NOTES

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to be treated with some skepticism, they have repeatedly shown that oral history often enriches rather than contradicts historical documents.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

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

CHAPTER 1: WHO IS A JEW?
2. B.C.E. (before the common era) is used where B.C. was used in the past. C.E. (common era) is used for A.D. Karen Armstrong, A History of God: A Four-
The Ivrim, or Hebrews, were members of any group of Semitic peoples who lived in ancient Palestine and claimed descent from the biblical patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The literal meaning of the word Hebrew is the people “who crossed over” or the people “from the other side of the river.” Max I. Dimont, *Jews, God, and History* (New York, 1994), pp. 30–31; Uri Kaploun, ed., *Likkutei Dibburim: An Anthology of Talks by Rabbi Yosef Yitzchak Schneersohn of Lubavitch*, vol. 3 (New York, 1990), pp. 46–47.


Interestingly, Ivri, or Hebrew, from the root avar, meaning “cross over,” also connotes one who crosses over the bounds of propriety accepted by common culture. Abraham lived in a polytheistic world. By affirming his faith in one God, he crossed over the line. He became an iconoclast, an idol smasher. However, some believe that Abraham simply returned to the pure faith. Maimonides holds that monotheism was only reinitiated by Abraham, not discovered. See Baruch Frydman-Kohl, “Covenant, Conversion, and Chosenness: Maimonides and Halvei On 'Who Is a Jew?'” *Judaism* 41, no. 1 (winter 1992): 69.

Matthew Black and H. H. Rowley, eds., *Peake's Commentary on the Bible* (New York, 1963), p. 74. Torah (rendered “law”) literally means “direction” or “teaching.” The Torah is the five books of Moses, or Pentateuch.

In academic circles, there is no historical validation of the revelation at Sinai.

Another interpretation says that this Danite was rejected not because he had an Egyptian father but because he had rejected God. Still another interpretation says that he only wanted to belong to a certain tribe to inherit land. Thus, the tribes rejected him because of his motivation for trying to join them.

On was an ancient city in northern Egypt. The city was also known as Heliopolis.


14. The Tanach according to Christians is the Old Testament.

15. The Talmud is the rabbinic codification of the oral tradition. It was codified around 500 C.E.


23. Lecture given by Rabbi Gottlieb at the Yeshiva Ohr Somayach on 24 December 1993.

24. See Wouk, p. 35.

25. BA-MA, Bryan Mark Rigg Sammlung (BMRS), interview Shlomo Perel, 10.09.1994, T-16; Sally Perel, Ich war Hitlerjunge Salomon (Berlin, 1992), p. 82.


31. There is really no race besides the human race. There are different ethnicities, but race is almost impossible to define scientifically. See Schochet, p. 15.
32. This is a derogatory term by which Ethiopian Jews do not like to be called. A literal meaning of *Falashas* is “outsiders,” depicting how the Ethiopians treated their Jewish minority. Sachar, p. 108.


34. The Hebrew term *giyur* is used for conversion to Judaism. The Hebrew word *lechumra* means that if there are two views, one stringent and one lenient, then the stringent one must be followed. Rejwan, “Who’s a Jew?” in *Who Is a Jew?* p. 93.


36. Sachar, p. 108. See also Kessler, pp. 154–57.

37. Sachar, pp. 109–10, 139.


39. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Major Yoav Delarea, 05.07.1998. See also Sachar, pp. 109, 139.

40. Within all these movements, there are different denominations. For example, within the Orthodox movement, there are the Modern, Mizrachi, Sefards, Shas, Traditional, and Hasidic Orthodox.

41. Sometimes this definition can be difficult to enforce. For example, when Oswald Rufeisen (also known as Brother Daniel), a Holocaust survivor and convert to Christianity, applied to the Israeli government to be defined as a Jew in his papers, he was denied. Although he was born of a Jewish mother, the Israeli court did not recognize him as a Jew because he had changed his religion. Israel recognizes a Jew only as a Jew if he or she is not a member of another religion. Maoz, “Who Is a Convert?” p. 13; Alexander, pp. 168–71; *Israel: A Country Study*, p. 108.


44. Sachar, pp. 139–40.

45. BA-MA, BMRS, File Rabbi Dovid Gottlieb, Gottlieb to Rigg, 05.07.2001. See also Frydman-Kohl, p. 64.


48. Ibid.

49. As Raul Hilberg notes, the term “Aryan” “is not even a race designation. At best, it is a term for a linguistic-ethnic group.” Raul Hilberg, *Destruction of the European Jews* (New York, 1961), p. 45, n. 6. The Nazis used the term to describe a people they believed were Germanic, blond, and blue-eyed.
50. A local Party leader of the Nazi Party.
51. Die Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (NSDAP) was the name of the Nazi Party.
53. Jeckes is a derogatory Yiddish term meaning “jackets” and was used to describe German Jews who usually wore nice-fitting suits—hence, the term “jackets.” This term was most commonly used for German Jews who lived in Palestine, but now has come into popular use among many Israeli and American Jews.
54. Steven E. Aschheim, Brothers and Strangers: The East European Jew in German and German Jewish Consciousness, 1800–1923 (Wisconsin, 1982), p. 3; BA-MA, BMRS, File Peter Noa, Bl. 9.
56. Ibid., p. 152.
57. Wouk, p. 240.
64. Leni Yahil, The Holocaust (Tel Aviv, 1987), p. 79.
65. Weltanschauung means “worldview.” Naumann’s group was dissolved by the Gestapo in 1933. He died in 1939 of cancer.
68. Adler, Jews in Germany, pp. 107–8.
70. See Sarah Gordon, Hitler, Germans, and the “Jewish Question” (Princeton, 1984), p. 8; Aschheim, p. 231; Peter Wyden, Stella: One Woman’s True Tale.
71. Aschheim, p. 15.
74. Aryan Paragraph.
75. For more information on the Aryan Paragraph, see chapters 4–6. Readers must keep in mind always that for the Nazis, the Aryans were a race.
76. The phrase Blut und Boden (blood and soil) should not be confused with the way the Nazis used it to depict agrarian romanticism (after Walter Darré, “the Blut und Boden guru” [Kershaw, Hitler, 1936–1945, p. 374]). Benary used this phrase before it had Nazi connotations attached to it, to show how German he thought he and his family had become.
77. BA-MA, RW 6/ v.73, Oberstlt. a.D. Benary an Reichsleitung der NSDAP, 25.09.1933.
78. The Maccabees was the name of a priestly Jewish family who ruled Judea during the first and second centuries B.C.E. The books Maccabees 1 and Maccabees 2, describing the history of the Maccabees, are part of the Apocrypha. It is also the name of the Jews “who engaged in a seemingly hopeless yet successful struggle against Greek rule in 168 B.C.” (Kaplan, p. 56).
80. The Reichswehr was the name of the German armed forces until March 1935. Afterward, with the introduction of the draft with the new law, Gesetz für den Aufbau der Wehrmacht, from 16 March 1935, the name of Reichswehr was replaced by Wehrmacht to denote German armed forces. The Reichswehr was a small armed forces made up of 100,000 soldiers, 4,000 army officers, 15,000 sailors and navy officers, and 3,040 civil servants with officer rank. James S. Corum, The Luftwaffe: Creating the Operational Air War, 1918–1940 (Kansas, 1997), p. 81.
81. BA-MA, RW 6/v.73, Schreiben v. 20.11.1933.
89. Richard M. Watt, *The Kinds Depart. The Tragedy of Germany: Versailles and the German Revolution* (New York, 1968), pp. 325–28. It seems that Arco-Valley’s motivation for killing Eisner was to prove to a local racist group called the Thule Society, who had rejected his application for membership because of his Jewish mother, that he was “braver than they were.” Watt, pp. 292–93; Bernt Engelmann, *Deutschland ohne Juden* (Köln, 1988), p. 352.
91. An official Parteikanzlei document from 1944 stated that “5/8-Jews” would be considered only half-Jewish because they only had two full Jewish grandparents. See *Akten-NSDAP*, 107-00389, Reichsführer-SS/ Persönlicher Stab an SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt, Hauptsturmführer Dr. Volk, 26.07.1944. This study has indeed found some “five-eighths Jews” who were handled like half-Jews; however, many were classified as full Jews. It seems that the Nazi civil servants were very confused about what to do with this small group of partial Jews.
92. Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, p. 300. This translation of *Mein Kampf* used for this book follows the first version that came out in 1925.
95. Hamann, p. 95; Redlich, pp. 27, 259; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, pp. 23, 616 n. 110; Maser, p. 268; Werner Jochmann, ed., *Adolf Hitler Monologe im Führerhauptquartier, 1941–1944* (Hamburg, 1980), p. 294. Mahler converted to Catholicism in the same year in which he became director of the Wiener Hofoper. He never could have obtained this post without conversion.
99. Yahil, p. 43. See also Redlich, p. 324.


104. BA-B, R 15.06/ 64–65, Bl. 8–9, Oberstes Parteigericht der NSDAP an Reichsstelle für Sippenforschung, 24.11.1936.

105. SA stands for Sturmabteilung (storm detachment), a Nazi Party paramilitary formation. By 1933–1934, the SA membership numbered 1.5 million, which was fifteen times larger than the German army. Craig, Prussian Army, 1640–1945, p. 474.


108. Friedländer, Nazi Germany, p. 138. See also Kaplan, p. 34.


110. After 1871, Germans had to register themselves (birth, weddings, and deaths) throughout Germany with the city or county register’s office (Standesamt). During this registration, the religion was noted. The hundreds of documents collected for this study indicated that a person was registered as Jewish if mosaisch, hebräisch, or israelitisch was written next to the religion line.

111. Hitler claimed that Jewry was not a religion but a race. Maser, p. 176; Adolf Hitler, Hitler’s Secret Book, introduction by Telford Taylor (New York, 1961), p. 212. However, almost all racial policies relied on religious documents to prove a person’s “race.”


113. Hilberg, p. 52; Stoltzfus, p. 273. This study documents a few cases of individuals who converted to Judaism, but who were not treated as full Jews. Half-Jew Peter Schliesser remembered that there were two Aryans who had converted to Judaism who were handled like half-Jews in his forced labor camp. BA-MA, BMRS, File Peter Schliesser.

114. A Geltungsjude was the Nazi term for a Mischling who had been raised Jewish or had converted to Judaism or a half-Jew who was married to a Jew. See Akten–NSDAP, 107–00393; Stoltzfus, p. 102; Kaplan, p. 75.

115. The Nazis used the word Volk to mean “folk and folkdom.” In the Nazi philosophy, it embodied the “totality of theGerman people and the German race.” Peter Adam, Art of the Third Reich (New York, 1992), p. 9.

116. Akten der Parteikanzlei der NSDAP: Rekonstruktion eines verlorengegangenen Bestandes, Bundesarchiv (Akten–NSDAP), Microfiches, hrsg. v. Institut für Zeitgeschichte (Munich, 1983), 101–28888, Der Reichsminister der Justiz, Führerinformation 1942 NR. 59. See also Friedländer, p. 152. However, some-
times the Nazis would turn a blind eye to those who adhered to Judaism but could claim non-Semitic ancestors. General Ernst Köstring and Field Marshal Ewald von Kleist were able to prevent the Jewish Mountaineers in the Caucasus, called the Tats, from being exterminated because they convinced the authorities that the Tats were only of the Jewish religion but free of Jewish “blood.” The SD was “forced to desist” and spared the Tats. The SS spared the Crimean Karaimes, who practiced Judaism but were not “racially” Jewish. These two groups were the only exemptions found for this study where the Nazis made allowances for those who practiced Judaism but were not of Jewish descent. See Alexander Dallin, *German Rule in Russia, 1941–1945* (New York, 1957), p. 247; BA-MA, BMRS, File Jackobschwilli, Bl. 10. See also Hans von Herwarth, *Zwischen Hitler und Stalin. Erlebte Zeitgeschichte, 1931–1945* (Frankfurt, 1982); BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hans von Herwarth, 12.09.1994, T-17; Karl Dietrich Bracher, *The German Dictatorship* (New York, 1970), p. 424.

117. Reichsleiter was the highest rank in the Nazi Party under Hitler, the Parteichef (chief of the Party).


121. A convenient sample collected from this study found that out of 459 half-Jews documented, 267 had Jewish mothers and 192 had Jewish fathers. Out of 160 quarter-Jews documented, only 51 were Halakically Jewish.

**CHAPTER 2: WHO IS A MISCHLING?**

1. Special thanks to Christa Brunner for information on this event recorded on 29 February 1998.
4. Walter Laqueur, ed., The Holocaust Encyclopedia (New Haven, 2001), p. 420; Wolfgang Eckart, "Biopolitical Seizure of Power and Medical Science in Germany, 1933–1945. Law for the Prevention of Genetically Diseased Offspring of July 14, 1933" (University of Heidelberg, 2000). The “Rehoboth Bastards” were originally called “colored” or “bastards.” They got their name from the hot-water spring at Rehoboth, Namibia, in Africa where many of them lived.
12. For example, see Akten-NSDAP, 107-00398, 107-00407-408; Stoltzfus, p. 54; Vuletić, p. 21.
13. Hilberg, p. 49; Stoltzfus, p. 54; Vuletić, p. 21; BA-MA, BMRS, H. Lange. For example, three men had to leave the SS because they were 1/256 Jewish. See BA-B, NS 19/453; BA-B, NS 19/387; BA-B, NS 19/1194.
14. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans-Geert Falkenberg, Veranstaltung zum 08.05.1945 im Bergischen Kolleg, Wuppertal, 10.05.1995, Bl. 55. See also Friedländer, p. 167.
15. Hitler, Mein Kampf, pp. 248–49.
16. Ibid., pp. 400–402.
17. Hilberg claims that these records were often quite difficult to get. See Hilberg, p. 49. Stoltzfus maintains the opposite, saying that churches made “their records freely available.” See Stoltzfus, p. 10.
18. Hitler, Mein Kampf, p. 120.
20. SS lieutenant colonel.


31. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Margot Braun, 07.01.1996, T-191; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Braun, 07.01.1996, T-190; Bracher, p. 253. For example, after the authorities found out that an SS man had fallen in love and had relations with a Jewish woman, both were immediately executed. Gilbert, *Holocaust*, p. 681. A more extreme handling of a Rassenschande case happened to Lehmann Katzenberger, president of the Jewish community in Nuremberg, who was sentenced to death for kissing the Aryan Irene Seile. Hilberg, p. 111. See also BA-MA, BMRS, File Dieter Fischer, Bl. 72.


33. Noncommissioned officers.

34. Unteroffizier is a corporal. Often Obergefreiter and Unteroffizier are translated as corporal; however, Unteroffizier was a higher rank and was given more responsibility than Obergefreiter (acting corporal).
33. BA-MA, BMRS, File Gerhard Fecht, Fecht an Professor Dr. Lev Kopelev, 31.01.1986 Bl. 3.
38. BA-MA, BMRS, File Erik Blumenfeld. Blumenfeld would later be sent to Buchenwald; remarkably, he survived the war. After the war, he played an active role in the German political party CDU and was president of the German-Israeli Society (Deutsch-Israelische Gesellschaft).
40. IfZ, N 71–73, 11.10.1935. Half-Jew Hans Leipelt was part of the White Rose resistance group. Quarter- Jews Hans von Dohnanyi, Helmut von Gottberg, and General Fritz Lindemann were members of the 20 July 1944 plot to kill Hitler.
41. BA-MA, BMRS, File Erik Blumenfeld. Blumenfeld would later be sent to Buchenwald; remarkably, he survived the war. After the war, he played an active role in the German political party CDU and was president of the German-Israeli Society (Deutsch-Israelische Gesellschaft).
44. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hofrat Hans Herder, 05.01.1996, T-186. Mensch is German or Yiddish for “human being.”
45. Unterarzt (equivalent of a Sanitätsoffizier-Anwärter or medical officer-cadet).
46. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Braun, 10–14.08.1994. This phenomenon has happened among other groups with children of mixed marriages. For example, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Haiti, mulattoes quickly came to bitterly despise “Negroes.” As the historian of this period, C. L. R. James commented, “[I]t all reads like a cross between a nightmare and a bad joke.” C. L. R. James, The Black Jacobins (New York, 1989), pp. 38–43.
47. Hauptgefreiter was an administrative corporal.
56. The literal translation of *Genehmigung* is “approval” or “authorization.” The *Genehmigung* was a form of clemency that allowed one to continue serving in the Wehrmacht. Most *Genehmigung* award letters stated that Hitler would decide after the war whether the *Genehmigung*’s recipient had proved himself sufficiently in battle to be declared *deutschblütig*.

57. Kriegsmarine was the official name of the German navy during the Third Reich.

58. The Kanzlei des Führers (Führer’s chancellery) was set up in 1934 to handle written correspondence from Party members to Hitler. It was designed to keep Hitler in touch with “the concerns of his people.” These letters dealt with complaints, grievances, and personal squabbles. By the late 1930s, around a quarter of a million letters for Hitler poured into the KdF. Kershaw, *Hitler 1936–1945*, p. 257. Bouhler’s Führer’s chancellery was also in charge of clemency petitions and from 1939 to 1941 was in charge of the euthanasia program.

59. BA-MA, BMRS, File Herbert Lefèvre, Bl. 15, 61, 80.

60. Rust was thought an idiot by many in the Nazi government. According to Lochner, Rust had been an inmate in an insane asylum as a young man. The *Goebbels Diaries, 1942–1943*, ed. and trans. by Louis P. Lochner (New York, 1948), p. 378 (Goebbels’s diaries must be looked at critically, since he wrote them in the hope of publishing them as an “official Nazi document” in the future). Dr. Georg Meyer of the *Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt* (Military Research Center) Potsdam/Freiburg claims that Rust’s wife was Jewish.

61. BA-B, R 21/10875, Heinz Gerlach an Rust, 11.05.1941, Bl. 45–46.

62. On 24 September 1940, this anti-Semitic film appeared in theaters around Germany and in occupied Europe. Goebbels had been very involved in its production. The film depicted the Jews as being extremely dangerous. Gilbert, *Second World War*, p. 128.


64. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Mühlbacher, Teil V, Tagebuch, 30.07.40, Bl. 50.


66. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann.


68. BA-MA, BMRS, File Dr. Dieter Bergmann, Tagebuch, 14.08.1940, Heft II, Bl. 25.

69. Ibid., 31.05.1941, Heft II.

70. Klemperer, Buch II, 30.05.1942, p. 105.


72. An interesting side note here is that this study has documented one Jew, eleven half-Jews, six 37.5 percent Jews, fifteen quarter-Jews, and six 12.5 percent Jews who served in the Wehrmacht who were all descendants of Moses Mendelssohn.

73. Sachverständiger für Rassenforschung im Reichsinnenministerium. After 5 March 1935, this office was called Reichsstelle für Sippenforschung. Rudolf Absolon, *Die Wehrmacht im Dritten Reich. Band III, 3. August 1934 bis 4.*

74. BA-B, R 15.09/52, Bl. 45, p. 5, "Die Lösung der Judenfrage" (Grundsätzliches zur Mischlingsfrage) von Dr. Achim Gercke. See also BA-B, R 15.09/58, Bl. 27–28; Alison Owings, Frauen: German Women Recall the Third Reich (New Brunswick, 1995), pp. 111–12.

75. SS captain.

76. Akten-NSDAP, 107-00404. See also Hilberg, pp. 49–50; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Herbert Frank, 27.06.1995, T-152; BA-MA, BMRS, File Heinrich Bamberger, Bl. 25; Stoltzfus, p. 122. See also BA-MA, BMRS, File August Oestreicher, Bl. 2.

77. Alfred, Richard, and Oskar were names of Anton Milch’s cousins. Anton Milch was Erhard Milch’s Jewish father. These names came from the Wehlau family, sons of Sigmund and Fanny Wehlau née Milch (sister of Anton Milch).


79. Leiter der Reichsstelle für Sippenforschung.

80. BA-B, R 15.09/52, Bl. 45, Göring an Meyer, 07.08.1935.

81. Conversation with the Honorable John E. Dolibois on 22 July 2001. BA-MA, BMRS, File John E. Dolibois, Dolibois to Rigg, 23.07.2001. Dolibois was part of the Ashcan program (Ashcan was the military code word for CCPWE32). CCPWE32 was the Central Continental Prisoners of War Enclosure 32, where Göring and many other Nazi officials were incarcerated from May to August 1945. Dolibois was working for the Nazi War Crimes Commission, headed by Justice Robert H. Jackson.


83. Wistrich, p. 210. In a letter to the author, Professor Wistrich mentioned that he did his research on Milch twenty years ago in the Wiener Library in London. Wistrich to Rigg, 18.06.2001. In author’s private collection. Louis L. Snyder also claims that Milch’s mother was Jewish, but he, like Wistrich, does not provide evidence to prove this. Louis L. Snyder, Encyclopedia of the Third Reich (New York, 1989), pp. 229, 378.
84. BA-MA, BMRS, File Erhard Milch, Dr. James Corum an Michael Briggs, March 2001.
88. Rassenbiologisches Institut der Hansischen Universität Hamburg. BA-MA, BMRS, File Wolfgang Spier.
89. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Wolfgang Spier, 06.12.1994, T-70.
91. Not his real name—the interviewee requests that he remain anonymous.
92. WAyen-SS sergeant.
93. BA-MA, BMRS, interview J. L.
95. Meyer, p. 114. See also BA-MA, BMRS, File Anton Paul Rengers, Bl. 2–3.
97. Not his real name—the interviewee requests that he remain anonymous.
98. BA-MA, BMRS, interview J. G., 05.01.1995. Grüön would later be deported to an OT forced labor camp. He would survive the war.
99. AWA (I)= *Allgemeines Wehrmachtsamt (Inland).*
100. BA-B, DZA (Potsdam) 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 96.
101. Ibid., Bl. 96–96b.
103. Hitler started declaring *Mischlinge deutschblütig* (of German blood), giving them an official *Deutschblütigkeitserklärung* sometime after the Nuremberg Laws in 1935. This form of clemency was given to those whom Hitler judged to look and act like persons of “German blood.” Such a declaration freed a *Mischling* from most racial laws and allowed him to call himself *deutschblütig* in identification papers.
104. Perhaps they did so not because of religious reasons but because parents of these sons did not want them to be different from their fathers. See BA-MA,
BMRS, interview Rolf Gottschalk, 01.12.1994, T-67; See also Stoltzfus, p. 104.


107. BA-MA, BMRS, File Wilhelm Dröscher, Tagebuch, 7.05.1938.

108. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Dröscher.


110. *Privilegierte Mischehe* gave the Jews in the marriage special rights not allowed to Jews who were not married to Aryans. These couples were protected if they had not raised their children as Jews and if their marriage had happened before the Nuremberg Laws. For example, they did not have to wear the star and were not deported. One must remember, though, that if an Aryan married a Jew after 1935, he or she usually did so outside of Germany, since the Nuremberg Laws prohibited mixed marriages. Meyer, pp. 20–21, 92; Gellately, *Gestapo and German Society*, pp. 190–91; H. G. Adler, *Der Verwaltete Mensch. Studien zur Deportation der Juden aus Deutschland* (Tübingen, 1974), pp. 280–81; Vuletić, p. 8; Kaplan, pp. 148–49.

111. See Stoltzfus, pp. xxvi, 85, 92–93.

112. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Braun, 10–14.08.1994, T-10. See also Stoltzfus, pp. 106–7; Kaplan, pp. 190, 231.


115. For example, Julius Scholz took his ex-wife to court and explained to the authorities that he did not have to pay alimony to a Jew. The court ruled that Julius did have to continue the alimony, but they reduced it from 1,500 Reichsmarks to 110 Reichsmarks per month.


118. Iron Cross Second and First Classes are like Bronze and Silver Stars in the U.S. armed forces.

the war, Max Scheffler saw the advantage of having a Jewish wife. Helena took him back and they were remarried after the war. Their son, Karl Heinz Scheffler, said, “[W]hat a load of crap (Solch ein Scheiß).” BA-MA, BMRS, interview K. H. Scheffler, 09.03.1995; BA-MA, BMRS, interview K. H. Scheffler, 19.05.1996.

120. Kaplan, p. 87.
121. Goy is Yiddish for “gentile.”
122. A Bris is a Jewish ritual circumcision. It is a sign of the covenant all Jews have with God. This mark displays that a Jew is linked to every other Jew and stands with them in primordial relation to God. Trepp, p. 2.
124. Forschungsstelle für die Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus in Hamburg, Auszug aus 040 G, Alfred Bülow. Special thanks to Beate Meyer for her help in obtaining these files for the Bryan Mark Rigg Sammlung (collection) (BMRS). See also BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Hiefner, Bl. 16; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Döppes.
126. Shiksa (sometimes spelled schikse or sikhse) is a derogative Yiddish word to denote a non-Jewish young woman.
128. Today, Breslau is Wroclaw, Poland.
129. In Breslau, the Gestapo offices adjoined the Breslau prison.
131. IfZ, N 71–73, 11.10.1935. See also Kaplan, pp. 112–113.
133. IfZ, N 71–73, 11.10.1935.
135. See Kerstin Meiring, Die Christlich-Jüdische Mischehe in Deutschland, 1840–1933 (Hamburg, 1998), pp. 120–25, for a discussion on this subject; BA-MA, BMRS, general impression gained from this study.
136. Reichskristallnacht was the name given to the Nazi pogrom of 9–10 November 1938. Its literal meaning is “Reich Crystal Night,” or as it was later termed in English, the “Night of Broken Glass.” Benz, p. 31. Around one hundred Jews were murdered, hundreds of synagogues were burned, and some thirty thousand male Jews were deported to concentration camps. Ian Kershaw, Profiles in Power: Hitler (London, 1991), p. 149.
137. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hannah Leopold, 11.11.1996, T-232. Eugen Klewansky had been a Stabsarzt during World War I. For another example of extreme abuse of power, see Kaplan, p. 20.
139. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans-Geert Falkenberg, Bl. 59.
140. Beate Meyer, Mischlinge, p. 18.
141. BA-MA, BMRS, File Achim von Bredow, Heft III, Bl. 37.
142. Dr. Hans Globke was a Ministerialrat in the RMI who headed its international law section. He, along with state secretary Dr. Wilhelm Stuckart, wrote a commentary on the racial laws in 1936. After the war, he worked in the Bundeskanzleramt under Adenauer.

143. BA-MA, BMRS, Heinz Puppe to Rigg, Bl. 1.

144. Ursula Büttner also talks about this dilemma in her essay in the 1988 Leo Baeck Yearbook. See Büttner, “Persecution,” pp. 274–75.

145. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans-Geert Falkenberg, Veranstaltung zum 08.05.1945 im Bergischen Kolleg, Wuppertal, 10.05.1995, Heft I, Bl. 55. Falkenberg puts the sentence, “I’ve not lost this drive to be the best even until now” at the beginning of this quote. The author thinks it reads better at the end of this section. Falkenberg has been shown this change.

146. Sydow, p. 66.


151. BA-MA, BMRS, File Jürgen Krackow, Bl.1, Photo 1, and Genehmigung Hitlers an Jürgen Krackow, 28.01.1943, and II./Panzer-Regiment 23: Beurteilung über Lt. Jürgen Krackow, 20.02.1945. The Gold Wound Badge was issued to a soldier who was wounded at least five times. In Krackow’s case, he was wounded nine times, so his Wound Badge would be the equivalent of earning nine Purple Hearts in the U.S. armed forces. He still has a metal splinter in his head and has been classified as 100 percent disabled. His Iron Crosses were for such actions as destroying sixteen enemy tanks and disabling several others. BA-MA, BMRS, interview J. Krackow.

152. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Reinhard Krackow.

153. BA-MA, BMRS, File Wilhelm Dröscher, Tagebuch, 16.11.1940. One could compare the German-Cross in Gold with the Navy Cross in the U.S. Navy and U.S. Marine Corps.

154. BA-MA, BMRS, information gathered from the database of the collection. By early 1944, over half a million Iron Crosses First Class, and three million Iron Crosses Second Class had been awarded. BA-K, R 22/4003.

155. Nine hundred men were awarded this medal during the war. “50 percent Jew”: Gen.-Arzt Dr. Helmut Richter.


159. Walter Hollaender was a nephew of Frederick Hollaender, the famous composer of *Falling in Love Again*, a song immortalized by Marlene Dietrich in the 1930 movie *The Blue Angel* (*Der Blaue Engel*).


161. Six hundred received this award during the war. Angolia, pp. 351–57. "25 percent Jew": (1) Vizeadmiral Bernhard Rogge.


164. BA-B, R 21/10875, Gerlach an Rust, 11.05.1941, Bl. 47.


168. Bergmann, pp. xvi–xvii; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann.
169. Dieckmann did not know about his ancestry until after the war.
171. BA-MA, BMRS, File Peter Schliesser.
172. OT camps were forced labor camps. Organization Todt (OT) was named after Dr.-Ing. Fritz Todt (1891–1942), Hitler’s minister of armaments and munitions. OT was the German public construction agency.
173. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Peter Schliesser, 28.04.1996, T-200. Tragically, after the war when Peter Schliesser returned to Czechoslovakia, he narrowly escaped being sent to a Czech forced labor camp. Unfortunately, his father was caught and put in a Czech concentration camp. Their “crime” was that they were German. BA-MA, BMRS, File Schliesser. Schliesser’s situation was not unique. Half-Jew and ex-soldier Franz Margold’s mother experienced problems from the Czech authorities after the war because she had had two sons in the Wehrmacht. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Franz Margold, 18.05.1996, T-206.
174. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Mühlbacher, Mühlbacher to Rigg, 03.03.2001.
175. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Mühlbacher, Teil V, Tagebuch, 30.07.40, Bl. 50; BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Mühlbacher, Mühlbacher to Rigg, 03.03.2001.
176. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Meissinger, Meissinger an Rigg, 08.11.1996, Bl. 10.
177. BA-MA, BMRS, File Ernst Ludwig, Ludwig an Rigg, 05.02.1997, Bl. 22.
178. BA-MA, BRS, interview Lüderitz.
179. Ibid.
180. Bergmann, p. 113.
182. BA-MA, BMRS, File Heinz-Günther Löwy, Bl. 7.
183. BA-MA, BMRS, File Fritz Binder, Bl. 8c, Binder an Rigg, 02.10.1994; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Fritz Binder, 02.10.1994, T-34.
186. See BA-MA, BMRS, interview Lüderitz; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann; BA-MA, BMRS, interview J. Krackow.
187. BA-MA, BMRS, File Meissinger, Meissinger an Rigg, 08.11.1996, Bl. 10.
188. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Krüger.
190. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hans Koref, 06.01.1996, T-189.
191. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Reinhard; BA-MA, BMRS, interview J. Krackow; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Krüger.
NOTES TO PAGES 44–47

193. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Dieckmann. Interestingly, Dieckmann’s stepfather, who was a Party member and had adopted Dieckmann, protected him throughout the entire Third Reich.
194. POWs are prisoners of war.
197. Forschungsstelle für die Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus in Hamburg, Auszug aus 040 G, Alfred Bülow. Special thanks to Beate Meyer for her help in attaining these Files for the Bryan Mark Rigg Collection; BA-MA, BMRS, File Bülow, Bl. 4.
198. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hermann Lange, 01.10.1994, T-33.
199. BA-MA, BMRS, File Du Bois Reymond, Bl. 5.
200. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Günther Kallauch, 06.08.1994, T-9; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Günther Kallauch, T-35.
201. A Selbstfahr Lafette was a self-propelled artillery piece mounted on a tracked chassis. It was a modified version of the Sturmgeschütz (assault gun). Kopp and his comrades destroyed over twenty Soviet tanks with their Selbstfahr Lafette.
202. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Kopp.
203. Such views were expressed in the Wehrmachtausstellung that toured Germany a few years ago. The Wehrmachtausstellung’s information is documented in Hannes Heer and J. P. Reemtsma, eds., Vernichtungskrieg: Verbrechen der Wehrmacht (Hamburg, 1995). See also Ben Hecht, Perfidy (New York, 1961), p. 94.
204. BA-MA, BMRS, File Bülow, Bl. 5.
205. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Techel.
206. Bayerisches Landesamt für Wiedergutmachung.
207. They would receive certificates that they were either racially, religiously, or political persecuted (Amtlicher Ausweis für rassisch, religiös und politisch Verfolgte).
209. BA-MA, BMRS, Heinz Puppe to Rigg, Bl. 1.
210. A menorah is a nine-branched candelabrum used during the Jewish festival of Hanukkah.
213. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Scholz.
214. Landgericht München I, Akten Werner Eisner, Heft IV, Report given by Dr. Jose Maria Alvarado, 3 June 1965, La Paz, Bolivia, Bl. 455.
Julius Eisner, 3 July 1968, Heft IV, Bl. 649, and Zeuge Frau Emma Hummel, Heft IV, 11 November 1968, Bl. 684.


219. Sturmmann is a Waßen-SS private. Löwy was stationed with the Sixth SS Mountain Division in Salzburg.

220. Through Löwy’s experiences in World War II, he became religious. When he dies, he plans on being buried in a Jewish cemetery and having Kaddish said for him.


222. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Partsch.


226. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Binder.

227. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann. This saying comes from the traditional liturgy: “Blessed are You Hashem, our God, King of the universe, for not having made me a gentile.” The Complete Artscroll Siddur, p. 19. The blessing is one of three that reflect that a Jewish male has more commandments from God (a privileged status) than a female Jew, a gentile, or a slave.


229. Colonel Count Claus von Stauffenberg was one of the leading members of the conspiracy to kill Hitler that culminated in the 20 July 1944 bomb plot.

230. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Horst von Oppenfeld, 05.01.1995, T-84.

231. Webfehler literally means “weaving flaw.” It means that someone has abnormal ancestry.

232. Falscher Makel literally means that one is stained or polluted. During the Third Reich, these words were used to describe the “racial problem” of Mischlinge.

233. Mampe was the name of a well-known brand of brandy (Kräuterlikör), which was half sweet and half bitter.

234. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Günzel, Bl. 3.


236. BA-MA, BMRS, R. Zelter; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Joachim Zelter, 27.10.1997, T-166. Joachim Zelter’s great-great-grandfather was Karl-Frederick Zelter, who was a distinguished man of letters and a friend of Goethe.

237. Not his real name.

238. Many Mischlinge documented in this study still meet with their comrades or have
contact with old comrades. For a few examples, see BA-MA, BMRS, File Peter Gaupp; BA-MA, BMRS, interview A. Spitz; BA-MA, File Werner Maltzahn; BA-MA, BMRS, File Helmut Schmoockel. Even the Jew Shlomo Perel went to a large meeting of veterans from his division in 1987. See Perel, p. 65.

