

Notes

Abbreviations

AMV	Archive of the Ministry of the Interior
DÖW	Dokumentationsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstandes, Vienna
GStA	Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Berlin
IfZ	Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich
IMT	<i>International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg</i> , 42 vols (Nuremberg, 1947–9)
OA	Osoby Archive
PAAA	Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Berlin
StAH	Stadtarchiv Halle
USHMMA	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archive
VfZ	<i>Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte</i>

Introduction

1. The most widely known popular accounts of the Heydrich assassination are Callum MacDonald, *The Killing of SS Obergruppenführer Reinhard Heydrich: 27 May 1942* (London, 1992); Hellmut Haasis, *Tod in Prag. Das Attentat auf Reinhard Heydrich* (Reinbek, 2002); Miroslav Ivanov, *Der Henker von Prag. Das Attentat auf Heydrich* (Berlin, 1993); Jiří Fiedler, *Atentát 1942* (Brno, 2002); Michal Burian, Aleš Knížek, Jiří Rajlich and Eduard Stehlík, *Assassination: Operation Anthropoid 1941–1942* (Prague, 2002). For a helpful survey of the extensive Czech literature on the assassination up until 1991, see Zdeněk Jelínek, 'K problematice atentátu na Reinharda Heydricha', *Historie a vojenství* 40 (1991), 65–101.
2. On Himmler, see Peter Longerich, *Heinrich Himmler. Biographie* (Munich, 2008); Richard Breitman, *The Architect of Genocide: Himmler and the Final Solution* (New York, 1991); Peter R. Black, *Ernst Kaltenbrunner: Ideological Soldier of the Third Reich* (Princeton, NJ, 1984); on Best, Ulrich Herbert, *Best. Biographische Studien über Radikalismus, Weltanschauung und Vernunft, 1903–1989* (Bonn, 1996); on Eichmann, David Cesarani, *Becoming Eichmann: Rethinking the Life, Crimes and Trial of a Desk Murderer* (Cambridge, MA, 2006).
3. Shlomo Aronson, 'Heydrich und die Anfänge des SD und der Gestapo, 1931–1935', PhD thesis, FU Berlin, 1967; subsequently published as Shlomo Aronson, *Reinhard Heydrich und die Frühgeschichte von Gestapo und SD* (Stuttgart, 1971). See, too, the shorter essays of Charles Sydnor, 'Reinhard Heydrich. Der "ideale Nationalsozialist"', in Ronald Smelser and Enrico Syring (eds), *Die SS. Elite unter dem Totenkopf. 30 Lebensläufe* (Paderborn, 2000), 208–19; idem, 'Executive Instinct: Reinhard Heydrich and the Planning for the Final Solution', in Michael Berenbaum and Abraham Peck (eds), *The Holocaust and History: The Known, the Unknown, the Disputed and the Re-examined* (Bloomington, IN, 1998), 159–86.

4. Charles Whiting, *Heydrich: Henchman of Death* (Barnsley, 1999); Charles Wighton, *Heydrich: Hitler's Most Evil Henchman* (London, 1962); Günther Deschner, *Heydrich: The Pursuit of Total Power* (London, 1981); Edouard Calic, *Reinhard Heydrich: The Chilling Story of the Man Who Masterminded the Nazi Death Camps* (New York, 1985); Mario Dederichs, *Heydrich: The Face of Evil* (London, 2006); Joachim Fest, 'The Successor', in idem, *The Face of the Third Reich: Portraits of the Nazi Leadership* (New York, 1970), 98–114.
5. Carl Jacob Burckhardt, *Meine Danziger Mission, 1937–1939* (Munich, 1960), 57.
6. Statement on Heydrich by Dr Werner Best, 1 October 1959: IfZ, ZS 207/2.
7. Wolff's post-war testimony: IfZ, ZS 317, ff. 34f.; Walter Schellenberg, *The Labyrinth: The Memoirs of Hitler's Secret Service Chief* (London, 1956), 36. For a similar account, see Walter Hagen (alias Wilhelm Höttl), *Die geheime Front. Organisation, Personen und Aktionen des deutschen Geheimdienstes* (Linz and Vienna, 1950), 27; on Höttl and his account, see Thorsten Querg, 'Wilhelm Höttl – Vom Informanten zum Sturmbannführer im Sicherheitsdienst der SS', in Barbara Danckwortt, Thorsten Querg and Claudia Schöningh (eds), *Historische Rassismusforschung. Ideologie – Täter – Opfer* (Hamburg and Berlin, 1995), 208–30.
8. Hagen, *Geheime Front*, 21.
9. Felix Kersten, *Totenkopf und Treue – Heinrich Himmler ohne Uniform* (Hamburg, 1952), 128. See, too, the memoirs of Hans Bernd Gisevius, *Bis zum bitteren Ende. Bericht eines Augenzeugen aus den Machtzentren des Dritten Reiches* (Hamburg, 1954), 118.
10. Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'Introduction', Felix Kersten, *The Kersten Memoirs, 1940–1945*, ed. Hugh Trevor-Roper (London, 1957); Fest, 'Successor', 139ff.; Karl Dietrich Bracher, *The German Dictatorship: The Origins, Structure, and Consequences of National Socialism* (New York, 1970), 60. The myth of Heydrich's alleged Jewish family background continues to resurface periodically. See Dederichs, *Heydrich*, 69; Michael Puntenius, 'Das Gesicht des Terrors. Reinhard Heydrich (1904–1942)', in idem, *Gelehrte, Weltanschauer, auch Poeten. Literarische Porträts berühmter Hallenser* (Halle, 2006), 199–201, here 200; and Paula Diehl, *Macht – Mythos – Utopie. Die Körperbilder der SS-Männer* (Berlin, 2005), 163, n. 51. The myth of Heydrich's Jewish descent has been convincingly disproved by Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 18f., 24, 63f.; and Karin Flachowsky, 'Neue Quellen zur Abstammung Reinhard Heydrichs', *VfZ* 48 (2000), 319–27.
11. Fest, 'Successor', 139. On the idea that Heydrich wanted to succeed Hitler, see, too, Horst Naudé, *Erlebnisse und Erkenntnisse als politischer Beamter im Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren* (Berlin, 1975), 145; and Gisevius, *Bis zum bitteren Ende*, 264.
12. Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (London, 1963).
13. The most influential interpretation along these lines was Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (London, 1961).
14. Cesarani, *Eichmann*, 4; the best known example is Zygmunt Baumann, *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Ithaca, NY, 1989).
15. Deschner, *Heydrich*. The myth of Heydrich's lack of ideological conviction originated in Werner Best's post-war statement on Heydrich of 1 October 1959: IfZ, ZS 207/2.
16. Jens Banach, *Heydrichs Elite. Das Führerkorps der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD, 1936–1945* (Paderborn, 1996); George C. Browder, *Hitler's Enforcers: The Gestapo and the SS Security Service in the Nazi Revolution* (New York, 1996); Friedrich Wilhelm, *Die Polizei im NS-Staat. Die Geschichte ihrer Organisation im Überblick* (2nd edn, Paderborn, 1999); Herbert Best, Klaus-Michael Mallmann and Gerhard Paul (eds), *Karrieren der Gewalt. Nationalsozialistische Täterbiographien* (Darmstadt, 2004); Michael Wildt, *Generation des Unbedingten. Das Führungskorps des Reichssicherheitshauptamtes* (Hamburg, 2002); Cesarani, *Eichmann*; Götz Aly and Susanne Heim, *Vordenker der Vernichtung. Auschwitz und die deutschen Pläne für eine europäische Ordnung* (Frankfurt am Main, 1993); Harald Welzer, *Täter. Wie aus ganz normalen Menschen Massenmörder werden* (Frankfurt am Main, 2005).
17. Edouard Calic, *Reinhard Heydrich. Schlüsselfigur des Dritten Reiches* (Düsseldorf, 1982).
18. Peter Hüttenberger, 'Nationalsozialistische Polykratie', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 2 (1976), 417–42; Hans Mommsen, 'The Realization of the Unthinkable: The "Final Solution of the Jewish Question" in the Third Reich', in Gerhard Hirschfeld (ed.), *The Policies of Genocide: Jews and Soviet Prisoners of War in Nazi Germany* (London, 1986); Martin Broszat, 'Hitler und die "Endlösung"'. Aus Anlass der Thesen von David Irving', *VfZ* 25 (1977), 739–75; Ian

