höfler asked, did the Jewish liberal world put up with this scathing criticism of a Jew by a Jew – it appears in Gundolf's book about Stefan George – while it assuredly would not have tolerated the same criticism from an Aryan? The Jewish world, Höfler opined, did not blame Gundolf because it hoped to be vindicated itself, cleared of every accusation of decay and decadence, and now more apt to be seen as having traits attributable to the German spirit – an instance of particularly dangerous subterfuge.

Further, Professor Höfler characterized the literary historian Gundolf as follows: everything Gundolf said and wrote about the dangers of shallowness and about authentic Germandom had been expressed by Nietzsche and Hölderlin before him. These two men, Höfler said, were troubled by Germany's fate and went under as a result, while Gundolf merely utilized it as an occasion for elegant phrases. He applied himself to the great Germans in order to reduce them to a formula, to appropriate them in this way and thus to control them. He called Stifter's descriptions of nature and human beings the 'strained efforts of a sixth-former', spoke of Schiller's 'swelling, manly breast', and said that Kleist was guilty of the 'most profound inaccuracy'. These examples alone, Höfler said, show how

1 "Friedrich Gundolf, der Jude" Von der Arbeitstagung des Reichsinstituts', *Frankfurter Zeitung* (Reich edition), 7 July 1939, p. 2. This document has been translated from German.

2 Probably the initials of the author.

3 See Doc. 57, 7 July 1938.

4 Dr Otto Höfler (1901–1987), German philologist and folklorist; joined the NSDAP Steward Troops (Ordnertruppe), which later became the SA, in 1922; joined the NSDAP in 1937; professor in Kiel, 1934–1937, and in Munich, 1937/1938–1945; president of the German Scientific Institute in Copenhagen, 1943–1944; dismissed in 1945; reinstated as a teacher in Munich in 1950; professor in Vienna, 1957–1971.

5 Friedrich Gundolf, born Friedrich Gundelfinger (1880–1931), literary historian and writer; from 1899 a devotee of Stefan George (see fn. 6), who later broke off links with him; professor in Heidelberg, 1920–1931; doctoral supervisor of Joseph Goebbels; translator of Shakespeare; author of works including *Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist* (1911).

alien the German spirit actually remained to Gundolf. In his book about *Goethe*, the speaker continued, Gundolf labelled the people merely an educational experience for this gifted author: this, Höfler said, shows the meaning of the hero cult that Gundolf and his supporters had created, just as did his division of the nation into a small circle of 'the elect', on the one hand, and the great mass of 'reprobates', the doomed, on the other hand.

Now, provision of a detailed answer to the question raised in the debate – to what extent this attitude of Gundolf's is attributable solely to his Jewish nature and to what extent one must also take into account the influence of the *George Circle*,<sup>6</sup> of which Gundolf was long a member – was beyond the scope of this workshop. It was nonetheless established that the George Circle had an almost magical appeal for the Jewish intelligentsia and that George apparently did not do anything to discourage that appeal. Of course, Höfler said, George is on quite a different level from that of Gundolf, but George's way of thinking also includes several aspects that reappear in Gundolf's intellectual world. Between the two men, therefore, there must have been parallels with respect to substance.

The characterization of Gundolf by Höfler and that of Rathenau by Walter Frank had used individual examples to demonstrate the new historical method with special clarity. A report will follow on the talk by Ministerialrat Dr Ziegler<sup>7</sup> of the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda. This talk, which was received with particular interest, dealt with 'World Jewry in the Modern Era'. An account will also follow on the analysis of the 'Intellectual Foundations of Antisemitism in Modern France', which was presented by Dr Hoberg<sup>8</sup> (Munich). The closing remarks at the conference were then provided by Walter Frank, the president of the Reich Institute. He noted the progress of the work, also setting forth the nature of the institute. No organization has been imposed on it from above, he said, because that would not conform to the nature of academic work. Instead, active-minded persons are being gathered there – analogously to the development of the National Socialist Party – and the cell is being built from the bottom up. The study of the Jewish question, he said, is just one part of the institute's mission. It is in the service of all National Socialist academic work, and this work in turn serves the nation directly.<sup>9</sup>

6 The literary group centred on the poet and author Stefan George (1868–1933), established around 1890, and the *Blätter für die Kunst*, which he edited, included writers and academics from various disciplines, such as Ernst Kantorowicz, Karl Wolfskehl, Friedrich Wolters, and the Stauffenberg brothers.

7 Dr Wilhelm Ziegler (1891–1962), historian; worked at the Reich Central Office for Home Service (Reichszentrale für Heimatdienst), 1919–1933; joined the NSDAP in 1933; section head for scholarly activities at the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, 1933–1945; in 1948 exonerated by a denazification tribunal; state commissioner for the economically disadvantaged areas of Hesse and its districts bordering East Germany, 1953–1956; author of works including *Die Judenfrage in der modernen Welt* (1937).

8 Dr Clemens August Hoberg (1912–1945?), philosopher; joined the NSDAP in 1937; in 1938 worked in the Main Section for the Jewish Question at the Reich Institute for History of the New Germany; worked in the Archives Department of the military commander in France, 1940–1942; author of *Das Dasein des Menschen* (1937); declared dead in 1957.

9 The presentations were published in the institute's own journal, *Forschungen zur Judenfrage: Sitzungsberichte der vierten Münchener Arbeitstagung des Reichsinstituts für Geschichte des neuen Deutschlands vom 4. bis 6. Juli 1939*, vol. 4 (1940).

## DOC. 309

**On 8 July 1939 the Reichsführer SS issues instructions regarding the deportation of Polish Jews across the unfortified land border<sup>1</sup>**

Express letter from the Reichsführer SS and Chief of the German Police in the Reich and Prussian Ministry of the Interior (SV 7 Nr. 2361/39-509-27), p.p. signed Dr Best, Berlin, to the non-Prussian state governments – ministries of the interior – and for information to the State Police (head) offices, dated 8 July 1939 (copy)

Re: prohibition of residence for Jews of Polish nationality.

In connection with the circular decree of 8 May 1939, SV 7 no. 1338/39-509-27.<sup>2</sup>

The intensified policing of the Polish border, which began several days ago, requires that we abstain from further deportations of Polish Jews across the unfortified land border into Poland of the magnitude seen so far.

Polish Jews may be brought into the area of a State Police office at the Polish border only if a notice from a Border Police office is on hand, stating that deportation within its border sector is possible (cf. instruction no. 22 under § 7 of the Police Regulation on Foreigners<sup>3</sup>).

The State Police offices along the Polish border are instructed to attempt by all available means to deport to Poland, if possible by the end of July 1939, the Polish Jews who have been brought to the Polish border during the past few weeks. I expect the State Police offices, working closely together, to take advantage of every opportunity for deportation that arises within the border sector of a State Police office.

Modifying the circular decree of 8 May 1939, SV 7 no. 1388/39-509-27, deportation custody and deportation do not need to be imposed, and the departure deadline can be extended beyond 31 July 1939:

(1) for persons who because of their age or because of illness are ineligible for deportation, deportation custody, or emigration;

(2) for children, if their accommodation in a foreign country is not possible within the period allotted. Children are to be treated in accordance with the principles that are applied to their parents;

(3) for persons who have made preparations for emigration and whose emigration can presumably take place over the course of the next six months;

(4) for Jews who are engaged in vocational training or retraining in preparation for emigration.

1 BArch, R 58/276, fols. 224-225; excerpts published in Kurt Pätzold (ed.), *Verfolgung, Vertreibung, Vernichtung: Dokumente des faschistischen Antisemitismus* (Leipzig: Reclam, 1993), pp. 228-229. This document has been translated from German.

2 Ban on Residence for Jews of Polish Nationality, Circular Decree no. 1388/39-508-27, dated 8 May 1939; *ibid.*, fol. 219.

3 § 7 of the Police Regulation on Foreigners (*Ausländerpolizeiverordnung*), 22 August 1938, allowed the police to take foreigners into custody while a ban on residence was being prepared or for the purpose of deportation. Instruction no. 22 stated that a foreigner who was to be deported and did not have the necessary papers must be deported across the unfortified land border after consultation with the Border Police authority: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, I, pp. 1053-1056.

(5) No residence bans are to be imposed on women of German blood who are married to Polish Jews but who separate from their husbands and intend to divorce; the same applies for the children of such marriages who remain with their mother.

DOC. 310

**On 11 July 1939 Leo Lippmann describes his efforts to prevent buildings of the Hamburg Jewish Community from being seized by the state<sup>1</sup>**

Memorandum written by Leo Lippmann<sup>2</sup> (Dr Li/Ma-), Hamburg, for Director Spier, dated 11 July 1939

On 10 July 1939, at the invitation of the property management office of the Hanseatic City of Hamburg, a debate concerning the hospital<sup>3</sup> took place at the office of Senate Counsellor Heerwagen.<sup>4</sup> The participants were, in addition to the undersigned, Dr Rudolphi<sup>5</sup> for the religious association, Administrative Director Kressin<sup>6</sup> for the health authority, Senior Civil Servant Theilig<sup>7</sup> from the property management office, and an additional gentleman for Hamburg.

Mr Kressin first announced that Senator Offerdinger<sup>8</sup> was now prepared to take over the entire hospital for the state, assuming that the Community would succeed in finding other premises, in particular private clinics. Dr Offerdinger, he said, was of the opinion that under § 12 of the regulation of 4 July 1939,<sup>9</sup> the Jews themselves also had to arrange for the care of Jewish patients. I opposed this notion. Further, I stated that it was impossi-

1 CAHJP, AHW TT 72. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Leo Lippmann (1881–1943), lawyer; in the Hamburg civil service, 1906–1933; Staatsrat and presidium member of the fiscal authority, 1921; dismissed in 1933; chairman of the Jewish Community of Hamburg, 1935–1943; on 10/11 June 1943 he and his wife, Anna Josephine, née von Porten, committed suicide; author of works including *Mein Leben und meine amtliche Tätigkeit*, ed. Werner Jochmann (1964).

3 This refers to the Israelite Hospital in Hamburg-St Pauli, built in 1841–1843, which ran into financial difficulties after 1933. In Sept. 1939 the buildings were transferred to the city. Two buildings in Johnsallee served as a makeshift replacement, and later the hospital moved into a former Jewish nursing home and hospice.

4 Dr Werner Heerwagen (1900–1992), lawyer; worked in commerce and in banking, 1918–1920 and 1924–1930; trainee lawyer in Mannheim and Hamburg, 1930–1933; lawyer in the Hamburg Tax Authority, March 1934; in the property management office, 1939; later regional court judge for the special court in Łódź; administrative court director in Hamburg, 1968.

5 Dr Walter Rudolphi (1880–1942), lawyer; magistrate and later senior magistrate in Hamburg-Bergedorf, 1910–1925; in 1926 judge at the Higher Regional Court in Hamburg, and compulsorily retired in 1933; from 1939 head of social services for the Jewish Community of Hamburg; deported to Theresienstadt on 15 July 1942.

6 Correctly: Arthur Krefin (1898–1968), administrative official; worked in the Hamburg Audit Office, 1904–1913, in the Hamburg Health Authority, 1929–1954, and as senior administrative director of the St Georg General Hospital, 1933–1945.

7 Hans Theilig (b. 1887), civil servant; in 1929 senior inspector in the Hamburg administration of state-owned properties, in 1933 in the fiscal authority, in 1938 in the finance department, and in 1939 municipal senior civil servant in the property management office; joined the NSDAP in 1942; retired in 1944.

8 Dr Friedrich Offerdinger (1896–1946), physician; joined the NSDAP in 1929; founding member of the National Socialist Association of Physicians; minister responsible for health issues in Hamburg, 1933–1945; interned in Neumünster-Gadeland from 1945 until his death.

ble to find other premises. One must insist, I said, that the Jewish hospital remain at the old site. Senate Counsellor Heerwagen was also of this opinion. Finally, it was agreed that additional investigations, involving in particular a joint inspection, should be undertaken with regard to the question as to whether, in the previous buildings and on the previous grounds, separate operation of a hospital by the state and by the Jewish Community was possible. This inspection is to take place today at 2 p.m.

Following the negotiation regarding the hospital, Senate Counsellor Heerwagen also held a consultation concerning the transfer of the building of the Talmud Torah School<sup>10</sup> to the state, which wants the building for the teacher training school. Staatsrat Schultz<sup>11</sup> and a senior school inspector for the Hamburg school administration took part in this discussion. It was announced that the Reichsstatthalter<sup>12</sup> is demanding that the premises of the Talmud Torah School be at the disposal of the state following the holidays, and as a substitute the state is offering the Carolinenstrasse [School] and possibly a school on Kampstrasse, the latter primarily for classes for emigrants. I explained that the school on Carolinenstrasse is in no way a substitute, because it already belongs to the Community.<sup>13</sup> It is irrelevant, I said, that the property is not attributed to the school in the land register. Under the State Property Agreement,<sup>14</sup> the property is at the disposal of the Community as long as it needs it for educational purposes. An attribution of the property in the land register would no longer be possible now, even formally, I said. As far as I could judge the situation, I added, the Community had no interest in obtaining the school on Kampstrasse. In my opinion, one must consider whether classes might not perhaps be held in a state school situated in the Grindel neighbourhood. I am not informed on the subject, I said, and must therefore suggest that a conversation with Director Spier take place first to establish whether the school on Carolinenstrasse is adequate even for current purposes. Further, it must also be considered whether the building adjoining the Talmud Torah School, which is recorded on a separate sheet in the land register, is also to be relinquished to the state. – Finally – as I had done previously in the case of the hospital – I pointed out that, as a result of the regulation of 4 July 1939, the autonomy of the Hamburg Community has been revoked and, in any event, the [views of the] Reich Association [of Jews in Germany] must also be heard. This also applies in

9 The Tenth Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law of 4 July 1939 stipulated that the Jews be consolidated in the Reich Association of Jews in Germany, which had the task of promoting Jewish emigration, maintaining the Jewish school system, and providing welfare. Under Art. III § 12, the Reich Association was to support Jews in need of financial assistance to such an extent that public welfare was not required: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1939, I, pp. 1097–1099.

10 See Doc. 60, 11 July 1938, and Doc. 279, 2 May 1939.

11 Dr Arnold Schultz (1879–1958), lawyer; Regierungsrat in the Hamburg police authority, 1907–1913; worked in the Hamburg Senate, 1913–1933, among other things as government counsel; from 1933 deputy section head in the regional educational authority; joined the NSDAP in 1937.

12 Karl Kaufmann (1900–1969), agricultural worker; member of several Freikorps, 1918–1923; joined the NSDAP in 1921 and the SS in 1933; took part in the Beer Hall Putsch, 1923; unskilled worker, 1923–1925; Gauleiter of the Ruhr, 1926–1929, and Gauleiter in Hamburg, 1929–1945; Reichsstatthalter in Hamburg, 1933–1945; after 1945 arrested several times; sentenced in 1948 and released in 1949; from 1953 wholesaler in Hamburg.

13 At 35 Carolinenstraße there was a Jewish girls' school, which in 1939 was merged with the Talmud Torah School to form the Primary and Academic Secondary School for Jews (Volks- und Höhere Schule für Juden). This school was closed in 1942.

14 This could not be verified.

particular to the Talmud Torah School, which is an independent Jewish foundation, I said. It was agreed that now, as a first step, a consultation between the school administration and Director Spier should take place.

Following the discussion, I told Senate Counsellor Heerwagen that the price offered for the temple property can under no circumstances be accepted by the Community. The state, I said, is not even offering the price that was paid to the state for the land by the temple association at the time, and no reimbursement for the valuable building is being granted. The overall costs of building the temple amounted to RM 780,000. In my opinion, I said, it is also impossible to make any agreement without the Reich Association. The future agreement, in my opinion, must deal with the entire array of financial questions concerning the plots of land, hospital, school, welfare burdens, etc. Senate Counsellor Heerwagen took note of this statement. –

DOC. 311

**On 14 July 1939 the Security Service in Linz reports the imprisonment of SA personnel after desecration of a cemetery in the former Czech town of Rosenberg<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the head of the Security Service of the Reichsführer SS, Sub-District Upper Danube (II 2, Mzl/R), p.p. SS-Hauptsturmführer and Staff Leader temporarily in charge of affairs (signature illegible), Linz, to the head of the Security Service in the SS Main District Danube,<sup>2</sup> Vienna (received on 14 July 1939), dated 14 July 1939

*Re:* arrests in Rosenberg.

*Case file:* none.

According to a report received here from the field office in Krumau, on 27 June 1939 the following individuals from Party circles were taken into custody by the State Police and taken to Linz:

- Head of the local NSDAP branch in Rosenberg: Stiny, Otto,<sup>3</sup>
- Deputy head of the NSDAP branch and town clerk: Brunner, Andreas,
- Local treasurer: Watzl, Josef,
- Cell head: Hufsky, Karl (SS member),<sup>4</sup>
- SA-Truppführer Weber, Alois,
- SA-Scharführer Hoisak, Josef,
- SA member Schimek,
- and one other SA member.