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

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

1. Because Austria was united with Germany under Hitler, this study includes data on Austrian assimilation.

2. Gay, Jews of Germany, pp. 165, 182–84; Haffner, Meaning of Hitler, pp. 92, 103. See also Kershaw, Hitler, 1889–1936, pp. 32, 78.


5. Gay, p. 165.

6. Adler, Jews in Germany, p. 98.


8. Ibid., p. 9.


10. Arthur Ruppin, also called the “father of Jewish sociology,” was the most noted Jewish statistician and demographer of his time. He was a Zionist and the “first professor of Jewish sociology at the newly established Hebrew University of Jerusalem in the twenties.” Alex Bein, “Arthur Ruppin: The Man and His Work,” Leo Baeck Yearbook 17 (1972): 117.


The word *dissidents* is used in this study to describe those Jews who separated themselves from the Jewish community without conversion. They simply became *konfessionslos* (without confession).


16. Theilhaber, *Der Untergang*, p. 93. See also Lowenthal, p. 270; Engelmann, p. 54; Kaplan, p. 12.


20. Vuletic, p. 15; Gay, p. 141; Lowenthal, p. 234. Of course there were some Jews, like Edith Stein, mentioned earlier, who earnestly believed in the Christian message, but they were a minority.

21. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hauck.


The remaining areas of Austria would have added a few thousand to the seventeen thousand possible mixed marriages from Vienna.

Avraham Barkai, “Population Decline and Economic Stagnation,” in German-Jewish History in Modern Times, vol. 4, pp. 32–33; Robertson, “Jewish Question,” p. 386. Austria prohibited marriages between Jews and Christians. If a Jew and a Christian wanted to marry, one of the partners had to convert so that both would be of the same religion. If one became konfessionslos (without religious affiliation), then he or she could marry a Jew or a Christian under Austrian law, unlike in Germany where couples could, since 1875, have a civil ceremony regardless of their religions (Israel Cohen, Jewish Life in Modern Times [New York, 1914], p. 305). Although Barkai estimates that these seventeen thousand dissidents probably did so to marry, these mixed marriage figures are low because only those Jews who married people who were konfessionslos were recorded. Marsha Rozenblit wrote that accurate figures cannot be recorded because “all those Jews who converted to Christianity or became konfessionslos prior to their marriage with gentiles elude statistical discovery” (Rozenblit, The Jews of Vienna, 1867–1914, p. 129). See also Ruppin, Jews of Today, pp. 166–67; Bloch and Taubes, p. 10.

The number derived from Ruppin’s sources for the possible average of mixed marriages occurring in Vienna from 1921 to 1924 is 979 per year (Ruppin’s records indicate that dissidents were numerous because “marriages with non-Jews contribute[d] to them considerably” [Ruppin, Modern World, p. 332]). If one assumes that the majority of dissidents Behr lists between 1912 and 1923 in Vienna (10,429) did so to marry non-Jews, then that would yield an average of 869 mixed marriages per year in Vienna (Behr, p. 98). The number stated in this study (895) is between Ruppin’s and Behr’s averages.

Ruppin gives the figures of dissidents in Vienna as 2,900 from 1901 to 1905, 3,914 from 1921 to 1924, and 2,692 from 1927 to 1929. If the average from 1901 to 1905 (580) is applied to 1906–1920, there could have been 8,700 who left Judaism in Vienna during this period. If the average between 1921–1924 (979) is applied to 1925–1926, there could have been 1,958 who left Judaism during this period. According to these calculations, around 16,644 Jews “seceded” (Ruppin’s word) from Judaism from 1901 to 1929. Since most did so to marry non-Jews according to Ruppin, then one can assume that at least 16,000 mixed marriages occurred during this time in Vienna. However, since people of Jewish descent who were Christians were not recorded when they married, the number of mixed marriages must have been much higher than this estimate of 16,000.

Statistics about the number of children in each family come from Ruppin, Behr, Theilhaber, Lenz, a U.S. Naval Intelligence study done on Germany in 1944, and the average number of siblings of the hundreds of people interviewed for this study. Ruppin, Behr, and Theilhaber had political agendas to prove. They believed that assimilation of Jews with non-Jews was not healthy for the Jewish people. As a result, one must look at their findings carefully, because it was in their interest to show that mixed marriages did not produce the same num-
ber of children as Jewish or non-Jewish unions. Moreover, it seems that their data focus only on marriages where the Jewish partner remained religiously Jewish and not those unions where the Jewish partner had converted to Christianity. Marriages where one of the partners remained religiously Jewish did indeed produce fewer children according to the national average. Lenz also must be looked at carefully because being a Nazi, he naturally wanted to present the data in such a way as to show the danger that Jewish assimilation had for German society. As a result, the data heavily relied on come from *Germany*, vol. 3, *Economic Geography*, ed. Naval Intelligence Division (Washington, D.C., 1944), pp. 67–78, and this study documenting *Mischlinge* in the offspring generation. Since many of the Jewish parents of the *Mischlinge* documented in this study did not remain Jewish, they would have not been included in the statistics given by Theilhaber and Ruppin, but rather included in the birthrates of couples who were either Protestant or Catholic. Given that the average number of children per Catholic family was 4.33 and per Protestant family was 3.06 (Meiring, p. 91), the numbers found in this study are more accurate for children of mixed marriages. See also *Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations 1936/37*, ed. League of Nations Economic Intelligence Service (Geneva, 1937), pp. 35, 41.

34. Military age ranged from eighteen to forty-five years of age. IfZ, N 71–73, Pfundtner an Hofbach, 03.04.1935.

35. Meyer, Avraham Barkai, “Jewish Life under Persecution,” in *German-Jewish History, in Modern Times*, p. 252; Behr, p. 112; Berman, p. 123; Bienenfeld, p. 99. Most sources put mixed marriages from 1900 to 1930 at just over 30,000. Barkai estimates that between 1870 and 1930, 50,000 mixed marriages occurred. From this figure, roughly 30,000 has been subtracted for the years of 1900 to 1930 to yield an estimate of 20,000 between 1870 and 1900.

36. Behr, p. 112 (Behr writes that between 1876 and 1900, 8,316 mixed marriages occurred); Meiring, p. 91 (Meiring writes that between 1874 and 1900, 8,091 mixed marriages occurred). The number of 8,000 does not take into account the mixed marriages happening between 1870 and 1875, as well as those in other German states such as Saxony, Baden, Württemberg, Hessen, and so on.

37. Ruppin, *Jews of Today*, p. 166. Ruppin states that 2,488 mixed marriages occurred in Austria between 1881 and 1906 (an average of 99.52 mixed marriages per year). Taking this average and applying it to the years 1870 to 1900 gives one a total of 2,985.6 mixed marriages. Since only mixed marriages where a Jew married someone who was konfessionslos (without religious affiliation) were recorded, the numbers Ruppin gives are very low. However, this is the only source found that indicates how many mixed marriages were occurring during this time. For more data on mixed marriages in Austria, see Max Grunwald, *History of Jews in Vienna* (Philadelphia, 1936), p. 527; Bloch and Taubes, p. 10; Cohen, p. 304.

38. These figures do not take into consideration the children who were born out of wedlock. They would have added to the numbers presented here.
39. This number has been left according to a pure mathematical model. Although some of these half-Jews did not marry or married other Mischlinge and Jews, the Naval Intelligence figures from 1944 show that the net reproduction rate from 1880 to 1929 (with a few gaps) would have produced at least 92,000 children. See Germany, vol. 3, Economic Geography, p. 73.


42. Hitler, Mein Kampf, p. 562.

43. Ruppin, Modern World, p. 4. Ruppin even traveled to Germany during the Third Reich and talked with the Nazi race theoretician, Dr. Hans Günther (Friedländer, p. 64), where apparently he collected some of the data he used to write his above-mentioned book.

44. BA-MA, BMRS, File Ernst Prager, S. Prager to Rigg, 05.07.2001. See also Kaplan, p. 78.

45. Yahil, p. 82; Schleunes, pp. 193–94.

46. When Prussia regained its autonomy in 1812 from Napoleon, it emancipated the Jews under the leadership of Hardenberg and Stein. However, this did not mean that Jews enjoyed equal rights. Although they received more rights than before, they were still excluded from some professions and had difficulty becoming officers in the armed forces. The partial emancipation of 1812 was rescinded after the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Unconverted Jews could not hold elective office and by law could not become officers according to the 1812 law. See Vital, p. 62.

47. In 1871, Bismarck followed in the footsteps of Hardenberg and Stein, and emancipated the Jews in all of the newly unified German Reich (Gay p. 161). However, this emancipation was still imperfect (e.g., baptized Jews could not be judges). Only with the Weimar Republic would full civil and political rights be granted to the Jews. See Kaplan, p. 67.

48. Most of these six hundred thousand “declared themselves Jews and viewed themselves as a religious minority.” Benz, p. 14. Had the people who declared themselves Christians who were of Jewish descent been included, this number would have been significantly larger.

49. Hilberg, p. 115.

50. IfZ, N 71–73, Die Juden und jüdischen Mischlinge im Deutschen Reich, Vorläufiges Ergebnis der Volkszählung vom 17.05.1939.


52. Anschluß means “annexation.”


54. According to his figures, E. H. Buschbeck estimates that there were 300,000 people of Jewish descent in addition to the 190,000 adherents of the Jewish faith in Austria in 1938. E. H. Buschbeck, Austria (London, 1949), pp. 16, 149. Barkai puts the number of Mischlinge in Austria at 24,400, which is very low looking at the data on birthrates (German-Jewish History in Modern Times, vol. 4, Barkai, p. 252) (see also table 2). Blau puts the Mischling figures for Austria at 16,938 half-Jews and 7,391 quarter-Jews in 1939 (Blau, “Die Christen jüdischer,” p. 273). Many of the Austrian Mischlinge documented in this study were filed as Mischlinge only when they were discharged from the Wehrmacht in 1940.


56. The Protectorate was the Czech lands of Bohemia and Moravia.

57. Hilberg, p. 268, n. 43. See also Picker, ed., Hitlers Tischgespräche im, n. 16; Adler, Der Verwaltete Mensch, p. 281.

58. Present-day Gdansk in Poland.

59. Known also as Elsass and Lothringen in Germany. These provinces had a long history of being under different sovereigns and countries.


61. For example, this study has documented eleven Mischlinge from Czechoslovakia, six from Danzig, and six from Alsace-Lorraine who served in the Wehrmacht.


64. In 1806, when Napoleon took over German lands, he gave Jews living there equal rights and ordered them to take on last names. See Gay, pp. 125–27.

65. BA-MA, 15.09/52, Bl. 47, pp. 9–10.

66. Yahil, p. 73.


68. Lösener, p. 269.


71. Cohn, Jewish Life, pp. 327, 330.
72. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 183, Bl. 83–84.
73. Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens. In 1893, some German Jews banded together to fight for their rights “in the face of anti-Semitic attacks.” Kaplan, p. 13.
74. BA-B, R 15.09/36, Bl. 28; BA-B, R 18/520; Lösener, p. 300. Ursula Büttner recognizes this problem and believes that the number of quarter-Jews the Nazis gave in their census of 1939 should have been larger because some quarter-Jews were able to conceal their ancestry. Büttner, “Persecution,” p. 271.
75. Some people have suggested that many Mischlinge may have emigrated. Although this study has documented a few who did emigrate during the 1930s (see BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Schmitt), the vast majority of Mischlinge remained in Germany.
77. Lösener, p. 282; Adler, Der Verwaltete Mensch, p. 281. Theilhaber had already encountered some of the problems the Nazis now faced when recording statistics about German-Jewish assimilation. He admitted the numbers he compiled were smaller than in reality because people moved, did not report their new faith, or had never officially changed their religion. Theilhaber, Der Untergang, pp. 95–96.
78. From this study’s data collected, half of the half-Jews were still serving in the Wehrmacht one year after this decree.
79. A field marshal is the U.S. equivalent of a five-star general (general of the army).
80. This study has done its best to record the accurate rank and Nazi “racial percentage” of every soldier, but because of the uncertainty of some of the data, there may be a few discrepancies whether one was “50 percent” or “25 percent Jewish.”
81. Actually, according to Dr. Monnie McGee, for every one hundred babies, an average of 49 percent of them are female. Consequently, the number of possible Mischling Wehrmacht personnel would be slightly higher. For the sake of simplicity, however, the numbers have been split evenly.
82. This study has documented a couple of female Mischlinge who served in the Wehrmacht, but their number remains unknown. For example, quarter-Jew Bettina Fehr worked in a munitions factory in Dippach bei Berka. She was employed by the armed forces and worked for a captain. Her station was 12 Hülsenkart. D.I.F.H.18. (BA-MA, BMRS, File Bettina Fehr, Bl. 3–5). The total number of female Mischling Wehrmacht personnel was probably around a few hundred, but this study has found no documentation to help give a clear picture about this facet of the history.
83. Oberkommando des Heeres.
84. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Wolters. See also Krüger, p. 75, n. 30.
86. Since Austria was united with Germany during Hitler’s rule, the history of Jews in the Austrian armies is also included. Also, before Bismarck united all the German states in 1871 as the Deutsches Reich (German Empire), there were separate states (e.g., Prussia, Bavaria). As a result, these states will be named as they were, but readers must keep in mind that also under Hitler, all these states were united as Germany.

89. Walle, pp. 75, 86, n. 85a, in *Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten, 1914–1945*.
90. Schmidl, p. 97.
91. *Schutzjuden* were “protected Jews” during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They paid a yearly tax to live and trade in a particular town or city. Some became court Jews, but the majority remained *Schutzjuden*.
98. The Jewish population in Prussia at the time was 123,938.
100. Vogel, p. 29.
101. Wachtmeister is the U.S. equivalent of a staff sergeant.
102. Vogel, p. 51.
104. Pour le Mérite is the U.S. equivalent of the Medal of Honor. It was created in 1740 by Frederick the Great. During World War I, it was associated with German fighter-aces. The British gave the medal the popular name “Blue Max,” which referred to the color of the medal and to Max Immelmann, the first German ace to receive the award. By 1918, a soldier had to have shot down eight planes to receive this medal. Until 1918, this was the highest medal given for bravery for the German armed forces.
105. Vogel, pp. 31, 52; Gidal, p. 146.
106. The painting is called *The Return of the Jewish Volunteer from the Wars of Liberation to His Family Still Living in Accord with Old Customs*. It was painted between 1833 and 1834.
110. Vogel, p. 32.
113. Prussian aristocrat who owned land.
118. Martin, p. 59.


121. Grunwald, p. 178; Berkley, p. 32; Schmidl, p. 112. If the number of Jews is included from Hungary, the total was 36,200.

122. Grunwald, p. 179.

123. Osborne, p. 72. See also BA-MA, BMRS File Klaus Florey. Florey’s grandfather, Franz Pick, born in 1863 in Theresienstadt, was a reserve officer in an exclusive Austrian cavalry regiment. He was already an officer when he converted to Christianity in 1894.


125. Jakob Wilhelm Mossner was baptized on 16 April 1836.


127. Vogel, p. 34; Messerschmidt, in *Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten*, p. 116.


129. In the English-speaking world, this war has been called the Franco-Prussian War, but in Germany it is called the German-French War (*Deutsch-französischer Krieg*). Although Prussia’s government and military conducted the war, all the German states, except Hannover and Kurhessen, participated in the conflict.

130. Messerschmidt, in *Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten*, p. 116; Vogel, pp. 35–37; Mili-


132. Yom Kippur is the Jewish holiday called the “Day of Atonement.” On this day, those who observe it fast all day and ask forgiveness for all their sins committed during the past year.

133. Gidal, p. 231.


135. Vogel, p. 25.

136. Herwig, p. 43.


138. Demeter, pp. 224–25; Vogel, p. 43. See also Kitchen, *German Officer Corps*, pp. 40–44.


140. Messerschmidt, in *Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten*, p. 116; Vogel, p. 38; Bering, p. 28; Angress, p. 33, n. 57.

141. Berkley, p. 38.
143. The Jews were underrepresented among active officers, but overrepresented among reserve officers. The Jews represented 18.3 percent of the reserve officer corps in 1900. Deák, p. 133. During this time, it was still difficult for Jews to get augmented and become active officers in the Austro-Hungarian armed forces. See Schmidl, pp. 183–89.
144. Berkley, p. 38.
145. Vogel, pp. 22–23. During this time, being a *Mischling* was not even an issue in the armed forces. For example, the commander and chief of the military mission in Turkey who masterminded the Allied defeat at Gallipoli in 1916, General Otto Liman von Sanders (1855–1929), was a half-Jew. He was not alone during World War I. Admiral Felix von Bendemann, a half-Jew, was the commanding officer of the navy station on the North Sea, and General Johannes von Hahn, a quarter-Jew, commanded the Thirty-fifth Infantry Division in 1914. Engelmann, pp. 208–9; Martin, p. 59.
146. Herwig, p. 95.
147. Kitchen, p. 43; Max J. Loewenthal, Das jüdische Bekenntnis als Hindernisgrund bei der Beförderung zum preussischen Reserveoffizier (Berlin, 1911), p. 31.
149. Vogel, p. 40; Angress, p. 34.
151. Vogel, p. 70.
152. Adler, *Jews in Germany*, p. 117.
158. Ibid., p. 114.
159. Vogel, p. 75.
160. Ibid.
161. Ibid.
162. Beckhardt probably displayed this symbol because he was a patriotic German and believed the swastika to exemplify his German loyalty, not because he had anti-Semitic tendencies. Only when the Nazis took over power in Germany in 1933 did this symbol universally become equated with anti-Semitism. However, many anti-Semitic associations had used the swastika long before 1933 to symbolize their belief in German superiority.
163. Felix A. Thellhaber, Juedische Flieger im Weltkrieg (Berlin, 1924), p. 49.
164. Vogel, p. 9.
165. He was responsible for developing ammonia synthesis (method of manufacturing synthetic ammonia gas), which made Germany independent from outside sources in making fertilizers and high explosives. Without his inventions, some claim, the war would not have lasted as long as it did.
166. Walle, in Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten, 1914–1945, p. 50; Jacob R. Marcus, The Rise and Destiny of the German Jew (Cincinnati, 1934), p. 82; Goerlitz, pp. 169–70; Fritz Klein, Verlorene Größe (München, 1996), pp. 216, 241; Vital, p. 649. Fritz Haber was a reserve NCO when World War I started. He also was a member of the Volunteer Automobile Service, which was made up of wealthy individuals who put themselves and their automobiles at the service of the army. After a few weeks of the war, he was given a commission as an active duty captain. This was a very high honor. Bismarck was made a reserve major for his role in creating the German Empire. When the Nazis came into power, Haber fled to Switzerland. He would die there as a refugee.
171. Osborne, p. 71.
173. Deák, p. 196. Some of the Jewish generals remained Jewish while others had converted to Christianity.

174. Until 1918, the Austro-Hungarian Empire awarded the Gold Medals for bravery (goldene Tapferkeitsmedaille) to NCOs during times of war. In 1917, it was also awarded to officers.


176. Schmidl, p. 130.

177. Data gathered from statistical sheets compiled by Walter Pagler, director of Oder Shalom of the Central Jewish graveyard in Vienna.

178. Schmidl, p. 130.

179. BA-B, R 21 (76)/874, Bl. 284–85.


181. Adler, Jews in Germany, p. 114.

182. Gay, p. 221.

183. During World War I, those Germans serving in the Bavarian, Württemberg, and Saxony army swore an oath to their Landesherren (kings). Those from Baden swore an oath to the Groß Herzog (grand duke) from Baden. Those men from Prussia swore an oath to King Wilhelm II, who was also the German kaiser (emperor). However, those in the navy (Kaiserliche Marine) and the colonial troops (Kaiserliche Schutztruppe) swore an oath only to the emperor, even though they may have come from Bavaria or Baden or other states. See also Cecil, Ballin, p. 102; Michael Balfour, The Kaiser and His Times (Cambridge, 1964), p. 386; Lamar Cecil, Wilhelm II: Prince and Emperor, 1859–1900 (Chapel Hill, 1989), pp. 141–42, 226; John C. G. Röhl, The Kaiser and His Court: Wilhelm II and the Government of Germany (New York, 1994), pp. 190–212.

184. Vogel, p. 46.

185. Prussian war minister, Adolf Wild von Hohenborn, ordered on 11 October 1916 that all military commands conduct a census of Jews serving in the armed forces on active duty, those not drafted yet, and those found temporarily or permanently unfit for active service. The intent behind the order was to find out whether their participation in battle was commensurate with their numbers in society. This decree showed that the long tradition of anti-Semitism within the Prussian army, especially within the officer corps, was still very real. Hoffmann in State, Society, and Mobilization, p. 98.


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

1. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hugo Fuchs, 08.07.1995, T-159.
5. BA-MA, N 656/27, Hindenburg an Hitler, 04.04.1933, Bl. 10–17; Schleunes, p. 95. For an example of the type of letters Hindenburg received, see Friedländer, p. 16.
6. BA-MA, N 656/27, Hitler an Hindenburg, 05.04.1933, Bl. 10–17; Schleunes, p. 96. It is the author’s opinion that Hitler was lying to Hindenburg about the law already being prepared to appease Hindenburg.
11. Hans Umbreit in Das Deutsche Reich und der zweite Weltkrieg. vol. 5/1, p. 283. Umbreit wrote, “Nach den im Reich ab 1933 angewandten Kriterien war jeder ein Jude, der mindestens einen Eltern- oder Großelternteil jüdischen Glaubens besaß.”; Friedländer, p. 27. Saul Friedländer wrote, “The first of them [April 1933 laws]—the most fundamental one because of its definition of the Jew—was the April 7 Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service.” This study concurs with Kershaw when he writes that in the Aryan Paragraph, “there was no definition of a Jew.” Kershaw, Hitler, 1889–1936, p. 474.
14. According to Ascher’s grandson, Peter Gaupp, Sammy Ascher was an Oberstabsarzt (equivalent to an army major) during World War I.
15. Although the Arierparagraph only addressed civil servants in its legal language, several Jews, regardless of their professions, were forced to retire or leave their work. This was especially the case with those doctors who worked in hospitals.
16. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Peter Gaupp, 17.01.1995, T-87. Tragically, Dr. Ascher felt so patriotically committed to Germany that when war fever was high in 1938, he declared to his family that he would have to serve again if his country called on him. His family laughed at him, but he was serious. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Ursula Gaupp, 08.07.1995, T-158. Ascher was not alone in his desire to serve Germany once again. Half-Jew Gert Beschütz’s father, Max, reported to the army in 1938, was rejected, and a few weeks later was sent to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. BA-MA, BMRS, File Beschütz, Bl. 3.

20. Friedländer, p. 70.
21. BA-B, R 43 II/418a. As translated in Noakes, p. 298. See also Friedländer, p. 119.
25. Corum, *Luftwaffe*, p. 145; Frei, *National Socialist Rule*, pp. 50, 74; Seaton, *German Army*, p. 104. Although Germany was rearming at an alarming rate, it still had a long way to go. Hitler had originally planned to start war in 1943 or thereafter, but starting the war in 1939 as he did, the Kriegsmarine was still weak compared with Britain, the Luftwaffe was still growing and developing long-range bombers, and the army, besides the Panzer divisions, was still largely a “foot-slogging infantry” dependent on horses and panje wagons.
28. BA-MA, BMRS, File Ernst Prager, Bl. 29.
29. BA-MA, N 656/27, Hitler an Hindenburg, 05.04.1933, Bl. 15. Hitler had cynically written in his second book that if an officer’s rank could be bought, then such a profession would be “comprehensible” to the Jews. Hitler, *Hitler’s Secret Book*, p. 26.
altered his diary after the war. As Jeremy Noakes writes, “[T]his is not in fact a diary but more like a memoir” (Noakes, “Development of Nazi Policy,” p. 333, n. 133). However, there is no reason to doubt the events surrounding the Mischlinge described in Engel’s diary even if he had added them after the war. Documents in the archives and this study support Engel’s activities regarding Mischlinge.


33. Ibid., Pressestelle des Reichsbundes der Höheren Beamten an Reichswehrministerium, 17.01.1934.


36. Matthew Cooper, German Army (New York, 1978), p. 28; Seaton, German Army, p. 44.


38. Hoheitsabzeichen.


40. Kershaw, Hitler, 1889–1936, p. 504. See also O’Neill, p. 38; Craig, Politics of the Prussian Army, p. 476.


44. BA-MA, BMRS, general impression gained from data collected for this study; Absolon, Wehrgesetz und Wehrdienst, p. 117, n. 20.

45. Messerschmidt, pp. 45–46. See also Absolon, Wehrgesetz und Wehrdienst, p. 117, n. 20.


47. The commander was Captain von Schrader. He explained to Lebram that the Arierparagraph was necessary for the Reichswehr. BA-MA, N 656/2, Bl. 24.

48. BA-MA, N 656/2, Bl. 9.


50. BA-MA, N 656/2, Bl. 12.

51. BA-MA, N 656/2, Raeder an Lebram, 19.04.1934, Bl. 8.
Interestingly, as the *Bismarck* was in its death throes, Lütjens sent a radiogram to Hitler praising the Führer and the war. Perhaps Lütjens did so because he firmly believed in Hitler, or perhaps he was scared for his *Mischling* wife and children and wanted to ensure their protection by displaying his devotion. It was probably a mixture of both. Burkard Frhr. von Müllenhoff-Rechberg, *Schlachtschiff Bismarck, 1940–1941* (Berlin, 1980), pp. 168–69; Jörg Duppler, ed., *Germania auf dem Meere* (Hamburg, 1998), p. 127.

53. BA-MA, N 656/2, Bl. 12; BA-MA, BMRS, File Admiral Conrad Patzig, Bl. 62.

54. BA-MA, N 656/2, Bl. 12–13.

55. Ibid., Dok., Kommando der Marinestation der Ostsee an Oberleutnant z. S. Lebram, 08.05.1934.

56. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Dietrich Beelitz 16.11.1997, T-401; BA-MA, N 656. Lebram disputes the fact that his brother committed suicide. Nonetheless, from eyewitnesses’ testimonies and reports, it appears that Lebram’s brother, Walter, killed himself. Walter Lebram, a pilot in the army air force, flew his plane into the ground.

57. Charles S. Thomas, *The German Navy in the Nazi Era* (London, 1990), pp. 86–87, 238; BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans-Georg von Friedeburg; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Ludwig von Friedeburg, 01.12.1997, T-415. Perhaps Raeder helped General Admiral Hans Georg von Friedeburg or perhaps it was Himmler, with whom Friedeburg was on good terms. Friedeburg remained at his post throughout the entire war without any problems. He and General Jodl signed the formal surrender documents at General Dwight D. Eisenhower’s headquarters in May of 1945. Friedeburg’s grandmother was Adelheid Kuh, a half-Jew, perhaps a full Jew. Information gained from the *Mitteilung des Instituts für Personengeschichtliche Forschung*, Bensheim, Germany, and from Baron Niklas Schrenck von Notzing at his personal archive dedicated to genealogies of the German aristocracy in Charlottesville, Virginia. The founder of this Institut in Bensheim was Wilfried Euler, who was a “Mischling expert” during the Third Reich. He worked in the Reichsinstitut für Geschichte des Neuen Deutschland (Reich Institute for the History of the New Germany). He worked closely with Achim Gercke. His sources need to be used with caution. Thanks to Dr. Patricia von Papen-Bodek for this information.
not been proven or disproven that both her parents were Jews according to the Nazi racial laws.


61. BA-MA, BMRS, File Klaus von Schmeling-Diringshofen, Bl. 5–6.

62. Much speculation has surrounded Manstein’s possible Jewish ancestry. The fact that he was born von Lewinski and adopted by the von Mansteins has led some to believe that he descended from Jews. They state that Lewinski could be a variant of Levy with a Polish patronymic suffix. However, only one source has surfaced during this study that might lead one to believe that Manstein had Jewish ancestry. In a December 1994 interview, his adjutant, Alexander Stahlberg, who has Jewish ancestry himself, stated that Manstein claimed that the Lewinskis were Jews. Nonetheless, Stahlberg could not provide any documents to prove that this conversation had taken place or that Manstein in fact had Jewish ancestors. Manstein’s son, Rüdiger, claimed that his family could possibly have Jews in their past, but that there is no evidence to prove it either way. The SS investigated Manstein’s (they actually called him Lewinski) ancestry in April 1944, after his dismissal. However, the file is incomplete, and it remains unknown what the SS discovered. Alexander Stahlberg, *Die verdammte Pflicht* (Berlin, 1987); BA-MA, BMRS, interview Alexander Stahlberg, 3–4.12.1994, T-68; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Rüdiger von Manstein, 17.11.1994, T-54; BA-B, NS 19/2177.

63. Military district.

64. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Knigge.


66. BA-MA, BMRS, File Schmeling-Diringshofen, Bl. 5–6; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Knigge.

67. Retired (1926) Generaloberst Hans von Seeckt (1866–1936) was the chief of the army leadership (*Chef der Heeresleitung*) of the Reichswehr from 1920 to 1926. Later, he was an important military adviser to Chiang Kai-shek from 1934 to 1935, and some believe that he also helped non-Aryan soldiers get appointments to China. Interestingly, Seeckt’s wife, Frau Dorothee von Seeckt née Fabian, was adopted by Jews. It is unclear whether she herself was Jewish, although most assume that this was the case. See Martin, p. 60; Snyder, p. 319.

68. O’Neill, p. 76; Cooper, *German Army*, p. 46; Friedländer, pp. 117–18; Wistrich, p. 14; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Knigge.

69. General Hans Oster and Colonel von Mellentin also helped Borchardt to get to China. BA-MA, BMRS, File Robert Borchardt, Bl. 22–31; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Elisabeth Borchardt, 18.02.1993, T-101; Vogel, pp. 305–6. Borchardt was later posted with the Sonderverband (Special Unit) 288 in Africa under Rommel. He commanded the Fifth Panzerjäger Company. He had been one of the few German officers who had been trained with mechanized units during the Weimar Republic. He was later taken prisoner by the British and survived the war in POW camps in England and Canada.

71. This phrase should not be confused with the way the Nazis used it to depict agrarian romanticism (after Walter Darré, “the Blut und Boden guru” [Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, p. 374]). His friends nicknamed Schmeling-Diringshofen this before the Nazis were in power because of his love of the land and of hunting.

72. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Beelitz.

73. In 1938, as Germany was strengthening its alliance with Japan, Hitler decided that Germany “dismantle all the links” with China. See Wilhelm Keitel, *The Memoirs of Field-Marshal Keitel*, ed. Walter Görlich (London, 1961), p. 41. It was probably at that time that most *Mischling* soldiers in China returned to Germany. On their returns, Hitler granted most of them clemency. BA-MA, BMRS, File Robert Borchardt, “Vorlesung von Robert Borchardt.”

74. Löwenstein had “perfected the technique of sound measurement which made possible more accurate and effective artillery fire” during World War I. Marcus, p. 82. From 2 February 1942 until 1 April 1943, the Nazis made him perform forced labor. On 1 July 1943, the Nazis deported him and his wife to Theresienstadt. They both would survive the Holocaust. He died in 1956 while vacationing in Israel, where he was also buried. Walle, in *Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten, 1914–1945*, p. 32.

75. Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten (RjF). This organization had thirty thousand members. Walle, in *Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten, 1914–1945*, p. 32.

76. BA-MA, RW 6/73, Löwenstein (Reichsbund Jüdischer Frontsoldaten) an Hindenburg, 23.03.1934.

77. Ibid., Löwenstein an Abteilungsleiter im Reichswehrministerium, 24.03.1934.

78. Bundeswehr is the armed forces of the Federal Republic of Germany founded in 1955.


80. Cooper, *German Army*, p. 29; Breithaupt, pp. 123–27.


82. Breithaupt, p. 124.

83. Ibid., p. 124.


86. Breithaupt, p. 123.


93. See Overy, pp. 15–17.

94. Speer, p. 291.

95. Yahil, pp. 59–60; Carl Hans Hermann, Deutsche Militärgeschichte (Frankfurt, 1966), pp. 452–53, 456; Kershaw, ProFiles in Power, pp. 72–73; Georg Franz-Willing, Die Reichskanzlei, 1933–1945 (Tübingen, 1984), p. 54. Although the SA continued to exist as an organization, it never exercised any real power during the Third Reich.

96. Kershaw, Profiles in Power, pp. 72–74. See also O’Neill, p. 50.

97. O’Neill, p. 54; Craig, Prussian Army, p. 479; Megargee, p. 29.

98. Kershaw, Hitler, 1889–1936, p. 437. See also Redlich, p. 100.

99. Kershaw writes that Reichenau was “one of the most thoroughly naziﬁed generals.” Kershaw, Hitler, 1936–1945, p. 70.

100. Nicolaus von Below, Als Hitler’s Adjutant, 1937–1945 (Mainz, 1980), pp. 72–73; Megargee, p. 27.

101. O’Neill, p. 54; Cooper, German Army, p. 30; Kershaw, Hitler, 1889–1936, pp. 324–25; Wistrich, p. 19; Messerschmidt, p. 51; Megargee, p. 29.

102. Cooper, German Army, p. 30; Franz-Willing, p. 61; Messerschmidt, p. 51.

103. Craig, Prussian Army, pp. xviii, 363; Messerschmidt, p. 32; Goerlitz, p. 55.


105. Goerlitz, p. 290; Kershaw, Hitler, 1889–1936, p. 325; O’Neill, p. 33; Seaton, German Army, p. 53; Messerschmidt, p. 52; Megargee, p. 29.

106. BA-MA, BMRS, File Walter Falk, Bl. 4. Falk would later be promoted to Gefreiter.


108. Fest, Face, p. 144.

110. Hoßbach, pp. 10–12; O’Neill, p. 58; Seaton, *German Army*, p. 52.
115. RGBl., I, 1935, Nr. 28, p. 375 (Gesetz für den Aufbau der Wehrmacht) bzw. Nr. 52, p. 602 ff. v. 22.05.1935 (Wehrgesetz v. 21.05.1935).
117. Friedländer, p. 115. By 1939, the army would be fifty-two active divisions strong. Craig, *Prussian Army*, p. 482.
118. BA-MA, BMRS, data collected throughout this study; Absolon, *Wehrgesetz* und *Wehrdienst*, pp. 117–18.
120. BA-MA, BMRS, File Wolfgang Lauinger, Bl. 23; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Lüderitz.
121. For a discussion of the total number of eligible Mischlinge for military service, see chapter 3 on assimilation.
122. Friedländer, p. 144.
123. BA-B, R 43 II/1273, Akten betreffend Wehrgesetz, Bl. 112, Löwenstein an Lammers, 23.03.1935.
124. Ibid., Akten betreffend Wehrgesetz, Bl. 116–18, Löwenstein an Hitler, 05.10.1935.
127. Schleunes, p. 117.
128. Oberkommando der Wehrmacht, the armed forces high command.
129. *Sonderrecht für den Juden im NS-Staat*, p. 318, Gesetz von 04.03.1940. Between 1940 and 1942, over thirty Jews tried to obtain special permission to enter the Wehrmacht. All were rejected. BA-B, DZA, Bl. 29. See also Klemperer, *Buch II*, 05.07.1942, p. 137.
131. O’Neill, p. 76.
133. O’Neill, p. 77; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 564; Messerschmidt, p. 76; Vogel, p. 239.
135. BA-MA, BMRS, general impression gained from this study; Vogel, p. 230. One could not become an officer, marry, and so on, without showing his *Abstammungsnachweis* (certificate of descent). Sometimes it was called
Ariernachweis (certificate of Aryanhood). In addition, one had an Abnenpaß (ancestral passport), which was a small booklet with the certificate of descent and a detailed family tree. This document replaced previously required birth, baptismal, and marriage certificates. After the Nuremberg Laws, every German had to show he or she was an Aryan. A document without any gaps was requirement for full citizenship rights. Ironically, since Hitler could not prove who his grandfather was, he could not fulfill this law he had sanctioned for Germany. See chapters 7 and 8 on exemptions.