- Kershaw, ‘“Working towards the Führer”: Reflections on the Nature of the Hitler Dictatorship’, *Contemporary European History* 2 (1993), 103–18.
19. For clear and carefully argued syntheses, see Christopher R. Browning, *The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939–March 1942* (Lincoln, NB, 2004); Peter Longerich, *Politik der Vernichtung. Eine Gesamtdarstellung der nationalsozialistischen Judenverfolgung* (Munich and Zurich, 1998); Saul Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, vol. 1: *The Years of Persecution, 1933–1939*, and vol. 2: *The Years of Extermination, 1939–1945* (New York, 1997 and 2007); Donald Bloxham, *The Final Solution: A Genocide* (Oxford, 2009).
 20. Cesarani, *Eichmann*, 5.
 21. Aly and Heim, *Vordenker*; Karl Heinz Roth, ‘Konrad Meyers erster “Generalplan Ost” (April/Mai 1940)’, *Mitteilungen der Dokumentationsstelle zur NS-Sozialpolitik* 1 (1985), 45–52; Isabel Heinemann, ‘Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut’. *Das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitische Neuordnung Europas* (Göttingen, 2003).
 22. Longerich, *Himmler*, 766.

Chapter I: Death in Prague

1. Deschner, *Heydrich*, 240.
2. MacDonald, *Killing*; Haasis, *Tod*; Ivanov, *Henker*; Burian et al., *Assassination*; Fiedler, *Atentát 1942*; Chad Bryant, *Prague in Black: Nazi Rule and Czech Nationalism* (Cambridge, MA, 2007), 167ff.
3. Extensive material on the planning of the assassination issue can be found in SOE’s ‘Detailed Report on Operation Anthropoid’ (30 May 1942), in National Archives, Kew, HS 4/39, as well as in the German Criminal Police’s own extensive investigative report of 1942, in BAB, R 58/336.
4. National Archives, Kew, HS 4/79.
5. Frantisek Moravec, *Master of Spies: The Memoirs of General Frantisek Moravec* (Garden City, NY, 1975), 196. On Beneš, see Zbyněk Zeman, *The Life of Edvard Beneš 1884–1948: Czechoslovakia in Peace and War* (Oxford, 1997).
6. On Beneš’s post-war ambitions, see Richard J. Crampton, ‘Edvard Beneš’, in Steven Casey and Jonathan Wright (eds), *Mental Maps in the Era of the Two World Wars* (Basingstoke, 2008), 135–56.
7. IfZ, OKW T-77/1050, 6526169–70, NA.
8. MacDonald, *Killing*, 97, 118ff., 142f.; Detlef Brandes, *Die Tschechen unter deutschem Protektorat*, 2 vols (Munich, 1969 and 1975), vol. 1, 251ff. See, too, Václav Kural, *Vlastenci proti okupaci. Ústřední vedení odboje domácího 1940–1943* (Prague, 1997); Jan Němec, ‘Německá okupační politika v protektorátu a český protiněmecký odpor’, in *Historické, právní a mezinárodní souvislosti Dekretů prezidenta republiky* (Prague, 2003), 21–40.
9. Hugh Dalton, *The Second World War Diary of Hugh Dalton 1940–1945*, ed. Ben Pimlott (London, 1986), 329.
10. Stephen Twigge, Edward Hampshire and Graham Macklin, *British Intelligence: Secrets, Spies and Sources* (Kew, 2008), 167–210.
11. National Archives, Kew, HS 4/79. On the SOE in Czechoslovakia, see Michael R. D. Foot, *SOE: An Outline History of the Special Operations Executive, 1940–1946* (London, 1984), 199–202; Twigge et al., *British Intelligence*, 167–210.
12. National Archives, Kew, HS 4/79; Lieutenant Colonel Peter Wilkinson, Staff Officer, Czech–Polish Section, SOE HQ, London, as quoted in Roderick Bailey, *Forgotten Voices of the Secret War: An Inside History of Special Operations during the Second World War* (London, 2008), 111.
13. Hansjürgen Köhler, *Inside the Gestapo: Hitler’s Shadow over Europe* (London, 1941), extracts in Heydrich’s SOE file, National Archives, Kew, WO 208/4472.
14. National Archives, Kew, HS 4/39.
15. Peter Wilkinson (MX) to Colin Gubbins (M), and Peter Wilkinson (MX) to AD/P, 25 July 1942, in National Archives, Kew, HS 4/39; and National Archives, Kew, HS 4/79.
16. Whiting, *Henchman*, 268.
17. Their ‘last wills’ are reprinted in Burian et al., *Assassination*, 44.

