

Appendix 1

The Situation of the “*Mischlinge*” in Germany, Mid-March 1943*

[A report written in mid March 1943 by Gerhard Lehfeldt¹].

The endangered non-Aryans can be divided into four groups:²

1. Religious Jews and full Jews baptized as Christians who are also married to full Jews. (Wear the Star [of David])
2. Full Jews baptized as Christians who are married to an Aryan spouse and live in a mixed marriage without children. (Men wear the Star)
3. Full Jews baptized as Christians who live in a mixed marriage with an Aryan spouse and share children (privileged mixed marriages).
4. *Mischlinge* of the first degree (Christian-raised offspring from a mixed marriage) (children of mixed parentage raised Jewish qualify as “Jews”)

According to the Nuremberg laws, Non-Aryans #1-3 [from the above list] are considered “Jewish” without regard to their religion or whether they are married to an Aryan. Like the Aryans, “*Mischlinge* of the first degree” also own so-called temporary national civil rights. According to law, they are only *supposed* to be expelled from some occupations and are permitted to marry an Aryan only with special permission. Otherwise, they should be treated like Aryans.

While the group of Jews identified under #1 (aside from few exceptions), were already deported towards the end of 1942, in regard to groups #2 and #3 considerations were given because of the Aryan spouse. Towards the end of the previous year, radicals under the leadership of Dr. Goebbels³ insisted on a termination [forced divorce] of mixed marriages and—despite a forceful protest⁴ by the Cardinal-Archbishop Bertram⁵ in Breslau—the Aryan spouse was, in many cases, snatched away from their partner, driven through the city like a criminal and interned in the synagogue in preparation for deportation. Initially, this only happened in childless mixed marriages. According to a statement made by Minister Director Gritzback⁶ (adjutant of

Göring⁷), at the end of December 1942, mixed marriages without children should be initially separated while the privileged mixed marriages should not be affected. However, as the Reich's military situation worsened considerably in January 1943,⁸ the radicals once again insisted on the separation of the privileged mixed marriages as well and the deportation (*i.e. murder*—emphasis added) of the Jewish spouse. In the meantime, the plan was made to ship the “*Mischlinge* of the first degree” to labor assignments—undoubtedly as well for the purpose of extermination. The *Mischling* law in question,⁹ which had already been written, is a draft made by the Ob[er]sturmbannführer Eichmann, Director of the Resettlement Department of the Reich Main Security Office on the Kurfürstenstraße in Berlin. Eichmann is also the director of the deportation of the Jews. This *Mischling* law was justified with the claim that it was necessary to make sexual intercourse impossible between those of mixed parentage and, especially, between *Mischlinge* and Aryans. The intent was also even to separate marriages between *Mischlinge* and Aryans, even though 75% of their blood was of pure Aryan descent and the marriage could only produce children who would be admitted into German society as 75% Aryans anyway. At the beginning of December 1942, Eichmann stated that the *Mischling* law has been “delayed by three months.”

Directly after the fevered speech made by Dr. Goebbels on 1.30.1943,¹⁰ mass *Judenaktionen*¹¹ began in Berlin, in which thousands of Jews from privileged mixed marriages were arrested and taken from their spouse by the armed SS—and were publicly evacuated on trucks. There were heart-rending sights happening everywhere. In many cases, even though many Jews were being abused in other places, the people publicly took the Jews' side.¹² Occasionally, in connection with this action, the persons of mixed blood of the first degree were also suddenly arrested and were transported along with the Jews on the trucks like felons. Eichmann commented on this that the *Mischlinge* would not be placed together with the Jews at the same gathering place, but rather brought to a place on Rosenstraße in Berlin. From this statement it appears that the arrest of the *Mischlinge* cannot have been a matter of [someone] overreaching authority, but rather it occurred as a result of a planned action. Indeed, it had already been suspected that boisterous protests against this terror, especially against the separation of married couples, would occur. For this reason, attempts were made to cover up the action in the following way:

Eichmann reported that from the Eastern front, 9000 men had been requested with great urgency to build an embankment. Thus he had arrested the remaining Jew, and because this was not sufficient, he had to fall back on the *Mischlinge* of the first degree. Thus [according to Eichmann] this was not a matter of deportation but rather a matter of deploying workers.¹³

This is a poor subterfuge considering the fact that the action precisely matched the law drawn up by Eichmann in December 1942. Through this law, he wanted to separate the male *Mischlinge* from their Aryan wives. In addition, the Gestapo has nothing to do with the deployment of workers. However, even if the laborers had been needed, it would have been sufficient to order the presence of the workers at the employment office via postcard rather than having them publicly driven through the city on trucks by armed SS people like felons. For those who were affected, it is a blessing from God that actions were taken since otherwise the *Mischlinge* would have been sent in the usual way to forced labor in Poland. Then they would have been discretely exterminated there, and their advocates would have never been able to convince the public of the seriousness of the situation. But as it turned out, fate was in their favor and the murderous plans were publicly spread across the globe.

On Friday, March 5, 1943, public riots broke out on Münchenerstraße in Berlin as someone snatched the wife of a seventy year old man from the couple's apartment. The seventy year old man screamed for an entire hour, "This is a cultural disgrace! Bomb every house, bomb every house!" He was then arrested and it is doubtful whether he is still alive. These riots were, to be sure, quite unpleasant for Mr. Goebbels.¹⁴ As a result, quite a few of the arrested were released on Saturday, 6 March 1943. As expected, this was then explained as a matter of overreaching authority. Equally predictable, Eichmann and his deputy remained in office. It is to be feared that the campaign will now be continued in secrecy, posing great danger for those affected.

The explanation that this entire sequence of events happened only due to the overreaching authority was also issued by the Ministry of the Interior; there it was also claimed that Minister Dr. Frick¹⁵ had personally arranged the termination of the actions. A few weeks ago, a meeting was said to have taken place for the SS unit *Leibstandarte*¹⁶ in Berlin's Pharus Hall, where the rallying cry was sounded that the Jews are to be killed. The SS was then said to have acted on its own authority and initiated the campaign of its own accord. The *Mischlinge* who had been captured and transported to concentration camps were those types of persons who had been reported to the SS or Gestapo for having behaved in a subversive manner or were termed particularly disagreeable elements. This was the extent of the given explanation!

Here is a short summary of the rebuttal:

1. If the action had been a matter of overreaching authority, then the wrongdoers would have had to be removed from office.
2. If the SS had acted on its own without further authority, then the Gestapo would not have been present at each and every arrest.

3. If on the other hand the Gestapo had acted on its own authority, then the *Obersturmbannführer* Eichmann would not have had announced this beforehand.
4. If it had not been intended that *Mischlinge* be arrested, then there would not have been a need to provide a special building for their accommodation (Rosenstrasse).
5. Even mixed Jews from other cities who by chance happened to be visiting Berlin were arrested. Hence, mixed Jews who were described (by whom, by the way?) to the Gestapo as having a somewhat disagreeable character were by no means the only ones arrested,
6. All of the editors from the Swedish press received a phone call from the Propaganda Ministry before the beginning of the campaign, and told that if they should notice particular actions taking place in Berlin during the next few days, it would be forbidden for them to print anything about it in their pages!!

Notes

*Copy in private archives of Nathan Stoltzfus, from the late Robert A. Graham SJ. Rome. The footnotes here have been added. A *Mischling* is a person with both Jewish and non-Jewish ancestry.