The reason for this arrest is the following incident: around three weeks ago, the *head of the local NSDAP branch in Rosenberg*, Otto Stiny, probably to demonstrate his position of power, gave the SA the order to demolish the old Jewish cemetery dating from the fourteenth century, which is a listed monument. The execution of this 'action' was

1 BArch, R 58/6562. This document has been translated from German.

2 The head of the SD in the SS Main District Danube was Franz Walter Stahlecker.

3 Otto Stiny (b. 1898), farmer; joined the NSDAP in 1938; head of the local NSDAP branch in Rosenberg.

4 Andreas Brunner (b. 1894), foreman; joined the NSDAP in 1938. Josef Watzl (b. 1911), policeman; joined the NSDAP in 1931 and the SS in 1938. Karl Hufsky (b. 1907), non-dispensing pharmacist; joined the NSDAP in 1938.

undertaken one evening in such a way that the gravestones, which lay scattered about, were smashed to pieces with iron bars and hammers, or damaged to such an extent that not one of the gravestones remained intact. The cemetery was left in this state of devastation. It must also be noted that the old Jewish cemetery was completely concealed by a high wall and has thus far not given rise to offence in any way. On 26 June 1939, as a result, the aforementioned individuals were taken into custody after a short hearing. It is rumoured in Rosenberg that the order for their arrest was issued in Berlin, as news of the destruction of the cemetery had been circulated by the French radio, and an English newspaper,<sup>5</sup> too, had already published photographs. In this regard, it is noted that, according to individuals who live near the cemetery, it was repeatedly photographed by strangers after the destruction.<sup>6</sup>

## DOC. 312

**On 16 July 1939 Willy Cohn notes that the Breslau Gestapo  
want to oblige him to research the history of the Jews<sup>1</sup>**

Handwritten diary of Willy Cohn,<sup>2</sup> entry for 16 July 1939

Breslau, Sunday; yesterday morning read the Torah section and finished the article on Löwenberg for the *Germania Judaica*;<sup>3</sup> [went to the] barber. The newspaper was filled with the report on the national holiday in Paris and the huge military parade. Indeed, things still look quite dicey in the world. In the near future, however, nothing will happen, at least not before the crops are harvested! Post Office 13, Mother, who complained in addition about an intestinal problem, it is all very difficult for her. With Susannchen for the last time at the Nohers', where the old people really enjoyed their time with her. After dinner, slept well, with the new medication. In the late afternoon Czollak<sup>4</sup> came, and we worked together for a while after I had discussed an important letter with him

5 The file does not contain the newspaper clipping.

6 Handwritten remark: 'Please take note!'

1 Willy Cohn, 'Tagebuch, Breslau vom 16.7.1939', fols. 35–38, CAHJP, P 88/59; abridged English translation in Willy Cohn, *No Justice in Germany: The Breslau Diaries, 1933–1941*, ed. Norbert Conrads, trans. Kenneth Kronenberg (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012 [German edn 2006]), p. 262. This document has been retranslated from the original German.

2 Dr Willy Cohn (1888–1941), teacher and historian; Zionist and member of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD); from 1919 until he was forcibly retired in 1933, teacher at the Johannes Grammar School (*Gymnasium*) in Breslau; from 1933 he earned a living by doing lecture tours on Jewish history; his plans to emigrate to Palestine fell through; in late Nov. 1941 he was deported to Kovno, where he was murdered.

3 From 1939 Cohn was a contributor to the second volume of *Germania Judaica*, which was, however, never published. He was due to write the sections on Silesia, Bohemia, Moravia, the Netherlands, and Brabant. Of his more than sixty articles, only the one on Breslau has survived: Norbert Conrads, 'Die verlorene Germania Judaica: Ein Handbuch- und Autorenschicksal im Dritten Reich', in *Berichte und Forschungen: Jahrbuch des Bundesinstituts für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa*, vol. 15 (2007), pp. 215–254, here pp. 215–229.

4 Mono (Amandus) Czollak (1904–1948), teacher; probationary teacher, then permanently appointed teacher at the Jewish Reform Grammar School (*Realgymnasium*); emigrated in 1939 to Britain, where he remained until mid 1941 in the Kitchener Refugee Camp and in the Pioneer Corps of the British army; later taught religion in Jewish communities in Devon and London.

in detail. At the behest of the State Police, I am to take part in a discussion at the office of Dr Arlt<sup>5</sup> concerning matters of Jewish history. It can easily cost me the Aliyah, because if the State Police use me to research the history of the Jews, it will be difficult to get a passport; but one must wait and see, and I will also correspond with the Community about this. Now, of all times, when if things go well our Aliyah could take place, it would hit me at a most inconvenient moment. But one can do nothing more about it; one must wait and see. Went to the railway station with Susannchen to fetch Trudi with Tamara.<sup>6</sup> The train was 1¼ hours late; we were at the station for almost 2½ hours. Trudi was quite exhausted from the trip with the child, and the heat was also endless. We did not reach home by car until 9:45 p.m., and then there was still a lot to talk about. Tamara has developed quite well, thank God. She can already stand!

With the new remedy, I slept but am still quite done in now.

Now Susannchen too is to go on a trip. I am not very happy about it, but the child is really looking forward to it!

#### DOC. 313

### **On 19 July 1939 the Gestapo instructs the State Police offices to prevent cohabitation by couples whose marriage applications have been rejected<sup>1</sup>**

Circular letter from the Reichsführer SS/Chief of the German Police at the Reich Ministry of the Interior (S-PP (II B) Nr. 5718/37), p.p. signed Müller, Berlin, to all State Police head offices and State Police offices, dated 19 July 1939 (copy)

*Re:* marriage and extramarital intercourse between Mischlinge of the first degree and persons of German blood.

*Case file:* circular decree of the Gestapo Central Office from 6 January 1937, II B 4-1337/36 J.-<sup>2</sup>

By means of the aforementioned decree, it was made known that, in accordance with § 3 of the First Regulation for the Implementation of the Law for the Protection of [German] Blood and German Honour of 14 November 1935, cases in which applications for permission to marry are rejected are to be reported to the State Police offices in order to conduct extensive surveillance of the individuals concerned. In this context, particular care ought to be taken to ensure that these persons do not cohabit in circumvention of the rejection.

<sup>5</sup> Dr Fritz Arlt (1912–2004), sociologist and theologian; joined the NSDAP in 1932 and the SS in 1937; member of the SA, 1932–1934; head of the Racial Policy Office in Silesia, 1936–1939; head of the Department of Population and Welfare in the General Government, 1939–1940; in 1941 head of the Office of the Reich Commissioner for the Strengthening of Germanism in Upper Silesia; in 1944 in the SS Main Office; head of the Education Department of the Cologne Institute for Economic Research, 1954–1975; author of works including *Volksbiologische Untersuchungen über die Juden in Leipzig* (1938).

<sup>6</sup> Susanne (b. 1932) and Tamara Cohn (b. 1938), daughters of Willy Cohn; Gertrud (Trudi) Cohn, née Rothmann (1901–1941), secretary; second wife of Willy Cohn. She was deported to Kovno in Nov. 1941, along with her husband and their two daughters. They were all shot dead there on 25 Nov. 1941.

<sup>1</sup> StAM, Rep. Polizeidirektion München, Nr. 7017. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> Published in Paul Sauer (ed.), *Dokumente über die Verfolgung der jüdischen Bürger in Baden-Württemberg durch das nationalsozialistische Regime*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1966), no. 24, p. 38.

On the basis of this decree, a number of State Police offices have meanwhile asked what measures are to be taken in a given case to prevent continued cohabitation, other interaction, or a planned marriage in another country in violation of the prohibition. With regard to these questions, fundamental discussions with the Deputy of the Führer, the head of the Racial Policy Office, and Department I of the Reich Ministry of the Interior<sup>3</sup> are pending at this time.

As soon as a consensus of opinion has been reached, I will issue standard guidelines on how such incidents are to be handled by the State Police.<sup>4</sup>

DOC. 314

**Memorandum of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee,  
dated 24 July 1939, on illegal immigration into Palestine<sup>1</sup>**

Memorandum (strictly confidential), unsigned, Paris, dated 24 July 1939

Illegal immigration to Palestine in groups began when the Arab terror reigned there in 1936.<sup>2</sup> At that time the military, as well as the civil authorities viewed this immigration favorably and did not prevent illegal entry. The immigrants consisted chiefly of elderly people and women and children who went to join their relatives, while the younger people were sent to the Kibutzim and to the old colonies where they took over the work of the Arabs.

The young men with some military training immediately joined the Jewish civil guards, called 'Gaffirs', or else the British Army, which was sent from England to Palestine to maintain order there.

With the occupation of Austria and the Sudeten Land, and the establishment of the Protectorate in Moravia and Bohemia, the plight of the Jews in these countries became worse and the organization of groups of passengers through private initiative or illegal entry into Palestine began on a larger scale.

The groups were mostly composed of Zionists, who upon their arrival to Palestine found places immediately in the various Jewish centers. The same activity was later pursued by the Mizrachi,<sup>3</sup> a group of religious Zionists.

Ultimately, the Revisionists<sup>4</sup> began organizing the sending of such groups. In many instances, the local European Governments cooperated with this movement by arranging

3 The Deputy of the Führer was Rudolf Heß; the head of the Racial Policy Office was Walter Groß. Department I of the Reich Ministry of the Interior was responsible for constitutional law and legislation; the head of the department was State Secretary Dr Stuckart.

4 On 9 April 1942 Heydrich issued a regulation to the effect that extramarital contact between Jewish *Mischlinge* and Aryans should be punished by the police: Cornelia Essner, *Die 'Nürnberger Gesetze' oder die Verwaltung des Rassenwahns 1933–1945* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2002), pp. 182–186.

1 JDC Archives, 33/44, p. 658. The original document is in English.

2 The author means the 1936–1939 Arab revolt in Palestine, which was primarily directed against Jewish immigration.

3 An Orthodox Zionist movement founded in Vilnius in 1902 by Rabbi Yitzhak Jacob Reines.

4 The author means the supporters of the World Union of Zionist Revisionists led by Vladimir Jabotinsky; see Doc. 10, 3 Feb. 1938.

special trains to take the emigrants from the Central European countries to the various ports in the Mediterranean and Black Sea. A special train was even sent from Danzig to the Black Sea.

The emigrants to Palestine from Central Europe usually assembled along the Danube, where boats carrying an average of 400–500 passengers took them to the Black Sea ports. From these ports they were put on ocean-going boats, usually under a Panama flag, and sailed to Palestine.

The JDC, Paris, has been asked for relief since May 1939 for the following ships:

<i>From Athens, Greece</i>	<i>Number of Passengers</i>
S/S Aghios Nicolaos de Nomicos	691
" Astir	268
" Asimi	473
" Aghios Nicolaos de Kondjouraki	300
<i>From Island of Rhodes: S/S Rim (burned ship)</i>	772
<i>From Beyrouth,<sup>5</sup> Syria: S/S Frosfula<sup>6</sup></i>	658
<i>Total</i>	3,162

JDC, Paris, has sent to the Athens Committee the sum of \$5,000 which included \$1,000 contributed by the Council,<sup>7</sup> London. From funds made available by the JDC an initial sum of Ital. Lira 4,000 was transmitted to Rhodes by the Milano Committee. Subsequently, two additional amounts of Lira 10,000 each were sent. In behalf of the refugees in Beyrouth, Syria, the JDC has sent two remittances of francs 20,000 each.

#### DOC. 315

#### On 25 July 1939 Siegfried Wolff of Eisenach describes his efforts to emigrate<sup>1</sup>

Letter from Dr Siegfried Wolff,<sup>2</sup> 3 Karlstrasse, Eisenach, to a friend, dated 25 July 1939

Dear Hanne,

Many thanks for your kind card, which gave us enormous pleasure. How can you think that I would be angry with you! In our friendship, that is utterly out of the question. I know you have an enormous amount to do, and because not everyone spends as much time writing letters as I do, I did not take your long silence the wrong way, either. From Jacob, who had often been at Käthe's of late, we have already heard the happy news of your daughter's engagement, and I would have written at once, of course, if Jacob had

5 French spelling of Beirut. Lebanon achieved independence in 1943 and Beirut became its capital city.

6 Probably the *Prosula*: see Doc. 316, July 1939.

7 The author means the Council for German Jewry.

1 YVA, O. 75/175. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Siegfried Wolff (1888–1944), paediatrician; worked in a neonatal and paediatric hospital in Eisenach, 1924–1938; its director, 1928–1932; in 1934 turned down an offer to head a children's home in Tel Aviv; banned from his profession in 1938; emigrated to the Netherlands in 1939; after German occupation incarcerated in the Westerbork camp; on 6 Sept. 1944 deported with a group of children to Theresienstadt; on 12 Oct. 1944 deported to Auschwitz, where he was murdered.

known your address. So I wish you and your daughter, and all of you, every happiness on this occasion, with all my heart, also on behalf of my dear mother. May the dear Lord give his blessing to this union. I can still see Marianne in front of me, so concerned about your good mother. I really liked everything about her, and she was also such a good daughter that she will, without fail, be a good wife. She will surely bring her husband much sweetness – sweet is actually the only word that can describe her accurately – and she will add a great deal of sunshine to his life. It is especially marvellous that you are keeping her near you; I see now how hard it is to have to part from loved ones. You have also been through so many hardships in your life that I do not begrudge you this joy in particular. You also took care of your mother so touchingly and with such self-sacrifice that your reward is now to bask in the happiness of your child. I am most especially glad that you have now received a permanent work permit there. So, once again, I wish you all the very best, and don't forget me, as I always feel so completely and utterly a part of your family. How happy your parents would have been, if they had lived to see this!

As you can imagine, we have many worries; we have simply waited too long with our departure plans and are now having a hard time of it, of course. I have written letters until my fingers are sore, and I thought that, with my more than 100 scholarly papers, still well recognized today, and my 50 unbelievably good testimonials, I would get some minor position, at least with free board; all in vain. Georg Engländer<sup>3</sup> has obtained visas for Chile for my mother and me, making us the envy of many. But one must give proof of a fairly large deposit account there, which I do not have, and then I would not be permitted to continue being a physician there, either directly or indirectly. Unfortunately, however, despite all my research, I have not yet found a way to live on thin air, an ability I apparently am generally assumed to possess. Our wait for the USA is very long because of the Polish quota,<sup>4</sup> so I wanted to go to England as a stopover. A large number of friends have gone there too, for example, all the physicians from the Jewish hospital in Frankfurt am Main, including my friend Isaac. On 6 January I applied at Woburn House<sup>5</sup> for permission for Mother, Käthe, Ludwig, and me to spend the waiting time there; during this time, I wanted to improve my language skills and do scholarly work. But after an endless correspondence it turned out that a guarantee must be provided there. After that, with a great deal of effort, I arranged for my American relatives to provide it. They first asked what amount was needed for the four of us and then sent the absolutely fantastic sum of £530 in March. Two months later I first got the news that this sum, which the Committee<sup>6</sup> itself had specified, would only suffice for me, and when I had brought myself to make the hard decision to go alone, in the hope that the others would follow, the C[ommittee] wrote that even for me alone, an *additional* sum of more than 200, specifically £250, would be needed; that is, all together, £780. I think that is

3 Presumably the Georg Engländer who lived in Stettin until his emigration in 1937.

4 Immigration to the USA was limited by a quota system: see Glossary. Because he was evidently a Polish citizen, Wolff had distinctly worse chances of obtaining a visa than German emigrants.

5 Woburn House in the London district of Bloomsbury was the headquarters of several refugee relief organizations in 1938, including the Refugee Children's Movement, which organized the Kindertransport.

6 English in the original.

'neither aid nor help, it is *nothing*'.<sup>7</sup> That's what one gets after corresponding for more than six months. Now, however, I have received a temporary residence permit for Holland,<sup>8</sup> also only for myself. It is, of course, a tiny ray of hope; but what is to become of my family? I am really unhappy that we are to be separated. Besides, I don't even know what I am to do there, what one is to live on. I wondered whether it might be possible to open a boarding house there; however, that is said to be impossible too. We have no one abroad who takes any kind of interest in us, and if one is supposed to do everything alone, one just doesn't get very far. My sister is probably already too old to get a job as a domestic worker there. So what is one to do? Ludwig will perhaps go to the conservatory in Jerusalem; thank God his health is quite good. But one would nonetheless rather keep an eye on him. Eva is going as a nurse to the London Chest Hospital; she has a firm job offer, but she has been waiting seven weeks for her permit,<sup>9</sup> which also makes one nervous. In the winter she worked for a long time as a nurse in the strictly Orthodox tuberculosis sanatorium in Nordrach and has become so devout as a result of the activities there and the very devout physician, and she is so well informed about everything that even your good father would have taken delight in it. So, now you know all about us. This letter may have become rather long, but I hope you don't take offence at my also pouring out my heart to you on the occasion of such a happy event, in which we completely share your joy. Jacob's wife intended to write to me and give me an address that I requested; thus far that has not happened; perhaps you will remind her of her promise at some point.

And now, once again, I wish you all the best – all kind of happiness<sup>10</sup> – and warmest regards also from my dear mother

Your old, always truly devoted

DOC. 316

**In July 1939 the SPD in exile lists the refugee ships  
that are denied permission to land<sup>1</sup>**

Sopade report on Germany, July 1939, Paris (typescript)

[...]<sup>2</sup>

3. (b) *The refugee ships*

The Jewish refugees, once again by the thousands, are getting into another kind of 'no-man's-land' on the high seas. Driven out of every port, unable to put their despairing human cargo ashore anywhere in the world, the 'ghost ships' ply the oceans. Food,

<sup>7</sup> These seven words are in English in the original.

<sup>8</sup> The Netherlands is meant here.

<sup>9</sup> This word is in English in the original.

<sup>10</sup> These four words are in English in the original.

<sup>1</sup> AdsD, Deutschlandberichte [der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands], Juli 1939, Teil A 116, published in Behnken (ed.), *Deutschland-Berichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands*, vol. 6, pp. 938–940. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>2</sup> On the first part of the report, see Doc. 287, late May 1939.

drinking water, and coal grow scarce, the passengers are stricken with contagious diseases, and the suicides mount. Cries for help are radioed to all sides, but only rarely is assistance granted. A few examples:

*Flandre* had around 100 refugees from Germany on board. Cuba and Mexico denied permission to land. On 19 June, after an odyssey that lasted for weeks, the ship made port at St Nazaire (Brittany).<sup>3</sup>

*St. Louis*, a Hapag steamship with 937 refugees on board, could not land in Cuba because the Cuban visas of the passengers turned out to be invalid. America refused to admit these refugees immediately. Finally, after the ship had sailed around for weeks, the governments of England,<sup>4</sup> France, and Belgium agreed that the passengers would be distributed among their countries.<sup>5</sup>

*Orinoco*, with 200 Jewish refugees, was en route from Germany to Cuba at approximately the same time. In the port of Cherbourg, she received a radiogram from Berlin with this order: 'Return to Hamburg immediately!' Several refugees tried to jump into the ocean. *Orinoco* is the first ship that was ordered to return to Germany, and this was done namely with reference to the furore generated by the fate of the *St. Louis*.