18. The arrival of the parachutists was subsequently reconstructed by the German Criminal Police in minute detail. See their final report on the assassination, in BAB, R 58/336.
19. Bryant, *Prague in Black*, 167f.
20. 'Totenbuch des SS-Standortarztes Mauthausen', 24 October 1942, in KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen, AMM Y/46.
21. MacDonald, *Killing*, 142f.; Ladislav Vaněk, *Atentát na Heydricha* (Prague, 1962).
22. Bartoš to Czech government-in-exile, report of 3 February 1942, in National Archives, Kew, HS 4/39. Bryant, *Prague*, 168. On Silver A, Silver B and other missions, see Zdeněk Jelínek, *Operace Silver A* (Prague, 1992); Jan Břečka, *Silver B neodpovídá. Historie čs. paraskupiny z Velké Británie v letech 2. světové války* (Brno, 2004); Marie Matušů, *Muži pro speciální operace* (Prague, 2004).
23. Brandes, *Tschechen*, vol. 1, 247ff.; MacDonald, *Killing*, 146f., 199; Bryant, *Prague*, 168.
24. MacDonald, *Killing*, 155.
25. Vojtech Mastny, *The Czechs under Nazi Rule: The Failure of National Resistance, 1939–42* (New York, 1971), 156; Brandes, *Tschechen*, vol. 1, 252.
26. ÚVOD to Czech government-in-exile, transmitted on 11 May 1942, in National Archives, Kew, HS 4/39. The message was intercepted by the Gestapo, but obviously not taken seriously enough to implement additional security measures for Heydrich.
27. Beneš to ÚVOD, 15 May 1942, as quoted in Mastny, *Czechs*, 209.
28. Dossier for SOE leadership and War Office, 4 March 1942, in National Archives, Kew, HS 4/79.
29. Ivanov, *Henker*, 229f.
30. The German Criminal Police undertook a thorough investigation of the case after Heydrich's death and established a detailed reconstruction of the events of 27 May 1942. See Stanislav F. Berton, 'Das Attentat auf Reinhard Heydrich vom 27. Mai 1942. Ein Bericht des Kriminalrats Heinz Pannwitz', *VfZ* 33 (1985), 668–706.
31. *Ibid.*, 690f.
32. MacDonald, *Killing*, 166–7, 171–3; Burian et al., *Assassination*, 65. See, too, Hans-Ulrich Stoldt, 'Operation Anthropoid', in Stephan Burgdorff (ed.), *Der Zweite Weltkrieg. Wendepunkte der deutschen Geschichte* (Munich, 2005), 171–5; Peter Witte et al. (eds), *Der Dienstkalender Heinrich Himmlers 1941/42* (Hamburg, 1999), 27 May 1942, p. 438. Over the following days, Gebhardt delivered daily telephone reports on Heydrich's condition to Himmler: Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 438ff.
33. SD report 'Meldungen aus dem Reich' no. 287, 28 May 1942, ff. 4ff., and report no. 288 of 1 June 1942, 3ff. in: BAB, R58/172. See, too: Mastny, *Czechs*, 215; Brandes, *Tschechen*, vol. 1, 256.
34. *Völkischer Beobachter*, 27 May 1942.
35. Joseph Goebbels, *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels*, ed. Elke Fröhlich (Munich, 1995), part II, vol. 4, 386.
36. IfZ, Ed 450; Himmler's telegram to Frank, 27 May 1942, in Miroslav Kárný, Jaroslava Milotová and Margita Kárná (eds), *Deutsche Politik im Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren unter Reinhard Heydrich 1941–1942* (Berlin, 1997), doc. 104, p. 280. See, too, Brandes, *Tschechen*, vol. 1, 254f.
37. See Karl Hermann Frank's protocol of his meeting with Hitler on 28 May 1945, in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, doc. 106, pp. 282–90, here pp. 283–5.
38. *Verordnungsblatt des Reichsprotektors in Böhmen und Mähren* 19 (28 May 1942), 123f.; Brandes, *Tschechen*, vol. 1, 254f. The reward is mentioned in Goebbels's diary. See *Tagebücher*, part II, vol. 4, 386.
39. See the official announcement of 29 May 1942, in National Archives, Prague, Úřad říšského protektora (Office of the Reich Protector), supplement 1, carton 53.
40. See the final report on the police operation by Dr Geschke, 24 June 1942, in Archive of the Ministry of the Interior, Prague, 301-5-4. See, too, Berton, 'Attentat', 683.
41. See the long list of informers and sums paid to them in exchange for information in Archive of the Ministry of the Interior, Prague, 315-194-30.
42. Beneš to Bartoš, as quoted in Brandes, *Tschechen*, vol. 1, 254. See, too, Beneš's public declaration of 29 May 1942, in National Archives, Kew, HS 4/79.
43. Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 440ff. (reports by Prof. Gebhardt and entry for 31 May 1941). See, too, Lina Heydrich, *Leben mit einem Kriegsverbrecher* (Pfaffenhofen, 1976), 6.

44. Goebbels, *Tagebücher*, part II, vol. 4, 432.
45. Military intelligence report of 27 May 1942, in National Archives, Kew, WO 208/4472.
46. See the post-mortem protocol by Prof. Weyrich (17 June 1942), in Archive of the Institute for Judicial Medicine, Prague. See, too, Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 3 June 1942, p. 448; Thomas Mann, 'Nachruf auf einen Henker' (June 1942), in: Thomas Mann, *Essays*, vol. 5: *Deutschland und die Deutschen 1938–1945*, ed. Hermann Kurzke and Stephan Stachorski (Frankfurt am Main, 1997), 185f and 373f.

Chapter II: Young Reinhard

1. The birth was publicly announced in the local newspaper, *Hallescher Central-Anzeiger*, on 10 March 1904.
2. Baptismal register, 1904, St Franziskus und Elisabeth Kirche, Halle, p. 356, entry no. 154. A copy of the baptism certificate can be found in StaH, Handschriftenabteilung J 36. See, too, Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 320.
3. Perceptions of Wilhelmine Germany have changed dramatically since the late 1990s. For an account focusing on its dark sides, see Volker Ullrich, *Die nervöse Grossmacht. Aufstieg und Untergang des Kaiserreiches, 1871–1918* (3rd edn, 2007). For subsequent accounts emphasizing Imperial Germany's modernity, see Sven Oliver Müller and Cornelius Torp (eds), *Imperial Germany Revisited: Continuing Debates and New Perspectives* (Oxford and New York, 2010); Dominik Geppert and Robert Gerwarth (eds), *Wilhelmine Germany and Edwardian Britain: Essays on Cultural Affinity* (Oxford, 2008).
4. 'Gutachten über die rassische Herkunft des Oberleutnant z. See a.D. Reinhardt Heydrich', 22 June 1932, in BAB, BDC, SSO Reinhard Heydrich. See, too, Flachowsky, 'Abstammung', 325.
5. Bruno Heydrich, 'Bericht zum zehnjährigen Bestehen von Bruno Heydrichs Konservatorium für Musik und Theater, I. Hallesches Konservatorium', 1909, in StaH, Akten der Schulverwaltung, 118, vol. II; Flachowsky, 'Abstammung', 325.
6. Heydrich, 'Bericht', in StaH, Akten der Schulverwaltung, 118, vol. II.
7. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 6.
8. *Ibid.*, 7f. and 17. On Cosima Wagner, see Oliver Hilmes, *Herrin des Hügels. Das Leben der Cosima Wagner* (Munich, 2007).
9. Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 30.
10. Bruno Walter, *Thema und Variationen. Erinnerungen und Gedanken* (Stockholm, 1947), 117.
11. Quotations from Dr Otto Reitzel, Cöln am Rhein and Prof. Bulthaupt, Bremen, in 'Presstimmen über meine Thätigkeit als Sänger, Componist, Dirigent', in StaH, Akten der Schulverwaltung, 118, vol. I.
12. Hans Pfitzner, *Reden, Schriften, Briefe. Unveröffentlichtes und bisher Verstreutes* (Berlin, 1955), 240. On Pfitzner's role in the Third Reich, see Sabine Busch, *Hans Pfitzner und der Nationalsozialismus* (Stuttgart, 2001). On his relationship with Bruno Heydrich, see John W. Klein, 'Hans Pfitzner and the Two Heydrichs', *Music Review* 26 (1965), 308–17.
13. See, for example, the comments of Carl Wolff, 22 September 1895, in StaH, Akten der Schulverwaltung, 118, vol. I.
14. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 15–19; see, too, the anonymous letter of a schoolfriend of Reinhard Heydrich, written to publisher W. Ludwig, in response to the publication of Lina Heydrich's memoirs, in IfZ, Ed 450.
15. SS-Ahrentafel Heinz Siegfried Heydrichs, in BAB, (BDC), RS (Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt); see, too, Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 15f.
16. All quotations from the brochure *Grosser populärer Erfolg von 'Frieden', Oper (Elegie) in 3 Akten (4 Bildern)* (Halle, 1907), in StaH, Akten der Schulverwaltung, 118, vol. I.
17. '13., 14. und 15. Jahresbericht von Bruno Heydrichs Konservatorium für Musik und Theater, Halle 1915', in StaH, Akten der Schulverwaltung, 118, vol. II. See, too, Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 21; Hugo Riemann, *Riemanns Musik-Lexikon* (8th edn, Berlin and Leipzig, 1916), vol. 1.
18. On the general population trend, see Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, vol. 3: *Von der deutschen Doppelrevolution bis zum Beginn des Ersten Weltkrieges, 1849–1914* (2nd edn, Munich, 2007), 724ff.; Jürgen Reulecke, *Geschichte der Urbanisierung in*