136. BA-MA, BMRS, File Richard Cohn, Bl. 7, Arierte Erklärung, 09.02.1939.
137. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans-Joachim Körner, Beglaubigte Abschrift, 26.11.1934, Bl. 2-3, 4-6, Körner an Generalstaatsanwalt bei dem Kammergericht. Körner lost fifteen relatives in the concentration camps. Throughout 1942, it looked like the Gau- and Kreisleitungen found many Mischling soldiers and were reporting them to the proper authorities. Heeresadjutant bei Hitler, p. 122.

138. BA-MA, W 01–6/335, Kröner an Wehrmachtamt, 13.06.1941.
139. BA-MA, BMRS, File Edgar Jacoby; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Frau Jacoby, 11.01.1994, T-45; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Frau Edgar Jacoby, 19.11.1996, T-243; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Barbara Jacoby, 17.11.1994, T-52; BA-MA, W 01–6/359. Remarkably, Jacoby was later released and survived the war after marrying his brave Aryan wife (Marianne née Günther) refused to divorce him. Käthe Himmelheber was later sent to Theresienstadt. She would survive the war.

140. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Rolf von Sydow; BA-MA, BMRS, File Rolf von Sydow.
141. BA-MA, BMRS, File Rolf von Sydow, Bl. 44, Sydow an seine Eltern, 15.01.1944.
142. Ibid., Sydow an seine Eltern, 22.03.1944, Bl. 35–36.
143. Obergefreiter was an acting corporal.
144. Colonel Seegers, in the Army Personnel Office P2 (Department for Personnel Matters of High-Ranking Officers and Education and Welfare), seemed to help several Mischlinge present their cases to the authorities. He probably worked closely with Major Klug (P2 Gruppe I: Deutschblütigkeit, Heirat) and Major Werneyer (P2 Gruppe I-1c: Deutschblütigkeit) on these cases. Wolf Keilig, Das Deutsche Heer, 1939–1945: Gliederung, Einsatz, Stellensbesetzung (Bad Nauheim, 1956), p. 7. See also BA-MA, Pers 6/10246 or BA-A, Pers 14492 to read how Seegers went about helping a Mischling. See also Der Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem Internationalen Militärgerichtshof, Nürnberg 14. November 1945–1. Oktober 1946, Nürnberg, 1948, p. 421.

146. DDS, Pers Marine-Oberbaurat Franz Mendelssohn; BA-MA, BMRS, File Franz Mendelssohn, Abschrift des Stammbaums von Moses Mendelssohn von

Nacht. Tr. U. Pion. Fricke was in charge of this section from 15.11.1942 until 01.10.1944. Keilig, p. 6.

Amtsgruppen.

Department for Personnel Matters of Officers and Their Offspring (not including General Staff Officers). Keilig, p. 1.


He registered himself as gottgläubig (a believer in God) but without any particular confession (konfessionslos).


BA-MA, BMRS, interview Rabbi Chaskel Besser, 15.01.1995, T-86.


Hertz, p. 28. Observant Jews do not allow non-Jews to be buried in Jewish cemeteries.

A literal translation of Judenbengel is "Jewish rascal" or "rogue."


See Bracher, p. 197.

BA-MA, RH 13–7/468, Bl. 8, Wehrmachtsamt/Keitel an V.A. (V1), 09.01.1936; BA-MA, RW 6/73.

BA-MA, RH 53–7/468, Bl. 9, Generalkommando VII. Armeekorps an Chef des Heerespersonalamts.

Der deutsche Verwaltungsbeamte, 17.10.1937; See also Friedländer, p. 32; Gellately, Gestapo and German Society, pp. 152–58.


Löser, p. 273; Bracher, p. 253.

171. Yahil, p. 43.


176. Hitler, Mein Kampf, p. 150.

177. Lösener, p. 281.


180. BA-B, 15.09/52, Bl. 46–48. The Nazis used Mendel’s name as a verb to describe genetic expression between mixed breeds. Johann Gregor Mendel (1822–1884) was an Austrian monk and was the first scientist to formulate the principles of heredity. Encyclopedia Americana, vol. 18 (Danbury, 1984), p. 686.


182. IfZ, N-71–73, Diktat Stuckart im Verbindungsstab am 06.11.1935.


184. Lösener, p. 278.


187. BA-B, R 18/5514, Bl. 29, Schreiben Reichs- und Preußisches Ministerium des Innern Abteilung I, I. Gegenüberstellung der Fassung Dr. Wagner, 02.11.1935; Hilberg, p. 47.


193. Hilberg, p. 48; Adler, Der Verwaltete Mensch, p. 280; If a Jewish woman had a child out of wedlock and the father’s identity was not able to be determined, then the Nazis classified the child as a full Jew. See Akten-NSDAP, 107-00404.

194. Heeresadjutant bei Hitler, p. 32.

195. If a person was “three-eighths-Jewish,” he or she was most often classified as quarter-Jewish. Countless men and women documented in this study were actually 37.5 percent Jewish, and the majority were classified as quarter-Jews by the Nazis. See Akten-NSDAP, 107-00389-392. When a person was more than 37.5 percent Jewish but not 50 percent Jewish, he or she was then usually classified as a half-Jew. Likewise, when a person was more than 12.5 percent Jewish, for example, 18.75 percent Jewish, then he or she was usually classified as a quarter-Jew.


199. It seems that one reason why the term “non-Aryan” was not used in these new racial laws was to appease Nazi Germany’s allies, such as Japan, who took offense at being labeled “non-Aryans.” Pommerin, pp. 53–56, 67–69, 102–4; Yahil, p. 71.


201. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Peter Gaupp, 17.01.1995, T-87.


203. Redlich, pp. 116, 320; Bauer, pp. 104, 121, 133.


205. Ibid.


207. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hans Koref, 06.01.1996, T-189.

208. Kommentare zur Deutschen Rassengesetzgebung, p. 15. This refers to Ezra, chapter 9 in the Bible, in which the prophet Ezra ordered mixed marriages broken up and all foreign women and children of mixed descent sent away. Some people, like Stuckart, believed that Ezra was racially minded by excluding non-Jews from the nation of Israel. However, Ezra seemed more motivated by a desire to keep the Jewish faith pure. He wanted to maintain the religion. That non-Jews like Ruth and Rahab could become a part of the Jewish community proved the point that Jews were accepting non-Jews when they embraced the Jewish religion (Ezra 8–10, NIV). Nonetheless, Ezra’s policy was possibly one of religious discrimination.


212. When historians refer to the Nuremberg Laws, they usually mean both the September laws and the supplementary decree from November 1935. This study follows this convention. See Bauer, p. 102.


218. Ibid., v. Mackensen an Blomberg, 11.01.1936.

219. Wheeler-Bennett, p. 342; Dr. James Corum is of the same opinion as Wheeler-Bennett. Discussion with the author on 28 February 2001.

220. BA-MA, BMRS, general impressions gained from data collected; O’Neill, pp. 75–77.

221. DDS, Pers Franz Mendelssohn.

222. BA-A, Pers 53059 Oberst Peter Sommer, Bl. 22, Generalkommando X. Armee-corps (Wehrkreiskommando X) an OKH, 10.08.1936.

223. BA-MA, RL 14/49.


227. BA-B, R 43 II/1275, Blomberg an Lammers, 19.05.1936, Bl. 39, Blomberg an Lammers, 19.05.1936; *Akten-NSDAP, 101–22313*, Blomberg an Lammers (countersigned by Keitel); BA-B, R 43 II/1275, Bl. 39; Vogel, p. 254.


229. BA-MA, RH 53–7/627, Bl. 25; Messerschmidt, p. 75.


231. *Akten NSDAP, 101–22299*, Bl. 13; *Webregesetz, 05.03.1936; Akten-NSDAP, 101–22304*, Bl. 44, Frick an Lammers 30.03.1936; BA-B, R 43 II/1275, Bl. 39, Keitel an Lammers, 18.05.1936, Bl. 37; Walk, pp. 115–16; Vogel, pp. 254–55.

232. BA-MA, BMRS, general impression gained from the data collected; Absolon, *Wehrgesetz und Wehrdienst*, p. 118; Vogel, p. 255.

233. Hertz, pp. 48–49.
235. See chapter 3 on assimilation.
236. Kreisleiter was a district leader of the NSDAP.
237. Gauleiter was a regional leader of the NSDAP. Gauleiter was the second highest rank in the Party. The highest was the Reichsleiter. Benz, p. 90.
238. BA-MA, RH 53–7/514, Gauleitung Baden, Kreisleitung Mannheim an Wagner, 08.01.1936.
239. Ibid., Kommandierender General und Befehlshaber im Wehrkreis VII an Gauleiter der NSDAP, Gauleitung Baden, 20.03.1936.
243. The German Abwehr was the military intelligence service.
244. BA-MA, RW 6/56, Bl. 122–23.
245. Messerschmidt, pp. 75–76; O’Neill, p. 77.
247. DDS, Pers Kapitän Arnold Techel; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Techel. See also Stoltzfus, Resistance, pp. 48–49.
251. Oberschütze was a private. In practice, a Mischlinge was usually allowed to be promoted to Gefreiter.
253. Gefreiter was a private first class.
254. Klempner, Buch I, 08.01.1939, p. 456.
255. BA-MA, RH 53–7/627.
256. BA-MA, RW 19/330; Walk, p. 231.
258. BA-MA, BMRS, File Karl Henle, Harald Henle to Rigg, 17.07.2001; BA-MA, BMRS, interview August Sohn, 17.05.1996, T-204; BA-MA, BMRS, File Franz Henle, Bl. 11, Sohn an Rigg, 05.04.1995, Bl. 30, Sohn an Rigg, 05.11.1995, Bl. 20, Sohn an Rigg, 30.06.1996. Henle came from a strong military back-
ground. His father, Franz, was a captain in the Bavarian army and received the EKII for his bravery in World War I. His uncle, Ernst, was also a captain in the Bavarian army and received the EKII and EKI for his bravery in World War I. His grandfather, Carl Henle, was an active officer in the Bavarian army. He served as a first lieutenant in the Königlich Bayrischen Infanterie Leibregiment. Henle’s father, Franz, fearing the worst, committed suicide in 1944.

259. Kershaw, Hitler, 1936–1945, p. 52. There seems to be some confusion about Blomberg’s wife’s name. In Cooper’s book on the German army, it is spelled Erna Grühn (the umlaut is false). In Handbuch zur deutschen Militärgeschichte, cited earlier, she is listed as Eva, which is wrong. In the Gothaisches Genealogisches Taschenbuch der Adligen Häuser from 1939, she is cited as Elsbeth Grunow. In the Genealogisches Handbuch des Adels Bd. XVI from 1985, she is listed as Margarethe (Elsbeth) Gruhn. In this section, Kershaw’s version is used. Hitler’s Luftwaffe adjutant, Nicolaus von Below, also mentions this problem about Frau Gruhn’s name. Below, p. 62.

260. Hitler also felt embarrassed because he had been a witness at Blomberg’s wedding. As Hitler said to his adjutant Fritz Wiedemann, “If a German Field-Marshall marries a whore, anything in the world is possible.” Kershaw, Hitler, 1936–1945, pp. 52–53. See also Megargee, pp. 39–40.


264. Ibid. See also O’Neill, p. 72.


266. Ibid., p. 188.

267. BA-MA, RW 6/56, Bl. 397–415, Vortrag von Admiral Canaris bei der Ic-Besprechung im OKW am 03.03.1938, Bl. 400–402. Some have suggested that maybe Canaris said this because he knew Nazi informers would report back on his activities if they felt he did not support Hitler. Those who believe that Canaris really did not believe what he said here cite his later actions against Hitler. No one really knows what Canaris really believed about Hitler and the Third Reich.


269. BA-MA, RH 11/419, Bl. 21, OKW (Keitel) an OKH, OKM, OKL, 05.11.1938; BA-MA, RH 53–7/627, Bl. 14.

270. Vienna, according to the historian Ian Kershaw, was “one of the most virulently anti-Jewish cities in Europe.” Kershaw, Hitler, 1889–1936, p. 65. See also Friedländer, p. 241; Bauer, pp. 105–6; Evan Burr Bukey, Hitler’s Austria: Popular Sentiment in the Nazi Era (North Carolina, 2000).


273. Schmidl, p. 149.


276. BA-MA, BMRS, File Yosef Getreuer, Bl. 1, Yosef Getreuer to Rigg, 18.03.1997.

277. From now on, German means German and Austrian.

278. BA-MA, RH 15/421, Bl. 21–22, OKW-Keitel an OKH, OKM, OKL, 03.11.1938.


281. BA-MA, Wi VIII/45, 18.10.1938.

282. BA-MA, RH 39/222, Beauftragter für den Vierjahresplan—Schnellbrief an Reichsminister des Innern, Reichswirtschaftsminister, die übrigen Reichsminister, 28.12.1938. In practice, this study has found that both types of intermarriages experienced certain privileges during the Third Reich, especially when a son was in the Wehrmacht.

283. BA-MA, RH 53–7/627, Bl. 11–12, Hitler an OKH, OKM, OKL, 20.01.1939; BA-MA, RM 92/173, Bl. 141.


285. Office of the United States Chief Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, ed., *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 869; Messerschmidt, p. 78. Although it is true that people’s speech in public is often different from how they act in private, Raeder’s speech did not have to talk about the Jews as he did. He simply could have spoken about the German fallen and veterans of World War I.


293. Ahasverus, Wandering Jew (Ewiger Jude), was a medieval invention. Supposedly, this tale describes the Jew Ahasverus’s curse for jeering at Jesus on the way to his Crucifixion. Consequently, according to the myth, God cursed him with eternal wandering and an unhappy life until “death should finally redeem him at the Last Judgement.” Paul Lawrence Rose, German Question/Jewish Question: Revolutionary Anti-Semitism from Kant to Wagner (Princeton, 1990), pp. 23–24; Friedländer, pp. 196–97. The Nazis used Ewiger Jude in their anti-Semitic propaganda films and literature to show the racial inferiority of Jewry. Ahasverus should not be confused with the biblical king of Persia and Media. Trepp, pp. 158–60; Miles, pp. 357, 359–62.
294. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Mühlbacher, Bl. 52, Tagebuch, Teil V, 14.05.1941.
295. Landser was the ordinary German infantryman of World War II.
298. Not his real name.
299. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bernheim.
300. Krüger, p. 66; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Krüger.
301. BA-MA, BMRS, general impressions gained from data collected; BA-MA, BMRS, File Joachim Leidloff, Teil II, Bl. 7a, Tagebucheintragung v. 17.09.1940 und 04.10.1940.
302. Ordinary soldier (artillery).
303. BA-MA, BMRS, File Brücher, Tagebuch, Bl. 17–18.
304. BA-MA, BMRS, File Brücher, Tagebuch, Bl. 18. One night while riding his motorcycle as the battery messenger, two Polish soldiers intercepted Florey. Shocked, Florey jumped up. At that moment, one of the soldiers shoved his bayonet into Florey. Fortunately for Florey, he was able to escape and only suffered a flesh wound. Florey received the Wound Badge. BA-MA, BMRS, File Klaus Florey, Florey to Rigg, 15.07.2001.
305. BA-MA, BMRS, File Brücher, Schlike to Brücher, 21.11.1939.
306. Stabsgefreiter (administrative private first class) is the equivalent of an E-4 in the U.S. Army. It was basically a consolation prize.
308. In the case of the Günther family, Michael’s grandmother, Gertrud Hensel née Hahn, was 100 percent Jewish. Her husband, Kurt Hensel, had three Jewish grandparents, but his grandfather, Wilhelm Hensel (a famous painter), was a non-Jew. Because of this Aryan grandparent, some civil servants classified Michael and his siblings as quarter-Jews. From the data collected for this study, they should have been classified as half-Jews. This is especially the case, since they had two grandparents who were racially Jewish.
309. BA-MA, BMRS, File Konrad Schenck, Heft I, Bl. 6.
310. Günther had passed his Abitur, or high school diploma, which was a requirement to become an officer.
311. BA-MA, BMRS, File Achim von Bredow, Heft I, Bl. 34, Achim an Ada, 25.08.1942.
312. Ibid., Heft I, Bl. 34.
314. BA-MA, BMRS, general impressions gained from interviewees.
315. From 1903 until 1918, Clara von Mettenheim was married to Lieutenant Colonel Erwin Fischer. Fischer was the chief of the General Staff of the army Abteilung (an Abteilung was a formation larger than a corps but smaller than an army) under General Strantz during World War I.
317. BA-MA, BMRS, File Dieter Fischer, Heft I, Bl. 42.
318. She had to go to the Judenstelle of the Gestapo to get the large red J stamped in her identification papers and add Sara to her name as prescribed by Nazi law.
319. BA-MA, BMRS, File Dieter Fischer, Heft I, Bl. 42.
322. The General Wehrmacht Office was the Allgemeines Wehrmachtsamt (AWA).
323. BA-MA, BMRS, File Fischer, Heft I, Bl. 41, Reinecke an Clara v. Mettenheim, 16.01.1940.
324. HVBl., Nr. 131, 1940, p. 42. This order seemed to be given to most units. See BA-MA, BMRS, File Heinz Georg Heymann, “Meldung des Flak-Ersatz-Depots,” Ende Februar 1940.
325. BA-B, DZA, Bl. 200, Aktennotiz, 14.02.1940.
Chapter 5: The Policy Toward Mischlinge Tightens, 1940–1943

1. BA-MA, BMRS, File Fischer, Bl. 37. Grüber helped many converted and unconverted Jews and was eventually sent to a concentration camp for his activities. He survived the war. Bauer, p. 135.

2. Viktor Brack worked in the notorious T-4 office in the KdF that dealt with the euthanasia program. On 1 September 1939, Hitler signed a document that authorized Bouhler and Brandt in the KdF to murder those deemed unworthy to live. Brack was Bouhler’s deputy.


4. Klemperer, Buch 1, 11.08.1940, p. 346.

5. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 125–26, Blankenburg an Engel, 28.03.1940.

6. Ibid., Bl. 126, Blankenburg an Engel, 28.03.1940.


8. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 192, OKW Az. 12 i 10–20 J (Jc) Nr. 524/40; BA-MA, RH 7/v. 23; Walk, p. 319; BA-MA, RW 19/853, Bl. 1–2. According to Rolf Vogel, Jesuit priests and members of former dynastic families of Germany were also discharged. Vogel, p. 256.


11. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 26; BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 192, OKW Az. 12 i 10–20 J (Jc) Nr. 524/40; BA-MA, RH 7/v. 23. See also Lösener, p. 310.


14. BA-MA, RH 7/v. 23, OKH, Nr. 2761/40 g PA 2 (Ic), 20.04.1942; Walk, p. 320; BA-MA, BMRS, general data collected on half-Jews.

15. This in fact would happen to Bamberger. On the night of 6 June 1940, Bamberger prevented a French attack from taking out his sleeping company. His officer, Lieutenant Schmidt, praised him and told him that had he not been a Mischling, he would have mentioned his name to the regiment and awarded him a medal for his bravery. BA-MA, BMRS, File Bamberger, Bl. 30; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Heinrich Bamberger, 08.11.1994, T-49.

16. BA-MA, BMRS, File Heinrich Bamberger, Bl. 22; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bamberger.

17. BA-MA, BMRS, File Horst Geitner, Bl. 3–4, 14–15; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Horst Geitner, 38.03.1997, T-337. Tragically, as Geitner served on the front lines, his sister, uncle, and aunt were all sent to Auschwitz. They did not survive the war. After the war, Geitner entered the Bundeswehr. He served as a first lieutenant and wanted to prove to others and himself that he was worthy of the rank. Others did the same. See BA-MA, BMRS, File Rolf Vogel; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Frau Rolf Vogel, 18.03.1995, T-124.
18. BA-MA, BMRS, general impression gained from the interviewees.
20. This fact strongly contradicts the theory put out by the Wehrmachtsaustellung that all German officers were supportive of the Nazi regime and strong supporters of Hitler’s. See Heer and Reemtsma, Vernichtungskrieg.
21. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Techel.
22. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Lüderitz.
23. BA-MA, BMRS, File Gerd zu Klampen, Bl. 1; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Gerd zu Klampen, 28.10.1998, T-427. See also BA-MA, BMRS, File Meissinger, Bl. 3.
26. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Techel.
27. Schütze was an ordinary soldier.
30. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Krüger; BA-MA, BMRS, File Meissinger, Bl. 3.
32. Interestingly, one day while having an argument, a comrade called Gaupp a “Saujud (Jewish pig)” in front of many of their fellow soldiers. Gaupp reported this instance to his lieutenant, who then reported it to the captain, the company commander. The captain later met with Gaupp and asked him whether he wanted the man to make his apology privately or publicly. Gaupp asked that it be done privately. The captain then made this man do as he had promised Gaupp. Ironically, this comrade would become one of Gaupp’s best friends. As Gaupp said, “[T]he whole time is full of puzzles.” BA-MA, BMRS, interview Gaupp, 17.01.1995, T-87; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Gaupp, 27.04.1996, T-198.
33. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Gaupp, 17.01.1995, T-87; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Gaupp, 27.04.1996, T-198. According to Gaupp, the rejection letter was signed by Keitel.
34. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Christoph-Michael Salinger, 08.10.1998, T-424. Salinger takes the phrase at the end from the Bible where Jesus says, “Father, forgive them, for they do not know what they are doing.” Jesus said this about those who crucified him. Luke 23:34 NIV.
Unlike in the United States, it is quite common in Germany for organizations to write a recommendation when someone has fulfilled a certain task. Germans are obsessed with certificates.

Riess witnessed the execution of French Senegalese soldiers at the Somme River from the fourth through the eighth of June 1940.

Funker is an ordinary soldier (signal).

Over 60 percent of the half-Jews documented in this study fell after 1941.

The rations allotted to German Jews were “considerably fewer” than what was given to Aryans. Benz, p. 41. Also these ration cards were stamped with the word Jew, making it difficult for them to shop at certain stores. Kaplan, p. 151.

Jews usually had only one hour a day in which to shop for food.

Regional Party Office.

See chapters 7 and 8 on exemptions.

Over 60 percent of the half-Jews documented in this study fell after 1941.

The rations allotted to German Jews were “considerably fewer” than what was given to Aryans. Benz, p. 41. Also these ration cards were stamped with the word Jew, making it difficult for them to shop at certain stores. Kaplan, p. 151.

Kaplan, pp. 150–52. Jews usually had only one hour a day in which to shop for food.

Regional Party Office.

See also BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Sander, Teil II,

64. BA-MA, BMRS, File Christian Rosenthal, Bl. 3; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Partsch.


66. BA-MA, BMRS, File Bergmann, Heft III, Bl. 9, 02.08.1940.

67. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann.


70. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 123, 190–91, Oberst Schmundt an Reichsleiter Bouhler, 02.10.1940.

71. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 184, Blankenburg an Lösener, 18.12.1940; BA-B, R 21/448, Bl. 18.


74. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Otto Wolters. See also Krüger, pp. 94, 107.


78. Clark, p. 20. See also O’Neill, p. 135.


81. Luftgaukommando VI was the VI Luftwaffe regional office.

82. BA-MA, RL 14/49, Luftgaukommando VI, Betr.: Nachweis der deutschblütigen Abstammung und Beförderungen, 08.01.1941.

83. IfZ, N 71–73; Lösener.

85. Endlösung (Final Solution) was the cover name for the systematic extermination of European Jews under Nazi control. See Gideon Hausner, Justice in Jerusalem (New York, 1966), p. 95.


88. Walter Groß, Die rassenpolitischen Voraussetzungen zur Lösung der Judenfrage (München, 1943), pp. 28–32; Uwe Adam, Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich (Düsseldorf, 1972), pp. 319–20; Adler, Der Verwaltete Mensch, p. 282.


90. IfZ, N 71–73, Aufzeichnung Dr. Lösener, 04.12.1941.

91. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 180 Lammers an Reichsminister des Innern, 04.03.1941; Walk, p. 336.

92. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Maria-Anna van Menxel, 22.04.1995, T-150.


94. Büttner, p. 287.

95. A translation of Arisierung is “Aryanization.” It seems this term for a Befreiung (exemption) happened most often between 1935 and 1938. See BA-MA, BMRS, File Ludwig Ganghofer. This term of Arisierung should not be confused with the other Aryanization the Nazis conducted, which forced Jewish business owners to sell their property to Aryans or forced Aryan businesses to rid themselves of any Jewish employees. See Hilberg, pp. 60–90.


97. Yahil, p. 250; Dallin, p. 36, n. 2.

98. Seaton, German Army, pp. 129, 161, 200.


100. The first sergeant was the Kompaniefeldwebel; among the soldiers he was known as the “Spieß”—a popular slang word for “sarge.”


103. BA-MA, N 656/27, Bl.2, Hans Dieter Henning an Lebram, 30.06.1977; BA-MA, N 379/87, speech from Vice Admiral Ruge, 11.11.60; BA-MA, File Bernhard Rogge, Heft III, Bl. 69; Raeder, p. 111.

104. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Horst von Oppenfeld, 05.01.1995, T-84; Klempener, Buch II, p. 212; BA-MA, BMRS, File Heinz Schlieper, Bl. 9; BA-MA, BMRS,

According to Oppenfeld, the only time he had to concern himself with his ancestry was in 1938 when someone, probably in the Party, denounced him. He was required to go to a Wehrkreis officer in Stettin to examine his ancestry. When the official, a veteran of World War I, saw that his father and three uncles were World War I veterans and that two of them had died in action, the official said something like "Unsinn (nonsense)," closed his file, and dismissed him. Oppenfeld never heard about his ancestry again. He probably remained an officer either because he continued to fall under the Hindenburg exemptions of the Arierparagraph or because someone was protecting him. According to Manstein’s adjutant, Alexander Stahlberg, Stauffenberg was responsible for helping Oppenfeld. Also, Oppenfeld’s father, Rittmeister (captain in the cavalry) Moritz von Oppenfeld, was the adviser for agriculture and food security attached to headquarters staff of Hindenburg and Ludendorff during World War I. Oppenfeld feels that his father’s service under Hindenburg must have helped him tremendously.

Meyer, p. 236.
Wallach, p. 282.

BA-MA, BMRS, interview Riess.

Meissinger worked for NASA after the war.

German Research Institute for Aviation.

Krüger, pp. 81–83.

Ersatzreserve II or Landwehr II. See BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 155, Blankenburg an Engel, 23.05.1942; BA-MA, RH 7/23.
119. BA-MA, BMRS, from the data collected on half-Jews. See Absolon, Wilhelm, and Wehrdienst, pp. 118–19; Sammlung wehrrechtlicher Gutachten und Vorschriften, Heft 20/21, p. 174; Sammlung wehrrechtlicher Gutachten und Vorschriften, Heft 4, p. 73; Vogel, p. 257.

120. Absent without leave.

121. Lang, “Writing Holocaust,” in Holocaust Remembrance. See also Vuletic, p. 33.

122. The Holocaust: 2. Legalizing the Holocaust—The Later Phase, 1939–1943, introduction by John Mendelsohn (New York, 1982), Bl. 249; Pfundtner an Stellvertreter des Führers, 07.05.1941. Apparently the Nuremberg Laws from 1935, which prohibited sexual relations between half-Jews and Aryans, were not being followed.

123. Hilberg, p. 262; Peterson, p. 30.

124. The SD (Sicherheitsdienst) was the security and intelligence service of the SS.

125. Yahil, p. 249; Seaton, German Army, p. 169; Jürgen Förster, “Operation Barbarossa as a War of Conquest and Annihilation,” in Germany and the Second World War, vol. 4, p. 491; Browning, Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers, German Killers, p. 3.


129. Barbarossa (“Red Beard”) was the code name for the German attack on the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941. This battle plan was named after Frederick I (von Staufen) or Frederick Barbarossa (1123–1190), holy Roman emperor and German king.


132. Wilhelm Deist, in Die Wehrmacht, p. 45; Burleigh, p. 520.

133. Wallach, p. 266; Megargee, pp. 73, 80.
137. These SS units were special killing squads used to locate and exterminate Jews and commissars.
139. Gilbert, *Second World War*, p. 207. In the first five weeks, the Germans murdered over thirty thousand Jews.
140. BA-MA, BMRS, File Franz and Thomas Haller, Bl. 19–22. Schmundt probably believed, as Hitler did, that the Soviet leadership was and had been controlled by Jews (i.e., Trotsky).
144. Messerschmidt, p. 358.
145. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, OKW an Kanzlei des Führers, Bl. 73.
150. A literal translation would be “frontline probation company.” This company was probably part of a Bewährungsbataillon (probation battalion). Probation battalions were punishment battalions of the German army that allowed one the possibility of rehabilitation—a grim possibility.
152. Bewährungsbataillon is a probation battalion. To read about how one of these battalions operated, see Fritz Molden, *Fepolinski und Waschlapski* (München, 1991).


162. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Lankes.

163. BA-MA, BMRS, File Johannes Heckert, Bl. 1.


165. BA-MA, BMRS, File Konrad Schenck, Wolfram Günther an Schenck, 22.01.1943, Bl. 20.

166. BA-MA, BMRS, File Friedrich Schlesinger, Berurteilung, 13.07.1943.


168. IfZ, N 71–73, Aufzeichnung von Dr. Lösener betr. die Frage der Halbjuden und der privilegierten Mischehen, 04.12.1941; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Stephan Prager.


170. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Lux.


172. Ibid. Helmolt had been decorated with the EKII and the Silver Wound Badge (he had lost a foot). His brother, Eiche, was promoted to lieutenant and died in action in 1944.


174. Ibid., pp. 331–34.

175. At the request of the family, Lt. Ruge’s Christian name has been deleted.


177. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann.

178. Not his real name.


182. BA-MA, BMRS, File Schlepegrell, Bl.1, Heinrich Schlepegrell an Rigg, 06.04.1997.


188. Hilberg, pp. 268–69.
189. BA-MA, BMRS, general impression gained through documenting several quarter-Jewish cases; Noakes, “Development of Nazi Policy,” p. 318.
190. Friedländer, p. 291.
194. Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerbauuptquartier, p. 79; Monologe im Führerbauuptquartier, 1941–1944, p. 148. For Hitler’s thoughts on Mendel’s theory of genetics, see Hitler, Hitler’s Secret Book, p. 101.
195. Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerbauuptquartier, p. 78.
196. A few quarter-Jews documented in this study had two quarter-Jewish parents.
197. IfZ, N71–73, Aufzeichnung von Dr. Lösener betr. die Frage der Halbjuden und der privilegierten Mischehen, 04.12.1941.
198. Ibid.
200. Lösener, p. 311.
202. Wheeler-Bennett, p. 525; Cooper, German Army, p. 344; Creveld, p. 43; Kershaw, Hitler, 1936–1945, pp. 451–52.
203. Fest, Face, p. 246; Keegan, Mask of Command, p. 272.
204. Hermann, p. 495.


209. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 170.

210. SA-Gruppenführer is a General Major in the SA.

211. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 171, Blankenburg an Girgensohn, 12.02.1942.


215. BA-MA, BMRS, File Edgar Francken, p. 97, John Francken to Rigg, 08.03.1997.

216. When war broke out, Hermann told a Sippen-Gericht in Berlin what his mother, Julie Francken née Spier, had told him on her death bed; namely, that an Aryan man and not her husband, Max Francken, was the father of her son, Hermann Francken. Hermann’s testimony was accepted by the Nazis. Hermann no longer had to wear the yellow star and could drive his car.

217. BA-MA, BMRS, John Francken to Rigg, 08.03.1997, p. 97.


225. Klemperer, Buch II, 18.08.1942; BA-MA, BMRS, File Henle; BA-MA, BMRS, File Prager; BA-MA, BMRS, File D. Fischer; BA-MA, BMRS, File
Hamburger; BA-MA, BMRS, File Günther Mirauer; BA-MA, BMRS, File Fritz Rosenhaupt.

230. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 73, OKW an Kanzlei des Führers, Betr. Deutschblütigkeitserklärung jüdischer Mischlinge, 16.09.1943. See BA-MA, BMRS, File Georg-Friedrich Müller, Bl. 52; BA-MA, BMRS, File Haller.


240. Krüger, p. 11; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Krüger; BA-MA; BMRS, File Krüger, Bl. 29. See also BA-MA, BMRS, File Florey, Bl. 1; BA-MA, BMRS, File Gaehde, Bl. 17; BA-MA, BMRS, File Bergmann, Tagebuch, 06.05.1942.


243. See, for example, BA-MA, BMRS, interview Sachs; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Lüderitz; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Angreß; BA-MA, BMRS, File Heinz Günther Angreß, Bl. 3.

244. HVBl., Nr. 202, 1942C, p. 165, Behandlung jüdischer Mischlinge in der Wehrmacht.

245. HVBl., Nr. 384, 1942C, pp. 315–16.


249. For an example of the confusion, see *Akten-NSDAP*, 107-00387, 107-00390.

250. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 113, Bouhler an Bornmann, 10.07.1942.

251. Lang, pp. 204–7; Rebentisch, pp. 452–53.

252. *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann*, sec. 113, p. 2039; *U.S.A. Tribunals: Case No. 11*,


256. HVBl, Nr. 926, 25.09.1942, pp. 131, 501; Adam, p. 327; Sammlung wehrrechtlicher Gutachten und Vorschriften, Heft 20/21, p. 175.


258. The next three cases (Schinek, Kohn, and Mayer) are also described in Professor Steven Welch’s Leo Baeck essay from 1999. Steven R. Welch, “Mischling Deserters from the Wehrmacht,” Leo Baeck Yearbook 44 (1999): 273–324.