*Usaramo*, with 500 Jewish refugees, including several physicians, lawyers, and writers, sailed around aimlessly for six weeks and then set course for Shanghai. The accommodation on the steamer was extremely poor. The refugees were not allowed to use the bathing rooms.<sup>6</sup>

*Orbita*, with 68 Jewish refugees, was not allowed to land in Ecuador and spent a long time in quarantine in Balboa, in the Panama Canal Zone. Finally the passengers received permission to disembark in Panama, where they were granted a residence permit for three months. After this period of time, they must, unless granted admission by America, return to Europe.<sup>7</sup>

*Cap Norte* left Hamburg on 28 April with 15 refugees on board, headed for South America. Paraguay, Uruguay, and Argentina denied permission to land. On 26 June the ship made port in Boulogne-sur-Mer. The passengers were temporarily accommodated in France.<sup>8</sup>

The motor vessel *Monte Olivia*, a ship of the Hamburg South America Line, was carrying 78 Jewish passengers with entry permits for Paraguay. But Uruguay refused permission for landing and transit. After weeks of uncertainty, the passengers were

3 On the *Flandre*, see Doc. 297, 16 June 1939.

4 Britain is meant here.

5 On the *St. Louis*, see Doc. 290, 2–11 June; Doc. 292, 5–11 June; and Doc. 297, 16 June 1939.

6 The *Usaramo*, owned by the German East Africa Line, was one of the ships chartered by Heinrich Schlie. At the behest of Adolf Eichmann, Schlie had conducted negotiations with the Japanese and Chinese consulates in Vienna to expedite Jewish emigration. The ship landed in Shanghai on 7 July 1939. Conflicting figures are given on the number of passengers, 359 and 459: Avraham Altman and Irene Eber, 'Flight to Shanghai 1938–1940', *Yad Vashem Studies*, vol. 28 (2000), pp. 51–86, here pp. 8–9.

7 With a few exceptions, the refugees remained at Fort Amador in Balboa until they were allowed to enter the USA in 1940.

8 On 27 June 1939 the *New York Times* reported that the refugees had received entry visas for Shanghai. The French authorities granted them transit visas to continue the journey to Trieste, where they were to take passage to China.

allowed to go ashore in Buenos Aires on 15 June. There they were given permission to stay for 20 days. Finally Chile took them in.

*Prosula*, with 65 refugees, mostly from Czechoslovakia, left the port of Sulina ([at the] mouth of the Danube) on 25 June, headed for Shanghai. En route, the supplies of cash and food ran out. The ship put in at the first available port, which was the northern Lebanese seaport of Tripoli. The Lebanese authorities decided in mid June to let the passengers enter the country.<sup>9</sup>

*Dora*, an old Greek coal-fired steamer travelling under the flag of Panama, left Amsterdam with 500 Jewish refugees on board on 17 June, allegedly destined for Siam. In fact, it is still sailing around aimlessly today. Among the passengers, most of whom are German Jews, are a great many women and children.<sup>10</sup>

On the Italian steamer *Frossula*, with 658 Czech Jewish refugees on board, there was an outbreak of plague. Two passengers died of it. The French high commissioner for Syria permitted the *Frossula* to go into quarantine for a short time at the port of Beirut. After the disinfection of the ship, the passengers, who had gone ashore temporarily, were immediately returned to the steamer. Departure was set for the end of July. The further fate of the *Frossula* refugees is uncertain.<sup>11</sup>

*Osiris*, with 600 refugees, is presently at anchor off the Syrian coast. For six weeks the ship has been looking for an opportunity to land. The food supplies were exhausted long ago. Thus far no decision has been made about the fate of the passengers.

*Thessalia*, with 550 refugees, was apprehended off the coast near Beirut by a Lebanese coastal patrol boat and forced to leave Syrian territorial waters. Tripoli refused permission to land. The steamer is continuing to sail around in circles on the high seas.

On 2 March 1939, 424 Jews from Danzig were taken in sealed railway wagons to a Romanian port. A small Greek steamer was supposed to transport them illegally to Palestine. The British military prevented the landing. At that time, food supplies and drinking water were already in short supply. For thirteen weeks, the ship sailed around aimlessly. Finally the deportees were set down on the Greek island of Crete. They have no clothing and shoes, suffer from hunger and epidemic diseases, and are being almost eaten alive by rats and insects. Several refugees have already died.

On 28 July *The Times* reported:<sup>12</sup>

Approximately 900 refugees from Central Europe, who arrived in Rustchuk, Bulgaria, around 3 weeks ago on a Yugoslav steamer and a Hungarian steamer and were

9 The *Prosula* sank in 1939, and its passengers were transferred to the *Tiger Hill*: Dalia Ofer, *Escaping the Holocaust: Illegal Immigration to the Land of Israel, 1939–1944* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 17.

10 On 12 August 1939 the ship managed to land at Herzliya, enabling its passengers to enter Palestine illegally: Jürgen Rohwer, 'Jüdische Flüchtlingsschiffe im Schwarzen Meer: 1934 bis 1944', in Ursula Büttner (ed.), *Das Unrechtsregime: Internationale Forschung über den Nationalsozialismus*, vol. 2: *Verfolgung – Exil – Belasteter Neubeginn* (Hamburg: Christians, 1986), pp. 197–248, here p. 213.

11 This probably refers to the *Prosula*, whose passengers were transferred to the *Tiger Hill*, a Greek ship. Between 300 and 500 of the more than 1,000 passengers aboard the *Tiger Hill* eventually succeeded in going underground following the illegal landing in Palestine. The remaining passengers were interned by the British in the Sarafand Camp: see *New York Times*, 8 July 1939, p. 4, and 23 July 1940, p. 3.

12 The report was published in the column 'Telegrams in Brief' in *The Times*, 28 July 1939, p. 13.

denied permission to land, have now departed for Sulina, Romania, on the same vessels. They hope that from there they will be able to find a port of refuge somewhere in the Mediterranean. [...] <sup>13</sup>

## DOC. 317

**On 4 August 1939 Luise Solmitz comments on the exclusion of Jews  
from the air-raid shelters<sup>1</sup>**

Diary of Luise Solmitz, Hamburg, entry for 4 August 1939 (copy)

Went to the air-raid [wardens' meeting]. Someone asked what to put on the form when the wife has married a Jew. 'Jewess', of course, said the stupid person in front of all the many air-raid wardens. An older man, upset, said that that was not accurate. No, the person said, forced to retract, only in the case of marriages after the enactment of the Nuremberg Laws – which is nonsense, because such marriages were already prohibited by then. I went up to the man afterwards.

I don't want to have any difficulties later. He: It was an error – I can consider myself an Aryan. (!!!) I said that went without saying, that was not the point, it was about my work as an air-raid warden.

And just as I predicted! Jews are not to be included in the lists. So much the better that I myself am an air-raid warden; thus I can spare Fredy this insult if others were drawing up the lists. – I have to act as if my own husband did not exist. It is a cruel thing to ask.

## DOC. 318

**On 7/8 August 1939 Mr and Mrs Malsch of Düsseldorf write to their son in the USA  
about forced labour and loneliness<sup>1</sup>**

Handwritten letter from the Malsches, Düsseldorf, to Wilhelm R. Malsch, Long Island (New York), dated 7/8 August 1939

Dear young man,

Your airmail postcard dated 25 July only arrived today – probably aboard the *Manhattan*! So, almost a fortnight! We wrote to you in detail the other day + hope to have a fixed address for you soon. For today, affectionate regards + kisses, Your loving

Papa

<sup>13</sup> The Sopade report ends with a survey of the outlook for the German economy.

<sup>1</sup> Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 622-1/140, Familie Solmitz, 1, Bd. 31. This document has been translated from German.

<sup>1</sup> USHMM, RG-10.086/10 of 13. This document has been translated from German.

Düsseldorf, 8 August 1939

My dear child, you will certainly be surprised that your dear Papa wrote so little today; he wrote it yesterday evening. He always comes home dead tired, eats + goes to bed straight away. It is hard + very unaccustomed work.<sup>2</sup> We rise at 5 a.m., at 6 the bus leaves Thonhalle headed for Krummenweg, work begins at 7. Papa takes sandwiches + coffee with him; he has a hot meal [at home] in the evening. Last night, for example, he was in bed by 7:30 p.m., and he falls asleep *immediately*. So you see how taxing the work is. Dear Papa says, what is to become of us if we don't join the young man, I can't keep doing this work constantly and forever. I feel *very* sorry for Papa, his ear, too, has *certainly* not improved, just the opposite. If we can't join you, then I really don't know what is to become of us. Papa earns a *gross* rate of 66 [Pfennigs] per hour. That's what our life here is like. I would be very glad to earn something more in addition, but there is no work to be had, the rich people have all left, and the others have nothing themselves. We can't buy anything at all any more, and one's clothing really deteriorates as a result, as you can well imagine. Dear Papa, you know, has always been very hard-working and has always provided *very* well for us, has he not, dear young man? It's really no life any more, nothing but worries and more worries. But if we could only come to you, we definitely would [not] ask for anything more; then we would be content. But when and how? Here, too, the room is terrible, no water, and no gas that I can use for cooking. We have a small spirit [camping] stove, then we bought a *small* electric cooker, but it is too expensive in the long run because of the electricity, nothing works any more. We have vermin too, which we had never experienced before in our lives, and on top of that there are the filthy stairwells. Often I have to turn a blind eye to absolutely everything, and the high rent, 30 Reichsmarks for one room. There is *no* other room available *at all*, so one has to be glad to have even that. In the winter we thought it would only be for a short time, but we were seriously deluded about that. In the end, it's all the same to us, if only we had the certainty that we would be with you soon, then *everything*, just *everything*, is *fine* by me. We can't bring a lot of clothing + linens with us now anyway, that's an extremely trivial thing too, isn't it, dear little man. Your airmail postcard of 25 July did not arrive until yesterday, 7 August. When the little wooden box arrives, we will let you know at once. By now, most likely, you will have safely received our last airmail letter of 4 [July] with the *Bremen*. Why don't you let us write to you at your apartment? Dear little cherub, you have no idea how we worry about you; I pray every day to the Lord, asking him to keep you healthy and let the three of us reunite soon; that is my daily evening prayer. We have grown quite old, inside and out, is it any wonder? I often have to cheer up dear Papa in addition, [...] <sup>3</sup> my own heart often feels ready to burst. But I don't want to burden your young heart on our account, on top of everything else; you are certainly not having an easy time of it now either. Sometimes when I'm walking down the street, the tears just start running down my cheeks when I think about everything, especially the fact that we can't come and join you soon, so I'm a bundle of nerves. But now I've babbled on long enough, but please do *not* take offence, after all, one just has to have *one* person to whom one can pour out one's heart, and I can surely do that with you.

<sup>2</sup> Paul Malsch worked as a labourer at a construction site on Krummer Weg in Düsseldorf: letter from Mr and Mrs Malsch to Wilhelm Malsch, 4 August 1939, *ibid*.

<sup>3</sup> A word is illegible.

*Everything, everything* would be bearable if only we could come to join you soon. Now 1 September is approaching, dear Lord, what is to become of us then,<sup>4</sup> poor Papa, I don't even talk to him about it. Now you probably have a fairly good impression of how I am feeling. Don't you have any other ideas? Many, many people have left here, and we can't, just can't, manage to find a way.

Dear young man. I hope you have written us in some detail, telling us everything, simply everything that you're doing, what you earn, how you have adjusted, whether you are *getting by*, and much, much more. You have already been there for six weeks, you know. You put *too much* hope in Lämmle, too, one sees it over and over again. A person has to keep fending for himself; that has also been our experience time and time again.

We have never heard anything more from Irma.<sup>5</sup> Yesterday a card came from M[önchen] Gladbach, saying that Heinz has been in Brussels for five weeks. The Abraham<sup>6</sup> family wanted to speak to us here this week and asked us to let them know when + where they might meet us here, saying that there was so much to talk about. Dear young man, that is how people are, we are *not going to reply at all*. *All this time* we have heard nothing from them, surely all [they] want now is *just to find something out from us*, then they will drop us again. At the end of last year they didn't look after me once. I was there on one occasion; we have never heard from them again. Shouldn't they have looked after me at some point? Possibly they were fearful that they would have to give me something; now it is *we who are unwilling*. Let them do as they wish and leave us in peace. May the dear Lord show understanding for us and send us to you soon.

Irma is just the same. I hope you also keep this in mind and *refrain* from writing to Irma. I am alone all day now and get lost in my thoughts, I also thank the Lord that dear Papa is earning something. What else are we to live on otherwise?

Do us just this one favour and send us a really detailed reply to our various letters, so that no unnecessary questions arise. *Have you now finally sent the patterns back to Alfred?* Did you get the sweater he sent to you? So, for today you can be content once more with this long letter. With 10,000 greetings, kisses + hugs, keep well, always, your loving *Mother*.

4 On 4 August the Malsches reported to their son that the authorities had threatened Paul Malsch, saying he would be put 'back into the Munich camp' if he failed to emigrate by 1 Sept. 1939: *ibid*.

5 Irma was a relative who had disappointed Amalie Malsch by failing to support her when Paul Malsch was incarcerated for six weeks after the November pogroms.

6 The Abraham and Malsch families were related. Heinz was the brother of Ilse Abraham, née Malsch. Amalie Malsch's hard feelings towards the Abrahams had to do with their behaviour following the arrest of Paul Malsch in Nov. 1938.

## DOC. 319

**Neues Volk, 8 August 1939: Fritz Arlt reviews the book  
*The Jewish Question in Romania*<sup>1</sup>**

*The Jewish Question in Romania.*<sup>2</sup> By Dr Hans Schuster.<sup>3</sup> Published by Felix Meiner, Leipzig. RM 5.70.

In a struggle against the biological threat posed by Jewry, it is essential that, just as the nature and the history of the Jews in Germany are examined, research be conducted into the development of the Jews in other countries.

The present work is such a study. In its precise description of the current status and the history of the Jews in Romania, it reveals to us how the very thing that can now be observed in our own Reich territory has taken place, in the same way, in Romania. It is particularly significant that the present book employs an approach that does not just provide an external description of the history and nature of the Jews in Romania, but also successfully addresses the findings from the perspective of national biology, so that this presentation is consistent with the methodology of modern social science.

This book is recommended reading for anyone who wants to learn something about world Jewry.

Dr Arlt

## DOC. 320

**On 10 August 1939 Cornelius von Berenberg-Gossler learns of the suicide  
of a Jewish acquaintance who had emigrated<sup>1</sup>**

Diary of Baron Cornelius von Berenberg-Gossler, Hamburg, entry for 10 August 1939

Thursday, 10 Aug.

Cornelia is travelling back to Travemünde. Tomorrow Frances and Heinrich are going into town with me. Dr Unna, whom I telephone, is quite satisfied with Heinrich. I have breakfast with Heinrich in the Patriotic [Society] building. We are quite distressed, because this morning a death notice for the wife of Professor Poll-Cords<sup>2</sup> arrived (which

1 *Neues Volk: Blätter des Rassenpolitischen Amtes der NSDAP*, vol. 7, no. 8, 8 August 1939, p. 35. This document has been translated from German.

2 The book *Die Judenfrage in Rumänien* was Schuster's doctoral thesis, sponsored by the German Research Foundation (DFG).

3 Dr Hans Schuster (1915–2002), lawyer and journalist; joined the NSDAP in 1937; research assistant at the German embassy in Bucharest, 1939–1940; responsible for economic policy matters at the embassy in Agram (Zagreb), 1940–1942; from 1942 in military service; from 1948 editor at the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*; from 1960 head of the domestic policy section there; one of the chief editors, 1970–1976; author of works including *Überbevölkerung und Auswanderung* (1951).

1 Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 622-1/9 Familie Berenberg, submitted in 1992, Tagebuch v. Cornelius Berenberg-Gossler 1939. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Clara Poll-Cords (1884–1939), gynaecologist; worked at the Johanniter Hospital in Bonn, 1915–1917; gynaecologist in Berlin, 1917–1924; in Hamburg, 1924–1934; from 1934 worked in Berlin again.

she herself had composed). She took her own life in Lund, on her husband's birthday. As Prof. Degkwitz,<sup>3</sup> one of her best friends, told me on the telephone, she made provision in advance for the disposition of all her things. She had suffered too greatly as a result of the persecution of the Jews, to which her husband, among countless others, had also fallen victim. Walked from Hoheluft to Niendorf.<sup>4</sup> Ellen Schmilinsky and daughter came for tea with Nadia. In the evening, we listen to the radio broadcast of a protest rally in Danzig against Poland; Gauleiter Forster<sup>5</sup> delivered an inflammatory speech against Poland. As *The Times* reports,<sup>6</sup> he came from Berchtesgaden from a meeting with Hitler. Heinrich at the Völkers' in Reinbek. Mrs von Stegmann (Schr[...]tern Manor<sup>7</sup>) has written me a card, saying she has had intestinal surgery and will return home from the hospital in Breslau the day after tomorrow. At midday, went to see Pape at Dresdner Bank with regard to taxes.

## DOC. 321

**On 16 August 1939 Willy Cohn of Breslau reports on his experiences  
as a historian in the Regional Office for Race and Kinship Research<sup>1</sup>**

Handwritten diary of Willy Cohn, entry for 16 August 1939

Yesterday was an especially difficult day for me, though in some respects it was also a fine one. Shortly after 7:30 a.m. Dr Arlt came in his car to fetch me; we drove to his office on Teichstr. and mainly worked through the listing of Breslau's Jewish associations. Naturally the conversation turned to this, that, and the other; he had also made enquiries about me among the university historians and had been told the following: Cohn is not like other Jews, who have plagiarized everything from others; rather, he has enhanced our knowledge through research of his own. Naturally, one is glad to hear such things. Otherwise, the hours were quite arduous. Indeed, it is inevitable that the conversation strays on to related subjects that are quite delicate, and then one must think

Her husband was Dr Heinrich Poll (1877–1939), biologist; in 1922 appointed as a non-tenured professor in Berlin; professor of anatomy in Hamburg, 1924–1933; emigrated to Sweden in 1939, and died of a heart attack shortly afterwards.

<sup>3</sup> Dr Rudolf Degkwitz (1889–1973), paediatrician; from 1918 assistant physician in Munich; from 1925 professor in Greifswald; at the University Hospital in Hamburg-Eppendorf, 1932–1948; his public protest against the NSDAP entering power led to a six-month suspension from office; in 1944 charged with subversion of the war effort and incarcerated until April 1945; in 1948 he changed employers, moving from the University Hospital in Hamburg to a chemical concern in the USA.

<sup>4</sup> Neighbourhoods in Hamburg.

<sup>5</sup> Albert Forster (1902–1952), banker; joined the NSDAP and the SA in 1923; head of the local NSDAP branch in Fürth, 1925; joined the SS in 1926; Reichstag member from 1930; Gauleiter in Danzig, 1930–1939; Gauleiter and Reichsstathalter of Danzig-West Prussia from 1939; SS-Obergruppenführer, 1943; sentenced to death in Danzig, 1948; executed in Warsaw, 1952.

