

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

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

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Volume 3

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

Volume 3

German Reich  
and Protectorate  
of Bohemia and Moravia  
September 1939–September 1941

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# Contents

Foreword to the English Edition	7
Editorial Preface	9
Introduction	13
List of Documents	69
Documents	87
Part 1: German Reich	89
Part 2: Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia	585
Glossary	767
Approximate Rank and Hierarchy Equivalents	781
List of Abbreviations	785
List of Archives, Sources, and Literature Cited	789
Index	811



## 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 chronologically and according to region. The series places particular focus on the countries which had the highest Jewish populations before the outbreak of the Second World War, particularly Poland and the Soviet Union. The English-language edition reproduces all the materials in the German edition and has been adapted for an English-speaking readership. Apart from those originally written in English, all documents presented here have been translated from the language of the original source. This volume, the third in the series, documents the situation of the Jews in the German Reich and in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, established in March 1939, between the start of the Second World War and September 1941.

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 are written documents and, occasionally, transcribed audio recordings, dating from the period of Nazi rule between 1933 and 1945. The decision was taken not to include memoirs, reports, and judicial documents produced 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, legal texts, newspaper articles, and the reports of foreign observers. Apart from a few exceptions, the translated documents have not been abridged.

The contents of this third volume range from Heydrich's order for the arrest of Polish Jews living in the Reich to a report in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* on the deportation of Stettin's Jews in February 1940, to letters in which Jewish parents write to their children about the experience of living in a 'Jew house', of forced labour, and of day-to-day humiliation. A poem by a writer in exile is presented alongside the deliberations of German administrative officials concerning proposals to force Jews to wear visible identification, and a Jewish representative's written record of his summons to the Gestapo. Events and developments are thus presented from multiple perspectives. A detailed index of people, places, and institutions as well as subject-specific concepts makes it possible to locate documents by theme and emphasizes connections between them.

The editors wish to thank the German Research Foundation (DFG) for its generous funding of the German and English-language projects. The English-language volumes are produced in cooperation with the Yad Vashem International Institute for Holocaust Research. The editors are also grateful to the large number of specialists and private individuals who provided the editors with advice and comments on sources and with information for the annotations, including biographical details for the people featured in the documents. Kathleen Luft, Todd Brown, Allan Blunden, Brenda Black, Nicola Varns, Simon Garnett, Susan Pratt, David Hill, and Sage Anderson translated the German documents for this third English-language volume in the series. The Czech docu-

ments were translated by Elizabeth Spacilova and checked by Luděk Knittel. The Italian document was translated by Alex J. Kay and the Russian document by Simon Lewis. Merle Read and Alissa Jones-Nelson provided proofreading and copyediting services. Peter Palm and Giles Bennett created and advised on the map, and Frank Ortmann and Martin Z. Schröder designed the book jacket. Nora Huberty, Ashley Kirspel, Priska Komaromi, Benedict Oldfield, Charlie Perris, 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, Florian Danecke, Bernhard Lück, Miriam Schelp, Remigius Stachowiak, and Barbara Wünnenberg. Ingo Loose, Sonja Schilcher, Gudrun Schroeter, Magda Veselská, and Maria Wilke worked on the volume in their capacity as research fellows. Follow-up research was conducted by Anat Wollenberger in Jerusalem, and by Merle Bieber, Jutta Fuchshuber, and Andreas Kern in archives in Vienna.

Despite all the care taken, occasional inaccuracies cannot be entirely avoided in a document collection on this scale. We would be grateful for any notifications to this effect. The address of the editorial board is: Leibniz Institute for Contemporary History, Edition 'Judenverfolgung', Finckensteinallee 85/87, 12205 Berlin, Germany.

Berlin/Munich/Freiburg/Klagenfurt, April 2020

## 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.

Abbreviations are explained in the List of Abbreviations. 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, for example situation reports covering extended periods of time, is the document abridged. The same applies to the written records of meetings at which Nazi policies relating to the persecution of Jews, or reactions to these policies, were only addressed within a designated part of the proceedings. Such abridgements are indicated by an ellipsis in square brackets; the contents of the omitted text are outlined in a footnote. An exception is the diary of Luise Solmitz, which has survived in both a handwritten version as well as 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, the excerpt in this volume is presented in accordance with the typescript. The author occasionally added retrospective annotations to both the manuscript and the typescript; these are marked with curly brackets: {}.

Only in a few exceptional cases is a deviation made from the chronological organization of the documents, for example with the reports written by Jewish immigrants in Palestine that provide a retrospective account of the period prior to their flight and emigration. 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 places the document into context 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, 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 latter 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 persons 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 Nazi 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 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 newly translated for this volume, this is indicated in a footnote.

This series will include two further volumes on the German Reich and the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. Volume 6 covers the period from October 1941 to March 1943, and volume 11 the period from April 1943 to the end of the war.

#### *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 generally written according to the contemporary (English) name or the variant commonly used in scholarly literature on the period. This also applies to places that have since been renamed, so, for example, 'Danzig' not 'Gdańsk'. Locations in the Czech lands had both a German and a Czech name: German speakers would, for instance, have referred to Brünn and Mährisch Ostrau, and Czech speakers to Brno and Moravská Ostrava. Usage was frequently contested depending on national affiliation. In the translated documents, these place names are given in either their Czech or their German form according to usage in the original source or the perspective of the writer. The modern English equivalent is given where this is widely used, for example Bohemia, Moravia, or Prague. The titles and subheadings use the variant of the place name(s) mentioned in the document, and the introduction and footnotes use the Czech variant. Both the Czech and German place names are given in the index. In the documents, the terms *Czecho-Slovakia/Czecho-Slovak* or *Czechoslovakia/Czechoslovak* are reproduced as in the original source; in the introduction, footnotes, and titles the terms are given as legally correct in the period under discussion. Hence, the hyphenated forms *Czecho-Slovakia/Czecho-Slovak* are used when referring to the period from 28 October 1918 until 29 February 1920, and from 6 October 1938 to 14 March 1939. The unhyphenated form *Czechoslovakia* is normally used in other cases.

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. Language-specific characters such as the German ß (Eszett) for ss have also been retained. Hebrew and Yiddish terms are described in the footnotes along with any other words requiring explanation.

## Introduction

For the Jews in the German Reich, 1 September 1939 marked a watershed of profound significance. Long socially isolated, they were now confined within a country at war. Although they were still under pressure to emigrate, anyone attempting to do so faced ever greater obstacles. Systematically dispossessed, and at the same time confronted with strict immigration requirements in potential destination countries, most German, Austrian, and Czech Jews failed to gain entry to countries outside the sphere of German control.

Victor Klemperer, a professor of Romance languages – persecuted as a Jew under the Nuremberg Laws despite being a Protestant – predicted as early as the beginning of September 1939 that, with the onset of the war, ‘a morphine injection or something similar was the best thing for us, our life was over’.<sup>1</sup> In the period from September 1939 to September 1941 documented in this volume, the National Socialist leadership proceeded from a policy of forced migration and repression of the Jews to mass murder. By the end of this period, the requirement for German Jews to wear a yellow star made them recognizable to everyone, and their systematic deportation to the occupied territories in the East was imminent.

With the invasion of Poland, a far greater number of Jews than before came under German control. From the very first days of the war, they were confronted with terror and violence from the German occupiers. At the same time, the authorities in the Reich used the war as an opportunity to tighten measures against perceived enemies at home – above all the Jews. Nonetheless, for a long time it was unclear what form the repeatedly invoked ‘solution to the Jewish question’ should actually take. This volume charts the discussions within the National Socialist leadership and administration, the implementation of anti-Jewish measures, and the consequences for the Jewish population. Diaries, letters, and reports attest to the increasing difficulties encountered by Jews in everyday life, the restrictions placed on their movement, their segregation and alienation from mainstream society, the humiliations, and the shifts between hope and despair regarding the issue of emigration. The decree of September 1941 that made it compulsory for Jews to wear a yellow star put an end to the last remaining freedoms that, up until then, one or another Jew might have taken advantage of surreptitiously.

This volume documents the early attempts by the German authorities to deport the Jews to the periphery of their sphere of control, as well as the failure of these forced displacement projects which, in turn, gave rise to increasingly radical ideas. It includes sources that illustrate the difficult situation that the Jewish organizations found themselves in. The Reich Association of Jews in Germany, the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna (IKG), and the Jewish Religious Community of Prague sought to use their limited options to help those who were persecuted, to organize Jewish life in the Reich, and, above all, to help as many Jews as possible to emigrate. But the Jewish officials were

<sup>1</sup> Victor Klemperer, *I Shall Bear Witness: The Diaries of Victor Klemperer, 1933–1941*, trans. Martin Chalmers (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1998 [German edn, 1995]), p. 373 (entry for 3 Sept. 1939).

under constant German scrutiny and control and thus under enormous pressure, as the documents they left behind so strikingly attest.

The so-called Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was considered part of the Greater German Reich, even though it had a special status. Because anti-Jewish policy here followed a pattern similar to that in Germany and Austria, developments in the Protectorate are covered together with developments in the German Reich in this volume, as well as in volumes 6 and 11 of the series. In the present volume, the documentation of events in the Protectorate begins in mid March 1939, i.e. with the invasion of Prague by German troops. The account in this introduction therefore begins with the history of the Protectorate.

## Bohemia and Moravia

When Hitler achieved his objective of the cession of the Sudetenland to the German Reich in the Munich Agreement of 30 September 1938, he viewed this as merely a first step towards the break-up of the Czechoslovak state. By October 1938 he had already decreed that preparations were to be made for ‘dealing with rump Czechoslovakia’.<sup>2</sup> The main pretext was the supposed internal collapse of Czecho-Slovakia – as it was officially known after the loss of the Sudeten German territories – and the alleged repression of the German-speaking population there. On the night of 9 March 1939 the Czecho-Slovak president, Emil Hácha, dismissed the government of autonomous Slovakia, which was pursuing independence under Jozef Tiso. Tiso then travelled on 13 March to Berlin, where Hitler pressed him to proclaim the independence of his state. The next day the Slovak parliament adopted a corresponding resolution, probably also out of fear that its own national territory would otherwise be annexed by Hungary with Germany’s assent. Hácha, in turn, travelled to Berlin with his foreign minister, František Chvalkovský, on 14 March. There Hitler informed him that German troops were about to invade. That same day German troops had already occupied Moravská Ostrava (German: Mährisch Ostrau). Hácha was thus forced to sign a statement in which he placed the fate of the Czech people ‘trustfully in the hands of the Führer’. The Wehrmacht invaded Prague on 15 March 1939. Hitler had thereby broken his promise given in Munich that German territorial claims would be satisfied by the annexation of the Sudetenland, and National Socialist Germany had for the first time annexed a territory with a non-German-speaking majority population.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, around 118,000 people defined as Jews by the Nuremberg Laws were added to the German sphere of control.<sup>4</sup>

2 Detlef Brandes, *Die Tschechen unter deutschem Protektorat*, part 1: *Besatzungspolitik, Kollaboration und Widerstand im Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren bis Heydrichs Tod, 1939–1942* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1969), p. 15.

3 Statement by the German and Czecho-Slovak governments, 15 March 1939, published in *Akten zur Deutschen Auswärtigen Politik 1918–1945*, series D: 1937–1945, vol. 4 (Baden-Baden: Imprimerie Nationale, 1951), p. 235.

4 Miroslav Kárný, ‘Zur Statistik der jüdischen Bevölkerung im sogenannten Protektorat’, *Judaica Bohemiae*, vol. 22, no. 1 (1986), pp. 9–19; Eva Schmidt-Hartmann, ‘Übersicht über die national-

## *Jews in Bohemia and Moravia*

The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia could look back on a history spanning hundreds of years.<sup>5</sup> They were emancipated in the nineteenth century, during the same period as the Jews of Germany and Austria. In 1849 the Habsburg Empire rescinded the discriminatory marriage laws which, since the beginning of the eighteenth century, had meant that, at most, 8,541 Jewish families could live in Bohemia and 5,106 in Moravia, and that only one son in each family was permitted to start a family. With the creation of the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary in 1867, equal rights for Jews were laid down by law throughout the state. From now on, the Bohemian and Moravian Jews enjoyed freedom of movement and could take advantage of educational opportunities and pursue careers that had previously been closed to them.<sup>6</sup>

In Bohemia, industrial development proceeded rapidly during the second half of the nineteenth century, and Jewish entrepreneurs had a substantial share in it, particularly in Prague. Their economic rise frequently went hand in hand with an uncoupling from Jewish traditions and with assimilation into the German-speaking middle classes – and occasionally brought them into conflict with the emerging sense of Czech nationalism. Until the mid nineteenth century, most of the population had been bilingual, but after the 1850s the use of a particular language was increasingly regarded as a form of political and national affirmation.<sup>7</sup>

Efforts to assimilate started to change in the 1880s. Gradually, more and more Jews began to orientate themselves towards Czech culture. In 1890, 74 per cent of the Jews in Prague listed German as their language of daily use, but by 1900 the share of German

sozialistische “Endlösung der jüdischen Frage” in den böhmischen Ländern’, in Ferdinand Seibt, *Deutsche, Tschechen, Sudetendeutsche: Analysen und Stellungnahmen zu Geschichte und Gegenwart aus fünf Jahrzehnten* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2002), p. 321.

- 5 On the history of the Jews in Bohemia and Moravia, see, for example, Kateřina Čapková, *Czechs, Germans, Jews? National Identity and the Jews of Bohemia*, trans. Derek and Marzia Paton (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012 [Czech edn, 2005]); Avigdor Dagan, Gertrude Hirschler, and Lewis Weiner (eds.), *The Jews of Czechoslovakia: Historical Studies and Survey*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1968–1984); Ruth Kestenbergl-Gladstein, *Neuere Geschichte der Juden in den böhmischen Ländern* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1969); Wilma Iggers (ed.), *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: A Historical Reader*, trans. Wilma Iggers, Káča Poláčková-Henley, and Kathrine Talbot (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992 [German edn, 1986]); Natalia Berger (ed.), *Where Cultures Meet: The Story of the Jews of Czechoslovakia* (Tel Aviv: Beth Hatefutsoth, 1990); Tomáš Pěkný, *Historie Židů v Čechách a na Moravě* (Prague: Sefer, 2002); Ferdinand Seibt, ‘Tausend Jahre jüdische Geschichte in Böhmen und Mähren’, in Seibt, *Deutsche, Tschechen, Sudetendeutsche*, pp. 49–62.
- 6 Rudolf W. Wlaschek, *Juden in Böhmen: Beiträge zur Geschichte des europäischen Judentums im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1997), pp. 18 and 45–47; Hillel J. Kieval, *Languages of Community: The Jewish Experience in the Czech Lands* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 65–67.
- 7 Hillel J. Kieval, ‘The Lands Between: The Jews of Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia to 1918’, in Berger, *Where Cultures Meet*, pp. 23–52, here pp. 40–46; Heiko Haumann, *A History of East European Jews*, trans. James Patterson (New York: Central European University Press, 2002 [German edn, 1998]), pp. 91–95 and 199; Michal Frankl, ‘Tschechien’, in Wolfgang Benz (ed.), *Handbuch des Antisemitismus: Judenfeindschaft in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 1: *Länder und Regionen* (Munich: Saur, 2008), pp. 364–370.

speakers had dropped to only slightly over 45 per cent. More than half of the Jews identified themselves as Czech, supported the Czech people's national cause, and hoped thereby in the shorter or longer term to overcome hostility. It was against this backdrop that the Czech-Jewish Political Union (Politická jednota českožidovská) came into being. The Jews of Prague, in particular, sought a greater permeability of the boundaries between the various milieus. In the academic field, the shift away from German culture and towards Czech culture did not occur until later. Most Jewish students continued to study at the German University until 1929. Thereafter, the majority opted for the Czech-speaking Charles University.<sup>8</sup>

In 1897 Theodor Herzl described the complicated situation of the Jews as follows:

In Prague, they were reproached for not being Czechs, and in Žatec and Cheb for not being Germans. Poor Jews, what were they supposed to do? Some tried to become Czech, so they got into trouble with the Germans. Some tried to become Germans, so they were attacked by the Czechs as well as the Germans. It's enough to make one lose one's sanity – or to find it at last.<sup>9</sup>

Political parties such as the Young Czech Party took advantage of such nationalist, anti-semitic sentiments, as did German *völkisch* associations and organizations. Since the 1890s, Czech and German Catholics had joined forces in Christian Social parties with antisemitic tendencies. In this political climate a so-called 'ritual murder' trial began in Polná in 1899, which resulted in a death sentence for Leopold Hilsner, a Jew.<sup>10</sup> The later president Tomáš G. Masaryk, then a professor at the Czech University in Prague, criticized both the accusation of ritual murder and the sentence. A second trial was held, and the following year Hilsner was convicted again. This time he was sentenced to life in prison. As a result the antisemites felt encouraged to make new accusations of ritual murder, and to attack Jews and their mostly Social Democratic advocates.<sup>11</sup>

In Moravia the Jews were more exposed to the influence of Vienna. As a result, they remained rooted to a greater degree in Austrian German culture. The shift towards Czech culture that took place in Bohemia was absent here. In 1900 only 16 per cent of the Jews in Moravia declared Czech to be their language of daily use. Furthermore, reli-

8 Hillel J. Kieval, *The Making of Czech Jewry: National Conflict and Jewish Society in Bohemia, 1870–1918* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Wlaschek, *Juden in Böhmen*, pp. 36–37, 53–57; Haumann, *A History of East European Jews*, p. 202; Peter Demetz, *Prague in Danger: The Years of German Occupation, 1939–1945. Memories and History, Terror and Resistance, Theater and Jazz, Film and Poetry, Politics and War* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2008), pp. 30–31.

9 Theodor Herzl, *The Prague Jews between Two Nations* (1897), cited in Iggers, *Jews of Bohemia and Moravia*, p. 231.

10 Emerging in medieval Europe, the myth of ritual murder was used to accuse Jews of murdering Christian children as part of Jewish religious rituals and served as a pretext for the persecution of Jews. It often featured in National Socialist antisemitic propaganda.

11 Jiří Kovtun, *Tajuplná vražda: Případ Leopolda Hilsnera* (Prague: Sefer, 1994); Hillel J. Kieval, 'Death and the Nation: Ritual Murder as Political Discourse in the Czech Lands', in Maurice Godé, Jacques Le Rider, and Françoise Mayer (eds.), *Allemands, Juifs et Tchèques à Prague de 1890 à 1924: Actes du colloque de Montpellier, décembre 1994* (Montpellier: Université Paul-Valéry, 1996), pp. 83–99; Michal Frankl, 'The Background of the Hilsner Case: Political Antisemitism and Allegations of Ritual Murder, 1896–1900', *Judaica Bohemiae*, vol. 36 (2000), pp. 34–118.

gious beliefs mattered more. In contrast to Bohemia, the autonomy of the Jewish communities was not abolished by the granting of legal equality in 1867. Rather, the communities remained independent until the end of the Habsburg Empire.<sup>12</sup>

After the First World War, Bohemia, Moravia and Moravian Silesia, Slovakia, and Subcarpathian Rus combined to form the Republic of Czechoslovakia. For all their differences, the majority of the Jews from these regions were united by their loyalty to the republic and its president, Tomáš G. Masaryk. Masaryk made them citizens with equal rights in a state in which they very soon felt firmly rooted. He was successful in defusing the anti-Jewish feeling among his compatriots to such an extent that Jewish and gentile Czechs, by and large, lived together peaceably. That was all the more important because the political elite of Czechoslovakia feared that antisemitic incidents might inflame public opinion in Western Europe and the USA against the new state.

The civil rights of the Jews were, indeed, never restricted under the First Czechoslovak Republic. The constitution made it possible officially to declare one's Jewish nationality, a step that was taken by just over 1 per cent of the population in the censuses of 1921 and 1930 (almost 181,000 and 187,000 persons, respectively). In terms of religious confession, however, approximately twice that many Jews lived in the new state, i.e. around 2.5 per cent of the population. However, there were considerable regional differences. For example, in 1930 the share of Jews in the total population of Bohemia and Moravian Silesia was slightly over 1 per cent. In Slovakia, which had formerly belonged to Hungary, it was 4.11 per cent, and in Subcarpathian Rus, 14.14 per cent.

The Jewish minority in the new Czechoslovak republic did not form a unified whole in terms of nationality, religion, or language. The Jews in the heavily industrialized regions of Bohemia, Moravia, and Moravian Silesia were, as in Austria, highly assimilated and lived predominantly in larger cities. In western Slovakia, however, Hungarian influence made its presence felt, and in the eastern part of Slovakia, as well as in Subcarpathian Rus, one was most likely to encounter those who were commonly referred to as *Ostjuden* ('Eastern Jews') and formed a group that was distinguishable from mainstream society.<sup>13</sup>

Tensions between assimilated and conservative Jews existed in every regional group. Franz Kafka described the associated inner conflicts and uncertainty in a letter to the writer Max Brod in June 1921:

Most young Jews who began to write in German wanted to leave their Jewishness behind. Their fathers approved, vaguely (this vagueness was what was outrageous to them). But with their hind legs they still clung to their father's Jewishness, while

12 Kieval, 'The Lands Between: The Jews of Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia to 1918', p. 48; Livia Rothkirchen, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: Facing the Holocaust* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), pp. 19–21.

13 Livia Rothkirchen, 'Czechoslovak Jewry: Growth and Decline. Part I: 1918–1939', in Berger, *Where Cultures Meet*, pp. 107–115, here pp. 108–110; Kieval, *Languages of Community*, pp. 198–216; Čapková, *Czechs, Germans, Jews?*, pp. 14–25; Martin Schulze Wessel, 'Entwürfe und Wirklichkeiten: Die Politik gegenüber den Juden in der Ersten Tschechoslowakischen Republik 1918 bis 1938', in Dittmar Dahlmann and Anke Hilbrenner (eds.), *Zwischen großen Erwartungen und bösem Erwachen: Juden, Politik und Antisemitismus in Ost- und Südosteuropa 1918–1945* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2007), pp. 120–135.

with their front legs they would find no new footing. The despair that ensued became their inspiration.<sup>14</sup>

The tendency towards assimilation was particularly strong in Prague, which was one of the most heavily secularized cities in the first decades of the twentieth century. The historian Saul Friedländer, born to German-speaking Jewish parents in Prague in 1932, recalled that although he visited a good many churches in Prague with his Czech governess, they never went to the famous Old-New Synagogue located near his parents' home, to the Jewish town hall, or to the old Jewish cemetery.<sup>15</sup>

Affiliation with the German or Czech nation was not the decisive issue for the Zionists. In Bohemia the Zionist group was initially so small that Max Brod spread the following joke: 'If the ceiling of a certain café falls in, then that's it for Zionism in Prague.' But gradually the movement grew. Young Prague intellectuals like the historian Hans Kohn, the journalist Robert Weltsch, and Max Brod himself felt increasingly committed to a Jewish nation and championed a modern Jewish culture. In the space of just twelve years, the Zionist Congress was held three times in Czechoslovakia: in 1921 and 1923 in Carlsbad and in 1933 in Prague.<sup>16</sup>

The new liberal state also gave the Jews opportunities for political expression and organization. In 1925 the Jewish Party (*Židovská strana*) sent two delegates, Dr Ludvík Singer and Dr Chaim Kugel, to parliament for the first time. The Zionists were united in the Central Association of Zionists, headquartered in Moravská Ostrava, with some of them supporting the Jewish Economic Party.<sup>17</sup>

The favourable political and social conditions allowed Jewish life in Czechoslovakia to thrive. Numerous cultural and social institutions and associations came into being. Prague, in particular, rapidly became a centre of Jewish life. Jewish writers and creative artists shaped the intellectual climate of the city, and increasing numbers of Jewish professors were appointed to both of Prague's universities. Moreover, according to estimates, 18 per cent of all university students were Jews. Many successful journalists came from Jewish families, and Jews held ministerial positions in various governments of the First Republic. According to statistics compiled in 1930, most Czech Jews were members of the middle class: 45.3 per cent worked in trade and finance, 21.6 per cent in industry and commerce, 8.9 per cent in agriculture, 7.7 per cent in public service, 2.9 per cent in traffic and transportation, and 13.6 per cent in other professions (doctors, lawyers, and so on).<sup>18</sup>

14 Franz Kafka, *Briefe 1902–1924* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1958), p. 337. Quotation translated from the original German. A translation can also be found in Franz Kafka, *Letters to Friends, Family and Editors*, trans. Richard Winston and Clara Winston (New York: Schocken, 1977 [German edn, 1958]), p. 289.

15 Saul Friedländer, *When Memory Comes* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1979), p. 6.

16 Max Brod, *Streitbares Leben 1884–1968* (Munich: F. A. Herbig, 1969), pp. 48–52, here p. 50; Hillel J. Kieval, 'Bohemia and Moravia', in Gershon David Hundert (ed.), *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, vol. 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 202–211.

17 Wlaschek, *Juden in Böhmen*, pp. 77–87; Helena Krejčová, 'Juden in den 30er Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts', in Marek Nekula and Walter Koschmal (eds.), *Juden zwischen Deutschen und Tschechen: Sprachliche und kulturelle Identitäten in Böhmen 1800–1945* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2006), pp. 85–102, here pp. 86–92.

18 Wlaschek, *Juden in Böhmen*, pp. 43–44 and 90; Rothkirchen, 'Czechoslovak Jewry', p. 112; Čapková, *Czechs, Germans, Jews?*, pp. 14–25.

In 1933 democratic Czechoslovakia offered asylum to refugees from Germany – politically exposed Social Democrats and communists, writers who were unwelcome in the Reich, and Jews. The Jewish communities set up efficient structures to aid the refugees. Following the Munich Agreement, the heartland of Czecho-Slovakia was overrun by refugees from the newly created Sudetengau. Democratically inclined Sudeten Germans sought refuge, but most of those who fled were Jews – at least 15,000 by December 1938.

During the short-lived Second Czecho-Slovak Republic, however, which lasted from the Munich Agreement until March 1939, the political climate changed, as right-wing parties came to dominate events. Many Czech newspapers stirred up hatred against Jews, and there was a distinct increase in the number of antisemitic activities. Nationalist groups were in the ascendant, and the Sudeten German Party (SdP) became the dominant German party in Czecho-Slovakia.<sup>19</sup> On 14 October 1938, just two weeks after the founding of the republic, professional associations of lawyers and doctors issued a call for Jews to be barred from practising medicine, law, and technical professions. Because the government under Prime Minister Rudolf Beran was anxious to demonstrate through its stance on the ‘Jewish question’ that it was open to the policy of the German government, the Ministry of Defence suspended all officers of Jewish descent on 18 February 1939 and advised them to apply for a discharge. On 17 March 1939, one day after the establishment of the Protectorate, the Beran government met the demands of the doctors and lawyers for the exclusion of Jews from these professions.<sup>20</sup>

The refugees from the Sudeten German territories were only briefly out of harm’s way. Max Mannheimer, who later survived the Theresienstadt ghetto and the Auschwitz and Dachau camps, recalled in his memoirs how his family initially fled to the interior of the country in the autumn of 1938. However, German troops caught up with them again in the spring of 1939.<sup>21</sup> Others managed to escape in the nick of time. Kafka’s friend Max Brod caught the last train to the Polish border on 14 March 1939, and only just managed to get out of the country and continue his journey to Jerusalem. Later he heard that the Gestapo had gone to the editorial offices of the Zionist newspaper *Selbstwehr* on the same day that Prague was occupied to look for him and his colleagues Felix Weltsch and Hans Lichtwitz.<sup>22</sup>

19 Wlaschek, *Juden in Böhmen*, pp. 95–99; Helena Krejčová, ‘Spezifische Voraussetzungen des Antisemitismus und antijüdische Aktivitäten im Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren’, in Jörg K. Hoensch, Stanislav Biman, and Ľubomír Lipták (eds.), *Judenemanzipation – Antisemitismus – Verfolgung in Deutschland, Österreich-Ungarn, den Böhmischem Ländern und in der Slowakei* (Essen: Klartext, 1999), pp. 175–194; Frankl, ‘Tschechien’; Jörg Osterloh, ‘Sudetenland’, 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. 68–98, here p. 88.

20 Heinrich Bodenseck, ‘Das Dritte Reich und die Lage der Juden in der Tschecho-Slowakei nach München’, *Vierteljahrshfte für Zeitgeschichte*, vol. 9 (1961), pp. 249–261; Miroslav Kárný, ‘Die “Judenfrage” in der nazistischen Okkupationspolitik’, *Historica*, vol. 21 (1982), pp. 137–192, here p. 152; Frankl, ‘Tschechien’, p. 368.