259. Ordinary sailor.


261. Ibid., Bl. 66, Thea Liebe an Gericht des Marinebefehlshabers Dänemark, 08.10.1942.


263. He apparently did not know his Jewish father, Otto Kohn.

264. BA-A, RW 55/1589, Bl. 25, Gericht der Wehrmachtkommandantur Berlin, 09.06.1942.

265. Ibid., Bl. 25, 70–80.

266. BA-A, RM 123/335944, Gericht der Wehrmachtkommandantur Wien, Urteil gegen Anton Mayer, 15.05.1944.

267. Ibid., Anton Mayer an Großadmiral Dönitz, 23.07.1944.

268. Allgemeines Marineamt was a branch of the navy supreme command.


271. Messerschmidt, p. 335.


274. AWA (I) = Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt (Inland).

275. Akten-NSDAP, 103–22530, Engel an Frey, 02.11.1942.

276. BA-B, Sammlung Schumacher, Rundschreiben der NSDAP, SS Abschnitt, 01.12.1942; BA-B. Reichskanzlei 4123, Bl. 74, Vermerk Lammers’, RM Nr. 2566/43/A. Hitler enacted thirty restrictions on marriage according to how Jewish one was. Victor, p. 18.

277. Hertz, p. 35.

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

1. Akten-NSDAP, 107-00392-393.

2. The author feels that this was probably the number of half-Jews registered only in Berlin because the number is so low.

3. BA-B, NS 18/482, Gußmann an Hauptverbindungsamt, Pg. Spangenberg, 10.02.1943.

4. Ibid., Der Chef der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD Kaltenbrunner an OKW, Goebbels, Speer und Reichsminister für Bewaffnung und Munition, 01.03.1943.

5. Although the documents used that have Dietz’s signature for this study do not contain his first name, it probably was none other than Heinrich Dietz, who had been a member of the Prussian army legal service since 1902. In 1933, he became the editor of the journal for military lawyers called the Zeitschrift für Wehrrecht “and subsequently was a high-ranking civil servant in the war ministry.” Manfred Messerschmidt, “German Military Law in the Second World War,” in The German Military in the Age of Total War, pp. 325–26. In 1938, the War Ministry was reorganized into OKW.

6. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 84, Aktennotiz, Anruf über Feldwebel Dr. Vogtherr, 03.06.1943.


8. Akten-NSDAP, 103-22534, Aktennotiz Bormann für Dr. Klopfer [Stellvertreter Bormann als Leiter der Parteikanzlei], 14.10.1943.


15. BA-B, Sammlung Schumacher, Aktenvermerk, 19.12.1943; Keitel, p. 189. Keitel had abandoned not only his friend Bürkner but also his aunt Ottilie (Tilly)
Cahn née Schulze, her Jewish husband, Max Ludwig, and their half-Jewish children, who were deported to OT camps. BA-MA, BMRS, File Peter Cahn, Bl. 6; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Peter Cahn, 11.12.1996, T-269.

16. The Deutscher Volkssturm (German home guard, or literally “people’s militia”) was made up of young boys and old men between the ages of sixteen and sixty during the last months of the war. With the Führer’s decree of 25 September 1944, the Deutscher Volkssturm was founded. Bormann was in charge of its organization and political education. Himmler was in charge of arming the units. Most who fought in the Deutscher Volkssturm received poor training and were sent to the fronts in eastern and western Germany to try and stop the Allied offensives. Close to 175,000 Germans probably died while fighting in the Volkssturm. Kershaw, Hitler, 1936–1945, p. 715.


20. Bloch, under orders from Canaris, rescued the Lubavitcher Rebbe Schneersohn in 1939–1940. Schneersohn was later able to make it to the United States via the Baltic states, Sweden, and the Atlantic.

21. BA-MA, BMRS, File Ernst Bloch.

22. Bruno Blau writes that in April 1944, half-Jews who did not have work or were not serving in the armed forces were sent to OT. Blau, “Die Mischehe im Nazireich,” p. 54. Interestingly, from the cases documented in this study, most of the Jewish wives of Aryan men deported to OT survived the war. They simply remained home and waited for the end of the war.

23. In Aktion Hasse, half-Jews wore uniforms and performed mostly construction work. Some half-Jews claim that it was not nearly as bad as Aktion Mitte. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Gerhard Schiller, 11.02.1995, T-92.

24. In Aktion Mitte, half-Jews performed forced labor and did not wear uniforms. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Schiller.

25. BA-MA, BMRS, general data collected; Sammlung wehrrechtlicher Gutachten und Vorschriften, Heft 2, p. 27. “B-men” stands for Bewährungsmänner. Some half-Jews may have been deported to OT camps in 1943, but most of them were deported to such camps only in 1944.


27. BA-MA, BMRS, File Herbert Beyer, Bl. 3, 6, 50, Lebensbeschreibung.


29. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Angreß.


31. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Salinger.


33. Maier, p. 219.

34. Ibid., p. 228.
35. For an example of a Gestapo notification for OT, see BA-MA, BMRS, File Bleicher, Gestapo Stuttgart an Bleicher, 13.10.1944; BA-MA, BMRS, File Carl Neubronner, Arbeitsamt Frankfurt an Neubronner, 01.03.1945. Others were arrested and deported, but they were a minority.


37. BA-MA, BMRS, File Rehfeld. Helmut Rehfeld worked for the railroads between Liegnitz and Breslau as an engineer. During his work, he witnessed the transports with their human cargo on their way to Auschwitz and other extermination camps. One day, disgusted with the whole regime, he took down the Führer’s picture from his office wall, muttering that he could not work under his gaze. His boss denounced him to the Gestapo and after spending several weeks in a Breslau prison, the Nazis deported him to Buchenwald.

38. BA-MA, BMRS, File Gerhard Guttstadt, Bl. 1, Elisabeth Guttstadt an Rigg, 11.08.1997. See also Werner Schmidt, Leben an Grenzen (Zürich, 1989), pp. 159–60.


41. On 1 August 1944, Sippenhaftung was imposed as a result of the 20 July bomb plot. See Seaton, German Army, pp. 232–33.

42. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hermann Steinhalt, Hermann Steinhalt an Rigg, Bl. 3, Steinhalt an Rigg, 14.11.1996.

43. BA-MA, BMRS, general impression gained from the data collected; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Behrendt; Schmidt, pp. 170–73.


45. Adam, p. 332.


47. Neue Zürcher Zeitung, Montag, 15.01.1945, Bl. 6.


51. BA-MA, BMRS, File H. Beyer, Bl. 49, 52, Lebensbeschreibung.

52. BA-MA, BMRS, general impression gained from data collected; Meyer, p. 241.

53. U.S. Holocaust Museum researcher Dr. Geoffrey Megargee, who is working on the numbers of Nazi camps, claims that the Nazis probably constructed over ten thousand camps; Nationalsozialismus, p. 17.

54. Trials of German Major War Criminals, Part 17, Nuremberg 20 June–1 July 1946, p. 52.

55. Ibid.
57. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Kurt Einstein, Bl. 2, Kurt Einstein an Rigg, 10.12.1996.
58. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Brücher.
60. BA-MA, BMRS, File Ernst Ludwig, Bl.12, Ernst Ludwig, Anlage zu meiner Erklärung, meine Verfolgung in den Jahren 1941–45 betreffend, 11.06.1949; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Ernst Ludwig, 22.01.1997, T-286. See also BA-MA, BMRS, File Rudolf Löwenfeld, Bl. 2.
61. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann.
63. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Rath.
64. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Schlesiess.
65. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Wiendl.
66. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Zeunert.
68. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Salinger. See also BA-MA, BMRS, interview Schlesiess.
70. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Lichtwitz.
71. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Falkenberg. Ironically, after the war, the Allies put Falkenberg in prison because they thought he really was an OT officer.
73. Vogel, p. 262.
74. Frontführer or Bauführer in the OT was a second lieutenant.
75. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Horst Schmechel, 29.11.1994, T-65. Schmechel was in several OT camps. They were Hazebrouck, Watten, Vizernes, and Boulogne-sur-Mer in France.
76. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Budzinski.
77. Niedersächsischer Verband Deutscher Sinti, ed., “Es war unmenschlich möglich.” Sinti aus Niedersachsen erzählen — Verfolgung und Vernichtung im Nationalsozialismus und Diskriminierung bis heute (Hannover, 1995), pp. 50, 87. This unit was named after SS Oberführer Oskar Dirlewanger, who was a sadist and necrophiliac. Clark, p. 391, n.3; Keegan, Second World War, p. 482; Guderian, p. 336.
78. BA-MA, H 6/172, Schreiben Chef des Heeres-Personalamts Burgdorf, 03.01.1945; BA-MA, Pers 7786.
80. Adam, pp. 332–33.
84. *Holocaust, vol. 1, Legalizing the Holocaust*, p. 31.
85. Globke and Stuckart, p. 17.
87. Schleunes, p. 150.
88. *U.S.A. Military Tribunals: Case No. 11.2*, p. 125.
89. SS colonel.
91. BA-MA, NS 19/1047, Bl. 10; Adam, p. 328.
95. Ibid.
96. Hilberg, p. 309.
97. Ibid., p. 152
100. Klemperer, Buch II, 12.05.1943, p. 377, 23.01.1944, p. 475.
101. Arendt, p. 174. One half-Jew who escaped from Denmark was the famous scientist Niels Bohr, who later found his way to the United States and worked on the atomic bomb project.
102. *Trial of Adolf Eichmann*, vol. 7, session 42, p. 752, Witness Charlotte Salzburger née Wreschner; and Lösen, pp. 299–302; Eichmann Prosecution Document, Police d’Israel Quartier General 6-ème Bureau No. 1102, Reichsminister für die besetzten Ostgebiete (Schmitz), 30.01.1942, Aufzeichnung, pp. 2–3; BA-B, NS 19/1772, Bl. 2, Reichsminister für die besetzten Ostgebiete, 02.05.1942; Bauer, p. 259; IFZ, N 71–73, Der Judenbegriff in den besetzten Gebieten; Hausner, p. 256; Meyer, p. 9; Adler, *Der Verwaltete Mensch*, pp. 283–84.
104. Maier, p. 203; Rebentisch, p. 439.
105. Lifton, p. 56.
109. This was an SS Captain.
112. *Der Stürmer*, 09.11.1944.
115. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Kirchholtes, Bl. 4.
120. BA-MA, BMRS, File G. Bier, Bier an Rigg, 26.03.2001.
122. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Steinwasser.
Coercion, p. 103. Gellately notes that Hitler might have also felt that it was a good time to stop the euthanasia program because the expertise of the personnel who had been working in the euthanasia centers was needed for the extermination now going on in the East.


126. Arendt, p. 159; see also Schmitt, p. 174.

127. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Wiehl.


129. BA-MA, BMRS, File Wilhelm Dröscher.

**Chapter 7: Exemptions from the Racial Laws Granted by Hitler**

1. Many interviewees, fellow students, and academics have expressed this view.

2. Ibid.


4. Discussion with Dr. Fritz Redlich at his home in Connecticut on 23 September 2000. See also *Monologe im Führerhauptquartier, 1941–1944*, p. 357.


7. Victor, p. 8; Redlich, pp. 34, 43, 46, 82, 99; Bormann Lang, p. 119.

8. Hamann, p. 76; Maser, p. 21; Bormann Lang, pp. 129–30. For more about Patrick Hitler, see Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, pp. 8–9, 604 n. 28.

9. Redlich, pp. 11, 224, 235.


11. Redlich, pp. 7–8; Maser, p. 17; Victor, p. 20; Heiden, p. 43.


13. Redlich, pp. 9, 217; Maser, p. 61; Heiden, p. 43.

14. Maser, pp. 315, 598–622. Maser is convinced that Hitler fathered an illegitimate son, Jean Marie Loret, during World War I.
26. Koehler, pp. 145–49. Koehler claims that while he worked under Heydrich, he came across a file created by the chancellors of the Austrian Republic, Engelbert Dollfuß and Kurt von Schuschnigg, both political enemies of Hitler, that claimed that Hitler's grandmother had worked in the Rothschilds' mansion in Vienna, where she became pregnant.
27. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Niklas Frank, 16.10.1996, T-227. See also Maser, pp. 46–47, 269. Frank had even claimed after the war that he was part Jewish. Joseph E. Persico, *Nuremberg: Infamy on Trial* (New York, 1994), p. 22. Frank's son, Niklas, states that no documents have been found to prove that his family has Jewish ancestry. BA-MA, BMRS, interview N. Frank.
29. Waite, p. 127.
30. Supposedly, no records are available to confirm or disprove whether there was a Jewish family by the name of Frankenberger in Graz during this time. According to Kershaw, there were no Jews called Frankenberger in Graz during the 1830s. Moreover, Jews were not allowed in the whole of Styria (Steiermark) because they were not allowed to live in that part of Austria until the 1860s. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 8. See also Redlich, p. 12; Maser, p. 27.
32. Hamann, pp. 72–74; Redlich, pp. 11, 257; Waite, pp. 130–31;Speier, p. 117; Bracher, pp. 58, 64. There has been much speculation that the town was destroyed by the Russians after the war. The sources are unclear on this point. It is possible that both the Russians and Hitler did their fair share of destruction for their own reasons. Most likely, as mentioned earlier, Hitler had documents from Döllersheim removed and destroyed. Hitler may have known that the parish priest of Döllersheim had altered Hitler's father's birth register by marking out the name Schicklgruber, “replacing ‘out of wedlock’ by ‘within wedlock,’ and entering ‘Georg Hitler’ in the hitherto empty box for the father’s name.” Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 5; Redlich, pp. 7–8. See also Maser, pp. 23–24.
33. Redlich, p. 11.
34. Kershaw, Hitler, 1889–1936, p. 86. Hitler’s evasion of the Austrian draft does not mean he was a coward. His war record as a dispatch runner in the German army during World War I, where he was wounded three times and awarded both the EKII and EKI (unusual for a corporal), was proof that he was indeed a brave soldier. Kershaw, Hitler, 1889–1936, pp. 91–97; Redlich, pp. 40, 259; O’Neill, p. 5; Keegan, Mask of Command, p. 236.

35. Bormann Lang, p. 119.


37. Redlich, p. 320. See also Monologe im Führerhauptquartier, 1941–1944, p. 310.

38. Waite, p. 129. See also Monologe im Führerhauptquartier, 1941–1944, p. 293.

39. Secretary of Treasury (Reichsfinanzminister) Matthias Erzberger was the leader of the Catholic Zentrum party and was perhaps one of the most hated members of the Middle by the Right in Germany. He had advocated peace at the end of World War I and had attacked the military leadership in the Reichstag during the war. He was assassinated in August 1921. Bauer, p. 78. Craig, Prussian Army, pp. 325, 368.

40. Persico, pp. 327–29; Redlich, pp. 13, 320; Kershaw, Hitler, 1889–1936, p. 369; Friedländer, p. 150; Victor, pp. 18, 125.

41. Redlich, pp. 320, 116, n. 72.

42. BA-B, NS 6/ 487, Bl. 4. See also Maser, p. 388.


44. Ibid., p. 11.

45. Redlich, pp. 11–12, 72; Giordano, p. 103.

46. Maser, p. 323; Redlich, pp. 78, 284.

47. Hamann, pp. 53–57; Redlich, pp. 22, 115, 323; Victor, p. 41.


50. Kershaw, Hitler, 1889–1936, p. 348; Cooper, German Army, p. 20; Frei, p. 14; Victor, p. 78. Hitler not only knew about the homosexuality of the commander of the SA, Ernst Röhm, but also knew that several of Röhm’s lieutenants (e.g., SA leader Edmund Heines) were also “notorious” homosexuals. Kershaw, Hitler, 1889–1936, p. 514; Redlich, pp. 98–99, 273; Friedländer, p. 208.


52. The name Izzy or Isi, derived from the Jewish name Itzig, may have achieved its popular usage as denoting a “dirty Jew” from books such as Gustav Freytag’s *Debit and Credit (Soll und Haben)*, published in 1853. Freytag’s widely read book portrayed the Jewish merchant Veital Itzig as everything a Nazi would view a Jew as being: dirty, dishonest, and evil. Course on German literature taken with Professor Liselotte Davis at Yale University, spring 1994.

53. Günther Deschner, *Reinhard Heydrich* (Berlin, 1987), p. 67; Victor, p. 146. Another biography on Heydrich, which thoroughly deals with Heydrich’s supposed Jewish ancestry, was written by Shlomo Aronson: *Reinhard Heydrich und die Frühgeschichte von Gestapo und SD* (Stuttgart, 1971). This book is often referred to in order to refute the claim that Heydrich may have been Jewish. See Aronson, pp. 12–17. Historian and professor Hugh Trevor-Roper

54. BA-MA, N 656/9, Bl. 9, p. 3.


57. Calic, p. 22. The Gauleiter of Halle, Rudolf Jordan, believed that Heydrich’s father was Jewish. He cited *Riemanns Musik Lexikon* from 1916 for proof. He stated that next to Bruno Heydrich’s name was the statement that his last name should actually be “Süss.” BA-B, NS 22/1051.

58. Felix Kersten, *The Kersten Memoirs, 1940–1945* (New York, 1957), pp. 96–97. Joachim Fest believes that Kersten’s memoirs have “so far stood up to all checks.” Fest believes that they prove that Himmler definitely believed that Heydrich was of Jewish descent. Fest, *Face*, pp. 335–37, n. 11. Professor Richard Evans of Cambridge University believes Kersten’s memoirs are full of errors and need to be used with caution. Calic believes that Kersten only “tried to exonerate the SS by claiming that” Heydrich was responsible for the mass murder of Jews and that his murderous lust to kill Jews resulted from “an inferiority complex produced” by his knowledge that he was partially Jewish (Calic, p. 52). This study believes that the memoirs can be used to show that there were many around Heydrich, among them Hitler and Himmler, who may have believed he was Jewish, which must have had a severe effect on Heydrich.

59. Speer, p. 146.


63. BA-MA, N 179, Milchs Tagebücher, Notiz vom 31.01.1933.


71. Ibid., pp. 121, 140.

72. Ibid., p. 140.


74. Hayward, pp. 286–310; Murray, p. 148.

75. Heiden, p. 352.


78. Ibid., p. 153.

79. Ibid., p. 151.

80. Ibid., p. 162. Wilberg was instrumental in making arrangements with the Soviets to allow German pilots to train at the Russian air base of Lipetsk.

81. Ibid., p. 167. The manual was called *Luftwaffe Regulation 16, The Conduct of Air Operations (Luftkriegsführung)*.

82. Ibid., p. 168.

83. The Condor Legion “comprised of four fighter-bomber, four fighter, one reconnaissance, and two seaplane squadrons detached from the Luftwaffe.” Craig, *Prussian Army*, p. 487.


85. BA-MA, N 761/7, Bl. 1–3, Bericht General Erwin Jaenecke.
86. BA-MA, BMRS, File Achim von Bredow, Heft II, Bl.55, Bredow an seine Mutter, 24.10.1941.
87. General Studnitz commanded the Eighty-seventh Infantry Division that invaded Russia in 1941 with Field Marshal Ritter von Leeb’s Army Group North.
91. Cajus Bekker, Hitler’s Naval War (New York, 1977), p. 70; M. J. Whitley, Destroyers! German destroyers in World War II (Maryland, 1983), pp. 118, 130; BA-MA, BMRS, File Georg Langheld. For example, from 10 October 1942 until 9 April 1943, Langheld was fleet commander of the Fourth Destroyer Flotilla. From January 1944 until April 1944, he was fleet commander of the Eighth Destroyer Flotilla, and from 20 April 1944 until 10 May 1945, he was fleet commander of the Fifth Destroyer Flotilla.
93. Friedländer, pp. 52–53, 153; Stoltzfus, Resistance, p. viii; Cornberg and Steiner, p. 159.
94. BA-B, R 21/874–878, Bl. 103.
95. Lörzer and Göring had served together during World War I as pilots and were good friends.
96. BA-MA, BMRS, File Lt. Fränzel, Bl. 2.
97. Meyer, p. 152; Gerhard Bracke, Melitta Gräfin Stauffenberg. Das Leben einer Fliegerin (München, 1992); BA-MA, BMRS, File H. Lange. She flew over twenty-five hundred Sturzflüge with the Stuka dive-bombers Ju 87 and Ju 88. Göring also awarded her the Gold Military Flyer Medal with diamonds and rubies. In 1945, she was shot down by an American fighter.
99. Oberfüsiler is a private.
100. General von Briesen and Keitel were good friends, which must have also played a role in helping Rüdiger von Briesen to get the Genehmigung. This especially could have been the case, since Hitler thought highly of General von Briesen. See Keitel, p. 95.
102. Thomas, p. 103, n. 39. Nevertheless, Raeder’s son-in-law found it advisable to live abroad during the Third Reich.

107. Information gained from Dr. Georg Meyer of the Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt (Military Research Center), Potsdam/Freiburg, March 1998, “Glückliche Mischung aus preußischem Charme und jüdischer Bescheidenheit.”


109. BA-MA, N 328/32, Raeder an Katz, 06.01.1940.

110. Ibid., Bestätigung für Katz, 06.01.1940.

111. Lieutenant field marshal (Feldmarschalleutnant) is a general’s rank. It is the equivalent to the British rank of lieutenant general (Generalleutnant in the Wehrmacht) and was used in the Habsburg monarchy until 1918. From 1918 until 1920, it was used in the Volkswehr of Austria. Afterward, the rank was not used throughout the 1920s and early 1930s. In 1933, the Austrian military (Österreichisches Bundesheer) reinstated the rank until its incorporation into the Wehrmacht in March of 1938. See *Die Streitkräfte der Republik Österreich. Katalog zur Sonderausstellung im Heeresgeschichtlichen Museum Wien 1968* (hrsg.), Heeresgeschichtlichen Museum/Militärwissenschaftlichen Institut Wien (Wien, 1968), pp. 149–57.

112. Johann Friedländer distinguished himself on the General Staff before and during World War I. After 1928, he “headed the defense ministry’s department of training, equipment and education.” In 1936, he was transferred to the inspector general’s office. He retired in 1937. Schmidl, p. 148.

113. As the Russians invaded Poland, where many of the death camps were located, the Nazis evacuated the camps and forced the inmates to walk long distances to concentration camps in the West. During these forced marches, called “death marches,” many of the inmates died of exhaustion and disease. Many also were executed on the side of the road.


115. Office of the United States Chief Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, ed., *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression, Supplement B* (Washington, D.C.), 1946, p. 1,246. This man was probably Ribbentrop’s personal physician, Dr. Oscar Bosch. According to family friends, Bosch’s contact with Ribbentrop saved Bosch’s mother. BA-MA, BMRS, File Oscar Bosch, Bl. 4–5. If it was not Bosch, then it might have been SS Captain Thorner. He was Ribbentrop’s secretary in London and a “12.5 percent Jew.” Ribbentrop had helped Thorner by taking his case personally to Hitler. John Weitz, *Hitler’s Diplomat: The Life and Times of Joachim von Ribbentrop* (New York, 1992), p. 132.


118. Meyer, p. 152; Cornberg and Steiner, p. 148.
119. Gilbert, Holocaust, p. 615; Craig, Germany, 1866–1945, p. 750.
120. Clark, pp. 339–40. Pringsheim was a well-known professor for Roman and German civil rights in Freiburg and Göttingen, and then in Oxford from 1939 to 1946.
121. Even Adolf Eichmann helped save a half-Jewish cousin and a Jewish couple in Vienna; in addition, he had a Jewish stepmother. While working in Vienna in the late 1930s, Eichmann had a Jewish mistress, an old flame from his youth. Arendt, pp. 30, 88, 137. Eichmann was not alone in committing Rassenschande among the Nazi elite. The famous Stuka pilot and fanatic Nazi, Luftwaffe Colonel Hans-Ulrich Rudel, had a half-Jewish lover, Frau Erika Leykam, during the war. Personal interview conducted with Leykam by Günter Czernetzky, director of the film project ZeitZeugenVideo in Munich; BA-MA, BMRS, File Erika Leykam. Alfred Rosenberg, the Nazi racial theorist and Reich minister of eastern regions, also had a Jewish mistress. Wighton, p. 126.
123. They actually were “18.75” Jewish and thus, according to Nazi practice with racial policy, regarded as quarter-Jews.
124. BA-MA, BMRS, File Walter Lehweß-Litzmann, Bl. 7, Stammbaum Lehweß-Litzmann, Bl. 11, and Bl. 37, Der Kommandierende General des VIII. Fliegerkorps an Frau Dr. med. Lehweß-Litzmann, 01.11.1944; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Jörn Lehweß-Litzmann, 27.05.1997, T-354.
127. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Rubien. According to Rubien, the family member Senator Fritz Beindorff paid this amount.
129. BA-MA, BMRS, File Werner Bujakowsky, Bl. 16.
133. BA-MA, BMRS, File Mayer, Bl. 31; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Erika Mayer; Shirer, Nightmare Years, pp. 230–33. See also Friedländer, p. 181.
134. BA-MA, BMRS, File Mayer, Bl. 35; Yahil, p. 71.
135. Apparently, after the women's fencing event was over, Hitler refused to congratulate Mayer; Iona Elek, the gold medalist from Hungary; and Ellen Preis, the bronze medalist from Austria, because they were all of Jewish descent. Engelmann, opp. p. 355.
136. Friedländer, p. 181. Several reports state that Ball was half-Jewish (Cornberg and Steiner, p. 160). Since Friedländer is an authority on German Jews, his data has been taken for Ball's case.
138. Lutz Graf Schwerin von Krosigk, Persönliche Erinnerungen: II. Teil, 25 Jahre Berlin, 1930–1945 (Essen, 1973), p. 173; Cornberg and Steiner, pp. 159–60; Vuletić, p. 22, n. 37. Lewald was the man who introduced the tradition of carrying the torch from Olympia in Greece to the host city.
139. Mandell, pp. 71–77. Gretel Bergmann, a German athlete of Jewish descent, was not as lucky as Mayer or Ball. Two weeks before the Games, the Nazis informed her that she could not participate because of her Jewish ancestry. She was predicted to win the gold in the high jump, had she been allowed to compete. See also Friedländer, p. 181.
141. Hitler, Mein Kampf, pp. 290–91. See also Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier, p. 310.
144. Snyder, p. 170; Craig, Germany, 1866–1945, p. 696.
148. The mufti left Beirut in 1939, took up residence in Baghdad, and put himself at the pro-Axis political effort there, which culminated in a “pro-Axis coup” in 1941. The mufti proclaimed over the airways a jihad (holy war) against the British, who were occupying Iraq at the time. Although the Germans promised support, it did not arrive in time, and the mufti and his forces were

149. Lepre, p. 31.

150. Hitler had promised Hajj Amin el-Husseini that he would slaughter the Jewish community in Palestine once German forces had taken over that area. Weinberg, *Germany, Hitler*, p. 220; Browning, *Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers*, pp. 49–50.

151. Bauer, p. 44.

152. O’Brien, pp. 251–52. Hitler felt that Arab men with blond hair and blue eyes were descendants of the Vandals who had occupied northern Africa. *Monologe im Führerbauptquartier 1941–1944,*, p. 124.

153. *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerbauptquartier*, p. 403. As translated in O’Brien, pp. 251–52. Hitler even claimed that Turkey’s leader Ataturk could not have descended from the Turks because he had blue eyes. *Monologe im Führerbauptquartier, 1941–1944*, p. 217.

154. Hilberg, p. 7; BA-B, NS 19/3134, Bl. 1–2; Maser, p. 282; *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerbauptquartier*, Einführung von Picker, p. 45; Bormann Lang, p. 156; Dimont, pp. 331–32.


159. Rüdiger Overmans, *Deutsche militärische Verluste im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (München, 1999), pp. 266, 278.

160. BA-MA, BMRS, File Gert Beschütz, Bl. 3.


162. BA-MA, N 328/45, Ehrhardt an Förste, 14.11.1936.


165. BA-MA, BMRS, File Heinrici, Heft I, Bl. 21, Dr. Heinrici an Rigg, 05.12.1995; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Dr. Heinrici, 16.05.1996, T-203.

166. Ibid.

167. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 140, Engel an Blankenburg, 17.06.1942.


170. Deutsche Arbeitsfront (DAF) (German Labor Front).
171. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 93, Engel an die Kanzlei des Führers der NSDAP, 26.09.1941.

172. Stufe means “level.” For example, Stufe III wounded soldiers had lost either an arm, a leg, or both feet—to name just a few of the wounds that qualified a soldier for this classification. These soldiers also received fifty Reichsmarks a month. BA-MA, RH 12–23/ 834, p. 93.

173. Absolon, *Wehrgesetz und Wehrdienst*, p. 120; See also BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 91–92, Parteikanzlei, Beförderung von Schwerstbeschädigten, 11.10.1941.

174. This number was probably small because only those who applied were considered for the exemption. In other words, once a Mischlinge was injured, he did not get an exemption de facto. He, like any other Mischlinge attempting to receive an exemption, had to apply for it.

175. BA-B, R 21/448, Bl. 34, Der Reichsminister des Innern (Schönfeldt) an Rust, 20.02.1942.

176. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 72.

177. Ibid., Bl. 73, OKW an Kanzlei des Führers, 16.09.1943.


181. BA-MA, BMRS, File Emil Lux, Heft IV, Bl. 8. Knoll/Hochschule für Welthandel an Regierungsdirektor Dr. Kock, 20.07.1944, and Bl. 12, OKW an Rust, 08.10.1943; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Lux. While Lux served in Russia, his mother, Jenny née Schultz, was persecuted at home and forced to wear the Jewish star. When he returned home from the front and his hospitalization, he found that his mother was gone. The Gestapo had forced her to enter the Jewish Hospital in Berlin at Iranische Straße.

182. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 67b–68.

183. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 82.

184. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 73, OKW an Kanzlei des Führers, 16.09.1943; BA-MA, BMRS, File G. F. Müller, Bl. 52; BA-MA, BMRS, File Haller.

185. Two men in this study received Hitler’s declarations this way. However, it is difficult to document men who received this award because of the problems of finding their families or military files.

186. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 72.

187. Kampfzeit (time of struggle) was between 1920 and 1933 when the Nazis struggled for power.

188. *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler*, pp. 31–32.

189. BA-MA, RH 33-7/ 1120.

190. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Wolter; *Das Deutsche Reich und der zweite Weltkrieg*. vol. 5/1, Kroener, pp. 709–12.

191. IfZ,N 71–73, Anträge und positive Entscheidungen gemäß §7 der Ersten Verordnung zum Reichsbürger-gesetz, 22.05.1941; Lösener, pp. 284–85.


194. Ibid., Bl. 147–48.
196. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 29–45.  
197. Ibid., Bl. 43.  
204. Ibid., Engel an Koken, 19.10.1942.  
206. Königsberg is now Kaliningrad, Russia.  
207. Actually, Göring said this phrase. Hitler was never recorded as saying anything like the above.  
208. BA-A, Pers 36790 Georg Meyer, Beurteilung vom 01.03.1944. Margot Meyer von Rühle maintains that this military report was only written as it was because it was a necessary condition for promotion. In other words, it was a formality. BA-MA, BMRS, File Georg Meyer, Meyer von Rühle an Rigg, 11.01.2001.  
209. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Margot Meyer von Rühle 02.09.1995, T-163; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Helmut Meyer-Krahmer, 27.07.1997, T-393; BA-A, Pers 36848 Helmut Meyer-Krahmer. According to Margot Meyer von Rühle, Georg was only “12.5 percent or 18.75 percent” Jewish. However, Georg Meyer’s cousin, Helmut Meyer-Krahmer, says that this is incorrect. He and his four cousins were all quarter-Jews. According to Meyer-Krahmer, Georg must have obtained false documents to prove that their grandmother was not a full Jew but a half-Jew. He naturally did so to mitigate his situation. Since Meyer-Krahmer knows his family’s personal history better than most, his version has been used.  
210. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hamburger.  
211. Vogel, p. 313. Philipp Borchardt was later released, and he and his daughter left for England, where they spent the rest of the war.  
212. BA-MA, BMRS, interview E. Borchardt; McGuirk, p. 45.  
213. BA-A, Pers 4393, Beurteilung, 13.05.1942.  
214. BA-MA, BMRS, File Borchardt, Bl. 46, E.M. Heard to Rigg, 02.12.1996. Borchardt defended himself after the war, claiming that he fought for Germany and that his family had a long history of military service and cultural accomplishments. Two brothers of his great-grandfather fought in the War of Independence of 1813–1815. One died in Leipzig. During the Franco-Prussian War, two brothers of his grandfather served in the Prussian army. One was terribly wounded in the Battle of Sedan. One of his father’s brothers, Rudolf, was a poet and translator and was friends with Hugo von Hofmannsthal and Rudolf Alexander Schröder. During World War I, Rudolf Borchardt served four years in the German army. Another uncle, Ernst Borchardt, served as a lieutenant
and died soon after the war because of his battle injuries. Another uncle, Robert Borchardt, served as an Unteroffizier and died in battle in 1916. Borchardt’s father would have served in the army, had he not been born with a deformed left leg. Robert Borchardt claimed that serving Germany as he did was no different from what his Jewish ancestors had done before him.

215. BA-MA, BMRS, File Eike Schweitzer, Bl. 24, Eike Schweitzer an Tante Dorle, 11.01.1942.
217. Although Wilberg was in charge of the operations of the Condor Legion, was in charge of the officer school, and was responsible for developing Luftwaffe air doctrine, he still did not become chief of staff, probably because of his ancestry.

219. BA-MA, BMRS, File Gerd Schneider, Bl. 77, Frey an Schiller, 10.02.1943 and Bl. 82, Wehrmachtfürsorge, Bescheid—Rente, 26.03.1943.