1. Gerhard Julius Eugen Lehfeltd was born on December 31, 1897, in Magdeburg, Germany, and died in Schöneberg, West Berlin, in 1976. His parents were Jewish. On August 16, 1915, he joined the Infantry Regiment 82 Göttingen. A war injury in July 1917 paralyzed his right arm. On October 10, 1918, he was matriculated at the Georg-August-University in Göttingen where he studied for seven semesters. On March 31, 1920, he received honorable discharge as a Lieutenant. In 1920 he was married in Magdeburg; Lehfeltd indicates that he is Protestant. He received his doctorate of law degree on May 28, 1923, with a dissertation on law and political science. In a report of 1945, Lehfeltd indicates that he had been expelled from his work in Magdeburg eight years earlier (in 1937). At some point he moved to Berlin; according to the 1943 Berlin city address book he lived at Düsseldorf Str. 60 in Berlin Wilmersdorf and is identified as a “legal adviser.” In June 1945, he was temporarily appointed as *Head of Civil Service* of Magdeburg. In a letter to the regional Bishop Wurm from September 20, 1946, Lehfeltd called the imprisoned Nazis the “murderers of our relatives.” His father’s brother, the dentist Dr. Michael Lehfeltd of Magdeburg, was murdered in Auschwitz. See Antonia Leugers, ed., *Berlin, Rosenstraße 2-4: Protest in der NS-Diktatur: Neue Forschungen zum Frauenprotest in der Rosenstraße 1943* (Annweiler.: Plöger, 2005) 233.
2. Regarding the racial ideological categorization, this report is somewhat imprecise.
3. Joseph Goebbels (1897–1945): as of 1926 the head of the NSDAP administrative district, or Gauleiter, in Berlin-Brandenburg; as of 1933 the Reich Minister for the People’s Enlightenment and Propaganda.

4. For the evaluation of the role of the churches in these events see the article by Antonia Leugers in this volume.
5. Aldolf Bertram (1859–1945), 1906 Bishop of Hildesheim, 1914 prince-bishop of Breslau, 1916–1919 cardinal, 1930 archbishop, chairman of the Bishops' Conference in Fulda since 1920.
6. Dr. Erich Gritzbach (born 1896) ministerial advisor in the Prussian Secretary of State Department, Prussian State Councilor, head of the policy department of Göring and his personal advisors.
7. Hermann Göring (1893–1946), 1933 Prussian minister-president, 1935 commander-in-chief of the air force, 1940 Reichsmarschall.
8. The Soviet offensive brought the Battle of Stalingrad to an end on February 2, 1943, where the 6th German Army had been surrounded since November 22, 1942.
9. Not determined. Concerning the plans for a *Mischling* law cf. *Sommer an Bertram*, November 10, 1942, in: *Volk*, vol. 5, p. 939f.
10. Goebbels gave a speech in the *Sportpalast* for the tenth anniversary of coming into power (*Machtergreifung*), on January 30, 1943 in which he initially delivered a statement explaining the absence of the Führer. On February 18, 1943 he gave his infamous *Sportpalast* speech, in which he called out repeatedly, "Do you want the total war?"
11. There were deportations of Jews went from Berlin to Theresienstadt and Auschwitz on February 2 and 3, 1943 and then again on February 19 and 26; immediately after the mass arrests in Berlin on February 27, more deportations followed from March 1 through March 4 and on March 6, 1943.
12. See Leugers's contribution in this anthology.
13. Joachim Neander in this volume calculates a substitution of six thousand people for the assigned Polish people from Auschwitz and three thousand for the agreed increase of Buna. However, since only a maximum of four thousand so-called armament Jews were available in Berlin, authorities had to fall back on the arrest for their purposes of two thousand other Jews.
14. See the journal entry by Goebbels from March 6, 1943.
15. Wilhelm Frick (1877–1946), 1933–1943 Reich's Minister of the Interior, 1943–1945 Reich's Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.
16. *Leibstandarte-SS Adolf Hitler (Personal Security for Hitler)*, sworn to protect Hitler's person since November 9, 1933, integrated in the Waffen-SS since 1939; in the military division since 1942.

Decree Regarding the Removal of Jews from Frankfurt/Oder Factories, February 24, 1943

Beginning with his dissertation, Wolf Gruner has cited the following Frankfurt/Oder document as decisive evidence that authorities never intended to deport the Jews they arrested during the massive “Removal of All Jews from the Reich Territory” (Entjudung des Reichgebietes) arrest actions in German cities beginning February 27, 1943. In his book *Widerstand in der Rosenstrasse* (2005), Gruner briefly referenced two other documents to support his dependence on this Frankfurt/Oder document. The first is from the Bielefeld Gestapo. Gruner cites it on the basis of Margit Naarmann’s book on the Paderborn Jews (although Naarmann neither reproduces the document nor quotes it in full) that dates the document in the text from February 25, 1943 (but in the footnote from January 26, 1943). Gruner gives no archival reference for the document and writes only that it ordered a “work ban for all Jewish-German forced laborers in multiple [mehrere] cities and counties.” The second document Gruner uses to support the Frankfurt/Oder decree is from the Dortmund Gestapo and is dated February 24, 1943. He cites it briefly: “In the course of the scheduled Removal of Jews from the Reich Territory and effective February 27 throughout the administrative district of Arnsberg, Jews found in the process of working (Arbeitsprozess) are to be removed with the goal of partially evacuating them to the East.” No archival source for this Dortmund document is provided. Summing up, Gruner writes that “therewith lie three regional Gestapo orders, which in fact appear in differing shapes (Gestalt), that on the whole come to a concurrence about the RSHA instructions distributed to local officials for the Fabrik-Aktion. From these documents the double goal of the Great Raid emerges very clearly: the deportation of ‘unprotected’ Jews as well as the removal from businesses of still ‘protected’ Jews from ‘mixed marriages,’ and this indeed was not just in Berlin but rather in the entire Reich territory.”

Public Decree of the State District Administrator of the Calau District

Calau, February 25, 1943

Copy.

Secret state police

Frankfurt/Oder, February 24, 1943

State police office

Secret!

Frankfurt/Oder

Urgent! Present Immediately!

B. No. II B 4 – 1958/42

Re.: Evacuation—Or as the Case May be [bzw]—Removal of Jews from factories

Precedent: None.

Since the Jews—with the exception of those living in mixed marriages who were residing in the local community —have all been almost completely resettled, the Reich Main Security Office in Berlin has ordered that all Jews still working in factories are to be removed from their workplace and assembled. This action pertains to the Jews living in mixed marriages. Any objections from managers are to be politely rejected with the comment that this measure is being carried out with the agreement of the armaments command center as well as the offices responsible for labor employment and production.

The managers of factories will be informed by the local employment office, which will also handle questions concerning the replacement of workers. The assembly of the Jews working in factories is to take place without attracting attention, possibly with the involvement of factory security personnel. However, attention must be given so that disturbances by Jews and attempts to escape are avoided. Indeed, under no circumstances may there be any overstepping boundaries of authority on the side of officials or the men assigned to keep guard, especially not in public or within the business area itself. Impudent behavior by Jews who still live in existing mixed marriages is to be punished by taking the Jews into protective custody and filing an order to bring them to a concentration camp. These actions can be carried out very generously, although the impression must be avoided that this action is a means to fundamentally solve the mixed marriage problem once and for all. If there are no reasons to justify the arrest of Jewish marriage partners, they are to be dismissed to their homes. Under no circumstance are they allowed to be employed in this or any other factory again. Further directives on their future utilization will follow.