- Deutschland* (Frankfurt am Main, 1985), 68ff. On Halle more specifically, see Werner Freitag, Katrin Minner and Andreas Ranft (eds), *Geschichte der Stadt Halle*, vol. 2: *Halle im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Halle an der Saale, 2006), 18f., 33f., Mathias Tullner, *Halle 1806 bis 2006. Industriezentrum, Regierungssitz, Bezirksstadt. Eine Einführung in die Stadtgeschichte* (Halle an der Saale, 2007), 40ff.
19. On the general trend, see Matthew Jefferies, *Imperial Culture in Germany, 1871–1918* (Basingstoke and New York, 2003); Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music* (Berkeley, CA, 1989); Walter Frisch, *German Modernism: Music and the Arts* (Berkeley, CA., 2005); Celia Applegate, 'Culture and the Arts', in James Retallack, *Imperial Germany, 1871–1918* (Oxford, 2008), 106–27. On Halle more specifically Andrea Hauser, *Halle wird Grossstadt. Stadtplanung, Grossstadtleben und Raumerfahrungen in Halle an der Saale 1870 bis 1914* (Halle an der Saale, 2006), 21; Tullner, *Halle*, 51.
 20. Konrad Sasse, 'Aus Halles Musikleben von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis 1945', in Rat der Stadt Halle (ed.), *Halle als Musikstadt* (Halle an der Saale, 1954), 40–52, here 44.
 21. Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 16.
 22. Freitag et al., *Halle*, 46; Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 20 and 259, n. 44. On the Masonic Lodge of the Three Sabres, see Gustav Friedrich Hertzberg, *Geschichte der Freimaurerloge zu den drei Degen im Orient von Halle* (Halle, 1893, reprint 1907). '11. und 12. Jahresbericht des Konservatoriums von Bruno Heydrich', 1., in StaH, Akten der Schulverwaltung, 118, vol. I.
 23. Freitag et al. (eds), *Halle*, 46; Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 16 and 20, n. 45. 'Bericht zum 10jährigen Bestehen von Bruno Heydrichs Konservatorium für Musik und Theater (1909)', 9, vol. II, and '11. und 12. Jahresbericht des Konservatoriums von Bruno Heydrich (1911)', 3f., in StaH, Akten der Schulverwaltung, 118, vol. I.
 24. Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 15f. and 25. On Luckner, see Norbert von Frankenstein, '*Seeteufel*' *Felix Graf Luckner. Wahrheit und Legende* (Hamburg, 1997).
 25. Ute Frevert, *Women in German History: From Bourgeois Emancipation to Sexual Liberation* (Oxford and Washington, DC, 1990) and the brief overview provided by Angelika Schaser, 'Gendered Germany', in Retallack (ed.), *Imperial Germany*, 128–50; Christian Berg, 'Familie, Kindheit, Jugend', in *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte*, vol. IV, 91–139, here 99ff.
 26. Hauser, *Halle*, 22f.; 'Bericht zum 10jährigen Bestehen von Bruno Heydrichs Konservatorium für Musik und Theater, 1. Hallesches Konservatorium (1909)', in StaH, Akten der Schulverwaltung, 118, vol. I.
 27. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 113; Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 32.
 28. Christopher Clark, 'Religion and Confessional Conflict', in Retallack (ed.), *Imperial Germany*, 83–105.
 29. Chris Clark, 'Religion and confessional conflict' in Retallack, *Imperial Germany*, 83–105; Olaf Blaschke and Frank-Michael Kuhlemann (eds), *Religion im Kaiserreich. Milieus – Mentalitäten – Krisen* (Gütersloh, 1996).
 30. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 56.
 31. Heinrich Silbergleit (ed.), *Preussens Städte. Denkschrift zum 100jährigen Jubiläum der Städteordnung vom 19. November 1808* (Berlin, 1908), 61.
 32. Dederichs, *Heydrich*, 33; Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 16 and 20; Herbert Edler von Daniels, 'Reinhard Heydrich als nationalsozialistischer Leibeserzieher', *Leibesübungen und körperliche Erziehung* 61 (1942), 114–17; Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 24; Berno Bahro, 'Reinhard Heydrich und Hermann Fegelein. Sportler – Soldaten – Helden', *Stadion. Internationale Zeitschrift für Geschichte des Sports* 31 (2007), 111–30.
 33. Lina later maintained that these experiences captured young Reinhard's imagination to the extent that he decided to become a naval officer. See Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 22f.
 34. 'Bericht zum 10jährigen Bestehen von Bruno Heydrichs Konservatorium für Musik und Theater (1909)', in StaH, Akten der Schulverwaltung, 118, vol. I, f. 18.
 35. '11. und 12. Jahresbericht des Konservatoriums von Bruno Heydrich (1911)', 3–4, in StaH, Akten der Schulverwaltung, 118, vol. I.
 36. Anonymous letter of a schoolfriend of Reinhard Heydrich, written to publisher W. Ludwig, in response to the publication of Lina Heydrich's memoirs, in IfZ, Ed 450. See, too, Lina Heydrich to Peter Schneiders (Amsterdam), 12 January 1962, in NIOD, doc. I, 691A. On the house's location, see Steffen Mikolajczyk, 'Eine aufstrebende Industriestadt huldigt der Monarchie. Der Kaiserbesuch 1903', in Werner Freitag and Katrin Minner (eds), *Vergnügen*