Chapter 8: The Process of Obtaining an Exemption

1. BA-MA, BMRS, general impression gained from this study; Lösener, p. 310; Noakes, “Development of Nazi Policy,” p. 318; BA-MA, N 328/32, Förste an Ehrhardt, 12.12.16.
3. BA-MA, BMRS, File Prager.
6. Bauer, p. 100; Yahil, p. 66.
7. BA-B, R 43 II/1273, Bl. 70–84.
10. BA-MA, RH 39/154, Schreiben von Frick, 19.08.1937. An exception in the Party did not automatically allow one to become an officer. In January 1938, the Wehrmacht announced that although a Mischling may have received Hitler’s approval to remain in the Party and enter the Wehrmacht, he could not become an officer without an additional approval. BA-MA, RH 33-7/627, Bl. 8, General-Kommando VII. Armee-Korps an Kriegsschule München, 24.01.1938. For example, Hitler declared Sander deutschblütig in 1940, and only then could he become an officer.
14. Friedländer, p. 188.
16. BA-MA, BMRS, general impression gained from this study; Lösener, p. 284.
18. For more about Keitel’s and Lammers’s roles in implementing policy, see Speer, pp. 300–301.
19. BA-MA, BMRS, general data collected; BA-MA, N 328/45, Eberhardt an Fürste, 18.12.1936. Noakes in his essay claims that the certificates were bright blue (Noakes, “Development of Nazi Policy,” p. 319; see also Stoltzfus, *Resistance*, p. 117; Cornberg and Steiner, p. 154). The several certificates signed by Meyer and obtained during this study show that they were green, not blue.
20. No one could be a farmer (Bauer) who had a Jewish ancestor after 1800. Cohn, “Bearers of a Common Fate.” p. 330. According to Büttnner, non-Aryans were allowed to work in agriculture, but could not own a farm that their heirs could inherit (Erbhofstellen). Büttnner, “Persecution,” p. 272. See also *Akten-NSDAP*, 107–00390-391; RGBl. 1933, Teil I, Nr. 108, p. 686.
22. BA-B, NS 19/1614, Bl. 3, Lammers an Himmler, 31.08.1942; BA-MA, BMRS, File Walter Hollaender, see also BA-MA, BMRS, File Karl Helwig; BA-MA, BMRS, File Erich Mußgnug.
28. At this time, Lammers had the power to decide whether an application was worthy of Hitler’s time. Applications not good enough for an exemption according to Lammers’s initial review were rejected without being seen by Hitler. See also Rebentisch, p. 434; *Akten-NSDAP*, 107-00392.
29. *Gleichschaltung* means "coordination."


31. Lammers had lost an eye during World War I and wore a glass eye, which gave him a cross-eyed appearance. Rebentisch, p. 49.


37. Stoltzfus, *Resistance*, pp. 73, 120, 246–47. Most *Schutzjuden* escaped deportation. See also Stoltzfus, p. 120 n. 14. See also Cornberg and Steiner, pp. 149–51.

38. BA-MA, N 39/62, Lammers an v. Mackensen, 03.02.1939. See also Friedländer, pp. 270–71.

39. The Spanish Blue Division (25th Infantry Division, “División Azul”) was made up of Spanish volunteers commanded by General Esteban Infantes and sent by Franco to the eastern front to fight with the army against Russia. Over forty-seven thousand men fought in this division, forty-five hundred were killed in action, and the Wehrmacht estimated that these Spaniards inflicted over forty-nine thousand casualties on the Soviets. Corum, *Luftwaffe*, p. 219.

40. BA-MA, BMRS, File Erich Rose, Schnez an Rigg, 30.01.2001.


42. Ibid., Bl. 45, v. Reichenau an Chef des Heerespersonalamts, 03.08.1937.

43. Ibid., Bl. 50, OKH an Reichs- und Preußischen Minister des Innern, 11.09.1937.

44. Ibid., Bl. 96, Keitel an Generalkommando VII. Armee-korps, 17.06.1938.

45. BA-MA, Pers 6/ 10046, Pionier-Kommandeur 1, Berurteilung über Alfred Simon, 01.03.1944.

46. Kriegsschule is a military academy.

47. Rohr, pp. 42–46, 84–85.

48. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Knigge.


50. Ibid., p. 10.


54. Schmundt took over Hössbach’s position after the Blomberg-Fritsch crisis in 1938. He was above the other military adjutants (“Chefadjutant der Wehrmacht”). Luftwaffe adjutant Nikolaus von Below dubbed him “*Primus inter pares.*” Below, p. 90.
55. Below, p. 27.
56. BA-MA, BMRS, general impression gained from the files on Engel and v. Puttkamer; Below, p. 32.
57. Below, p. 35.
60. Absolon, Die Wehrmacht im Dritten Reich. Band V, p. 148. Their number is unknown.
61. BA-MA, N 328/45, Ehrhardt an Förste, 14.11.1956; BA-MA, BMRS, File Schmoeckel. It seems that the one navy officer not taken back was Lebram, which made the young man furious. Lebram tried four times to return to the navy (1934, 1935, 1939, and 1941). BA-MA, N 656/27, Lebram an Ruge, 08.04.1976; BA-MA, N 656/2. Eventually, Canaris helped Lebram get a job with Siemens as a Marinebaurat. BA-MA, N 656/2, Bl. 43.
64. Rogge notes that the Party official that attacked him was the Kreisleiter of Eutin, but it is clear from the document that Rogge was unsure of the spelling of that name.
65. BA-MA, BMRS, File Rogge, Vertraulich, Betr. Absetzung Landrat Bernhard Rogge, Schleswig, Persönliche Ausführungen zur Sache, 06.11.1945, Heft I. Special thanks to Peter Tamm, director of the Institut für Schifahrts- und Marinegeschichte in Hamburg, for access to Rogge's file. Special thanks for information gained about this incident during a discussion with Dr. Georg Meyer of the Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt (Military Research Center), Potsdam/Freiburg, March 1998; Karl-Friedrich Merten, Nach Kompass (Cloonburg, 1994), p. 274.
67. Charles W. Koburger Jr., Steel Ships, Iron Crosses, and Refugees: The German Navy in the Baltic, 1939–1945 (New York, 1989), pp. 45, 49. An interesting side note about Rogge’s military career. At the war’s end, he had several men executed for desertion. After the war, he was brought up on charges but was found innocent. Rogge had received so much help from others because of
his Jewish past, but did not show much mercy on those who no longer wanted to fight for Nazi Germany. The information gathered on Rogge indicates that he simply claimed that he was following orders. As Georg Meyer said of Rogge in respect to this event, "[H]e was hard as steel."

70. Muggenthaler, p. 140. Without Rogge’s support of the army in the Baltic, the Kurland pocket would have never continued its resistance, which tied down thousands of Russian soldiers in 1944. He also allowed twenty-nine divisions and much of their equipment to escape Russian encirclement in 1944 by keeping a thirty-mile choke point open at Riga. He also used his ships to cover the millions of refugees leaving Prussia under the savage advance of the Soviet army in 1944 and 1945. Koburger, pp. 47–48.

71. Fähnrich is an officer candidate.

72. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Helmut Schmoeckel, 25.11.1994, T-63; BA-MA, BMRS, File Helmut Schmoeckel. Before Schmoeckel became a U-boat captain, he was the first adjutant on the heavy cruiser Admiral Hipper. As a U-boat captain, he sank one ship for a total of 1.621 tons.


74. Rohr, p. 108.

75. Rohr, pp. 91, 103; BA-A, Pers 45573, Joachim Rohr an OKH, 03.12.1939.

76. BA-A, Pers 45570, Heinz Rohr an Panzerabwehrabteilung 30, 07.03.1940; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Rohr.

77. BA-MA, BMRS, File Heinz Rohr, Heft II, Teil III, Bl. 25, Rohr an Rigg, 09.02.1997.

78. BA-MA, BMRS, File Joachim Rohr, Bl. 44, Sterbeurkunde.


80. BA-A, Pers 45570, Beurteilung vom 11.04.1944; BA-A, Pers 45573, Beurteilung vom 01.03.1943.


82. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Beelitz.


85. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Beelitz.

86. General Hans-Heinrich Sixt von Armin was the son of the famous World War I Fourth Army Commander Friedrich Sixt von Armin. General Hans-Heinrich Sixt von Armin led the 113th Infantry Division during the battle for
Stalingrad, and when Field Marshal von Paulus surrendered, Armin also surrendered. He went into Russian captivity and would die on 1 April 1952 as a POW in the Soviet Union.


89. BA-MA, BMRS, interview W. Günther; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann; see also BA-A, RW 55/3843, Bl. 58.

90. Oberkanonier was a private (artillery).

91. BA-MA, BMRS, File W. Günther, Bl. 24–31, Gnadengensuch durch Rechtsanwälte Dr. Alfred Holl and Dr. Fritz Hamann für Wolfram Günther an Hitler, 17.05.1939.

92. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Wolfram Günther.

93. BA-MA, BMRS, interview W. Günther.

94. Reichsstelle für Sippenforschung.


96. Bier had courageously defended a defensive position while being heavily attacked by Polish forces. Although his comrade was shot through the head and died, Bier did not give up the position and held it against the enemy. Bier served with the Thirteenth Company of One Hundredth Mountain Regiment.


98. Ibid.

99. BA-MA, File M. Bier, Bl. 4.

100. Ibid., Bl. 57.

101. Ibid., Bl. 56.

102. BA-MA, WF01/20740, Schoch an Engel, 10.11.1942.

103. Ibid., Beurteilung des Uffz. Cadek durch Oberst Schoch, 10.11.1942.

104. BA-MA, BMRS, File Georg Struzyna, Bl. 1–2. Many thanks to Dr. Georg Meyer for this File.


106. Ibid.

107. His name has been kept anonymous.

108. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hermann Lange, Teil II, Bl. 7.

109. Offiziersanwärter was an officer candidate.

110. BA-MA, BMRS, File Walther Hofmann, Bl. 22–24, Maier an Hitler, 19.06.1940.

111. Ibid., Bl. 20–21, Hofmann an OKW, 07.06.1940.
Oberfähnrich was a rank between Stabsoberfeldwebel and Oberfeldwebel. It was a senior officer candidate.


SS General von Gottberg led anti-partisan units in White Russia. While there, he reported throughout 1942 and 1943 that his men had executed thousands of Jews. Hilberg, pp. 251–52; Burleigh, p. 362.


BA-MA, N 118/3, Engel an Elisabeth Rohr, 26.11.1940. Apparently, her brother Joachim had a contact with a high-ranking officer in the General Staff, who got his sister’s case seen by Hitler. As a result of her Deutschblütigkeitserklärung, she was able to marry in 1943. BA-MA, BMRS, File Heinz Rohr, Rohr an Rigg, 22.11.2000.

BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 167, Engel an Blankenburg, 28.04.1942. See also BA-B. DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 110–11, Bouhler an Bormann, 10.06.1942.

See BA-MA, BMRS, File Fischer; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Fischer; BA-MA, BMRS, interview A. von Mettenheim; BA-MA, BMRS, File Krakow; BA-MA, BMRS, interview R. Krakow; BA-MA, BMRS, interview J. Krakow; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Gwinner.

BA-MA, BMRS, File Haller, Bl. 4.

BA-MA, BMRS, File Haller, Schmundt an Haller, 13.05.1942, Bl. 2.

BA-MA, BMRS, File Haller, Frey an Schmundt, 25.05.1942, Bl. 2–3.

More precisely, the report stated that OKH wanted proof that the Mischlinge in question had played an important role during an engagement with the enemy.

Absolon, Die Wehrmacht im Dritten Reich. Band V, p. 149; Sammlung wehrrechtlicher Gutachten und Vorschriften, Heft 4, p. 73; Sammlung wehrrechtlicher Gutachten und Vorschriften, Heft 20/21, p. 175.

This study was unable to document whether some of the 967 half-Jews documented received an EKII and EKI. The numbers presented here are lower than in reality.

BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 122.

BA-MA, BMRS, File Heinrich Levin, Bl. 11.

Kanonier was an ordinary soldier in the artillery.

BA-MA, BMRS, File Viktor Mendel.


Ibid., Schell to Heeres-personal-Amt, 10.07.1939.

Ibid., Berurteilung v. 03.07.1941.

Ibid., Der Chef des Heereswaffenamtes to Zukertort, 30.07.1941.

BA-MA, Pers 6/2094, Brauchitsch to PA 2, 14.08.1941; BA-MA, BMRS, File Karl Zukertort.

BA-MA, File Karl Zukertort, Bl. 1.

BA-MA, BMRS, File Johann Zukertort.


BA-MA, BMRS, File Hamburger, Perfall zum Abschied an Fräulein Hamburger, 31.05.1941.

Zossen is located south of Berlin and was where the OKH was located.

General Bodewin Keitel was head of the Army Personnel Office (Heerespersonalamt) from 26 August 1939 until 2 October 1942. Keilig, p. 4.


BA-MA, RH 21–3/v. 46 (=Panzergruppe 3/1 a; Anlagen zum Kriegstagebuch, Bd. IV, 25.5.–22.7.41, Bl. 34.

BA-MA, RH 20–18/71, Kriegstagebuch [Nr.] 3 b der Abt. 1a des AOK 18, Bl. 97.

Such as the Iron Cross or the Wound Badge.


Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier, p. 277. This is a play on words, based on the name of scientist Gregor Mendel. He was a nineteenth-century geneticist, known to many as the father of genetics.

One of the criteria Hitler used to measure a person’s worth was whether or not he or she looked Jewish. For instance, Hitler only “reluctantly” presented the fighter-ace Adolf Galland with his Ritterkreuz because he looked Jewish (Keegan, Second World War, p. 96). One can be sure that Hitler had his buerreacrats look into Galland’s ancestry, just as he had them do with Liebig.


Heeresadjutant bei Hitler, pp. 121–22.


Ibid., pp. 52, 79, 109.


Regional Party offices.

District Party offices.

Lösener in the RMI supposedly also helped people falsify their ancestry. See Lösener, p. 309.

Heeresadjutant bei Hitler, pp. 31–32.
161. Ibid., p. 122.
164. Guderian, p. 449. Guderian’s postwar account must be looked at critically. Although it contains valuable information, Guderian wrote it primarily to glorify his role in the development of the Wehrmacht and gives the impression that Guderian could have won the war for Germany had Hitler only allowed him to conduct operations during the 1940s. Guderian also wrote this to present himself as an anti-Nazi. Guderian was anything but anti-Nazi, as Megargee proves in his book *Inside Hitler’s High Command*. See Megargee, p. 213; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, p. 414.
165. *Mogeleversuchen* literally means “attempts to cheat.”
166. *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler*, p. 122. See also *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier*, Notiz von Picker, p. 399.
171. Ibid., p. 208.
174. Ibid., p. 138.
175. *The Encyclopedia of the Third Reich*, vol. 1, p. 102. This is a play on what Jesus told his disciples, quoted in John 14:6, NIV.
176. *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression: Supplement B*, p. 1093; see also Speer, pp. 104–5, for more insight into the relationship Bormann had with Hitler.
177. Rebentisch, p. 400. See also Below, p. 31.
178. *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier*, p. 425; Messerschmidt, p. 358.
179. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 136, Bormann an Bouhler, 02.06.1942; Rebentisch, p. 435.
182. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 26, Reichsverfügungsblatt Anordnung A 34/42, 25.06.1942; BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 131–32.
183. Sir Stafford Cripps (1899–1952) became the executive head of the Labor Party from 1937 to 1940, and then was the British ambassador to the USSR from 1940 to 1942.
184. When Hitler met with the German military attaché to Washington in February 1939, he only wanted to discuss with him Roosevelt’s alleged Jewish ancestry. This belief that Roosevelt had Jewish ancestry was shared by many high-ranking Nazi officials. Weinberg, *A World at Arms*, p. 87; Keegan, *Second World War*, p. 537; Jochen Lang, p. 235; *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier*, p. 399; Victor, p. 18. It was common for Hitler to believe that
the leaders of countries who opposed him were Jews. For example, he believed the majority of the Soviet and American leaders were Jews. Kershaw, *Hitler Myth*, pp. 237–38; Friedländer, pp. 103, 185; Below, p. 39; Victor, p. 18. See also Hitler, *Hitler’s Secret Book*, p. xxii.

185. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 131–32, Bormann an Bouhler, 02.07.1942.
187. The Reich’s ordinance bulletin (the official gazette of the Parteikanzlei).
188. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 128, Reichsverfügungsblatt, Ausgabe A Folge 27/42, 04.07.1942; BA-B, R 58/276; BA-B, R 21/488, Bl. 41; Adams, p. 326; BA-B, Sammlung Schumacher.
189. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 111.
190. Ibid., Bl. 112, Bouhler an Bormann, 10.07.1942.
191. Reichsamtsleiter Dr. Kurt Blome in the Parteikanzlei.
192. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 112–13, Bouhler an Bormann, 10.07.1942.
193. Ibid., Bl. 113, Bouhler an Bormann, 10.07.1942.
194. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 114, Bouhler an Bormann, 10.07.1942; BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 147, "Aktennotiz" von Blankenburg, 09.07.1942.
195. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 114, Bouhler an Bormann, 10.07.1942.
196. *Judenfrage* was a Nazi catchword used to justify the expulsion of the Jews.
197. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 115, Bouhler an Bormann, 10.07.1942. Although Bouhler said to Bormann, "Lösung der Judenfrage," it was clear that he meant the extermination of the Jews that was taking place at that time. See Hilberg, p. 562; Peter Padfield, *Himmler: Reichsführer-SS* (New York, 1990), p. 303.
198. The Führer’s private chancellery dealt mainly with the flood of mail addressed to Hitler. Interestingly enough, although Albert and Martin Bormann worked near to each other and were brothers, they grew to detest each other. Jochen Lang, pp. 60, 140; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, p. 32. According to Hitler’s Luftwaffe adjutant, Nicolaus von Below, these brothers hardly ever spoke to one another although they often were in the same room together during meetings and other functions. According to Below, this hatred started with a dispute over whom Albert had married. Below, p. 30.
199. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 103, Bouhler an A. Bormann, 13.07.1942.
201. Ibid., Bl. 116a, "Aktennotiz" von Brack, 10.07.1942.
202. Ibid., Bl. 100.
204. Adam, p. 319.
206. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 28, Rundschriften 164/42, 24.10.1942; BA-B, Sammlung Schumacher, SS-Abschnitt XV Abt. 1 Ao AZ. 1 qo W/Wo.
208. Below, p. 348. Below puts the date for Engel’s dismissal at the end of September 1943. However, according to Hildegard von Kotze’s commen-
tary on Engel’s diary, Engel left his position as Hitler’s adjutant in March 1943. See Heeresadjutant bei Hitler, p. 145, Notiz von Hildegard von Kotze.

209. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 46–48, A. Bormann an Blankenburg, 13.03.1943.
210. Ibid., Bl. 48, Blankenburg an A. Bormann, 17.02.1942.
211. Ibid., Bl. 129–129b.
212. Rundschriften is a circular.
215. Wachtmeister is a staff sergeant.
216. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 87–88.
217. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 77, OKW an Blankenburg, 03.08.1943.
218. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 48b.
220. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 25–25a, Bormann an Bouhler, 27.09.1943.
221. Ibid.
226. BA-MA, BMRS, File Haller, Bl. 37–38, Schmundt an Irmgard Böhrne, 03.11.1943.
227. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 67–68, Ia/Schr., Jüdische Mischlinge im Wehrdienst, 28.10.1943. See also BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 84b.
228. Ibid., Bl. 68.
229. In addition to Schmundt’s responsibility as Hitler’s Wehrmacht adjutant, he was head of the Army Personnel Office from 2 October 1942 until 20 July 1944. Keilig, p. 4.
231. Department for Personnel Matters of Officers and Their Offspring (not including General Staff officers). Keilig, p. 5.
233. Schmundt, Tätigkeitsbericht, p. 128.
234. Group IV (Gruppe IV) in P2 was responsible for officers, officer cadets, and Sonderführer. Keilig, p. 8.
236. BA-B, NS 19/87, Bl. 2, Brandt an Klopfer, betr. Liste der Berufsoffiziere, die teils vor Kriegsbeginn, teils auch erst im Kriege Deutschblütigen gleichgestellt wurden, 05.09.1944; BA-A, Sammlung Jüdische Mischlinge.
237. Joachim von Schmeling-Diringshofen was recalled to active duty in 1939 from China. He died in battle during the summer of 1942.
238. BA-A, Mischlinge in der Wehrmacht, Schreiben Amtsgruppe P2/3 Abt. an P3, 11.01.1944.
241. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 53, OKW an Kanzlei des Führers der NSDAP, 18.02.1944.
242. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 52, Blankenburg an OKW, 11.03.1944.
245. Ibid., p. 262.
246. Ibid., p. 266.
247. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 54, OKW an Kanzlei des Führers, betr. Ausnahmebehandlung jüdischer Mischlinge, 03.03.1944.
248. Adam, p. 331.
255. Ibid., 107-00405, 6. Die Tarnung der jüdischen Mischlinge durch die Gleichstellung mit Deutschblütigen.
256. Ibid., 107-00406-407.
257. Ibid., 107-00406-414.
258. Ibid., 107-00441, III. Richtlinien für die künftige Sachbearbeitung.
259. Ibid., 107-00417-00418, 3. Die Stellungnahme der NSDAP zu Ausnahmeanträgen im Bereich des Staates und der Wehrmacht.
260. Ibid.
261. Stufe IV wounded soldiers lost, for example, either both hands, both legs, or their eyesight, to name just a few of the wounds that qualified one for this classification. Such soldiers also received eighty Reichsmarks a month. BA-MA, RH 12-23/834, p. 93.
263. Schmundt, Tätigkeitsbericht, p. 186. For reports on Sachs’s 257th Infantry Division in Russia, see BA-MA, RH 26/257. For example, from June 1941 until April 1942, Sachs’s division had killed 12,500 Russians, destroyed thirty tanks, shot down six planes, and taken 2,626 prisoners.
264. Schmundt, Tätigkeitsbericht, p. 186.
266. BA-B, NS 19/87, Bl. 1, Vermerk für Dr. Brandt, 30.08.1944, and Bl. 2, Dr. Brandt an Klopfer, 05.09.1944.
268. BA-B, R 43 II/399, Bormann an Lammers, 02.11.1944; BA-B, 43II/603b.
271. This study has documented two soldiers not on the list who were possibly discharged because of this order—Obergefreiter Dieter Fischer and Unterarzt Erich Rauchfüß. BA-MA, BMRS, File Dieter Fischer, Heft II, Amelis von Mettenheim, Die Zwölf Langen Jahre, 1933–1945, Bl. 38; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Erich Rauchfüß, 02.04.1995, T-127.
272. BA-MA, BMRS, File Werner Maltzahn.
274. Waffen-SS/SS lieutenant colonel.
276. Ibid., Bl. 41, Burgdorf an Suchanek, 26.09.1944.
277. Ibid., Bl. 25, Beurteilung vom 27.11.1943.
278. Ibid., Burgdorf an Bloch, 15.02.1945.
281. BA-MA, BMRS, File Binder, Bl. 68, 81; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Binder. Binder was told in February 1945 that Hitler had declared him an Ehrenarier (honorable Aryan) and promoted him to first lieutenant.
284. Ibid., Bl. 5–6, 4. Artillerieregiment Aktz. 22a/34II vom 08.05.1934 ("Einschreiben"). This description of Aryan ancestry most probably comes from Minister Frick’s description of it. See BA-B, R 43 II/418a.
285. Supposedly this woman was a rather famous horseback rider in her youth.
286. BA-A, Pers 14492, Bl. 5–6.
291. Ibid., Bl. 34–37, Fritsch an v. Blomberg, 02.10.1935.
293. BA-A, Pers 14492, Bl. 82, Engel an OKW, 05.04.1940; MA-A, Pers 15499, Wilhelm von Gottberg, Bl. 2, Dienstlaufbahn, 27.08.1939; BA-MA, BMRS, interview H. von Gottberg.

294. BA-MA, BMRS, File Wilhelm von Gottberg, Bl. 41, Brauchitsch an Brockhusen, 29.02.1940.

295. Ibid., Bl. 42, Meissner an Irmgard von Brockhusen, 29.02.1940.

296. BA-A, Pers 14492, Bl. 100–105, 109, Gericht der Division Nr. 154, Dresden, Feldurteil unterzeichnet von Dr. Schirmer, 16.02.1942.

297. BA-A, Pers 14492, Bl. 75–82.

298. BA-MA, BMRS, File Ernst Prager, Heft III, Bl. 1, Polizeipräsident in Berlin, Abt. II, Justrowski an Prager, 01.04.1937; Ibid., Bl. 60–61, Prager an Stephan Prager, 07.04.1937.

299. Ibid., Bl. 8, Prager an Stephan Prager, 19.07.1937.

300. Ibid., Bl. 9, Prager an Stephan Prager, 27.08.1937.

301. Haehnelt was the commander of the Second Army’s Air Group during World War I and had been a strong proponent of air defense. Corum, Luftwaffe, p. 78.

302. BA-MA, BMRS, File Ernst Prager, Heft III, Bl. 9, Prager an Stephan Prager, 27.08.1937, & Bl. 132, Bestätigung von Heinrich Prager, Vater Ernst Pragers, 20.11.1945.

303. Ibid., Bl. 11, Prager an Stephan Prager, 22.12.1937.

304. Ibid., Bl. 14, Prager an Stephan Prager, 14.02.1938.

305. BA-MA, BMRS, File Ernst Prager, Heft II, Bl. 27–30, Prager an OKW, Betriﬀt: Anlage 1 zum Gesuch um Wiederverwendung, 24.05.1941.


307. BA-MA, BMRS, File Prager, Heft III, Bl. 50, Prager an Stephan Prager, 15.06.1941.

308. BA-MA, BMRS, interview S. Prager.

309. BA-MA, BMRS, File Prager, Heft III, Bl. 50, Prager an Stephan Prager, 15.06.1941.

310. BA-MA, BMRS, File Prager, Heft III, Bl. 57–58, Prager an Stephan Prager, 06.07.1941. Lösener reported that after the war, no more than a dozen mixed marriages were approved, which was a very small number compared with the large number of applications they received. Lösener, pp. 284–85.

311. BA-MA, BMRS, File Prager, Heft III, Bl. 57–58, Prager an Stephan Prager, 06.07.1941.

312. Ibid., Bl. 57–58, Prager an Stephan Prager, 06.07.1941.

313. Ibid., Bl. 34–35, Prager an Stephan Prager, 26.06.1941.

314. Ibid., Bl. 133, Heinrich Prager an Gericht in Kulmbach, 20.11.1941.

315. Ibid., Bl. 17, Prager an Stephan Prager, 17.11.1941.

316. Ibid., S. Prager to Rigg, 05.07.2001.

317. Ibid., Bl. 16.

318. Jews could not travel as of 10 October 1941 without special permission. Maser, p. 266.

319. BA-MA, BMRS, File Prager, Heft III, Bl. 17.

320. Ibid., Bl. 16. Prager an Stephan Prager, 17.11.1941.
321. Ibid.
322. Prager had described half-Jew Robert Borchardt.
323. BA-MA, BMRS, File Prager, Heft III, Bl. 21, Prager an Stephan Prager, 26.11.1941.
324. Amt für Rassenforschung.
325. BA-MA, BMRS, File Prager, Heft III, Bl. 17, Prager an Stephan Prager, 17.11.1941.
327. Ibid., Bl. 65–73, 168, Abschiedsansprache für Hella Prager von Stephan Prager, 10.06.1996.
328. BA-B, R 7.01 Reichskanzlei 4112, Bl. 292, Haehnelt an Lammers, 02.04.1943.
329. Ibid., Bl. 294, Lammers an Haehnelt, 08.04.1943.
330. Messerschmidt, p. 335.
331. Prager’s aunt and uncle, Mathilde and Stefan Blanck, both died in Theresienstadt. Another aunt, Elisabeth Schmitt née Prager, died in Bergen-Belsen sometime in 1942. See also BA-MA, BMRS, File Ernst Prager, Heft II, Bl. 167.
332. An interesting side note to Prager’s case happened a few days before the U.S. Army captured Beyreuth when he had four Luftwaffe deserters executed. He claimed after the war that had he not executed these men, who had tried to escape before and had planned to murder their guard, he might have been shot himself and discipline among the 1,000 men he commanded might have broken down. Regardless of Prager’s reasons, this act caused him some problems after 1945. Although it was known that he and his family were victims of the Nazis, he was denounced as a Nazi sympathizer. As a result, he had to go through a denazification process. Despite humiliating deliberations, Prager was eventually found innocent of all charges of being a Nazi. BA-MA, BMRS, File Prager, Heft II, Bl. 133–140; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Prager. Another interesting note to the Prager story happened several years after the war when the German government awarded him the rank of colonel. This happened after Prager had taken his case to court arguing that without the racial laws, he would have attained this rank. He was proud to receive what he termed “his rightful place in the army.” BA-MA, BMRS, interview Prager.
333. BA-MA, BMRS, File Rainer Gärtner, Heft IV, Bl. 8–9; Ibid., Bl. 11–14, Gärtner an seine Eltern, 02.02.1942.
334. Ibid., Bl. 9, Gärtner an seine Eltern, 05.01.1942, Gärtner an seine Mutter, 02.02.1942.
335. BA-MA, BMRS, File Gärtner, Heft III, Bl. 63–65, Dr. Robert Gärtner an Emil Gärtner, 20.05.1942.
336. Ibid., Bl. 65.
337. Ibid.
338. Ibid., Bl. 64, Dr. Biermann an Dr. Robert Gärtner, (o.D.).
340. Ibid, Heft IV, Bl. 9, Gärtner an seine Eltern, 05.01.1942; Ibid., Heft IV, Bl. 9, Gärtner an seinen Vater, 05.01.1942.
341. Ibid., Heft IV, Bl. 1, Gärtner an seinen Vater, 07.03.1942.
342. Ibid., Heft III, Bl. 40, Dr. Robert Gärtner an Rainer Gärtner, 15.03.1942.
343. Ibid., Bl. 38, Notiz auf Schreiben Dr. Biermann-Ratjen an Dr. Robert Gärtner, 17.03.1942.
344. Ibid., Bl. 63, Dr. Robert Gärtner an Emil Gärtner, 26.03.1942.
345. Ibid., Bl. 45–55.
346. Ibid., Heft III, Bl. 55, Dr. Robert Gärtner an Rainer Gärtner, 27.03.1942.
347. Ibid., Bl. 42, Bestätigung von Schwenn Lindemann, 30.03.1942.
348. Ibid., Heft II, Bl. 7–8, Hannerle an Rainer Gärtner, 20.08.1942.
349. Ibid., Bl. 42, Hauptmann Giese an Eltern Gärtner, 14.01.1945.
350. Ibid., Heft IV, Bl. 115, Gärtner an Giese, 10.02.1945.
351. BA-MA, BMRS, File Dieter Fischer, Heft I, Bl. 80–81, Mettenheim an OKW, 09.09.1941.
352. Ibid., Frey an Mettenheim, 13.09.1941.
353. Ibid., Bl. 77, Frey an Mettenheim, 21.10.1941.
354. BA-MA, BMRS, File Dieter Fischer, Heft I, Bl. 64, Mettenheim an OKW, 04.11.1943.
356. Ibid., Bl. 19.
357. BA-MA, BMRS, File Dieter Fischer, Heft I, Bl. 63, OKW an v. Mettenheim, 22.11.1943.

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

2. A literal translation of *Judenlümmel* is “Jewish lout” or “jerk.”
4. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Reinhard.
5. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Scholz.
7. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hans Pollak, 07.12.1995, T-72. Pollak was wounded five times during the war.
9. BMRS, File Hans-Geert Falkenberg, Heft I, Bl. 34–42, 56; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hans-Geert Falkenberg, 02.02.1997, T-289. Richard Albert Falkenberg (Mountfalcon) served as a private from January 1940 to 1943. In 1943, he was promoted to sergeant and remained at this rank until his honorable discharge in 1945.
11. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Dietrich Moll, 04.03.1995, T-111.
12. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hamburger.
13. BM-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann; Bergmann, pp. 6–7.
15. Ibid., File Hans-Geert Falkenberg, Bl. 60–61, Klein an Falkenberg, 08.07.1940.
16. Ibid., Bl. 60–61.
17. Ibid., Bl. 57, Klein an Falkenberg, 05.04.1942.
18. Ibid., Bl. 58, Klein an Falkenberg, 10.05.1942.
20. BA-MA, BMRS, File Werner Maltzahn, Bl. 2–4.
21. BA-MA, Msg 1/1364, Bl. 59–60.
22. BA-MA, BMRS, File Wolfgang Lennert, Bl. 18, Lennert an seine Mutter, 17.01.1941; BA-MA, BMRS, File Wolfgang Lennert, Bl. 17, Lennert an seine Mutter, 13.01.1941.
23. Ibid., Bl. 1.
25. BA-MA, BMRS, File Wolfgang Lennert, Lennert an seine Mutter, 12.10.1942.
27. Feldwebel is a staff sergeant.
30. Bergmann, pp. 268–9; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann.
32. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Posselt; Posselt, pp. 42–44.
33. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Posselt.
34. BA-MA, BMRS, File Angreß, Bl. 3, 16; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Angreß.
35. BA-MA, BMRS, interview H. Pollak.
38. BA-MA, BMRS, File Richard Czempin, Bl. 62.
39. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Czempin. Czempin’s Jewish father had also committed suicide to prevent his deportation.
40. BA-MA, BMRS, File Joachim Gaehde, Bl. 38.
42. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Horst Schmechel; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hans Schmechel.
43. Not his real name.
44. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Horst G. (Reinhard), 20.11.1994, T-57.
45. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Steinwasser.
46. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Steinwasser; BA-MA, BMRS, File Fritz Steinwasser, Bl. 102.
47. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Steinwasser; BA-MA, BMRS, File Steinwasser, Bl. 102.
51. Bergmann, p. 238.
52. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann.
53. BA-MA, BMRS, File Klaus Florey.
54. Ibid., Florey to Rigg, 05.07.2001.
56. See also Kaplan, p. 195.
57. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hanns Rehfeld.
58. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Löwy.
59. Although some Waffen-SS personnel did serve in the concentration camps, Dr. Josef Mengele being one of the most famous examples, most Waffen-SS did not serve in the concentration camps. Lifton, p. 340.
60. BA-MA, BMRS, File Heinz-Günther Löwy, Bl. 2, Löwy an Rigg, 16.03.1996; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Löwy.
61. BA-MA, BMRS, File Florey.
62. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Catharin; BA-MA, BMRS, File Catharin, Bl. 7, Catharin an Rigg.
64. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Lichtwitz.
65. BA-MA, BMRS, File R. Schenk; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Schenk.
67. Lifton, p. 286; Persico, p. 370.
69. Ibid., p. 446.
70. Hilberg, p. 599.
72. Discussion with the author on 28 October 1998.
73. Senior civil servant. Killy was responsible for finance, budget, labor, audit and civil service matters in the Reichskanzlei. Hilberg, p. 44.

75. Hilberg, p. 53. Rebentisch disputes Hilberg's claim about Killy. See Rebentisch, p. 437, n. 207. Since Killy was a high-ranking official in the Reichskanzlei, he could not have avoided taking part in the Holocaust, actively or passively. However, Lösener writes that Killy was a good friend of his and helped him with Mischlinge. Lösener, p. 272.

76. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Eppinger. He is credited with formulating many significant concepts in hepatology. He identified what is now called viral hepatitis as a hepatocellular disorder and even developed the classification of jaundice.

77. Ibid.

78. Ibid., Bl. 1. Eppinger was not only distraught about his upcoming trial, but also apparently grieving his son's death, which had happened on the Russian front.