Jews who are already working in factories that are kept in enclosed camps, such as in Neuendorf i[m] S[ande], the forest camps, etc., are not to be arrested in this action. Also the Polish Jews who are employed as a group in various factories within the Frankfurt/Oder district and are in enclosed

camps are not to be arrested. Provided that Jews living in mixed marriages have been dismissed from the factories after their removal, they may not be placed in the workforce again. By orders of the Reich Main Security Office, this action is to be conducted promptly on February 27, 1943 at the beginning of work hours. Authorized officials are to be given a written notice, as needed, to be shown to the factory manager, that state something to the effect that the official has the authorization to remove all the Jews employed in the factory for the purposes of registering them. The number of the Jews removed from the factory and the number of Jews taken into custody must be reported, along with personal information, by telephone to the Frankfurt/Oder Secret State Police, telephone 2870/71 by 4 pm. The given deadline must be kept under any circumstance.

A Nil Return is Required (Fehlanzeige ist erforderlich)

As for Jews living in mixed marriages taken into custody, they may be placed in a concentration camp; their interrogation records should be dispatched immediately to the local office so that the further remaining steps can be arranged.

Signed: Wolff

I dispatch the copy for careful attention and exact consideration. I request that all Jews (even those who are living in a mixed marriage with a German) be promptly and inconspicuously removed from the factories starting at the beginning of the workday on 27 February 1943. Jews behaving impudently who are still living in existing mixed marriages are to be punished. They should be taken into custody with a request for their placement in a concentration camp.

In accordance with the particulars, on February 27, 1943 by 11 a.m. the number of Jews removed from the factory and the number of Jews taken into custody are to be reported to me over the phone. The given deadline is to be kept. A nil return is required (Fehlanzeige ist erforderlich).

As for Jews taken into custody, interrogation reports are to be sent to me at once.

By proxy

Signed Richter

(District Administrator's seal)

Certified:

< . . . >

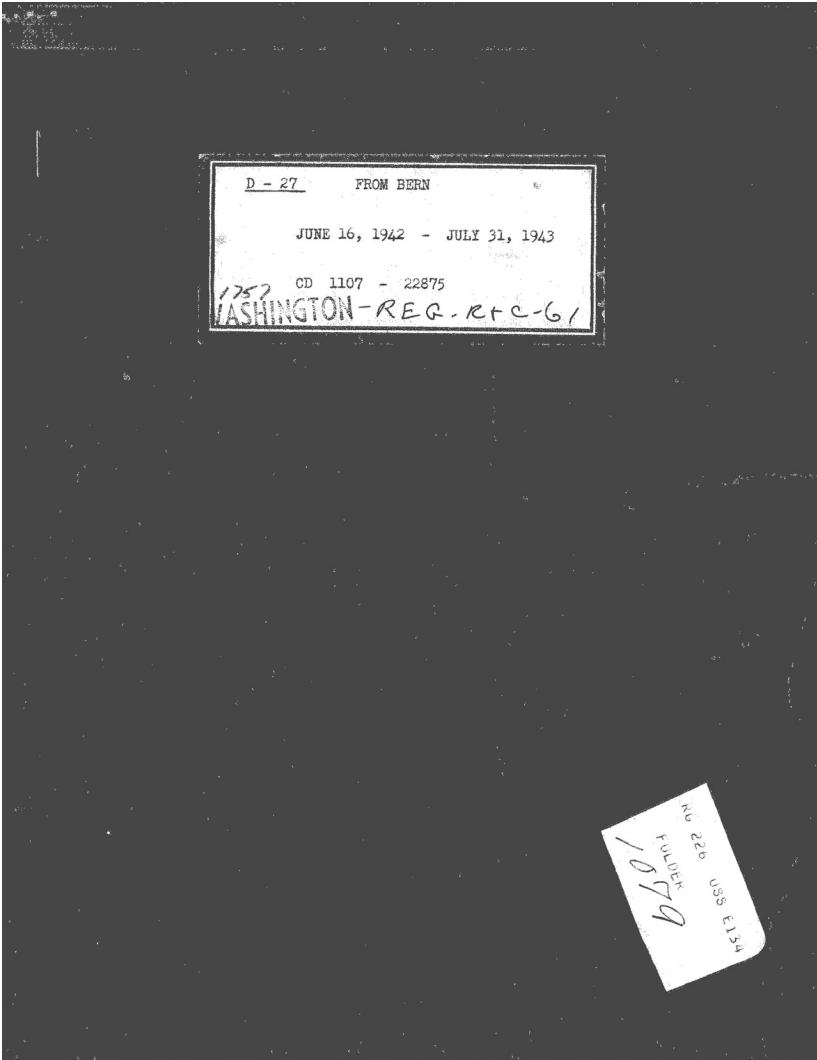
Government Secretary

Notes

1. Wolf Gruner, *Widerstand in der Rosenstraße: Die Fabrik-Action und die Verfolgung der "Mischeben" 1943* (Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer, 2005), 54, 55.
2. Gruner, *Widerstand*, 55
3. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv Potsdam, *Rep. 41 administrative district Großräschen no. 272*, pg. 84-85. *Heading: State District Administrator. File reference: File Ref. I 5/15 g. Note: Secret! With address at end: to the police administrator or office representative in (handwritten) Vetschau. Postmark: Secret! The Bureau Chief as the local police authority in Großräschen, Lower Lausitz, February 27, 1943. (Handwritten note at end): 1. Fehlanzeige may be reported by telephone. This decree is partially printed in Wolf Gruner and Ursula Marcum, "The Factory Action and the Events at the Rosenstrasse in Berlin: Facts and Fictions about 27 February 1943: Sixty Years Later," *Central European History* 36, no. 2 (2003): 179–208, the English version of Wolf Gruner, "Die Fabrik-Aktion und die Ereignisse in der Berliner Rosenstraße," in *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismus-Forschung*, ed. Wolfgang Benz (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2002), 137–177. The annotations here are from the document and annotations printed in Antonia Leugers, ed., *Berlin, Rosenstraße 2-4: Protest in der NS-Diktatur: Neue Forschungen zum Frauenprotest in der Rosenstraße 1943* (Annweiler: Plöger, 2005), 221–224. Dr. Friedrich Haas was State District Administrator of the Calau District 1939–1945. See Hass: personal file of the court's junior judge Haas: Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz (GStAPK), I HA Rep. 184 higher administrative court, Pers.- no. 951 as well as GStAPK, I HA Rep. 77, Interior Ministry, no. 4647. It is possible that the letter intended for Vetschau was swapped with that of Großräschen.*
4. Wolf Gruner, *Der Geschlossene Arbeitseinsatz deutscher Juden. Zur Zwangsarbeit als Element der Verfolgung 1938–1943* (Berlin: Metropol, 1997), 268, 69, draws attention to the fact that, despite the different RSHA-mandate, the enclosed camps of Gut Winkel and Skaby in the course of the massive arrests of Jews on February 27 were evacuated and shut down. The inmates who were initially spared deportation were deported between April and June 1943.
5. Reinhard Wolff born 1909, April 1941 to March 1943 head of the Stapoleitstelle Frankfurt/Oder. See Gruner, "Die Fabrik-Aktion," 177n. 205.
6. District Administrator Haas or his representative, Richter.