21 Max Mannheimer, *Spätes Tagebuch: Theresienstadt – Auschwitz. Warschau – Dachau* (Munich: Pendo, 2009), p. 34.

22 Brod, *Streitbares Leben*, pp. 285–292; Demetz, *Prague in Danger*, pp. 32–33.

### *The Administration of the Protectorate*

On the evening of 15 March 1939, after Hácha and Foreign Minister Chvalkovský had returned from Berlin, they went to Prague Castle, the president's official residence, to inform the Czech government of the German coercion. At the same time, in another part of the castle, Hitler, Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop, and State Secretary Wilhelm Stuckart were drafting – without Czech participation – the Führer decree with which Hitler, one day later, proclaimed the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, which from now on was part of the German Reich. Although Article 3 stated that “The Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia is autonomous and shall govern itself”, the next paragraph added the crucial qualification that this must occur ‘in conformity with the political, military, and economic interests of the Reich’. The approximately 250,000 German inhabitants of the Protectorate were defined as ‘German state subjects’ (*deutsche Staatsangehörige*) and ‘Reich citizens’ (*Reichsbürger*), and the Czechs as ‘subjects of the Protectorate’ (*Staatsangehörige des Protektorats*). The position of the Jewish population was not specified in the decree. The regulation meant, in effect, that most natives of the territory now held only the status of second-class citizens. In addition, only the German residents were under German jurisdiction, whereas the others were under the jurisdiction of the Protectorate.<sup>23</sup>

The Protectorate was initially placed under military administration for one month. A chief of the civil administration was assigned to each of the army groups. Seasoned personnel were drawn upon for these positions. In Bohemia the Sudeten German Gauleiter Konrad Henlein performed this task; in Moravia, the Reich commissioner for Vienna, Josef Bürckel. They established a German administration and closely monitored the existing Czech administration.<sup>24</sup>

On 15 April, Baron Konstantin von Neurath, Germany's foreign minister until 1938, took up his position as head of the German administration in the Protectorate. He was regarded as an elder statesman with diplomatic experience and a moderate approach. Neurath had already been appointed Reich Protector by Hitler on 18 March 1939 and was directly accountable to him. Karl Hermann Frank, a former Sudeten German Party official, became von Neurath's state secretary, and from 28 March 1939 also functioned as Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF), holding both positions simultaneously.

Frank was born in Carlsbad in 1898. He did his utmost to become the strong man in the Protectorate and, with Heinrich Himmler's backing, succeeded in this endeavour. The office of Reich Protector was to change hands: in September 1941 Hitler replaced von Neurath – who was regarded as weak – in all but title with Reinhard Heydrich, whom he named Deputy Reich Protector. Following Heydrich's death in 1942 from the

23 *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1939, I, p. 485; Brandes, *Die Tschechen unter deutschem Protektorat*, pp. 20–21; Wolfgang Benz, ‘Typologie der Herrschaftsformen in den Gebieten unter deutschem Einfluß’, in Wolfgang Benz, Johannes Houwink ten Cate, and Gerhard Otto (eds.), *Die Bürokratie der Okkupation: Strukturen der Herrschaft und Verwaltung im besetzten Europa* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), pp. 11–25; Jan Gebhart and Jan Kuklík, *Velké dějiny země Koruny české*, vol. 15a (Prague: Paseka, 2006), pp. 155–192.

24 Wolf Gruner, ‘Das Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren und die antijüdische Politik 1939–1941: Lokale Initiativen, regionale Maßnahmen, zentrale Entscheidungen im “Großdeutschen Reich”’, *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente*, vol. 12 (2005), pp. 27–62, here p. 31.

consequences of an assassination attempt, Kurt Daluege was appointed his successor. Frank, however, who had made it his goal to Germanize the region, remained in office until the end of the war.

Frank built up a tight network of police surveillance. At the onset of the war, the status of the police was both legally defined and consolidated on 1 September 1939 by the Regulation on the Establishment of the Administration and the German Security Police in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. The police force was assigned to the Reich Protector, rather than subordinated to him, so that he had no managerial authority over it. Instead, the Senior Commander of the Security Police and the Senior Commander of the Order Police were responsible to Frank. The Gestapo head offices in Prague and Brünn (Brno), which were authorized to issue directives to the Oberlandräte (regional administrators), were responsible for twelve and seven Oberlandratsbezirke (administrative districts), respectively. In August 1941 the Gestapo head office in Brünn had 638 employees, while the Prague office had 812. In addition, approximately 350 SS Security Service (SD) members operated in the Protectorate.<sup>25</sup>

Kurt von Burgsdorff, ministerial director, later undersecretary, was appointed to serve as Frank's representative in the Office of the State Secretary. The Central Office for Bohemia and Moravia, under the direction of Wilhelm Stuckart, state secretary in the Reich Ministry of the Interior, acted as intermediary between the agencies of the Reich Protector and those of the Reich.<sup>26</sup>

Oberlandräte were put in charge of regional headquarters, each covering two or three Czech district administrations (Bezirkshauptmannschaften). They supervised the agencies of the Protectorate in their respective districts and submitted reports to the Reich Protector concerning developments in their area of activity.<sup>27</sup> Like the department heads in the Office of the Reich Protector, they were mostly Germans from the Reich. By contrast, Sudeten Germans were favoured for appointment as Bezirkshauptleute (district commissioners) and mayors, owing to their superior knowledge of the country and its people. In Prague the Czech Otokar Klapka continued to serve as mayor at first, until he was arrested in July 1940 for maintaining contacts with the resistance movement and replaced by Alois Říha. In October 1941 Klapka was executed for his links to the resistance. The Sudeten German historian and politician Josef Pfitzner functioned as his deputy and simultaneously as the government commissioner in charge of the administration of Prague. Guided by notions of Germanization much like those of Frank, he quickly

25 Copy of the regulation in BArch, R 70 Böhmen Mähren. See also Oldřich Sládek, *Zločinná role gestapa: Nacistická bezpečnostní policie v českých zemích 1938–1945* (Prague: Naše Vojsko, 1986); Oldřich Sládek, 'Standrecht und Standgericht: Die Gestapo in Böhmen und Mähren', in Gerhard Paul and Klaus-Michael Mallmann (eds.), *Die Gestapo im Zweiten Weltkrieg: "Heimatfront" und besetztes Europa* (Darmstadt: Primus, 2000), pp. 317–339, here pp. 324–325; Marc Oprach, *Nationalsozialistische Judenpolitik im Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren: Entscheidungsabläufe und Radikalisierung* (Hamburg: Kovač, 2006), pp. 47–49; René Küpper, *Karl Hermann Frank (1898–1946): Politische Biographie eines sudetendeutschen Nationalsozialisten* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2010), pp. 146–150.

26 Brandes, *Die Tschechen unter deutschem Protektorat*, pp. 28–34; Küpper, *Karl Hermann Frank*.

27 Stanislav Šisler, 'Příspěvek k vývoji a organizaci okupační správy v českých zemích v letech 1939–1945', *Sborník archivních prací*, vol. 2 (1963), pp. 46–95.

chose Germans to fill key administrative positions in the city, whose inhabitants were mostly Czech.<sup>28</sup>

A Czech government operated alongside the German Reich Protectorate administration. At the meeting of state secretaries in the Reich Ministry of the Interior on 25 March 1939 (Doc. 240), Stuckart again put on record 'the will of the Führer' that 'the Reich make use of its powers [...] only to the extent that is absolutely necessary in the interests of the Reich'.<sup>29</sup> In practice, however, the Czech Protectorate government was forced to adjust its policies to the political, military, and economic interests of the German Reich in compliance with the wishes of the Reich Protector and his German administration. The Reich Protector was empowered to raise objections to laws and measures passed by the Czech government and to enact laws himself. Moreover, the members of the Protectorate government had to be approved by him. At the same time, it was in the interest of the German rulers to include the previous political elites, albeit with limited responsibilities, in order to ensure the continuity of administration.<sup>30</sup>

The 66-year-old Emil Hácha remained in office as president. Fearing that the parliament would refuse to affirm the government, he dissolved it on 21 March 1939 and established National Solidarity (Národní souručenství), a mass organization that was intended to represent all Czechs and thus to strengthen their cohesion. In doing so, he managed to prevail against both the Czech fascist organizations influenced by General Radola Gajda and the right-wing extremist Vlajka (Flag) movement, which were seeking to enter government or had attempted to seize power for themselves in the chaotic days preceding the declaration of the Protectorate. Hácha established a fifty-member Committee of National Solidarity, into which he incorporated political figures from the period before the Munich Agreement. At its first meeting on 21 March, this body accepted the president's proposal for the founding of a unity party. Numerous members of the resistance movement also aligned themselves with National Solidarity; however, it increasingly came under German surveillance, and many of its officials were arrested by the Gestapo.

General Alois Eliáš, formerly a delegate to the League of Nations and minister of transport in the Beran government, served as prime minister from 27 April 1939. His great ambition was to regain state sovereignty. To that end he worked in secret, until his arrest in autumn 1941, with the Czechoslovak government in exile in London and with the resistance movement in the country itself. In June 1942 he was executed for 'high treason'. Minister of Agriculture Ladislav Feierabend and the head of the Supreme Board

28 Vojtěch Šustek, 'Die nationalsozialistische Karriere eines sudetendeutschen Historikers', in Alena Mišková, Josef Pfitzner, and Vojtěch Šustek (eds.), *Josef Pfitzner a protektorátní Praha v letech 1939–45*, vol. 1 (Prague: Scriptorium, 2000), pp. 71–109.

29 NAP, 109-1/88, fols. 1–8a. Published in Miroslav Kárný and Jaroslava Milotová (eds.), *Anatomie okupační politiky hitlerovského Německa v 'Protektorátu Čechy a Morava': Dokumenty z období říšského protektora Konstantina von Neuratha* (Prague: Ústav Českosloven. a Světových Dějin ČSAV, 1987), doc. 2, pp. 4–17, here p. 6. On this meeting, see also Wolf Gruner, *The Holocaust in Bohemia and Moravia: Czech Initiatives, German Policies, Jewish Responses* (New York/Oxford: Berghahn, 2019).

30 Brandes, *Die Tschechen unter deutschem Protektorat*, p. 32; Brandes, 'Politische Kollaboration im "Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren"', in Joachim Tauber (ed.), *'Kollaboration' in Nordosteuropa: Erscheinungsformen und Deutungen im 20. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), pp. 453–462, here pp. 458–459.

of Prices,<sup>31</sup> Jaromír Nečas, had fled in January 1940; they later became part of the government in exile.<sup>32</sup>

The president, the government, and the prime minister cooperated with the German rulers in the hope of thereby being able to stave off more serious consequences for the Czech population. Indeed, life under German rule was tolerable for most Czechs at first. However, plans were emerging for the Germanization of what the National Socialists regarded as *Lebensraum*: the long-term goal was to establish a German region here. Czechs considered incapable of assimilation were to be expelled and those deemed 'hostile to the Reich' were to be murdered; the others were to be made into Germans. The latter course of action seemed feasible, as Czechs ranked higher in the National Socialist racial hierarchy than, for example, their Polish neighbours. Moreover, it was necessary for pragmatic reasons. Czech industry would, after all, have collapsed without its workers, and Czech industrial facilities were of considerable significance for the German war-time economy. According to estimates, 9 to 12 per cent of the industrial production of the German Reich came from the Protectorate.<sup>33</sup>

The Czech government hoped that the German occupation would be of limited duration. It endeavoured to play for time and, through its contacts with the government in exile, to begin making arrangements for a time when sovereignty would be regained. Often the same individuals were active in the government and in the resistance movement. However, the Protectorate government also sought to adjust to the German administration, and took pains to secure Czech participation in Aryanization measures. Ultimately, it even sought to control the course of 'Jewish policy' in the Protectorate.<sup>34</sup>

### *The Persecution of the Jews in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia*

After the Wehrmacht invasion the initial targets of persecution were predominantly politically suspect Czechs and refugees from Germany. Using a list previously compiled for Operation Grid (*Aktion Gitter*), two *Einsatzgruppen* (mobile task forces) of the Security Police arrested alleged and genuine opponents, including at least 4,376 people in

31 An institution responsible for setting retail prices.

32 Helmut Heiber, 'Zur Justiz im Dritten Reich: Der Fall Eliáš', *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, vol. 3 (1955), pp. 275–296; Brandes, *Die Tschechen unter deutschem Protektorat*, pp. 24–52 and 97–106; Vojtěch Mastný, *The Czechs under Nazi Rule: The Failure of National Resistance, 1939–1942* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), pp. 155–165; Pavel Maršálek, *Protektorát Čechy a Morava: Státoprávní a politické aspekty nacistického okupačního režimu v českých zemích 1939–1945* (Prague: Karolinum, 2002), pp. 57–64.

33 Václav Král, *Otázky hospodářského a sociálního vývoje v českých zemích v letech 1938–1945*, 3 vols. (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1957–1959); Peter Němec, 'Das tschechische Volk und die nationalsozialistische Germanisierung des Raumes', *Bohemia*, vol. 32 (1991), pp. 424–455; Isabel Heinemann, 'Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut': *Das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitische Neuordnung Europas* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2003), pp. 127–186; Chad Bryant, *Prague in Black: Nazi Rule and Czech Nationalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), pp. 84–89 and 104–138; Küpper, *Karl Hermann Frank*, pp. 158–178.

34 Brandes, 'Politische Kollaboration', pp. 458–462; Bryant, *Prague in Black*, pp. 41–45.

Bohemia alone, 747 of whom were German émigrés, as well as numerous Jews. At least 1,000 German émigrés were arrested in Moravia.<sup>35</sup>

Yet the first attacks deliberately targeting the Jews took place as early as March 1939. Not only Germans but also Czechs set fire to synagogues in several cities, looted shops, and stole objects of value (Doc. 239).<sup>36</sup> The initial period of German occupation was marked above all by looting. 'Even before the Germans had ensconced themselves here, it was clear that their version of occupation was actually an enormous plundering raid,' wrote Václav Černý, a Czech literary scholar and vice chancellor of Prague's Charles University; 'this was the first thing to really emerge'.<sup>37</sup> The writer Jiří Weil, who later feigned suicide to avoid being deported and survived in hiding, similarly wrote that the German occupiers 'thought only of how they could enrich themselves, [...] and were willing, for the sake of worldly goods, to murder, loot, and steal'.<sup>38</sup>

However, to prevent the sort of unauthorized Aryanizations by freebooting profiteers that had occurred in Vienna after the Anschluss,<sup>39</sup> on 16 March 1939 Hermann Göring, in his capacity as Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan, ordered in an express letter that the 'restructuring of ownership' in the Protectorate was to be controlled by the Reich Ministry of Economics (Doc. 237). In addition, with the appointment of Hans Kehrl, he put in place an agent of the Reich Ministry of Economics who was to pursue, from Prague, the economic integration of the Protectorate into the Reich. A turf war over these matters quickly flared up among various German and Czech authorities. The heads of the civil administration, Henlein and Bürckel, announced that no one was empowered to Aryanize Jewish businesses without their authorization.<sup>40</sup>

The government of the Czech Protectorate now also took action against Jews. As early as 17 March 1939 it stripped Jewish physicians and lawyers of their licences to practise, as noted, mandated the exclusion of Jews from top positions in industry, and ordered that Jewish shops be identified as such.<sup>41</sup> In doing so, it complied with the wish of the German rulers, who were anxious to make the Czechs accomplices in their anti-Jewish policy. A directive from Hitler was announced at a meeting of state secretaries in the Reich Ministry of the Interior on 25 March 1939. This made it clear that although the Jews were to be 'excluded' from public life in the Protectorate, this was to be the task of the Protectorate government 'and not the direct responsibility of the Reich', as the 'Jewish question' in the Protectorate would presumably 'develop of its own accord' (Doc. 240). In May, von Burgsdorff affirmed: 'The Führer has ordered that the Czechs should deal with the Jewish question themselves and that we should not interfere' (Doc. 245).<sup>42</sup>

35 Sládek, *Zločinná role gestapa*, p. 66; Küpper, *Karl Hermann Frank*, pp. 146–147.

36 Jens Hampel, 'Das Schicksal der jüdischen Bevölkerung der Stadt Iglau 1938–1942', *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente*, vol. 5 (1998), pp. 70–99, here pp. 74–78.

37 Václav Černý, *Kultur im Widerstand: Prag 1938–1945*, vol. 1: 1938–1942 (Bremen: Kafka-Press, 1979), p. 193.

38 Weil, Jiří, 'Klagegesang für 77 297 Opfer', in Jiří Weil, *Leben mit dem Stern*, trans. Bettina Kaibach (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1989 [Czech edn, 1949]), pp. 337–386, here p. 340.

39 See PMJ 2, p. 39.

40 Brandes, *Die Tschechen unter deutschem Protektorat*, p. 33; Kárný, 'Die "Judenfrage" in der nazistischen Okkupationspolitik', pp. 145–151; Gebhart and Kuklík, *Velké dějiny země Koruny české*, pp. 192–193.

41 Gruner, 'Das Protektorat', p. 33.

42 Kárný, 'Die "Judenfrage" in der nazistischen Okkupationspolitik', pp. 160–161.

Beyond the disputes over economic decision-making, a number of different offices sought to secure their influence over other contested policy areas. On 11 May 1939 Prime Minister Eliáš submitted to the Reich Protector the draft of a government regulation on the status of the Jewish population in which the definition of the term 'Jew' was based on religious criteria (Doc. 246). Although the draft envisaged extensive restrictions for Jews, the German side viewed it as too moderate. The Senior Commander of the Security Police, Walter Stahlecker, thus told Frank on 1 June: 'As experience has shown that it is precisely the rich and influential Jews who have abandoned the Mosaic faith, these persons would thus not be treated as Jews according to the draft.'<sup>43</sup> The Reich Protector resolved both disputes on 21 June 1939 by announcing a regulation on Jewish assets. In it he determined that the Nuremberg Laws should also apply in the Protectorate (Doc. 247). To ensure that the looting of the Jewish population would benefit the German Reich, the Reich Protector appropriated for himself all authority for Aryanization. As a result, the instructions to leave the 'Jewish question' to the Czechs were rendered completely obsolete. At a single stroke the Reich Protector had resolved outstanding disputes over areas of responsibility in favour of the German powers.<sup>44</sup>

This pattern was repeated in similar instances. In the summer of 1939 the Czech Protectorate government drafted a government regulation on the legal status of Jews in public life. Because German permission was delayed, however, it was not made public until 24 April 1940, and with several major amendments. For example, paragraph 3 of the regulation had originally granted the Czech president the right to declare Jews who, in his opinion, played an important role in the country to be 'honorary Aryans'. The revised version of this paragraph stated that this required the consent of the Reich Protector. Von Neurath rejected every single application (Doc. 296).<sup>45</sup>

Strengthened by von Neurath's regulation of 21 June 1939, Germans became the major beneficiaries of Aryanization in the Protectorate. The Group for Trade and Industry in the Office of the Reich Protector set up a 'de-Jewification' (*Entjudung*) section, which was headed first by Siegfried Ludwig and then, from the autumn of 1939, by his deputy Rudolf Stier, who had previously worked in the corresponding department under the Reich commissioner for the Sudetenland. In April 1941 the section took stock of its achievements:

The goal of de-Jewification was to place all applicable businesses, trading firms, etc. in German hands. In selecting the applicants for Jewish businesses, importance was

43 Letter from the Senior Commander of the Security Police to K. H. Frank, dated 1 June 1939, NAP, ÚŘP, 3b 5801, box 388.

44 Miroslav Kárný, '*Konečné řešení: Genocida českých židů v německé protektorátní politice*' (Prague: Academia, 1991), pp. 18–75; Jaroslava Milotová, 'Die Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung in Prag: Genesis und Tätigkeit bis zum Anfang des Jahres 1940', *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente*, vol. 4 (1997), pp. 7–30, here p. 8; Jaroslava Milotová, 'Zur Geschichte der Verordnung Konstantin von Neuraths über das jüdische Vermögen', *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente*, vol. 9 (2002), pp. 75–115; Helena Petrův, '*Právní postavení židů v Protektorátu Čechy a Morava (1939–1941)*' (Prague: Institut Tereziánské iniciativy, 2000); Jörg Osterloh and Harald Wixforth, 'Die "Arisierung" im Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren', in Harald Wixforth, *Die Expansion der Dresdner Bank in Europa* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2006), pp. 306–350, here pp. 307–308.

45 Miroslav Kárný, 'Die Ausschaltung der Juden aus dem öffentlichen Leben des Protektorats und die Geschichte des "Ehrenariertums"', *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente* (1998), pp. 7–40.

attached to enabling Germans from Protectorate territory to obtain a secure livelihood and allowing as many German Volksgenossen as possible from the so-called Altreich or abroad to transfer their place of residence to the territory of the Protectorate, so that they could establish a new sphere of activity here. As a result, there has been considerable ethnopolitical activity and the German Volkskörper in the territory of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia has been enlarged.<sup>46</sup>

The transfer of assets to Germans was furthered not least by the appointment of German trustees. At the end of June 1940, of the 1,205 trustees in the operational sphere of the Oberlandrat in Prague, 1,109 were Germans and 96 were Czechs.<sup>47</sup> In early October 1940 the Böhmisches Escompte Bank reported that, in the Protectorate, 'there is no longer any significant de-Jewification property available to new applicants'.<sup>48</sup> Although there had been complaints at first about the lack of success of Aryanization (Doc. 268), the newspapers in the Protectorate were soon full of notices announcing changes of ownership (Doc. 294).

German ethnopolitical measures in the Protectorate also included efforts to increase the pressure on Jews to emigrate. At the same time, however, it was to be guaranteed that the Protectorate Jews would not compete with the Jewish emigrants from the Old Reich for the few possible havens of refuge. Only under this condition did Reinhard Heydrich, the Chief of the Security Police and the SD, who initially wanted to prohibit emigration from the Protectorate, consent to the establishment of a Central Office for Jewish Emigration here as well. In late June 1939 his 'resettlement expert', Adolf Eichmann, came to Prague and set up the office together with Stahlecker. The Protectorate government also sent staff. In July a delegation of members of the Czech government travelled to Vienna, where it gathered detailed information about the work of the Central Office in Vienna (Docs. 252, 255). Through the Reich Protector's regulation of 5 March 1940 on the supervision of Jews and Jewish organizations, the Central Office was granted oversight of all Jewish communities in the Protectorate.<sup>49</sup> It exercised control through the Prague Religious Community, which was charged with ensuring that the directives were also implemented throughout the territory. The Jewish representatives in Prague often only received their orders orally from the Central Office (Doc. 263). Hence, it is difficult to find evidence of many of the anti-Jewish regulations in the Protectorate. The Central Office's exploitation of the Prague Religious Community for its own ends resulted in a dilemma: many Jews viewed the Community as the originator of restrictive regulations.

46 'Bericht: Die Kapitalverflechtung zwischen dem Protektorat und dem Reich nach dem Stand vom Frühjahr 1941', published in Kárný and Milotová, *Anatomie*, pp. 187–199, here p. 197; Frank Bajohr, 'Die wirtschaftliche Existenzvernichtung und Enteignung der Juden: Forschungsbilanz und offene Fragen', *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente*, vol. 13 (2006), pp. 348–365.

47 Report by the trustee supervision for the Oberlandrat in Prague, 26 June 1940, NAP, ÚŘP, I–1a 1803, box 279, fol. 303.

48 Helma Kaden (ed.), *Europa unterm Hakenkreuz: Die faschistische Okkupationspolitik in Österreich und der Tschechoslowakei (1938–1945)* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1988), doc. 82, pp. 156–157.

49 Milotová, 'Die Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung in Prag', p. 23.

Eichmann left the Protectorate towards the end of 1939 and transferred to the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA). Stahlecker moved to Norway as Senior Commander of the Security Police in April 1940. His successor was Horst Böhme, who had a background in commerce. However, it was Hans Günther, a former colleague of Eichmann's in the Vienna Central Office, who actually ran the Central Office in Prague. While Böhme went on to command SS Einsatzgruppe B in Belarus in 1943, Günther remained in office until the end of the war and became one of the main persons responsible for anti-Jewish policy in the Protectorate.<sup>50</sup>

## The German Reich and Heightening Persecution of the Jews

Since the November pogroms of 1938, the German government had greatly intensified its efforts to exclude the Jews from the economy and had thus deprived most of them of their livelihood. The authorities pursued two main objectives: first, to dispossess the Jews, and second, to force them to emigrate. However, these two purposes contradicted one another, and the Jews were caught in the middle, for they needed money to be able to emigrate. Jews without means had scarcely any chance of gaining entry to another country.

There was little enthusiasm for the war among the German population in September 1939. The horrors of the First World War had by no means been forgotten. In the course of these new preparations for war, therefore, the National Socialist leadership endeavoured to avoid any dramatic fall in the standard of living, lest the loyalty of the population be jeopardized. Yet this approach was compatible only to a limited extent with the increased build-up of arms and the allocation of economic resources for the war. The German Reich had neither adequate foreign-exchange reserves nor a balanced budget at its command, and raw materials and manpower were in short supply. The break-up of Czechoslovakia, which gave the Reich access to the Czech industrial regions, was thus of great economic significance for overcoming bottlenecks. The expropriation of the Jewish population was justified on grounds of (wartime) economic necessity, as were the compulsory deployment of the Jews as forced labour and their eviction from their homes, which were then allocated to non-Jews. Moreover, propaganda blamed 'the Jews' for the war and thus provided the rationale for depriving them of their rights.<sup>51</sup>

With the invasion of Poland, the German state leadership tightened its policies on various levels. The German occupation of Poland was marked by terror and unprecedented violence. Even in the first weeks of the war, police and Wehrmacht units murdered a great

50 Ibid.; 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.

51 Jutta Sywottek, *Mobilmachung für den totalen Krieg: Die propagandistische Vorbereitung der deutschen Bevölkerung auf den Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1976); Ludolf Herbst, *Das nationalsozialistische Deutschland 1933–1945: Die Entfesselung der Gewalt. Rassismus und Krieg* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1996), pp. 251–255; Adam Tooze, *The Wages of Destruction: The Making and Breaking of the Nazi Economy* (London: Allen Lane, 2006), pp. 326–357; Kim Christian Priemel, *Flick: Eine Konzerngeschichte vom Kaiserreich bis zur Bundesrepublik* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2007), pp. 390–431.

many Jews and Poles. Military expansion provided the planning staff of the newly established Reich Security Main Office, the SS Race and Settlement Main Office, and other German institutions with completely new alternatives for action. The bilateral agreements with the Soviet Union, for example, created the opportunity for large-scale population transfers and Germanization projects. The implementation of the agreements, however, soon caused new problems, which resulted in partial revisions, so-called interim solutions, and repeated population displacements, thereby further increasing the pressure to act. The brutal eviction of Poles and Jews in favour of German settlers was made easier by the fact that worldwide public attention was focusing on the war. The German warlords now had to make far less allowance for international reactions to their crimes than had been the case in peacetime.<sup>52</sup>

In the period from September 1939 to spring 1942, various institutions and authorities in the Reich devised a host of plans – correspondingly adjusted as the war progressed – for a ‘solution’ to the Jewish question. The plans were often tested only in rudimentary fashion and were withdrawn in some cases. Although the individual operations and concepts sometimes overlapped chronologically, this period of approximately two and a half years can be divided into five phases.

In the first phase, up to the early summer of 1940, large-scale resettlement projects were attempted in the occupied territories under the direction of the SS. At the same time, the Reich Security Main Office organized the first deportations of Jews from the so-called Old Reich, the Protectorate, and Austria to the occupied Polish territories.

Second, between early summer and approximately November 1940, the military victories in Western Europe led the German state leadership to contemplate for the first time an overall European ‘solution to the Jewish question’ which would consist of deporting all Jews to the French colonial island of Madagascar.

With the failure of this project and the start of preparations for the invasion of the Soviet Union from late 1940, the vague notion of a ‘territorial final solution’ gained acceptance. The plan was no longer to deport the European Jews to Madagascar, but instead to the Soviet territories that Germany was expecting to conquer. In this third phase the term ‘final solution to the Jewish question’ cropped up with increasing frequency in the plans, without systematic mass murder necessarily being meant at this point. Nevertheless, both ‘territorial solutions’ assumed the death of a large number of Jews.

The decisive shift towards radicalization came about with the invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941. In the very first days of the war of annihilation (*Vernichtungskrieg*), Einsatzgruppen and police units began to shoot thousands of Jewish men in the occupied Soviet territories. In August they also began to murder women and children. During this fourth phase Hitler agreed to make it compulsory for Jews in the Reich to wear a yellow star as identification. In contrast to his initial plan, he also agreed for them to

52 Peter Longerich, *Holocaust: The Nazi Persecution and Murder of the Jews*, new edn, trans. Shaun Whiteside (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010 [German edn, 1998]), pp. 229–230; Götz Aly, *‘Final Solution’: Nazi Population Policy and the Murder of the European Jews*, trans. Belinda Cooper and Allison Brown (London: Arnold, 1999 [German edn, 1995]); Klaus-Michael Mallmann and Bogdan Musiał (eds.), *Genesis des Genozids: Polen 1939–1941* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2004); Jochen Böhrer, *Auftakt zum Vernichtungskrieg: Die Wehrmacht in Polen 1939* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2006). On developments in Poland, see the Introduction to PMJ 4.

be deported to the East while the war was still ongoing. The present volume documents these developments up to September 1941.