<sup>6</sup> 'Danzig's Next Move', *The Times*, 10 August 1939, p. 12.

<sup>7</sup> Here the original is illegible.

<sup>1</sup> Willy Cohn, 'Tagebuch, Breslau 16. 8. 1939', fols. 105–108; CAHJP, P 88/59; abridged English translation in Cohn, *No Justice in Germany*, pp. 266–267. This document has been retranslated from the original German.

carefully about every word that one says in order to keep from saying something foolish. In the main, however, I see that unqualified openness can achieve the most. Dr Arlt told me, among other things, that it is important for him that my wife and I leave well provided for. Many other things could be said about the conversation yesterday. On the way home I stopped by to see Mother but could not speak with her, because she had just taken an enema. Felt really weak in the afternoon. I had to drink coffee while lying down, and as a result Dr Salzberger got a false impression later, and my blood pressure was somewhat higher than usual. He prescribed a yeast preparation with Vitamin B for me. Nonetheless, I no longer have much hope that I will get over this affliction, and even though I am indeed proud of the scholarly reputation that I have built up for myself during decades of work, I might give up part of it in exchange for blood pressure that is 20 points higher and slightly fewer ailments. But that does no good now.

At 5 p.m. Mrs März, née Rotgießer, came to see me to ask my advice regarding her emigration to Australia. One cannot do much to help there either, but it is also hard to dodge such conversations where an old acquaintance is concerned! At 6:30 Dr Latte<sup>2</sup> came, and then, until 9 p.m., along with Miss Cohn, we 'talked over my expulsion thoroughly', and after that I was quite exhausted. I had prepared everything for him as well as possible. [One] must essentially do the brainwork oneself! The evening post included a rather dejected letter from Artur Wiener.

Today Mara Landau<sup>3</sup> is emigrating to England; in recent years I have lost all contact with her!

DOC. 322

**On 17 August 1939 the chief public prosecutor in Hamburg promises to release  
Norbert Arendt from custody if he emigrates within one week<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the chief public prosecutor at the Hamburg Regional Court<sup>2</sup> (Gns. 345/39–11. Js. 126/38), p.p. (signature illegible), to Mrs Dora Sara Arendt,<sup>3</sup> 4 Uhlandstraße, Hamburg 24, dated 17 August 1939

In response to the appeal submitted on behalf of your son,<sup>4</sup> dated 22 June 1939, the following resolution is issued under the authority granted by the Reich Minister of Justice in § 20 of the clemency regulations:<sup>5</sup>

With regard to the penalty of one year and nine months of imprisonment recognized by the Hamburg Regional Court, the sentenced person is granted probation from 23 August 1939 to 31 August 1942 under the following conditions:

2 Dr Manfred Latte (b. 1894), lawyer; junior lawyer at the Berlin Higher Regional Court, 1920; in 1943 deported from Berlin to Auschwitz.

3 Mara (Margarete) Landau, née Glaser (b. 1900); wife of the pharmacist Walter Landau (1895–1959); both emigrated to Britain in 1939.

1 CAHJP, AHW TT/73, fol. 1337. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr August Schuberth (1889–1973), lawyer; worked for the Hanseatic City of Hamburg from 1914; in 1920 public prosecutor; in 1933 senior public prosecutor; joined the NSDAP in 1933; his dismissal in 1945 was converted to retirement in 1946.

3 Dora Arendt, née Ostrower (1892–1945); wife of Leo Arendt; owner of a ladies' wear shop in Hamburg; both husband and wife were deported to Auschwitz in July 1942 and were declared dead in 1948.

(1) that during the probation period, his conduct be irreproachable and not subject to prosecution;

(2) that the sentenced person must leave the territory of the Reich within one week and not return.

If prejudicial information about the sentenced person becomes known or if he contravenes the conditions that have been set, particularly if a new conviction results, the probation is cancelled: in the event of blameless conduct, the penalty will be remitted once the period has expired.

DOC. 323

**Writing on 19 August 1939, Cilli Lipski gives her parents and brother little hope of obtaining a certificate for Palestine<sup>1</sup>**

Handwritten letter from Cilli Lipski,<sup>2</sup> Ashdot Ya'akov,<sup>3</sup> to her family,<sup>4</sup> Grunewaldstraße, Berlin-Halensee, dated 19 August 1939

Dear Parents and Helmut,

Your lilac [coloured] letter arrived last week, dear Mum, and I wasn't able to answer it sooner, because I wanted to get some positive news for you.

First, I went at once (for the umpteenth time!) to our chaver,<sup>5</sup> who submits to the government the formal requests for parents to join their children and often travels to Jerusalem for this purpose. He told me that no certificates are being given out now, not for me, not even for the most urgent case, and that there is not even a chance. I told him everything in detail, saying that I believe you to be fit for work and robust. I also mentioned that I have been here for 5½ years etc. and have a right to request that my parents join me, and besides me there is no one undertaking to ensure a place for you to settle. He wrote all that down, and nonetheless he knows as well as I do that it all makes no impression on the government. The government has frozen everything right now! And that's that! So very many others like me come to him every single day and tell him the same thing in different versions. One person's parents are in prison, a second person's

4 Norbert Arendt (1916–1940), commercial employee; was placed in remand prison on 22 Jan. 1938 for race defilement and sentenced on 16 May 1938; left Germany to emigrate to Palestine, probably in Dec. 1939; died in 1940 when the refugee ship *Patria* was blown up in the port of Haifa by a Jewish underground organization and sank within minutes. The aim of the attack was to force the British Mandate Authority to allow the refugees to come ashore in Haifa; the sinking of the ship was not intentional.

5 Regulation on Procedures for Granting Clemency (*Verordnung über das Verfahren in Gnadensachen*), 6 Feb. 1935, in *Deutsche Justiz: Rechtspflege und Rechtspolitik*, vol. 97 (1935), pp. 203–209.

1 CJA, 1/75 E, Nr. 525–14813, fols. 72–72a. This document has been translated from German.

2 Cilli Lipski (b. 1914); emigrated to Palestine in 1934.

3 Kibbutz in the Jordan Valley.

4 The Lipski family lived in Berlin. The parents, Nanni Bianca Lipski, née Gerson (b. 1888), and Adolf Lipski (b. 1875), were deported to Warsaw on 2 April 1942. The brother, Helmuth Siegfried (1911–1944), was deported to Auschwitz on 9 Dec. 1942; in March 1943 the sister, Gerda (1919–1943), was deported from Westerbork to Sobibor, where she was murdered.

5 Hebrew: friend, comrade.

parents are in a concentration camp, and a third person's parents have been expelled and don't know where to go. After hearing that I went

(2) to the secretary and enquired about the remittance, and he said that it surely has come by now and that he is waiting for my confirmation of the deposit.

(3) I talked about an increase in the aid for parents<sup>6</sup> and even mentioned that I may possibly *leave* [the kibbutz] if it is not adequate. But I was immediately told that that would only have worse consequences for me; [given] the dismal labour situation in the city, I would be unemployed like thousands of others (that is true, too, I hear every day about girls or boys who have left this place and now have nothing to eat and no place to sleep!). At best I would find a job as household help and could then, by living really frugally, send 1 £P<sup>7</sup> to you every month. So should I chance it? If you ask me to do so, Mum dear, I will take the risk!! But then, of course, the request for my parents to join me will come to naught, because I will be leaving the kibbutz!

So I am not expecting a response, dear Mum. As I said, if you think that the *possibility* of 1 £P per month makes the risk worthwhile, then I will venture it.

Now I want to give you more cheerful news. Of your daughter Cilli. Last week there was a big swimming event in Ein Harod עין הרוד.<sup>8</sup> From all the משקים<sup>9</sup> in the surrounding area, those who were chosen travelled around 2½ hours by train to get there. There were 150 swimmers participating. After the hot weather all week, I felt really awful and didn't even want to go (we had days when several people fainted! One day, there were 6!!).

## II.

I also said straight off that this time I certainly would not win any laurels, particularly as there is a girl in עין הרוד who is no pushover. But what with one thing and another, I was chosen, and in addition to me six boys and one girl. And off we went. It was lots of fun on the train, a great romp.

In short, it started in the afternoon with a roll call of all 150 around the pond (a brown body of water containing clay, below the meshek<sup>10</sup>). First, a swimming competition for children under 12. You should have seen it!! Little tiny ones. First-rate swimmers. Deganiah<sup>11</sup> came first. No surprise, as the children swim in the Jordan every day.

Then relay races, we lost, our boys were sluggish. Then, competition swimming for the older ones, and finally a girls' race started. As I stood there waiting for the start, it was clear to me that I *would not accomplish anything this time*, there was no need for me to make an effort at all. *There were thirteen of us girls, a blow of the whistle, a command, and we were off! At the beginning I was one of those falling behind*, then I noticed that the *others were fading* and off I went! *Thousands of spectators shouted* אשדוה! צילה!<sup>12</sup> Then I really let rip – *and came in first!* Didn't want to believe it at first. I was heartily congratulated, a real honour. For the

<sup>6</sup> Kibbutz members could house their parents at the kibbutz or apply for funds as maintenance for them, even if they lived abroad. The general assembly of the kibbutz members decided whether to grant assistance to parents.

<sup>7</sup> Palestinian pound.

<sup>8</sup> Original in Hebrew characters here and in the following: kibbutz near Mount Gilboa, founded in 1921. The Hebrew characters here simply repeat the name of the kibbutz.

<sup>9</sup> Hebrew: meshakim; plural of *meshek*, Hebrew for 'agricultural settlement'.

<sup>10</sup> Hebrew: agricultural settlement.

<sup>11</sup> Kibbutz in Galilee.

breaststroke and backstroke too, the same success. We were in the water for around four hours and were dead tired when we got dressed. Whom did I run into in עין חרוד: Mirjam Weizmann. She already has two children, very cute. The boy is really gorgeous. He is 3 years old, and the little girl is 11 months. A beauty, no exaggeration. I was so tired that all I wanted was to sleep on the floor in her room. *Then I ate a vast amount*, and we went to Tel Yosef,<sup>13</sup> ½ an hour away. Actually there was supposed to be a neshef,<sup>14</sup> but I fell asleep on the grass by 9 p.m., although people were singing and playing music near me. Then we were assigned a room, where around forty of us fell asleep at once on straw mats on the floor. In the morning we also went to כפר [...],<sup>15</sup> *where I found some figs and filled my swim cap with them*, in order to bring them back here. They also abandoned to my appetite an apple tree there, *I hadn't eaten a single apple since I left Germany!! In Ashdot I was received with great elation, even Yoman יומן* (daily newspaper of the מושק,<sup>16</sup> comes out 2 × weekly) *published an article*. I'm sending it to you *enclosed*, dear Mum!! Then work got started right away; we were only away from the morning of שבת<sup>17</sup> until Sunday noon of course, but it seemed like an eternity to me.

שלום<sup>18</sup> Yours, Cilli

DOC. 324

**On 24 August 1939 Arthur Löwy asks the Youth Aliyah Advice Centre in Vienna to facilitate the emigration of his son<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from Arthur Löwy,<sup>2</sup> 10/35 Hollandstraße, Vienna II, to the Youth Aliyah Advice Centre, 10/35 Marc-Aurel-Straße, Vienna I, dated 24 August 1939

More than fifteen months ago I registered my boy Hans Erich<sup>3</sup> for the Youth Aliyah, and the gentleman to whom I submitted the application form told me that I would receive information in the near future. However, up to now I have heard nothing about whether and to what extent my boy will be considered. My repeated visits to the Centre always met with the same response: that information would be sent out in good time.

A few days ago, by chance, a questionnaire came into my hands. It was addressed to a boy named *Paul Feiner*, who lived in his parents' apartment in the same hallway as ours. This boy, who was registered much later than my son, left Vienna with his parents more than four months ago and went with them to Shanghai.

12 Hebrew: Tsilah! Ashdot!; 'Cilli' is from the Hebrew girls' name Tsilah; Ashdot refers to Ashdot Ya'akov, not the city of Ashdod.

13 Kibbutz at the foot of Mount Gilboa.

14 Hebrew: party, celebration.

15 Hebrew: kfar; 'village'; here: part of a place name, the other part of which is illegible.

16 Hebrew: meshek; agricultural settlement.

17 Hebrew: shabbat; the Sabbath.

18 Hebrew: shalom; peace.

1 YVA, O. 30/67. This document has been translated from German.

2 Arthur Löwy (1893–1942), bookkeeper; lived in Vienna until his death.

3 Hans Erich Löwy (1923–1944); deported on 1 April 1943 from Vienna to Theresienstadt, and on 29 April 1944 to Auschwitz, where he was murdered.

Yesterday a letter came from the Youth Aliyah for my boy, Hans Erich Löwy, also containing a questionnaire, but it had been overwritten with the comment: '*emigrated to England on 18 December 1938*'.

It is quite curious that the boy who emigrated months ago is still kept on record, while my boy, who is still in Vienna, was apparently removed from your lists. Is this a case of mystification or is it negligence on the part of one of your gentlemen? Where such important matters are concerned, more care really ought to be taken.

My boy, who indeed is only 16 years old, is an extremely robust, strong youngster, who was already averse to lounging about in Vienna, quite apart from the fact that he was aware, from his own observation, that it was hard for me to provide for him, as I have no earnings at the moment. Because he was not supplied with productive work by either the Aliyah or his Maccabi<sup>4</sup> club, he volunteered for work in Gänserndorf<sup>5</sup> during the winter months and has been working since 2 May of this year in the underground mining industry in the Harz mountains (Old Reich). As I hear, the work there is very hard, but he can do it successfully. If anything, he outdoes every grown man in terms of performance and stamina. For some time now he has been used as a drillmaster, operating boring equipment that weighs almost 40 kg (for boring into rock in the mountains).

My boy can be released from his duties there at once, if he has emigration plans or a summons for a Hachsharah programme, and I think it would indeed be appropriate for someone to finally remember my boy too and look after him.

Respectfully

DOC. 325

**On 26 August 1939 Klaus Jakob Langer describes the tense political situation and his fear that a war might prevent his emigration<sup>1</sup>**

Handwritten diary of Klaus Jacob Langer,<sup>2</sup> Essen, entry for 26 August 1939

In the past few days the political situation has escalated in a very dangerous manner. It looks very much like war. How greatly we Jews would be affected by that is obvious. I will try to describe the situation in a few words. For [...] time, German rabble-rousing regarding Danzig. English–French–Polish defence pact.<sup>4</sup> Increase in the German rabble-rousing, meanwhile English–French negotiations with Russia, simultaneously secret ones with Germany.<sup>5</sup> The agitation in the press is now directed against Poland too. Bor-

4 Umbrella organization of Jewish gymnastics and sports clubs.

5 In late 1938 a labour camp for Jews had been set up in Gänserndorf, near Vienna, allegedly a retraining camp for emigrants: see Doc. 95, 22 Sept. 1938, and Doc. 111, 27 Oct. 1938.

1 Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Düsseldorf, Sign. GED 300 010. This document has been translated from German.

2 Klaus Jakob Langer (b. 1924), chemist; lived first in Wiesbaden, from 1933 in Essen, and in spring 1939 in the Hachsharah camp in Schniebinchen; emigrated in 1939 to Denmark, and in 1940 to Palestine, where he lived at first in a kibbutz, and then in Tivon and Kfar Saba.

3 One word is illegible.

4 The Mutual Assistance Treaty between Britain and Poland was signed and made public on 25 August 1939. It provided for mutual assistance in the event of war.

der [...] <sup>6</sup> Japan taken aback. <sup>7</sup> Worsening of the situation, and Germany mobilizes. France and England also ready to jump. Italy unmistakably stands with Germany. Spain's position questionable. – On 26 August the English ambassador in Berlin flies to London following a discussion with the Führer (brought about by the latter). <sup>8</sup> He apparently has proposals ...

Meanwhile I have received the packing permit without a gold discount. <sup>9</sup> On 29 August the customs official is coming, and the things are being packed. Everything is ready now, if only no war gets in the way. At the moment, however, the situation seems to have improved somewhat. One is waiting for the outcome in London, although one suspects that it is merely proposals that are being made.

DOC. 326

**On 27 August 1939 the head of the Frankfurt Tax Office proposes that Jews be compensated for their surrendered valuables only after special assessment<sup>1</sup>**

Letter from the head of the Frankfurt am Main East Tax Office<sup>2</sup> (signature illegible) to the mayor (received on 29 August 1939), dated 27 August 1939<sup>3</sup>

*Re:* compensation for valuables of gold, platinum, or silver, as well as precious stones and pearls, handed in by Jews on the basis of § 14 of the Regulation on the Utilization of Jewish Assets, dated 3 December 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, p. 1709).<sup>4</sup>

The Municipal Lending Institution must immediately pay compensation to the owners of the surrendered valuables. I consider it advisable

(a) in the case of Jews who have emigrated: before making a payment to their representatives or to the Reich, to ask the tax offices whether any taxes are in arrears, so that the claim can be followed up,

(b) in the case of Jews who are still in the territory of the Reich: to make payment contingent on the submission of a tax clearance certificate by the appropriate tax office.<sup>5</sup>

5 The Western powers and the Soviet Union negotiated throughout the summer of 1939.

6 One or two words are illegible.

7 Contrary to the terms of the Anti-Comintern Pact concluded between Japan and Germany in 1936, the Japanese government had not been consulted prior to the conclusion of the German–Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of 23 August 1939.

8 Sir Neville Henderson (1882–1942), diplomat; from 1905 in the British diplomatic service; envoy to France from 1928 to 1929, then to Yugoslavia until 1935; ambassador in Buenos Aires, 1935–1937, and in Berlin from 1937.

9 Presumably without the permission of the Golddiskontbank to transfer valuables.

1 ISG Frankfurt, Städtische Darlehensanstalt/109, fol. 147. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Julius Carnier (1880–1961), tax official and Oberregierungsrat; joined the NSDAP in 1933; head of the Frankfurt am Main East Tax Office, 1935–1938.

3 At the head of the document are the receipt stamps of the Main Administrative Office of Frankfurt am Main, dated 29 August 1939, and of the Municipal Lending Institution, dated 30 August 1939.

4 Article IV § 14 of the Regulation on the Utilization of Jewish Assets (3 Dec. 1938) forbade Jews to sell jewels, jewellery, and art objects independently. Such valuables, if not pawned, were supposed to be acquired only by public purchasing offices.