- und Inszenierung. *Stationen städtischer Festkultur in Halle* (Halle an der Saale, 2004), 206–13; Hauser, *Halle*, 105ff.
37. 'Bericht zum 10jährigen Bestehen von Bruno Heydrichs Konservatorium für Musik und Theater, 1. Hallesches Konservatorium (Staatl. Genehmigte Anstalt)' (Halle, 1909), 17, in StaH, Akten der Schulverwaltung, 118, vol. I, f. 13.
 38. Andrew Donson, *Youth in the Fatherless Land: War Pedagogy, Nationalism and Authority in Germany, 1914–1918* (Cambridge, MA, 2010), 22f.
 39. Angelika Schaser, 'Gendered Germany', in Retallack, *Imperial Germany*, 128–50, here 133f.
 40. Deschner, *Heydrich*, 26; Maria Heydrich's post-war testimony, according to which her brother read only adventure books, including spy and crime novels. See Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 19.
 41. On German public opinion in August 1914, see Jeffrey Verhey, *The Spirit of 1914: Militarism, Myth and Mobilization in Germany* (Cambridge, 2000); Steffen Bruendel, *Volksgemeinschaft oder Volksstaat. Die 'Ideen von 1914' und die Neuordnung Deutschlands im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Berlin, 2003).
 42. On the 'war youth generation', see Donson, *Youth*; Herbert, *Best*, particularly pp. 42ff.; Wildt, *Generation*. One of the best and earliest descriptions of the wartime children's games can be found in Sebastian Haffner, *Geschichte eines Deutschen. Die Erinnerungen 1914–1933* (4th edn, Stuttgart, 2000), 22. Haffner was the first to make the important observation that the male wartime generation itself produced fewer radical Nazis than the war youth generation.
 43. '13., 14. und 15. Jahresbericht des Konservatoriums von Bruno Heydrich' (Halle, 1915), 4ff., in StaH, Akten der Schulverwaltung, 118, vol. II. On knitting as a widespread female expression of patriotism, see Donson, *Youth*, 85.
 44. Donson, *Youth*, 125.
 45. Deschner, *Heydrich*, 23f. (based on Erich Schulze's post-war testimony).
 46. Alexander Rehding, *Hugo Riemann and the Birth of Modern Musical Thought* (Cambridge, 2003).
 47. Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 18.
 48. *Ibid.*, 15.
 49. Post-war testimony of Heydrich's sister-in-law, Gertrude Heydrich, as quoted in *ibid.*, 19 and 15, n. 21; see, too, Deschner, *Heydrich*, 22 and 74.
 50. Dederichs, *Heydrich*, 45. On the Jewish population of Halle in 1910, see Heinrich Silbergleit, *Die Bevölkerungs- und Berufsverhältnisse der Juden im Deutschen Reich* (Berlin, 1930), 24.
 51. The literature on this subject is unsurprisingly vast. As a classic overview, see Peter G. Pulzer, *Die Entstehung des politischen Antisemitismus in Deutschland und Österreich 1867–1914* (2nd edn, Göttingen, 2004); Stefan Scheil, *Die Entwicklung des politischen Antisemitismus in Deutschland zwischen 1881 und 1912* (Berlin, 1999); Massimo Ferrari Zumbini, *Die Wurzeln des Bösen. Gründerjahre des Antisemitismus. Von der Bismarckzeit zu Hitler* (Frankfurt am Main, 2003); Olaf Blaschke, *Katholizismus und Antisemitismus im Deutschen Kaiserreich* (Göttingen, 1997).
 52. On propaganda during the war, see David Welch, *Germany, Propaganda and Total War, 1914–1918* (New Brunswick, NJ, 2000). On its effects on youths, see Donson, *Youth*, 176ff.
 53. Heinrich August Winkler, 'Die Revolution von 1918/19 und das Problem der Kontinuität in der deutschen Geschichte', *Historische Zeitschrift* 250 (1990), 303–19. Fritz Klein, 'Between Compiègne and Versailles: The Germans on the Way from a Misunderstood Defeat to an Unwanted Peace', in Manfred F. Boemeke, Gerald D. Feldman and Elisabeth Glaser (eds), *The Treaty of Versailles: A Reassessment after 75 Years* (New York, 1998), 203–20. On the role of returning soldiers, see Scott Stevenson, *The Final Battle: Soldiers of the Western Front and the German Revolution of 1918* (Cambridge, 2009).
 54. Georg Maercker, *Vom Kaiserheer zur Reichswehr. Geschichte des freiwilligen Landesjägerskorps. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Revolution* (Leipzig, 1921).
 55. Robert Gerwarth, 'The Central European Counter-Revolution: Paramilitary Violence in Germany, Austria and Hungary after the Great War', *Past and Present* 200 (2008), 175–209.
 56. See Maercker's memoirs, *Vom Kaiserheer zur Reichswehr*.
 57. Hans-Walter Schmuhl, 'Halle in der Weimarer Republik und im Nationalsozialismus', in Freitag et al. (eds), *Halle*, vol. 2, 237–302, here 237–48; see, too, the report of Halle's mayor, Oberbürgermeister Rive, of 11 April 1919, in StaH, Centralbüro Kap. I, Abt. B, no. 12, vol. I.

58. An identity card issued on 6 March 1919 shows that Heydrich was in the service of the 3rd Division of the Volunteer Landesjäger Regiment and the Halle citizens' militia. See BAB, R 58, annexe 21; BAB, BDC, SSO Reinhard Heydrich. See, too, Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 23ff., and Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 23.
59. Gerwarth, 'Counter-Revolution'; Hagen Schulze, *Freikorps und Republik* (Boppard, 1968); Dirk Schumann, *Politische Gewalt in der Weimarer Republik. Kampf um die Strasse und Furcht vor dem Bürgerkrieg* (Essen, 2001).
60. Robert Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism: The Free Corps Movement in Postwar Germany, 1918–23* (Cambridge, MA, 1952).
61. Longenrich, *Himmler*, 34.
62. Deschner, *Heydrich*, 22. On general responses of the war youth generation to the German defeat, see Donson, *Youth*, 239.
63. *Hallesche Nachrichten*, 30 March 1920, particularly the supplement 'Die Schreckenstage in Halle vom 13. bis 26. März 1920'; on the context, see Heinrich August Winkler, *Von der Revolution zur Stabilisierung. Arbeiter und Arbeiterbewegung in der Weimarer Republik 1918 bis 1924* (Berlin and Bonn, 1984), 515–20.
64. Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 23 and 259, n. 57.
65. Heydrich made this claim in his SS officer's file: BAB, BDC, SSO Reinhard Heydrich. On the League, see Stefan Breuer, *Die Völkischen in Deutschland. Kaiserreich und Weimarer Republik* (Darmstadt, 2008), 150–60.
66. BAB, BDC, SSO Reinhard Heydrich.
67. BAB, R 58, annexe 21. On the 'Deutsche Orden', see Uwe Puschner, *Die völkische Bewegung im wilhelminischen Kaiserreich. Sprache, Rasse, Religion* (Darmstadt, 2001), 237.
68. Helmut Kerstingjohänner, *Die Deutsche Inflation, 1919–23. Politik und Ökonomie* (Frankfurt am Main, 2004); Gerald D. Feldman, *The Great Disorder: Politics, Economics and Society in the German Inflation 1914–1924* (Oxford, 1993); Evans, *The Coming of the Third Reich*, 103ff. Martin H. Geyer, *Verkehrte Welt. Revolution, Inflation und Moderne, München 1914–1924* (Göttingen, 1998); Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 12.
69. Anonymous letter of a schoolfriend of Reinhard Heydrich, written to publisher W. Ludwig, in response to the publication of Lina Heydrich's memoirs, in IfZ, Ed 450.
70. Bruno Heydrich's letter to the magistrate of the city of Halle, 6 July 1922, in StaH, Akten der Schulverwaltung, 118, vol. II. On the technological advances and cultural changes that Bruno Heydrich was referring to, see Elisabeth Harvey, 'Culture and Society in Weimar Germany: The Impact of Modernism and Mass Culture', in Mary Fulbrook (ed.), *Twentieth-Century Germany: Politics, Culture, and Society 1918–1990* (London, 2001), 279–97; Lynn Abrams, 'From Control to Commercialization: The Triumph of Mass Entertainment in Germany 1900–1925', *German History* 8 (1990), 278–93; Corey Ross, *Media and the Making of Modern Germany: Mass Communications, Society and Politics from the Empire to the Third Reich* (Oxford, 2008).
71. Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 23ff.; Deschner, *Heydrich*, 26f.
72. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 22f.; Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 25; Deschner, *Heydrich*, 27.
73. Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 25; Deschner, *Heydrich*, 27; Dederichs, *Heydrich*, 39f.
74. Deschner, *Heydrich*, 27 and 333, n. 3.
75. Heinz Lemmermann, *Kriegserziehung im Kaiserreich. Studien zur politischen Funktion von Schule und Schulmusik 1890–1918*, 2 vols (Liliental bei Bremen, 1984), vol. 2, 671; Donson, *Youth*, 54f.
76. Richard Bessel, 'The "Front Generation" and the Politics of Weimar Germany', in Mark Roseman (ed.), *Generations in Conflict: Youth Revolt and Generation Formation in Germany, 1770–1968* (Cambridge, 2003), 121–36.
77. On the 'shame' of 1918 and Scapa Flow, see Andreas Krause, *Scapa Flow. Die Selbstversenkung der wilhelminischen Flotte* (Berlin, 1999). On the Weimar navy, see Keith W. Bird, *Weimar, the German Naval Officer Corps and the Rise of National Socialism* (Amsterdam, 1977); Michael Salewski, *Die Deutschen und die See. Studien zur deutschen Marinegeschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1998 and 2002), vol. 2, 102–14. On the image of German officers, see Ursula Brey Mayer and Bernd Ulrich (eds), *Willensmenschen. Über deutsche Offiziere* (Frankfurt am Main, 1999).
78. Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 25; Deschner, *Heydrich*, 27.