Finally, between autumn 1941 and spring 1942 the decision to systematically deport and murder millions of European Jews assumed concrete form within the National Socialist leadership. This development is described in detail in volume 6 of the series.<sup>53</sup>

## Between the Onset of War and the Summer of 1940

After the Munich Agreement, Hitler confronted Poland, which he had planned to make a junior partner and a staging area for war against the Soviet Union, with ultimatums. His demands included extraterritorial access through the 'Polish Corridor' to East Prussia, the incorporation of the Free City of Danzig into the Reich, and the accession of Poland to the Anti-Comintern Pact. When the Polish government refused, Hitler gave orders in early April to commence preparations to invade Poland ('Case White') and abrogated the non-aggression pact of 1934 between the two countries. To general amazement both at home and abroad the Soviet Union, previously stylized as the great ideological enemy, now became the ally of Germany, which saw this as a way of keeping its options open. On 23 August 1939 the respective foreign ministers, Joachim von Ribbentrop and Vyacheslav M. Molotov, signed a non-aggression pact containing a secret protocol in which the two countries staked out their spheres of influence in East Central Europe and, in particular, divided up Poland between themselves.

When the Wehrmacht invaded Poland one week later, France and Britain quickly responded by declaring war on the Reich, but did not attack Germany. In the following weeks, German troops occupied around half of the national territory of Poland.<sup>54</sup>

### *Terror in the Reich*

The opportunities afforded by the war in Poland developed a dynamic of their own within the German Reich as well. While preparing for war, the regime had already created the domestic political prerequisites to crush all resistance if Germany went to war. Construction of new concentration camps to detain 'enemies of the Reich' had started as early as 1937. The relevant ministries created new and more punitive legislation for

53 On developments between autumn 1939 and spring 1942, see, for example, Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, 3rd edn (New Haven, CT/London: Yale University Press, 2003 [1961]); Leni Yahil, *The Holocaust: The Fate of European Jewry, 1932–1945*, trans. Ina Friedman and Haya Galai (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990 [Hebrew edn, 1987]); Longerich, *Holocaust*, pp. 131–310; Christopher R. Browning, with contributions by Jürgen Matthäus, *The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939 – March 1942* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), p. 19; Saul Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, vol. 2: *The Years of Extermination, 1939–1945* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007).

54 Gerhard L. Weinberg, *A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Browning, *The Origins of the Final Solution*, pp. 15–16; Richard Overy, *1939: Countdown to War* (London: Allen Lane, 2009). See also the Introduction to PMJ 4.

the start of the war. The Wartime Special Penal Regulation (*Kriegssonderstrafrechtsverordnung*), issued in August 1938, took effect on 1 September 1939.<sup>55</sup> A few days later, on 4 September, it was followed by the Wartime Economy Regulation (*Kriegswirtschaftsverordnung*),<sup>56</sup> and the next day by the Regulation against *Volksschädlinge* ('vermin'; people considered harmful to the German *Volk*).<sup>57</sup> This ensured that the death penalty could be imposed even for loosely defined crimes and thus more frequently than before. A substantial percentage of all offences were now tried before special courts (*Sondergerichte*). After German military courts in Poland had attempted, during the first weeks of war, to pass sentence on SS men for the crimes committed there, Hitler issued a secret amnesty decree on 17 October 1939 that placed all members of the SS and the police under special jurisdiction, and thus granted them extensive immunity from prosecution.<sup>58</sup>

On 27 September 1939 the Reich Security Main Office was created by merging the SD and the Security Police (Gestapo and Criminal Police). It now also assumed responsibility for the occupied territories, where it quickly expanded its powers. Its Einsatzgruppen took action against the political and social elites of Poland and terrorized the populace. In establishing the Reich Security Main Office, Himmler and Heydrich also created an authority that directed German operations against the Jews in the Reich and in Europe during the war.<sup>59</sup>

Right from the start of the war, the regime toughened its anti-Jewish policy in the Reich, often with the argument that the 'provocative behaviour' of the Jews aroused public indignation and could not be tolerated now that Germany was at war. On 6 September 1939 the Gestapo announced key measures against Jews to be taken by the relevant ministries (Doc. 5). One day later the Gestapo targeted those Polish Jews who had not been expelled in October 1938.<sup>60</sup> Heydrich ordered all male Polish Jews in the territory of the Reich to be arrested and sent to concentration camps (Doc. 6). One of the approximately 2,000 to 3,000 men arrested was Leon Szalet. He later recalled how, along with other Polish Jews, he was taken from Stettin railway station in Berlin to Sachsenhausen concentration camp. No sooner were the prisoners aboard the train than SS men began to beat them. 'When the train started to move, our composure and powers of

55 *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1939, I, pp. 1455–1457.

56 *Ibid.*, pp. 1609–1613.

57 *Ibid.*, p. 1679.

58 Uwe Dietrich Adam, *Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1972), pp. 274–275; Gerhard Werle, *Justiz-Strafrecht und polizeiliche Verbrechensbekämpfung im Dritten Reich* (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1989). See also the Introduction to PMJ 4.

59 Hilberg, *Destruction of the European Jews*, pp. 292–297; Ulrich Herbert, *Best: Biographische Studien über Radikalismus, Weltanschauung und Vernunft 1903–1989* (Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz, 1996), pp. 230–249; Michael Wildt, *An Uncompromising Generation: The Nazi Leadership of the Reich Security Main Office*, trans. Tom Lampert (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010 [German edn, 2002]).

60 Yfaat Weiss, *Deutsche und polnische Juden vor dem Holocaust: Jüdische Identität zwischen Staatsbürgerschaft und Ethnizität 1933–1940* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2000), pp. 195–217; Gertrud Pickhan, '“Niemandland”: Die Briefe der Greta Schiffmann und das Schicksal einer jüdischen Familie, ausgewiesen aus Dortmund im Oktober 1938', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Dortmund und der Grafschaft Mark*, vol. 91 (2001), pp. 170–201; Jerzy Tomaszewski, *Auftakt zur Vernichtung: Die Vertreibung polnischer Juden aus Deutschland im Jahre 1938* (Osnabrück: Fibre, 2002). See also PMJ 2, p. 53.

resistance were at an end. Men began to sob like children; those who were injured whimpered in pain. Hopelessness, fear, and despair gripped everyone on the train.<sup>61</sup>

On 10 and 11 September, the Gestapo arrested a total of 1,048 Polish Jews in Vienna and held them in the Prater Stadium. Scientists from the Natural History Museum in Vienna subjected 440 of the prisoners to racial-anthropological examinations. For six days, they measured and photographed the prisoners and made plaster masks to add to an exhibition that had opened in May 1939, *The Psychological and Racial Appearance of the Jews*. At the end of September, the Gestapo deported these Jews to Buchenwald (Doc. 33). By the summer of 1940, more than two thirds of them were no longer alive.<sup>62</sup>

In October 1939 Himmler ordered that Jews who failed to obey state instructions or exhibited 'behaviour hostile to the state' were to be imprisoned in concentration camps (Doc. 20). On 10 April 1940 he decreed that Jewish concentration camp prisoners were not to be released from the camps for the duration of the war (Doc. 67). The concentration camp system was further expanded, and the number of inmates soared. During the preparations for the war, two large concentration camps – Mauthausen near Linz and Flossenbürg in eastern Bavaria – had already been built on the periphery of the German Reich. In the substantially enlarged sphere of control, Stutthof near Danzig, Auschwitz on the western edge of the Polish town of Oświęcim, Neuengamme in Hamburg, Natzweiler in occupied Alsace, and Groß-Rosen in Lower Silesia were added by the summer of 1941.<sup>63</sup>

Before the war, it was almost exclusively Germans and Austrians who had been interned in the concentration camps. However, following the arrest of thousands of Poles and Czechs on the basis of pre-prepared lists, foreigners were to make up the majority of the prisoner population soon after the onset of the war.<sup>64</sup> In late 1940, German

61 Leon Szalet and Winfried Meyer, *Baracke 38: 237 Tage in den 'Judenblocks' des KZ Sachsenhausen* (Berlin: Metropol, 2006), p. 28.

62 Doron Rabinovici, *Eichmann's Jews: The Jewish Administration of Holocaust Vienna, 1938–1945*, trans. Nick Somers (New York: John Wiley, 2014 [German edn., 2000]), p. 88; Claudia Spring, 'Vermessen, deklassiert und deportiert: Dokumentation zur anthropologischen Untersuchung an 440 Juden im Wiener Stadion im September 1939 unter der Leitung von Josef Wastl vom Naturhistorischen Museums Wien', *zeitgeschichte*, vol. 32, no. 2 (2005), pp. 91–110; Margit Berner, "'Judentypologisierungen'" in der Anthropologie am Beispiel der Bestände des Naturhistorischen Museums, Wien', *ibid.*, pp. 111–116.

63 Jane Caplan and Nikolaus Wachsmann (eds.), *Concentration Camps in Nazi Germany: The New Histories* (London: Routledge, 2010); Falk Pingel, *Häftlinge unter SS-Herrschaft: Widerstand, Selbstbehauptung und Vernichtung im Konzentrationslager* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1978); Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (eds.), *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager: Entwicklung und Struktur*, 2 vols. (Göttingen: Wallstein, 1998); Helmut Krausnick, Martin Broszat, and Hans-Adolf Jacobsen, *Anatomy of the SS-State*, trans. Richard Barry, Marion Jackson, and Dorothy Long (London: Collins, 1968 [German edn, 1965]); Karin Orth, *Das System der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager: Eine politische Organisationsgeschichte* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1999), pp. 67–68 and 95–97; Wolfgang Sofsky, *The Order of Terror: The Concentration Camp*, trans. from German by William Templer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999 [German edn, 1993]); Nikolaus Wachsmann, *KL: A History of the Nazi Concentration Camps* (London: Little, Brown, 2015).

64 Karel Kašák, 'Češi v koncentračním táboře Dachau', in *Almanach Dachau: Kytice událostí a vzpomínek* (Prague: Calve, 1946), pp. 14–22; Detlef Brandes, 'Nationalsozialistische Tschechenpolitik im Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren', in Detlef Brandes and Václav Kural (eds.), *Der Weg in die Katastrophe: Deutsch-tschechoslowakische Beziehungen 1938–1947* (Essen: Klartext, 1994), pp. 39–56, here pp. 39–42.

concentration camps held around 53,000 prisoners. Jews ranked at the bottom of the prisoner hierarchy and were usually assigned to the most physically demanding and dangerous labour squads. An individual's chances of survival depended on his or her position within this hierarchy.<sup>65</sup>

### 'Euthanasia'

The first systematic mass murder in the Reich was set in motion shortly after the war began. The killing of persons regarded in the National Socialist state as 'unworthy of life' (*lebensunwert*) had been planned for some time. As early as the spring of 1939, the Chancellery of the Führer had established the Reich Committee for the Scientific Registration of Severe Hereditary and Congenital Illnesses, a front organization that arranged for the murder of newborns and infants with serious physical deformities, the so-called child euthanasia programme. On 18 August 1939 the Reich Minister of the Interior introduced the compulsory reporting of such 'malformed' newborns. Very quickly the murder programme was extended to include disabled adults as well. In addition to the Chancellery of the Führer, the Ministry of the Interior and specially selected heads of institutions and medical experts played a part in formulating the programme.<sup>66</sup>

In late September, information was gathered on all institutions housing patients with physical or mental disabilities or psychiatric illnesses (*Heil- und Pflegeanstalten*), and patient reporting forms were sent out in October. Presumably during the same month, Hitler signed the authorization for mass murder:

Reichsleiter Bouhler and Dr Brandt are given the responsibility for extending the authority of individual physicians, to be specified by name, so that patients who, according to human judgement, are incurable can, after a most careful diagnosis of their medical condition, be granted a mercy death.<sup>67</sup>

The official letter of authorization was backdated to 1 September 1939 to link the murder of patients to the war. During the First World War eugenicists had already been warning against the 'national biological' consequences of war. Because it was precisely the healthiest and most capable men who were most likely to be killed in combat, they argued, the genetic substance of the nation was at risk of impairment. Such considerations bur-

65 Orth, *Das System der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, p. 105; Jürgen Matthäus, 'Verfolgung, Ausbeutung, Vernichtung: Jüdische Häftlinge im System der Konzentrationslager', in Günther Morsch and Susanne zur Nieden (eds.), *Jüdische Häftlinge im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen, 1936 bis 1945* (Berlin: Hentrich, 2004), pp. 64–90; Dieter Pohl, 'The Holocaust and the Concentration Camps', in Caplan and Wachsmann (eds.), *Concentration Camps in Nazi Germany*, pp. 149–166, here p. 151.

66 Henry Friedlander, *The Origins of Nazi Genocide: From Euthanasia to the Final Solution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Longerich, *Holocaust*, pp. 135–136; Ernst Klee, *'Euthanasie' im Dritten Reich: Die 'Vernichtung lebensunwerten Lebens'*, 2nd edn (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2010 [1983]).

67 BAArch, R 3001/4209. A facsimile of the original letter is printed at the beginning of Friedlander, *Origins of Nazi Genocide*.

geoned after the onset of the Second World War and provided the advocates of an 'eradication of the inferior' with a rationale.

In the newly created Gau of Danzig-West Prussia and Wartheland, psychiatric patients were murdered immediately after the entry of German troops and independently of the centralized 'euthanasia' campaign. Even during this early phase, however, the murders were not limited to former Polish territories. The Gauleiter in Pomerania, Franz Schwede-Coburg, saw an opportunity to get rid of the patients in his Gau. He promised Himmler that he would place several hospitals at the disposal of the newly created Waffen SS in exchange for permission to have the patients removed. The patients were shot. Two hospitals were converted into barracks for the Waffen SS, and the other three continued to operate as psychiatric hospitals. It had quickly become clear to a number of powerful local and regional leaders just how much the war had broadened their opportunities.<sup>68</sup>

In the Reich the programme of murder was coordinated by the Chancellery of the Führer. For this purpose, it set up an organization later known as 'T4', a reference to its headquarters in a villa at 4 Tiergartenstraße in Berlin. Over time, six killing centres were established, where the victims were asphyxiated with poison gas: in Brandenburg an der Havel; Grafeneck; Hartheim, near Linz (Austria); Pirna-Sonnenstein; Bernburg on the Saale river; and Hadamar, near Limburg. On 18 January 1940 the first transport with twenty-five men from the Eglfing-Haar psychiatric institution arrived in Grafeneck. The first patient on the list for this transport, and thus the first 'euthanasia' victim in the Reich, was a Jew: Ludwig Alexander, born on 1 September 1895.<sup>69</sup>

At first the procedure for the Jewish patients was officially the same as for the non-Jewish ones, though the dates of the transfer and killing of the Jews allow the conjecture that, even during this early phase, racial classification had greater significance than the medical condition.<sup>70</sup> Very soon the doctors in charge of the selections also distinguished between Jews and non-Jews. They assessed non-Jewish patients in terms of their chances of being cured and their fitness for work, and they spared those who did not require permanent care. However, if the patient was a Jew, this alone was regarded as a sufficient criterion to mandate his or her killing. In retrospect this practice can be

68 Volker Rieß, *Die Anfänge der Vernichtung 'lebensunwerten Lebens' in den Reichsgauen Danzig-Westpreußen und Wartheland 1939/40* (Frankfurt am Main/New York: Peter Lang, 1995); Friedlander, *Origins of Nazi Genocide*.

69 IfZ-Archives, NO-3356; Hans-Walter Schmuhl, *Rassenhygiene, Nationalsozialismus, Euthanasie: Von der Verhütung zur Vernichtung 'lebensunwerten Lebens' 1890–1945* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987); Friedlander, *Origins of Nazi Genocide*, p. 271; Brigitte Kepplinger, Gerhart Marckhgott, and Hartmut Reese (eds.), *Tötungsanstalt Hartheim* (Linz: Oöla, 2008). On the National Socialist 'euthanasia' programme, see also Robert Lifton, *The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide* (New York: Basic, 1988); Robert Proctor, *Racial Hygiene: Medicine under the Nazis* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989); Götz Aly and Peter Chroust, *Cleansing the Fatherland: Nazi Medicine and Racial Hygiene* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994); Susan Bachrach and Dieter Kuntz (eds.), *Deadly Medicine: Creating the Master Race* (Washington, DC: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2004).

70 Annette Hinz-Wessels, 'Jüdische Opfer der "Aktion T4" im Spiegel der überlieferten "Euthanasie"-Krankenakten im Bundesarchiv', in Maike Rotzoll et al. (eds.), *Die nationalsozialistische 'Euthanasie'-Aktion 'T4' und ihre Opfer: Geschichte und ethische Konsequenzen für die Gegenwart* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2010), pp. 143–146.

identified as a significant step towards the indiscriminate murder of Jews, irrespective of age, state of health, or gender. Only the Jews who were brought to the psychiatric hospital in Bendorf-Sayn from December 1940 (Doc. 127) were not yet included in this murder programme. They were deported and murdered in 1942 along with the Jews from Koblenz.<sup>71</sup>

On 15 April 1940 Herbert Linden, the section head responsible for the ‘euthanasia’ programme in the Department for Health in the Ministry of the Interior, instructed local health centres to register all Jewish patients. From June 1940 these patients were taken to the ‘euthanasia’ facilities, where they were murdered. To conceal the facts, relatives who made enquiries were informed that the patients had been taken to the hospital in Chełm, in the Lublin district of the General Government. The death certificates were also posted from there. However, the hospital in Chełm no longer existed and the Polish patients had already been killed in January 1940. The deception also served the purpose of enrichment. The Reich Association of Jews in Germany had to pay fake invoices for months of supposed care for 1,050 patients who had actually long since been murdered.

The representatives of the Reich Association stumbled into a truly tragic situation. Although some of them were evidently aware of the murder of the Jewish patients, they were nonetheless obliged to pay the bills. Conrad Cohn, the head of the Welfare Department, informed the district offices of the Reich Association of this duty in August 1941 (Doc. 201). Less than two months later, he wrote a memo to Paul Eppstein, the official in charge of social welfare at the Reich Association: ‘The invoices received here so far relate to around 1,100 patients, 1,050 of whom were deceased at the time of invoicing.’<sup>72</sup>

In the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, most Jewish patients were unaffected by the ‘euthanasia’ programme. There too, however, they were segregated from the other patients. From the autumn of 1939 they were only supposed to be treated in new so-called Jew wards. The hospital management in Jihlava even went so far as to provide separate toilets and washbasins for Jewish patients and had their dishes washed separately (Doc. 262). After the closure of this psychiatric clinic, its Jewish patients, like most of the others, were placed primarily in two institutions: the Bohemian patients in the regional hospital in Prague-Bohnice in 1940 and the Moravian ones in the regional hospital in Kroměříž in 1941. Jewish patients were also placed in hospitals run by the churches as well as in the hospitals operated by the Jewish Religious Community of Prague. The majority were subsequently deported and murdered.<sup>73</sup>

71 Friedlander, *Origins of Nazi Genocide*, pp. 281–282.

72 Dr Conrad Israel Cohn’s note to Dr Eppstein, dated 2 Oct. 1941, BArch, R 8150/7, fol. 221; Beate Meyer, ‘Der Traum von einer autonomen jüdischen Verwaltung: Die Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland. Auswanderer und Zurückbleibende in den Jahren 1938/39–1941’, in Susanne Heim, Beate Meyer, and Francis R. Nicosia (eds.), *Wer bleibt, opfert seine Jahre, vielleicht sein Leben: Deutsche Juden 1938–1941* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2010), pp. 21–38, here p. 27.

73 Tomáš Fedorovič, ‘Jüdische geisteskranken Patienten aus dem Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren zwischen nationalsozialistischer “Euthanasie” und Holocaust (1939–1945)’, in Michal Šimůnek and Dietmar Schulze (eds.), *Die nationalsozialistische ‘Euthanasie’ im Reichsgau Sudetenland und Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren 1939–1945* (Prague: Mervart, 2008), pp. 199–236.

### *Jewish Self-Administration*

After the outbreak of war, it became virtually impossible for Jewish organizations to carry out their main task, which was to arrange for the emigration of as many Jews as possible. It also became increasingly difficult to provide supplies to the impoverished population. The Reich Association of Jews in Germany, which had its headquarters in Berlin; the Israelite Religious Community in Vienna; and the Jewish Religious Community of Prague also had to struggle with these fundamental problems. In addition, they had to cooperate in the implementation of anti-Jewish measures. In doing so Jewish organizations were under the strict control of the Gestapo and the SD or of the Reich Security Main Office.

Eichmann repeatedly summoned the heads of the Jewish institutions in Berlin, Vienna, and Prague to the Reich capital for joint meetings and also made sure that they passed on instructions to each other. Ever since the spring of 1938, when he reorganized the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna, headed by Dr Josef Löwenherz, in such a way that it basically implemented his instructions, he had viewed this type of subordinated self-administration as a model for dealing with other Jewish organizations too. The Reich Association had been formed in February 1939 from what was previously the Reich Representation of Jews in Germany, a step that was established by law in July 1939 with the Tenth Regulation on the Reich Citizenship Law. Every Jew now had to belong to this umbrella organization, in whose decisions the communities and district offices of the Reich Association had no say. The restructuring entailed only minimal changes in personnel.<sup>74</sup>

The Jewish organs of self-administration had no significant influence over the decisions of the Reich authorities. Nonetheless, whenever they conscientiously carried out Gestapo directives in order to prevent the Gestapo itself from intervening, they had to justify themselves to the Jewish population. Their situation is comparable to that of the Jewish Councils in occupied Eastern Europe. They felt obliged to cooperate in order to prevent things from getting worse.

Moritz Fleischmann, who worked for the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna, reported that for its senior official, Josef Löwenherz, 'every approach to Eichmann was the road to degradation'.<sup>75</sup> A colleague wrote in retrospect about Paul Eppstein, one of the leading representatives of the Reich Association: 'Eppstein, who was the liaison to

74 Anderl, 'Zentralstellen für jüdische Auswanderung', p. 297; Avraham Barkai, Paul Mendes-Flohr, and Steven M. Lowenstein, *Deutsch-jüdische Geschichte in der Neuzeit*, vol. 4: *Aufbruch und Zerstörung 1918–1945* (Munich: Beck, 1997), pp. 338–342; Meyer, 'Der Traum von einer autonomen jüdischen Verwaltung', pp. 26–32. See also PMJ 2, pp. 62–64.

75 Moritz Fleischmann, testimony at the Eichmann trial, 26 April 1961, cited in David Cesarani, *Eichmann: His Life and Crimes* (London: William Heinemann, 2004), p. 72; Rabinovici, *Eichmann's Jews*, pp. 40–42. On the situation in Prague, see Margalit Shlain, 'Jakob Edelsteins Bemühungen um die Rettung der Juden aus dem Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren vom Mai 1939 bis Dezember 1939', *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente*, vol. 10 (2003), pp. 71–94, here pp. 78–79; Ruth Bondy, 'Elder of the Jews': *Jakob Edelstein of Theresienstadt* (New York: Grove, 1989).

the Gestapo, came back from every meeting drenched in sweat.<sup>76</sup> Similarly, Berthold Simonsohn, who worked for the Jewish welfare programme in Stettin and Hamburg, recalled:

Whenever Eppstein was summoned to the Gestapo, he never knew whether he would come back, and he always carried a capsule of potassium cyanide with him to put an end to his ordeal should there be an attempt to force him into things he could not reconcile with his conscience and with his sense of responsibility towards the Jews as a whole.

A steady stream of new, arbitrary directives or sudden arrests meant that even the less prominent employees of the Reich Association were under enormous strain. 'Everyone knew back then that one day the bell would toll for them too.'<sup>77</sup>

In another respect, too, the example of Paul Eppstein may illustrate the dilemma in which the Jewish officials found themselves. Eppstein and his wife, Hedwig, had moved from Mannheim to Berlin in 1933. He sought to establish a smoothly running Jewish administration and, like many of his colleagues, felt such a sense of responsibility that he allowed the opportunity for emigration to pass him by. His brother Lothar and sister-in-law Paula managed to reach the USA via France and Lisbon. In reply to Lothar's reproach that it had been irresponsible to postpone emigration, Hedwig Eppstein said:

Precisely the opposite is the case with P[aul]. You know him well enough, in this respect too, to appreciate that P. cannot work just for the sake of eating and sleeping. That is unthinkable for him. For him, work has to be placed in a greater context, and clearly this context is present here in our situation. The burdensome nature of a job does not diminish the experience of its value.

Hedwig Eppstein herself organized the emigration of young Jews to Palestine as part of the Youth Aliyah. Perhaps she would have liked to leave, as she wrote to her brother-

<sup>76</sup> Kurt Goldmann, 'Hechaluz und Jugendaliyah in Deutschland von 1936 bis Ende 1939', YVA, O.1/204, fol. 6, cited in Meyer, 'Der Traum von einer autonomen jüdischen Verwaltung', p. 29. On the history of 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 in nationalsozialistischen Deutschland, 1933-1943 / The Jews in Nazi Germany, 1933-1943* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1986), pp. 125-152; Otto Dov Kulka, 'The Reichsvereinigung and the Fate of the German Jews, 1938/1939-1942', *ibid.*, pp. 353-363; Beate Meyer, 'The Fine Line between Responsible Action and Collaboration: The Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland and the Jewish Community in Berlin, 1938-1945', in Beate Meyer, Hermann Simon and Chana Schütz (eds.), *Jews in Nazi Berlin: From Kristallnacht to Liberation*, trans. Caroline Gay and Miranda Robbins (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009 [German edn, 2000]), pp. 310-363; 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]).

<sup>77</sup> Berthold Simonsohn, 'Sein Andenken wird weiterleben', *Jüdische Sozialarbeit*, vol. 4, no. 3/4 (18 Sept. 1959), pp. 23-26, here p. 24. The obituary was composed in 1945.

in-law: 'I would have no objections to a somewhat happier life.'<sup>78</sup> However, the couple stayed in Germany and faced tasks that were ultimately impossible. Paul Eppstein had to coordinate every undertaking and all expenditure with the Reich Security Main Office, which steadily pressed for cost-cutting. When he refused to support a precarious ship transport for the purposes of illegal – because of the British Mandate prohibition – emigration to Palestine, he was himself placed in 'protective custody'. He had to produce a written record of his own summons to the Gestapo Central Office regarding his detention (Doc. 128). After his release, Eppstein was no longer permitted to handle emigration matters. In this way the Reich Security Main Office made it clear to the Jewish officials how subordinate they were. At the same time, it constantly utilized them to publicize new regulations, to organize the first deportations and the enforced relocations to 'Jew houses' (*Judenhäuser*), and to collect statistical data concerning the Jewish population.

The Reich Association, as well as the Jewish Religious Communities of Vienna and Prague, had to maintain homes for children and the elderly, operate soup kitchens for those in need, and ensure the care of invalids without financial means. More and more financial aid was needed on account of the growing impoverishment and the increase in the percentage of the elderly caused by the emigration of mostly younger Jews. In late 1939, 52,000 persons, more than a quarter of the Jewish population of the Reich, were receiving aid from the Reich Association.<sup>79</sup> In November 1939 the head of the General Public Welfare Department, Hannah Karminski, described the conflict of Jews willing to emigrate

who, before their emigration, confided to us their last and greatest cause of worry: the mother or – more rarely – the elderly father left behind. They always had the intention of sending for their elderly relatives as soon as possible, but for the time being they had to remain behind on their own.<sup>80</sup>

When she wrote these lines, Karminski could not know that most of the older Jews would never succeed in leaving Germany, nor would she herself. In December 1942 she was deported to Auschwitz, where she was murdered the next year at the age of 45.<sup>81</sup>

The Jewish institutions also tried to maintain educational and cultural organizations. At the start of the war, all events of the Jewish Culture League were initially prohibited, but they had resumed by the end of September 1939, albeit on a limited scale (Doc. 14). The Culture League had branches in several major cities, and the one in Frankfurt was

78 Letter from Hedwig Eppstein to Lothar and Paula Eppstein, dated 21 Sept. 1938, StA Ma, Eppstein Collection, Zug. 27/2002, no. 11.

79 Wolf Gruner, *Öffentliche Wohlfahrt und Judenverfolgung: Wechselwirkung lokaler und zentraler Politik im NS-Staat 1933 bis 1942* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2002), p. 245; Gudrun Maierhof, *Selbstbehauptung im Chaos: Frauen in der jüdischen Selbsthilfe 1933–1943* (Frankfurt am Main/New York: Campus, 2002), pp. 174–175.