Appendix 3

April 1, 1943, OSS Document Identifying Protest in Berlin with the Interruption of Deportation of Jews



OSS Form 69

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES **CD 16981**
OFFICIAL DISPATCH

DATE April 1, 1943, 5 p.m.

FROM	AMERICAN LEGATION, BERN	<i>D-4</i>	ACKNOWLEDGE
TO	OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES	SECRETARY OF STATE, WASHINGTON	PRIORITY
			ROUTINE
			DEFERRED

DISTRIBUTION	
(FOR ACTION)	(FOR INFORMATION)
SI	DOHOVAN, SECRETARIAT, SO, GEN. MAGRUDER

INCOMING HEADING

RECEIVED

SECRET

#2045.

A source which is considered trustworthy has reported that action against Jewish wives and husbands on the part of the Gestapo, reported in my telegram no. 1597 dated March tenth, had to be discontinued some time ago because of the protest which such action aroused.

HARRISON



NARA-CP
RG 226
Entry 134
Box 171
Folder 1079

STATE DEPARTMENT PARAPHRASE

TOR 4/7/43 9:30 am

SECRET

Translated Excerpts from the Diaries of Joseph Goebbels

*Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels, ed. Elke Frölich
(Munich: K.G. Saur)*

“Also concerning the Jewish Question the Führer is fully in agreement with my points of view. He wants a forceful policy against the Jews, though one that does not cause us unnecessary difficulties. The evacuation of the Jews is to be conducted city by city. It is therefore still unclear when it will be Berlin’s turn; but when it has its turn, then the evacuation should also be carried out as quickly as possible. Concerning the Jewish mixed marriages, especially those in artist’s circles, the Führer recommends that I follow a somewhat reserved course of action since he is of the opinion that these marriages in any case will die out bit by bit, and one shouldn’t get any gray hair over this.”
Goebbels Diary, November 22, 1941

“I am reading an extensive memorandum from the SD and Police about the Final Solution of the Jewish Question. From it arise a vast array of new considerations. The Jewish question has to be solved in the entire European context. In Europe there are still more than 11 million Jews. They must later first of all be concentrated in the East; perhaps one could allot them an island, for example Madagascar, after the war. In any case there will be no peace and quiet in Europe if the Jews are not entirely pushed out of the European territory. That raises a gazillion questions of extraordinary delicacy. What happens to the half-Jews, what happens to those related to Jews, their in-laws, those married to Jews? We will thus be having a few things to do and in the context of solving this problem a whole lot of personal tragedies will play out. But that is unavoidable. Now the situation is ripe to apply a final solution to the Jewish question. Later generations will no longer possess the drive and also no longer have the alertness of instinct. That’s why we are

doing well to proceed radically and consistently here. What today saddles us as a burden will be a fortune and advantage for those who come after us.” *Goebbels Diary, March 7, 1942*

“It is astonishing how strongly indeed the English Volk, above all those in the highest circles, have been corrupted by Jewry (verjudet) and hardly show English character any longer. That can in fact be traced back mainly to the fact that the top ten thousand are so strongly infected by Jewish marriages that they can barely still think like English.” *Goebbels Diary, March 12, 1942*

“The Führer once again gives voice to his firm determination, to remove the Jews from Berlin at any rate. The claims of our economic advisors and manufacturers that they could not do without the so-called fine work of the Jews, also does not impress him.” *Goebbels Diary, September 30, 1942*

(Compare with Speer’s record of the same week:

“In the meeting of 20 to 22 September, Hitler ordered Saukel to deport all Jews who are still working in armament factories in eastern locations. By this, [Hitler] meant mostly the Berlin Jews.” Albert Speer, *Der Sklavenstaat* [Stuttgart, 1981], 346)

[Sepp Dietrich] “even offers to possibly place a company of the [SS] Leibstandarte [Hitler] at my disposal once, so that I can reach my goal with brute force, which is not exactly the appropriate means by which to prevail, under the current circumstances.” [particularly the German defeat at Stalingrad] *Goebbels Diary, February 2, 1943*

“The Jews in Berlin will now once and for all be pushed out. With the final deadline of February 28 they are supposed to be first collected in camps and then deported, up to 2,000, batch-by-batch, day-by-day. I have set for myself a goal to make Berlin entirely free of Jews by the middle or end of March at the latest.” *Goebbels Diary, February 18, 1943*

“We are pushing the Jews once and for all out of Berlin. This past Saturday they were collected without warning and will now be pushed off to the East very shortly. Unfortunately in this case too it turned out that the better classes, in particular the intellectuals, do not understand our Jewish policies and in some measure take sides with the Jews. As a consequence news of our action was prematurely betrayed, so that a whole lot of Jews has slipped

through our hands. But we will nevertheless still get ahold of them. In any case, I will not rest until the Reich capital at least has become totally free of Jews.” *Goebbels Diary, March 2, 1943*

“The SD considers this exact moment to be right for proceeding with the evacuation of the Jews. Unfortunately some disagreeable scenes have played out in front of a Jewish Old People’s Home. The people gathered together in large throngs and even sided with the Jews to some extent. I will commission the security police not to continue the Jewish evacuations during such a critical time. Rather we want to put that off for a few weeks; then we can carry it out all the more thoroughly. One has to intervene all over the place, to ward off damages. The efforts of certain offices are so lacking in savvy that one cannot leave them on their own for ten minutes. The basic malady of our leadership and above all of our administration consists in operating according to Schema F [incapable of adapting orders to circumstances]. One has the impression that these people, who carry out this or that measure, don’t reflect a wit, but rather hang to the written word, whose main value to them is that they thus have their actions covered by orders from above.” *Goebbels Diary, March 6, 1943.*

“I discuss the news about Berlin with Gutterer [Goebbels’ Deputy for the Greater Berlin Gau/region]. There is nothing essentially new to report . . . The Führer has the greatest understanding for the psychological questions of the war and expressed himself very sharply about the tactical imprudence of prominent persons as well as their wives . . . In the Jewish question he approves of my actions and specifically gives me the mandate to render Berlin free of Jews . . . I describe my actions to the Führer as generous toward the people, hard toward the wrong doers. The Führer also considers this completely correct.” *Goebbels Diary, 9 March 1943*

[Gutterer confirmed in interviews in August 1986 at his home in Aachen with Nathan Stoltzfus that Goebbels did make the decision to release rather than deport the intermarried Jews imprisoned at Rosenstrasse, because this was the easiest way to get rid of the street protests, and that Goebbels reviewed this decision with Hitler on March 9]

“The evacuation of the Jews from Berlin did in fact lead to some disagreements. Unfortunately the Jews and Jewesses from privileged marriages were arrested too at first, which led to great fear and confusion. Because of the short-sightedness of industrialists, who warned the Jews in time, the supposed arrest of Jews on one day was a flop. In total, 4,000 Jews evaded us. They are now going around unregistered and without housing in Berlin

and comprise, of course, a great danger for the public. I order the police, army and party to put everything into settling up with these Jews as fast as possible.

The arrest of Jews and Jewesses from privileged marriages had a particularly strong, sensational affect on artist circles. Because precisely among actors these privileged marriages exist in a certain number. But in the moment I can't pay overly much attention to that. If a German man can still even now manage to live in a legal marriage with a Jewess, then that speaks against him absolutely, and during war there is no longer time to be all too sentimental in judging this question." *Goebbels Diary, March 11, 1943*

[Goebbels's diary entry for April 18, below, shows that in referring here to Jews from "privileged marriages" he was not designating all Jews in intermarriage but only those who did not wear the Star, because they were privileged.]