80. Wyden, pp. 300–301.

81. Ibid., p. 17.

82. Ibid., p. 231.

83. Stoltzfus, Resistance, pp. 166, 184, 279–81. There were other "catchers" who worked with Stella and Abrahamsohn—Bruno Goldstein, Ruth Danziger, Ralf Isaakssohn, and a man named Frieldenaender, to name just a few. See Wyden, pp. 139–42, 240, 274–76.


85. SS first lieutenant.

86. This camp operated from 18 August 1943 until 29 July 1944. The inmates worked at the Factory Lenta (S.D. Werkstätten). Internationaler Suchdienst, Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS, Comité International Genève (Red Cross), 1979, p. 251.

87. BA-MA, BMRS, File Fritz Scherwitz, Bl. 13.

88. BA-MA, BMRS, File Fritz Scherwitz, Bl. 22. Others have claimed that he helped people in the camp (see BA-MA, BMRS, File Scherwitz, Bl. 25–31). Anita Kugler, however, disputes the accuracy of these sources, which originally came from the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Israel, in her forthcoming biography of Scherwitz, Der jüdische SS-Offizier (personal communication from Kugler, 21 March 2002).

89. The rabbi who said this wishes to remain unknown.

90. BA-MA, BMRS, interview H. Pollak.


92. BA-MA, BMRS, File Schliesser.

93. They had just been pulled out of the combat zone west of Moscow, where they had been in constant combat for eleven months. BA-MA, BMRS, File Horst von Oppenfeld, Oppenfeld to Rigg, 12.02.2001.
94. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Oppenfeld.
97. BA-MA, BMRS, File Ernst Prager, Heft I, Bl. 144; BA-MA, BMRS, File Ernst Prager, S. Prager to Rigg, 05.07.2001.
98. Ibid.; BA-MA, BMRS, interview S. Prager.
99. BA-MA, BMRS, File Ernst Prager, Heft III, Bl. 121.
100. BA-MA, N 379/v. 226, Bl. 39, Langheld an Ruge, 12.05.1956.
101. BA-MA, N 328/45, Ehrhardt an Förste, 14.11.1956. This intervention must have happened sometime between 1940 and 1941 because it was stated that Heß secured her protection. After Bormann took over Heß’s duties in May 1941, it is not known what happened to Frau Langheld née Gerson. However, in the letters Langheld wrote after the war, he mentioned that only his aunts and not his mother died, so one might conclude that she made it safely through the war.
102. Klemperer, Buch II, p. 477, 32.01.1944.
103. SS major.
104. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Krüger; Krüger, pp. 92–94.
105. Krüger, p. 94.
106. Rose had fought on the side of Franco’s forces during the Spanish Civil War.
107. Rose’s father, Siegbert Emil Rose, had been a medical officer (Oberstabsarzt) in the army during World War I.
108. The literal translation for Schwein is “pig,” but here it means “jerk.”
109. BA-MA, BMRS, File Rose, Schnez an Rigg, 30.01.2001. Rose’s parents were killed in Auschwitz soon after their arrival.
110. de Maizière, p. 31; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Albert Schnez, 24.03.1997, T-323.
111. BA-MA, BMRS, File Schlesiess; BA-MA, BMRS, Effenberg, Bl. 9 pp. 1–6.
112. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Techel.
113. Bergmann, p. 257.
114. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann.
115. BA-MA, BMRS, File Schlesiess.
117. Captain Sternberg would later go down with his U-boat.
118. BA-MA, BMRS, File Martin Bier, Bl. 33.
121. Ibid.
122. Ibid., Meissinger to Rigg, 27.01.2001.
123. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Günzel; BA-MA, BMRS, File Günzel, Bl. 3. Hans Günzel received the Wound Badge and the EKI. Peter Günzel received the EKIi and the EK.
124. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Herder.
125. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Dieckmann.
130. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Fuchs.
131. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Harald Etheimer, 02.09.1995, T-164. See also BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bleicher.
133. Steinberg, All or Nothing, pp. 50–51. See also Kaplan, pp. 184, 227.

CONCLUSION
6. Robert B. Edgerton, *Warriors of the Rising Sun* (New York, 1997), p. 226; William Manchester, *Goodbye Darkness* (New York, 1979), pp. 166, 183; Robert T. Oliver, *A History of the Korean People in Modern Times: 1800 to the Present* (Newark, 1993), pp. 110–24. Many Koreans were conscripted by the Japanese armed forces and sent to battle in Manchuria and the Pacific Islands. Several kamikaze pilots were in fact brainwashed Korean high school students. Although Koreans were severely discriminated against in the army, several reached high ranks. For example, Lieutenant General Sa-ick Hong, the commandant of the infamous Manila POW camp, was a Korean and was later executed by the Americans as a war criminal (Japan deliberately transferred him to the prison post near the end of the war). Former Korean president Chung-hee Park was a graduate of the Japanese Military Academy and fought for Japan in Manchuria as an officer. Many thanks to Dr. Kwan-sa You for translating this information from Kap-jae Cho: “Spit on my Grave—The Life of Park Chung-hee,” Chosun Ilbo, Seoul, Korea, article no. 104-116, 1998.

7. It seems that only Japanese living in the coastal areas of California, Oregon, and Washington had to leave for the internment camps. Those Japanese who lived in Hawaii, for example, were not put into camps.

8. Morison and Commager, p. 788; Lauren, pp. 132–33. Not until 21 June 2000 were twenty-two Japanese Americans awarded the Medal of Honor for actions performed during World War II. They had been denied these honors because of their ancestry. These Japanese Americans served in the 442nd Army Regiment, the most decorated regiment of the war. Some people claim that this was a political move on President Clinton’s part during election year to secure the American Asian vote for Gore. For example, every World War II army regiment averaged around one Medal of Honor, but the fact that twenty-two men received this medal from one regiment is quite remarkable if not impossible. As historian and army colonel James Corum says, “It smells of politics.”


10. Turner, p. 36.


12. *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler*, p. 70. See also Guderian, p. 86.


19. Hitler quite often let his ideological beliefs get in the way of military necessity. For example, during the war with Russia, Hitler could have mobilized five mil-
lion women to work in the factories, thereby freeing up to three million men for military service. However, he did not use these women because of “both the physical and moral harm upon German women and damage to their psychic and emotional life and possibly their potential as mothers” if they worked. Craig, Germany, 1866–1945, pp. 735–36, 745–46. See also Rebentisch, p. 435 n. 93; Stephan Salter, “Class Harmony or Class Conflict? The Industrial Working Class and the National Socialist Regime,” in Government, Party, and People in Nazi Germany, pp. 89–91; Kershaw, Hitler, 1936–1945, pp. 563, 567–68.

20. BA-MA, BMRS, general impression gained from this study; Rebentisch, p. 435, n. 200; Adler, Der Verwaltete Mensch, p. 302.


23. Lösener, pp. 281, 311. Judenfreund was described by Robert Gellately as a “term of abuse and a catch-all accusation that could be levelled at persons who had uttered a mild disagreement with some aspect of the racial policies, or had otherwise given reason for suspicion that they did not accept the letter or spirit of Nazi anti-Semitism.” Gellately, Gestapo and German Society, p. 160.


25. For evidence of Hitler’s direct handling of the Holocaust, see Kershaw, Profiles in Power, pp. 82, 115, 157, 178; Kershaw, Nazi Dictatorship, pp. 80–107; Kershaw, Hitler, 1936–1945, pp. 147, 152, 461–64, 468–69, 487, 520–21, 583–84, 616; Richard Breitman “Himmler, The Architect of Genocide,” in Final Solution, p. 73; Christopher R. Browning, “Hitler and the Euphoria of Victory: The Path to the Final Solution,” in Final Solution, pp. 137, 143–45; Goebbels Diaries, 1942–1943, pp. 86, 92, 148, 244, 300; Redlich, pp. 54–55, 104–15, 170–76, 264, 316; Monologe im Führerhauptquartier, 1941–1944, pp. 90, 99, 130, 195, 229; Weinberg, Germany, Hitler, p. 223; Friedländer, p. 3; Maser, pp. 256, 384; Browning, Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers, pp. 1–3; Browning, Ordinary Men, p. 49; Evans, pp. 85, 213–15, 220.


# Bibliography

## Primary Written Sources (Archives)

**Bundesarchiv Aachen (BA-A), Germany**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BA-A</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H 20/490</td>
<td>Pers 36848</td>
<td>RM 123/13043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sammlung Jüdische Soldaten</td>
<td>Pers 45570</td>
<td>RM 123/331944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pers 4393</td>
<td>Pers 45573</td>
<td>RW 55/1589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pers 14492</td>
<td>Pers 49110</td>
<td>RW 55/2163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pers 15380</td>
<td>Pers 53022</td>
<td>RW 55/3843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pers 15499</td>
<td>Pers 63210</td>
<td>RW 55/7211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pers 19147</td>
<td>RM 45/3375</td>
<td>RW 55/7224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pers 36790</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Archiv der Republik Österreich–Vienna, Austria**

Archiv der Republik Österreich (ARÖ) Wien, Pers. Akt. Robert Colli

**Bundesarchiv-Berlin (BA-B), Germany**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BA-B</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15.09/36N</td>
<td>NS 6/764</td>
<td>R 18/520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.09/39</td>
<td>NS 15/39</td>
<td>R 18/5514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.09/43</td>
<td>NS 15/40</td>
<td>R 21/448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.09/52</td>
<td>NS 15/41</td>
<td>R 21 (76)/874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.09/58</td>
<td>NS 15/42</td>
<td>R 21 (76)/875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.09/90</td>
<td>NS 18/482</td>
<td>R 21 (76)/876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS 6/78</td>
<td>NS 19/87</td>
<td>R 21 (76)/877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS 6/98</td>
<td>NS 19/199</td>
<td>R 21 (76)/878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS 6/200</td>
<td>NS 19/415</td>
<td>R 41/381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS 6/222</td>
<td>NS 19/453</td>
<td>R 43 II/4182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS 6/283</td>
<td>NS 19/1194</td>
<td>R 43 II/599</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS 6/338</td>
<td>NS 19/1614</td>
<td>R 43 II/1036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS 6/339</td>
<td>NS 19/1772</td>
<td>R 43 II/1273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS 6/341</td>
<td>NS 19/2177</td>
<td>R 58/276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS 6/342</td>
<td>NS 19/3134</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS 6/346</td>
<td>NS 19/3857</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS 6/347</td>
<td>NS 22/1051</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS 6/349</td>
<td>R 3/1583</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS 6/487</td>
<td>R 7.01 Reichskanzlei</td>
<td>DZA (Potsdam) 62 Ka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv-Freiburg (BA-MA), Germany**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BA-MA</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H 6/172</td>
<td>Msg 1/1364</td>
<td>Msg 1/3417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Msg 1/331</td>
<td>Msg 1/1365</td>
<td>Msg 2/5078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Msg 1/793</td>
<td>Msg 1/1570</td>
<td>Msg 44/101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Msg 1/1363</td>
<td>Msg 1/3414</td>
<td>N 39/62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DDS</td>
<td>Pers Paul Ascher</td>
<td>Pers Franz Mendelssohn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pers Erich Astheimer</td>
<td>Pers Anton Mayer</td>
<td>Deutsche Dienststelle-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pers Martin Baltzer</td>
<td>Pers Conrad Patzig</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Deutsche Dienststelle–Berlin (DDS), Germany

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DDS</th>
<th>Pers Paul Ascher</th>
<th>Pers Franz Mendelssohn</th>
<th>Pers Arnold Techel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pers Erich Astheimer</td>
<td>Pers Anton Mayer</td>
<td>Deutsche Dienststelle-</td>
<td>Berlin Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pers Martin Baltzer</td>
<td>Pers Conrad Patzig</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM), Ziff. Nr. 1041, 18.08.1941

### Heeres-Verordnungsblatt (HVBL.), Nr. 73, 1933

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HVBl., Nr. 131, 1940</th>
<th>HVBl., Nr. 202, 1942</th>
<th>HVBl., Nr. 926, 25.09.1942</th>
<th>HVBl., Nr. 848, 05.09.1941</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>


### Institut für Zeitgeschichte–Munich (IFZ), Germany


### IfZ, N 71-73

### Eichmann Prosecution Document, Police d’Israel Quartier General 6-ème Bureau No. 878, 994, 1102, 1105, 1355

| MA 103/1 | MA 125/8 380458 |
**Munich’s Legal Records—Munich, Germany**
Stadtarchiv Bonn, Germany
D 2797, P 18/130

**Bryan Mark Rigg-Sammlung (Collection), Bundesarchiv—Militärarchiv—Freiburg (BA-MA, BMRS), Germany**
BA-MA, BMRS,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>File Heinz Günther</th>
<th>File Lt. Fränzel</th>
<th>File Otto Kohn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angreß</td>
<td>File Karl-Heinrich Fricke</td>
<td>File Hans-Joachim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Heinrich Bamberger</td>
<td>File Hans-Georg von Friedeburg</td>
<td>File Körner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Fritz Baruch</td>
<td>File Ludwig Ganghofer</td>
<td>File Heinz-Jürgen Kühl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Hanns-Heinz Bauer</td>
<td>File Rainer Gärtner</td>
<td>File Hermann Lange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Helmut Baum</td>
<td>File Horst Geiger</td>
<td>File Georg Langheld</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Dieter Bergmann</td>
<td>File Horst Geitner</td>
<td>File Hans Christian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Gert Beschütz</td>
<td>File Yosef Getreuer</td>
<td>Lankes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Herbert Beyer</td>
<td>File Gerhart von Gierke</td>
<td>File Wolfgang Lausinger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Gerhard Bier</td>
<td>File Helmut von Gottberg</td>
<td>File Joachim Le Coutre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Martin Bier</td>
<td>File Wilhelm von Gottberg</td>
<td>File Herbert Lefèvre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Heinz Bleicher</td>
<td></td>
<td>File Walter Lehweiß-Litzmann</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Ernst Bloch</td>
<td></td>
<td>File Joachim Ledloff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Erik Blumenfeld</td>
<td>File Wolfram Günther</td>
<td>File Wolfgang Lennert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Robert Borchardt</td>
<td>File Hans Güntzel</td>
<td>File Heinrich Levin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Oscar Bosch</td>
<td>File Gerhard Gutstadt</td>
<td>File Erika Leykam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Achim von Bredow</td>
<td>File Franz and Thomas</td>
<td>File Friedemann Lichtwitz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Dietmar Brücher</td>
<td>Haller</td>
<td>File Rudolf Löwenfeld</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Otto Buchinger</td>
<td>File Walter Hamburger</td>
<td>File Heinz-Günther Löwy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Werner Bujakowsky</td>
<td>File Johannes Heckert</td>
<td>File Ernst Ludwig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Walter Bürck</td>
<td>File Gotthard Heinrici</td>
<td>File Emil Lux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Peter Cahn</td>
<td>File Hartmut Heinrici</td>
<td>File Werner Maltzahn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Alfred Catharin</td>
<td>File Bernt von Helmont</td>
<td>File Alfred Marian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Richard Cohn</td>
<td>File Franz Henle</td>
<td>File Ludwig Mayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Robert Czempin</td>
<td>File Karl Henle</td>
<td>File Hans Meissinger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File di Simoni</td>
<td>File Heinz Georg</td>
<td>File Viktor Mendel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Wilhelm Dröscher</td>
<td>Heymann</td>
<td>File Franz Mendelsohn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Du Bois-Reymond</td>
<td>File Hans Hiefner</td>
<td>File Georg Meyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Heinz Eder</td>
<td>File Paul-Ludwig</td>
<td>File Günther Mirauer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Dieter Effenberg</td>
<td>Hirschfeld</td>
<td>File Georg-Friedrich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Kurt Einstein</td>
<td>File Walther Hofmann</td>
<td>Müller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Werner Eisner</td>
<td>File Kurt Heinrich</td>
<td>File Hans Mühlbacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Hans Eppinger</td>
<td>Hohenemser</td>
<td>File Heino Nave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Walter Falk</td>
<td>File Walter Hollaender</td>
<td>File Carl Neubronner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Hans-Geert Falk</td>
<td>File Wilhelm Hollaender</td>
<td>File Helmut Niemann</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Falkenberg</td>
<td>File Helmuth Jacobsen</td>
<td>File Peter Noah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Bettina Fehr</td>
<td>File Edgar Jacoby</td>
<td>File Horst von Oppenfeld</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Dieter Fischer</td>
<td>File Georg Wilhelm Jäger</td>
<td>File August Oestreicherr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Klaus Florey</td>
<td>File Hans Kirchholtes</td>
<td>File Conrad Patzig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Eugen Frank</td>
<td>File Gerd zu Klampen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIBLIOGRAPHY

File Ernst Prager
File Hanns Rehfeld
File Johannes Reich
File Anton Paul Rengers
File Joachim von Ribbentrop
File Heinz Rohr
File Joachim Rohr
File Bernhard Rogge
File Friedrich-Karl Rogge
File Helmut Rosenbaum
File Fritz Rosenhaupt
File Christian Rosenthal
File Hans Sander
File Gunther Scheffler
File Karl Heinz Scheffler
File Konrad Schenck
File Rolf Schenk
File Fritz Scherwitz
File Heinz Schleipre
File Peter Schlesiwer
File Klaus von Schmelings-Diringshofen
File Hans Schmitt
File Helmut Schmoeckel
File Gerd Schneider
File Eike Schweitzer
File Werner Seldis
File Herbert Simon
File Wolfgang Spier
File Hermann Steinthal
File Fritz Steinwasser
File Georg Struzyna
File Rolf von Sydow
File Karl Taraba
File Karl-Arnd Techel
File Rolf Vogel
File Wolfgang Voigt
File Helmut Wilberg
File Johann Zukertort
File Karl Zukertort
Lecture given at Yale by Shlomo Perel, 22 April 1994

INTERVIEWS

BA-MA, BMRS, interview

H. A., 18.11.1997
Heinz Günter Angreß, 10.12.1994
Gert Ascher, 17.11.1997
Ursula Ascher, 17.11.1997
Egon Bahr, 13.02.1995
Heinrich Bamberger, 08.11.1994
Fritz Baruch, 31.07.1997
Hanns-Heinz Bauer, 29.03.1998
Dietrich Beelitz, 16.11.1997
Elisabeth Behrend, 03.03.1997
Wolfgang Behrendt, 21.11.1994
Wilhelmina Bensasul, 19.01.1997
Hans B. (Bernheim), 29.10.1998
Rabbi Chaskel Besser, 15.01.1993
Gerhard Bier, 25.09.1994
Martin Bier, 25.09.1994
Heinz Bleicher, 10.02.1995
Martin Bloch, 13.10.1996
Martin Bloch, 04.12.1996
Adolf Blum, 22.04.1995
Lenni Blum, 22.04.1995
Thilo Bode, 24.02.1995
Elisabeth Borchardt, 18.02.1995
Margot Braun, 07.01.1996
Robert Braun, 10–14.08.1994
Robert Braun, 11.03.1995
Robert Braun, 07.01.1996
Felix Bruck, 18.04.1997
Walter Brück, 12.07.1997

Dietmar Brücher, 17.02.1995
Klaus Budzinski, 15.11.1994
Susi Byk, 23.11.1995
Hans Cahn, 11.12.1996
Peter Cahn, 17.03.1995
Peter Cahn, 11.12.1996
Alfred Catharin, 04.01.1996
Richard Czempin, 09.02.1995
Ulrich de Maizière, 24.03.1997
Hans-Oskar Löwenstein de Witt, 06.12.1994
Yoav Delarea, 05.07.1998
Hans Döppes, 19.01.1996
Wolfgang Ebert, 13.07.1997
Harald Etheimer, 02.09.1995
Hans-Geert Falkenberg, 02.02.1997
Gerhard Fecht, 18.11.1997
Dieter Fischer, 12.12.1996
Herbert Frank, 27.06.1995
Niklas Frank, 16.10.1996
Hugo Freund, 30.11.1994
Ludwig von Friedeburg, 01.12.1997
Hugo Fuchs, 08.07.1995
Peter Gaupp, 17.01.1995
Peter Gaupp, 27.04.1996
Ursula Gaupp, 08.07.1995
Ursula Gaupp, 27.04.1996
Horst Geitner, 38.03.1997
Gerhart von Gierke, 05.04.1997
Hildegard von Gierke, 29.11.1997
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Rolf von Gierke, 29.11.1997
Hansotto Goebel, 07.12.1996
Werner Goldberg, 17.10.1994
Horst G. (Reinhard), 20.11.1994
J. G., 05.01.1995
Harald von Gottberg, 09.07.1997
Helmut von Gottberg, 09–10.11.1996
Rolf Gottschalk, 01.12.1994
Werner Gramsch, 16.11.1996
Michael Günther, 12.08.1996
Hans Günzel, 23–24.07.1997
Wilhelm von Gwinner, 17.11.1994
Walter Hamburger, 3–6.11.1994
Michael Hauck, 24.11.1994
Bernt von Helmolt, 22.07.1997
Eva Heinrichs, 09.02.1997
Kurt Heinrichs, 09.02.1997
Dr. Heinrici, 16.05.1996
Eduard Hesse, 30.10.1998
Hans von Herwarth, 12.09.1994
Heinz-Georg Heymann, 09.04.1995
Paul Hirschfeld, 15–16.08.1994
Paul Hirschfeld, 22.11.1996
Kurt Hohenmser, 28.11.1994
Jochen Hollaender, 14.12.1996
Hertha-Barbara Hollaender, 21.11.1995
Hertha- Barbara Hollaender, 12.11.1996
Hans Homberger, 08.04.1995
Frhr. von Hornstein, 16.06.1996
Barbara Jacoby, 17.11.1994
Fritz Kassowitz, 04.01.1996
Friedemann Lichtwitz, 18.07.1997
Jörn Lehweß-Litzmann, 27.05.1997
Heinz-Günther Löwy, 12.01.1996
Otto Lüderitz, 28.03.1997
Ernst Ludwig, 22.01.1997
Emil Lux, 10.05.1997
Max Mannheimer, 18.11.1994
Rüdiger von Manstein, 17.11.1994
Franz Margold, 18.05.1996
Hans Meissinger, 17.09.1996
Friedrich Meissner, 17.09.1996
Friedrich Meissner, 12.01.1996
Margot Meyer von Rühle, 02.09.1995
Helmut Meyer-Krahmer, 27.07.1997
Rosemarie Mirauer, 24.02.1997
Dietrich Moll, 04.03.1995
Hans Mühlbacher, 18.09.1994
Hermann Nast-Kolb, 22.11.1994
Karl Neubronner, 09.04.1995
Heinz Neumaier, 21.04.1995
Theodor Oberländer, 19-09.1994
Richard Ohm, 11.02.1995
Horst von Oppenfeld, 05.01.1995
Karl Partsch, 14.12.1994
Shlomo Perel, 10.09.1994
Ingrid Pfleitner, 15.04.1995
Hans Pollak, 07.12.1995
Alfred Posselt, 04.01.1996
Stephan Prager, 11.10.1997
Hans Radványi, 07.01.1996
Hans Ranke, 09.12.1994
Hermann Rath, 08.04.1995
Erich Rauchfüß, 02.04.1995
Hans Rehfeld, 16.11.1996
Johannes Reich, 28.12.1995
Ludwig Reinhard, 13.01.1996
Richard Riess, 15.10.1994
Ruth Rilk, 05.02.1997
Friedrich Rubien, 27.07.1997
Jürgen Ruge, 15.04.1995
H. S., 16.11.1995
Rudolf Sachs, 20.11.1995
Christoph-Michael Salinger, 08.10.1998
Stefan Sander, 10.07.1997
Joachim Schaper, 25.05.1997
Günther Scheffler, 10.03.1995
Günther Scheffler, 14.12.1996
Karl-Heinz Scheffler, 09.03.1995
Karl-Heinz Scheffler, 19.05.1996
Walter Scheinberger, 18.03.1995
Rolf Schenk, 23.01.1997
Gerhard Schiller, 11.02.1995
Heinz Schindler, 26.10.1997
Friedrich Schlesinger, 10.12.1994
SECONDARY SOURCES


Angress, Werner T. “Prussia’s Army and the Jewish Reserve Officer Controversy before World War I.” Leo Baeck Yearbook 17 (1972): 17–54.


Fest, Joachim C. *The Face of Third Reich.* Vermont, 1970.


Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt, ed. Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich. Berlin, 1903
Kaplan, Marion A. Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany. New York, 1998.


Lieblich, Max J. *Das jüdische Bekenntnis als Hinderungsgrund bei der Beförderung zum preußischen Reserveoffizier*. Berlin, 1911.


Lupfer, Timothy T. The Dynamics of Doctrine: The Changes in German Tactical Doctrine during the First World War. Fort Leavenworth, 1981.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>———.</td>
<td>“Ich hatt’ einen Kameraden.”</td>
<td>Der Soldat, 12 July</td>
<td>1995</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Weimarer historisch-genealogisches Taschenbuch des gesamten Adels jehudäischen Ursprungs. München, 1912.
Weinberg, Gerhard L. Germany, Hitler, and World War II. New York, 1996.
Whitley, M. J. Destroyer! German Destroyers in World War II. Maryland, 1983.
Army Personnel Group Office (P1), 91, 229
Army Personnel Group Office (P2), 229, 318
Army Personnel Group Office (P5), 229
Army Personnel Office, 151, 204, 218, 229, 235. See also OKH Personnel Office
Army Personnel Office (P2 Group IV), 194, 229
Army Reserve Police Units, 137
Army Weapons Development Office, 216
Aronson, Shlomo, 349
family members of Jews and Mischlinge, 96, 97
Hitler’s definition of, 16
Nazi definition of, 79
Aryan Declarations, 89, 117, 151
Aryanization (Arisierung). See Arisierung
Ascher, Paul, 125, 186
Ascher, Sammy, 78, 310, 311
Asenath (Joseph’s wife), 7
Assault Badge, 114, 139
Assimilation, 2, 21, 51–65, 88, 93, 299, 300, 303
Association of High-Ranking Civil Servants, 80
Association of National German Jews, 12, 88
Atatürk (leader of Turkey), 356
Atlantic (military front during World War II), 82
Atlantis (surface raider), 206–207
Auerstedt (Battle of, 1806), 67
Auschwitz extermination camp, 18, 22, 24, 41, 152, 164, 167, 170, 181, 251, 254, 255, 256, 257, 262, 264, 271, 283, 328, 343
Ausnahmebehandlung (exceptional treatment), 126, 201, 232, 236
Ausnahmebewilligung (special exemption), 237
Australia, 40
Austria, 59–60, 174, 298–299
Anschluß of, 59, 102, 106–107
number of Jews in 1910, 308
number of Jews in 1938, 302
number of Mischlinge in 1938, 302
policy toward Jews in the military, 69, 307
number of Jewish soldiers from the 17th to 19th century, 66, 69
number of Jews who died in World War I, 73
number of Jews who fought against Napoleon, 69
number of Jews who fought for the Austro-Hungarian Empire, 73
policy toward Jews, 69, 73–74
Austrian Bundesheer, 106
Austrian Jews, 2, 308
Austrian Republic, 348
Austrians and anti-Semitism in 1938, 106
Automedon (U.K. steamship), 40
B., Valerie (née Bergmann), 37
Backenköhler, Margarete. See Lütjens, Margarete
Backenköhler, Admiral Otto, 82, 313
Baden (province in Germany), 161
Baden Gauleiter, 187
Baeck, Rabbi Leo, 72
Bahr, Egon, 123
Balkans, 131, 133, 238
Ball, Rudi, 184, 335
Ballin, Albert, 71, 307
Baltic Germans, 60
Baltic Sea, 262
Baltic States, 169
Baltzer, Admiral Martin, 154
Bamberger, Heinrich, 118, 188, 328
Bang, Ferdinand, 115
Baptism, 7, 52, 58, 70
Baptized Jews, 67, 71
Barbarossa (invasion of Russia, 22 June 1941), 134, 135, 334
Barkai, Avraham, 299, 300, 302
Bauern (Switzerland), 161
Battle Group Rogge, 207
Bauer, OT-Frontführer, 165
Bauer, Yehuda, 170
Bavaria (province in Germany), 68, 304
Bavarian army: policies toward Jews, 68, 71
Bavarian State Office of Reparations, 46
Bayreuth (Germany), 241
Beck, General Ludwig, 83, 84, 85, 87
Beckhardt, Fritz, 73, 308
Beelitz, General Dietrich, 84, 208
Behr, Stephan, 299
Behrendt, Wolfgang, 32
Beindorff, Friedrich, 183
Beindorff, Fritz, 354
Beindorff, Johann-Christoph, 183
Beindorff, Klaus, 183
Beindorff, Wolfgang, 183
Belci (Rumania), 255
Belgium, 169
Belle-Alliance (Battle of, 1815), 68
Belorussia (Russia), 169
Below, Nikolaus von (Luftwaffe adjutant), 205–206, 209, 210, 324, 361, 368
Belzec death camp, 251
Benary, Lieutenant Colonel Albert, 13–14, 280
Bendix, Johanna. See Broell, Johanna
Bendemann, Admiral Felix von, 307
Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, 264
Berges, August (Marinenstabsrichter; naval judge), 26
Bergmann, Dieter, 22, 25, 28, 37, 41, 42, 48, 123, 124, 125, 164, 248–249, 251, 252, 253, 262
Bergmann, Ernst, 22
Bergmann, Gretel, 335
Bergmann, Ulrich, 125
Bergmann, Valerie, 37
Bering, Dietz, 54
Berlin (defense of 1945), 166
Berlin (Germany), xi, 15, 45, 146, 147, 156, 160, 161, 203, 251, 253, 258, 261
Berlin Artillery School, 68
Berlin High Military Court (Oberkriegsgericht), 87
Berlin Jewish Community Center, 68
Berlin Opera House, 41
Berlin’s Police Headquarters, 237
Berlin’s Sports Palace, 145
Berlling, Lieutenant, 153
Bernheim, Hans, 110
Bessarabian Germans, 60
Besser, Rabbi Chaskel, 92
Bewährungsbataillon (penal battalions), 136, 153, 154, 335
Bewährungssoldat, 136
Beyer, Herbert, 160, 162, 163
Bible (Christian), 185
Bier, Georg, 263
Bier, Gerhard, 170, 263
Bier, Gustav, 263
Bier, Martin, 210–211, 263
Biermann-Ratjen, Hans-Harder, 242, 243
Bildung (education), 12
Binder, Fritz, 42, 48, 371
Birth rate (Germany), 54, 300
Bismarck (battleship), 82, 125, 186, 313
Bismarck, Herbert von, 305
Bismarck, Marguerite von (née Gräfin Hoyos), 305
Bismarck, Chancellor Otto von, 69, 301, 304, 308

Bittgesuch (request for clemency), 205

“Black” persons, 20

Blank, Mathilde, 58, 260

Blankenburg, Oberberichsleiter Werner, 26, 31, 116–117, 126, 146, 188, 192, 193, 205, 214, 219, 224, 226, 227, 228, 230

Blau, Bruno, 61, 284, 302, 342

Bleicher, Heinz, 122–123, 255, 256

Bleicher, Helen (née Wolff), 255

Blitzkrieg, history of operational concept, 178

Bloch, Eduard, 175–176

Bloch, Ernst, 160, 234, 342

Blomberg, Frau Margarethe (née Gruhn), 105, 324

Blomberg, General Werner von, 30, 79, 80, 81, 82, 85, 86, 87, 100, 102, 106, 177, 200, 201, 205, 236, 237, 324

Hitler removes from Wehrmacht, 105

on Mischlinge, 101

on Nazi teachings in the Wehrmacht, 101

and Nuremberg Laws, 99, 102

views on Hitler, 86

views on how many non-Aryans served in Reichswehr, 80

on why non-Aryans could serve, 88

Blome, Kurt, 224, 227


“Blood and Soil” (Blut und Boden), 14, 84, 280, 315

“Blue Max.” See Pour le Mérite Medal

Blum, Adolf, 48

Blum, Lenni, 48

Blumenfeld, Erik, 24, 286

Blumentritt, General Guenther, 208

Bode, Thilo, 207

Boehm, Admiral Hermann, 179

Bohr, Niels, 345

Böhme, Irmgard, 133, 229

Bolsheviks and Bolshevism, 12, 15, 108, 133, 137, 232, 269

Borchardt, Ernst, 196

Borchardt, Philipp, 196, 358

Borchardt, Robert, 84, 196, 239–240, 314

Borchardt, (Uncle) Robert, 358

Borchardt, Rudolf, 358–359

Bornmann, Albert, 226–227, 228, 368

Bornmann, Martin, 17, 133, 144, 146, 147, 151, 157, 159–160, 162–163, 167, 175, 182, 192, 193, 203, 220, 221, 222, 223–228, 230, 231, 233, 272, 273, 368, 378

Bosch, Oscar, 353

Bossart, Egon, 44

Bouhler, Philipp, 117, 126, 151, 183, 192, 193, 205, 219–220, 221, 223–225, 227–228, 287, 328, 368