80 Hanna Sara Karminski, 'Die Jüdische Winterhilfe beginnt', *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt* (Berlin edn), no. 88 (3 Nov. 1939), p. 1.

81 Beate Meyer, 'The Fine Line between Responsible Action and Collaboration', p. 352.

particularly active. Outside Berlin, however, generally only smaller events and cinema screenings, as well as guest appearances by performers from Berlin, continued to take place. The Gestapo shut down the organization on 11 September 1941.<sup>82</sup>

### *The First Deportations*

On 6 October 1939 Hitler announced in the Reichstag that ‘a new order of the ethnographic situation’ was to take place in Eastern Europe. A large-scale ‘resettlement of nationalities’ was intended to ensure ‘peace and order’ in Germany’s relations with its new ally, the Soviet Union.<sup>83</sup> To secure long-term German domination in the recently conquered territories, Hitler planned a mass resettlement in these territories of members of minority populations of German descent living in other countries. The following day he placed the Reichsführer SS Heinrich Himmler in charge of the practical implementation of this programme for the ‘strengthening of Germandom’ (Doc. 18).

By the end of October, Hitler had divided up the conquered territories. The Gau of Danzig-West Prussia and Wartheland were incorporated into the German Reich; the eastern part of Upper Silesia was integrated into the Gau of Silesia; and the administrative district of Ciechanów (renamed Zichenau) became part of East Prussia. The police border between former Poland and the Reich, however, remained in effect, with an altered course. One of the reasons for this was to prevent an uncontrolled migration of Polish citizens from the newly incorporated territories into the Old Reich. On 26 October 1939 the remainder of the German-conquered Polish territory, known as the General Government and headed by Governor Hans Frank, became a vaguely defined colonial borderland. The ‘undesirable elements’ from the Reich, including the newly incorporated territories, were now to be deported to this zone in order to make room for settlement of the ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*). By the end of September, the German Reich and the Soviet Union had agreed upon a large-scale population transfer. Hundreds of thousands of Germans who had come under Soviet control during the occupation of eastern Poland and the Baltic states were now to be brought ‘home to the Reich’. Additional pressure to act was created by Himmler’s plan to resettle approximately 200,000 South Tyroleans in the German Reich. On 21 October 1939 Hitler and Mussolini concluded an agreement whereby the German-speaking minority in South Tyrol would have to choose between emigrating to the German Reich or staying in South Tyrol but giving up the German culture and language. More than 85 per cent of those questioned opted for resettlement in the Reich. However, it was by no means clear just where they were to go.<sup>84</sup>

82 Herbert Freeden, *Jüdisches Theater in Nazideutschland* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1964), pp. 150–169; Volker Dahm, ‘Kulturelles und geistiges Leben’, in Wolfgang Benz (ed.), *Die Juden in Deutschland 1933–1945: Leben unter nationalsozialistischer Herrschaft* (Munich: Beck, 1988), pp. 75–267, here pp. 244–257; Sylvia Rogge-Gau, *Die doppelte Wurzel des Daseins: Julius Bab und der Jüdische Kulturbund Berlin* (Berlin: Metropol, 1999); Michael Brenner, ‘Jewish Culture in a Modern Ghetto: Theater and Scholarship among the Jews of Nazi Germany’, in Francis R. Nicosia and David Scrase (eds.), *Jewish Life in Nazi Germany: Dilemmas and Responses* (New York: Berghahn, 2012), pp. 170–184; Rebecca Rovit, *The Jewish Kulturbund Theatre Company in Nazi Berlin* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2012).

83 See PMJ 4/17.

84 See the Introduction to PMJ 4 and Aly, ‘Final Solution’, pp. 14–81.

Even before detailed plans for the scheme had been formulated, it was determined that large parts of the Jewish population were also to be deported from Reich territory in the course of the resettlements. At a meeting of department heads and Einsatzgruppen commanders on 21 September 1939, Reinhard Heydrich announced that Hitler agreed to the deportation.<sup>85</sup>

Adolf Eichmann, who headed the Central Offices for Jewish Emigration in Vienna and Prague, was put in charge of organizing the deportations. On 6 October 1939 Gestapo chief Heinrich Müller gave Eichmann the task of initiating the resettlement of Jews from Katowice and Moravská Ostrava to the General Government. Eichmann also decided to include the Viennese Jews, and the local Gauleiter, Josef Bürckel, readily authorized him to do so. While the Gestapo offices were in charge of the deportations in the Old Reich, in Vienna this task was taken on by the Central Office for Jewish Emigration (Doc. 24).<sup>86</sup>

The Israelite Religious Community of Vienna was required to assist and sometimes even to compile the deportation lists itself, as well as to inform those concerned. Its representatives repeatedly emphasized

that the involvement of the Religious Community in these actions did not stem from its own initiative and was guided solely by the intention to nominate the transportees and to implement the execution of the transports in a manner that avoided hardships as far as possible.

Nonetheless, the Religious Community drew criticism from many Viennese Jews as a result of its role.<sup>87</sup>

Beginning on 18 October 1939, around 5,000 Jews from Vienna, Moravská Ostrava, and Katowice were deported in five transports to the region around Nisko on the San river, near Lublin, in the east of the German-occupied part of Poland. In Zarzecze, near Nisko, the first Jews deported from Moravská Ostrava were ordered to build a barracks camp. Those unfit for work, together with most of the Viennese Jews, were driven further eastwards and left to their fate. Some stayed in the area; others crossed the demarcation line into the Soviet-occupied part of Poland, where the Soviet authorities apprehended many of them and put them in labour camps.<sup>88</sup>

85 Minutes of the conference, dated 27 Sept. 1939, in Tatiana Berenstein and Adam Rutkowski, 'Dokument o konferencji w Urzędzie Policji Bezpieczeństwa z 21 IX 1939 r.', *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, vol. 49, no. 1 (1964), pp. 68–73. See also PMJ 4/12.

86 Hans Safrian, *Eichmann's Men*, new edn, trans. Ute Stargardt (New York/Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010 [German edn, 1993]), pp. 72–86; Browning, *Origins of the Final Solution*, pp. 65–69; Gabriele Anderl, Dirk Rupnow, and Alexandra-Eileen Wenck, *Die Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung als Beraubungsinstitution* (Vienna: Oldenbourg, 2004), p. 264.

87 Letter from the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna to Siegmund Flieger, dated 7 Jan. 1940, CAHJP, AW 2747, copy in Archiv der IKG Wien, MF W 1, fr. 126; Andrea Löw, 'Die frühen Deportationen aus dem Reichsgebiet von Herbst 1939 bis Frühjahr 1941', in Heim, Meyer, and Nicosia (eds.), *Wer bleibt, opfert seine Jahre, vielleicht sein Leben*, pp. 59–76.

88 Seev Goshen, 'Eichmann und die Nisko-Aktion im Oktober 1939', *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, vol. 29 (1981), pp. 74–96; Jonny Moser, *Nisko: Die ersten Judendeportationen* (Vienna: Steinbauer, 2012). Of the Jewish men detained in Zarzecze, 198 returned to Vienna in April 1940 after the camp was closed; of the 1,291 men from Moravská Ostrava, 460 returned. See Alfred Gottwaldt and Diana Schulle, *Die 'Judendeportationen' aus dem Deutschen Reich 1941–1945* (Wiesbaden: Marixverlag, 2005), pp. 31–33.

One of the Jewish officials required to accompany the transports in the autumn of 1939 was Jakob Edelstein. Born in Horodenka, Galicia, in 1903, during the First World War he had moved with his family to Brno in Moravia, where, from 1926, he was active in Zionist organizations. From 1933 he headed the Palestine Office in Prague, which sought to arrange for emigration to the British Mandate. After seeing the conditions in Nisko, he did his utmost to save the Jews in the Protectorate from deportation to the East, convinced that most of them would not survive. He wrote an account of his experiences which, along with statements by Jews who had fled, formed the basis for an article written by Sir Lewis B. Namier for the British newspaper *The Times* in December 1939. The article stated that the project to construct a 'Jewish reserve' in the area around Lublin was about creating a 'place for gradual extermination, and not what the Germans would describe as a *Lebensraum*' (Doc. 38).<sup>89</sup>

The authorities in Vienna had assumed that 65,000 Jews would be deported, yet already the third Viennese transport, planned for 31 October 1939, failed to depart for technical reasons. Müller, the Gestapo chief, had ordered that all transports had to be authorized by his office in the future, and on 21 December he announced that Himmler had forbidden the deportations from continuing 'until further notice' (Doc. 40).<sup>90</sup> For the Reichsführer SS, who, since October 1939, had simultaneously functioned as Reich Commissioner for the Strengthening of Germanism, moving the inhabitants out of the annexed Polish territories and settling ethnic Germans there took priority. Shortly thereafter, Eichmann transferred to Berlin, where he headed Section IV D 4 (Evacuation Matters and the Reich Central Agency for Jewish Emigration) in the Reich Security Main Office which, from now on, was to coordinate the deportations.<sup>91</sup>

On 30 January 1940 Heydrich announced at a meeting in the Reich Security Main Office that, in mid February, 1,000 Jews from Stettin, whose apartments were urgently required for reasons relating to the war economy, would be evicted and deported to the General Government.<sup>92</sup> The first deportation of Jews from the Old Reich, on 12 February 1940, involved almost the entire Jewish community of Stettin (Pomerania). Precise guidelines governed every detail of the expulsion (Doc. 52). According to a deportation list commissioned by the Jewish Council in Lublin and subsequently drawn up by the deportees themselves, 1,120 people were deported to Lublin from the Regierungsbezirk Stettin. They had to make their way on foot or in sledges from there to Głusk, Bełżyce, and Piaski. Some froze to death en route. Over the course of the next month, further deportees fell victim to the cold weather and malnutrition. At the end of February, approximately 160 Jews were deported from Schneidemühl, though apparently not to the

89 Bondy, 'Elder of the Jews', pp. 149–165; Livia Rothkirchen, 'Zur ersten authentischen Nachricht über den Beginn der Vernichtung der europäischen Juden', *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente*, vol. 9 (2002), pp. 338–340; Shlain, 'Jakob Edelsteins Bemühungen', pp. 71–94, here pp. 81–84.

90 Himmler's letter to Bürckel, dated 9 Nov. 1939, ÖStA/AdR, Reichskommissar Bürckel/Materie, 2315/6, fol. 25; circular decree from the RSHA (S-IV II Rz), dated 21 Dec. 1939, cited in Wolf Gruner, 'Von der Kollektivausweisung zur Deportation der Juden aus Deutschland: Neue Perspektiven und Dokumente', in Birthe Kundrus and Beate Meyer (eds.), *Die Deportation der Juden aus Deutschland: Pläne – Praxis – Reaktionen 1938–1945* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2004), pp. 21–62, here pp. 34, 36.

91 Aly, 'Final Solution', pp. 59–66; Browning, *Origins of the Final Solution*, pp. 59–63.

92 PMJ 4/82.

Lublin district but rather to places including the retraining camps (*Umschulungslager*) in Rietz-Neuendorf, near Fürstenwalde, and Radinkendorf in Brandenburg.<sup>93</sup>

When it came to the second deportation from Pomerania, the Reich Association of Jews in Germany managed to negotiate a reduction of 150 deportees. A short time later the association learned of plans to deport the approximately 1,000 Jews of East Frisia to the Lublin district. With the help of local Jewish community leaders Max Plaut, who headed the district office of the Reich Association in north-western Germany, succeeded in persuading the Gestapo not to deport the Jews. Instead, they were to be rehoused within three weeks, so that their apartments would become vacant. Most of them moved to Berlin, Hanover, and Hamburg.<sup>94</sup>

Swiss press reports on the transports from Pomerania (Doc. 53) aroused concern in the Reich Foreign Office. State Secretary Ernst von Weizsäcker asked whether it was true that the deportations from Stettin were the prelude to extensive expulsions. He was informed by the Reich Security Main Office that they were an isolated action for the purpose of creating space to house resettled Baltic Germans.<sup>95</sup>

On 23 March 1940 Göring banned further transports of Jews from the Reich. Because the General Government under Hans Frank was resisting the deportation into its territory with increasing vehemence, the plan for a 'Jewish reservation' in the Lublin district had to be shelved. The Soviet Union was also unwilling to accept Jews. Eichmann and Stahlecker had evidently proposed this to the Soviet Resettlement Commission in the course of the German-Soviet population transfer of 1939/1940. After the deportations to the Lublin district ceased, Eichmann had the idea of making the German, Austrian, and Czech Jews emigrate to the Soviet Union or of expelling them there (Doc. 48). These deliberations, however, came to nothing.<sup>96</sup>

This first attempt to deport Jews en masse from the Reich to the East was a failure – primarily because it had not been made absolutely clear how the General Government was to be dealt with in the future. The regional German authorities throughout the annexed and occupied territories were now pressing to 'get rid of' 'their' Jews as soon as possible. For the time being, however, it remained an open question how this was to be done and where the Jews were to go.

### *Bans, Forced Labour, and 'Jew Houses'*

The initial experiments in deportation had failed. The Jews remained in the Reich and in the Protectorate. A vast number of rules regulated even the tiniest details of the Jews' daily life. Food rations for Jews were reduced, and when Goebbels decided in mid November 1939 that they should no longer be allocated ration coupons for the purchase of

93 *Die Namensliste der 1940 aus dem Regierungsbezirk Stettin deportierten Juden* (Rostock: Geschichtswerkstatt Rostock, 2009); Gottwaldt and Schulle, 'Judendeportationen', p. 35.

94 Meyer, 'Der Traum von einer autonomen jüdischen Verwaltung', p. 33.

95 Christopher R. Browning, *The Final Solution and the German Foreign Office: A Study of Referral D III of Abteilung Deutschland, 1940–1943* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1978), pp. 20–21.

96 Pavel Polian, 'Hätte der Holocaust beinahe nicht stattgefunden? Überlegungen zu einem Schriftwechsel im Wert von zwei Millionen Menschenleben', in Johannes Hürter and Jürgen Zarusky (eds.), *Besatzung, Kollaboration, Holocaust: Neue Studien zur Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2008), pp. 1–19.

chocolate products, the Reich Ministry of Food issued a corresponding order two weeks later, on 2 December 1939. Furthermore, soon Jews were permitted to shop only at fixed times and in specific shops. When, as in Breslau, shopping was allowed only during the middle of the day, working women encountered problems. If the shopping hours were limited to the late afternoon, they had to rush from one shop to the next after work, and frequently could not get everything done in the hour permitted, or found themselves faced with empty shelves. In Munich the shops assigned to Jews were situated in distant neighbourhoods. After mid 1941, when Jews were no longer allowed to travel by tram, they thus had to cover distances of many kilometres on foot. Some shops displayed signs reading 'Goods in short supply are not sold to Jews'. In addition, Jews could obtain ration coupons for shoes and clothing only in limited quantities, if at all.<sup>97</sup>

In the Protectorate, both German and Czech authorities introduced, in quick succession, measures similar to those in the Old Reich and Austria, and the accumulation of prohibitions brought some to the point of despair. Max Mannheimer, who undertook forced labour in road construction near the spa town of Luhačovice, noted in his diary:

My lodging during the week is a wooden shack behind the tool shed. From there, despite the 8 p.m. curfew and the ban on entering the grounds, I go to the spa gardens. I count the 'Off limits to Jews' prohibition signs. There are six of them. Later, towards 11 p.m., I pull all the prohibition signs out of the ground and throw some of them into the bushes, some into a stream. All my bravery was in vain. The next evening, all the signs were back up again. I could not muster the courage to pull them out a second time. I am simply not a hero.<sup>98</sup>

Sometimes people had no idea what was permitted and what was not. If the directives and prohibitions were published at all, then it was in the *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, which was issued in different editions in Berlin, Vienna, and Prague. Both the Propaganda Ministry and the Reich Security Main Office censored the newspaper.<sup>99</sup>

The exploitation of the Jews followed a two-pronged strategy that involved dispossessing them and utilizing them as a workforce. For the most part the Jews had already been forced out of their occupations and made to give up their businesses.<sup>100</sup> Now, the tax authorities attempted to take possession of almost all their assets. On 15 November 1939 the Reich Minister of Finance increased the so-called Levy on Jewish Assets (*Juden-*

97 Peter Hanke, *Zur Geschichte der Juden in München zwischen 1933 und 1945* (Munich: Stadtarchiv, 1967), p. 274; Marion A. Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 150–153; Abraham Ascher, *A Community under Siege: The Jews of Breslau under Nazism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007).

98 Mannheimer, *Spätes Tagebuch*, pp. 37–38.

99 Ruth Bondy, 'Chronik der sich schließenden Tore: Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt – Židovské listy (1939–1945)', *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente*, vol. 7 (2000), pp. 86–106; Clemens Maier, 'Das Jüdische Nachrichtenblatt 1938–1943: Instrument der Verfolgung und Mittel der Selbstbehauptung', in Eleonore Lappin and Michael Nagel (eds.), *Deutsch-jüdische Presse und jüdische Geschichte: Dokumente, Darstellungen, Wechselbeziehungen*, vol. 2 (Bremen: Lumiere, 2008), pp. 163–179.

100 Christoph Kreutzmüller, Ingo Loose, and Benno Nietzel, 'Nazi Persecution and Strategies for Survival: Jewish Businesses in Berlin, Frankfurt am Main, and Breslau, 1933–1942', *Yad Vashem Studies*, vol. 39, no. 1 (2011), pp. 31–70. See also PMJ 1, pp. 49–52, and PMJ 2, pp. 14–15.

*vermögensabgabe*) (Doc. 25), which had been imposed on the Jews as an ‘atonement fine’ after the November pogroms of 1938.<sup>101</sup> In addition, from December 1940, Jews were obliged to pay a 15 per cent ‘social compensation tax’ (*Sozialausgleichsabgabe*). The remainder of their assets were held in blocked accounts, and they were only permitted to access a fixed amount each month.<sup>102</sup>

In September and October 1939 representatives of various ministries, of the Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan, and of the Reich Security Main Office continued the discussion they had begun before the war regarding the formal introduction of forced labour for Jews, which was already established practice by then.<sup>103</sup> As a result of rearmament efforts and conscriptions, the notorious labour shortage in the Reich had become considerably more acute. The National Socialist leadership endeavoured to solve this problem both by deploying foreign labourers and by making Jews carry out forced labour.<sup>104</sup> In the spring of 1940 the set of persons used for such labour was expanded. All Jewish men between 18 and 55 and Jewish women between 18 and 50 were now required to register, regardless of whether they drew welfare benefits or not. With the deportations having failed for the time being, forced labour was planned as a longer-term measure. While they were previously more likely to be used as casual workers, from May 1940 Jewish labourers also had to work in industry. Jewish institutions had to reduce their staff in order to detail employees for forced labour. Young Jews preparing for emigration in retraining camps were forced to replace absent agricultural workers and harvesters or to work in nearby factories. In any case, the age limit offered no guarantee that younger or older people would not also be conscripted for compulsory labour.

The working conditions and pay varied, depending on the employer. Some employers gave the Jews primarily the hardest and dirtiest of jobs, spurred on by the propaganda that always emphasized that now, in wartime, the Jews too would learn to work ‘at last’. Frequently the employers were at pains to ensure that the Jews came to the firms in segregated groups and did not use the staff canteens. Sometimes the Jews even had to use separate toilets.<sup>105</sup>

Some cities did indeed pay standard wages, but the Jewish forced labourers often received only a fraction of the pay due to them, and sometimes nothing at all. They were,

101 PMJ 2/142.

102 Hilberg, *Destruction of the European Jews*, vol. 1, pp. 140–152; 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, 1988]), pp. 188–191; Benno Nietzel, ‘Die Vernichtung der wirtschaftlichen Existenz der deutschen Juden 1933–1945: Ein Literatur- und Forschungsbericht’, *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, vol. 49 (2009), pp. 561–613.

103 On the pre-war situation, see PMJ 2/119.

104 Ulrich Herbert, *Hitler’s Foreign Workers: Enforced Foreign Labor in Germany under the Third Reich*, trans. William Templer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006 [German edn, 1999]); Wolf Gruner, *Jewish Forced Labor under the Nazis: Economic Needs and Racial Aims, 1938–1944*, trans. Kathleen M. Dell’Orto (New York: Cambridge University, 2006 [German edn, 1997]).

105 Konrad Kwiet, ‘Nach dem Pogrom: Stufen der Ausgrenzung’, in Wolfgang Benz (ed.), *Die Juden in Deutschland 1933–1945: Leben unter nationalsozialistischer Herrschaft* (Munich: Beck, 1988), pp. 545–659, here pp. 574–589; Gruner, *Jewish Forced Labor*, pp. 118–142; Trude Maurer, ‘Vom Alltag zum Ausnahmezustand: Juden in der Weimarer Republik und im Nationalsozialismus’, in Marion Kaplan (ed.), *Geschichte des jüdischen Alltags in Deutschland: Vom 17. Jahrhundert bis 1945* (Munich: Beck, 2003), pp. 347–470, here pp. 455–458; Moshe Zimmermann, *Deutsche gegen Deutsche: Das Schicksal der Juden 1938–1945* (Berlin: Aufbau, 2008), p. 72.

as a matter of principle, relegated to the most disadvantageous tax bracket, and were required to pay the ‘social compensation tax’. The wages of some were merely credited to a blocked account, which they required authorization to access.<sup>106</sup> That was the experience of some of the women who undertook forced labour with Elisabeth Freund at a commercial laundry in Berlin. Freund wrote about the general system of wages there: ‘When we started here, we were not told what we would get for this work. We have to do forced labour and have to be glad to get anything at all. Then, on the first payday, we found out: around 12.50 Reichsmarks weekly for a married female worker’ – about half as much as non-Jewish colleagues. Unmarried women, who did not have pay deducted for being in a double-income household, earned at most 14 Reichsmarks. That was not enough to live on. Underpaying the Jews, Freund also conjectured, was a way of forcing them to use up any remaining savings they might have had. ‘And the ones who have no reserves can surely turn to the welfare office of the Jewish community, which is always supposed to provide support for everything.’<sup>107</sup>

German Jews were never deployed on a large scale as forced labourers. In the territory of the Old Reich, around 60,000 Jews had been classified as fit for work in February 1941. Of that number, approximately 54,000 had to carry out forced labour.<sup>108</sup>

In the Protectorate, individual municipalities drew on the Jewish population for labour as early as 1940, long before this policy became standard. On 10 January 1941 the Reich Protector forbade the Jews in the Protectorate to engage in any independent economic activity. On 23 January the Czech government mandated the deployment of all Jews between the ages of 18 and 50 for forced labour, and in August it expanded the measure to include all those between 16 and 60. By 1 April 1941, 70 per cent of the Jewish men in the latter age group were forced labourers. The same month, the Reich Protector aligned the practices with those in the Reich. Now, only the employment offices were supposed to select the places of work. In addition, there was a requirement to ensure strict segregation between Jews and non-Jews (Doc. 305). Nonetheless, in the Protectorate too, the economic significance of forced labour remained relatively small. According to statistics from the Jewish Religious Community of Prague, the number of Jewish workers peaked at 13,623 on 1 December 1941.<sup>109</sup>

Traditionally, the Jewish population in the territory of the Reich lived predominantly in cities, and persecution had only reinforced this tendency. An ever-increasing number of Jews moved into the large cities in the hope that anonymity would afford them protection. In Austria almost all Jews were by now living in Vienna. From April 1939 the Law on Tenancy Agreements with Jews made it possible to place Jews in special houses (*Judenhäuser*) and thereby segregate them from the rest of the population.<sup>110</sup> In the Sude-

106 Barkai, *From Boycott to Annihilation*, pp. 173–181.

107 Carola Sachse (ed.), *Als Zwangsarbeiterin in Berlin: Die Aufzeichnungen der Volkswirtin Elisabeth Freund* (Berlin: Akademie, 1996), pp. 56–58.

108 Gruner, *Jewish Forced Labor*, p. 4.

109 ‘Jüdische Kultusgemeinde Prag: Arbeit’, published in Helena Krejčová, Jana Svobodová, and Anna Hyndráková (eds.), *Židé v Protektorátu: Hlášení Židovské náboženské obce v roce 1942. Dokumenty* (Prague: Maxdorf, 1997), pp. 105–116, here p. 106; Gruner, *Jewish Forced Labor*, pp. 141–159; Gruner, ‘Das Protektorat’, pp. 4–45.

110 PMJ 2/277; Gerhard Botz, *Wohnungspolitik und Judendeportation in Wien 1938 bis 1945: Zur Funktion des Antisemitismus als Ersatz nationalsozialistischer Sozialpolitik* (Vienna/Salzburg: Geyer,

tengau and in Vienna, this practice began in the summer of 1939. After the onset of the war, the number of so-called Jew houses increased rapidly. In Vienna the heads of the local NSDAP branches, the mayor, and Reich Commissioner Bürckel vied with each other in proposing ways to remedy the housing shortage by crowding the Jewish population even more closely together (Doc. 16).<sup>111</sup>

The forced changes of residence involved an uprooting that was difficult to bear, especially for older people. They had to leave behind their usual surroundings and often familiar objects, and reduce their private sphere to a minimum. In this situation some viewed taking their own lives as the only remaining avenue of escape.<sup>112</sup> In her reminiscences about Vienna, Ruth Klüger describes how she and her mother moved into ever worse apartments, increasingly dark and cramped, which they had to share with one or two other families – and with unwelcome ‘pets’: ‘You turn off the light and imagine the bugs crawling out of the mattresses. Then you get bitten, turn on the light and wail loudly, because the disgusting vermin are actually walking around in the bed.’<sup>113</sup> In Dresden, Victor Klemperer described his new lodgings on 6 June 1940: ‘Superior concentration camp.’<sup>114</sup>

Klemperer lived in a so-called non-privileged mixed marriage. His wife was not Jewish and the Klemperers had no children. Such couples were subject to the anti-Jewish measures. Their assets were blocked and they were forced to live in ‘Jew houses’. Later the Jewish spouses and the children also had to wear the yellow star. Those in a so-called privileged mixed marriage (between a man of ‘German blood’ and a Jewish woman or in a mixed marriage with children who were baptized) were not forced to do this, and these families were also allowed to stay in their homes. The non-Jewish spouses reacted in various ways: some went along with the relocation to the ‘Jew house’ and shared in all the harassment, while others initiated a separation.<sup>115</sup>

When they were called up at the beginning of the war, many men who had been classified as *Mischlinge* under the Nuremberg Laws clung to the hope that they could gain membership of the *Volksgemeinschaft* by serving in the Wehrmacht. On 8 April 1940, however, Hitler excluded *Mischlinge* of the first degree from the Wehrmacht, along with men who were married to Jewish women (Doc. 66). Only in exceptional cases, in

1975); Marlis Buchholz, *Die hannoverschen Judenhäuser: Zur Situation der Juden in der Zeit der Ghettoisierung und Verfolgung, 1941 bis 1945* (Hildesheim: A. Lax, 1987); Hubert Schneider, *Die ‘Entjudung’ des Wohnraums – ‘Judenhäuser’ in Bochum: Die Geschichte der Gebäude und ihrer Bewohner* (Berlin/Münster: Lit, 2010).

111 Herbert Rosenkranz, *Verfolgung und Selbstbehauptung: Die Juden in Österreich 1938–1945* (Vienna/Munich: Herold, 1978), pp. 210–215, 229–231; Wolf Gruner, *Zwangsarbeit und Verfolgung: Österreichische Juden im NS-Staat 1938–45* (Innsbruck: Studien, 2000), pp. 127–134; Osterloh, ‘Sudetenland’, pp. 84–85.

112 Konrad Kwiet, ‘The Ultimate Refuge: Suicide in the Jewish Community under the Nazis’, *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook*, vol. 29 (1984), pp. 135–167; Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair*, pp. 180–184; Christian Goeschel, *Suicide in Nazi Germany* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 96–118.

113 Ruth Klüger, *Landscapes of Memory: A Holocaust Girlhood Remembered* (London: Bloomsbury, 2004 [German edn, 1994]), p. 61.