"The Jewish question in Berlin is still not yet completely solved. A whole collection of so-called 'Geltungsjuden' ['half-Jewish' 'Mischlinge' who are considered Jews and wear the Star of David], Jews from privileged intermarriages ["full Jews" according to the Nuremberg Laws but exempted from wearing the Star of David], and also Jews from intermarriages ["full Jews" required to wear the Star of David, who comprised the vast majority interned on Rosenstrasse] are still to be found in Berlin. A lot of extraordinarily difficult problems arise from this. In any case I authorize that all Jews who still find themselves in Berlin, will undergo a further inspection. I do not want Jews with the Jewish star running around the Reich capital. Either one must take the Jewish star away and privilege them, or on the other hand once and for all evacuate them from the Reich capital. I am convinced that with the freeing of Berlin of the Jews, I have completed one of my greatest political achievements." *Goebbels Diary, April 18, 1943*

"One dare not bend to the will of the people in this point [evacuations] since the people of course have no overview of the coming probable developments in the air war." The shuffling back and forth of German masses between evacuation sites and their bombed home cities puts an undue strain on the train system, Goebbels wrote, and "we must therefore try to dam up this reverse current with appropriate measures. If this is not to be achieved through friendly cajoling, "then one must use force. It is not true that force does not lead to results. Of course it leads to results if is explained to the public with the necessary specificity, and then is actually deployed. Up until now, one has not sensed any of this, and the people know just exactly where the soft spot of the leadership is, and will always exploit this. Should we make this spot hard where we have been soft up until now, then the will of the people

will bend to the will of the state. Currently we're on the best path to bending the will of the state to the will of the people. I consider that to be extraordinarily cataclysmic, not only from the objective perspective but also from the standpoint of leadership in general. The state may never, against its better insight, give in to the pressure of the street. If it does this the second time, it will be still less strong than it was the first time, and gradually lose its entire authority." *Goebbels Diary, November 2, 1943* [Goebbels wrote this after the Witten Protest examined here by Julia Torrie.]

Appendix 5

Excerpts from testimonies of women who protested for their Jewish husbands in response to a request from the Berlin Bureau of Reparations, 1955.

Front Page, Jüdische Allgemeine (Jewish Weekly) February 18, 1955

REPARATIONS FOR STERNTRÄGER: THOSE REMAINING PLEASE REGISTER

The Office of Reparations urgently requests the registration of persons whose relatives were members of resistance groups against National Socialism and were sentenced to death or died in a concentration camp . . . Also the participants of the demonstration-march of the 'Aryan' wives on Rosenstrasse should please register at the Berlin office of Reparations.

In response, more than sixty participants wrote in. Many of the testimonies, from persons who no doubt did not know each other, rendered similar descriptions: women arrived at Rosenstrasse 2-4 to confirm that their family members were imprisoned there and to bring them small items of comfort; as they grew in numbers they began calling out together for the release of their husbands in a chorus over and over; armed guards repeatedly threatened to shoot them if they did not disperse; the protesters fled in fear but soon regrouped and continued their protest. These details were confirmed during the following decade by additional testimony from other participants given to the German prosecution in the Bovensiepen and Graustück cases.

Reparations were not forthcoming, although an official response to these eyewitness reports has not yet been found. These testimonies of the protesters instead made it into the Leo Baeck Institute (Wiener Library microfilm, AR 7187/Reel 600). Examples include:

Gertrud Cohen
Neé Vanselow
Emserstrasse 6

Berlin-Neuköln 14 March 55

On Saturday evening, the 27th of February, my husband Dr. Jur. Hans Cohen, as a full Jew and wearer of the star . . . was arrested by the SS . . . Searching for the whereabouts of my husband I discovered that arrested Jews were being held in the house of the Jewish Community in the Rosenstrasse, and went there, where already many (zahlreiche) wives had gathered together. Although the posted police commanded us to move on, we called out together in a chorus: "We want to have our husbands back!"

Gertrud Blumenthal

Berlin-Steglitz, the 6th of March 1955
Kühlebornweg 24

After we demonstrators were threatened with pistols by the Gestapo we first quickly dispersed but then a short while later gathered together again and protested more.

Else Putzrath geb. Lingne

Berlin-Wilmersdorf den 24.2.1955
Mansfelderstr. 34

I hereby state that I as an Aryan (Christian) wife of the Star-wearer-Jew Herbert Putzrath took part every day in the demonstration in the period between February 28 until March 3. I could name witnesses for this.

Excerpts of Individual Sections and Paragraphs from Legal Texts and Ordinances (1933–1941)

I.

First Ordinance for the execution of the law
for the restoration of the civil service system.

From 11 April 1933. RGBl (*Reichsgesetzblatt*) 1 p. 195.

§ 3

(1) One is considered non-Aryan if one is descended from non-Aryan, especially Jewish parents or grandparents. It suffices if one parent or one grandparent is non-Aryan, especially if one parent or one grandparent has belonged to the Jewish religion.

(3) If Aryan descent is questionable, an expert opinion has to be obtained by an appointed specialist on race research at the Ministry of the Interior.

II.

Reich Citizenship Law.

From 15 September 1935. RGBl I p. 1146.

§ 1

(1) A German citizen is one who belongs to the Association of the German Reich and is especially committed to it because of this membership in the association.

§ 2

(1) A citizen of the Reich is that person only who is of German or kindred blood and who, through his conduct, shows that he is both desirous and fit to serve the German people and Reich faithfully.

(2) Citizens of the Reich are the sole bearers of full political rights in accordance with the law.

III.

Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor
From 15 September 1935. RGBl I S. 1146–1147.

§ 1

(1) Marriages between Jews and German citizens or kindred blood are forbidden. Marriages concluded in defiance of this law are void, even if, for the purpose of evading this law, they were concluded abroad.

§ 2

Sexual relations outside marriage between Jews and citizens of German or kindred blood are forbidden.

§ 5

- (1) Whoever violates the ban imposed by § 1 will be jailed.
- (2) Any man who violates the ban imposed by § 2 will be punished by incarceration in prison or jail.

IV.

First Ordinance of the Reich Citizenship Law
From 14 November 1935. RGBl I p. 1333–1334

§ 2

(2) A Jewish *Mischling*¹ is anyone who, according to race, is descended from one or two Jewish grandparents, as long as he is not considered a Jew according to § 5 para. 2. A grandparent is considered fully Jewish without more ado if he had enrolled as a member of a Jewish religious community.

§ 4

(1) A Jew cannot be a citizen of the Reich. He is not entitled to suffrage in political affairs; he cannot hold a public office.

§ 5

- (1) A Jew is anyone descended from at least three Jewish grandparents. § 2 para. 2 clause 2 is to be applied.
- (2) A person is also considered a Jew if he is descended from two Jewish grandparents and is a citizen and Jewish *Mischling*,
 - a) who was a member of a Jewish religious community at the time of the enactment of the law or will be admitted to one thereafter,
 - b) who was married to a Jew at the time of the enactment of the law or will be married to one thereafter,

c) who, in terms of paragraph 1, was born into a marriage with a Jew that was contracted after the Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor of 15 September 1935 (*Reichsgesetzbl[att]* I p. 1146) came into effect, d) who was born from sexual relations with a Jew outside of marriage in terms of paragraph 1 and was born out of wedlock after 31 July 1936.