5 See Doc. 206, 19 Dec. 1938.

## DOC. 327

**On 28 August 1939 Margarete Korant of Berlin writes to her daughter in the USA  
about her fear of war and isolation<sup>1</sup>**

Handwritten letter from Margarete Korant,<sup>2</sup> 10/11 Sächsische Straße, Berlin, to Ilse Schwalbe,<sup>3</sup> 89 South 3rd Street, San Jose, California, USA

My dear child,

Although I don't know whether you will receive this letter, supposedly there is a temporary postal ban, I want to try to send it off nonetheless. You can imagine my state of mind when I envision that now, for an unforeseeable length of time, I will perhaps have no more news of you, and that we are now completely torn apart. The letters, you know, were at least some sort of substitute, though a poor one. Maybe it is now dawning on Herbert too that I was right last year, when I asked him again and again to make sure that I could leave with you. The situation is very, very grave, and I am quite unable to listen to the radio, which has been broadcasting nothing but military marches for days; it reminds me too much of 1914. One can only hope that reason will prevail at the last minute on all sides and that a war will be avoided. Aunt Ellen also writes that she is deeply concerned about us all. They wanted to take their luggage to E[ngland] now, but it cannot be done for the time being, as the ships sail from Hamburg. They are likely to be quite unhappy about this. By the way, she has prevailed against Mum and writes that Mum is lucky, as always. At the moment she is living in Eva M.'s apartment, for which she does not have to pay anything, and will probably be among those who are brought into the labour process. We have had dreadfully hot weather for two weeks now, and it does not even cool down in the evening. Because it is suffocating in my room with the blinds down and door closed, I have been swimming every morning for around a week now. I drive to Rosenecke and then go down to the lake. In the morning it is very relaxing and not crowded. In my own apartment I am merely tolerated, and the fellow<sup>4</sup> bullies me in a despicable way. Tomorrow I am going back to the lawyer, but without an eviction claim it will unfortunately not happen. I really would not have thought the man capable of this, and it is also a real mystery to me what he hopes to achieve. You must understand that my letters don't sound very happy as a result of all these events and worries.

1 Jüdisches Museum Berlin, Sammlung Familie Schwalbe Korant Striem (2006/57/188). This document has been translated from German.

2 Margarete Korant, née Apt (1882–1942); first lived in Dresden. After the death of her parents, an uncle took Margarete, then aged 12, and her two sisters into his family in Breslau. In 1903 she married Georg Korant and in 1910 they moved to Berlin, where Georg Korant died in 1937; on 25 Jan. 1942 she was deported to Riga, where she was murdered.

3 Ilse Schwalbe, née Korant (1904–1992), secretary; worked in her uncle's leather goods shop in Oppeln, 1923–1924; in 1926 married Herbert Schwalbe, who emigrated first to Palestine in 1933 and then to the USA in 1938; secretary at the Children's and Youth Aliyah in Berlin, 1934–1939; in March 1939 emigrated to the USA, where she held posts including that of secretary of the Jewish Community in San Jose.

4 This refers to the subtenant, with whom Margarete Korant had been squabbling for quite some time.

Yesterday was another of those lonely Sundays, and I have to forcibly pull myself out of it to think about other things. As it was quite hot, I ate early, went to Potsdam, and from there took the steamer to Ferch, incidentally for the first time. It was really lovely and not at all crowded, only one ought not to go on such an excursion so completely alone. Saturday evening I was in Gatow again with Lotte's sister-in-law Else; she is really not so bad once one gets to know her better, only she ought not to look so dreadfully scruffy all the time. Today we got ration cards for everything. As a result, hoarding is prevented at least, and everything is evenly distributed. Good that I don't need clothes. The trip to see Reiner and Steffi<sup>5</sup> must have been quite lovely. I also found the description of the camps very interesting. The fact that Steffi is the way she is makes me very happy, she is simply an Apt, after all ... Things will work out for Reiner too, he is a very good child and surely has many talents. The nervousness, I hope, will fade away over time. I am quite annoyed at the Korants, Grossgörschenstr. I have heard nothing more from them since my birthday, and I am not getting in touch with them either.

Aunt Trude told me yesterday that they may want to share an apartment with them, but they are not compatible, God knows. Aunt Toni's tenant, by the way, is allowed to practise medicine again. Rolf writes very hopefully that he already has a job, which will give him enough to live on. He is really industrious! Walter and Heinz left for Shanghai on Saturday; I am enclosing for you the letter I received. They were in Berlin so often but never found time to visit me. Marianne is to blame here to a great extent, too. The last time I was in Oppeln, even Aunt Hede complained mightily about her. My flower course ends this week, unfortunately. Sadly I did not buy enough materials to work in advance, because it costs too much.<sup>6</sup> Now I can't get anything more without a ration card, which means that the course I may be giving in O[ppeln] will be difficult, too.

Mrs Po. has taken her Mrs Kunze with her and kept her there for two months. Some people have it good! I wanted to bottle some plum jam this week, too, because plums are very cheap this year, but unfortunately I don't have enough sugar to do so. Pity. It would not have occurred to me that you had asked Mrs U. to look after things for you, especially as she has been out of town for weeks now. Apparently, however, Senta got the things and delivered them here. I must close for today, as the letter needs to go to the postbox. A thousand hugs and kisses to you all and in particular to you, with my love, your Mum

I am very much in favour of your having Erich send the things.

5 The children of Ilse Schwalbe, who emigrated to the USA with her in March 1939. Reiner Max Schwalbe (1928–2007), insurance agent; before emigration, at the Jewish country boarding school in Herrlingen. Stephanie Wells, née Schwalbe (b. 1931), teacher; her first marriage, which produced four children, was to the photographer Irwin Jacob Dashiff; after his death she married Henry E. Wells. In August 1939 both children were at a summer camp.

6 This refers to a course in making fabric flowers. These and other handicrafts courses were frequently attended by Jewish women seeking additional qualifications, with emigration in mind.

## DOC. 328

**Paul Eppstein records his summons to the Gestapo on 28 August 1939  
and the instructions for Jews to carry out forced labour in wartime<sup>1</sup>**

Notes on a summons to the Gestapo Central Office to see Regierungsrat Dr Lischka, signed Dr Eppstein (Dr E./My), Berlin, on 28 August 1939, dated 29 August 1939

## File note

## 1. Travel report

An account was given of the trips to Paris and Geneva: the HICEM and JDC conference in Paris,<sup>2</sup> the Zionist Congress in Geneva.<sup>3</sup>

A written report is envisaged.<sup>4</sup>

2. *Labour deployment of Jews in the event of war*

Considering that the Jews have been designated unfit for military service and, on the other hand, that there is a need for manpower, it was stated that in the event of war it is the duty of the Reich Association [of Jews in Germany] to ask on behalf of the persons entrusted to its care what is supposed to happen if war comes. In this context, reference was made to previous experience with the labour deployment of Jews, specifically in connection with vocational training, and the possibility of labour deployment was discussed. Thereafter Regierungsrat Lischka explained that he is not au fait with this case and can make no statements about it, either. However, he says, it is clear that the issue must be sorted out. The question as to how many persons might come into consideration was answered to the effect that the number of men and women fit for labour is estimated at 80,000 to 100,000.

In this connection, it was stated that the Jewish hospital in Breslau has been declared a military hospital in a fortified city, with the stipulation that 63 beds be made available now, an additional 60 beds within 14 days, and the remainder of around 200 beds within an additional 14 days. The orphanage in Esslingen has also been declared a military hospital and had to be vacated. Regierungsrat Lischka then explained that it is impossible to exert influence upon such measures of the military authorities, that the orders of the Wehrmacht must of course be obeyed, and that, as for the rest, only issues of the political authorities are within his purview. We are at liberty, he said, to present a statement about our views on the labour deployment of Jews in the event of war. In reply to the question as to whether such a presentation must also be submitted to the Ministry of War and at the Reich Ministry of Labour, Regierungsrat Lischka said that this is not necessary. He would discuss the issue later with the appropriate authorities, he said.

1 CJA, 2B1, Nr. 1, fols. 117–121. This document has been translated from German.

2 On 22 August 1939 Eppstein, together with Josef Löwenherz from the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna, had reported to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in Paris on the situation of the Jews in the Old Reich and in Austria, on Jewish emigration, and on the financial situation of the Reich Association of Jews in Germany and the Israelite Religious Community: 'Important Facts Extracted from Reports of Mr. Ep[p]stein (Germany) and Dr. Loewenherz (Austria) rendered at the Meeting in the Paris Office held on August 22, 1939', JDC Archives, 1933/44, 631.

3 The Zionist Congress in Geneva was held from 16 to 25 August 1939.

4 The file does not contain this report.

### 3. *Special steamer to Chile*

The authorities disclosed that the Postelt Travel Agency is planning to charter a Norwegian steamer for a voyage to Chile, the costs of which must be raised predominantly in Reichsmarks, while foreign exchange must be procured in the amount of £20.– per capita. In this context, the question of shipping space for travel to South America and the East and West coasts is raised, and in addition the restricted quota of 200 immigrants per month is mentioned.

In view of present circumstances, the decision as to whether the special steamer is to sail was postponed.

### 4. *Information about individuals*

The reason for gathering information was disclosed. The issue is that the five persons, with the exception of the stateless Berggrün, who was formerly a Polish national, are supposed to get library work in return for payment, as of 1 September.<sup>5</sup> Messrs Davidsohn,<sup>6</sup> Finkelt, Lichtenstein, and Samuel are to report on 1 September at 10 a.m. to the former lodge building at 12 Eisenacherstr. to see SS-Hauptsturmführer Dr Baier.<sup>7</sup>

In response to my pointing out that the rabbi Dr Samuel<sup>8</sup> is an elderly gentleman, it was said that, if necessary, replacement proposals could be made by persons who have no income and have the appropriate qualifications for library work. Corresponding proposals could be made, it was said, by the persons concerned when they come round on 1 September.

### 5. *Departure of the ORT Society pupils for England*<sup>9</sup>

It was disclosed that 113 persons departed last night, planning to emigrate via Cleves-Nijmegen to Leeds to go to the ORT school there. It is requested that the English police station in Cleves, where the group will arrive at around 12:30 p.m., be correspondingly informed.

In response to this, it was stated that thus far no instructions whatsoever have been issued to prohibit emigrant transports from taking place in the previous manner, so that it could be assumed that the border crossing will encounter no opposition from the German side.

### 6. *Collection of signatures for Youth Aliyah*

With reference to the petition, the decision on this question was deferred.

5 On Eisenacher Straße, under SD supervision, confiscated holdings of Jewish libraries were collected and sorted for use in the research into Jewish subjects conducted by the SD and the Gestapo. Jewish academics were forced to perform this work, among them the classical philologist Dr Ernst Grumach (1902–1967): see Doc. 116, 28 Oct. 1938.

6 Dr Ludwig Davidsohn (1886–1942), lawyer; from 1939 worked for the Gestapo as a librarian; later, social welfare worker; on 5 Sept. 1942 deported to Riga, where he died; co-author of the *Jüdisches Lexikon* (1927).

7 Correctly: Dr Waldemar Beyer (1886–1952), librarian; SS-Hauptsturmführer; worked at Leipzig University, 1935–1936; switched to the SD Main Office in 1936; head of the library in Department VII (II A 2, ideological opposition research), 1940–1942; librarian at the Reich University of Straßburg, 1942.

8 Dr Salomon Samuel (1867–1942), rabbi; served as rabbi of the Jewish Community in Essen, 1894–1932; co-founder of the Association for Liberal Judaism in 1908; collaborator on the newspapers *Israelitisches Familienblatt* and *Jüdisch-Liberale Zeitung*; in 1942 he was deported to Theresienstadt, where he was murdered.

9 See Doc. 297, 16 June 1939, fn. 9, and Glossary entry ORT.

### 7. *Special ships sailing to Palestine*<sup>10</sup>

The signing of an agreement is reported. Regierungsrat Lischka introduced the question of foreign exchange financing and enquires about the procedure for providing foreign exchange for Czechs out of the Stopford Fund.<sup>11</sup> To his knowledge, these funds are designated. Care must be taken to ensure that no difficulties arise in this process. This issue is subject to review.

### 8. *Participation in the Zionist Congress*

The passports issued for this purpose are due to be collected and handed in together in the next few days.

It was disclosed that the congress delegation is expected to be back in Berlin by tomorrow, if not sooner.

The topic of the radio and newspaper report was addressed. According to the report, a resolution is said to have been adopted at the congress, stating that the Zionist movement and 'world Jewry' are on the side of Poland and England. We pointed out that we were not aware of any such resolution. Weizmann, I said, in his concluding remarks merely referred to the attachment of the Zionist movement to the Mandate country.<sup>12</sup>

### 9. *List of foreigners*

The list should be submitted as quickly as possible. In future, notification is to be given when foreigners propose to enter the country for the purpose of negotiations. Currently, applications for Dr Kreutzberger and Dr Ernst Marcus<sup>13</sup> are pending.

With respect to Dr Kreutzberger, it is explained that the application must be regarded as superseded. With respect to Dr Marcus, the prospect of communication of the result of an enquiry to the Paltreu is held out.

### 10. *Foreign exchange for travel abroad*

The question as to how we acquire foreign exchange for trips abroad is answered to the effect that we have a foreign-exchange utilization permit for the equivalent of RM 750 per month, and that each traveller receives from us a payment order for the equivalent of a specific amount of Reichsmarks. He then collects the foreign-exchange equivalent from the Jewish relief organizations abroad, chargeable to our budget.

10 This refers to the ships taking Jews to Palestine as illegal immigrants, circumventing the British immigration restrictions. Usually, for the purpose of camouflage, the ships used did not bear German flags, and foreign exchange payments were made to bind transit countries to secrecy with respect to the British authorities.

11 In Nov. 1938 the British financial expert Robert Stopford was tasked with devising methods of financing emigration from Czechoslovakia. The monies in the fund named after him came in part from an emigration tax that more prosperous emigrants had to pay, in part from a loan from the British and French governments for Czechoslovakia, which had been broken up under the Munich Agreement. Of a total sum of £12 million sterling, one third was to be used for Jewish emigration, and two thirds for restructuring the economy.

12 According to the minutes of the congress, Chaim Weizmann had emphasized in his closing address in Geneva on 24 August 1939 that, despite all the bitterness in relations with Britain and the Western democracies, there were also higher interests, and that the struggle of the democracies also guaranteed the living conditions of the Jews: *Twenty-First Zionist Congress, Geneva, 16–25 August 1939: Stenographic Report* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Executive of the World Zionist Organization, n.d. [1939]), pp. 222–223.

13 Dr Ernst Marcus (1900–1973), lawyer; worked for banks and trade associations; editor of the *Zeitschrift für Völkerrecht*; deputy head of Paltreu, 1933–1939; in 1939 emigrated to Palestine; in 1951 returned to Hamburg.

Regierungsrat Lischka retorted that this foreign exchange is thus lost to emigration assistance. To that, I replied that foreign exchange has been made available thus far solely in exceptional cases, requiring certificates of urgency. But if this continues to take place in future, the sums of foreign exchange located abroad could be made available for emigration assistance. Regierungsrat Lischka stated that, thus far, he has complied with all applications for the issuance of travel certificates. However, in future he must reserve the right to relate the extent of the travels and the number of travellers to the success of the trips, and to limit the carrying out of such trips accordingly. I emphasized by contrast that the month of August, which is the congress month, must not be taken as representative of the extent and number of the trips, and that, as for the rest, we ourselves would have the greatest interest in limiting the trips to the most important occasions, albeit with the use of various persons, depending on the occasion, being viewed as necessary and expedient.

11. *Report on training sites*

A report, based on how things stand at the moment, is demanded with respect to the occupancy capacity of all the training sites, even if they are not facilities of the Reich Association.

12. *Emigration tax paid from blocked accounts by persons who have emigrated*

The cases of Karl Israel Heimann, formerly of Munich, and Dr Kurt Israel Mosbacher, formerly of Munich, made known by Mr Hechinger<sup>14</sup> of Munich, were presented. The cases are subject to review, as the facts of the matter must still be clarified in detail.

13. (a) *Notice in the [Jüdisches] Nachrichtenblatt re jurisdiction of the district office in Aussig*

Regierungsrat Lischka asked who was responsible for the second error in the notice. The written report is handed over in response.<sup>15</sup>

A report on the facts of the matter, which the authority had in the meantime requested from Dr Lilenthal, can be regarded as dealt with, in view of the report that was handed over.

(b) For emigrations to Palestine, there are no objections to setting up a branch office corresponding to the district office of the Reich Association in Aussig or to naming a liaison person for the Palestine Office.

(c) The enquiry of the district office in Aussig regarding how to advise persons who have opted for Czechoslovakia was answered to the effect that there are no objections to such advice being given.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Dr Julius Hechinger (b. 1895), lawyer; from 1935 at the Israelite Religious Community of Munich, responsible for financial affairs and for liaison with the housing authorities and the Gestapo.

<sup>15</sup> The file does not contain this report. The *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, Berlin edition, no. 65, 15 August 1939, p. 1, had reported that, for the territory of former Czechoslovakia, the district office for the Sudetengau in Aussig an der Elbe was taking over the tasks of the Reich Association. The *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt* (no. 67, 22 August 1939, p. 3) published a correction, stating that this district office was also in charge of the district Reichsgau of Sudetenland.

<sup>16</sup> According to an agreement between Germany and the Czechoslovak Republic (CSR) dated 26 Nov. 1938, persons born before 1910 in the Sudetenland, now ceded to Germany, and resident there could opt for Czechoslovak citizenship. They then had to transfer their residence to the CSR by 31 March 1940. Persons 'of non-German ethnic origin' who remained Czechoslovak nationals under the agreement and had moved to the Sudetenland after 1 Jan. 1910 could be required by the German government to leave Reich territory within three months. There were 117,000 who opted for the CSR, presumably including several thousand Jews: Jörg Osterloh, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung im Reichsgau Sudetenland* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2006), p. 252.

14. *Ita notification*<sup>17</sup> regarding emigration from the protectorate

The notice in the *Ita* dated 11 August 1939 was submitted as requested. A discussion about emigration from the protectorate in connection with the Stopford Fund was deferred.