114 Klemperer, *I Shall Bear Witness*, p. 417 (entry for 6 June 1940).

115 Beate Meyer, ‘Jüdische Mischlinge’: *Rassenpolitik und Verfolgungserfahrung 1933–1945* (Hamburg: Dölling und Galitz, 1999).

which he attested that *jüdisch Versippte* (persons related to Jews by marriage) exhibited particular valour, were these persons allowed to remain in the armed forces. They were told that they would be assessed after the war to establish whether they could be put on an equal footing with 'persons of German blood'.<sup>116</sup>

### Early Summer to the End of 1940: The Madagascar Plan

In April 1940 the Wehrmacht occupied Denmark and Norway. On 10 May the offensive in Western Europe began, and Luxembourg surrendered that same day. On 15 May the Netherlands capitulated, and on 28 May Belgium followed suit. On 22 June, Germany and France signed an armistice. Approval of Hitler's policies reached its peak among the German population. Germany saw itself on the way to being a world power.<sup>117</sup>

As had been the case with the conquest of Poland, the victory over France led the National Socialist leadership to devise scenarios for a 'territorial solution' to the so-called Jewish question. After the victory over the colonial power in the summer of 1940, the idea of deporting the Jews to the French colony of Madagascar seemed to be within the regime's grasp. In mid May 1940, Himmler had already noted briefly in his position paper 'Some Thoughts on the Treatment of the Ethnically Alien Population in the East': 'I hope to see the term Jew completely eradicated through the opportunity presented by a large-scale emigration of all Jews to Africa or some other colony.'<sup>118</sup>

The proposal was not new. Antisemites had already promoted it in the late nineteenth century, and in the 1930s there had also been deliberations in Poland, France, and Britain about using Madagascar as a place to settle certain groups of Jews. Even the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee had briefly contemplated such a project.<sup>119</sup> In the summer of 1940 the initiative was seized by the Reich Foreign Office, or, to be more precise, its Department for Germany, whose Section D III was in charge of all matters pertaining to Jews. On 3 July 1940 Franz Rademacher, the head of this section, suggested to his superior, Martin Luther, that Madagascar was a possible destination for the resettlement of the 'Western Jews' from Europe. Only a short time later, Hitler too expressed an intention to resettle the European Jews in Madagascar.<sup>120</sup>

Heydrich intervened and pointed out to the Reich Foreign Office that he himself had been tasked by Göring with coordinating Jewish emigration. Subsequently, both the

116 Rudolf Absolon, *Die Wehrmacht im Dritten Reich*, vol. 5: 1. *September 1939 bis 18. Dezember 1941* (Boppard am Rhein: Boldt, 1988), pp. 148–151; Meyer, 'Jüdische Mischlinge', pp. 230–237; Bryan Mark Rigg, *Hitler's Jewish Soldiers: The Untold Story of Nazi Racial Laws and Men of Jewish Descent in the German Military* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2002).

117 Andreas Hillgruber, *Die gescheiterte Großmacht: Eine Skizze des Deutschen Reiches 1871–1945* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1980), pp. 95–99.

118 Cited in Helmut Krausnick (ed.), 'Denkschrift Himmlers über die Behandlung der Fremdvölkischen im Osten (Mai 1940)', *Vierteljahrshäfte für Zeitgeschichte*, vol. 5 (1957), pp. 194–198, here p. 197.

119 Magnus Brechtken 'Madagaskar für die Juden': *Antisemitische Idee und politische Praxis 1885–1945* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1997), pp. 116–119.

120 Leni Yahil, 'Madagascar: Phantom of a Solution for the Jewish Question', in George Mosse and Bela Vago (eds.), *Jews and Non-Jews in Eastern Europe* (New York: Wiley, 1974), pp. 315–334; Browning, *Origins of the Final Solution*, pp. 81–89.

Reich Foreign Office and the Reich Security Main Office drew up plans and obtained expert opinions. In his expert's report, the geologist Friedrich Schumacher concluded that Madagascar was sufficiently worthless for Jews to be settled there, as it had no significant natural resources. The demographer Friedrich Burgdörfer also viewed the project positively. Plans were made to relocate 4 million Jews to this Indian Ocean island within the next four years. They would eke out an existence there under the supervision of the SS – it was assumed that many of them would not survive under the envisaged conditions (Docs. 92, 94, 99).<sup>121</sup>

However, the project did not prove viable. Without an armistice or even a victory over Britain, it was impossible to gain the requisite control over the sea routes. Nonetheless, from then on the Germans responsible for resettlement plans never abandoned the basic idea of deporting all the Jews within the German sphere of control to a remote region.<sup>122</sup> At first there were thoughts of resettling Jews within Europe. When the victory over France allowed Alsace and Lorraine to be annexed by the Reich and incorporated into the Gaue of Baden and Saar-Palatinate, the respective Gauleiter, Josef Bürckel and Robert Wagner, suggested that all the Jews from their Gaue be deported to France, a proposal that Hitler endorsed. On 22 October 1940 more than 6,000 Jews from the Baden and Saar-Palatinate regions were transported to southern France (Docs. 112, 113).

The Vichy government protested against the unannounced deportations into its territory and demanded that the Jews be returned to the Reich. As a result, the planned deportation of Jews from Hessen was postponed. Like Hans Frank in the General Government, the Vichy government was disinclined to make its territory available for a solution to Germany's 'Jewish question'.<sup>123</sup> It interned the German Jews in the camp at Gurs and later in Rivesaltes, at the foot of the Pyrenees.<sup>124</sup>

121 Browning, *Final Solution and the German Foreign Office*, pp. 39–40; Brechtken, 'Madagaskar für die Juden'; Hans Jansen, *Der Madagaskar-Plan: Die beabsichtigte Deportation der europäischen Juden nach Madagaskar* (Munich: Herbig, 1997).

122 Ian Kershaw, *Fateful Choices: Ten Decisions that Changed the World, 1940–1941* (London: Penguin, 2007), pp. 447–449.

123 Jacob Toury, 'Die Entstehungsgeschichte des Austreibungsbefehls gegen die Juden der Saarpfalz und Badens (22./23. Oktober 1940 – Camp de Gurs)', *Jahrbuch des Instituts für deutsche Geschichte Tel Aviv*, vol. 15 (1986), pp. 431–464; Erhard R. Wiehn (ed.), *Oktoberdeportation 1940: Die sogenannte 'Abschiebung' der badischen und saarpfälzischen Juden in das französische Internierungslager Gurs und andere Vorstationen von Auschwitz* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gore, 1990); Gerhard J. Teschner, *Die Deportation der badischen und saarpfälzischen Juden am 22. Oktober 1940: Vorgeschichte und Durchführung der Deportation und das weitere Schicksal der Deportierten bis zum Kriegsende im Kontext der deutschen und französischen Judenpolitik* (Frankfurt am Main/New York: Peter Lang, 2002). On the policy towards the Jews in the Vichy government, see also Michael Robert Marrus and Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews* (New York: Basic, 1981); Susan Zuccotti, *The Holocaust, the French, and the Jews* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), pp. 65–80; Browning, *Origins of the Final Solution*, p. 91.

124 Over the course of 1941, some of the German Jews were sent to other camps in south-western France. Approximately 1,500 prisoners managed to escape or emigrate to other countries, and a total of around 1,000 died in the camps. On the camps, see Claude Laharie, *Le camp de Gurs, 1939–1945: Un aspect méconnu de l'histoire du Bearn* (Pau: Infocompo, 1985); Anne Grynberg, *Les camps de la honte: Les internés juifs des camps français 1939–1944* (Paris: La Découverte, 1991); Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internement, 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002); Jean-Marc Dreyfus, 'Alsace Lorraine', in Gruner and Osterloh, *The Greater German Reich and the Jews*, pp. 316–339, here p. 327.

Protests against the deportation of German Jews also occurred in Germany. Otto Hirsch of the Reich Association of Jews in Germany complained to the SD, saying that after the ‘resettlement’ of the Stettin Jews in the spring of 1940, the board of the Association had been assured that no more Jews would be deported (Doc. 111). The Reich Association also alerted the Jews who had not been at home at the time of the ‘operation’, advising them not to return. All the Jewish communities proclaimed a day of fasting as an expression of mourning, rabbis offered prayers for the deportees during worship, and cultural events were cancelled for an entire week. The lawyer Julius Seligsohn, also an official of the Reich Association, was one of the driving forces behind the board’s efforts to mark the deportations with acts of mourning and with warnings for the future. As a result, the Gestapo imprisoned him in Sachsenhausen concentration camp. At the same time, Paul Eppstein was still being held in ‘protective custody’ (Doc. 128). Whenever he was summoned to the Gestapo, Otto Hirsch tried repeatedly to bring about the release of his colleagues. Not long thereafter, he himself was arrested by the Gestapo because he had allegedly tried to leak news into foreign countries about the situation of those deported to France.<sup>125</sup>

Academics and policymakers worked hand in glove, and not only to prepare the Madagascar Plan. Military expansion broadened the planning horizons of the regime and simultaneously increased its need for policy advice from the academic world. Economists, sociologists, and historians, with their project for a New Order inspired by population economics and racist theory, paved the way intellectually for radical solutions to the ‘Jewish question’. Prominent examples included the numerous ideas for resettlement and Germanization of the occupied territories, which later culminated in the ‘General Plan East’.<sup>126</sup>

At the Frankfurt-based Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question, work on a ‘general European solution to the Jewish question’ had been under way since the summer of 1939 under the patronage of Reichsleiter Alfred Rosenberg. The deliberations were published in the institute’s journal, *Weltkampf* (Doc. 171). At the inaugural conference, which did not take place until March 1941, all the speakers addressed the topic of a future ‘final solution’, though without defining it in concrete terms.<sup>127</sup>

Scholars from various disciplines knew how to utilize the military situation for the purposes of their own research, as well as the climate generated by initial military suc-

125 Esiel Hildesheimer, *Jüdische Selbstverwaltung unter dem NS-Regime* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1994), pp. 192–202; Meyer, ‘Der Traum von einer autonomen jüdischen Verwaltung’, pp. 34–35.

126 Max Weinreich, *Hitler’s Professors: The Part of Scholarship in Germany’s Crimes against the Jewish People* (New York: Yiddish Scientific Institute, 1946); Alan Steinweis, *Studying the Jew: Scholarly Antisemitism in Nazi Germany* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006); Isabel Heinemann, ‘Wissenschaft und Homogenisierungsplanungen für Osteuropa: Konrad Meyer, der “Generalplan Ost” und die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft’, in Isabel Heinemann and Patrick Wagner (eds.), *Wissenschaft – Planung – Vertreibung: Neuordnungskonzepte und Umsiedlungspolitik im 20. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 2006), pp. 45–72; Jan Eike Dunkhase, *Werner Conze: Ein deutscher Historiker im 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), pp. 35–67. See also the Introduction to PMJ 4.

127 Hans-Christian Petersen, *Bevölkerungsökonomie – Ostforschung – Politik: Eine biographische Studie zu Peter-Heinz Seraphim (1902–1979)* (Osnabrück: Fibre, 2007); Dirk Rupnow, *Judenforschung im Dritten Reich: Wissenschaft zwischen Politik, Propaganda und Ideologie* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2011).

cesses, which was pervaded by fantasies about what could be achieved. Economists developed concepts for a European economic area under German leadership harnessed to the needs of the war (*Großraumwehrwirtschaft*), and physicists worked on new weapons systems and more powerful aircraft. Agronomists sought to make Germany 'blockade-proof' by exploring possibilities for increasing agricultural production and by attempting to replace imports, for which large amounts of foreign exchange were needed, with domestic substitutes. Eugenists and human geneticists provided the expertise for the policy on hereditary health. Meanwhile, the mostly foreign prisoners in the greatly enlarged concentration camps served as test subjects for human experiments conducted by medical professionals. The consequences for the prisoners' health were grave, sometimes fatal. By such means, research on chemical weapons and on tuberculosis gained fresh momentum. Neuroscientists and anatomists utilized the victims of executions and 'euthanasia' murders to obtain findings that, had the research been carried out in peacetime and with the proper legal safeguards, would only have been possible through the protracted and uncertain process of animal experimentation.<sup>128</sup>

### *The Jews in the Reich: Desperate Attempts to Emigrate*

Between 1933 and 1939 approximately 247,000 Jews had managed to emigrate from Germany. Around 80,000 left the territory of the Old Reich alone in the eight months between January 1939 and the onset of war. After that, only 30,000 to 35,000 Jews succeeded in leaving the Old Reich, Austria, and the Protectorate before October 1941, when emigration was prohibited. Moreover, following the renewed territorial expansion through conquest in the spring of 1940, almost all the neighbouring countries were occupied by German troops. As a result of the war, established escape routes were often blocked off, available ship capacity reduced, and maritime routes became increasingly unsafe.

After the outbreak of war, the situation in Britain became markedly more difficult for the Jews who had fled from the Reich. When imposing restrictions, the British government did try hard to distinguish between Jewish Germans and Germans loyal to the

128 Christian Pross and Götz Aly, *Der Wert des Menschen: Medizin in Deutschland 1918–1945* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1989); 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. 215–233; Doris Kaufmann (ed.), *Geschichte der Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft im Nationalsozialismus: Bestandsaufnahmen und Perspektiven der Forschung* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2000); Susanne Heim (ed.), *Plant Breeding and Agrarian Research in Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institutes 1933–1945: Calories, Caoutchouc, Careers* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2008); Gerhard Baader, 'Auf dem Weg zum Menschenversuch im Nationalsozialismus', in Carola Sachse (ed.), *Die Verbindung nach Auschwitz: Biowissenschaften und Menschenversuche an Kaiser-Wilhelm-Instituten* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2003), pp. 105–157; Francis R. Nicosia and Jonathan Huener (eds.), *Medicine and Medical Ethics in Nazi Germany: Origins, Practices, Legacies* (New York/Oxford: Berghahn, 2004); Wolfgang U. Eckart, *Man, Medicine and the State: The Human Body as an Object of Government Sponsored Medical Research in the 20th Century* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006); Mark Walker, Karin Orth, Ulrich Herbert, et al. (eds.), *The German Research Foundation, 1920–1970: Funding Poised between Science and Politics* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2013); Paul Weindling, *Victims and Survivors of Nazi Human Experiments: Science and Suffering in the Holocaust* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015).

regime. However, when it ordered the internment of so-called enemy aliens in the early summer of 1940, many German Jews were affected. Moreover, once the war had begun, the British government stopped issuing Jews from the territory of the Reich with certificates for emigration to Palestine. As a result, it was only possible to emigrate there via neutral countries or by illegal means (Docs. 120, 121). Elisabeth Freund, who was later able to escape to Havana, described in retrospect her efforts to leave Germany. On 1 September the onset of war had thwarted her emigration to Britain, which had already been approved. She continued her endeavours:

In the spring of 1940 we got an entry permit for Portugal. We got everything ready at once, applied for our passports – then the German troops invaded Holland, Belgium, and France, a flood of refugees poured into Portugal, and the Portuguese government sent out telegrams cancelling all the permits that had been issued. We were still lucky that we had not yet given up our apartment and sold our furniture.<sup>129</sup>

Many non-Jews took advantage of the Jews' predicament and gained possession, at a price well below the original value, of furnishings and valuables that the Jews either could not take or were not permitted to take with them (Doc. 179).<sup>130</sup>

The more countries the German Wehrmacht attacked, the more cautiously the neutral states, particularly the USA, approached their immigration policy. Politicians and journalists were worried, fearing a 'fifth column' of German spies. Julius Seligsohn of the Reich Association of Jews thus had to state in a pamphlet in 1940:

In early July 1940, the government in Washington instructed the consular representations to apply a strict standard to the verification of immigration requirements. If there is any cause for doubt, the visa is not to be issued, even if the tightened verification procedures should result in immigration quotas not being met.<sup>131</sup>

Julius Seligsohn never left Germany. He died in Sachsenhausen concentration camp on 28 February 1942.

<sup>129</sup> Sachse, *Als Zwangsarbeiterin in Berlin*, p. 74.

<sup>130</sup> Herbert A. Strauss, 'Jewish Emigration from Germany: Nazi Politics and Jewish Responses', parts I and II, *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook*, vol. 25 (1980), pp. 313–361, and vol. 26 (1981), pp. 343–409; Werner Röder and Sybille Claus (eds.), *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933* (München: Saur, 1980–1983); Susanne Heim, 'Vertreibung, Raub und Umverteilung: Die jüdischen Flüchtlinge aus Deutschland und die Vermehrung des "Volksvermögens"', in 'Flüchtlingspolitik und Fluchthilfe', special issue, *Beiträge zur nationalsozialistischen Gesundheits- und Sozialpolitik*, vol. 15 (1999), pp. 107–138; A. Beker (ed.), *The Plunder of Jewish Property during the Holocaust* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001); Gregg J. Rickman, *Conquest and Redemption: A History of Jewish Assets from the Holocaust* (Piscataway, NJ: Transaction, 2014).

<sup>131</sup> Julius Ludwig Israel Seligsohn, *Die Einwanderung nach U.S.A.* (Berlin: Jüdischer Kulturbund in Deutschland, 1940), pp. 9–10. Also see David S. Wyman, *Paper Walls: America and the Refugee Crisis, 1938–1941* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1968), pp. 172–176; Deborah E. Lipstadt, *Beyond Belief: The American Press and the Coming of the Holocaust, 1933–1945* (New York: Free, 1986), pp. 128–131; Richard Breitman and Alan M. Kraut, *American Refugee Policy and European Jewry, 1933–1945* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987); Hans-Ullrich Dillmann and Susanne Heim, *Fluchtpunkt Karibik: Jüdische Emigranten in der Dominikanischen Republik* (Berlin: Links, 2009), pp. 70–71, 127–128; Saul Friedman, *No Haven for the Oppressed: United States Policy toward Jewish Refugees, 1938–1945* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2017).

The principles governing the issuing of visas were not usually revealed to the applicants (Doc. 29). In letters from Jewish parents to their children who had emigrated before the war, efforts to emigrate and the failure thereof are the dominant theme, as in the correspondence of Amalie and Paul Malsch, a couple living in Düsseldorf (Docs. 186, 207). The children, still trying hard to find their place in a new environment, felt responsible for enabling their parents to emigrate, but in most cases their endeavours were unsuccessful.

Despite the dwindling opportunities for emigration, anti-Jewish policy continued to focus on expulsion. It was a contradiction that the Jewish officials were supposed to resolve, yet they were completely unable to do so. Because emigration from the Old Reich and Austria had precedence over that from the Protectorate, Eichmann's Central Office in Prague had little success in bringing it about. The monthly emigration figures failed to rise after the establishment of the office.<sup>132</sup>

Even after the war began, Jewish representatives travelled abroad at the behest of Eichmann to ask the representatives of international Jewish organizations for help with their emigration efforts. Leading members of the Reich Association would have had a chance to emigrate. On the one hand, the Reich Security Main Office prevented them from doing so by confiscating their passports and not allowing their spouses to accompany them on trips abroad. On the other hand, like board member Otto Hirsch they felt a sense of obligation: 'Not everybody can leave; after all somebody has to take care of the old people!' He himself lost his life in Mauthausen on 19 June 1941.<sup>133</sup> Jakob Edelstein, who, as head of the Palestine Office in Prague, travelled abroad on a number of occasions (Doc. 250), came back every time and made tireless efforts to enable Jews from Bohemia and Moravia to emigrate and thus to save their lives. He was deported in December 1941 to Theresienstadt, where, as the first Jewish elder, he had to organize life in the ghetto. On 20 June 1944 he was shot dead in Auschwitz, along with his wife and son. Paul Eppstein, who replaced Edelstein in January 1943 as Jewish elder in Theresienstadt, was shot and killed there at the age of 42. His wife, Hedwig, perished in Auschwitz.<sup>134</sup>

In March 1940 Eichmann had appointed Berthold Storfer of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna to serve as coordinator for the refugee ships that sailed illegally, mainly to Palestine.<sup>135</sup> Storfer then organized crossings on the *Pacific*, the *Milos*, and the *Atlantic*, which took on board Jews from Germany, Austria, and the Protectorate. When the three ships reached the port of Haifa in late 1940, the British authorities ordered all the passengers to be combined aboard the *Patria*, which was supposed to set sail immediately for Mauritius. The British Mandate wanted to prevent the refugees from entering Palestine and so the intention was to intern them on Mauritius. The Jewish underground organization Haganah tried to prevent the ship from leaving Haifa through an act of sabotage. But the effects of the charge that exploded aboard the *Patria* on 25 November 1940

132 Bondy, 'Elder of the Jews'; Shlain, 'Jakob Edelsteins Bemühungen', pp. 81–87; Anderl, 'Zentralstellen für jüdische Auswanderung', p. 283.

133 'Zur Gedenkfeier für Dr. Otto Hirsch', in *Schawe Zion*, July 1941 (no author named), YVA, O.1/267, fol. 3, cited in Meyer, 'Der Traum von einer autonomen jüdischen Verwaltung', p. 26.

134 Meyer, 'Der Traum von einer autonomen jüdischen Verwaltung', pp. 31–35.

135 On Storfer and illegal immigration to Palestine, see PMJ 2, p. 47. See also Gabriele Anderl, *9096 Leben: Der unbekannte Judenretter Berthold Storfer* (Berlin: Rotbuch, 2012).

had been miscalculated – it sank the ship within a matter of minutes. More than 250 of the 1,800 passengers lost their lives, many of them in view of family members waiting on shore. The authorities took the survivors to the Atlit refugee camp (Docs. 120, 121). Zionist leaders such as Chaim Weizmann and David Ben-Gurion, who felt compelled to compromise with the British mandatory power, criticized illegal immigration into Palestine and as a result triggered impassioned debate within Jewish communities.<sup>136</sup>

Another illegal refugee transport, carrying 822 Jews mostly from Vienna, but also from Berlin and Danzig, had left the Danube metropolis in November 1939 and made an intermediate stop in Bratislava to take on board an additional 100 passengers from Prague and from Bratislava itself. However, they got no farther than the Yugoslav port of Kladovo on the Danube, where they were allowed to go ashore after spending several weeks on the ship. Most now lived in a camp composed of tents and barracks. In September 1940 the refugees were taken to the Serbian town of Šabac, their hopes of a quick resumption of their journey repeatedly dashed. Other Jews gradually joined the group, which thus grew to include around 1,400 people. Approximately 200 to 280 of them, members of the Youth Aliyah in particular, managed to escape, with the help of Palestine certificates, shortly before the German invasion of Yugoslavia. The others fell into the hands of the German troops in April 1941 and were among the first Jews from the Reich to be victims of systematic mass shootings in October 1941.<sup>137</sup>

While Jews were dependent on financial assistance from Jewish organizations to support their emigration efforts, non-Aryan Protestant Christians found support for various matters, including emigration, from the Pastor Grüber Office in Berlin, a relief organization of the Confessing Church (Doc. 47). On 19 December 1940 the Gestapo arrested Heinrich Grüber and in early 1941 ordered the work of the office to be officially discontinued. Grüber was sent to a concentration camp and not released until June 1943.

Catholics who were persecuted as Jews received assistance with their emigration efforts from the St Raphael Society<sup>138</sup> until it was banned in June 1941, along with the Relief Agency of the Episcopal Ordinariate in Berlin. In addition, relief agencies were established in destination countries. On instructions from the Vatican, they worked together with the St Raphael Society and endeavoured to help the refugees after arrival.<sup>139</sup>

136 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; Dalia Ofer, *Escaping the Holocaust: Illegal Immigration to the Land of Israel, 1939–1944* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

137 Gabriele Anderl and Walter Manoschek, *Gescheiterte Flucht: Der jüdische 'Kladovo-Transport' auf dem Weg nach Palästina 1939–1942* (Vienna: Gesellschaftskritik, 1993); Dalia Ofer and Hannah Weiner, *Dead-End Journey: The Tragic Story of the Kladovo-Šabac Group* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1996).

138 The St Raphael Society for the Protection of Catholic German Emigrants was founded in 1871 in Mainz. Its president was the bishop of Osnabrück. The German authorities banned the society on 25 June 1941.

139 Eberhard Röhm and Jörg Thierfelder, *Juden – Christen – Deutsche*, vol. 3: 1938–1941 (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1995); Jana Leichsenring, *Die Katholische Kirche und 'ihre Juden': Das 'Hilfswerk beim Bischöflichen Ordinariat Berlin', 1938–1945* (Berlin: Metropol, 2007); Hartmut Ludwig, *An der Seite der Entrechteten und Schwachen: Zur Geschichte des 'Büro Pfarrer Grüber' (1938 bis 1940) und der Ev. Hilfsstelle für ehemals Rasseverfolgte nach 1945* (Berlin: Logos, 2009).

## *Reactions to 'Euthanasia' and Persecution of the Jews*

Beginning in the summer of 1940, rumours of the 'euthanasia' crimes were circulated, first in the vicinity of the killing centres, but soon thereafter throughout the entire Reich. In Laubach (Hesse), the lawyer Friedrich Kellner noted in his diary on 28 July 1941 how the crimes were already attracting attention through mix-ups at the centres:

The 'institutions for patients with physical or mental disabilities' have turned into killing centres. As I am informed, one family had brought their mentally ill son back home from such a facility. After some time, this family received [from the facility] a notification to the effect that their son [was] deceased and the ashes were being delivered to them! The office had forgotten to cross his name off the list of the dead. The plans for premeditated murder thus came to light.<sup>140</sup>

'Euthanasia' had become an open secret, and the rumours were also fuelled by fears that the killing programme would be expanded. Bishop Clemens August, Count von Galen, made it perfectly clear in a sermon in St Lambert's Church in Münster on 3 August 1941: 'If one establishes and applies the principle that "unproductive" human beings may be killed, then woe betide us all when we become old and frail! [...] and woe betide our brave soldiers who return home gravely injured, crippled, as invalids.'<sup>141</sup>

Public unrest was presumably one reason why Hitler ordered a halt to the centrally organized gassings in the 'euthanasia' facilities in the Reich around 24 August 1941. More than 70,000 people had already been killed by this time. Those responsible were now given the task of setting up killing centres in Eastern Europe.<sup>142</sup>

There were influential protests against the killing of patients with physical and mental disabilities. Probably no other National Socialist crime aroused so much indignation among the German population as the 'euthanasia' programme. Even though, until mid 1941, the Jews were 'only' being persecuted and not yet systematically murdered, there was no stirring of comparable indignation. Although the degree of approval or repudiation within German society is difficult to ascertain, many had obviously accepted the notion that Jews could not be part of the *Volksgemeinschaft*. In addition, the progressive

140 Friedrich Kellner et al. (eds.), *My Opposition: The Diary of Friedrich Kellner – a German against the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 176.

141 Sermon at St Lambert's, 3 August 1941, published in Peter Löffler (ed.), *Bischof Clemens August Graf von Galen: Akten, Briefe und Predigten 1933–1946*, vol. 2: 1939–1946 (Mainz: Matthias-Grünewald, 1988), pp. 874–883, here p. 878.

142 Kurt Nowak, 'Widerstand, Zustimmung, Hinnahme: Das Verhalten der Bevölkerung zur "Euthanasie"', in Norbert Frei (ed.), *Medizin und Gesundheitspolitik in der NS-Zeit* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1991), pp. 235–249; Friedlander, *Origins of Nazi Genocide*, pp. 111–114; Hugh Gregory Gallagher, *By Trust Betrayed: Patients, Physicians, and the License to Kill in the Third Reich* (Arlington, VA: Vandamere, 1995); Michael Burleigh, *Death and Deliverance: 'Euthanasia' in Germany, 1900 to 1945* (London: Pan, 2002); Winfried Süß, *Der 'Volkkörper' im Krieg: Gesundheitspolitik, Gesundheitsverhältnisse und Krankenmord im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland 1939–1945* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2003), pp. 127–151; Götz Aly, *Die Belasteten: 'Euthanasie' 1939–1945. Eine Gesellschaftsgeschichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2013); Nathan Stoltzfus, *Hitler's Compromises: Coercion and Consensus in Nazi Germany* (New Haven, CT/London: Yale University Press, 2016), pp. 174–206.

isolation of this already very small group made it easy to block out their fate. Jews lived in houses designated solely for them, they were not seen either at the cinema or the theatre, they did their shopping at other times and to some extent in other shops, and even at work they were usually segregated from colleagues.<sup>143</sup>

The situation in the Protectorate was similar, as the writer and historian H. G. Adler, who survived Theresienstadt and later published a major work on the ghetto, wrote in a letter in 1947:

Restrictions and torments, slowly increasing, increasingly unbearable, increasingly inhumane. Kindness, but also cowardice and the venal mentality of lackeys on the part of a great many Czechs. Moral degeneracy and inhumanity on the part of the Germans. Only a very few friends on either side kept faith with each other.<sup>144</sup>

### From the End of 1940 to June 1941: Preparations for the War of Annihilation

On 18 December 1940 Hitler signed Directive No. 21, 'Case Barbarossa'.<sup>145</sup> The decision to attack the Soviet Union had thus been taken. For the European Jews, it was a decision of dire significance. Given a successful outcome of the war, millions of them would fall under the German sphere of influence. Even without concrete plans, the National Socialist leadership expected that the anticipated rapid victory over the Soviet Union would make resettlement projects possible on a scale far greater than before.<sup>146</sup>

At the end of 1940 and beginning of 1941, new versions of a 'final solution [*Endlösung*] to the Jewish question' were also under discussion. The term was used with increasing frequency in internal discussions, although its meaning only gradually became clear. When Eichmann noted in December 1940 that the Jews should be deported 'to a territory yet to be determined' (Doc. 125), his choice of words suggested that it was no longer Madagascar that was in question. Himmler himself, who had requested Eichmann's

143 Otto Dov Kulka, "Public Opinion" in Nazi Germany and the "Jewish Question", *Jerusalem Quarterly*, vol. 25 (1982), pp. 121–144; David Bankier, *The Germans and the Final Solution: Public Opinion under Nazism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), pp. 159–170; Susan Bachrach and Dieter Kuntz, *Deadly Medicine*; Eric Arthur Johnson and Karl-Heinz Reuband, *What We Knew: Terror, Mass Murder, and Everyday Life in Nazi Germany. An Oral History* (Cambridge, MA: Basic Books, 2005); Frank Bajohr, 'Vom antijüdischen Konsens zum schlechten Gewissen: Die deutsche Gesellschaft und die Judenverfolgung 1933–1945', in Frank Bajohr and Dieter Pohl, *Der Holocaust als offenes Geheimnis: Die Deutschen, die NS-Führung und die Alliierten* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 15–79, here pp. 26–27; Bernward Dörner, *Die Deutschen und der Holocaust: Was niemand wissen wollte, aber jeder wissen konnte* (Berlin: Propyläen, 2007), pp. 71–75; Ian Kershaw, *Hitler, the Germans, and the Final Solution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 119–234.