V.

First Ordinance for the Implementation of the Law
for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor.
From 14 November 1935. RGBl I p. 1334–1336.

§ 2

Also falling under the forbidden marriage act according to § 1 of the law are marriages concluded between Jews and German citizens who are Jewish *Mischlinge* who have only one Jewish grandparent.

§ 12

(1) A household is Jewish [. . .] if a Jewish man is the head of the household or belongs to the household community.

§ 16

The *Führer* and Reich Chancellor can grant exemptions from the provisions of the laws and regulations.

VI.

Police Ordinance in Regard to the Marking of Jews
From 1 September 1941. RGBl I p. 547.

§ 1

(1) Jews (§ 5 of the First Ordinance of the Reich Citizenship Law of 14 November 1935—*Reichsgesetzbl[att]* I p. 1333) who have completed their sixth year of life are forbidden to show themselves in public without a Jewish star.
(2) The Jewish star consists of a palm-sized, six-pointed star outlined in black and made out of yellow material with the black inscription “*Jude*” (Jew). It is to be worn visibly sewn onto the upper left side of one’s clothing.

§ 2

Jews are forbidden

- (a) to leave the area of their residential community without carrying written permission from the local police authority;
- (b) to wear medals, decorations and other insignia.

§ 3

§§ 1 and 2 do not apply³

- a) to Jewish spouses living in a mixed marriage, as long as the marriage bore descendents and these descendents are not considered Jews, even if the marriage no longer exists or the only son has died in the present war;
- b) to the Jewish wife in a childless mixed marriage for the duration of the marriage.

§ 4

- (1) Whoever violates the ban in §§ 1 and 2 intentionally or negligently will be fined up to 153 *Reichsmark* or imprisoned for up to six weeks.
- (2) Additional safety measures and penal provisions by the police will remain in effect.

Notes

1. A *Mischling* according to Nazi usage was a person of Jewish as well as “Aryan” or “German-blooded” ancestry.
2. This provision referred to as the “privileged” and “non-privileged mixed marriages” had been established in *Geheimer Schnellbrief Görings an das Reichsinnenministerium vom 28.12.1938 (Göring’s Secret Express Letter to the Reich Ministry of the Interior of 28 December 1938)*. Privileged mixed marriages were those with: 1) a child baptized as a Christian; 2) a Jewish wife without children. The Jewish partner in these marriages was “privileged.” Mixed marriages were *not* privileged if 1) there were children classified as Jewish according to the 1935 Nuremberg Laws; 2) the husband was Jewish and there were no children. In these cases the Jewish partner was not “privileged.” Hilberg, *Destruction*, vol. 2, 443–44; Stoltzfus, *Resistance of the Heart*, 102; Meyer, *Mischlinge*, 30.

RSHA Guidelines for Deportation to Auschwitz, Berlin, February 20, 1943

Institute for Contemporary History, Eichmann Trial documents of proof, No. 1282. With heading: Reich Security Main Office IV B 4 a. Reference number: 2093/42 g (391). Title: Guidelines for the technical implementation of the evacuation of Jews to the East (KL [concentration camp] Auschwitz). Underlining and date in the original. Handwritten comments and notes in the margins were not recorded. Partial quotations or excerpts: H.G. Adler, p. 199; J. v. Lang, document facsimile, not paginated; Topography of Terror, p. 118f.

For the evacuation of Jews¹ from the territory of the Reich and Bohemia and Moravia to the East, the following guidelines, which are to be observed exactly at all points, have been established under the reversal of orders enacted up until now.

I. Authorized agencies.

The implementation is the responsibility of the State Police Headquarters (in Vienna, as before, the settlement center of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in collaboration with the Special Branch Headquarters in Vienna, in the Protectorate the commander of the security police and the SD [*Sicherheitsdienst* (Security Service)], Central Office for the Regulation of the Jewish Question in Bohemia and Moravia, Prague).

The role of these agencies, in addition to gathering the group of individuals to be evacuated in a designated place and collecting their personal information for written records, is the removal of these Jews on chartered German State Railroad trains in accordance with the railway schedule created by the Reich Security Main Office after consultation with the Imperial Ministry for Transport, and the regulation of proprietary issues.

II. Ordinance for the group of persons to be evacuated

In the course of this evacuation initiative, all Jews can be captured (§ 5 of the 1st enactment of the Law of the Reich Citizen of 14 November 1935, RGBl. [*Reichsgesetzblatt*] I, p. 1333) apart from the following provisional exceptions:

1./ Jews living in German-Jewish mixed marriages as well as a/ Jewish spouses from a no longer existing German-Jewish marriage, who, in compliance with § 3, para. a) of the police regulations of 1 September [19]41 (RGBl I, p. 547) are exempt from the law requiring Jews to wear identifying marks, b/ Persons of partial Jewish ancestry who are classified as Jews² according to § 5 (2) of the 1st ordinance of the Civil Code of the Reich Citizen of 14 November [19]35 (RGBl. I, p. 1333) provided they are not married to a Jew.

2./ Jews who are to be temporarily deferred from evacuation on account of particular decrees of the Reich Security Main Office IV B 4.

3./ Jews over 65 years of age. In the case of Jewish marriages in which one spouse is under 65 years and the other over 65 years of age, both spouses can be evacuated.

4./ Bearers of the Wound Badge³ and of high decorations for bravery (EK I⁴, Golden Bravery Medal⁵, etc.)

5./ According to a petition of the Reich Ministry of the Interior presently at hand, Jews and *Geltungsjuden* affected by hereinafter called cases of hardship (further handling and/or examination is scheduled in due time): a/ Resignation from the Jewish religious community can ensue only after the effective date (15 September 1935) but before the reunification of Austria with the German Reich⁶. (Valid only for former Austrian citizens). b/ It has been substantiated that the half-Jew would have resigned from the Jewish religious community in due time, i.e. before the reunification of Austria with the German Reich, if this had not been forbidden by the Austrian law of 25 May 1868 on Interdenominational Relations of Citizens (RGBl. for Austria 1868 p. 99) because the law forbade a change in denomination between one's completed 7th and 14th years of life. (Valid only for former Austrian citizens). c/ The intention of an *actual resignation* from the Jewish religious community was *proven* before the effective date (15 September 1935), but the official resignation from the Jewish religious community as prescribed by governmental laws was not executed or not executed in due form for *excusable* reasons.

7./ A separation of spouses and of children up to 14 years of age from their parents is to be avoided if possible.⁷

Separate instructions apply concerning the treatment of *Jews with foreign citizenship*.

Notes

1. Cf. the legal provisions underlying this document and the others, the law excerpts in Document 1a.

2. Because § 5 para. 2 begins with the phrase “*Als Jude gilt*” (“The following are classified as Jews”), this group of persons is also signified as *Geltungsjuden*.
3. Wound Badges in black (one to two times), silver (three to four times), and gold (more frequent injuries), established September 1, 1939.
4. *Eisernes Kreuz Erster Klasse* (Iron Cross First Class).
5. The name “*Tapferkeitsmedaille*” (Bravery Medal) for the Bavarian Army’s “*Militär-Verdienst-Medaille*” (Military Service Medal) established by Elector Karl Theodor in 1794 (awarded in gold or silver) was officially introduced in March 1918. In the Bavarian Army it was the highest decoration for enlisted men and non-commissioned officers. Its Prussian counterparts were the *Goldenes Militärverdienstkreuz* (Golden Military Service Cross) and the *Pour le mérite*. I would like to thank Dr. Achim Fuchs, Bavarian Main State Archive—War Archive—Munich for this information.
6. March 13, 1938.
7. A sixth item is missing in the original.