Boycott (1 April 1933), 77

Bracher, Karl Dietrich, 271

Brack, Viktor, 116, 221, 328

Brauchitsch, Field Marshal Walther von, 113, 145, 207, 213, 214, 237

Bräuer, Carl, 29

Braun, Leopold, 13

Braun, Margot, 22

Braun, Robert, 13, 22, 24, 33, 107, 120, 121, 171, 235

Braunschweig (Germany), 200

Bredow, Ada von, 112

Bredow, Graf Achim von, 37, 112, 179

Bredow, Graf Wolf von, 37

Breslau (Germany), 33, 161, 256, 291, 343

Breslau Ortsgruppenleiter, 90

Breth (France), 132

Briesen, General Kurt von, 180, 352

Briesen, Rüdiger von, 180, 352

British Asian possessions, 40
British Commander-in-Chief, Far East, 40
Brockdorß-Ahlefeldt, General Count Erich von, 142
Brockhoff, Walther, 234
Brockhusen, Irmgard von (née Hindenburg), 213, 237
Broell, Johanna (née Bendeix), 142
Brücher, Dietmar, 110–111, 124
Bruck, Felix, 104, 131
Brunner, Alois, 169
Buchenwald concentration camp, 106, 170, 248, 250, 254, 255, 257, 286, 343
Budzinski, Klaus, 165
Bujakowsky, Werner, 183
Bukovinian Germans, 60
Bundesarchiv (Freiburg), xii
Bundeswehr Ministry of Defense, 84
Burg, Major Meno, 68, 69
Burgdorf, General Wilhelm, 232, 234, 235
Bürkner, Felix, 137, 146, 159–160 341
Buschbeke, E. H., 302
Bütow, Alfred, 35, 44, 46
Büttner, Ursula, 3, 166, 303, 360
Cadek, Karl, 211–212
Cahn, Max, 342
Cahn, Ottilie (Tilly) Cahn (née Schulze), 341–342
Cahn, Peter, 164
Calic, Edouard, 350
California (U.S.A.), 183
Calvelli-Adorno, Franz, 263
Cambridge University (England), xi-xii
Canaan, 6
Canaris, Admiral Wilhelm, 106, 177, 182, 324, 342
Capitalism, 185
Caserne Mortier (OT) forced labor camp, near the metro station Porte des Lilas in Paris, 164, 165
Casualties (German, during the Russian Campaign), 185–186
Catharin, Alfred, 236
Catholicism, 173, 300
Caucasus, 283
Celle Mortar School, 250
Central Archives of German Jews, 92–93
Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith, 61, 71–72, 73
Chemical Warfare Service (World War I), 73
Chiang Kai-shek, 83, 314
China, 83, 84, 205, 239, 314, 315, 369
“Chosen” people, 6, 15
Christ, 15. See also Jesus
Christian Germans, 2, 72–73, 185
Christians and Christianity, 17, 20, 75, 185
conversion to Judaism, 17
Jews and Mischlinge conversion to, 16, 18, 35, 46, 52, 58, 212, 238, 240, 298, 299, 301, 306, 309
persecution of Jews and Mischlinge, 23
Christmas, 255
Chromosomes, 17
Circumcision (bris), 7, 28, 32, 34, 44, 249, 291
Citadel (Zitadelle), 40
Civil War (U.S.), 267
Cohen, Claus, 165
Cohen, Hermann, 72
Cohen, Joachim, 141, 142
Cohn, Richard, 89
Cohn, Werner, 4, 61
Colli, Robert, 90–91
Colombia, 43
Colonial Troops (German) 309
Commissar Order. See Kommissarbefehl
Commissars (Soviet), 134
Communism and Communists, 11, 15, 44, 74, 184, 269
Concentration camp prisoners (KZ-Häftlinge), 45
Condor Legion, 179, 351, 359
Confederate Armed Forces, number of African-American who fought for, 267, 379
Confederate States of America, 267
Congress of Vienna (1815), 301
Conservative Movement (Judaism), 9, 48
Conti, Leonardo, 227
Conversion(s), 7–8, 55, 58, 70, 278, 299
Hitler's explanation of why Jews convert, 21
number of c. of Austrian Jews in Vienna, 52
number of c. of German Jews, 51–53
in Prussian army, 71
Cornely, Hans, 122
Corum, James, 30, 79, 177, 322, 380
Covenant (B'rit), 6
Crete (Battle of, 1941), 120, 125
Crimea (Russia), 67
Crimean Karaimes, 283
Cripps, Sir Stafford, 223
Croneiss, SA-Colonel Theo, 29
Crystal Night (9–10 November 1938). See Reichskristallnacht
Cushite, 7
Czechoslovakia, 59, 294, 302
Czempin, Alex, 252–253
Czempin, Robert, 252–253, 375
D., Anton, 47
Dachau concentration camp, 165, 170, 196, 217, 248, 254, 257, 258
DAF. See Deutsche Arbeitsfront
Datsch (German), 12
Dalberg, Gert, 74
Dan (Israelite tribe), 276
Danes (half-Jewish), 168
Danite, 6, 276
Dankbardt, Herr, 157
Danzig (Germany), 59–60, 252, 302
Danzig Artillery School, 68
Danziger, Ruth, 377
Dark Ages, 12
Darré, Walter, 280, 315
Das Schwarze Korps (SS organ), 58, 88
Dawidowicz, Lucy, 265
Death sentences (during the Third Reich), 340
Deimling, General von, 74
Deist, Wilhelm, 105–106
De Lange, Nicholas, 8
Denmark, 118, 168–169, 345
Denunciations, 89, 93, 94, 102
Deportation(s), 90, 126, 133, 136, 139, 142, 152, 153, 155, 162, 170, 240, 251–253, 261–262
Aryan relatives help prevent d. of Mischling relatives, 169, 268
Mischling help (or try to) prevent d. of relatives, 140–141, 240–241, 261
Der Blaue Engel (film), 293
Derenburg OT forced labor camp (Harz), 164
Destroyer flotillas, 180
Der Stürmer (anti-Semitic newspaper), 17, 109, 169
Deuteronomy, 8
Deutschblütigkeitserklärung (German blood certificates), 31–32, 91, 103, 105, 115, 126, 137, 139, 144, 148, 149, 159, 162–165, 180, 183, 186, 187, 188, 189–198, 199, 201, 203, 205, 206,
Deutsche Arbeitsfront (DAF; German Labor Front), 187
Deutsche Dienststelle, xii
Deutsches Afrika-Korps (German Africa Corps), 103, 131–132
Deutsches Ärzteblatt (German Medical Doctors Magazine), 128
Deutsche Versuchsanstalt für Luftfahrt (DVL), 132
Deutsche Vortrupp. See German Vanguard
Devil, Hitler as, 41
Diaspora, 8
Dieckmann, Heinz, 44, 264, 295
Dietrich, Marlene, 128
Dietz, Heinrich, 156–157, 187–188, 189, 192, 228, 341
Dinter, Arthur, 320
Dirlwanger, SS-Oberführer Oskar, 344
Dissidents (Jewish), 51–53, 298, 299
Divorce, 33
Doehla, General Heinrich, 89
Dohnanyi, Hans von, 286
Dollbois, John E., 32, 288
Dollersheim (Austria), 174, 348
Dollfuß, Engelbert, 348
 Dönitz, Grand Admiral Karl, 154
Down Syndrome, 30
Draft (16 March 1935), 88
Drancy concentration camp, 33, 256
Dresden Gestapo headquarters, 261
Dresden Kriegsschule, 204
Dröschel, Wilhelm, 33, 39, 171
Du-Bois Reymond, Prosper, 118
Du-Bois Reymond, Tycho, 118
Dünaburg (Dugavpils) (Latvia), 254
Eastern Jews (Ostjuden), 11–13, 15, 24, 109–110, 269
Eberbach, General Heinrich, 212

Ebert, Sonja, 145
Ebert, Wolfgang, 145
Egypt, 6, 276
Ehrhardt, Admiral Werner, 186
Ehrlich, Captain, 142
Eichmann, Adolf (SS-Obersturmbannführer), 21, 128, 129, 139, 147, 171, 260, 261, 354
8th Destroyer Flotilla, 352
Einem, Karl von (Prussian War minister and general), 71
Einsatzgruppen (“task groups”; mobile killing units), 135, 255
Einstein, Frau, 165
Einstein, Kurt, 163
Eisenach (Germany), 15
Eisenhower, General Dwight D., 313
Eisner, Kurt, 15, 281
Eisner, Mijail (Michael), 47
Eisner, Werner, 22, 47, 152
Eitel, Christa, 197–198
Eitel, Ludwig, 197–198
EKI (Iron Cross First Class), 34, 39, 72, 74, 76, 80, 90, 111, 163, 176, 204, 207, 208, 209, 212, 214, 237, 260, 290, 324, 378
EKII (Iron Cross Second Class), 34, 39, 72, 74, 76, 103, 111, 114, 119, 120, 122, 124, 139, 140, 163, 180, 188, 195, 204, 207, 208, 209, 210, 214, 218, 237, 245, 248, 252, 260, 261, 290, 324, 336, 378
Elek, Iona, 355
Emancipation of 1806, 60, 302
of 1812, 59, 67, 301
of 1871, 59, 301
Emigration, 88, 247–248, 303
Emperor (Japanese), 40
Enabling Act (March 1933), 77
Endlösung (Final Solution), 128, 147, 167, 168, 176, 250
Engelbert, Ulrich, 74
England, 69, 124, 248
Ephraim, Veitel, 67
Eppenstein, Ritter Hermann von, 316
Eppinger, Hans, 258, 259, 377
Erdmann, Georg, 194, 229–230, 232, 233
Erzberger, Matthias, 175, 349
Etheimer, Harald, 313
Ethiopia, 7
Ethiopian Jews (Falashas), 8–9, 278
Euler, Wilfried, 313
Euphrates, 6
Europa Europa (film), xi
"Euthanasia Action" (notorious T-4 office), 30, 169, 170, 328, 346–347
Evans, Richard, 350
Execution, 26, 153–154, 254, 256, 259
Exemptions
  corruptions in getting, 183
  for half-Jews, 117, 126, 130, 148, 150, 157, 172–194
  of non-Aryans, 89
  number of, 189–194
  for quarter-Jews, 117–118, 140, 147, 157, 172–194
  under the Nuremberg Racial Laws, 98
  in the Wehrmacht, 101–102
  why Hitler granted exemptions, 172–189
Extermination camps. See Concentration/extinction camps
Ezra (Jewish prophet), 99, 321
Falk, Walter, 87, 316
Falkenberg, Hans-Geert, 21, 37–38, 165, 248, 249, 250, 251, 292, 344
Falkenberg, Richard Albert, 248, 374
Falkenhain, General Alexander von, 83
Falscher Makel (wrong blemish), 48, 296
Falsifying documents. See Lying
Fecht, Gerhard, 23
Fehr, Bettina, 303
Fest, Joachim, 350
Fichte, Johann Gottlieb, 52
5th Destroyer Flotilla, 352
5th Division, 204
5th Luftflotte, 182
5th Panzerjäger Company, 314
56th Infantry Division, 209
Fighter Pilot Aces (World War II), 39
Fikentscher, Admiralstabssarzt, 115
"Final Solution." See Endlösung
First Final Solution Conference. See Wannsee Conference
Fischer, Dieter, 113–114, 119, 136–137, 371
Fischer, Eberhardt, 246
Fischer, Erwin, 113, 327
Flanders Campaign (World War I), 178
Fleischmann, Herr, 164–165
Florey, Gretel (née Pick), 111
Florey, Klaus, 111, 255, 256, 306, 326
Flying Dutchman, The (opera), 16
Foertsch, Hermann, 84
Fontane, Theodor, 69
Foreign Ministry’s "Jewish Desk" (Judenreferat), 147
Foreign Office, 184
408th Division (Breslau), 90
4th Destroyer Flotilla, 352
4th Panzer Division, 212
Francken, Edgar, 146–147, 338
Francken, Hermann, 146, 338
Francken, Julie (née Spier), 338
Francken, Max, 338
Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871), 70, 306
Frank, Hans, 168, 173, 348
Frank, Ludwig (Reichstag deputy), 72
Frank, Niklas, 173, 348
Frankenberger family, 173, 174, 348
Frankenreiter family, 173
Frankfurt (Germany), 47–48, 161, 246
Frankl, Wilhelm, 72
Fränkel, H., 180
Frauenschaft meeting (Nazi), 90
Frederick the Great, 66–67, 304
Free French, 132
Freiburg (Germany), xii
Freikorps, 74, 309
French Campaign (1940), 118, 127
French colonial soldiers, 20
French POW’s, 122, 257
Freund, Hugo, 42
Freund, Sigmund, 70, 266
Freytag, Gustav, 349
Frick, Wilhelm (Interior minister), 17, 21, 79, 96, 99, 101, 200, 201, 371
Friedländer, Hugo, 136, 137
Friedländer, Johann (lieutenant field marshal), 181, 353
Friedländer, Leona Margarethe (née Abel), 181
Friedländer, Saul, 4, 310, 355
Fritsch, Theodor, 281
Fritsch, General Werner Freiherr von, 85, 89, 103, 155, 205, 269
Fromm, General Friedrich, 159
Frontbewartungseinheit (Front-line penal company), 136
Fuchs, Erwin, 19
Fuchs, Hugo, 76, 265
Fürstner, Wolfgang, 184
Gablenz, General Carl-August, 257
Gaehde, Joachim, 25, 253
Galland, Adolf, 366
Gallipoli (Battle of 1916), 307
Gärtnner, Emil, 243
Gärtnner, Marianne, 129, 242, 243
Gärtnner, Rainer, 129, 241–244
Gärtnner, Robert, 242–244
Gartow, xii
Gauleiter and Gauleitung(en), 124, 220, 223, 225, 227, 230, 318, 323
Gaupp, Peter, 78, 98, 121, 259, 310, 329
Gebhard, Friedrich, 233–234
Geheime Reichssachen, 257
Geitner, Horst, 119, 328
Gellately, Robert, 381
Geltungsjuden (Jews by legal fiction), 17, 149, 170, 181, 250, 282
General Government (Poland), 135, 168
General Staff (Wehrmacht), 152, 261, 262
General Wehrmacht Domestic Office, 31, 155
Gentiles, 10, 48, 291, 296
Gerber, Hannah. See Meissinger, Hannah
Gercke, Achim (expert for Racial Research in the RMI), 29, 60, 96, 313
Gerlach, Heinz, 27, 40
German combat helicopters, 333
German Cross in Gold, 39, 91, 181, 182, 199, 202, 208, 232, 260
German Cross in Silver, 39
German Hero’s Day, 108
German-Israeli Society (Deutsch-Israelische Gesellschaft), 286
German Labor Front. See Deutsche Arbeitsfront
German navy. See Kriegsmarine
German Vanguard (Deutsche Vortrupp), 13, 88
Gersdorff, Hans-Günther von, 235–237
Gersdorff, Frau Marie von, 235–237
Gerson, Frau. See Langheld, Frau
INDEX

Getreuer, Josef, 106–107
Ghetto (Jewish), 12, 14, 54, 109, 168, 169, 249, 251, 254, 255
Giese, Captain, 244
Gilbert, Martin, 18
Girgensohn, SA-Gruppenführer, 146
Gladisch, Admiral Walter, 260
Gleichschaltung (coordination of political, social, and public life), 202
Gleichstellung (equalization), 240
Globke, Hans, 38, 99, 167, 292
Glogau (Glogów, Poland), 161
Glusk Ghetto, 249
Gnadenakt (act of mercy), 105
Gnadengesuch (petition for clemency), 205, 207, 209, 214, 217
God, 6–8, 15, 47, 92, 110, 134, 135, 249, 250, 276, 291, 296, 326
Goebbels, Propaganda Minister Joseph, 30, 149, 171, 183, 203, 327, 347
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 52, 296
Goethe Institute, xi–xii
Goldberg, Werner, 141–142
Golden Wound Badge, 39, 248, 260, 292
Goldmann, Erwin, 23
Gold Medals for Bravery (Austrian), 73, 309
Göldner, Helene (Halina), 251
Goldschlag, Stella, 258, 377
Goldstein, Bruno, 377
Göring, Albert, 316
Göring, Emmy, 83, 316
Guard Battalion, 119
Jewish ancestry of, 285
Gotha, Emma, 253
Gotha, Wilhelm, 253
Gottberg family, 237
Gottberg, SS-General Curt, 182, 213, 365
Gottberg, Helmut von, 213, 286
Gottberg, Horst von, 236
Gottberg, Wilhelm von, 213, 236, 237
Gottgläubig (a believer in God), 319
Gottlieb, Rabbi Dovid, 7
Goy (Gentile), 45, 291. See also Gentiles
Grafemus, Luise (née Ester Manuel), 68
Graf Spee (pocket battleship), 125
Graz (Austria), 174, 175, 348
Greece, 168
Greifer (catchers), 258, 377
Grenacher, Werner. See Löwy, Karl-Heinz
Grimm, Gerd, 121
Groß, Walter (chief of Party race political officer), 128, 136, 142, 143
Groß-Rosen concentration camp, Lower Silesia, 170
Grüber, Heinrich, 116, 328
Grün, Jürgen, 31, 289
Grundmann, Walter, 185
Gsell, Max, 188
Guderian, General Heinz, 220, 228, 367
Günther, Hans, 301
Günther, Michael, 111–112, 326, 327
Günther, SS-Sturmbannführer Rolf, 261
Günther, Wolfram, 138–139, 209–210
Günzel, Hans, 49, 120, 264, 378
Günzel, Peter, 264, 378
Gussmann, Reichsreferent, 156–157
Gutmann, Hugo, 176
Guttenberg, Gerhard, 162
Gwinner, Wilhelm von, 179, 194
Gypsies, 160, 161, 165
Haber, Fritz Jacob, 73, 308
Hadamard Euthanasia Center, 169
Haehnelt, General Wilhelm, 238, 239, 372
Haffner, Sebastian, 52
Hahn, General Johannes von, 307
Haiti, 286
Halakah (rabbinical law), 7, 9–11, 16, 18, 27, 32, 45, 277, 283
Halder, General Franz, 127, 134, 152
Half-Blacks, 267
Half-Jews
activities after discharge because of Racial Laws, 132–133
battle deaths documented in this study, 123
Conscription Laws of 1935, 88, 107
declaring as Jews, 95–97, 128–129, 143–144
definition of, 97
desertions of, 153–154
discharge of (8 and 20 April 1940), 117–118, 133, 209
discharge orders of 1941, 128
exemptions for, 117, 124, 135, 199–235
extermination of, 95–97, 128–129, 143–144, 151, 166–171
fallen h. do not receive the same honors as Aryans, 125–126
Hitler’s views on their service in 1940, 126
illegitimate children born to, 151, 152, 153
loyal Germans, 150
marriage regulations of, 97
on the Nazi sterilizing half-Jews, 155
number of during the Third Reich, 54, 59–65, 96
number of half-Jewish Wehrmacht and SS soldiers based on this study, 65–64, 123, 193
number of discharged in 1940, 126–127
officers, 119–120
OT forced labor camps, 157, 160–166
persecution of family members, 139–142
protect their Jewish family members, 140–142
responses to the military Racial Laws, 111–112, 120–123, 138–139
stipulations for exemptions, 118
treatment of by comrades and superiors, 49–50, 119–123
try to immigrate, 147–248
university studies, 125
in the Volkssturm, 160
Wehrmacht policy prevent many from having to go to Russia, 145, 150
Halle (Germany), 176
Haller, Martha, 214–215
Haller family, 214–215
Hammer, Fritz, 209
Hamberger, Heinrich, 49–50
Hamburg (Germany), 26, 31, 71, 161, 170, 171, 255, 280
Hamburger, Walter, 124, 194, 217, 248
Händler, Marie, 250
Hanover’s General Command, 233
Hanstein, Eberhard von, 241, 261
Hardenberg, Staatskanzler Karl August von, 67–68, 301
Harz Mountains (Germany), 164
Hauck, Michael, 47, 54
Hauptverbindungsamt, 156
Hazai, General Baron Samuel, 73
Heard, Maria (née Borchardt), 196
Hebrews (Ivrim), 6–7, 276
Hebrew University, 297
Heckert, Johannes, 137, 138
Heine, Heinrich, 7, 54, 69
Heine-Geldern, Gustav von, 69
Heines, Edmund, 349
Heinrici, Getrude (née Strupp), 186
Heinrici, Gisela, 186
Heinrici, General Gotthard, 166, 186
Heinrici, Hartmut, 186
Heliopolis (city of), 276
Helmolt, Bernt von, 140, 142, 336
Helmolt, Eiche von, 336
Helmolt family, 141
Helwig, Karl, 89
Hempfling, Maria, 153
Henle, Carl, 324
Henle, Ernst, 324
Henle, Franz, 324
Henle, Karl, 105, 323–324
Hensel, Getrud (née Hahn), 326
Hensel, Kurt, 326
Hensel, Wilhelm, 326
Herder, Hans, 24, 264
Herder, Johann Gottfried von, 52
Hermann, Claus, 145
Hermann, SS-General Fritz Hermann, 29
Herrenmenschen (supermen), 42
Herwig, Holgar, 71, 305
Hess, Moses, 8
Heß, Rudolf, 30, 177, 221, 378
Hessemann, Colonel, 229
Heydrich, Bruno, 176, 350
Heymann, Georg-Jakob, 248
Heymann, Heinz-Georg, 248
Hiedler, Georg, 174
Hilberg, Raul, 59, 238, 278, 284, 377
Hildebrandt, Richard, 167
Himelstein, Sonja. See Ebert, Sonja
Himmelfahrtskommandos (straight to heaven detachments), 136
Himmelheber, Käthe (née Jacoby), 90, 318
Himmelheber, Käthe (née Jacoby), 90, 318
Himmelfahrtskommandos (straight to heaven detachments), 136
Hindenburg, Field Marshal Paul von, 77, 80, 84, 86, 100, 213, 237, 310
Hindenburg exemptions, 77–78, 80, 81, 99, 200, 333
Hirschfeld, Paul-Ludwig, 79, 91–92, 319
Hitler, Adolf, xiii, 1–2
anti-Semitic rages, 16
on Arabs, 184–185
Arierparagraph, 78
commander of Armed Forces, 105–106
Conscription Law, 88
to deal with half-Jews after war, 151, 171, 225
definition of “Jews,” 14–16, 97, 135, 282
definition of Mischlinge, 19–20, 97
draft-dodger, 174, 349
Eastern Jews, 13
eradication/extermination of Jews, 133, 144, 145, 166, 203, 271–273, 381
experiences with Jews during World War I, 80
on Field Marshal Milch, 29
insane and retarded relatives, 175
on the Italians, 184
on intermarriage, 69, 143
invades Austria, 106
on the Japanese, 184
on Jesus, 185
on Jewish conversion, 21
Mischling civil servants, 163
on Mischling officers, 100, 114
on Mischlinge’s offspring, 143
mobilization of women, 380–381
on non-Aryan wives of Wehrmacht personnel, 103
Nuremberg Racial Laws, 94–98
oath to, 86–87
obsession with Jews, 100
orders military census for
Mischlinge, 114
Parkinson’s disease, 166
personal experiences with Jews, 175
popularity, 87–88, 97, 127, 134
possible Jewish past, 172–175
possible son, 173
rejects proposal to declare half-
Jews Jews, 129, 149, 150, 155, 226
relationship with Hindenburg, 77, 310
revolution in Germany (1919), 15
sterilizing half-Jews, 170
takes control of the Army 1941, 145
tired of dealing with Mischlinge, 151
Versailles Treaty, 88
view of Aryan chamber maids
working in Jewish homes, 174–175
view of Blomberg, 81
view of Heydrich, 176–177
view of Milch, 177–178
view of Röhm, 176
view of Wilberg, 178–179
views of assimilation, 55
views of half-Jews serving after 8
April 1940, 126, 148, 150, 162, 186
views on Mischlinge, 99, 143
views of Muslims, 18
views on number of non-Aryans in
the military, 80
views of Reichswehr, 86
Wehrmacht policy on, 104
Wehrmacht recruiting policy, 101
why half-Jews were discharged in
1940, 116
why non-Aryans could serve, 88, 143
Hitler, Alois (formerly Schicklgruber)
(father), 173, 174
Hitler, Alois Jr. (half-brother), 173
Hitler, Patrick, 172
Hitler Youth, xi
Hitze, Amsrat, 238–239
Hoernlein, General, 232
Hoettl, Wilhelm, 350
Hofmann, Walther, 212–213
Hohenborn, Prussian War Minister
Adolf Wild von, 309
Hohenemser, Kurt, 132
Hohenemser, Kurt Heinrich, 333
Holl, Alfred, 209
Hollaender, Frederick, 293
Hollaender, Hertha-Barbara, 254–255
Hollaender, Colonel Walter, 39–40, 201–202, 254–255, 293
Holland, 169
Holocaust, 1, 13, 92, 97, 133, 135, 136, 147, 161, 165, 166, 169, 182, 198, 225, 246, 247–266, 275, 335
Homosexuals and homosexuality, 25–26, 105, 125, 156, 160, 176, 200
Hong, General Sa-ick, 380
Honorary Aryans, 184
Hoßbach, Friedrich (Wehrmacht
adjutant), 61, 361
House of Hohenzollern’s Knight’s
Cross with Swords, 74
Humber College, 7
Humboldts, 52
Hungary and Hungarian Jews, 168, 257, 271, 306
Ich war Hitlerjunge Salomon (film), xi
Imhausen, Arthur, 180
Immelmann, Max, 304
Imperial Opera House of Vienna, 16
Infantes, General Esteban, 361
Institute for the Research and
Elimination of Jewish
Influences on Christian Living
(Eisenach), 183
Institut für Zeitgeschichte, xii
Interrmarriage, 2, 33–36, 52, 54, 60, 95
among the aristocracy of Prussia and Austria, 68–69
rates of, in Germany and Austria, 56–57, 299–300
“International Jewry,” 108
Iron Curtain, 9
Isaac (biblical character), 276
Isaaksohn, Ralf, 377
Islam, 283
Israel (Jacob; biblical character), 6
Israel (nation), 6, 8–10, 47–48, 280, 281, 315, 321
Israel (Nazi law enforcing use of this name for male Jews), 113
Israeli Army and soldiers, 9, 307
Israelites, 7
Italy and Italians, 132, 168, 184
Itzig, Daniel, 67
Ivrim (Hebrews), 6–7
Jackson, Robert H., 288
Jacob (Israel; biblical character), 6, 276
Jacobson, Jacob, 93
Jacoby, Edgar, 90, 91, 92, 318
Jacoby, Käthe. See Himmelheber, Käthe
Jacoby, Marianne (née Günther), 318
Jaenecke, General Erwin, 179
Japan and Japanese, 40, 84, 184, 267, 315, 321, 380
Japanese Americans (Nisei), 267, 380
Japanese army, 267, 380
Jeckes (German Jews), 11, 279
Jelnya (Russia), 259
Jena (Battle of, 1806), 67
Jerusalem (Israel), 171, 184
Jesuit priests, 328
Jesus, 185, 222, 326, 329
Jew(s)
appearance of according to the Nazis, 25
biblical definition of, 6–7
citizenship of, 95
Conscription Laws of Wehrmacht 1935, 88
decorated Jewish veterans of the War of Independence (1813–1815), 68
decorations J. earned in the Wehrmacht documented in this study, 39
exemptions for, 100, 107–108
fighting with the Free French, 132
German J. and assimilation, 51
Hitler wants to eradicate, 133, 137
hope to secure equal rights with service in World War I, 74
how Hitler defined, 14–15, 311
how the Nazis defined behavior of, 25
KIA J. who served in the Wehrmacht documented in this study, 39
Nazi definition/view of, 128, 281
number in Alsace-Lorraine 1940, 59–60
number in Austria 1938, 59
number in Germany 1933–1939, 59, 301
number in Sudetenland in 1939, 59
number of Jewish dead at Waterloo (Battle of, 1815), 68
number of Jewish volunteers for the War of Independence (1813–1815), 68
number of J. who died during the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871), 70
number of J. who served in the Austrian military during its war with Napoleon, 66, 68
number of J. who served in the Austrian military in the 19th c., 66
number of J. who served in the Prussian army (1815–1844), 68; (1864–1871), 70
number of J. who served in/died in World War I, 72
number of J. who served in the Wehrmacht and SS based on this study, 63–66
number who fought for Prussia in the War of Independence, 68
Nuremberg Racial Laws, 95
Party members, 258
patriotism, 71–75, 240
persecution of in Poland, 110
present-day definition, 7–9
reject Mischlinge, 34–35, 45, 47

treatment of during the invasion of Russia, 133–134
try to serve in the Wehrmacht, 88–89, 317
Wehrmacht policy with, 76, 134, 135, 155
Jewish “Anarchy,” 135
Jewish businessmen, 71
Jewish chaplains, 72, 73
Jewish community in Nuremberg, 283
Jewish Evacuation Office, 21
Jewish Frontline Soldier Federation, 84
Jewish Hospital in Berlin, 34, 140, 357
Jewish Identification Cards, 107
Jewish Mountainmen (Caucasus), 283
Jewish passports (under Nazi law), 113
Jewish pilots (World War I), 72
“Jewish Question,” 78, 98, 108, 144, 171, 265, 271
Jewish Star, 123, 129, 139, 160, 168, 170, 249, 357
Jihad (holy war) 353
Jodl, General Alfred, 134, 145, 219, 221
Jordan, Wolfgang, 122
Joseph (biblical character), 7
Joseph II, Emperor of Austria, 69
JU-88 Twin Engine Bomber, 182
Judah, 6
Judaism 8, 27, 185, 299
Mischlinge have contact with, 33, 220
Mischlinge reject, 24, 96
Nazi views of, 18, 167, 283
Judas (biblical character), 249
Judenzählung (Jewish census), 75, 307, 309
Jud Süß (anti-Semitic film), 27
Junker. See aristocracy
Kaddish, 252, 253, 296
Käferle, Alfred, 187
Kaiser, Karl Helmut, 45
Kallauch, Günther, 45
Kaltenbrunner, Ernst, 156, 182
Kampfzeit (Time of Struggle), 189, 222, 223
Kant, Immanuel, 52
Kanzlei des Führers (KdF), 26, 31, 116, 117, 130, 151, 183, 187, 188, 193, 194, 205, 210, 219, 222, 225, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 287, 328
Kaplan, Marion, 124, 265
Karaïmes, 283
Karry, Heinz-Herbert, 164
Kassel, 17
Kassowitz, Fritz, 259–260
Katz, Erich, 181
Katzenberger, Lehmann, 283
Kaulbars, Helene. See Kopp, Helene
Kaulbars, Louis, 34
Kaulbars, Sarah. See Moses, Sarah
Keitel, General Bodewin, 218, 366
Keitel, Field Marshal Wilhelm, xiii, 93, 106, 114, 117, 128, 133, 135, 136, 137, 139, 143, 159–160, 188, 201, 208, 218, 221, 329, 342, 352
Kershaw, Ian, 81, 98, 115, 173, 203, 221, 265, 270, 307, 308, 310, 316, 324
Kersten, Felix, 176, 350
Kesselring, Field Marshal, 182
Khan, Tartar, 67
Kienitz, General Werner, 90
Killy, Leo, 258, 259, 376–377
King of Prussia, 69
Kirchholtes, Hans, 170
Klein, Ida (née Löwe), 249
Kleist, Field Marshal Ewald von, 283
Klepper, Professor Victor, 27–28, 78, 104, 116, 168, 183, 261
Klewansky, Eugen, 36, 291
Klewansky, Hannah, 36–37
Klingenfuß, Karl, 155
Klug, Major, 318
Knigge, Ursula von (née Schmeling-Diringshofen), 205
Knorr, General Admiral Eduard von, 70
Koehler, Hansjürgen, 173, 348
Kohn, Werner, 153–154
Koken, Gerhard, 194–195
Koken, Lutz, 194–195
Kommissarbefehl (Commissar Order), 134, 334
Konfessionslos, 298, 299, 300, 319
Königsberg (cruiser), 82
Königsberg (Germany), 195
Kopp, Helene, 34
Kopp, Helmuth, 34, 35, 45, 47, 295
Kopp, Wilhelm, 34
Koreans, 267, 380
Koref, Hans, 44, 99
Körner, Hans-Joachim, 42, 90, 318
Körner, Ilse, 42
Köstring, General Ernst, 283
Krackow, General Emil, 216
Kranz, Hans, 93, 140, 247
Krackow, Jürgen, 39, 140, 142, 247, 292
Krackow, Reinhard, 39, 49, 95
Krackow, Ursula, 247
Krampnitz Cavalry School, 139
Kreigsmarine, 26, 82, 154, 287, 311
policy toward Mischlinge, 108, 131, 206, 207, 230
Kreisleitungen, 220, 318
Kreuzer, Unteroffizier, 93
Krömer, Ortsgruppenleiter Alfred, 90
Krüger, Answald, 261
Krüger, Camilla, 261
Krüger, Helene, 140
Krüger, Helmut, 11, 38–39, 43, 110, 124, 132, 150
Krüger, Ortsgruppenleiter Hermann, 11
Kube, Wilhelm, 169
Kübler, General Ludwig, 210
Kuh, Adelheid, 313
Kühl, General Bernhard, 103
Kühl, Heinz-Jürgen, 103
Kühlenthal, Admiral Karl, 181
Kuhn, Rita, 250
Kulmbach (Germany), 241
Kursk (Battle of, 1943), 40
Kyffhäuser Publishing House, 305
Ladach, First Lieutenant, 119
Landsberg, Elly (née Mockrauer), 28, 251
Lange, Hermann, 45
Langheld, Frau (née Gerson), 261, 378
Langheld, Georg, 179–180, 199, 260–261, 352, 378
Lankes, Hans-Christian, 124, 137
Lanz, General Hubert, 210
Latvia, 92
Latvian SS, 254
Law of Restoration of the Civil Service (7 April 1933). See Arierparagraph
Law of Return (Israel), 9–10, 278
League of Anti-Semites, 280
Lebanon, 9
Lebram, Hans-Heinrich, 82, 83, 312, 313, 362
Lebram, Walter, 82, 313
Le Coutre, Joachim, 121
Leeb, General Emil, 216
Lefèvre, Herbert, 26
Leftin, Joachim, 31
Legion Condor. See Condor Legion
Lehweß-Litzmann, Walter, 182, 354
Leidoff, Arnim, 195
Leipelt, Hans, 286
Leipzig (Germany), 248
Leipzig (light cruiser), 207
Lemelsen, General Joachim, 204
Lennert, Wolfgang, 250, 251
Lenta concentration camp (outside Riga), 258, 377
Lenz, Fritz, 299, 300
Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim, 52
L’Estocq, Christoph von, 87
Levin, Heinrich, 215–216
Leviné, Eugen, 15
Leviticus, 6
Lewald, Theodor, 184, 355
Lewinski, Erich von. See Manstein, Erich von
Leykam, Erika, 354
Lichtwitz, Friedemann, 123, 164–165, 257
Liebe, Thea, 153
Liebig, Herr von, 219
Liebscher, Ernst, 227
Lilienstern, General Hans Rühle von, 195
Lilienstern, Lisa Rühle von, 195
Lilienstern, Margot Rühle von. See Meyer, Georg
Lindau, Admiral Eugen, 91
Lindemann, General Fritz, 286
Lindemann, Schwen, 244
Link, Hartmut. See Ostendorff, Hartmut
Linnarz, General, 229
Lipetsk (air base in Russia), 351
Lithuania, 92
Lithuanian Germans, 60
Litzmann, General Karl, 182, 354
Litzmann family, 182
Lodz (Litzmannstadt) (Poland), 255, 354
Loret, Jean Marie (Hitler’s possible son), 347
Lörzer, General Bruno, 180, 352
Lösener, Bernhard (desk officer for racial law in the RMI), 23–24, 36, 63, 96, 98, 126, 222, 226, 271–272, 337, 366, 372, 377
estimates the number of Mischlinge, 60–61
fears the deleterious effects of deportations on half-Jews, 139, 142
fights to keep half-Jews as half-Jews, 128–129, 143–144, 149, 271–272
and Nuremberg Racial Laws, 94, 96–97
Löwe, Ida. See Klein, Ida
Löwen, Heinz, 31
Löwen, Joachim, 31
Löwenstein, Leo, 84, 88, 315
Löwenstein de Witt, Hans-Oskar, 170
Löwy, Heinz-Günter, 42, 47, 256, 296
Ludendorff, General Erich, 73, 308, 333
Lüderitz, Otto, 42, 120
Ludwig, Ernst, 42, 163
Lueger, Karl, 285
Luftstreitkräfte (air service in World War I), 178
Luftwaffe, 21–22, 30, 85, 100, 119, 120, 128, 131, 164, 177–179, 180, 211, 230, 241, 248, 253, 311
Lütjens, Günter, 82, 186, 313
Lütjens, Margarete, 313
Lux, Emil, 124, 140, 188
Lux, Jenny (née Schultz), 140, 357
Luxembourgois, 169
Luxemburg, Rose, 15
Lying (about ancestry), 89–90, 93, 100, 118–119, 181
Maccabees, 14, 280
Mackensen, Field Marshal August von, 100, 134, 203
Madagascar, 253
Mahler, Gustav, 16, 281
Maier, Adam Carl, 212–213
INDEX