DOC. 329

**At the end of August 1939 Walter Tausk sees his emigration plans threatened by the impending war<sup>1</sup>**

Diary of Walter Tausk,<sup>2</sup> Breslau, entries for 26, 28, and 29 August 1939

Saturday, 26 August 1939

Naturally, it is impossible to think of emigration. Holland<sup>3</sup> has closed all ports to foreign warships – and all waters to all foreign ships. The border, too, is allegedly already closed. I and some others who made enquiries at the shipping offices today got shrugs and nervous voices in reply. No one had any information. At the official travel agency of the Reich Railways, I had just joined the persons already there when an official gave these instructions: ‘All holidaymakers, including holders of holiday tickets valid for a restricted period, are to be permitted to travel. Starting tomorrow, other rules apply.’

Because, starting tomorrow, there is war!

It must be noted that in the past few days the German press really went out of its way to publish horror stories from Poland, rabble-rousing articles and disgraceful deeds of all sorts – solely to create a mood for war among the people. But the foreign broadcasting stations, which almost everyone can listen to these days, interpreted these reports as at least 90 per cent lies.

28 August 1939

No trace at all of any enthusiasm is to be seen, at most among young whippersnappers or those who have gone totally gaga. The troops, if not whooshing past in motor cars (or if individual motor cars are not driving past with small numbers of soldiers, some of them tipsy), move past like funeral corteges, without any commentary at all. And the public in the streets stand equally quietly or move silently to one side.

Striking here is the large number of SS men. All of them clean, well-turned-out, especially well-built and good-looking, ‘tender-cheeked’, dapper ‘young masters’, who were

17 Correctly: JTA. In a communication on 8 August 1939 the Jewish Telegraphic Agency had reported that the Gestapo had prohibited the emigration of Jewish physicians from the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and had taken steps to force the participants of the Zionist Congress in Geneva to return to the Protectorate. In addition, the announcement stated the amounts that had to be paid for emigration assisted by the Stopford Fund and for a Palestine certificate: ‘Gestapo Bans Emigration of Young Jewish Doctors from “Protectorate”’, *JTA News*, vol. 6, no. 6, 8 August 1939, p. 1.

1 Published in Walter Tausk, *Breslauer Tagebuch* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1988), pp. 226–229. This document has been translated from German.

2 Walter Tausk (1890–1941), sales representative for furniture and textiles in Breslau; after 1933 casual labourer; converted to Buddhism in 1917; member of the League for Buddhist Living; in 1941 deported to Kovno, where he was murdered.

3 The Netherlands is meant here.

not here before and upon whose purpose one cannot reflect. These lacquered figures will certainly not be for deployment in the field.

Likewise striking are the large numbers of very young 'Red Cross nurses', some of whom belong to the League of German Girls. In the World War we already had a certain opinion of the 'Red Cross', and the so-called nurses were known as 'Hindenburg tarts' and 'field tarts'. For the most part, they had doll faces. The ones today have 'baby-doll faces'. Debauched, pathetic, unsuspecting young people.

29 August 1939

'It is beginning the way the last war ended,' as I always represented it to my friends. With the exception of the artillery, which always consisted of 'quality' people and 'spat' (that is, 'shot') over the heads of the others, no 'enthusiasm' or morale is to be noted among all the troops that are moving through here. They are depressed, sullen, anything but bellicose, and 'are flaming mad at Adolf'. In the Karlowitz barracks here, the young people and the old reservists alike say: 'He can pack up his belongings, we've had enough of him.'

The selling of spirits was prohibited on Monday: 'To avoid disturbing the public peace and safety.' In reality for these reasons: first, all the small pubs and dive bars were full of drunken soldiers. I have seen more such people since last Monday than in all the years of the war in which I took part. Second: Sunday evening, transports were loaded at the main railway station.

In Breslau on Monday there were real runs on the banks and savings and loan institutions, and they were still taking place today, too. The populace talk openly and everywhere about the circumstances and vent their displeasure in every possible way.



# Glossary

## Affidavit

Legal document showing proof of financial support by a US citizen or permanent resident that was required to obtain a visa to the United States. The affidavit was difficult to obtain and served as a major bureaucratic obstacle to emigration.

## Agudas Yisroel (Hebrew for 'Union of Israel')

An international Orthodox Jewish political movement founded in 1912 in Katowice in response to increasing secularization, Reform Judaism, and Zionism. Agudas Yisroel encouraged the role of tradition in all aspects of life and promoted loyalty to the state in which one lived, in contrast to the nationalist objectives of Zionism.

## Aliyah (Hebrew for 'ascent')

Jewish emigration to Palestine with the aim of establishing a Jewish homeland.

## Altreu (Allgemeine Treuhandstelle für die jüdische Auswanderung GmbH; General Trust Agency for Jewish Emigration)

Agency established in May 1937 to support emigration to countries other than Palestine (in addition to the Paltru-Haavara, which had been responsible for Palestine since 1933). Emigrants could transfer a certain amount of Reichsmarks (RM) into an Altreu account, in return for which they received foreign currency at a markdown of 50 per cent.

## American Jewish Congress (AJC)

Association founded in 1918, of Jewish-American organizations which served as a platform for Jewish interests following the First World War and throughout the Second World War. It was involved in organizing the boycott of German goods and protest rallies in the United States and across Europe between 1933 and 1945, and worked to influence the policies of American and European governments, especially with regard to immigration restrictions.

## American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC, Joint)

Committee founded in the United States in 1914 to coordinate the relief efforts of American Jewish aid organizations. It provided funding and aid to Jews and Jewish organizations, especially in Eastern Europe. Following the outbreak of the Second World War, its efforts extended to Nazi-occupied and -controlled territories, including the ghettos, where it supported schools, orphanages, cultural institutions, and other important areas of Jewish life.

## Anschluss

Annexation of Austria by Nazi Germany in March 1938.

## Aryan (*Arier*)

Term used to describe the peoples supposedly descended from the Indo-Europeans. It was used in Nazi Germany to support the thesis of the inequality of human races and the superiority of those with 'German and related blood' over 'non-Aryan races', above all Jews and Sinti and Roma.

## Aryan certificate (*Ariernachweis*)

Document confirming Aryan ancestry, required for employment in the public sector following the implementation of the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service in 1933.

Aryanization (*Arisierung*)

The process of expropriating Jews and excluding them from a 'racially purified' economy. It involved the closure or confiscation of Jewish property, assets, and businesses and the forced transfer of these to Aryans or to the Reich.

Asset Transfer Office (*Vermögensverkehrsstelle*, VVSt)

Office founded in May 1938, headed by Walter Rafelsberger, which oversaw the Aryanization and liquidation of Jewish businesses in Austria. By mid August 1939 all Jewish-owned businesses had disappeared from Vienna.

Beer Hall Putsch

The failed attempt by Adolf Hitler and other right-wing opponents of the Weimar Republic to seize power in Germany on 8–9 November 1923 in Munich.

Blocked account

Special account holding the liquid assets of Jews who had emigrated. The accounts were set up because German financial policy prohibited the removal of Reichsmarks from Germany without heavy penalties. Due to the depreciation of the Reichsmark, the contents of these accounts had little value outside Germany.

B'nai B'rith (Hebrew for 'Sons of the Covenant')

Jewish fraternal organization founded in New York for 'benevolence, brotherly love, and harmony' by German migrants in 1843. The first branch in Germany was established in 1882 in Berlin, and by 1933 there were more than 100 lodges in the country with approximately 12,000 members. Their tasks included the elimination of general poverty, aid for widows and orphans, and the promotion of science and the arts, as well as the moral support of their members. The Nazi regime ordered the closure of the German lodges in 1937.

British Mandate of Palestine

League of Nations mandate granted to Britain in 1922. The Mandate ended on 15 May 1948, one day before the proclamation of the State of Israel.

Central Association of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith (*Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens*, CV)

Association founded by Jewish intellectuals in 1893 in Berlin with the aim of opposing increasing antisemitism in Imperial Germany and defending the rights of German Jews. In the 1930s it had over 60,000 members and was the largest organization of Jews in Germany.

Central Office for Jewish Emigration (*Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung*)

Institution established first in Vienna in August 1938 by the Security Police and SS Security Service to facilitate and expedite the emigration of Jews from Nazi-controlled territories. There were four such offices: Vienna (1938), Prague (1939), Berlin (1939), and Amsterdam (1941). Adolf Eichmann headed the offices in Vienna and Prague.

Confessing Church (*Bekennende Kirche*)

Protestant movement led by Martin Niemöller and others, founded in 1934 to oppose attempts to bring the Church under the control of the Nazi regime and in line with Nazi ideology. The conflict between the Confessing Church and the Nazi-oriented 'German Christian' movement, both of which remained part of German Protestantism, was termed the 'Church struggle' (*Kirchenkampf*).

**Criminal Police (Kriminalpolizei, Kripo)**

Criminal investigation force that, together with the Gestapo, constituted the Security Police (Sipo). The Kripo mainly dealt with non-political crimes including offences against the war economy (black market, slaughtering animals without permit, contravention of the rationing regulations), rape, murder, and arson.

**Denazification (*Entnazifizierung*)**

Allied efforts to remove Nazis and National Socialist ideology from public life and to re-educate Germans politically after 1945. One of the first initiatives was the distribution of questionnaires by the Western Allies in order to identify Nazi Party members and sympathizers by placing them into five categories: major offenders, offenders, lesser offenders, 'followers' (*Mitläufer*), or exonerated. In 1946 the Western Allies transferred the responsibility for denazification to the German administration, which concluded the process in 1951. In the Soviet zone, denazification efforts ended in March 1948.

**Deutsche Golddiskontbank (German Gold Discount Bank, DeGo)**

Bank established in 1924 as a subsidiary of the Reichsbank. Starting in 1925 it functioned mainly as an export credit bank that granted short-term foreign currency loans to German banks and industrial enterprises. In addition to the Reich Flight Tax, the so-called DeGo tax – or fee (*DeGo-Abgabe*) – was levied on every Jewish emigrant. By mid 1938 both taxes reached more than 90 percent of declared assets and property. The DeGo was closed down after the war and liquidated in 1969.

**Einsatzgruppen**

Squads composed primarily of the SS and police, and under the command of the Security Police and SD. During the occupation of Austria and the Sudetenland in 1938, they identified and arrested political enemies. During the invasion of Poland (1939) and the Soviet Union (1941), the units received orders to eliminate racial or political enemies found behind German lines. In Poland these also included the Catholic clergy, Polish nationalists, and members of the nobility and intelligentsia, while in the Soviet Union communist functionaries, officials, and political commissars serving with the Red Army were also targeted.

**Eretz Israel (Hebrew for the 'Land of Israel' or the 'Holy Land')**

Biblical term used in Jewish writings to refer to Palestine. The Zionist movement sought to establish a state in Eretz Israel within the British Mandate for Palestine in order to revive the Jewish people as a modern nation and provide a refuge for diaspora Jews. Zionists in the diaspora often used the shortened version, 'Eretz'.

**Ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*)**

People of German descent with a shared language and culture but living beyond German borders. Under National Socialism, the term distinguished ethnic Germans from Reich Germans (*Reichsdeutsche*), who were German citizens.

**Evian Conference**

Conference held in Evian, France, from 6 to 15 July 1938, convened by President Franklin D. Roosevelt to discuss a long-term solution to the problem of German-Jewish refugees. It was attended by delegates from thirty-two countries and more than twenty representatives from relief organizations. With the exception of the Dominican Republic and Costa Rica, which only did so in exchange for large financial settlements, no country was willing to ease its immigration restrictions for fear that

an increase in refugees would lead to further economic hardships. The main outcome of the conference was the establishment of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees (IGCR).

**Fatherland Front (Vaterländische Front)**

Political organization founded in Austria in 1933 by Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuß of the Christian Social Party with the aim of uniting conservative and nationalist groups in the face of increasing support for the Austrian NSDAP.

**Four-Year Plan**

A series of economic measures initiated by Hitler in 1936 and managed by the Office of the Four-Year Plan under the leadership of plenipotentiary Herman Göring. The Four-Year Plan aimed to prepare Germany for war within four years. It focused on rearmament of Germany and the mobilization of the economy, and aimed to make the country self-sufficient in terms of raw materials.

**Free City of Danzig**

Created in January 1920 under the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, a semi-autonomous city state placed under the protection of the League of Nations. It consisted of the city Danzig, its Baltic Sea port, and surrounding towns, villages, and settlements primarily inhabited by Germans. From the summer of 1933 the Danzig Senate was led by a National Socialist majority and enforced numerous anti-Jewish measures based on German policies. The Free City of Danzig was abolished in 1939 and incorporated into the Reichsgau Danzig-West Prussia.

**Freikorps (Free Corps)**

Anti-democratic, nationalist, and anti-revolutionary paramilitary groups formed in the wake of Germany's defeat in the First World War. Members included former soldiers and university students. In the Weimar Republic, the Freikorps were often used to suppress domestic left-wing revolts and protect the eastern borders of the German Reich. In 1919 the Freikorps had approximately 200,000 members.

**Gau (NSDAP term for 'region')**

The largest NSDAP administrative category below Reich level. After the National Socialists assumed power in 1933, the Gaue increasingly replaced the individual states (Länder) as the effective regional subdivision of the Third Reich. As the regional units of the NSDAP, the Gaue were divided into Kreise (districts), consisting of local branches (Ortsgruppen, covering several villages or towns), 'cells' (Zellen), and 'blocks' (Blöcke, neighbourhoods within the cells). The number of Gaue varied over time, with new ones created following territorial annexations.

**Gauleiter ('Gau leader')**

Head of an NSDAP Gau.

**Gendarmerie**

Branch of the German police force deployed in rural areas and small communities.

**German Austria (Deutsch-Österreich)**

Areas with a predominantly German-speaking population in what had previously been the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

**German Christians (Deutsche Christen)**

Protestant movement that aimed to combine Lutheran Christianity with racist and nationalist ideals. Its support for Nazi principles led to a split in the German Luther-

an Church and the creation of the Confessing Church, which opposed Nazi control over religious life.

German Labour Front (Deutsche Arbeitsfront, DAF)

Compulsory National Socialist organization of workers and employers, set up to replace trade unions following their dissolution in 1933. It had approximately 25 million members.

German Reich (Deutsches Reich; German Empire)

From 1871 to 1945 official term for Germany comprising Imperial Germany (Kaiserreich, 1871–1918), the Weimar Republic (1918–1933), and the Third Reich (1933–1945).

Gestapa (abbreviation for Geheimes Staatspolizeiamt; Secret State Police Central Office)

Central office of the Gestapo, based in Berlin. It was initially headed by Hermann Göring and from 1934 by Heinrich Himmler.

Gestapo (abbreviation for Geheime Staatspolizei; Secret State Police)

Secret State Police in Nazi Germany and German-occupied Europe, established by Hermann Göring in 1933 with the aim of combating internal ‘enemies of the state’. From 1934 it was led by Heinrich Himmler and in 1936 it became part of Reinhard Heydrich’s Security Police. In 1939 the Security Police merged with the SD to form the Reich Security Main Office. Thereafter it became known as RSHA Amt IV and was headed by Heinrich Müller. It was divided into five departments: (a) Political Opponents, (b) Sects and Churches, (c) Administration and Party Affairs, (d) Occupied Territories, (e) Security and Counterintelligence. The Gestapo had a smaller staff than is often imagined; by the end of 1944 it employed 32,000 officials.

Gildemeester Assistance Office

Relief organization established in May 1938 by Dutchman Frank van Gheel Gildemeester and permitted by the Gestapo to expedite the emigration of non-Aryan Christians. It was dissolved at the end of 1939.

*Gleichschaltung* (‘synchronization’ or ‘enforced coordination’)

Synchronization of all areas of life (political parties, professional associations, cultural organizations, etc.) and their subordination to National Socialist ideology.

Greater German Reich (Großdeutsches Reich)

Inofficial designation for Nazi Germany after the Anschluss of Austria in 1938.

Grüber Office

Aid agency set up by the Provisional Church Government of the Berlin Confessing Church in September 1938 and run by Pastor Heinrich Grüber. It assisted Protestant Christians persecuted on grounds of race to emigrate from Germany. It was shut down by the Gestapo in December 1940, and Grüber and his staff were arrested and sent to concentration camps. After 1945 Grüber reopened his office to help Holocaust survivors and deportees returning home.

Haavara Agreement (Hebrew for ‘transfer’ agreement)

In effect between 1933 and 1939, an agreement between the Jewish Agency for Palestine and Nazi Germany that enabled Jewish emigrants to receive German goods in Palestine in exchange for money they deposited in Germany and was also intended to promote German exports. The arrangement made it possible for emigrants to indirectly transfer a part of their assets without the National Socialist state incurring foreign exchange costs. The Berlin-based Paltreu was responsible

for overseeing the financial transactions. Nearly 140 million Reichsmarks were transferred to Palestine while the agreement was in force.

#### Habsburg Empire

Territories of Europe ruled by the Habsburg dynasty from the fifteenth to the twentieth century. It was known as the Austrian Empire from 1804 to 1867 and the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Dual Monarchy) from 1867 to 1918.

#### Hachsharah (also hakhsharah; Hebrew for 'preparation')

Occupational and agricultural training of young Jews on Zionist collective farms in preparation for emigration to Palestine.

#### Harvard University competition

Essay competition held in 1940 on the theme 'My life in Germany before and after Jan. 30, 1933'. The contest was sponsored by Harvard University, which invited submissions 'for the purely scientific purpose' of studying the 'social and psychological effects of National Socialism on German society and the German people'. The project was open to Jews and non-Jews.

#### Hehalutz (Hebrew for 'the pioneer')

Organization founded in the United States in 1905 to prepare halutzim (pioneers) for life in Palestine. A German branch was established in 1922.

#### Hermann Göring Works (Reichswerke Hermann Göring)

Industrial conglomerate set up in July 1937 to exploit Germany's low-grade domestic iron ores. It grew rapidly beyond its initial purpose, as Göring used it as a vehicle for taking over other industrial assets which the state needed for war preparation and for setting up new state-owned businesses.

#### HIAS (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society)

Aid organization founded in the United States in 1881, initially to support Jews fleeing pogroms in Russia and Eastern Europe. HIAS worked with HICEM to support and organize the emigration of German Jews and played a key role in helping to resettle displaced persons after the war.

#### HICEM

Acronym for three Jewish advocacy organizations that merged in 1927: the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), the Jewish Colonization Association (JCA, ICA), and Emigdirect (EM). HICEM was based in Paris until Germany's invasion of France in mid 1940, and subsequently in Lisbon. Its purpose was to organize Jewish emigration and to financially support the emigrants in the destination countries; it enabled approximately 90,000 Jews to escape persecution.