Appendix 8

Documents of the SS at Auschwitz from early March 1943 indicating their “pull” for workers from Berlin and their expectation that more working Jews (intermarried) would be sent from Berlin

2 March 1943 Telex No. 1298 Time 9:59 p.m. Recorded by Rissler
Oranienburg No. 1298 2. 3. 43. Time 9:40 p.m. — Z5D—
Top Secret!

To the

Camp Commander Concentration Camp Auschwitz

SS-Obersturmbannführer Höss _____

Subject: Evacuation of Jews.

Reference: Known.

As it is known there, the transports of Jews from Berlin begin on 1 March 1943. It will be brought to your attention once more that on these transports there will be 15,000 healthy Jews, fully able to work, who previously worked in the Berlin arms industry. Their further ability to work is of great importance.

Responsible for the Accuracy of Statement Chairman of Central
Administrative Bureau

Sgd. Liebahenschel

SS-Obersturmbannführer

a. B. i. V.

SS-Untersturmführer

This document is in the Auschwitz Museum's archives: D-AUI-3a/85a nr inw. 172841 (hand-written notation).

Transcription of a letter from the Chairman of Central Administrative Bureau of Office D I of the SS Economic and Administrative Main Office to the Concentration Camp Commander Rudolf Höss with the message that

among the transports arriving from Berlin there are about 15,000 healthy Jews who are able to work. APMO [Auschwitz Museum]: D-AuI-3a, Letters and Telegrams about the Prisoners' Employment of Labor, Bl.392.

Concentration Camp Auschwitz Telex Service.

Received Sent

Day Month Year Time Space for Receipt Stamp Day Month Year Time

2 March 1943 9:59 p.m. 3 March 1943

by delivered on III-a

through (—) podpis nieczyteiny through

Telex No. 1290

Oranienburg 1290 2.3.43. 2140—ZED—

To the Commander SS-Obersturmbannführer Höss Concentration Camp Auschwitz.

Subject: Evacuation of Jewish armaments workers out of Berlin. I am bringing to your attention once more that the Jewish armaments workers from Berlin, whose transport began yesterday, must absolutely be kept in a state in which they are able to work. Because they have worked in the armaments industry in Berlin, their employability is to be recognized. First of all, the camp Buna must be brought into the best possible condition.

In doing so, I am asking you to please take care that the Jewish workers absolutely not be unloaded in the usual location, but directly at the Buna factory, which would be more advantageous. Therefore, I expect a significant increase in inventory at the Buna factory.

Sgd. Maurer, SS-Obersturmbannführer.

M.P. Concentration Camp Auschwitz

Department Head: Employment of Labor

3 March 1943

(—) podpis nieczyteiny

Message—Telex—Radiogram—Flash Message

No. 7749 5 March 1943

To: Economic and Administrative Main Office
Office D II

Oranienburg

Subject: Evacuation of Jewish armaments workers

Reference: There: Telex from 2 March 1943 No. 1290

1750 Jews arrived on 4 March 1943 from Berlin.

Out of these, 200 women sent to employment of labor and 918 women and children sent to special treatment.

The rest 1118 women and children.

Out of these, 200 women sent to employment of labor and 918 women and children to special treatment. Average age of male prisoners arriving for employment of labor: 50-60 years.

If the transports from Berlin continue to arrive with so many women and children alongside older Jews, it does not look very promising in regard to the employment of labor. What Buna needs most of all are strong or younger workers.

Sgd. Schwarz

SS-Obersturmführer (—) podpis nieczyteiny

Message.

WV Hauptamt

Office D II 8 March 1943

Oranienburg.

Subject: Evacuation of Jewish armaments workers.

On 5 and 7 March the following Jewish prisoner transports arrived.

Transport from Berlin, entry 5 March 1943, size of the transport was 1128 Jews. 389 men (Buna) and 96 women were sent to employment of labor. 151 men and 492 women and children received special treatment.

Transport from Breslau, entry 5 March 1943, size of the transport was 1405 Jews. 406 men (Buna) and 190 women were sent to employment of labor. 125 men and 684 women and children received special treatment.

Transport from Berlin, entry 7 March 1943, size of the transport was 690 including 25 protective custody prisoners. 153 men and 25 protective custody prisoners (Buna) and 65 women were sent to employment of labor. 30 men and 417 women and children received special treatment.

Sgd. Schwarz

(—) Obersturmführer

Concentration Camp Auschwitz Telex Service.

Received Sent

Day Month Year Time Space for Receipt Stamp

7 Nov. 1942 8:43 a.m. Entry: 7 Nov. 1942 (—) podpis nieczytelny
through (—) podpis nieczytelny Telex No. 8885
1834

KGL.D.W. SS Lublin 8885 7.11.42 0840—SP

To the Commander's Office of the Concentration Camp Auschwitz.

Subject:—Transfer of Jewish prisoner clockmakers.

Reference:—Ordinance ORBG—D- 11/1 23 SO./F. of 28 October 1942.

In accordance with the O.A. Ordinance, the 48 Jewish prisoner clockmakers announced in the letter of 9 September 1942 are to be transferred to the concentration camp Auschwitz. From these announced 48 Jewish prisoners, 23 are now deceased, which means that now only 25 prisoners can be transferred. The transfer will take place on 7 November 1942—3:02 p.m. from the train station Lublin to Warsaw.

Sgd. Kögel SS-Obersturmbannführer and Commander.

MP Concentration Camp Auschwitz 9 November 1942.

(—) podpis nieczytelny.

Must be intercepted, sealed, to Bohl. Wentsl.!

Completed on 12 November 1942 (—) podpis nieczyteiny.

Appendix 9

Documents in response to the Witten Protest and from 1944 indicating Hitler's continuing refusal to use force against "racial" civilians who refused to follow regime guidelines for evacuating bombed areas.

1) *Circular Nr. 6, Gau liaison officer Spratte, November 20, 1944*

"As I already informed you, the Gauleiter [Albert Hoffmann, Westphalia-South] also wants to prevent our evacuees' many return trips by not handing out ration cards for food provisioning to any evacuee who returns to the air emergency region without permission."

2) *SD-report on "contemporary events and their effects on the morale and behavior of women," November 18, 1943*

"Women stand behind the Führer . . . in general women always take the view that the Führer certainly would put things right, if he knew everything. . . . In Witten [Westphalia-South region] . . . The women in question had indeed tried to *force* [italics original] the delivery of food ration cards in order to take a public stand against the measures that led to prohibitions on the dispensation of food ration cards. Shameful scenes developed so that the city administration of Witten found itself forced to call on the police so as to restore order. They refused to get involved however since the demands of the women were fair and there was no legal basis for not handing out food ration cards to German people who had returned [home]. Also in Hamm, Lünen, and Bochum wild scenes reportedly played out in front of the food offices. Agitated crowds of people waited in line for the distribution [of rations]. Because some of the women brought with them small children and nursing infants and the miners in some cases showed up in the place of their wives, those waiting began to exchange accounts of their experiences in the

places they had been evacuated to, and the craziest (tollste) statements were made. Miners declared that they would not return to the mines before they had received the necessary food ration cards for their families. Women announced that they would rather suffer bombs here than to once again return to the quarters assigned to them. The publication in the newspaper as well as at the distribution center on October 12, 1943 that food ration cards would not only be denied to those who had returned but also to all children required to attend school, even if they had not yet been evacuated, led to *a firsthand rebellion among the women* [italics original], who had been capable of anything, without exercise of the least restraint or caution about consequences. Friendly persuasion had the opposite effect. Insults of official and high-ranking persons were the order of the day.”