Maimonides, Moses, 276
Main Office for Racial Research, 17
Majdanek death camp, 250
Maltzahn, General Freiherr von, 209
Maltzahn, General Werner, 233, 250, 251
Mampe, 49, 296
Mannheim (Germany), 47
Manstein, Field Marshal Erich von, xii, 83, 84–85, 182, 205, 269, 314, 315, 333
Manstein, Rüdiger von, 314
Manuel, Esther. See Grafemus, Luise
Maoz, Asher, 6
Margold, Franz, 294
Marr, Heinrich, 280
Marr, Wilhelm, 280
Marx, Karl, 7
Maser, Werner, 347
Masturbation, 25
Maternal descent (Jewish), 7
Mauthausen concentration camp, 106, 264
Mayer, Anton, 154
Mayer, Helene, 183, 201, 355
McGee, Monnie, 303
Medical officers, 72, 78, 107
Mein Kampf (My Struggle), 55, 143, 174, 184, 281
Meiring, Kerstin, 402
Meissinger, Ernst, 125
Meissinger, Hannah (née Gerber), 263–264
Meissinger, Hans, 41, 43, 125–126, 132, 263–264
Meissinger, Rosa, 43, 125–126
Meissner, Otto, 237
Mellentin, Colonel von, 314
Memelland, 59–60, 102
Mendel, Johann Gregor, 320, 366
Mendel, Viktor, 216
Mendel’s Laws of Genetics, 96, 219, 320
Mendelssohn, Alexander, 91
Mendelssohn, Marine-Oberbaurat Franz, 25, 91, 92, 100
Mendelssohn, Moses, 29, 51, 67–68, 91, 196, 287
Mendelssohn, Nathan, 68
Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Felix, 7–8
Menge, Klaus, 30
Mengele, Josef, 376
Meneking, Rolf, 91
Menton, Colonel, 196
Messerschmidt, Manfred, 4, 80, 81, 135
Messerschmidt Me 262 fighter jets, 163
Mettenheim, Clara von, 113–114, 116, 244–246, 327
Mettenheim, Heinrich von, 244–246
Mettenheim family, 117, 244–246
Metz, General Richard, 250, 251
Metz (France), 70
Meyer, Beate, 4, 31, 37, 132, 136, 192
Meyer, Dr. Georg, 157, 363
Meyer, Major Georg, 195, 358
Meyer, Kurt (head of the Riech Office for Genealogy Research), 29, 94, 201
Meyer, Margot (née Rühle von Lilienstern), 195, 358
Meyer, Rolf, 195
Meyer, Ulrich, 195
Meyer-Krahmer family, 104
Middle East, 184
Milch, Anton, 29, 288
Milch, Clara, 29
Milch, Field Marshal Erhard, 29–30, 139–140, 177–178, 193, 201, 231, 257, 258, 259, 288
Milch, Helga, 30
Military Service Book (Wehrpaß), 133, 145
Millies, Peter, xi
Mine-laying operations, 180
Ministry of Religions (Israel), 10
Minsk concentration camp, 170, 256
Mischeben (mixed marriages), 230
Mischling civil servants, 163
Mischling question, 136, 156, 167, 225
Mischlinge (partial Jews), 98
applications for clemency, 112, 121, 130
blame Orthodox Jews for anti-Semitism, 48
celebrate German World War II victories, 110, 124
citizenship (Nazi), 99, 101, 135, 183, 211
coping with being M., 42–50
decorations M. earned documented in this study, 39, 215, 365
definition of, 19–26; 275, 321
discharged from Austrian military 1938, 106
distaste for Eastern Jews, 109–110
derent Bundeswehr after the war, 328, 373
distaste for Eastern Jews, 109–110
enter Bundeswehr after the war, 328, 373
families of confused about Racial Laws, 115
feelings of discriminated against by Jews, 36–37, 46–48
history of term, 19–20
Hitler’s definition of, 19–20
how M. struggled to be Aryan, 38–42
how M. viewed their clemency, 194–198
how M. view themselves and the racial laws, 26–38
knowledge of ancestry, 57–58, 93
knowledge of Holocaust, 48, 147, 247–266
Kriegsmarine policy on, 108
M. KIA documented in this study, 39, 125, 129, 136, 140, 179, 196, 197, 217, 244, 245, 246, 250, 262, 336, 352, 369
Nazi regulation of marriages of, 143
non-German M., 168
number in the Protectorate, 59
number living during the Third Reich, 54–55, 59–65, 299–302
number of M. soldiers based on this study, 1, 63, 268
Nuremberg Laws, 20
Party members, 26, 41, 91, 96, 100, 105, 133, 178, 200
persecution of Jewish family members of, 112–114, 116–117, 139–144
policy of dealing with KIA M., 188–189
rediscover Jewish roots, 46
rejected by Jews and Jewish Organization, 34–37
respond to military Racial Laws, 111–112
serve in the Israeli Army, 47
social rejection of, 33–34
views of fundamentalist/Orthodox Jews, 46–48
views of the Nuremberg Racial Laws, 98–99
views of the Wehrmacht, 41–43 in the Volkssturm, 160
voted for Hitler, 41
Wehrmacht treatment, 99–107, 127–128, 165
wounded veterans, 187–188, 202, 212, 232, 357, 370
Mischpok (Jewish family), 110
Mixed marriages, 55, 107–108, 129, 299–301, 321. See also Intermarriage
number in Austria and Germany, 54, 58
Mockrauer, Elly. See Landsberg, Elly
Model, Field Marshal Walter, 39–40
Moll, Dietrich, 248
Moll, Leonard, 248
Moscow (Russia), 31, 144
Moses (biblical character), 6–7
Moses, Sarah, 34
Mossner, Jakob Wilhelm, 69
Mossner, General Walther von, 69
Mount Sinai, 6–7
Mufti of Palestine. See Amin el-Husseini, Hajj
Mühlbacher, Hans, 27, 41, 109, 132
Mühlbacher, Olga, 36, 129–130
Mulattoes, 267, 286
INDEX

Müller, Georg-Friedrich, 251, 252
Müller, Gestapo Chief Heinrich, 169, 346
Munich (Germany), 15, 17, 49, 161, 258
Munich Nazi Party Court, 17
Munich Police Station, 93
Munich War School, 105
Muslims, 18

Namibia (Africa), 284
Napoleon, Emperor of France, 68, 301, 302
Nast-Kolb, Hermann, 160
Nationalist Army (China), 83, 84
National Socialist German Workers’ Party (NSDAP). See Nazi Party
National Socialist(s), 103, 106, 195, 202, 204, 208, 234, 237
Naumann, Max, 12, 88, 279
Navy Personnel Office, 91, 154
ancestry of members, 20
emblem, 81
Neuengamme concentration camp, 170, 255
Neue Zürcher Zeitung (newspaper), 163
Neumann, Heinrich, 17
New York (U.S.A.), 248
New Zealand, 40
Night of the Long Knives (30 June 1934), 86
9th Army, 39–40
Nippold, Otto (Deputy Gauleiter), 210
Noakes, Jeremy, 3, 228, 267, 312, 360
Non-Aryan (Nichtarier), 13–14, 92, 93, 97, 103, 176, 184, 200, 201, 204, 271, 321
affected by the Arierparagraph, 77, 80, 235–237, 314

Conscription Laws of 1935, 88
definition of, 78–79
denunciations of, 89, 93
go to China, 83
Manstein’s view of, 84–85
Nuremberg Racial Laws, 94
prohibited from marrying
Wehrmacht personnel, 89
Stuttgart organization for, 23
Wehrmacht personnel not allowed to shop at stores of, 89
North Africa, 14
Norway, 118, 178, 180, 182
Norwegian Campaign (1940), 178
"Nose Problem," 25
Number of Mischlinge, 51–65
Nuremberg Party Rally (1935), 94
Nuremberg Racial Laws, 20, 24, 35, 94–102, 144, 167, 175, 192, 200, 201, 202, 204, 207, 210, 218, 224, 289, 290, 318, 322, 334
implemented in Austria 1938, 106
viewed by Germans, 98–99
Nuremberg trials, 127, 221, 222, 249, 250, 257, 288

Oath (military)
during the Third Reich 86–87, 106
during the Weimar Republic, 86
in World War I, 74, 86, 309
Oder (Battle of), 166
Office for Jewish Affairs (Hermes Weg in Frankfurt), 113
Office of Racial Affairs, 235
Office of Racial Research, 240
OKH (Oberkommando der Heeres; Army High Command), 63, 100, 107, 114, 137, 209, 214, 218, 219, 228, 229, 261, 365
OKH Personnel Office, 90, 104, 118, 130, 133, 150–151, 192, 194, 204, 216, 217, 242. See also Army Personnel Office
OKH Personnel Office (P2 Group IV). See Army Personnel Office (P2 Group IV)
OKL (Oberkommando der Luftwaffe; Luftwaffe High Command), 107, 242

OKM (Oberkommando der Marine; Kriegsmarine High Command), 107


Old Testament. See Tanach

Olympic games (1936), 183–184

On (city of), 7, 276

One-eighth Jews, 82–83, 96, 118

100th Mountain Regiment Thirteenth Company, 364

113th Infantry Division, 208

156th Artillery Regiment, 237

Oppenfeld, Horst von, 48, 132, 259, 333, 377

Oppenfeld, Moritz von, 333

Oppenheim family, 48

Orders of the Iron Crown Third Class (Austrian), 73, 109

Organisation Todt (OT). See OT forced labor camps

Orthodox Jews, 2, 12, 35, 47–48, 109, 278

Orthodox Movement (Judaism), 9–10

Ostendorff, Hartmut (birthname Link), 25

Oster, Colonel Hans, 182, 314

Ostjuden. See Eastern Jews

Ost Linde OT forced labor camp, 161, 164

Ostmark (Austria), 106, 107

Oswalt, Henry, 54

OT forced labor camps, 44, 132, 140, 157, 159, 160–166, 168, 170, 234, 253, 262–263, 266, 272, 294, 342

Pagler, Walter, 309

Palestine, 184–185, 276, 279, 333–356

Palestinian Arabs, 184–185

Paris (France), 164

Parteikanzlei (Party chancellery), 17, 29, 130, 133, 144, 151, 160, 193, 194, 210, 220, 221, 222, 227, 228, 231, 272, 281

Partial Jews (also called Mischlinge), 1, 54, 59–61

Partisch, Arthur, 78

Parlsch, Karl, 47

Party (Nazi). See Nazi Party

Party Genealogy Office, 102

Party Race-Political Office, 128

Paternal descent, 6–7

Patitz, Admiral Conrad, 91, 154

Paulas Bund, 4

Pentateuch. See Torah

Perel, Shlomo, xi, 8, 41, 297

Perfall, General Gustav Freiherr von, 217

Perjell, Josef, 8

Petersson, Gisela (née Heinrici). See Heinrici, Gisela

Pfundtner, State Secretary Hans, 61, 94, 133

Pick, Carl, 253

Pick, Else, 253

Pick, Franz, 306

Pick, Gretel. See Florey, Gretel

Pick, Paula. See Techel, Paula

Pinneberg (Germany), 90

Plebiscite of 1935 (Saarland), 59

Plozwick, Frau, 126

Plozwick, Herr, 125–126

Pogroms, 11


Polish Campaign (1939), 109–113

Polish Jews, 13, 109–110, 122

Polish soldiers, 111

Political Police (politische Polizei), 103

Pollak, Hans, 24, 248, 252, 259

Poltz, H., 192
Pope John Paul II, 283
Posen (Germany), 182
Posselt, Alfred, 251–252
Potsdam Garrison, 142
Potsdam Recruiting Station, 145
Pour le Mérite Medal, 68, 96, 304
recipient Wilhelm Frankl, 72
POW (Prisoner of War), 44, 46
Prager, Ernst, 80, 139, 142, 194, 195–196, 199, 230, 237–241, 260, 373
Prager, Heinrich, 139, 240–241, 260
Prager, Hella, 238, 240, 260
Prager, Stephan, 237–241, 260
Prague and Nazi Racial Office, 17
Preis, Ellen, 355
Preuschen, Frau von (née Manstein), 316
Pringsheim, Fritz, 182, 354
Prinz Eugen (heavy cruiser), 82, 207
Privileged Mixed Marriage (Privilegierte Mischehe), 33, 97, 107–108, 290
“Prominent Jews” Barracks (Theresienstadt), 260
Propaganda (Nazi), 25
Protectorate, 168
Protestant, 300
Prussia, 301, 304
number of Jews in P. in the early 19th century, 304
number of Jews who served in army (1864–1871), 70
Prussian army, 66, 70, 304
Prussian General Staff, 70
Prussian War Ministry, 75, 309
Prussian War of Independence (1813–1815), 68
Puppe, Heinz, 37, 46
Pursuit Plans Staff, 237
Puttkamer, Karl-Jesko Otto von (Navy adjutant), 186, 205, 209, 210
Quarter-blacks, 267
Quarter-Jews
battle deaths documented in this study, 123
Conscription Laws of 1935, 88
declaring Jews, 95–96
definition of, 97
exemptions for, 117–118, 199–235
fathers in OT forced labor camps, 163
Hitler’s future plans with, 135, 147, 167
marriage regulations of, 97, 218
Nazi regulation of marriages of, 143
number of during the Third Reich, 55, 59–65, 303
number of quarter-Jewish Wehrmacht soldiers based on this study, 63–64
Wehrmacht policy, 104, 107, 114, 137
in the Volkssturm, 160
Rabbinate (Israel’s Religious Court), 8–9
Race, 8, 15–16, 19, 54, 277
Race defilement. See *Rassenschande*
Racial Office (Nazi), 151
Rademacher, Franz, 147, 151
Raeder, Admiral Erich, 82, 103, 108–109, 131, 179, 180, 181, 206, 261, 313, 325, 352
Ranke, Hans, 99
Raphael, Marc, 67
Rascher, Sigmund, 257
*Rassenschande* (race defilement), 22, 152, 153, 285, 354
Rath, Hermann, 164
Rathenau, Walther, 73
Raubel, Geli (Hitler’s niece), 172
Rauchfüß, Erich, 371
Ravensbrück concentration camp, 170
Rebentsch, Dieter, 377
Red Terror, 15
Redlich, Fritz, 172, 174, 175
Reform Movement (Judaism), 9–10, 48
Rehfeld, Hanns, 35–36, 161, 255–256
Rehfeld, Helmut, 161, 343
Rehfeld, Martin, 35
Rehfeld, Nathalie (née Schey), 35
Rehoboth bastards, 20, 284
Reichenau, Field Marshal Walter von,
14, 85, 86, 87, 89, 94, 102–103, 200, 202, 204, 269, 316
Reich Ministry of the Interior (RMI),
23, 29, 36, 60, 96, 97, 99, 114, 129, 130, 144, 157, 192, 193, 201, 210, 212, 222, 227, 228, 238, 272, 292
number of potential *Mischling* soldiers 61
Reich Office of Genealogy Research,
29, 94, 201, 210
Reich Security Main Office for the
Eastern Territories, 168
Reichskanzlei, 100, 130, 137, 157, 183, 192, 193, 194, 200, 201, 203, 207, 209, 210, 215, 217, 229, 242, 376
Reichskristallnacht (Crystal Night)
(9–10 November 1938), 36, 107, 170, 248, 291
Reichstag 72, 75, 94, 99
Reichsverfügungsblatt, 223
Reichswehr, 81, 178, 280
*Arierparagraph*, 79, 200, 312
response to Hitler, 79, 86–87
Reichswehr Ministerial Office, 14
Reichswehr Music Corps, 81
Reinecke, General Hermann, 114, 257
Reinhard, Horst, 254
Reinhard, Ludwig, 142, 248
Reinhard, Marie, 214
Reserve Officers in Austrian military
and Prussian Army, 70
Resistance Group (20 July 1944), 24, 296
Revolution (1848), 69
Rhineland, 20, 59, 284
Rhineland Bastards, 20
Ribbentrop, Joachim von, 182, 353
Riess, Ernst, 294
Riess, Richard, 43, 122, 132
Riga (Latvia), 144, 253. *See also* Lenta
corrugation camp
Rishon, Professor, 243
Ritterkreuz (Knight's Cross), 39–40, 84, 91, 103, 140, 163, 178, 182, 196, 202, 208, 209, 210, 240, 271, 366
Ritterkreuz and Oak Leaves, 40, 139
River Plate (Battle of, 1939), 125
Rogge, Admiral Bernhard, 32, 40,
206–207, 362–363
Rogoszinski, Dora (née Elmer), 37
Röhm, Captain Ernst, 87, 176–177, 200, 349
Rohr, Elisabeth, 205, 213–214
Rohr, Ferdinand, 115
Rohr, Heinz, 115, 204–205, 206, 207–
208, 213–214
Rohr, Joachim, 115, 204–205, 206,
207–208, 213–214, 365
Rohr, Margot, 214, 365
Rohr, Willy, 115, 204
Roman Legions, 184
Romm, Oskar “Ossi,” 39
Rommel, Field Marshal Erwin, 40, 103, 131–132, 314
Roosevelt, President Franklin, 223, 367
Ropczyce (Poland), 109
Röper, Dr., 229
Röper family, 229
Rose, Erich, 203–204, 261–262, 378
Rose, Siegbert Emil, 378
Rosenau, Clara. *See Milch, Clara*
Rosenberg, Alfred, 354
Rozenblit, Marsha, 299
Rosenstraße Protest, 171, 347
Rositz OT forced labor camp, near
Altenburg in Thüringen, 160, 163, 164, 165
Roth, Jürgen, 238
Roth, Kreisleiter Reinhard, 102
Rothschild family, 348
Royal Air Force, 40
Rubien, Friedrich, 183, 354
Rudel, Hans-Ulrich, 354
Rufeisen, Oswald (Brother Daniel),
278
Ruge, H., 140–141
Ruge, Jürgen, 140–141
Rumania, 233
Ruppin, Arthur, 52, 55, 58, 297, 299, 300, 301
Russia, 92, 127, 130, 131, 133, 134, 136, 137, 169, 183, 188, 198, 208, 221, 239, 240, 250, 263
Russian Front, 119, 144, 145, 146, 270
Russian Jews, 9, 145, 245
Russian soldiers, 45, 125, 256
Rust, Minister of Education
Bernhard, 27, 40, 287
Ryeszów (Galicia) Ghetto, 251
SA (Sturmabteilung: Brownshirts), 17, 23, 26, 81, 86, 87, 146, 176, 200, 226, 242, 244, 247, 248–249, 282, 316, 349
Chief of Staff in the Reichskanzlei, 146
Saarland, 59
Sabbath, 12
Sachs, General Günther, 208
Sachs, General Karl, 232, 234, 370
Sachs, Rudolf, 17, 22–23, 259, 260
Sachs, Traute (née Siedler), 22–23
Sachsenhausen concentration camp, 76, 141, 162, 170, 248, 265, 311
Salémon, General Konstantin Nathanael von, 66–67
Salinger, Michael-Christoph, 121, 161, 164, 329
Samuel, Olga (Olli) Getrud. See Scholz, Olga (Olli) Getrud
Sander, Hans, 200, 379
Sanders, General Otto Liman von, 307
Sara (Nazi law enforcing use of this name for female Jews), 113
Satan, 16
Sauckel, Fritz, 157, 160, 182, 200
Saxony (province in Germany), 164
Scandinavia, 279
Scharnhorst, Gerhard von (Minister of War), 67, 304
Scheffler, Günther, 34
Scheffler, Helena (née Weiss), 34, 291
Scheffler, Hubertus, 34
Scheffler, Karl-Heinz, 34, 122, 291
Scheffler, Max, 34, 291
Scheibner, Ernst, 164
Scheibner, Heinz, 164
Scheibner, Walter, 146
Schell, Adolf von, 216
Schellenberg, Walter, 350
Schenck, Hans, 115
Schenck, Konrad, 111, 115, 138
Schenk, Rolf, 257
Schewitz, Fritz (real name, Eleke Sirewiz), 258–259
Schey, Nathalie. See Rehfeld, Nathalie
Schicklgruber, Alois, 174
Schicklgruber, Maria, 173, 174
Schicklgruber family, 175, 348
Schiller, Friedrich von, 52
Schiller, Renate, 197–198
Schindler, Heinz, 136, 137
Schindling, Robert, 164
Schinke, Kurt, 153–154
Schirach, Baldur von, 182
Schlebrügge, Hans von, 102–103
Schlepegrell, Heinrich, 142
Schlesien (battleship), 207
Schlesinger, Friedrich, 110, 112, 139, 161
Schlesremkämber, Lieutenant, 139
Schleunig, Karl, 201
Schliesser, Otto, 41, 294
Schliesser, Peter, 41, 164, 259, 262, 282, 294
Schliker, First Lieutenant, 111
Schmehel, Hans, 233
Schmehel, Heinz, 233
Schmehel, Horst, 165, 344
Schmehel, Walter, 233
Schmeling-Diringshofen, Joachim von, 229–230, 369
Schmeling-Diringshofen, Klaus von, 83, 84, 94, 205, 206, 208, 229, 315, 363
Schmeling-Diringshofen, Ursula, 208
Schmidt, Chancellor Helmut, 43, 264–265
Schmidt, Rudolf, 39, 139–140
Schmoeckel, Helmut, 207, 208, 363
Schmoeckel, Werner, 207
Schmücke, Gerd, 84
Schneersohn, Lubavitcher Rebbe, 342
Scheit, Rabbi Jacob, 7, 10
Schoeps, Hans Joachim, 13, 88, 279
Schoh, Hans-Wolfgang, 211–212
Scholz, Julius, 34, 290
Scholz, Olga (Olli) Getrud (née Samuel), 248
Scholz, Peter, 34, 248
Schönewald, Walter, 48
Schrader, Captian von, 312
Schucht, Frau, 252, 253
Schucht, Hermann, 252
Schucht, Luise (née Friedenthal), 252
Schultz, Bruno Kurt, 17, 167
Schuschning, Kurt von, 348
Schutzjuden
  court Jews, 67, 104
  protected Jews (Third Reich), 203
Schwedler, General Viktor von, 235–237
Schweitzer, Einke, 196–197
Scotland, 221
SD (Sicherheitsdienst Security Service), 133, 150, 176, 283, 334
Second Wannsee Conference (Second Final Solution Conference), 148
Seeckt, Dorothy von (née Fabian), 314
Seeckt, General Hans von, 83, 113, 114, 178, 205, 314
Seegers, General, 91, 229, 318
Seile, Irene, 285
Selbstfahr Lafette (self-propelled artillery piece), 45, 295
Seldis, Werner, 146
Seligmann, Henriette, 233
Seliman, Hans, 22
7th Army, 211
7th Army Corps, 90, 94, 105
73rd Infantry Regiment First Company, 363
Seven Years' War, 67
Sex
development of Mischlinge's sexual lives, 25
Hitler bans sexual relations between half-Jews and Aryans, 133, 334
Hitler's view of Jews and, 16, 55, 174
Shema (Holy Jewish prayer), 8, 45, 92, 277
Siedler, Traute. See Sachs, Traute
Siemens (German Business), 157
Silver Wound Badge, 74, 188, 252, 336
Simon, Alfred, 204
Simsch, Siegfried, 39
Sinai, Mount, 6–7, 276
Singapore, 40
Sippenhaft, 162, 343
Sirewitz, Eleke. See Schwerwitz, Fritz
696th Propaganda Company, 90
Sixt, General Friedrich, 211
6th Army, 178, 269
6th Luftgaukommando, 128
Slave owners, 267
Slezak, Gretl, 175
Snyder, Louis L., 288
Socialist Revolution, 15
Somer, Peter, 100
Sondergenehmigung, 26
Sonderstab, Wilberg, 351
South America, 43
Soviets, 40
Spain and Spaniards, 14, 20, 239
Spanish Blue Division (25th Infantry Division), 203, 204, 261, 361, 378
Spanish Civil War, 179
Speer, Albert, 155–158, 163, 175, 177, 184, 203, 257
Spier, Julius, 30
Spier, Ruth, 30
Spier, Wolfgang, 30, 121
SS (Schutzstaffel; Protection Squad),
25, 37, 63, 91, 122, 128, 133,
135, 140, 144, 151, 161, 162,
165, 167, 170, 173, 175, 176,
177, 181, 184, 232, 234, 251,
254, 255, 260, 261, 283, 314, 334
ancestry of members, 20
on Jews trying to enlist in the
Wehrmacht, 88
in OT camps, 164
SS Building Administration, 163
SS Headquarters in Berlin, 76, 261
SS Main Office for Race and
Resettlement, 167
SS Reich Main Security Office, 58
SS Special Regiment Dirlewanger, 165
Stahlberg, Alexander, xii, 314, 333
Stahlhelm, 242
Stalingrad (Battle of, 1942–1943), 152,
178, 197, 198, 363–364
Stauffenberg, Colonel Claus Schenk
Graf von, 48, 132, 259, 296,
333, 352
Stauffenberg, Melitta Gräfin Schenk
von, 180
Stein, Edith (religious name, Teresa
Benedicta of the Cross), 18,
283, 298
Steinberg, Jonathan, 71, 138, 265
Steinbrech, Liselotte, 153
Steinhoff, General Johannes, 39, 139–
140
Steinthal, Hermann, 52, 162
Steinwasser, Fritz, 111, 170, 254
Sterilization (Nazi policy of)
of Mischlinge, 135–136, 142, 143,
144, 147, 148–149, 151–152,
153, 170
number of in Germany, 136, 170
of Rhineland Bastards, 20
Sternberg, Heinz, 263
Stettin (Germany), 37
Stoltzfus, Nathan, 4, 97, 268, 284
Storm Battalion Rohr, 204
Storm (Sturm) Regiment 195, 40
Strantz, General, 327
Strauß und Thorney, Lulu von, 183
Streicher, Julius, 17, 96, 153, 320
Stropp, Getrude. See Heinrici,
Getrude
Struzyna, Georg, 212
Stuckart, Wilhelm, 94, 96, 97, 99, 128,
144, 147, 148–149, 150, 167,
292, 321
Stud, General Erich, 216
Studnitz, General von, 179, 352
Stumpf, General Hans-Jürgen, 182
Sturmgeschütz (assault gun), 209, 295
Stutthof concentration camp, 252
Submarines. See U-boats
Suchanek, Obersturmbannführer, 234
Sudetenland, 59–60, 102
Suicide, 24, 33, 82, 96, 106, 142, 162,
164, 196, 206, 237, 252, 253,
258, 262, 324, 375
Supplementary Decree to the
Arierparagraph, 78
Surface Raider, 40, 206
Sweden, 262
Switzerland, 153, 161, 236, 262, 265, 308
Sydow, Rolf von, 25, 27, 38, 90, 92
Synagogue, 110
Talmud (oral Torah), 7, 12, 276
Tanach (Jewish Bible), 7, 276
Taraba, Karl, 143
Taraba, Rosa, 143
Tats (Jewish Mountaineers), 283
Technel, Arnold, 103
Technel, Karl-Arnd, 46, 120, 125, 262
Technel, Paula (née Pick), 103
Technical University in Dresden, 28
Tel-Aviv University, 6
10th Army Corps, 100
Test Pilots, 186
Theilhaber, Felix, 52, 54, 299, 300, 303
Theresienstadt concentration camp,
130, 133, 148, 170, 181, 196,
240, 251, 252, 253, 254, 260,
261, 315, 318
Third Final Solution Conference, 155
35th Infantry Division, 307
Thorner, SS-Captain, 313
Thule Society, 281
Tippelskirch, General von, 180
Todt, Fritz, 294
Toleration Patent of 1782 (Austria), 69
Tomaszow (Poland), 110
Tora (Five Books of Moses: Pentateuch), 6–8, 276
Torpedo boats, 91
Treblinka extermination camp, 257
Trembelis, Aristoteles, 164
Trevor-Roper, Hugh, 349
Tristan and Isolde (opera), 16
Trondheim (Norway), 180
Troop Office, 83
Tschammer und Osten, Rich Sport Leader von, 183–184
Tuckolsky, Kurt, 8
Turkey, 307, 356
Turkey’s Half-Moon Medal, 74
Turner, Henry, 268
12th Flak Division, 208
250th Infantry Division, 203, 204, 261, 361
257th Infantry Division, 370
288th Sonderverband (Special Unit), 314
U-boat bunkers, 132
U-boats (Kriegsmarine), 82, 91, 363
U-473, 263
U-802, 207
U-858, 207
“U-boats” (people of Jewish descent in hiding), 161
Uman (Battle of), 196
Umbreit, Hans, 310
United Kingdom, 248
United States, 103, 197, 248, 267
University of Berlin, 74
Untermenschen (subhumans), 41
V1 Flying Bombs, 164
Valhynian Germans, 60
Vanselow, Jochen, 187
Veronal (barbiturate), 252
Versailles Treaty (1919), 16, 124, 178
Victor, George, 174
Vielberth, Wilhelm, 122
Vienna (Austria), 12, 16, 49, 52, 109, 111, 122, 161, 173, 184, 285, 294, 298, 299, 349
Jewish officers buried in the Jewish cemetery, 73
Vogel, Rolf, xvi, 328
Vogtherr, Dr., 228
Voigt, Wolfgang, 131
Volk, SS-Hauptsturmführer, 29
Volk (German people), 17, 23–24, 28, 55, 85, 151, 159, 167, 185, 209, 222, 229, 231, 250, 282
Volkmann, Herr, 17
Volkssturm, Deutscher (people’s militia), 160, 342
Volunteers (Wehrmacht), 104
Vuletić, Aleksandar-Saša, 4
Waffen-SS (armed forces of the SS), 31, 42, 47, 63, 100, 256, 376
Wagner, General Eduard, 133
Wagner, Gerhard (Reichsärzteführer; Reich doctors’ leader), 95, 97
Wagner, Richard, 16
Wagner, Gauleiter Robert, 102–103
Waite, Robert, 173, 174
Walbaum, Gefreiter, 180
Waldmann, Generaloberstbarz Anton, 128
Wannsee Conference (1942), 147, 149, 151
Wannsee Conference (Second), 148
Warburg, Max, 73
Warburg, Otto, 180
War College, 179
War Ministry, 104
Warsaw (Poland), 124, 169, 254
War Merit Cross Second Class, 195, 204
Warzecha, Admiral Walter, 154
Waterloo (Battle of, 1815), 68
Webfehler (weaving flaw; ancestral defect), 48, 296
Wecker, Captain, 210–211
Weiger, Edward, 181
Weiger, Admiral Wolf, 181
Wehlau, Fanny (née Milch), 288
Wehlau, Sig mund, 288
Wehrkreis III Berlin, 83
Wehrkreis VII Munich, 192
Wehrmacht, 1–2, 89, 275
abandon Mischling and Jewish veterans, 160, 271
on association with Jews, 104
Bormann accuses of being a hiding place for Mischlinge, 159–160
decree that personnel must prove Aryan descent of wives, 103
discharge of officers with Jewish wives, 108
female Mischlinge in, 180, 303, 352
forced labor, 156–157, 271
implement Nuremberg Laws, 99, 200–201
implementation of the 8 April 1940 and 20 April 1940 Decrees, 117–120, 146, 149, 151–154
invades Austria, 106
on Jews serving, 88–89
on Jewish World War I veterans, 203–204
on marriage of its personnel, 89
number of personnel 1940, 64, 127, 146, 208–209
Party interference with, 228
on shopping at non-Aryan stores, 89
Wehrmachtausstellung, 295
Wehrmacht Office, 114
Wehrpaß. See Military Service Book
Wehrunwürdig (unworthy of military service), 133
Weigmann, Horst Siegfried, 261
Weimar Republic, 79, 301, 314
Weiss, Helena. See Scheffler, Helena
Weissenfels OT forced labor camp (Saxony), 41, 164
Welch, Steven, 4
Weltanschauung, 12, 81, 185, 233, 258, 270, 279
Werneyer, Major, 318
White Rose opposition group, 24
Wiedemann, Fritz, 324
Wiehl, Reiner, 171
Wierhzn-Pesch, Lieutenant, 39
Wilhelm II, Kaiser, 69, 71, 74, 309
Willstätter, Richard, 73
Wistrich, Robert, 30, 288
Witzleben, General Erwin von, 85
Wolf, Admiral Ernst, 91
Wolfenbüttel OT forced labor camp (Braunschweig), 162, 163
Wolff, Helen. See Bleicher, Helen
Wolff, Jacob, 67
Wolff, SS-General Karl, 257
Wollenberg, Heinz, 163
Wolters, Otto, 63–64, 230
World War I, 13, 16, 31, 34, 71–75, 80, 88, 100, 127, 175, 176, 178, 182, 211, 216, 242, 267, 304, 315, 324, 333, 348, 358–359
World War I Veterans (Jewish), 77–78, 139, 141, 189, 253, 204, 206, 223, 237, 272, 291, 306, 324, 333, 358–359, 378
World War II, 1, 18, 76, 109, 179, 267
Wound Badge, 111, 114, 139, 260, 326, 378
Wundermacher, Gerhard, 157
Yahil, Leni, 60, 265
Yale University, xi–xii
Yiddischkeit (Judaism), 12
Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement), 70, 306

Z-8 Bruno Heinemann (destroyer), 180
Zeise, Dr., 93–94
Zeitz OT forced labor camp, 164
Zelter, Joachim, 49, 296
Zelter, Karl-Frederick, 296
Zelter, Rolf, 49
Zerbst OT forced labor camp, 163
Zionism, 8, 51

Zippes, Joseph, 72
Zipporah (Moses’s wife), 7
Zossen (Army High Command), 218, 366
Zuckmayer, Carl, 20
Zuelzer, Wolf, 12, 170
Zukertort, General Johannes, 217
Zukertort, General Karl, 206, 216–217
Zukertort, Karl Adolf, 217
Zukertort, Kurt Dagobert, 217
Zu Klampen, Gerd, 120
Zürndörfer, Josef, 73