144 Cited in Franz Hocheneder, *H.G. Adler (1910–1988): Privatgelehrter und freier Schriftsteller* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2009), p. 69.

145 The directive is published in H. R. Trevor-Roper (ed.), *Hitler's War Directives, 1939–1945* (London: Pan, 1966), pp. 93–98.

146 Andreas Hillgruber, *Hitlers Strategie: Politik und Kriegsführung 1940–1941* (Frankfurt am Main: Bernard & Graefe, 1965), pp. 352–397; Aly, 'Final Solution', pp. 124–128; Browning, *Origins of the Final Solution*, pp. 213–224.

comments in preparing for a speech to the Reichsleiter and Gauleiter, summed up the current state of thinking: 'Jewish emigration and thus additional space for Poles' (Doc. 126). He addressed the connection between the resettlements in German-occupied Europe and the 'final solution to the Jewish question', but did not name a specific target region. When Theodor Dannecker, in his function as official in charge of Jewish affairs (*Judenreferent*) for the representative of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD in Paris, discussed future plans on 21 January 1941, mention was made only of the 'yet to be determined territory' (Doc. 138).

During this phase, on 30 January 1941 Hitler again recalled his 'prophecy' of 30 January 1939 that a world war would result in the annihilation of European Jewry (Doc. 142). On 18 March 1941 Goebbels reported on a meeting with Hitler and Governor General Frank: 'Vienna will soon be entirely free of Jews. And now it is to be Berlin's turn. I am already discussing this with the Führer and Dr Franck [*sic*]. He is putting the Jews to work, and they are compliant, too. Later they must be out of Europe altogether.'<sup>147</sup>

There were still approximately 60,000 Jews living in Vienna. After Gauleiter Baldur von Schirach, in office since August 1940, had complained to Hitler in October about this state of affairs, in early December Hitler gave his consent to deportation even while the war was still ongoing (Doc. 123). Consequently, in February and March 1941, the deportation of the Viennese Jews was incorporated into the third 'short-term plan' (*Nahplan*), a gigantic resettlement programme to take place on Polish territory. Approximately 5,000 people in Vienna were affected. Families were selected for deportation to the General Government by the Central Office for Jewish Emigration, headed by Alois Brunner. Prior to their deportation, they were held in improvised and crowded assembly camps (*Sammellager*) (Doc. 151). The Israelite Religious Community of Vienna had to play a part in making the arrangements. Because preparations for the invasion of the Soviet Union took precedence over further deportations in the period that followed, there were no further deportations from Vienna for the time being.<sup>148</sup>

Hans Frank, who had earlier placed great hope in the Madagascar Plan, viewed the military planning against the Soviet Union as a new opportunity to deport the Jews living in the territory under his control towards the East. His protests against resettlements of Jews in the General Government intensified the pressure on Berlin to find other solutions. At a government meeting in Cracow on 25 March 1941, he reported on a preceding visit to Berlin, where 'the Führer had promised him that the GG [General Government] would be the first territory to be made free of Jews'. With the loss of the General Government as a deportation destination, however, a territorial 'solution to the Jewish question' had become virtually impossible.<sup>149</sup>

On 20 March 1941 Eichmann declared to representatives of the Propaganda Ministry that Heydrich 'was tasked by the Führer with planning the final evacuation of the Jews',

147 Cited in *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels*, Elke Fröhlich ed., part 1: *Aufzeichnungen 1923–1941*, vol. 9: *Dezember 1940 – Juli 1941* (Munich: Saur, 1998), pp. 191–194, here p. 193; see also Susanne Heim and Götz Aly, *Bevölkerungsstruktur und Massenmord: Neue Dokumente zur deutschen Politik der Jahre 1938–1945* (Berlin: Rotbuch, 1991), pp. 22–25; Aly, 'Final Solution', pp. 124–128.

148 Rabinovici, *Eichmann's Jews*, pp. 99–102; Löw, 'Die frühen Deportationen', pp. 71–75.

149 Quotation in Werner Präg and Wolfgang Jacobmeyer (eds.), *Das Dienstagebuch des deutschen Generalgouverneurs in Polen, 1939–1945* (Stuttgart: Deutsche, 1975), p. 337; see also Hilberg, *Deconstruction of the European Jews*, pp. 220–221; Aly, 'Final Solution', pp. 161–162.

but his proposal that the Jews now be deported had not been accepted, because the General Government could not currently take in any Jews or Poles. In a memorandum dated 26 March 1941 concerning a conversation with Göring, Heydrich himself wrote that his draft must be reworked in view of the responsibilities assigned to Alfred Rosenberg, who had already been designated to serve as the future head of the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories. Now, therefore, the ‘territory yet to be determined’, in which the ‘final solution’ was to be carried out, was defined, at least in broad terms: it was the yet to be conquered East, with the Pripet Marshes in southern Belarus the specific focus of discussion.<sup>150</sup> The plans concerned all the Jews of Europe. On 20 May 1941 the Reich Security Main Office gave instructions for further emigration from Belgium and France to be halted ‘in view of the undoubtedly imminent final solution to the Jewish question’ (Doc. 182). In France, Heydrich’s former deputy Werner Best, who headed the Military Commander’s administrative staff, had noted as early as 4 April 1941: ‘The German interest consists in a progressive removal of Jewry from every country of Europe, with the aim of completely de-Jewifying Europe.’<sup>151</sup>

In parallel with these plans, Heinrich Himmler tackled an additional project in early 1941. As the numbers of prisoners in the concentration camps were increasing, he sent an enquiry at the beginning of the year to Philipp Bouhler in the Chancellery of the Führer, asking how the ‘euthanasia’ headquarters could be used to unburden the concentration camps.<sup>152</sup> The programme of murder that was developed by the organizers of ‘euthanasia’ at Himmler’s behest under file reference 14f13 targeted prisoners of various nationalities who were deemed politically or racially undesirable, infirm, or no longer fit for forced labour. In most cases the Jews fell victim to indiscriminate preselection by the camp administrators. From the spring of 1941 the ‘euthanasia’ assessors visited the concentration camps and selected prisoners. In September 1941 the physician Friedrich Mennecke wrote from Dachau to his wife: ‘There are only 2,000 men and the job will be finished really quickly, as they are simply glanced at as they pass by, like on a conveyor belt’ (Doc. 214). When, after one year, ‘Operation 14f13’ was discontinued in the spring of 1942, the doctors had been responsible for the death of at least 10,000 people.<sup>153</sup> In addition, in the spring of 1941 – independently of this operation – first 425 and then, in the summer, more than 200 Dutch Jews were deported to Mauthausen concentration camp, where most of them were murdered within a few weeks. Approximately 1,600 Jews perished there in the course of 1941.<sup>154</sup>

150 See PMJ 7/1; Aly, *Final Solution*, pp. 171–177; Peter Longerich, *The Unwritten Order: Hitler’s Role in the Final Solution* (Stroud: Tempus, 2001), pp. 57–62.

151 Best’s meeting schedule for the Military Commander in France for discussion with Xavier Vallat, dated 4 April 1941, cited in Michael Mayer, *Staaten als Täter: Ministerialbürokratie und ‘Judenpolitik’ in NS-Deutschland und Vichy-Frankreich: Ein Vergleich* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2010), p. 206.

152 Friedlander, *Origins of Nazi Genocide*, p. 142.

153 Walter Grode, *Die ‘Sonderbehandlung 14f13’ in den Konzentrationslagern des Dritten Reiches: Ein Beitrag zur Dynamik faschistischer Vernichtungspolitik* (Frankfurt am Main/New York: Peter Lang, 1987); Friedlander, *Origins of Nazi Genocide*, pp. 142–150; Pohl, ‘Holocaust and the Concentration Camps’, p. 151.

154 Pingel, *Häftlinge unter SS-Herrschaft*, p. 96; Hans Maršálek, *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna: Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, 1980); Eberhard Jäckel, *Hitler’s World View: A Blueprint for Power*, trans. Herbert Arnold (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981 [German edn, 1969]), pp. 89–122.

In the meantime, the war had also reached south-east Europe. Admittedly, Hitler's plan to clear the way for the invasion of the Soviet Union by quickly defeating Britain had failed. But on 27 September 1940 he had successfully concluded the Tripartite Pact with Italy and Japan, an agreement discussed as early as 1939. By 25 March 1941 Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia had joined the alliance. A coup in Belgrade on 27 March against the participation in the Tripartite Pact was used by Hitler as an opportunity to have German troops invade Yugoslavia on 6 April. The Yugoslav government capitulated on 17 April. In Greece the Wehrmacht came to Mussolini's aid and, on 27 April, German soldiers occupied Athens. On 10 April, Croatia declared itself an independent state, allied with the Axis Powers.<sup>155</sup>

As a result, almost 3 million Jews were now living under direct German rule: 675,000 in the Greater German Reich, including the annexed territories, as well as 2,250,000 in the occupied territories. German influence on Slovakia, Romania, and Italy posed a direct threat to hundreds of thousands more Jews.<sup>156</sup>

Preparations for the invasion of the Soviet Union made it clear from the outset that this would be a war of annihilation, in which the conventional rules of warfare would no longer apply. While the Wehrmacht and SS units had differed in their approach in Poland, the boundaries now began to blur. In April 1941 the Wehrmacht destroyed an entire Serbian village, Donji Dobrić, as 'retribution' for the shooting of a German officer. In May 1941 the commander of the Second Army, Field Marshal Maximilian von Weichs, announced the shooting of 100 Serbs for an attack on German soldiers and made it known that, in the future, 100 Serbs would be shot for every German soldier killed.<sup>157</sup>

At this time, and in close cooperation with Hitler, the Wehrmacht developed corresponding guidelines for the war against the Soviet Union. On 3 March 1941 Hitler sent back a draft directive from the Wehrmacht High Command (OKW) with addenda for the revised version: "This coming campaign is more than just a struggle of weapons; it also heralds a confrontation of two world views. [...] The Jewish Bolshevik intelligentsia, hitherto the "oppressor" of the people, must be eliminated."<sup>158</sup>

At the instruction of Hitler, Himmler and Heydrich set up Einsatzgruppen of the Security Police and the SD which, having been field-tested in the Poland campaign, were now supposed to secure the rear area in the wake of the invading army. On 26 March 1941 Göring instructed Heydrich to prepare a short handout 'for the troops about the

155 Detlef Vogel, 'German Intervention in the Balkans', in *Militär-geschichtliches Forschungsamt* (ed.), *Germany and the Second World War*, vol. 3: *The Mediterranean, South-East Europe, and North Africa, 1939–1941*, trans. Dean S. McMurry, Ewald Osers, and Louise Willmot (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2001 [German edn, 1984]), pp. 449–556, here pp. 451–526; Weinberg, *A World at Arms*, pp. 142–161, 215–224; Alexander Korb, *Intertwined Genocides: Mass Violence in Western Yugoslavia during the Second World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

156 Yahil, *The Holocaust*, p. 143.

157 Walter Manoschek, 'Serbien ist judenfrei!' *Militärische Besatzungspolitik und Judenvernichtung in Serbien 1941/42* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1993), pp. 31–32.

158 War Diary of the Wehrmacht High Command, vol. 1, p. 341 (3 March 1941), cited in Percy E. Schramm (ed.), *Kriegstagebuch des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht (Wehrmachtführungsstab)*, vol. 1: *1. August 1940–31. Dezember 1941*, compiled and annotated by Hans-Adolf Jacobsen (Frankfurt am Main: Bernard & Graefe, 1965), pp. 340–343, quotation p. 341; Christian Streit, *Keine Kameraden: Die Wehrmacht und die sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen 1941–1945*, 4th edn (Bonn: Dietz, 1997 [1978]).

dangerous nature of the NKVD [Soviet secret police], the political commissars, Jews etc., so that they know whom, in practice, they have to put up against the wall'.<sup>159</sup> Dated the same day is the draft of an order by Quartermaster General Eduard Wagner, in which he stated, following talks with Heydrich, that the Sonderkommandos of the Security Police (SD) should carry out their assignments 'on their own responsibility' and, in so doing, be authorized to 'take executive measures' with regard to the civilian population. This order was issued one month later.<sup>160</sup> Shortly thereafter, on 13 May, Wilhelm Keitel, the chief of the Wehrmacht High Command, issued the so-called 'Decree on Exercising Military Jurisdiction in the Area of Barbarossa and Special Measures by the Troops' (Barbarossa Decree). He thereby delivered the practically defenceless populace into the hands of the invading troops, for members of the Wehrmacht no longer had to answer before a military court after an attack upon civilians.<sup>161</sup> On 19 May he ordered his officers and men to 'crack down ruthlessly and vigorously on Bolshevik agitators, irregulars, saboteurs, Jews'.<sup>162</sup> And finally the 'Commissar Order' (*Kommissarbefehl*) of 6 June 1941 stated that 'political commissars' were to be shot.<sup>163</sup> In addition, one thing was certain: the anticipated prisoners of war, as well as the population, would go hungry. At a meeting on 2 May 1941, the state secretaries of the key ministries confirmed that, in view of the plans to feed the German army 'off the land' and also to send foodstuffs to the Reich, it was clear that 'countless millions of people [would] starve to death'.<sup>164</sup>

Even before the German invasion, therefore, it was established that an extralegal area would be created in the occupied territory. Hitler's phrase 'Jewish Bolshevik intelligentsia' was accepted by the Wehrmacht and the Einsatzgruppen alike. Moreover, it was sufficiently imprecise to make it possible to keep expanding the set of persons classed as enemies.<sup>165</sup>

159 PMJ 7/1.

160 Army High Command/Army General Staff/Quartermaster-General of the Army/Department for Wartime Administration, Nr. II o.Nr./41 geh. vom 26.3.1941, BAArch, RW 4/v.575, cited in Jürgen Förster, 'Operation Barbarossa as a War of Conquest and Annihilation', in Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt, *Germany and the Second World War*, vol. 4: *The Attack on the Soviet Union*, trans. Dean S. McMurry, Ewald Osers, and Louise Willmot (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996 [German edn, 1983]), p. 491.

161 The decree is published in Reinhard Rürup (ed.), *Der Krieg gegen die Sowjetunion 1941–1945: Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin: Argon, 1991), p. 45, and in Ian Kershaw, *Hitler 1936–1945: Nemesis* (London: Penguin, 2009), p. 601.

162 PMJ 7/3; Hans-Adolf Jacobsen, 'Kommissarbefehl und Massenexekutionen sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener', in Martin Broszat, Hans-Adolf Jacobsen, and Helmut Krausnick, *Anatomie des SS-Staates*, vol. 2 (Olten/Freiburg im Breisgau: Walter, 1965), pp. 161–279, here pp. 213–214.

163 The order is published in Rürup, *Der Krieg gegen die Sowjetunion*, p. 46.

164 File note regarding a meeting of state secretaries on 2 May 1941 about the economic objectives of the war aims against the Soviet Union, published in *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal Nuremberg, 14.11.1945–1.10.1946*, vol. 31 (Nuremberg: Internationaler Militärgerichtshof, 1948), p. 84.

165 Hillgruber, *Hitlers Strategie*, pp. 516–532; Mechthild Rössler and Sabine Schleiermacher (eds.), *Der 'Generalplan Ost': Hauptlinien der nationalsozialistischen Planungs- und Vernichtungspolitik* (Berlin: Akademie, 1993); Browning, *Origins of the Final Solution*, pp. 213–234; Johannes Hürter, *Hitlers Heerführer: Die deutschen Oberbefehlshaber im Krieg gegen die Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2006), pp. 205–265; Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, vol. 2, pp. 129–138.

For Himmler, as Reich Commissioner for the Strengthening of Germandom, the impending war in the East also afforded an opportunity for large-scale demographic projects intended to dwarf all the previous ones. From as early as the autumn of 1939, the agronomist Konrad Meyer, head of the Main Department for Planning and Soil in the office of the Reich Commissioner for the Strengthening of Germandom, had been making calculations relating to extensive population displacements. In June 1941 Himmler assigned him the task of developing a 'General Plan East' adapted to the new circumstances. Meyer submitted an initial version on 15 July 1941. This early draft also envisaged the resettlement of 5 to 6 million Jews. In a later version, the Jews were no longer mentioned. The authors obviously assumed that there were no longer any Jews left in these regions.

## June to September 1941: The War of Annihilation Begins

On 22 June 1941, the day that Germany invaded the Soviet Union, Hitler declared in his 'Proclamation to the German Nation' that 'the hour has now come in which it has become necessary to oppose this conspiracy of the Jewish-Anglo-Saxon warmongers and likewise the Jewish ruling powers in the Bolshevist control centre in Moscow'.<sup>166</sup>

Anti-Jewish propaganda, which had noticeably diminished in the first two years of war, now received a new thrust. To prevent the USA from entering the war, in the summer of 1940 Goebbels had ordered that verbal assaults on America and the Jews there must cease. In addition, the stereotype of 'Jewish Bolshevism' could not be employed in German propaganda as long as the non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union was in effect. Nonetheless, the Propaganda Ministry had not wholly renounced anti-Jewish agitation and had also used films for this purpose. *Jud Süß* (Jew Süss) became mandatory viewing for SS men (Doc. 119) and was a great popular success, far outstripping the ratings for *Der ewige Jude* (The Eternal Jew), which was advertised as a documentary (Docs. 124, 135).<sup>167</sup>

At the end of May and beginning of June 1941, the ministry had meanwhile already instructed the press to emphasize that Britain and the USA – in National Socialist terminology, the 'plutocracies' – were governed by Jewry. On 22 June 1941 linguistic restraint was abandoned altogether. At a press conference that day, Goebbels announced: 'Finally, an absolute clarification of the nature of plutocracy and Bolshevism is necessary. Both have a Jewish origin.'<sup>168</sup> The media were instructed to report at length on the massacres

166 Cited in Max Domarus and Patrick Romane (eds.), *The Essential Hitler: Speeches and Commentary* (Wauconda, IL: Bolchazy-Carducci, 2007), p. 765.

167 Karl-Heinz Reuband, "'Jud Süß" und "Der ewige Jude" als Prototypen antisemitischer Filmpropaganda im Dritten Reich: Entstehungsbedingungen, Zuschauerstrukturen und Wirkungspotential', in Michal Anděl et al. (eds.), *Propaganda, (Selbst-)Zensur, Sensation: Grenzen von Presse- und Wissenschaftsfreiheit in Deutschland und Tschechien seit 1871* (Essen: Klartext, 2005), pp. 89–148; Jeffrey Herf, *The Jewish Enemy: Nazi Propaganda during World War II and the Holocaust* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 14, 92; Bill Niven, 'Preparing Genocide: The Nazi Films *Jew Süss* and *The Eternal Jew*', in *Hitler and Film: The Führer's Hidden Passion* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2018), pp. 163–184.

168 BArch, ZSg. 102/32, 22.6.41, cited in Peter Longerich, *'Davon haben wir nichts gewusst!': Die Deutschen und die Judenverfolgung 1933–1945* (Munich: Siedler, 2006), p. 159.

carried out by the NKVD before its retreat from eastern Galicia. On 9 July 1941 Goebbels issued the slogan ‘The Jews are to blame’, which would from then on exert a crucial influence over media reporting. Goebbels said that he had been given explicit instructions by Hitler. The *Völkischer Beobachter* newspaper reacted promptly, featuring headlines about ‘Jewish Bolshevism’ and the ‘Jewish world conspiracy’.<sup>169</sup>

A welcome opportunity for a further tirade was afforded by a pamphlet, *Germany Must Perish*, that Theodore N. Kaufman, the owner of an advertising agency in Newark, New Jersey, had issued through a publishing firm founded especially for this purpose. In this pamphlet, which attracted no further attention in the USA, Kaufman called for the sterilization of all German men. German propaganda made out that Kaufman was a close friend of Roosevelt’s speechwriter, and on 24 July 1941 the *Völkischer Beobachter* ran the headline ‘Roosevelt demands the sterilization of the German people’ and claimed that the ‘The Jewish-American war aim, under this plan, is “Utter extinction of the German nation!”’<sup>170</sup>

Newsreels showed photos ‘of the victims of Bolshevik terror in Lemberg’, which allegedly expressed the ‘true nature of Bolshevism and Jewry’. The SD called for them to be ‘shown again and again, so that each and every Volksgenosse may be convinced, through this cool and objective factual material, of the danger which Jewish Bolshevism harbors’.<sup>171</sup>

The equation of Bolshevism and Jewry was enormously significant for subsequent developments. Like the Red Army’s political commissars, the Soviet Jews were soon to be murdered as, after all, they supposedly embodied the ‘Jewish Bolshevist’ threat. On 2 July 1941 Heydrich informed the Einsatzgruppen: ‘All the following are to be executed [...] Jews in Party and state posts, and other radical elements (saboteurs, propagandists, snipers, assassins, rabble-rousers, etc.)’.<sup>172</sup> The group of persons to be shot was only vaguely outlined, and, more importantly, by means of the ‘etc.’ at the end Heydrich gave the commando leaders the opportunity to expand this group continually. Many commandos and police units took advantage of the ensuing leeway as early as July 1941, by indiscriminately shooting the male Jewish population of the places into which they advanced. They also initiated and supported pogroms conducted by local militias. Independent initiative from below and constant pressure from above were mutually reinforcing factors in this process. In the meantime, Himmler was manifestly emboldening the German units in Białystok, in eastern Poland, to take a more radical line of action. Be-

169 *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels*, part 2: *Diktate 1941–1945*, vol. 2: *Juli–September 1941* (Munich: Saur, 1996), p. 35 (entry for 9 July 1941). For newspaper headlines, see, for example, *Völkischer Beobachter* (North German edition), 10 July 1941, p. 1: ‘Der Bolschewismus enthüllt sein jüdisches Gesicht’ (‘Bolshevism reveals its Jewish face’); Longerich, ‘*Davon haben wir nichts gewusst!*’, pp. 159–160; Richard J. Evans, *The Third Reich at War, 1939–1945* (London: Allen Lane, 2008), pp. 244–246.

170 *Völkischer Beobachter* (North German edition), no. 205, 24 July 1941, p. 1; Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, vol. 2, pp. 205–206.

171 RSHA, Amt II (SD): *Meldungen aus dem Reich*, cited in Otto Dov Kulka and Eberhard Jäckel (eds.), *The Jews in the Secret Nazi Reports on Popular Opinion in Germany, 1933–1945*, trans. William Templar (New Haven, CT/London: Yale University Press, 2010 [German edn, 2004]), doc. 554, pp. 527–528.

172 PMJ 7/15.

tween 8 and 11 July, members of Police Battalions 316 and 322 shot at least 1,000 Jews in the Białystok area.<sup>173</sup> It is against this backdrop that, on 17 July, an order was issued that Heydrich had drafted as early as 28 June 1941: all Jewish prisoners of war in the Soviet Union were to be shot.<sup>174</sup>

Hitler also expressed himself with undisguised candour during this phase. On 10 July he likened himself to Robert Koch and praised himself, saying that he had recognized the Jew as a 'bacillus'.<sup>175</sup> Then, on 16 July, at a meeting in the Führer Headquarters, he commented on Stalin's appeal for partisan warfare on 3 July, saying that it 'enables us to exterminate everyone who opposes us'. The necessary pacification 'is best effected by shooting everyone who even looks sideways at us'.<sup>176</sup>

The mass shootings of Jewish men during the first weeks of the war led to a new problem for German occupation officials in the Soviet Union. The families whose men had been murdered now lacked breadwinners. Consequently, the Germans began to consider whether one should also shoot those Jewish women and children who could not provide for themselves. In any case, large portions of the indigenous population, as well as the Soviet prisoners of war, were not being provided with adequate food supplies by the German authorities. In the feeding hierarchy, the Soviet prisoners of war and the Jews ranked at the bottom. The latter were regarded as 'useless eaters' (*unnütze Esser*), given the supply shortfalls. Alternatively, if they sought to help themselves, they were viewed as looters and black marketeers.<sup>177</sup>

On 1 August 1941 Himmler ordered that Jewish women, too, were no longer to be spared: 'Explicit order from the Reichsführer SS. All Jews must be shot. Herd Jew-women into the swamps.'<sup>178</sup> From mid July 1941 onwards Jewish women and children also fell victim to the SS and police units in increasing numbers of communities. The Kamianets-Podilskiy massacre in western Ukraine marked a tragic culmination of these operations. After Hungarian authorities had deported approximately 10,000 Jews from Subcarpathian Rus to the town, its Jewish population had grown to 23,600. The local German field commandant's office, fearing supply shortfalls and epidemics, pressed for a 'solution'. The task was assigned to Friedrich Jeckeln, the HSSPF for southern Russia, who had all Jewish men, women, and children in the area murdered between 26 and 28 August 1941. This massacre marked the beginning of the systematic eradication of Jewish

173 Jürgen Matthäus, 'Operation Barbarossa and the Onset of the Holocaust, June–December 1941', in Browning, *Origins of the Final Solution*, pp. 244–308, here p. 257.

174 PMJ 7/9.

175 'Tagebuch von Walther Hewel', in Peter Longerich (ed.), *Die Ermordung der europäischen Juden: Eine umfassende Dokumentation des Holocaust 1941–1945* (Munich/Zurich: Piper, 1989), p. 76.

176 PMJ 7/28.

177 Hillgruber, *Hitlers Strategie*, pp. 518–532; Jürgen Förster, 'Ideological Warfare in Germany, 1919 to 1945', in Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt, *Germany and the Second World War*, vol. 9/1: *German Wartime Society, 1939–1945: Politicization, Disintegration, and the Struggle for Survival*, trans. Derry Cook-Radmore, Ewald Osers, Barry Smerin, and Barbara Wilson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 [German edn, 2004]), pp. 485–670, here pp. 537–558; Hürter, *Hitlers Heerführer*, pp. 262–263; Longerich, *Holocaust*, pp. 192–255. On the mass murders in the individual regions, see the Introduction to PMJ 7.

178 Radiogram to the Cavalry Division, 2nd SS-Cavalry Regiment, 1 August 1941, 10 a.m., BArch, RS 3-8/36. See PMJ 7/51.

communities in Ukraine,<sup>179</sup> which claimed the lives of more than 100,000 people – men, women, and children – by the end of September. Over the course of two days in late September 1941, the remaining Jews in Kiev – over 33,000 in total – were murdered at the Babi Yar ravine by members of Sonderkommando 4a of Einsatzgruppe C and the headquarters company of the HSSPF for South Russia.<sup>180</sup>

The escalating violence in the Soviet Union was instrumental in the decision to murder the European Jews. The events there led to a radicalization throughout Europe and accelerated the decision-making process in Berlin. A climate arose in which proposals for mass murder were discussed with increasing openness, and in which both the regime's leadership and various officials in the areas concerned could assume that everything was now possible.

On 16 July 1941 the chief of the SD headquarters in Poznań and of the local Central Resettlement Office, Rolf-Heinz Höppner, informed Eichmann how, in his opinion, the crowded ghettos and tens of thousands of starving and ill Jews in the Gau Wartheland should be dealt with:

This coming winter there is a danger that it will no longer be possible to feed all of the Jews. One should seriously consider whether the most humane solution would be to use some kind of fast-acting means to finish off the Jews who are no longer fit for work. At any rate that would be more pleasant than letting them starve to death.<sup>181</sup>

One day later, on 17 July 1941, Governor General Frank explicitly declared in Cracow that he wanted 'no ghettos to be formed, because, according to an explicit statement by the Führer on 19 June of this year, Jews will be removed from the General Government in the foreseeable future, and the General Government is only to be a sort of transit camp'.<sup>182</sup>

On 20 July 1941 Goebbels threatened European Jewry in an article: 'Just as the fist of an awakening Germany once slammed down upon this racial filth, the fist of an awakening Europe will one day slam down upon it as well' (Doc. 193). Although Hitler told Croatian marshal Slavko Kvaternik on 21 July 1941 that the Jews of Europe would be sent to Madagascar or Siberia once the Eastern Campaign was over, by now he was probably using 'Madagascar' merely as a metaphor for his objective that there must no longer be any Jews, at least in Europe.<sup>183</sup>

179 PMJ 7/67 and 70; Klaus-Michael Mallmann, 'Der qualitative Sprung im Vernichtungsprozeß: Das Massaker von Kamenez-Podolsk Ende August 1941', *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung*, vol. 10 (2001), pp. 239–264.