3) 18.1.44—*Reich Minister for People’s Enlightenment and Propaganda Pro LK Nr. 27/43 g (1) 2580 a to all Gauleiter regarding Reich Inspection for the Implementation of Civilian Air War Measures*

“In carrying out measures to prevent the undesirable return of evacuees, particular difficulties have arisen from the fact that this question is not dealt with in a unified way across the Reich. Individual Gaue have defended themselves against returns by blocking ration tickets. But because town limits often run right through developed areas, different practices have often arisen in the same communities. The Führer has therefore ordered that you refrain from blocking ration cards. Similarly, the Führer does not wish parents who have not evacuated their children to be fined for every day children miss school if, because of the school closures, the children are not sent to school. The Führer is of the opinion that other ways and means must be found to move these members of the community, too, to evacuate their children.”

4) *Section from the Ministerial Gazette for the Baden domestic administration Nr. 32 of 25 August 1944: “Evacuation due to air raid danger and bomb damage.” Circular of the Minister of the Interior and Head of Civil Government in Alsace, Government and Political Department, 21 August 1944 Nr. 48541* “With an order of July 29, 1944 –II RV 1724/44—220 U—the Plenipotentiary for Reich Administration [Heinrich Himmler], in agreement with the Director of the Party Chancellery [Martin Bormann], has taken a position as follows: ‘The use of measures of force in the preventative evacuations continues to be considered inexpedient.’”

5) 12.10.44—*Reich Leader M. Bormann to Assistant Gauleiter Schlessmann, Essen. Regarding: returns of women and children from the evacuated areas to the*

major cities. Your teletype message of 9.10.44. Reichsleitung NSV—Rundschreiben Nr. 139/44 of 13.11.44

“Dear Party Comrade Schlessmann, At the beginning of this year, the Führer refused to apply compulsory measures against evacuees who returned [home to bombed cities]. The grounds upon which he based his decision at that time are still relevant today. In order to dam the flood of evacuees returning to major cities, I asked the Reich Minister of the Interior to inform his subordinate offices to exercise the utmost restraint in issuing travel documents, and a similar instruction is going to the National Socialist Welfare Organization. Through appropriate presentations in the reception areas, the party will inform evacuees about the difficulties and dangers that await those who return to the cities. I hope that these measures will suffice to keep the flood of returning evacuees within tolerable limits.”

6) *28.09.44 Reich Inspection of Civilian Air War Measures Goebbels to Gauleiter, R 55/447 Verhinderung der Rückkehr von Umquartierten*

“The Führer has ordered that blocking of food ration cards must be stopped . . . The Führer believes that the aspired goal [to stop evacuees from returning home] can be reached in particular through propaganda actions that vividly present parents with the dangers facing their children.”

Appendix 10

Excerpts from the recent German press representing controversies about public protest by ordinary Germans in the Third Reich

“Kitsch as Kitsch can”

Wolfgang Benz

Süddeutsche Zeitung, September 18, 2003

www.sueddeutsche.de/kultur/218/405995/text/

“In the opening to Margarethe von Trotta’s film “Rosenstrasse” we read that the events have actually taken place in Berlin as the end of February/beginning of March 1943. In fact it is knitted together with legends . . . that only the defiance of women moved the Nazis to relent. Through such false representations of history, is the resistance of the women at Rosenstrasse not mocked and devalued (because Goebbels had nothing to do with Rosenstrasse and couldn’t have had any influence there)? . . . [It] stands history on its head and invents new myths that are dishonest and make nonsense of clear understanding.”

“Wunder und Wahrheit”

Christian Habbe

Der Spiegel, December 12, 2002

“The release of 2,000 Berlin Jews from Nazi imprisonment was long considered a miracle. As recent research shows, this is not quite right. . . . After extensive studies of the files of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), the Berlin historian Wolf Gruner comes to the conclusion that the release of the imprisoned Jews was planned from the outset . . . Gruner proves that Hitler’s willing executioners were not intimidated, but proceeded according to an elaborate plan . . . SS Jewish Affairs Expert Adolf Eichmann even personally confirmed this to Church authorities.”

“Gebt uns unsere Männer zurück!”

Neue Studien im “kleinen Historikerstreit”: Aber es bleibt unbelegt, ob die Frauen-Protteste in der Rosenstraße 1943 zur Freilassung führten

Sven Felix Kellerhoff

Berliner Morgenpost, July 3, 2005

<http://www.morgenpost.de/content/2005/07/03/feuilleton/764157.html>

“Goebbels and the Gestapo gave in to a few hundred Berlin women. Due to their vociferous protest the Propaganda Minister and the Gestapo released about 2000 “Jews related to Aryans” at the beginning of March 1943 . . . Experts [*Fachleute*] have been arguing violently about Stoltzfus’ interpretation of the protests at Rosenstrasse and Trotta’s film now for more than two years, sometimes with personal attacks . . . The Berlin historian Wolf Gruner . . . can now claim to have provided the only coherent interpretation . . . If Goebbels had in fact ordered the release of the arrested Jews because of public pressure, it would cast doubt on virtually all attempts to explain the Nazi state.”

Email excerpt from a member of the Technical University of Dortmund faculty, June 13, 2007:

“I have never, whether in private or public, seen anything reported on or heard anyone speak of the protests [by 300 women in Witten] in October 1943. There have been discussions of everything possible: about the conditions of the evacuation reception areas, about the air raids, about the separation of families due to the war. Even in interviews that I have had with women [in Witten] this topic was never raised. Because I myself first heard of it about four years ago in “Meldungen aus dem Reich” [the collection of SD reports published in 1984], I could also not have asked them about it specifically.”

“Helden ohne Namen”

Nathan Stoltzfus

Der Spiegel, *EINESTAGES*, November 10, 2008

http://einestages.spiegel.de/static/topicalbumbackground/1477/1/helden_ohne_namen.html

“The thesis may be daring but it is defensible: the regime, dependent on compliance especially during war, responded carefully to open and half-open criticism of its Jewish policies and may have even had to react by pulling back,” wrote German historian Ekkehard Klaus in 2005. This is what ‘it actually did in response to Galen’s sermons and the women’s protest on

Rosenstrasse.’ Such an interpretation is “daring” because interpretations of Hitler’s power have built up and become established over the decades that Hitler held everything in his grip without regard to other forces. . . . A “documentation” published in 1990 by the Workshop for Witten Women’s History is painfully modest, neglecting even to mention that the women got what they demanded by protesting. The Workshop’s call for eyewitnesses or information about the protest has not returned a single echo. Perhaps still today, in a world where the archetypal story of resistance suggests that public resistance was always futile, it is too ‘daring’ to claim to have protested openly in Hitler’s Germany in late 1943.”