79. 'Deutsche Dienststelle für die Benachrichtigung der nächsten Angehörigen von Gefallenen der ehemaligen deutschen Wehrmacht (WASSt)', 8 July 2009. See, too, Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 25, 27 and 259, n. 65; Deschner, *Heydrich*, 27; Dederichs, *Heydrich*, 40. On Mürwick Naval College, see Jörg Hillmann and Reinhard Scheiblich, *Das rote Schloss am Meer. Die Marineschule Mürwik seit ihrer Gründung* (Hamburg, 2002).
80. Post-war testimonies of Hans Rehm and Hans Heinrich Lebram, as quoted in Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 26f.; see, too, Deschner, *Heydrich*, 28. While Rehm described his own antipathy towards Heydrich as part of a general mood within their cadet group, Lina Heydrich suggested that Rehm was the only 'openly hostile' cadet in Heydrich's 'Crew 22'. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 23.
81. Beucke as quoted in Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 27f.; see, too, Deschner, *Heydrich*, 28.
82. Deschner, *Heydrich*, 29.
83. BAB, R 58, annexe 21; Lina Heydrich to Peter Schneiders (Amsterdam), 12 January 1962, NIOD, doc. I, 691A; Deschner, *Heydrich*, 30; Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 22.
84. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 23.
85. Deschner, *Heydrich*, 28f.; Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 23f.
86. Rehm's post-war testimony according to Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 26ff. and 260, n. 71. According to Dederichs and Calic, Heydrich was 'indoctrinated' by Canaris; see Dederichs, *Heydrich*, 42; Calic, *Heydrich*, 32–40, particularly 38.
87. Lina Heydrich as quoted in Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 34.
88. Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 28f.
89. Deschner, *Heydrich*, 30; see, too, Michael Müller, *Canaris. Hitlers Abwehrchef. Biographie* (Berlin, 2006), 123; Heinz Höhne, *Canaris. Patriot im Zwielicht* (Munich, 1976), 91; André Brissaud, *Canaris. Fürst des deutschen Geheimdienstes oder Meister des Doppelspiels?* (Frankfurt am Main, 1976), 26f.; Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 24.
90. Lehmann-Jottkowitz, as quoted in Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 32.
91. Lebram's post-war testimony as quoted in *ibid.*, 31; see, too, Deschner, *Heydrich*, 32f. Lebram's post-war account of Heydrich's lack of manners are somewhat unconvincing and are contradicted by other accounts. See, for example, the post-war account of his childhood friend Günther Gereke, as quoted in Calic, *Schlüsselfigur*, 48, and that of his fellow crew member Heinrich Beucke in Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 32 and 260, n. 80.
92. 'Deutsche Dienststelle für die Benachrichtigung der nächsten Angehörigen von Gefallenen der ehemaligen deutschen Wehrmacht (WASSt)', 8 July 2009; see, too, Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 31.
93. Beucke, as quoted in Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 32.
94. Schultze as quoted in Deschner, *Heydrich*, 35.
95. Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 33; and the more 'colourful' description in Calic, *Heydrich*, 38.
96. Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 32 and 260, n. 80. Lebram and Lina Heydrich confirmed this assessment in their own post-war recollections. See Lebram's testimony in Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 33, and Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 24.
97. Beucke, as quoted in Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 32 and 260, n. 80. See, too, Deschner, *Heydrich*, 34.
98. Christine Eisenberg, 'Massensport in der Weimarer Republik. Ein statistischer Überblick', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 33 (1993), 137–77, here 147.
99. Calic, *Heydrich*, 35; Dederichs, *Heydrich*, 44.
100. Gustav Kleikamp's letter in *Der Spiegel*, 9/1950 (2 March 1950), 42.
101. Beucke, as quoted in Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 32 and 260, n. 80.
102. Lebram, as quoted in *ibid.*, 49.
103. Beucke, as quoted in *ibid.*, 32 and 260, n. 80.
104. *Ibid.*, 53.
105. *Ibid.*, 34; Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 12ff.
106. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 7f.; Dederichs, *Heydrich*, 30f.
107. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 9; Dederichs, *Heydrich*, 49.
108. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 10f.; Deschner, *Heydrich*, 37; Dederichs, *Heydrich*, 50.
109. Reinhard Heydrich to Lina von Osten, 18 December 1930, in IfZ, Ed 450.
110. Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 34; Deschner, *Heydrich*, 37. On the social decline and political radicalization of the German aristocracy, see Stephan Malinowski, *Vom König zum Führer. Deutscher Adel und Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt am Main, 2003).

111. Lina Heydrich as quoted in Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 54.
112. Lina Heydrich as quoted in Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 35.
113. Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 34; Deschner, *Heydrich*, 37f.; Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 42f.
114. Evans, *Coming of the Third Reich*, 76.
115. Richard J. Evans, 'The Emergence of Nazi Ideology', in Jane Caplan (ed.), *Nazi Germany* (Oxford, 2008), 26–47.
116. Jürgen Falter, Thomas Lindenberger and Siegfried Schumann, *Wahlen und Abstimmungen in der Weimarer Republik. Materialien zum Wahlverhalten 1919–1933* (Munich, 1986), 41.
117. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 12f. and 19; Dederichs, *Heydrich*, 50.
118. Reinhard Heydrich to Lina von Osten's parents, 3 January 1931, in IfZ, Ed 450.
119. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 20; Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 34; Dederichs, *Heydrich*, 50f.; Deschner, *Heydrich*, 38; Calic, *Heydrich*, 45.
120. Deschner, *Heydrich*, 39; Dederichs, *Heydrich*, 51; Aronson *Frühgeschichte*, 35; Deschner, *Heydrich*, 39; Gustav Kleikamp, *Der Spiegel*, 9/1950 (2 March 1950), 42; Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 21.
121. Beucke, as quoted in Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 35. This version of events was backed up by one of the members of the honour court, Vice Admiral Gustav Kleikamp. See *Der Spiegel*, 2 March 1950, 42f.
122. Kleikamp in *Der Spiegel*, 2 March 1950.
123. Kleikamp in *Der Spiegel*, 2 March 1950. See, too, Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 35; Deschner, *Heydrich*, 40; Dederichs, *Heydrich*, 51.
124. Notice of Heydrich's discharge, in *Marineverordnungsblatt*, 1 May 1931; Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 25.
125. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 21 and 26f.; Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 35; Deschner, *Heydrich*, 40.
126. Unemployment figures according to Falter et al., *Wahlen*, 38. On the origins and consequences of the Great Depression, see Milton Friedman and Anna Jacobson Schwartz, *The Great Contraction, 1929–1933* (Princeton, NJ, 2008); Patricia Clavin, *The Great Depression in Europe, 1929–1939* (Basingstoke, 2000).
127. Deschner, *Heydrich*, 40; Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 20f.; Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 35.
128. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 21; Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 36.
129. 'Abschrift des Berichts aus dem September 1931 über die Besichtigung des Heydrichschen Musikseminars', StaH, Akten der Schulverwaltung, 118, vol. II; see, too, Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 36; Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 21f.
130. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 25.
131. A copy is reprinted in *ibid.*, 32.
132. Deschner, *Heydrich*, 41; Dederichs, *Heydrich*, 54; Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 25.
133. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 26; Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 36.
134. Deschner, *Heydrich*, 41; Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 22; Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 37.
135. Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 33.
136. Post-war trial testimony of Karl von Eberstein, 15 October 1965, in Eberstein Papers, Bayerisches Staatsarchiv, Munich.
137. Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 37; Dederichs, *Heydrich*, 54; Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 25; Deschner, *Heydrich*, 42.
138. Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 37.
139. BAB, BDC, SSO Reinhard Heydrich; Eberstein's letter of reference, in National Archives, Kew, WO 219/5283, 5.
140. Warzecha's letter of reference, in National Archives, Kew, WO 219/5283, 5–6.
141. George C. Browder, *Foundations of the Nazi Police State: The Formation of Sipo and SD* (Lexington, KY, 1990), 21.
142. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 26; Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 37; Deschner, *Heydrich*, 43ff.