#### Immigration certificates

Compulsory requirement introduced by the British Mandate for Palestine in an attempt to limit Jewish immigration into Palestine. A certificate was issued only if the candidate could prove that he or she had relatives, significant assets, or skills that were needed in Palestine. From the beginning of the 1930s there were annual quotas for several categories, for example young people. The certificates were distributed via Palestine Offices of the Jewish Agency for Palestine in Germany and other countries.

#### Imperial Germany (also Wilhelmine Germany; Kaiserreich)

German monarchy established following the unification of Germany in 1871. It lasted until the end of the First World War in 1918, when the November Revolution

led to the abdication of Kaiser Wilhelm II and the establishment of the Weimar Republic.

**Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees (IGCR)**

Committee created in July 1938 during the Evian Conference. It convened for the first time in London in August 1938 and comprised representatives of most of the participating states at the Evian Conference. The IGCR was tasked with administering intergovernmental efforts to resettle refugees from Germany and Austria, prepare for the resettlement of future emigrants, and negotiate with the German government with regard to the transfer of Jewish assets. However, the member countries did not give the organization either the funding or authority it needed to make a real difference. The IGCR was dissolved in 1947.

**Israelite Religious Community of Vienna (Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Wien, IKG)**

Jewish agency authorized by the Austrian government in 1852 to manage the religious, educational, and philanthropic affairs of Jews in Vienna, including the establishment and maintenance of synagogues, the supervision of religious rituals and traditions, the care of the elderly, and the maintenance of Jewish charities and cemeteries. It also served as the official registrar of Jewish births, deaths, marriages, and conversions in Vienna from 1794–1938. All 'Israelites' in other parts of Austria were also required to be members. The IKG was closed down by the National Socialists in March 1938. It was reopened two months later under the control of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration and the Gestapo. It was forced to organize the emigration and deportation of Vienna's Jews.

**Jew houses (*Judenhäuser*)**

Buildings to which Jews were forced to move after being evicted under National Socialist legislation or because of financial need. Conditions were often squalid and overcrowded.

**Jewish Agency for Palestine**

Agency founded in 1929 to represent Jewish interests in the British Mandate for Palestine. It cooperated with the British Mandate government and advised it on socio-economic issues. The Jewish Agency served as the political leadership of the Jewish community in Palestine until the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. It also worked to help Jews emigrate to Palestine under the Haavara Agreement.

**Jewish Colonization Association (JCA, ICA)**

Paris-based organization founded in 1891 by Baron Maurice de Hirsch. The JCA supported agricultural colonies for Jewish refugees in Argentina, the United States, Canada, Brazil, Russia, Bessarabia, and Poland. In 1896 it expanded its activities to include Palestine (PICA). The JCA also worked with HICEM to support the emigration of Jewish refugees during the years 1933–1941.

**Jewish Culture League (Jüdischer Kulturbund)**

Organization founded in 1933, and known until 1935 as the Culture League of German Jews (Kulturbund deutscher Juden), which supported and promoted Jewish music, art, theatre, and publishing for Jewish-only audiences after the Nazis had excluded Jews from German cultural life. By 1935 the league had thirty-six branches and over 70,000 members.

### Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA)

Jewish news agency originally founded by the journalist Jacob Landau in 1917 as the Jewish Correspondence Bureau; from 1919 it was called the Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA). It maintained offices in Berlin, Warsaw, Jerusalem, and New York, among other cities. The antisemitic incidents reported by the JTA attracted wide international attention. The JTA exists to this day.

### June Operation (Juni-Aktion)

The mass arrest of so-called asocials (*Asoziale*), including the homeless and those suspected of pimping, in June 1938 as part of Operation Work-shy Reich (*Aktion Arbeitsscheu Reich*). The arrestees included 1,500 Jews who had criminal records or were known to the police because of minor offences. The Criminal Police made the arrests using lists provided by the employment and welfare offices; approximately 10,000 persons were sent to Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, and Dachau.

### Kibbutz (Hebrew for 'group' or 'community')

Agricultural cooperative farm or settlement based on the principles of direct democracy and communal ownership of property. The first kibbutz was founded in Palestine by Zionists from Belarus in 1909.

### Kindertransport ('children's transport')

Rescue effort that helped approximately 10,000 unaccompanied and mostly Jewish children to flee the German Reich for Britain between 1938 and 1940. The transports were organized and carried out by the Refugee Children's Movement and the Central British Fund for German Jewry (now World Jewish Relief), with the support of Dutch aid organizations. Several thousand more children found refuge in the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Switzerland, and Sweden.

### Kreis

An administrative subdivision of a Gau.

### Kreisleiter ('district leader')

Head of an NSDAP Kreis.

### Land

State within Germany

### Landrat

Civil service official in charge of a rural district and subordinate to the Regierungspräsident.

### Law for the Amendment of the Commercial Code for the German Reich (*Gesetz zur Änderung der Gewerbeordnung für das Deutsche Reich*)

Law enacted on 6 July 1938 which prohibited Jews from working in numerous branches of trade and commerce, including door-to-door and street sales, fair-ground trade, real estate, including property management, and marriage brokering.

### Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour (Blood Protection Law) (*Gesetz zum Schutz des deutschen Blutes und der deutschen Ehre [Blutschutzgesetz]*)

One of the Nuremberg Laws promulgated in September 1935. The Blood Protection Law prohibited marriages and extramarital sexual relations between Jews and citizens with German or related blood. It further excluded Jews from the *Volksgemeinschaft* by prohibiting them from displaying the Reich flag and the national colours, and from employing Aryan females under the age of 45 as domestic staff.

**Lebensraum** ('living space')

Central tenet of Nazi ideology, referring to the planned eastward expansion of German territory in order to acquire more space for the German people. The 'racial superiority' of the German Aryan race was considered to justify the resulting subjugation, enslavement, and decimation of the 'inferior' populations living in the territories conquered.

**Minister President**

Head of a German Land (state within the Reich).

**Ministerial director** (*Ministerialdirektor*)

Head of a department within a ministry.

**Ministerialdirigent**

Civil service rank subordinate to ministerial director.

**Ministerialrat**

Civil service rank subordinate to Ministerialdirigent.

**Mischling** ('half-caste' or person of 'mixed blood')

Classification under Nazi racial law to describe an individual of combined Aryan and non-Aryan, particularly Jewish, descent. The Nuremberg Laws of 1935 categorized *Mischlinge* according to the number of Jewish grandparents: *Mischlinge* of the first degree (half-Jewish – one Jewish parent or two Jewish grandparents) and *Mischlinge* of the second degree (quarter Jewish – one Jewish grandparent). In order to prevent the birth of children of 'mixed blood', marriage was effectively prohibited between Aryans and 'Mischlinge of the first degree' (those with two Jewish grandparents).

**Mixed marriages** (*Mischehen*)

Marriages between Jews and non-Jews, prohibited by the Nuremberg legislation of 1935 in order to preserve the 'racial purity' of the *Volksgemeinschaft*. In 1938 mixed marriages were subdivided into 'privileged' (Jewish wife married to a non-Jewish husband, or if there were children who were raised as Christians and under the age of eighteen) and 'non-privileged' (when the children were considered Jews, the couple was childless, or a Jewish husband was married to a non-Jewish wife). Jews in both types of mixed marriages suffered under most of the anti-Jewish measures that applied to 'full Jews', although they were not deported from Germany systematically.

**Munich Agreement**

Agreement ratified on 29 September 1938 by Germany, Italy, Britain, and France at a conference in Munich, held without Czechoslovakian representation. It permitted German annexation of the Sudetenland, a territory with a majority ethnic German population that was included as part of newly-created Czechoslovakia after the First World War. The agreement was a gesture of appeasement towards Hitler. However, he broke his pledge not to make additional territorial claims, and German troops invaded the rest of Czechoslovakia just six months later.

**Night of the Long Knives**

Purge of the SA leadership, including Ernst Röhm, carried out by the SS on Hitler's orders between 30 June and 2 July 1934. The purge was also used to kill other political enemies, primarily on the German nationalist right, and former supporters believed to have betrayed the Nazi movement. In all, sources estimate that up to 200 persons were killed, with over 100 persons taken into 'protective custody'. The

Reich government claimed that the purge had been carried out to prevent a planned coup by Röhm. On 2 July 1934 it issued a law that retroactively legitimated the murders by declaring them a necessary response to a 'state of emergency'.

November pogrom(s) (also known as Kristallnacht or the 'Night of Broken Glass')

Series of state-orchestrated anti-Jewish pogroms across the entire German Reich on the night of 9–10 November 1938 and in the days that followed, during which hundreds of synagogues and thousands of Jewish businesses were looted and demolished. At least ninety-one people were killed. Approximately 25,000 Jewish men were arrested and sent to concentration camps, where hundreds of them died.

NSDAP (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei; National Socialist German Workers' Party or Nazi Party)

Anti-Marxist, antisemitic, and racist political party founded in Munich in 1919 as the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (German Workers' Party) and renamed in 1920. Adolf Hitler became its leader in July 1921. In July 1933 the NSDAP became the only legal political party in the German Reich. In 1945 there were between 8 and 8.5 million NSDAP members.

*Numerus clausus* (Latin for 'closed number')

Restriction on the number of applicants who may be admitted to an academic institution or licensed in a given profession, either as a yearly quota or as a maximum number that may not be exceeded at any given time. Under the Nazi regime it generally referred to restrictions on access to schools, universities, and certain professions on the basis of Jewish ancestry.

Nuremberg Laws

Laws proclaimed at the annual Nazi Party congress in Nuremberg in September 1935. They excluded German Jews from Reich citizenship and prohibited them from marrying or having sexual relations with persons of 'German or related blood'.

Oberpräsident

Official in charge of a Prussian province, in the Third Reich usually also a Gauleiter.

Oberregierungsrat

Senior civil service rank subordinate to Regierungsdirektor.

Occupational Restructuring (*Berufsumschichtung*)

Movement emerging in the second half of the nineteenth century within liberal Jewish discourse in Germany that aimed to improve Jews' employment opportunities and emigration chances by training them for work in agriculture and skilled crafts. Its proponents sought to counter the high proportion of Jews in certain professions (i.e. academia and trade) and direct them into fields in which they were permitted to work.

Old Reich (Altreich)

Germany within its 1937 borders, prior to the Anschluss (annexation) of Austria in March 1938 and the annexation of the Sudetenland in October of the same year.

Order Police (Ordnungspolizei, Orpo)

German uniformed police between 1936 and 1945 composed of the urban police (Schutzpolizei), municipal police (Gemeindepolizei), and the rural police (Gendarmerie). The Order Police was administered by the Interior Ministry but led by the SS from 1936, with Kurt Daluege as its head. During the war, several of its military battalions were tasked with policing the civilian population in the occupied

territories, while others were directly involved in killing operations as part of the 'final solution'.

ORT (Russian acronym for the 'Society for Trades and Agricultural Labour', also known as the 'Organization for Rehabilitation through Training')

Society established in Russia in 1880 by a small group of Jewish philanthropists to help impoverished Jews acquire skills that would enable them to become self-sufficient through education and training. It organized vocational training and supplied workshops with materials and tools, in addition to overseeing agricultural settlements. In 1921 the World ORT was established in Berlin, and in the following years it expanded its activities to Western and Eastern Europe, the Americas, and South Africa. ORT exists to this day.

*Ostjuden* ('Eastern Jews')

Yiddish-speaking, mainly non-assimilated Jews who had migrated from Eastern Europe, particularly Poland, to Western Europe, North and South America and Palestine from the nineteenth century onwards. The term initially emerged as a result of the division between these Jews and the emancipated Jews in the countries to which they migrated. *Ostjuden* were early targets of the Nazi regime and the negative stereotype associated with them played a central role in Nazi propaganda.

Ostmark ('Eastern Marches')

Name for Austria following its annexation to the German Reich in March 1938 until 1942, when the designation was changed to 'Alpen- und Donau Reichsgaue' (Reichsgaue of the Alps and Danube).

Palestine Office (Palästina-Amt)

Branch of the Jewish Agency for Palestine (in Germany and other countries) that helped Jews prepare for and organize their emigration to Palestine. The Palestine Office distributed the immigration certificates required by the British Mandate for Palestine.

Paltreu (acronym for Palästina Treuhandstelle zur Beratung deutscher Juden GmbH; Palestine Trust Agency to Advise German Jews)

Agency founded in late 1933 together with the Trust and Transfer Office Haavara in Tel Aviv to assist with the implementation of the Haavara Agreement.

Petschek Group

Coal-mining, manufacturing, and trade conglomerate with companies in Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Austria. The majority shareholder was the Petschek family. The group resisted Aryanization until December 1938, when the firm's holdings were put into Aryan trusteeship and placed under the control of the Hermann Göring Works.

Protective custody (*Schutzhaft*)

Arrest and detention of persons suspected of acting against the state's interests, carried out without warrant or judicial review. The Gestapo in particular used protective custody as an instrument to crush dissent and to enforce Nazi racial and social policy. Those arrested were either imprisoned or sent to concentration camps.

Race defilement (*Rassenschande*)

Extramarital sexual relations between Aryans and non-Aryans. Race defilement was criminalized in 1935 under the Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour.

**Regierungsassessor**

Junior civil service rank attained after passing the qualifying examinations for the civil service.

**Regierungsbezirk**

Administrative subdivision of a Land, Prussian province, or Gau, the level above Kreis; approximately equivalent to a British county.

**Regierungspräsident**

Civil service official in charge of a Regierungsbezirk.

**Regierungsrat**

Senior civil service rank subordinate to Oberregierungsrat.

**Reich Central Agency for Jewish Emigration (Reichszentralstelle für Jüdische Auswanderung)**

Agency set up in Berlin on the instructions of Hermann Göring in January 1939 to centralize and accelerate all work connected with Jewish emigration from Germany. It was officially headed by Reinhard Heydrich.

**Reich Citizenship Law (*Reichsbürgergesetz*)**

One of the Nuremberg Laws proclaimed in September 1935. The Reich Citizenship Law did not strip Jews of their German citizenship but introduced a new distinction between 'subject of the state' (*Staatsangehörige*) and 'Reich citizen' (*Reichsbürger*); only those with 'German or related blood' could be the latter.

**Reich Flight Tax (*Reichsfluchtsteuer*)**

Emigration tax, introduced during the Weimar Republic to prevent capital flight during the Great Depression, which increasingly targeted Jews forced to flee Nazi Germany. At first the tax only applied to emigrants with assets worth over 200,000 Reichsmarks, but from 1934 it was extended to those with assets of 50,000 Reichsmarks or more. Initially levied at a rate of 25 per cent, in 1938 the rate increased to 90 per cent.

**Reich Representation of Jews in Germany (Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland)**

Central representative organization of German Jewry, founded in 1933 by Rabbi Leo Baeck and Otto Hirsch as the Reich Representation of German Jews (Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden). Its goal was to confront the problems faced by German Jews in Nazi Germany by dealing with German authorities and Jewish organizations outside Germany. It administered all aspects of Jewish life: education, employment training, general support for the poor, economic assistance, and emigration. In 1935 the authorities forced the change of name to the 'Reich Representation of Jews in Germany'. In 1939 its name was changed once again, to 'Reich Association of Jews in Germany' (Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland). The organization was dissolved in July 1943.

**Reich Security Main Office (Reichssicherheitshauptamt, RSHA)**

Office created by Heinrich Himmler on 27 September 1939 by merging the SD and the Security Police into one, and headed by Reinhard Heydrich. The RSHA played an important role in the regime's policies of persecution and extermination. It was responsible for intelligence gathering and criminal investigation. Through the work of Section IV D 4, run by Adolf Eichmann, it played a leading role in implementing the 'final solution'.

**Reichs-Kredit-Gesellschaft (RKG)**

Bank of the Reich-owned industrial holding company Vereinigte Industrieunternehmungen AG (VIAG). Besides handling current banking operations, it also worked primarily in the areas of industrial and trade finance, investment banking, asset management, and financing of German imports and exports. In the 1930s the RKG became one of Berlin's five big banking houses, but it had no branches of its own.

**Reichsbank**

The central bank of Germany between 1876 and 1945. In 1939 it was placed under Hitler's direct control, with Walther Funk as the Reichsbank's last president, from 1939 to 1945. The Reichsbank benefited from property confiscation, especially the personal assets of Jews and the gold reserves of the countries invaded by the Germans.

**Reichsgesetzblatt (Reich Law Gazette, RGBl)**

Official gazette of the German Reich between 1871 and 1945, which published laws and regulations.

**Reichsleiter (Reich leader)**

The most senior political rank in the NSDAP, second only to the Führer. Hitler appointed Reichsleiter to oversee a range of portfolios (propaganda, law, finance, foreign policy). They were collectively designated as the Reich leadership (Reichsleitung).

**Reichsstatthalter (Reich governor)**

Political officials appointed to head the Länder (German states) and implement political orders from Hitler after 1933. The Gauleiter frequently also served as Reichsstatthalter.

**Relief Association of German Jews (Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden)**

Association founded in 1901 in Berlin to improve the cultural and sociopolitical conditions of Jews in the Levant and Eastern Europe. It was dissolved in 1939.

**SA (abbreviation for Sturmabteilung; 'Storm Troopers', colloquially 'Brownshirts')**

Paramilitary wing of the NSDAP established in 1920 to provide protection during Party gatherings and rallies and to disrupt those of its opponents through systematic intimidation. The SA was instrumental to Hitler's rise to power in the early 1930s and was heavily involved in the escalating violence against Jews. Headed by Ernst Röhm until 1934, the SA aimed to uphold the National Socialist 'revolution'. However, its leadership was purged in 1934 during the 'Night of the Long Knives' and its influence gradually waned due to the increased importance of the SS.

**Schools**

- Academic secondary school (*höhere Schule*)  
School preparing pupils for university-level education.
- Grammar school (*Gymnasium*)
- Middle school (*Mittelschule*)  
Prepared pupils for the higher level of secondary education (*Gymnasium / höhere Schule*).
- Primary school (*Volksschule*)  
Provided education up to the compulsory school-leaving age of 14.
- School providing compulsory education [up to the school-leaving age of 14] (*Pflichtschule*)

- Secondary school (*Hauptschule*)
- Secondary school (*Realschule*)
- Technical school (*Fachschule*)
- Vocational school (*Berufsschule*)

Provided general and technical education for pupils aged 14 and above.