180 See the Introduction to PMJ 7, and PMJ 7/84, 94, and 141; Dieter Pohl, 'The Murder of Ukraine's Jews under German Military Administration and in the Reich Commissariat Ukraine', in Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower (eds.), *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 2008), pp. 23–76.

181 PMJ 4/314.

182 Präg and Jacobmeyer, *Diensttagebuch des deutschen Generalgouverneurs*, p. 386.

183 *Akten zur Deutschen Auswärtigen Politik 1918–1945*, series D: 1937–1941, vol. 8/2, appendix III, p. 835–838.

In Serbia the German occupiers now proceeded to shoot Jews in retaliation for attacks by partisans. Hence, on 25 July 1941, 100 Jews were shot in Belgrade, and on 19 July '122 communists and Jews [were] executed'.<sup>184</sup>

On 31 July 1941 Heydrich submitted to Reich Marshal Göring a letter for him to sign, drafted in advance, in which Göring empowered Heydrich afresh 'to make all necessary preparations from an organizational, material, and financial perspective for a comprehensive solution to the Jewish question within the German sphere of influence in Europe' (Doc. 196). Heydrich later enclosed this letter with the invitation to the Wannsee Conference on 20 January 1942. It was intended to establish him as the organizer in charge of the 'final solution to the Jewish question'.<sup>185</sup>

In every part of Europe occupied by the Wehrmacht, the Germans in authority now required that their spheres of influence be 'cleansed' of Jews. On 21 August 1941 the official responsible 'for Jewish and Freemason questions' at the German embassy in Paris, Carltheo Zeitschel, noted to his superior:

As far as the occupied territories such as Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Norway, Yugoslavia, and Greece are concerned, the Jews could simply be removed to the new territory in mass transports by means of military orders, and the other countries could be urged to follow the example and deposit the Jews in this territory.

He added: 'We could then have Europe free of Jews in a short period of time.'<sup>186</sup>

At this point, mass murder had already begun in the territories to which the Jews were to be deported. Still unresolved was the question of what was to be done with the German Jews.

### *The Situation in the Territory of the Reich*

Meanwhile, a debate was developing in the Reich over whether to make it compulsory for Jews to wear visible identification. On 16 July 1941 Karl Hermann Frank had proposed to the Head of the Reich Chancellery, Hans-Heinrich Lammers, that such a step be taken in the Protectorate.<sup>187</sup> Two weeks later, he urgently sought permission to implement this. Lammers forwarded the request to the Ministry of the Interior. In his reply, State Secretary Stuckart asked whether it could be made compulsory for Jews throughout the

184 'Tagesmeldungen des Armeeoberkommandos 12 an Wehrmachtführungsstab/Abt. Landesverteidigung: Erschießungen in Serbien, 1941', in Longerich, *Die Ermordung der europäischen Juden*, pp. 285–286.

185 Eberhard Jäckel, 'Der Mord an den Juden als historisches Problem', in Eberhard Jäckel and Jürgen Rohwer (eds.), *Der Mord an den Juden im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1987), pp. 15–16; Browning, *Origins of the Final Solution*, pp. 315–316; Longerich, *Holocaust*, pp. 260–261.

186 Cited in Kurt Pätzold (ed.), *Verfolgung, Vertreibung, Vernichtung: Dokumente des faschistischen Antisemitismus 1933 bis 1942* (Leipzig: Reclam, 1991), pp. 305–306, quotation p. 305.

187 Letter from State Secretary Karl Hermann Frank, SS Gruppenführer, to Reich Minister Hans Lammers, dated 16 July 1941, published in Pätzold, *Verfolgung, Vertreibung, Vernichtung*, p. 294.

Reich and the Protectorate to wear visible identification.<sup>188</sup> On 15 August, Goebbels convened a meeting on the subject in the Propaganda Ministry (Doc. 203). The matter was to be presented to Hitler, whom Goebbels met in the Führer Headquarters on 18 August 1941. Goebbels documented the meeting in his diary:

We also talk about the Jewish problem. The Führer is convinced that his earlier prophecy in the Reichstag – that if Jewry should succeed in once again provoking a world war, it will end in the extinction of the Jews – is coming true. It is coming true during these weeks and months with an almost uncanny certainty. In the East, the Jews must foot the bill; in Germany they have already paid it in part and will have to pay even more of it in future.

At the meeting, Hitler agreed to make it compulsory for Jews to wear identifying stars (Doc. 206). On 1 September 1941 the requirement was introduced in the Reich and the Protectorate. All Jews over the age of six had to wear a yellow star (Doc. 212). Many Germans who had previously largely ignored the marginalization of the Jewish population could no longer do so. Some looked away when a ‘star-wearer’ came their way, while others reacted with outrage and sympathy. Some tried to help, for example, by slipping food to a Jew in the street, offering their seat on the tram to a Jew, or simply stopping and assuring a Jew how greatly they disapproved of the measures. Writing in the spring of 1942, Erich Frey, a Berlin Jew, recalled: ‘In contrast, the population kept calm and, with very few exceptions, took no notice of the star, in some cases even responded favourably to it.’ In Prague many Czechs greeted the Jews wearing stars in a warm and friendly manner (Docs. 318, 319).<sup>189</sup>

However, there were also malicious and hateful reactions. For the Jews, the mandatory wearing of the star was a heavy blow. Those who had previously still been bold enough to violate the prohibitions, by shopping at non-approved times or possibly by going to a theatre or cinema, were now identifiable immediately and ran the risk of being denounced. Else Behrend-Rosenfeld wrote in Munich in September 1941: ‘Again one sees the Jews walk through the streets with stony faces, with eyes that seem to see through everything and everyone, many with their head sunken, but some also, and I am among them, with their heads proudly held high.’<sup>190</sup>

The US ambassador in Berlin reported to Washington that the ‘Jewish question’ had now ‘come back into public focus very prominently’, and at the end of the month both the ambassador and the US press predicted that ‘even more radical measures’ were obviously in the offing. Since the onset of the war, the fate of the Jewish population had only

188 Hilberg, *Destruction of the European Jews*, vol. 1, pp. 177–178.

189 Erich Frey, letter to his daughter (April/May 1942), in Michael Kreutzer, *Die Gespräche drehten sich auch vielfach um die Reise, die wir alle antreten müssen. Leben und Verfolgtsein der Juden in Berlin-Tempelhof: Biographien, Dokumentation* (Berlin: Evangelischer Kirchenkreis Tempelhof, 1988), pp. 91–104, here p. 100; Detlef Brandes, ‘Deutsche Propaganda und Stimmung der tschechischen Bevölkerung im Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren 1939–1945’, in Anděl et al., *Propaganda, (Selbst-)Zensur, Sensation*, pp. 149–178, here p. 172.

190 Quotation from Else R. Behrend-Rosenfeld, *Ich stand nicht allein: Erlebnisse einer Jüdin in Deutschland 1933–1944* (Cologne: Europäische, 1979), p. 114; Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair*, pp. 157–158.

rarely been consciously made a subject of discussion abroad. The press was more likely to report on the general concern about an expansion of the war and about the oppressed peoples, including the Jews, in their entirety. And even now, news about the fate of the Jews rarely made it into the headlines. The *New York Times* placed the article about the introduction of the yellow star on page 14.<sup>191</sup>

For the Czech government in exile, which the Allies had recognized in December 1939 as a national committee, in June 1940 as the provisional Czech government, and in July 1941 as the legitimate Czech government, dealing with the Jews in the Protectorate was likewise not a central focus until the autumn of 1941. Rather, priority was assigned to the question of how an end could be put to German rule and to plans for the post-war period. In London there were disputes with regard to whether and how many Jewish delegates should be represented in the local parliament in exile. The introduction of the requirement to wear the yellow star, however, motivated Hubert Ripka, the foreign minister of the government in exile, to take a clear position in favour of the Jewish population in the Protectorate (Doc. 317).<sup>192</sup>

Until the autumn of 1941, forced resettlement within the cities, which had begun with the 'Jew houses', became increasingly radical in practice. In September 1941 more than 1,000 Jews in Hanover had to leave their homes within 24 to 48 hours and move into 16 buildings that had been allocated within the city (Doc. 215). In some cities the local government began forcing Jews to move into barracks camps (Doc. 213). The largest such camp was in an old fort in Cologne-Müngersdorf, where 2,000 Jews were housed in 100 rooms. The barracks reminded Klara Caro of the Roman catacombs: 'Due to the dripping water, the damp odor of mold spread. Everything needed to serve the most primitive needs was missing.' From the autumn of 1941, many of these barracks camps were repurposed to serve as assembly points for deportation.<sup>193</sup>

In September 1941 Hitler changed his mind about the deportation of the Jews from the Reich. Although he had emphasized one month earlier that this would not be a possibility until the war was over, he now ordered it to be set in motion after all (Doc. 223). The deportation of hundreds of thousands of Volga Germans to Siberia ordered by Stalin in late August may have been a deciding factor. Above all, however, various Gauleiter had long been urging that their cities be made 'free of Jews', including Goebbels in Berlin, Baldur von Schirach in Vienna, Karl Hanke in Breslau, and Karl Kaufmann in Hamburg. Kaufmann later boasted to Göring:

In September 1941, after a heavy air raid, I approached the Führer to request that the Jews be evacuated to enable at least some of the bombing victims to be assigned a

191 Lipstadt, *Beyond Belief*, pp. 140–154.

192 Avigdor Dagan, 'The Czechoslovak Government-in-Exile and the Jews', in Avigdor Dagan, Gertrude Hirschler, Lewis Weiner et al. (eds.), *The Jews of Czechoslovakia: Historical Studies and Surveys*, vol. 3 (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1984), pp. 449–495; Jan Němeček, 'Das tschechoslowakische politische Exil in London und die "jüdische Frage"', *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente*, vol. 9 (2002), pp. 347–366; Rothkirchen, *Jews of Bohemia and Moravia*, pp. 160–186; Bryant, *Prague in Black*, pp. 89–95.

193 Quotation from Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair*, p. 155. See also Hanke, *Zur Geschichte der Juden in München*, pp. 282–283, and Buchholz, *Die hannoverschen Judenhäuser*.

new apartment. Without hesitating, the Führer acted on my suggestion and issued the corresponding orders for the removal of the Jews.<sup>194</sup>

The chief reason for Hitler's reversal of opinion, however, was probably the international situation, which was increasingly threatening for Germany. There were increasing signs that the USA would enter the war. On 11 March 1941 President Roosevelt had signed the Lend-Lease Act, on the basis of which the USA supplied arms and equipment to Britain. In the early summer of 1941, supplies for the Soviet Union followed. In mid August, Roosevelt and Churchill met off the coast of Newfoundland and, in the joint declaration known as the Atlantic Charter, threatened Germany with certain defeat. Hitler, who viewed Roosevelt as a tool of the Jews, believed that he could exert pressure on the American president by taking drastic steps against the German Jews, and in this way deter him from entering the war.

The deportation of the German, Austrian, and Czech Jews seemed to represent a suitable signal for that purpose. In addition, the end of the war, to which the 'solution to the Jewish question' was supposed to have been deferred, was still not in sight.<sup>195</sup> On 18 September 1941 Himmler informed the Gauleiter of the Warthegau, Arthur Greiser, that the deportation of 60,000 Jews to Litzmannstadt (Łódź) was imminent (Doc. 223).

The German Jews had no knowledge of all these discussions and decisions. While tens of thousands of Jews fell victim to the mass shootings in the occupied Soviet territories in August 1941, the letters written by German Jews to their relatives abroad still mostly centred on their greatest concern: would they succeed in emigrating (Docs. 186, 192, 207, 211)? Nonetheless, news from the front did make its way to the Reich. The historian Willy Cohn noted in Breslau at the end of July 1941: 'Professor Hoffmann also told me the horrific news, barely comprehensible, that 12,000 Jews have been shot in Lemberg. The SS is said to have done this' (Doc. 195).

Most of the German, Austrian, and Czech Jews whose letters and diary entries are documented in this volume were deported and murdered. The question of whether and when Hitler gave an order for the murder of all the European Jews, and whether he had to do so at all in order to set the systematic mass murder in motion, has been the subject of historiographical debate. Without his consent, such a step is unthinkable. At this stage, the events in the Soviet Union and the experiences in the Reich were interdependent. In August and September 1941, the mass murders in the occupied Soviet Union had assumed gigantic proportions, and simultaneously a great many persons in authority in the Reich and in the rest of occupied Europe were pressing for a more radical course of action against the Jews. All the plans they had previously pursued – emigration, deportation to Madagascar or to a 'Jewish reservation' in the General Government – had come

194 Kaufmann to Göring on 4 Sept. 1942, cited in Frank Bajohr, 'Hamburgs "Führer": Zur Person und Tätigkeit des Hamburger NSDAP-Gauleiters Karl Kaufmann (1900–1969)', in Frank Bajohr and Joachim Szodrzyński (eds.), *Hamburg in der NS-Zeit: Ergebnisse neuerer Forschungen* (Hamburg: Ergebnisse, 1995), pp. 59–91, quotation p. 81; Ascher, *A Community under Siege*, p. 214; Kershaw, *Fateful Choices*, p. 462.

195 Christian Gerlach, 'The Wannsee Conference, the Fate of German Jews, and Hitler's Decision in Principle to Exterminate All European Jews', *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 70, no. 4 (December 1998), pp. 759–812; Longerich, *Holocaust*, pp. 265–271; Browning, *Origins of the Final Solution*, pp. 375–377.

to naught. Mass murder, which had long since been under way in the Soviet Union, thus became a feasible 'solution' in other parts of Europe as well.

Clearly, a turning point was reached in the autumn of 1941. At the same time as Operation Typhoon, the advance on Moscow in early October 1941, German units carried out massacres of Jewish men, women, and children in eastern Poland and in parts of the Wartheland. In Serbia, Jewish men were murdered during 'anti-partisan combat'. Plans for the deportations from the Reich and the Protectorate were moving ahead at full speed. In October, preparations were made to build the extermination camps at Chelmno in the Warthegau and Belzec in the General Government. Killing facilities were installed at the Auschwitz concentration camp.

Willy Cohn could not have known this when he wrote the following diary entry on 27 September 1941: 'In my opinion, it is certain that, unless there are radical changes, the Germans will continue to vent their rage on the Jews! We must be prepared for that.'<sup>196</sup> Two months later, on 25 November 1941, he was deported from Breslau to Kaunas with 1,000 other men, women, and children. On 29 November he was shot dead there in the so-called Ninth Fort.

<sup>196</sup> Willy Cohn, *No Justice in Germany: The Breslau Diaries, 1933–1941*, trans. Kenneth Kronenberg (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012 [German edn, 2006]), p. 381.



# List of Documents

## Part 1: German Reich

- 1 The writer Walter Tausk records his experiences in Breslau on 1 September 1939, the day the war broke out
- 2 On 1 September 1939 Emilie Braach from Frankfurt writes to her émigré daughter in Britain, describing how everyday life is changing with the start of war
- 3 On 2 and 3 September 1939 the historian Arnold Berney, an émigré in Jerusalem, records his gloomy prognoses on the outbreak of war
- 4 On 5 September 1939 the State Commissioner for Private Industry to the Reichsstatthalter of Vienna proposes that the Viennese Jews be confined to forced labour camps
- 5 On 6 September 1939 the Gestapo Central Office instructs its regional branches to prevent acts of violence against Jews, and announces pending anti-Jewish measures
- 6 On 7 September 1939 Reinhard Heydrich orders the arrest of all male Polish Jews over the age of 16 in the Reich
- 7 On 8 September 1939 Walter Grundmann reports to Reich Minister of Church Affairs Hanns Kerrl on the work of the Institute for the Study and Elimination of Jewish Influence on German Church Life
- 8 On 10 September 1939 Willy Cohn writes in his diary about the increasingly anti-semitic atmosphere in Breslau
- 9 On 11 September 1939 the NSDAP Kreisleitung for Kitzingen-Gerolzhofen reports on attacks on Jews and calls for the incarceration of all Jews in a concentration camp
- 10 On the basis of a denunciation, on 13 September 1939 the Munich Gestapo accuses Felizi Weill of inciting hatred against the German state leadership
- 11 *Aufbau*, 15 September 1939: article on the significance of this war for the future of the Jews
- 12 On 16 September 1939 the Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan hosts a meeting in Berlin to discuss the emigration of the Jews and their deployment as forced labourers
- 13 On 19 September 1939 year 8 school pupils practise writing ‘barefoot Polish wenches and greasy caftan Jews’
- 14 *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, 22 September 1939: the Jewish Culture League announces that the Film Theatre is to resume film screenings
- 15 On 28 September 1939 Martin Striem from Berlin writes to his émigré son Rolf about being required to move into a ‘Jew house’
- 16 On 2 October 1939 the head of the local NSDAP branch, Emil Rothleitner, argues the case for deporting all Jews from Vienna
- 17 On 4 October 1939 Gerdrut Günsburg from Apolda writes to the Foreign Exchange Office in Thuringia, asking it to lift the security order against her husband

- 18 With his Decree for the Strengthening of Germanism, issued on 7 October 1939, Adolf Hitler places Heinrich Himmler in charge of the racial policy plans for settlement on German-ruled territory
- 19 On 9 October 1939 Adolf Eichmann's deputy secures the assistance of the Wehrmacht and the civil administration for the planned deportation of Jews from Katowitz
- 20 On 12 October 1939 the Cologne Gestapo announces that Jews are to be immediately arrested if they disobey ordinances
- 21 In October 1939 Rica Neuburger takes her own life as a result of the harassment of Jews
- 22 On 13 October 1939 Friedrich Kellner fulminates against wars started in breach of international law and the disenfranchisement of the Jews
- 23 On 16 October 1939 Adolf Eichmann informs Criminal Police Chief Arthur Nebe that carriages containing 'Gypsies' can be coupled to the deportation trains travelling to Poland
- 24 On 16 October 1939 details of the deportation of Viennese Jews to Poland are discussed at the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Vienna
- 25 On 19 October 1939 the Reich Minister of Finance increases the Levy on Jewish Assets
- 26 On 21 October 1939 the Jewish Community of Cologne announces restrictions on the purchase of food
- 27 On 21 October 1939 Martha Svoboda writes in her diary about the deportation of her brother from Vienna to Nisko
- 28 *Mansfelder Zeitung*, 26 October 1939: article on the conviction of David Naruhn, who lived illegally with an Aryan woman
- 29 On 2 November 1939 the Emigration Advice Service of the Jewish Economic Aid Association in Dresden asks the American Joint Distribution Committee to speed up the issuing of visas by the US consulate general in Berlin
- 30 On 10 November 1939 a Jewish woman from Vienna writes to Josef Löwenherz, asking him to prevent girls under the age of 18 from being deported to Poland
- 31 On 17 November 1939 the Innsbruck Gestapo informs the Landeshauptmann of Tyrol about the membership and assets of the Jewish Community in Innsbruck
- 32 On 18 November 1939 the SD District Leipzig writes to the Reich Security Main Office, proposing a travel ban on Jews
- 33 On 20 November 1939 Josef Löwenherz informs the Vienna Gestapo of fatalities in Buchenwald and requests the release of Jews who are able to emigrate
- 34 On 24 November 1939 an SD informant complains about the behaviour of the Berlin Jews
- 35 On 25 November 1939 Jolan Thorn from Vienna tells her sister in New York about her difficulties in making arrangements for emigration

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- 36 In his diary entry for 8 December 1939 Jochen Klepper describes how his family in Berlin is being progressively deprived of the necessities of life
  - 37 In a letter dated 11 December 1939 Max Wiener tells Ernst Grumach in Berlin that there is little prospect of his securing a post at an American university
  - 38 *The Times*, 16 December 1939: article on the situation of the Jews deported to the Lublin district
  - 39 On 19 December 1939 the Reich Security Main Office plans a meeting of departmental heads to discuss a 'Jewish reservation'
  - 40 On 21 December 1939 the Reich Security Main Office informs all Gestapo offices that Himmler has suspended the deportation of Jews to the General Government
  - 41 At the end of 1939 the dramatic situation of the Jews in Vienna is depicted in a report for the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee
  - 42 *Washington Post*, 14 January 1940: article on the increasing exclusion of Jews in Germany
  - 43 On 19 January 1940 Margarete Korant from Berlin tells her daughter how she was humiliated while shopping
  - 44 On 27 January 1940 Alfred Rosenberg describes in his diary how he joked with Hitler about antisemitism in Russia
  - 45 In January 1940 the Gleiwitz District Office of the Reich Association of Jews in Germany provides information about the emigration levy
  - 46 In late January 1940 employees at a retraining camp in Vienna send Gauleiter Josef Bürckel suggestions for the further deployment of Jewish workers
  - 47 On 2 February 1940 Pastor Heinrich Grüber criticizes the Protestant Higher Church Council for its discrimination against pastors regarded as *Mischlinge* or who live in mixed marriages
  - 48 On 9 February 1940 the Soviet Population Transfer Directorate informs Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars Vyacheslav M. Molotov about German proposals for the deportation of Jews to the Soviet Union
  - 49 On 10 February 1940 the local NSDAP branch on Hainburgerstraße in Vienna complains to the District Propaganda Office about the Jew Steffi Walther
  - 50 In an internal police memo dated 12 February 1940 the Reich Security Main Office stipulates that the Jewish population is to be concentrated in certain areas for the purposes of better surveillance
  - 51 On 12 February 1940 the lawyer Alfred Panz petitions the Reich Minister of Finance to give preference to Sudeten German applicants in the Aryanization of a brick-works
  - 52 Selected NSDAP members receive instructions on how to proceed during the night before the deportation of the Stettin Jews on 12 and 13 February 1940
  - 53 *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 16 February 1940: article on the deportation of the Jews from Stettin

- 54 On 20 February 1940 Johanna Simon asks the Israelite Religious Community of Darmstadt to continue to pay her for her work in the soup kitchen
- 55 On 22 February 1940 Hofrat Julius Munk from Vienna petitions the Reich Office for Kinship Research to grant him *Mischling* status
- 56 On 6 March 1940 a senior diplomat at the US embassy in Berlin briefs Secretary of State Cordell Hull about the situation of Jews in Germany
- 57 On 8 March 1940 Max Seelig contacts the Gestapo seeking the return of his children, after they were deported from Stettin to Piaski
- 58 On 12 March 1940 Charlotte Wollermann from Düsseldorf denounces the Protestant pastor Gottfried Hötzel for having given a pro-Jewish sermon
- 59 On 15 March 1940 Ferdinand Itzkewitsch writes to his son from Buchenwald, asking him to seek assistance from the Relief Association of Jews in Germany for his emigration
- 60 *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, 19 March 1940: notification from the Reich Association of Jews in Germany that the compulsory first names must henceforth be included in telephone book listings
- 61 On 29 March 1940 Salomon Samuel from Berlin thanks Mr and Mrs Schubert in Essen for their sympathy and support
- 62 On 30 March 1940 the Ministry of Domestic and Cultural Affairs in Vienna dissolves the Jewish communities in the Ostmark
- 63 On 5 April 1940 the board of the Reich Association of Jews in Germany discusses ways of increasing the number of Jewish emigrants
- 64 On 7 April 1940 the SPD in exile reports on the desperate situation of the Jews in the German Reich
- 65 On 8 April 1940 Max Inow from Wuppertal updates his daughter Grete in Palestine on the scattered family members and his own endeavours to emigrate
- 66 On 8 April 1940 Hitler issues a ruling on Jewish *Mischlinge* serving in the Wehrmacht
- 67 On 10 April 1940 Heinrich Himmler orders, for the duration of the war, a ban on the release of Jews imprisoned in concentration camps
- 68 On 12 April 1940 Marianne Wachstein describes to Hofrat Wilhelm how she and other women were mistreated in Ravensbrück concentration camp
- 69 On 16 April 1940 Martha Svoboda from Vienna writes in her diary about the effect the propaganda is having
- 70 *Leitmeritzer Tagblatt*, 19 April 1940: article about Marie Pick, who was convicted of an offence against the Law on Treachery
- 71 On 24 April 1940 Gestapo chief Heinrich Müller specifies which categories of Jews are permitted to emigrate in wartime and to which destinations
- 72 On 26 April 1940 Aron Menczer forwards a report to Josef Löwenherz concerning the proposed reopening of retraining sites in Vienna

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- 73 On 29 April 1940 Moritz Weinberg from Cologne writes to Bruno Kisch in New York about his efforts to emigrate
  - 74 On 30 April 1940 the Commissioner for the Supervision of Jewish Welfare Institutions in Frankfurt gives a report to the city's Mayor
  - 75 On 3 May 1940 the Gau economic advisor in Aussig urges the Reich Minister of Finance to accelerate the Aryanization of real estate in the Sudetenland
  - 76 On 3 May 1940 SS-Sturmbannführer Heinrich Heckmüller refuses to revoke orders issued by him with respect to Jewish labourers in Eisenerz
  - 77 On 3 May 1940 Göring's representative for the Aryanization of the Petschek group submits his final report
  - 78 On 5 May 1940 the physician Max Schönenberg from Cologne writes to his brother-in-law Julius Kaufmann in Shanghai about the curtailing of his medical practice
  - 79 On 15 May 1940 the SD Main District Stuttgart permits the Jewish Liaison Office to place Jews with local farmers in preparation for their emigration
  - 80 On 17 May 1940 the Reichsführer SS urges the Reich Minister of Finance to initiate the rapid seizure of the assets of Jewish emigrants remaining in the country
  - 81 On 24 May 1940 Günther Tropolowitz from Berlin asks the Reich Foreign Office about the possibility of settling the Jews in future German colonies
  - 82 On 29 May 1940 the Reichsstatthalter announces that the Reich-wide laws pertaining to Jews will not be adopted in Danzig, as there will soon be no Jews left there anyway
  - 83 On 30 May 1940 Paul Eppstein records details of a summons to the Gestapo, during which there was mention of forced labour by Jews
  - 84 *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, 31 May 1940: announcements from the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna concerning travel restrictions and the emigration requirement for Jews
  - 85 On 5 June 1940 the Grafeneck Regional Hospital for the Disabled informs Moritz Fleicher of the death of his son
  - 86 On 7 June 1940 Valerie Scheffel from Berlin writes a yearning letter to her sweetheart Karl Wildmann in the USA
  - 87 On 13 June 1940 Reinhard Heydrich makes it clear that he alone is in charge of the emigration of Jews from the territory of the Reich
  - 88 On 16 June 1940 an anonymous writer describes the living conditions of Jews in Munich and Berlin
  - 89 On 24 June 1940 Reinhard Heydrich urges the Reich Minister of Foreign Affairs, Joachim von Ribbentrop, to consider a 'territorial final solution'
  - 90 *New York Times*, 25 June 1940: interview with Nahum Goldmann from the World Jewish Congress in which he warns of the extermination of 6 million European Jews
  - 91 On 3 July 1940 Adolf Eichmann asks Jewish officials from Berlin, Prague, and Vienna to prepare a position paper on the emigration of all Jews from Europe

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- 92 On 3 July 1940 Franz Rademacher makes proposals at the Reich Foreign Office for settling all the European Jews on the island of Madagascar
  - 93 Report by a German Jewish woman to a London immigrant organization regarding the situation of Frankfurt am Main's Jewish population up to 11 July 1940
  - 94 On 17 July 1940 the statistician Friedrich Burgdörfer calculates how many Jews could be deported to Madagascar
  - 95 On 18 July 1940 the mayor of Leipzig informs Saxony's Minister of Economics about the provisioning and labour deployment of the Jewish population in Leipzig
  - 96 On 29 July 1940 the Reich Postmaster General orders that Jews' telephone lines be cancelled
  - 97 *New York Times*, 2 August 1940: article on export bans, shopping restrictions, and prohibited areas for Jews in Germany
  - 98 On 15 August 1940 Hitler's plans to deport all the Jews from Europe after the war become known in the Reich Foreign Office
  - 99 In mid August 1940 the Reich Security Main Office plans the deportation of the European Jews to Madagascar
  - 100 On 21 August 1940 a refugee committee in Shanghai explains immigration requirements to the Jewish Religious Community of Vienna
  - 101 In late August 1940 Legation Counsellor Franz Rademacher of the Reich Foreign Office makes suggestions for the implementation of the 'Madagascar Plan'
  - 102 In August 1940 Herbert Gerigk writes about the role of Judaism in music
  - 103 During a meeting at the Reich Ministry of Propaganda on 6 September 1940, Reich Cultural Administrator Hans Hinkel reports on the planned deportation of Berlin's Jews
  - 104 On 9 September 1940 Emilie Cassel asks the Stettin Chief of Police for permission to purchase a 'people's receiver', despite her husband being non-Aryan
  - 105 On 12 September 1940 Hermann Samter, editor at the *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, writes to Hanna Kobylinski about the activities of the Jewish Culture League in Berlin
  - 106 On 30 September 1940 the mayor of Misdroy asks the German Council of Municipalities whether a Jewish woman who lives in the town may be committed to an institution
  - 107 On 2 October 1940 the head of the Swiss Police for Foreign Nationals urges the Swiss ambassador in Vichy to ensure that Jewish refugees from Germany receive transit visas
  - 108 On 4 October 1940 the Reich Trustee of Labour for the economic area of Styria and Carinthia justifies low pay for Jewish workers
  - 109 On 7 October 1940 the Reich Minister of Aviation informs Luftgaukommando VII that Jews are to be allowed entry to public air-raid shelters
  - 110 On 22 October 1940 Heinrich Himmler, addressing the NSDAP Country Group in Madrid, announces the deportation of all Jews from the Greater German Reich to the General Government

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- 111 Otto Hirsch describes how he protested to the Gestapo on 26 October 1940 against the deportations from Baden, the Palatinate, and the Saarland
  - 112 On 29 October 1940 Reinhard Heydrich informs the Reich Foreign Office that the deportation of the Jewish population from Baden and the Palatinate took place on Hitler's orders
  - 113 Report, dated 30 October 1940, on the deportation of German Jews to southern France
  - 114 On 2 November 1940 the Bielefeld Gestapo announces that all Jews between 18 and 55 years of age are to be enlisted for segregated labour deployment
  - 115 On 3 November 1940 Esther Cohn, living in Munich, writes in her diary about her desperation at the deportation of her mother and sisters to France
  - 116 On 8 November 1940 Adolf Hitler gives a speech in Munich on the rise of the National Socialist movement and the 'struggle against Jewry'
  - 117 On 9 November 1940 the Reich Security Main Office invites its staff to apply for apartments formerly occupied by Jews
  - 118 On 13 November 1940 the Main Trustee Office East writes to the Chief of Police in Berlin about the sale by auction of the plot of land owned by Chaim Goldfarb
  - 119 On 15 November 1940 Heinrich Himmler instructs all members of the German police to go and see the propaganda film *Jew Süß*
  - 120 Michael Meyer describes how he emigrated to Palestine on a series of refugee ships in the autumn of 1940
  - 121 In his diary entries for September through to November 1940, Hans Baruch documents how he fled the Reich on a series of ships
  - 122 On 2 December 1940 the mayor of Munich announces guidelines on public welfare for Jews who do not belong to the Reich Association of Jews in Germany
  - 123 On 3 December 1940 the Head of the Reich Chancellery informs Gauleiter Baldur von Schirach that Adolf Hitler has approved the deportation of 60,000 Jews from Vienna
  - 124 *Kreiszeitung für die Ost-Prignitz*, 4 December 1940: article on the genesis of the film *The Eternal Jew*
  - 125 On 4 December 1940 Adolf Eichmann regards the resettlement of nearly 6 million European Jews as the 'final solution to the Jewish question'
  - 126 On 10 December 1940 Heinrich Himmler informs the Reichsleiter and Gauleiter of his settlement plans
  - 127 On 12 December 1940 Reich Minister of the Interior Wilhelm Frick orders that Jewish psychiatric patients be transferred to the Jewish Psychiatric Hospital in Bendorf-Sayn
  - 128 On 20 December 1940 Paul Eppstein records how his own detention was discussed when he was summoned to the Gestapo
  - 129 An emigrant describes the supply situation, the public mood, and conditions for the Jews in the Reich during the autumn and winter of 1940

- 130 Walter Mehring pays tribute to his dead friends in a New Year's poem, 1940/41
- 131 On 3 January 1941 Kurt Rathenau from Berlin writes to his brother Fritz about what the censorship of letters means for him
- 132 On 6 January 1941 the South Westphalia Chamber of Industry and Commerce in Hagen requests permission from the Reich Minister of Economics to purchase land belonging to Dagobert Gottschalk, a Jew
- 133 On 7 January 1941 the Steyrermühl paper factory and publishing company applies for compensation from the Reichsstatthalter of Upper Danube for losses resulting from Aryanization
- 134 Following his deportation from Stettin to Piaski, on 18 January 1941 Gerhard Michaelis asks the Reich Foreign Office to approve his family's emigration to Haiti
- 135 On 20 January 1941 the SD's weekly situation report *Meldungen aus dem Reich* describes reactions to the film *The Eternal Jew*
- 136 On 20 January 1941 the Viennese cardinal Theodor Innitzer informs the Pope of his concern for the fate of 11,000 non-Aryan Christians
- 137 On 21 January 1941 the Reichsstatthalter of Styria informs the Reich Minister of Food and Agriculture about the expropriation of Jewish agricultural landholdings
- 138 On 21 January 1941 the SD's advisor on Jewish affairs in France notes that Reinhard Heydrich has developed, on Hitler's orders, a project for a 'definitive solution' to the Jewish question
- 139 On 23 January 1941 Max Schönenberg from Cologne writes to an acquaintance in the United States to ask for assistance in emigrating
- 140 On 27 January 1941 the board of the Reich Association of Jews in Germany discusses assistance for non-Aryan Christians and the transfer of Jewish psychiatric patients to assembly centres
- 141 On 27 January 1941 Jan Springel is shot dead in Buchenwald
- 142 On 30 January 1941 Hitler recalls his prophecy that in the event of a world war, European Jewry would be annihilated
- 143 In late January 1941 Elisabeth Butenberg from Rheydt is irritated by the conduct of Jews on the tram and submits suggestions for action to the head of the local NSDAP branch
- 144 On 2 February 1941 the Gestapo informs the head of the Israelite Religious Community of the impending deportation of Viennese Jews to the General Government
- 145 On 3 February 1941 Kurt Mezei notes in his diary that summonses for deportation have already been sent to Viennese Jews
- 146 *Völkischer Beobachter*, 4 February 1941: article on the exclusion of Jews from the economy
- 147 After receiving a message from the consulate dated 5 February 1941, Arthur and Johanna Cohen from Düsseldorf hope to be able to emigrate to the USA
- 148 On 11 February 1941 Anna Samuel describes her growing distress to her friend Else Schubert

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- 149 On 12 February 1941 Moritz Leitersdorf from Vienna receives a security order from the Reich Flight Tax Office
- 150 On 12 February 1941 a meeting is held at the office of the Obergebietsführer of the Hitler Youth in Vienna to discuss the deportation of the Viennese Jews
- 151 On 15 February 1941 Paula Rosenberg writes about conditions in the assembly camp on Castellezgasse and her forced resettlement from Vienna to Opole Lubelskie
- 152 A report for the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee compiled in mid February 1941 describes Jewish forced labour in Berlin
- 153 On 19 February 1941 the Jewish Religious Community of Mainz provides information about the possibility of sending parcels to the Gurs camp in France
- 154 On 20 February 1941 Martha Svoboda from Vienna describes her fears concerning the deportation of her parents to the General Government
- 155 On 20 February 1941 Malvine Fischer in Vienna asks her daughter in the USA to supply her with an affidavit as a matter of urgency
- 156 On 20 February 1941 Franz Heurich from Meiningen applies to the Foreign Exchange Office in Thuringia for a payment from Hermann Heimann's blocked account
- 157 On 25 February 1941 the Self-Help Organization of the Jewish Blind asks Josef Löwenherz for help in avoiding deportation to the General Government
- 158 Travel restrictions for Jews are discussed in the Reich Ministry of Transport on 25 February 1941
- 159 On 1 March 1941 the head of the Political Department of the Reich Foreign Office comments on the extent to which action can be taken against foreign Jews
- 160 On 5 March 1941 the Reich Security Main Office extends the opportunities for auctioning off the property of Jewish emigrants that has been confiscated prior to shipping
- 161 *Das Schwarze Korps*, 6 March 1941: article on the continuing exclusion of Jews, initially in the Reich and then in Europe
- 162 On 8 March 1941 Helene and Albin Fischer in Shanghai write to Mimi Weisz in the USA about their concerns regarding the prospect of taking in their parents from Vienna
- 163 On 12 March 1941 Martin Neugebauer is convicted by a court in Bielefeld for objecting to anti-Jewish comments
- 164 On 17 March 1941 the emigration department of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna points out the enormous significance of the retraining courses
- 165 On 18 March 1941 Luise Solmitz writes in her diary about a charge brought against her husband, who had failed to present his identity card unprompted
- 166 On 19 March 1941 State Secretary Wilhelm Stuckart records a discussion about the draft of the Eleventh Regulation on the Reich Citizenship Law
- 167 At a meeting on 20 March 1941 in the Ministry of Propaganda, Adolf Eichmann mentions Hitler's instructions to Reinhard Heydrich to plan the 'definitive evacuation of the Jews'

- 168 On 20 March 1941 the Deputy Gauleiter of Vienna informs Police Chief Ernst Kaltenbrunner that every train going to the General Government should be used for deportation
- 169 Letter, dated 26 March 1941, about the Reich Railways' attempts to purchase property in Frankfurt am Main that previously belonged to the Jewish Kaufmann brothers
- 170 *Völkischer Beobachter*, 27 March 1941: article on the opening of the Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question
- 171 *Weltkampf*, 27 March 1941: Peter-Heinz Seraphim calculates the Jewish population of Europe and proposes its expulsion
- 172 On 27 March 1941 the SS leadership instructs the Minister of Science to have Martin Buber's doctorate revoked
- 173 On 1 April 1941 Willy Cohn notes in his diary that he has heard of the murder of Jewish psychiatric patients in Chełm, near Lublin
- 174 On 2 April 1941 Reinhard Heydrich announces that pensions are no longer to be paid to Jews abroad, owing to the anticipated 'solution to the general Jewish question'
- 175 *Preußische Zeitung*, 5 April 1941: article about the exhibition *The Eternal Jew* in Königsberg
- 176 On 21 April 1941 department head Walter Tießler informs the staff of the Deputy of the Führer about Goebbels's proposal for the visible identification of Jews
- 177 On 21 April 1941 the directors of Rosenthal Porcelain AG ask the Reich Ministry of Justice for permission to retain the name of the firm
- 178 On 22 April 1941 the Reich Association of Jews in Germany and the Jewish Religious Communities of Vienna and Prague reach an agreement concerning the allocation of available places on ships bound for the USA
- 179 On 3 May 1941 the VUGESTAP provides information in a leaflet about the arrangements for the public sale of Jewish property in Vienna
- 180 On 6 May 1941 the management of Friedrich Krupp AG asks for permission to keep on two Jewish specialist workers
- 181 On 12 May 1941 the Jewish Religious Community of Cologne announces which buildings must be vacated
- 182 On 20 May 1941 the Reich Security Main Office issues guidelines concerning the emigration of Jews
- 183 On 5 June 1941 a lawyer complains to the Regierungspräsident in Breslau about Jews being assigned to his client's building
- 184 On 7 June 1941 the Head of the Reich Chancellery informs Reichsleiter Martin Bormann that Hitler does not expect that Jews will still be living in Germany after the war
- 185 At a press conference on the evening of 22 June 1941, the Ministry of Propaganda issues guidelines for coverage of the war against the Soviet Union

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- 186** On 24 June 1941 Mr and Mrs Malsch inform their son of the closing of the US consulate in Stuttgart and the resulting hindrance to their emigration
- 187** On 27 June 1941 the *Zeitschriften-Dienst* newsletter urges that links be drawn between the ideological conflict with the Soviet Union and the 'Jewish question'
- 188** In the summer of 1941 an emigrant describes the situation of the Jews in Breslau in 1940–1941
- 189** A lorry driver reports on the situation of the Jewish population in various German cities in mid 1941
- 190** On 6 July 1941 Edith Hahn-Beer tells her boyfriend in Vienna about her labour deployment in Osterburg
- 191** On 12 July 1941 Felice Schragenheim asks the US consulate general in Berlin about opportunities for extending her visa
- 192** On 19 July 1941 Frida Neuber from Berlin writes to Bob Kunzig in Philadelphia to explain which forms he must fill out for her affidavit and how to do so
- 193** *Das Reich*, 20 July 1941: inflammatory article by Joseph Goebbels, in which he warns the Jews that their judgement is nigh
- 194** On 22 July 1941 Josef Löwenherz reports on the activities of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna
- 195** In late July 1941 Willy Cohn learns of mass murders of Jews in the occupied territories in the East
- 196** On 31 July 1941 Göring authorizes Heydrich to prepare an 'overall solution to the Jewish question within the German sphere of influence in Europe'
- 197** On 5 August 1941 Hermann Samter writes to Lisa Godehardt about roundups and arrests in Berlin
- 198** On 5 August 1941 Paul Eppstein informs Josef Löwenherz in Vienna that Jewish males between the ages of 18 and 45 are no longer allowed to emigrate
- 199** On 11 August 1941 the emigrant Edgar Emanuel from Berlin writes to Ilse Schwalbe, describing the conditions in which Jews in Germany have to live
- 200** In a diary entry dated 12 August 1941 Friedrich Kellner criticizes legal arbitrariness with regard to Jews
- 201** On 13 August 1941 the Reich Association of Jews in Germany notifies its district offices that it must pay for the care and burial of the Jewish patients at the psychiatric hospital in Chelm
- 202** Representatives of various ministries and the Security Police discuss 'tightening the definition of a Jew' at a meeting chaired by Adolf Eichmann in Berlin on 13 August 1941
- 203** New measures against the Jews in Berlin are discussed at a meeting at the Propaganda Ministry on 15 August 1941
- 204** On 17 August 1941 the Propaganda Ministry prepares a draft for Goebbels designed to obtain Hitler's assent to the compulsory visible identification of Jews in the Reich

- 205 In mid August 1941 the Reich Security Main Office provides information on the treatment of Jews of foreign nationality
- 206 On 19 August 1941 Goebbels notes that Hitler is seeing his prophecy of the annihilation of European Jewry come to fruition
- 207 Mr and Mrs Malsch write to their son and his wife in the USA on 20 August 1941, expressing their continued hopes of emigrating
- 208 On 21 August 1941 the official in charge of Jewish affairs at the Reich Foreign Office learns that Hitler has agreed to the visible identification of the Jews
- 209 On 21 August 1941 the Israelite Religious Community of Nuremberg asks the Jewish population to donate money and goods
- 210 In a letter to the Reich Foreign Office dated 28 August 1941, Adolf Eichmann mentions the 'approaching final solution, now in preparation'
- 211 On 31 August 1941 Arthur Cohen from Düsseldorf tells his cousin in New York about his unsuccessful efforts to emigrate
- 212 Police regulation, dated 1 September 1941, making it compulsory for Jews to wear an identifying badge
- 213 On 1 September 1941 the Gauleiter's Aryanization representative informs the Israelite Religious Community of Munich about the barracks camp in Milbertshofen
- 214 On 3 September 1941 Friedrich Mennecke writes to his wife about a trip to Dachau concentration camp, where he inspects prisoners and selects those to be murdered
- 215 On 7 September 1941 Julius Jacoby reports to the Reich Association of Jews in Germany on the situation in the 'Jew houses' in Hanover
- 216 In a letter dated 8 September 1941, Franz Bergmann from Neheim an der Ruhr criticizes the murder of psychiatric patients
- 217 On 10 September 1941 Hermann Samter writes to Lisa Godehardt about the travel ban and the requirement for Jews to wear the yellow star
- 218 The NSDAP's weekly slogan for 7 to 13 September 1941 evokes Hitler's prophecy that European Jewry would be annihilated in the event of a world war
- 219 On 13 September 1941 the apostolic nuncio tells Cardinal Luigi Maglione at the Vatican how humiliating it is for non-Aryan Christians in particular to be required to wear the yellow star
- 220 A poem, dated 14 September 1941, calls upon Jews to wear the yellow star with trust in God
- 221 On 14 September 1941 Daniel Lotter from Fürth criticizes the introduction of the requirement for Jews to wear the yellow star
- 222 On 15 September 1941 the Reich Minister of the Interior restricts freedom of movement for Jews and sets out conditions applying to the use of transport
- 223 On 18 September 1941 Heinrich Himmler informs Gauleiter Arthur Greiser of Hitler's wish to deport German Jews to the Litzmannstadt (Lodz) ghetto
- 224 In mid September 1941 an unknown Jewish author appeals to Bishop Galen of Münster to help the German Jews

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- 225 On 19 September 1941 Kurt Mezei notes in his diary that he wears the yellow star with pride
- 226 On 21 September 1941 Erwin Garvens from Hamburg writes in his diary about how appalled he is at the introduction of the yellow star
- 227 On 21 September 1941 Alfred Rosenberg's adjutant notes that, for the present, Hitler has not planned any reprisals against German Jews as a reaction to the deportation of the Volga Germans
- 228 On 22 September 1941 the Reich Federation of German Newspaper Publishers proposes banning Jews from taking out newspaper subscriptions
- 229 In a letter to Shanghai, dated 24 September 1941, Max Schöenberg from Cologne describes the impact of the new anti-Jewish measures
- 230 In a letter dated 24 September 1941 Margarete Korant from Berlin writes of her hopes of emigrating to Cuba and asks her daughter Ilse for help
- 231 On 25 September 1941 the Reich Economics Minister informs the Reich Group for Industry of the regulations concerning the employment of *Mischlinge*
- 232 Gauleiter Josef Grohé incites hatred against the Jews in a speech delivered in Cologne on 28 September 1941
- 233 The Reich Association of Jews in Germany produces a summary of the emigration of Jews from the Old Reich between 1933 and 1941
- 234 In autumn 1941 the émigré writer Stefan Zweig writes about an encounter with Sigmund Freud, during which the two talked about the persecution of the Jews

## Part 2: Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia

- 235 On 15 March 1939 Camill Hoffmann describes the German invasion of Prague and reports on suicides among the Jewish population
- 236 Helga Weiss writes in her diary about the German invasion of Czecho-Slovakia on 15 March 1939
- 237 On 16 March 1939 Hermann Göring notifies the relevant authorities of his responsibility for all economic matters and prohibits 'unauthorized Aryanization measures'
- 238 On 19 March 1939 the Oberlandrat in Mährisch-Budwitz orders the visible identification of Jewish shops
- 239 On 19 March 1939 Undersecretary Curt von Burgsdorff informs Gauleiter Josef Bürckel that synagogues in the Protectorate have been set on fire
- 240 On 25 March 1939 a meeting is held at the Reich Ministry of the Interior to discuss the legal status of the Protectorate and guidelines for the treatment of the Jewish population
- 241 Anonymous report on the situation of the Jewish population in the Protectorate up to the end of March 1939
- 242 On 2 April 1939 Ilse Weber from Witkowitz writes to her friend Lilian about the daily discrimination against Jews and asks for her assistance

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- 243 On 5 April 1939 Arnold Stein from Prague thanks Nicholas Winton for saving his daughter and asks for assistance with his own emigration from Prague
- 244 On 26 and 27 April 1939 the diplomat George Kennan reports on conditions in Moravská Ostrava and on the situation of the Jews in particular
- 245 On 2 May 1939 Undersecretary von Burgsdorff notes that Hitler has ordered that the Czechs should deal with the 'Jewish question' without German involvement
- 246 On 11 May 1939 Prime Minister Alois Eliáš writes to the Reich Protector, Baron Konstantin von Neurath, with suggestions on how to approach the 'Jewish question'
- 247 In a regulation issued on 21 June 1939 the Reich Protector takes charge of measures to dispossess the Jewish population
- 248 *Basler Nachrichten*, 23 June 1939: article on the anti-Jewish regulation issued by the Reich Protector
- 249 Writing in the summer of 1939, Camill Hoffmann expresses the view that it is impossible to separate the Jews from the Czechs
- 250 In early July 1939 the head of the Palestine Office in Prague reports on his two-month trip to Palestine
- 251 On 12 July 1939 the Wehrmacht Plenipotentiary contemplates the 'Czech problem' and advocates the expulsion of the Jews from the Protectorate
- 252 On 15 July 1939 Reich Protector von Neurath sets up the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Prague
- 253 The Reich Protector receives an anonymous antisemitic letter on 25 July 1939
- 254 On 28 July 1939 the Oberlandrat in Tabor describes an attack upon Jews in Příbram
- 255 On 28 July 1939 members of the Czech government report on their visit to Vienna's Central Office for Jewish Emigration
- 256 On 3 August 1939 the Protectorate government's Ministry of the Interior orders the segregation of the Jewish population
- 257 On 10 August 1939 State Secretary Stuckart warns the Protectorate government not to take independent action to step up anti-Jewish policy
- 258 On 12 August the Chief of Police in Brünn announces anti-Jewish measures
- 259 In its weekly report, dated 19 August 1939, the Jewish Religious Community of Prague outlines its endeavours to arrange emigration from the Protectorate
- 260 On 21 August 1939 the Jewish Religious Community of Prague reports on the catastrophic situation of the Jews and on Eichmann's rule in the Protectorate
- 261 On 15 September 1939 State Secretary Karl Hermann Frank attempts to quash anti-Jewish violence carried out by ethnic Germans
- 262 On 27 September 1939 the Regional Psychiatric Hospital in Jihlava provides notification of its measures against Jewish patients
- 263 A Jewish woman who has emigrated to the Netherlands describes the situation in the Protectorate at the beginning of October 1939
- 264 On 9 October 1939 employees of the Reich Security Main Office meet in Mährisch-Ostrau to discuss the deportation of its Jewish population

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- 265 *ŘČS*, 23 October 1939: article on the disguised deportation of the Jews from Moravská Ostrava
- 266 In October 1939 the émigré Heimann Stapler reports on how the situation of the Jews in the Protectorate has worsened since the outbreak of the war
- 267 On 26 January 1940 the managing director of Villeroy & Boch expresses his interest in two Jewish malhouses in Olmütz
- 268 On 1 February 1940 the Oberlandrat in Iglau provides information on the lack of progress concerning Aryanzation
- 269 On 9 February 1940 the Reich Protector outlines further procedures for expropriating Jewish businessmen
- 270 *Washington Post*, 11 February 1940: article on the increasingly stringent anti-Jewish policies in the Protectorate
- 271 In the spring of 1940 the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem learns of the despair of the Jews in Mährisch-Ostrau and of their relatives in the Zarzecze camp
- 272 On 5 March 1940 the Senior Commander of the Security Police objects to the introduction of identifying badges for Jews in the Protectorate
- 273 *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, 8 March 1940: interview with Franz Weidmann on the tasks of the Jewish Religious Community of Prague
- 274 On 17 March 1940 Robert Weinberger writes to Richard Schindler, asking him to speed up his aliyah
- 275 In a letter dated 7 April 1940, Ilse Weber tells Gertrude von Löwenadler about the restrictions on her everyday life in Prague
- 276 On 31 May 1940 the Brünn Gestapo informs the Reich Protector about the Jews in the internment camp in Eibenschitz
- 277 On 4 June 1940 Alice Henzler asks to be recognized as a *Mischling*
- 278 On 10 June 1940 the Oberlandrat in Jitschin sets out measures to evict Jews from their apartments and to concentrate them in separate residential areas
- 279 On 12 June 1940 the Jewish Religious Community of Německý Brod asks its members to donate textiles to the Jewish Hospital in Prague and announces bans on the use of certain facilities
- 280 On 13 June 1940 the Oberlandrat in Olmütz asks the Reich Protector for a decision regarding anti-Jewish initiatives on the part of the Kreisleitung
- 281 *Die Judenfrage*, 1 July 1940: article on the exclusion of the Jews in the Protectorate from society and economic life
- 282 On 12 July 1940 Josef Lichtenstern informs Hehalutz in Geneva about how Jews in the Protectorate are being prepared for emigration
- 283 *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, 26 July 1940: Oskar Singer writes about the significance of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Prague
- 284 On 8 August 1940 the SD Main District Prague reports on the banning of National Solidarity activities and on the friendliness towards Jews in Pilsen

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- 285 On 17 August 1940 Norbert Meissner from Triesch writes to his son Franz to describe how the family is pulling together
- 286 On 17 August 1940 State Secretary Karl Hermann Frank rejects the proposal from several Oberlandräte to ghettoize Jews in the Protectorate and to require them to wear visible identification
- 287 On 30 August 1940 Holleschau town council orders the introduction of compulsory labour and other anti-Jewish measures
- 288 On 4 October 1940 Alžběta Salačová in Prague receives an anonymous antisemitic letter
- 289 Writing in his diary on 6 October 1940, the teenager Jiří Münzer describes how he came to embrace Zionism
- 290 On 27 October 1940 the writer Jiří Orten lists the restrictions to which Jews are subjected
- 291 On 25 November 1940 the SD Main District Prague warns State Secretary Karl Hermann Frank that German influence in Triesch is at risk from the influx of Jews
- 292 On 12 December 1940 Undersecretary von Burgsdorff calls for the Jews to be removed definitively from the wholesale and retail trade by 31 March 1941
- 293 In 1940 Bedřich Kolín writes an ironic poem about the ‘advantages’ of being a Jew in the Protectorate
- 294 *Der Neue Tag*, 4 January 1941: announcement of the Aryanization of Salomon Trau’s company in Proßnitz
- 295 On 13 January 1941 the Oberlandrat calls on the head of the employment office in Pardubitz to assign Jews to forced labour
- 296 On 14 January 1941 Undersecretary von Burgsdorff rejects the Protectorate government’s request to exempt forty-one designated persons from anti-Jewish provisions
- 297 On 1 February 1941 Charlotte and Norbert Meissner from Triesch inform their son Franz about the Aryanization of the family business
- 298 On 4 February 1941 Gert Körbel from Prague informs Nathan Schwalb in Geneva about the preparatory courses for emigration from the Protectorate
- 299 On 12 February 1941 Olga Keller writes to Walter Jacob about her emigration and her new life in Bolivia
- 300 On 13 February 1941 Wilhelm Wrbka reaffirms his wish to buy the Rix fashion house in Mährisch-Ostrau
- 301 On 26 February 1941 the Jewish Religious Community of Prague has to issue a summons requiring Jews to clear snow
- 302 In February 1941 Rudolf Stier and Helmut Schmidt emphasize that Jews are no longer permitted to play a role in the economy of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia
- 303 On 10 April 1941 the Aryan Society in Bohemia and Moravia submits proposals to Prime Minister Eliáš on how to deal with the Jewish population

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- 304 On 16 April 1941 State Secretary Karl Hermann Frank clarifies the conditions under which the property belonging to Jews is to be sold in order to finance their emigration
- 305 On 17 April 1941 the Reich Protector explains the procedure for the labour deployment of Jews to the Ministry of Social Welfare and Health Administration
- 306 On 7 May 1941 Charlotte and Norbert Meissner write to their son Franz about the imminent deployment of the Jews in Triesch as labour
- 307 On 31 May 1941 the district authority in Ungarisch-Brod issues instructions to segregate Jews and identify their homes with signs
- 308 In her diary entry for 22 June 1941, Eva Roubíčková expresses the hope that the German forces will be defeated following their invasion of the Soviet Union
- 309 On 5 July 1941 the provisions of the Blood Protection Law come into force in the Protectorate with retroactive effect
- 310 *Večerní České slovo*, 5 July 1941: article calling for more restrictions on Jews
- 311 On 28 July 1941 the Oberlandrat in Tabor complains about the local Jewish population and calls for drastic measures
- 312 On 29 July 1941 the Oberlandrat in Brünn proposes that Jews be forbidden to ride bicycles
- 313 On 31 July 1941 Undersecretary Kurt von Burgsdorff issues instructions prohibiting local agencies from taking individual action against Jews in the Protectorate
- 314 On 14 August 1941 the Reich Minister of the Interior informs the Head of the Reich Chancellery that there are no further objections to the visible identification of Jews in the Protectorate
- 315 On 20 August 1941 State Secretary Frank asks Reich Protector von Neurath to confirm by telephone that he approves the introduction of identifying armbands for the Jewish population
- 316 On 14 September 1941 Jiří Münzer writes about the impending introduction of the yellow star for Jews and the ban on them leaving their places of residence
- 317 On 18 September 1941 State Secretary Hubert Ripka of the Czechoslovak government in exile in London sides with the Jews in the Protectorate
- 318 In her diary entry for 19 September 1941, Eva Roubíčková records the reactions to her wearing the yellow star
- 319 On 21 September 1941 Jiří Münzer describes Czech reaction to the Jews wearing the yellow star
- 320 On 28 September 1941 Eva Roubíčková records Reinhard Heydrich's arrival in the Protectorate