SD (abbreviation for Sicherheitsdienst; SS Security Service)

Intelligence service of the SS and NSDAP, founded in 1931 by Heinrich Himmler and headed by Reinhard Heydrich. Its tasks included the detection and surveillance of those classed as political and ideological enemies, especially Jews, communists, Social Democrats, and Freemasons. In 1939 it was incorporated into the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) along with the Security Police (Gestapo and Criminal Police). It played an instrumental role in the planning and implementation of the ‘final solution’.

Security Police (Sicherheitspolizei, Sipo)

One of the two police branches after Himmler’s reorganization of the entire police apparatus in 1936 (the other being the Order Police). The Security Police was headed by Reinhard Heydrich between 1936 and 1939 and consisted of the Gestapo and the Criminal Police. It was incorporated into the Reich Security Main Office in 1939.

Silent boycott

Unofficial demands by the NSDAP and its organizations for customers not to use Jewish shops and businesses that had not yet been designated for Aryaization.

Sopade

The exiled executive of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) that operated in Prague (1933–1938), Paris (1938–1940), and London (until 1945). It collected and analysed reports and newspaper articles about the political, cultural, economic, and social situation in Germany, which it published on a monthly basis from May 1934. The Sopade reports are among the most valuable historical sources about public opinion in Nazi Germany.

Special court (Sondergericht)

Courts created by decree of 21 March 1933, mainly concerned with eliminating political threats. Many of the ‘crimes’ tried by the court concerned verbal exchanges and were based on denunciation. Special courts were also set up in countries under German occupation.

SS (abbreviation for Schutzstaffel; ‘protection squadron’)

Force established in 1925 under the leadership of Heinrich Himmler. From 1934 it was responsible for running the concentration camps and from 1941 the extermination camps. It was instrumental in planning and implementing the genocide of Jews and other groups.

SS Main Office (SS-Hauptamt, SS-HA)

Headed by Gottlob Berger, the central command office, which managed and oversaw nearly all aspects of the SS between 1935 and 1940.

Staatsrat

Member of the Prussian State Council.

State minister (*Staatsminister*)

Head of a ministry in a Land government.

State secretary (*Staatssekretär*)

The most senior grade of permanent civil service official in a ministry. There were sometimes several state secretaries in one ministry.

Strength through Joy (Kraft durch Freude)

Founded in November 1933, a subsidiary of the German Labour Front that organized a wide range of leisure and tourism activities and offered subsidized holidays to workers.

*Der Stürmer*

Vehemently antisemitic weekly tabloid published by the Gauleiter of Franconia, Julius Streicher, from 1923 to 1945. Although not an official party publication, it became an integral part of Nazi propaganda. Its readership was even larger than circulation figures suggest, as it featured each week's issue in public display cases throughout Germany.

Tax clearance certificate (*steuerliche Unbedenklichkeitsbescheinigung*)

An official certification confirming that persons wishing to emigrate from Germany did not owe any back taxes. It was a prerequisite for the issuing of a passport as well as for taking along any household goods, and had to be submitted to the tax office.

Treaty of Versailles

Peace treaty signed at the end of the First World War by the Allied and associated powers and by Germany in the Palace of Versailles in France on 28 June 1919. The treaty stipulated that Germany disarm, make territorial concessions, pay reparations to the Entente powers, and accept responsibility for the war (war guilt clause).

Undersecretary (*Unterstaatssekretär*)

Civil service official within a ministry; rank below state secretary.

*Völkisch* (literally 'folkish'; roughly meaning 'ethno-nationalist')

Term dating back to the nineteenth century and denoting the organic unity of people bound by blood, soil, history, and culture. In the second half of the nineteenth century the central tenet of *völkisch* thinking was a racial ideology that later became a key element of National Socialism.

*Volksgemeinschaft* (usually translated as 'people's community' or 'national community')

Under National Socialism, the notion of a racially homogeneous, Aryan national community, restricted to those of 'German blood'. The concept evoked a utopian order that promised material well-being and self-fulfilment, and provided Nazi functionaries with a framework for social engineering.

*Volksgenosse/-in* ('ethnic comrade')

Member of the German *Volksgemeinschaft*.

*Volljude* ('full Jew')

Classification under Nazi racial laws to describe an individual with at least three or more Jewish grandparents.

Wehrmacht

Collective term for the German armed forces – army, air force (*Luftwaffe*), and navy – from 1935 to 1945. The Wehrmacht was the successor to the Reichswehr (1919–1935). The Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, or OKW) under Wilhelm Keitel coordinated military activities, although each of the three military branches had their respective High Command: OKH (army), OKM (navy), and OKL (air force).

**Weimar Republic**

The designation for the German state between 1918 and 1933. It takes its name from the town of Weimar, where the constituent assembly first met. National Socialist propaganda depicted the Weimar Republic as corrupt, degenerate, and ruled by Jews, socialists, and Bolsheviks. It also denounced the Weimar government leaders as the 'November Criminals' for having signed the armistice on 11 November 1918.

**Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO)**

Zionist movement founded in London in July 1920 with the aim of promoting social welfare, the role of women, and Jewish education in Israel and the diaspora. It established a worldwide network of federations and is now the largest women's Zionist organization in the world.

**World Jewish Congress (WJC)**

Congress founded in Geneva in August 1936 with the aim of combating Nazism and antisemitism, and promoting political and economic equality for Jewish minorities in Central and Eastern Europe.

**Youth Aliyah**

A department of the Jewish Agency for Palestine formed in 1932 with the aim of aiding Jewish children and young people in Europe to emigrate to Palestine.

**Zionism**

Movement that originated in Central and Eastern Europe in the late nineteenth century and continues to support the reestablishment of a Jewish nation in what is now Israel.

## Approximate Rank and Hierarchy Equivalents

### *NSDAP and Civil Service*

NSDAP	Civil Service
Reichsleiter	Staatssekretär
–	Oberpräsident (only in Prussia)
Gauleiter	Unterstaatssekretär
Hauptbefehlsleiter	Ministerialdirektor
Oberbefehlsleiter	Regierungspräsident
Befehlsleiter	–
Hauptdienstleiter	Ministerialdirigent
Oberdienstleiter	–
Hauptbereichsleiter	Ministerialrat
<i>Kreisleiter</i>	
Oberbereichsleiter	Regierungsdirektor
Bereichsleiter	–
Hauptgemeinschaftsleiter	Amtsrat
<i>Ortsgruppenleiter</i>	
Obergemeinschaftsleiter	Oberinspektor
Gemeinschaftsleiter	Inspektor
Haupteinsatzleiter	–
Einsatzleiter	–
Hauptbereitschaftsleiter	Obersekretär
Oberbereitschaftsleiter	Sekretär
–	Verwaltungsassistent
Bereitschaftsleiter	–
–	Assistent
Hauptarbeitsleiter	Assistent
Oberarbeitsleiter	Amtsgehilfe
Arbeitsleiter	–
Oberhelfer	–
Helfer	–
Polit. Leiter-Anwärter	–

Source: Michael Buddrus, *Totale Erziehung für den totalen Krieg: Hitlerjugend und nationalsozialistische Jugendpolitik* (Munich: De Gruyter, 2003).

## SS, Wehrmacht, British Army, US Army

	Wehrmacht	British Army	US Army
SS			
-	Reichsmarschall	-	-
Reichsführer-SS	Generalfeldmarschall	Field Marshal	General of the Army
SS-Oberstgruppenführer	Generaloberst	-	General
SS-Obergruppenführer	General der Waffengattung (Infanterie, Artillerie, etc.)	General	Lieutenant General
SS-Gruppenführer	Generalleutnant	Lieutenant General	Major General
SS-Brigadeführer	Generalmajor	Major General	Brigadier General
SS-Oberführer	-	Brigadier	-
SS-Standartenführer	Oberst	Colonel	Colonel
SS-Obersturmbannführer	Oberstleutnant	Lieutenant Colonel	Lieutenant Colonel
SS-Sturmbannführer	Major	Major	Major
SS-Hauptsturmführer	Hauptmann	Captain	Captain
SS-Obersturmführer	Oberleutnant	First Lieutenant	First Lieutenant
SS-Untersturmführer	Leutnant	Second Lieutenant	Second Lieutenant
SS-Sturmscharführer	Stabsoberfeldwebel	Regimental Sergeant Major (Warrant Officer Class 1)	Sergeant Major
-	Oberfähnrich	-	Senior Officer Candidate
SS-Hauptscharführer	Oberfeldwebel	Staff Sergeant Major (Warrant Officer Class 1)	Master Sergeant
SS-Oberscharführer	Feldwebel	Warrant Officer Class 2	Technical Sergeant
-	Fähnrich	Ensign	Officer Candidate
SS-Scharführer	Unterfeldwebel	Staff Sergeant	Staff Sergeant
SS-Unterscharführer	Unteroffizier	Sergeant	Sergeant
-	Stabsgefreiter	Corporal (senior)	-
-	Obergefreiter	Corporal	Corporal

SS-Rottenführer	Gefreiter	Lance Corporal	Acting Corporal
SS-Sturmmann	Obersoldat	Private (senior)	Private First Class
SS-Mann	Soldat	Private	Private
SS-Anwärter	–	–	–

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*Security Police (SIPO)*

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Sicherheitspolizei (SIPO)

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Chef der deutschen Polizei / Chief of the German Police

Chef der SIPO / Chief of the SIPO

Kriminaldirigent

Reichskriminaldirektor

Regierungs- und Kriminaldirektor

Oberregierungs- und Kriminalrat

Regierungs- und Kriminalrat

Kriminaldirektor

Kriminalrat / detective chief superintendent

Kriminalkommissar / detective superintendent

Kriminalinspektor / detective inspector

Kriminalobersekretär / detective chief sergeant

Kriminalsekretär / detective sergeant

Kriminaloberassistent / detective chief constable

Kriminalassistent / detective constable

Kriminalassistentenanwärter / detective constable candidate

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Source: Hans-Christian Harten, *Die weltanschauliche Schulung der Polizei im Nationalsozialismus* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2018).

# List of Abbreviations

§	section (of a German law, code, or regulation)
§§	sections (of a German law, code, or regulation)
AdK	Akademie der Künste (Academy of Arts)
AdsD	Archiv der sozialen Demokratie der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Archive of Social Democracy of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation)
AEG	Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (General Electric Company)
AES	Archivio della Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari (Archive of the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs)
AG	Aktiengesellschaft (public limited company)
AGR	Algemeen Rijksarchief (State Archives of Belgium)
AJA	American Jewish Archives
Altreu	Allgemeine Treuhandstelle für die jüdische Auswanderung GmbH (General Trust Agency for Jewish Emigration)
AMREC	Archivo del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto (Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Worship, Buenos Aires)
ANA	Amtliche Nachrichtenstelle (Official News Agency)
A&O	Lederfabrik Adler & Oppenheimer (Adler & Oppenheimer leather manufacturer)
Art.	article (of a German law, code, or regulation)
ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano (Vatican Secret Archives)
Aufn.	Aufnahme (recording)
b.	born
BAR	Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv (Swiss Federal Archives)
BArch	Bundesarchiv (German Federal Archives)
BayHStA	Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (Bavarian Main State Archives)
Bd.	<i>Band</i> (volume)
BKW	Braunkohlenwerke (lignite works)
BLHA	Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv (Brandenburg Main State Archives)
CA	California
CAHJP	Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People
CDU	Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands (Christian Democratic Union of Germany)
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CJA	Archiv der Stiftung Neue Synagoge Berlin – Centrum Judaicum (Archive of the New Synagogue Berlin – Centrum Judaicum)
Co.	company
Comintern	Communist International
CSR	Czechoslovak Republic
CSU	Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern (Christian Social Union in Bavaria)
CT	Connecticut
CV	Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens (Central Association of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith)
CZA	Central Zionist Archives
DAF	Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German Labour Front)

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DAP	Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (German Workers' Party)
DAW	Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke (German Equipment Works)
DAZ	<i>Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung</i>
DC	District of Columbia
DDP	Deutsche Demokratische Partei (German Democratic Party)
DEST	Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke GmbH (German Earth- and Stoneworks Ltd)
DFG	Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Foundation)
DGT	Deutscher Gemeindetag (German Council of Municipalities)
DNB	Deutsches Nachrichtenbüro (German News Agency)
DNVP	Deutschnationale Volkspartei (German Nationalist People's Party)
DÖW	Dokumentationsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstandes (Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance)
Dr h.c.	<i>doctor honoris causa</i> (honorary doctor)
DRA	Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv (German Broadcasting Archives)
DST	Devisenstelle (Foreign Exchange Office)
DVA	Deutsche Versuchsanstalt für Ernährung und Verpflegung mbH (German Research Institute for Diet and Nutrition)
DVP	Deutsche Volkspartei (German People's Party)
Emigdirect	Emigrations-Direktorium (Emigration Directorate)
E.V. / e. V.	eingetragener Verein (registered charitable/non-profit society)
EZA	Evangelisches Zentralarchiv (Evangelical Central Archives)
fasc.	fascicolo (file)
FDP	Freie Demokratische Partei (Free Democratic Party)
FHA	Firmenhistorisches Archiv der Allianz AG (Center for Corporate History at Allianz AG)
fn./fnn.	footnote(s)
fol./fols.	folio(s) (of an archival source)
GBI	Generalbauinspektor für die Reichshauptstadt (Inspector General of Building for the Reich Capital)
GDVP	Großdeutsche Volkspartei (Greater German People's Party)
Gestapa	Geheimes Staatspolizeiamt (Secret State Police Central Office)
Gestapo	Geheime Staatspolizei (Secret State Police)
GmbH	Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung (private limited company)
GStA PK	Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Secret State Archives Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation)
HHStAW	Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (Hessian Main State Archives)
HIAS	Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society
HICEM	amalgamation of <i>HIAS</i> , <i>ICA</i> and <i>Emigdirect</i>
HL-Senteret	Senter for studier av Holocaust og livssynsminoriteter (Center for Studies of the Holocaust and Religious Minorities)
HOG	Hitahdut Olei Germanyah (Association of Immigrants from Germany)
Ica / ICA	Jewish Colonization Association
IfZ-Archives	Archiv des Instituts für Zeitgeschichte München–Berlin (Archives of the Institute for Contemporary History Munich–Berlin)
IGCR	Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees
IKG	Israelitische Kultusgemeinde (Israelite Religious Community of Vienna)
inv. no. / inv. nos.	inventory number(s)
IOBB	Independent Order of B'nai B'rith

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IOME	Irgun Olej Merkas Europa (Association of Migrants from Central Europe)
ISG Frankfurt	Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt am Main (Frankfurt Institute of Local History)
JCA	Jewish Colonization Association
JDC / J.D.C.	American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee
Joint	American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee
JTA	Jewish Telegraph Agency
KPD	Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (Communist Party of Germany)
LAA	Landesarbeitsamt (Regional Employment Office)
LAB	Landesarchiv Berlin (Berlin State Archives)
Ltd	limited company
MA	Massachusetts
<i>MBliV</i>	<i>Ministerialblatt der inneren Verwaltung</i>
m.p.	manu propria ([signed] with one's own hand)
NACP	National Archives at College Park
NC	North Carolina
Neufag	Neue Frankfurter Versicherungs-AG
NJ	New Jersey
Nr.	Nummer (number)
NSDAP / N.S.D.A.P.	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (National Socialist German Workers' Party)
NSV	Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt (National Socialist Welfare Organization)
<i>NWT</i>	<i>Neues Wiener Tagblatt</i>
N.Y.	New York (state)
ÖAK	Österreich Auswertungs-Kommando (Austria Investigative Commando)
OIU	Österreichisch-Israelitische Union (Austro-Israelite Union)
OKW	Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (High Command of the Wehrmacht)
OPG	Oberparteigericht (Supreme Party Court)
ORT	Obshchestvo Remeslennogo Truda (Society for Trades and Agricultural Labour)
ÖStA	Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (Austrian State Archives)
ÖStA/AdR	Österreichisches Staatsarchiv / Archiv der Republik (Austrian State Archives / Archive of the Austrian Republic)
OTZ	<i>Ostfriesische Tageszeitung</i>
ÖVP	Österreichische Volkspartei (Austrian People's Party)
OZN	Obóz Zjednoczenia Narodowego (Camp of National Unity)
PA	Pennsylvania
PA AA	Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (Political Archives of the Federal Foreign Office)
Paltreu	Palästina Treuhandstelle zur Beratung deutscher Juden GmbH (Palestine Trust Agency to Advise German Jews)
p.c.	per cent
PMJ	<i>The Persecution and Murder of the European Jews by Nazi Germany, 1933–1945</i>
POB	post office box
POW	prisoner of war
p.p.	<i>per procuracionem</i> (by proxy)
r–v	recto and verso (of a folio)
Ref.	reference
Retd	retired

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RG	record group
RGO	<i>Reichsgewerbeordnung</i> (Reich Commercial Code)
RGVA	Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Voennyi Arkhiv (Russian State Military Archives)
RjF	Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten (Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans)
RKG	Reichs-Kredit-Gesellschaft
RKSP	Roomsch-Katholieke Staatspartij (Roman Catholic State Party)
RKW	Reichskuratorium für Wirtschaftlichkeit (Reich Board for Economic Efficiency)
RM	Reichsmark(s)
RSHA	Reichssicherheitshauptamt (Reich Security Main Office)
SA	Sturmabteilung ('Storm Troopers')
SD	Sicherheitsdienst (SS Security Service)
SED	Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (Socialist Unity Party of Germany)
SL	Stronictwo Ludowe (Peasant Party)
SdP	Sudetendeutsche Partei (Sudeten German Party)
SHEK	Schweizerisches Hilfswerk für Emigrantenkinder (Swiss Aid Organization for Emigrant Children)
Sopade	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands im Exil (Social Democratic Party of Germany in Exile)
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party of Germany)
SPÖ	Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs (Socialist Democratic Party of Austria)
SS / S.S.	Schutzstaffel ('Protection Squadron')
StAM	Staatsarchiv München (Munich State Archives)
str.	Straße (street / road)
trans.	translated by
UFA	Universum Film AG
USHMM	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum
v	verso (of a folio)
VB	<i>Völkischer Beobachter</i>
VVSt	Vermögensverkehrsstelle (Asset Transfer Office)
WStLA	Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv (City and Regional Archives of Vienna)
WIZO	Women's International Zionist Organization
WJC	World Jewish Congress
YVA	Yad Vashem Archives
ZfA	Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung (Centre for Research on Antisemitism)
ŻIH	Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. Emanuela Ringelbluma (Emanuel Ringelblum Jewish Historical Institute)
ZVfD	Zionistische Vereinigung für Deutschland (Zionist Federation for Germany)

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