Chapter III: Becoming Heydrich

1. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 26.
2. See, for example, Breitman, *Architect*, 87; Heinrich Fraenkel and Roger Manvell, *Himmler. Kleinbürger und Massenmörder* (Frankfurt am Main, 1965), 80; affidavit of Wilhelm Höttl,

- in *IMT*, vol. 11, 259; testimony Kaltenbrunner of 12 April 1946, in *IMT*, vol. 11, 337f.; Fest, 'Successor', 143, 146f., and 151f.; Andreas Schulz and Gundula Grebner, *Generationswechsel und historischer Wandel* (Munich, 2003); Schellenberg, *Labyrinth*, 228 and 256f.; Deschner, *Heydrich*, 10 and 282.
3. Kersten, *Totenkopf*, 130. See, too, the post-war testimony of Wilhelm Wanek, a senior official in the SD-Ausland, in *IfZ*, *ZS* 1579. This interpretation was popularized by Fest, 'Successor', 139ff.
 4. Longerich, *Himmler*; Breitman, *Architect*; on his early years, see, too, Bradley F. Smith, *Heinrich Himmler: A Nazi in the Making, 1900–1921* (Stanford, CA, 1974).
 5. Diehl, *Körperbilder*; Sven Reichardt, 'Gewalt, Körper, Politik. Paradoxien in der Kulturgeschichte der Zwischenkriegszeit', in Wolfgang Hardtwig (ed.), *Politische Kulturgeschichte der Zwischenkriegszeit 1918–1939* (Göttingen, 2005), 205–39.
 6. Deschner, *Heydrich*, 45f.; Dederichs, *Heydrich*, 55; Shlomo Aronson and Richard Breitman, 'Eine unbekannte Himmler-Rede vom Januar 1943', *IfZ* 38 (1990), 337–48, here 343.
 7. Wildt, *Generation*, 241.
 8. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 27; Aronson and Breitman, 'Rede', 343f., suggest that the salary was even lower: 120 Reichsmarks per month. For these and other comparative salaries in 1931, see Dietmar Petzina and Werner Abelschauser and Anselm Faust (eds), *Materialien zur Statistik des Deutschen Reiches 1914–1945* (Munich, 1978), 100ff.
 9. See the post-war testimony of Erich Schultze, as quoted in Deschner, *Heydrich*, 46.
 10. Himmler's funeral speech as printed in Walter Wannemacher (ed.), *Reinhard Heydrich. Ein Leben der Tat* (Prague, 1944), 81ff.
 11. BAB, BDC, SSO Reinhard Heydrich; Heinz Höhne, *Der Orden unter dem Totenkopf. Die Geschichte der SS* (Munich, 1984), 23ff.
 12. Höhne, *Orden*, 56.
 13. Inspekteur für Statistik to Himmler, 1 March 1943, as quoted in Bernd Wegner, *Hitlers politische Soldaten. Die Waffen-SS 1933–1945. Leitbild, Struktur und Funktion einer nationalsozialistischen Elite* (Paderborn, 1997), 80. See, too, Adrian Weale, *The SS: A New History* (London, 2010), 19ff.; on aristocrats in the SS, see Malinowski, *Führer*; on the SA see Peter Longerich, *Die braunen Bataillone. Geschichte der SA* (Munich, 1989), 111. Heydrich's SS membership number was 10,120. See BAB, BDC, SSO Reinhard Heydrich.
 14. Sven Reichardt, *Faschistische Kampfbünde. Gewalt und Gemeinschaft im italienischen Squadristum und in der deutschen SA* (Cologne, 2002), 166ff.
 15. BAB, BDC, SSO Streckenbach; Michael Wildt, 'Der Hamburger Gestapochef Bruno Streckenbach. Eine nationalsozialistische Karriere', in Frank Bajohr and Joachim Szodrzynski (eds), *Hamburg in der NS-Zeit: Ergebnisse neuerer Forschungen* (Hamburg, 1995), 93–123.
 16. On Heydrich's apolitical stance in 1931, see Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 27 and 63; Aronson and Breitman, 'Rede', 344; on Hamburg in this period, see Anthony McElligott, *Contested City: Municipal Politics and the Rise of Nazism in Altona, 1917–1937* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1998), 163ff.; Ursula Büttner, 'Der Aufstieg der NSDAP', in Forschungsstelle für Zeitgeschichte in Hamburg (ed.), *Hamburg im Dritten Reich* (Göttingen, 2005), 27–68.
 17. Calic, *Heydrich*, 58f. To be sure, such stories have to be taken with a pinch of salt. It is strange that Nazi propaganda never mentioned Heydrich's time in Hamburg after 1942 when a violent confrontation with an ideological opponent, perhaps even an injury received during an attack, would have increased Heydrich's nimbus as a 'man of deed'.
 18. On Streckenbach, see Wildt, 'Streckenbach'.
 19. Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 55ff.; Browder, *Enforcers*, 105ff.; Lawrence D. Stokes, 'The Sicherheitsdienst (SD) of the Reichsführer SS and German Public Opinion, September 1939–June 1941', unpublished PhD thesis, Johns Hopkins University, 1972, 28.
 20. BAB, BDC, SSO Hildebrandt; Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 56; Deschner, *Heydrich*, 51.
 21. Reinhard Heydrich to Mathilde von Osten, 11 August 1931, in *IfZ*, Ed 450.
 22. Reinhard Heydrich to Mathilde von Osten, 22 August 1931, in *IfZ*, Ed 450.
 23. Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, doc. 7, pp. 317f. See Wolff's post-war testimony, in *IfZ*, *ZS* 317, ff. 34f.
 24. Himmler's order in Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 55 and (as doc. 8) 318.
 25. Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 56; Deschner, *Heydrich*, 55; Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 27.
 26. Wildt, *Generation*, 242; Browder, *Enforcers*, 107ff.
 27. Browder, *Foundations*, 23.

28. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 28f.
29. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 29; see the promotion documents of 11 and 18 December 1931 (signed by Himmler), in IfZ, Ed 450. For comparative salaries, see Petzina et al. (eds), *Materialien*, 100ff.
30. Himmler's 'Verlobungs- und Heiratsbefehl', 31 December 1931, BAB, NS 2/174; see, too, Gudrun Schwarz, *Eine Frau an seiner Seite. Ehefrauen in der SS-Sippengemeinschaft* (Hamburg, 1997), 24ff.; Isabel Heinemann, 'Another Type of Perpetrator': The SS Racial Experts and Forced Population Movements in the Occupied Regions', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 15 (2001), 387–411.
31. Schwarz, *Frau an seiner Seite*.
32. Richard Walther Darré, *Neuadel aus Blut und Boden* (Munich, 1930), 127–200; Josef Ackermann, *Heinrich Himmler als Ideologe* (Göttingen, 1970), 103f.; Alexandra Gerstner, *Neuer Adel. Aristokratische Elitekonzeptionen zwischen Jahrhundertwende und Nationalsozialismus* (Darmstadt, 2008); Eckart Conze, 'Adel unter dem Totenkopf. Die Idee eines Neuadels in den Gesellschaftsvorstellungen der SS', in idem and Monika Wienfort (eds), *Adel und Moderne. Deutschland im europäischen Vergleich im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Cologne, 2004), 151–76.
33. Ulrich Herbert, 'Traditionen des Rassismus', in idem, *Arbeit, Volkstum, Weltanschauung. Über Fremde und Deutsche im 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main, 1995), 11–29, particularly 22–6; Ludolf Herbst, *Das nationalsozialistische Deutschland, 1933–1945. Die Entfesselung der Gewalt. Rassismus und Krieg* (Frankfurt am Main, 1996), 37–58, particularly 54ff.; Stefan Kühl, *Die Internationale der Rassisten. Aufstieg und Niedergang der internationalen Bewegung für Eugenetik und Rassenhygiene im 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main and New York, 1997), 122f.; Peter Weingart, Jürgen Kroll and Kurt Bayertz, *Rasse, Blut und Gene. Geschichte der Eugenik und Rassenhygiene in Deutschland* (Frankfurt am Main 1988), 367ff.
34. Richard Weikart, *From Darwin to Hitler: Evolutionary Ethics, Eugenics, and Racism in Germany* (Basingstoke, 2004); Mike Hawkins, *Social Darwinism in European and American Thought, 1860–1945* (Cambridge, 1997); Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*.
35. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 29 and 34; membership card of the football club Lochhausen, 1 June 1932, in BAB, R 58, annexe 21.
36. Reinhard Heydrich to Lina's parents, 6 January 1932, in IfZ, Ed 450.
37. Lina Heydrich on Margarete Himmler, in *Der Spiegel*, 9 February 1950, 24–8, here 24. See, too, Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 30.
38. Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 57; Dederichs, *Heydrich*, 66.
39. Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 57f.
40. Ibid., 43ff. and 57; see, too, Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 33.
41. Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 60; Yad Vashem Archive, 97–210 F I.
42. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 34; on the bloody election campaigns, see Reichardt, *Kampfbünde*, 579ff.
43. Jordan to Strasser, 6 June 1932, in BAB, PK E0071.
44. Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 63 and 260, n. 72.
45. Gercke to Reichsorganisationsleitung der NSDAP, 22 June 1932, in BAB, PK E71. A copy of Gercke's letter was also sent to Himmler. See Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 63; a copy of the letter is reprinted as doc. 4 on pp. 312f.
46. Post-war testimony of Ernst Hoffmann, 9 March 1971, in IfZ, Ed 450. See, too, Flachowsky, 'Abstammung', 317ff.; Wolfgang Heindorf's letter to Heydrich of 30 November 1935, reporting on progress in the private investigations into the alleged Jewish heritage of Bruno Heydrich, in BAB, R 58, annexe 22.
47. Deschner, *Heydrich*, 62.
48. See the post-war testimony of Paul Leffler, one of the few salaried full-time SD employees in 1932, as quoted in Aronson, *Heydrich*, 61; on Heydrich's ambition to copy the British secret service, see Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 33.
49. Wildt, *Generation*, 243; on the number of SD employees, see George Browder, 'The Numerical Strength of the Sicherheitsdienst des RFSS', *Historical Social Research* 28 (1983), 30–41.
50. Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 62; Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 35f.
51. For a detailed account of these events, see Ian Kershaw, *Hitler 1889–1936: Hubris* (London, 1998), 413ff.
52. Henry Ashby Turner, *Hitler's Thirty Days to Power: January 1933* (London, 1997); Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 38.

53. On the role of terror in the early phase of the Third Reich, see Klaus Drobisch und Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin, 1993), 11ff.; Browder, *Foundations*, 50ff.; Richard Bessel, 'The Nazi Capture of Power', *Journal of Contemporary History* 39 (2004), 169–88.
54. On the different types of early concentration camps in 1933–4, see Johannes Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager. Organisationsgeschichte und Funktion der 'Inspektion der Konzentrationslager' 1934–1938* (Boppard, 1991), 38ff.; Nikolaus Wachsmann, 'The Dynamics of Destruction: The Development of the Concentration Camps, 1933–1945', in Jane Caplan and idem (eds), *Concentration Camps in Nazi Germany: The New Histories* (London, 2009), 17–43.
55. Evans, 'Coercion and Consent'; see, too, Richard Bessel, *Political Violence and the Rise of Nazism: The Storm Troopers in Eastern Germany 1925–1934* (New Haven, CT, 1984), 97ff.; Eric G. Reiche, *The Development of the SA in Nürnberg, 1922–1934* (Cambridge, 1986), 173ff.; Longerich, *SA*, 165ff.
56. Bessel, 'Capture of Power', 169ff.; Evans, 'Coercion and Consent'.
57. Browder, *Foundations*, 50f.; Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager*, 47ff.; Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 75ff.
58. Heydrich to Daluge, 5 March 1933, in IfZ, Ed 450. See, too, Johannes Tuchel and Reinold Schattenfroh, *Zentrale des Terrors. Prinz-Albrecht-Str. 8. Das Hauptquartier der Gestapo* (Berlin, 1987), 63f.; Wildt, *Generation*, 244; Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 107.
59. Deschner, *Heydrich*, 84f.; Dederichs, *Heydrich*, 73f.; Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 38f.; Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 107.
60. On the seizure of power in Bavaria, see Jochen Klenner, *Verhältnis von Partei und Staat 1933–1945, dargestellt am Beispiel Bayerns* (Munich, 1974), 44ff.; Robert Gellately, *The Gestapo and German Society: Enforcing Racial Policy 1933–1945* (Oxford, 1990), 53f.; Ortwin Domröse, *Der NS-Staat in Bayern von der Machtergreifung bis zum Röhm-Putsch* (Munich, 1974), 80ff.; Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager*, 121ff.; Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 98ff.; Heydrich's appointment went hand in hand with another promotion, this time to SS-Oberführer. See Yad Vashem Archive, 97–210 F I.
61. Lina Heydrich to her parents, 13 March 1933, in IfZ, Ed 450.
62. Martin Broszat and Hartmut Mehringer (eds), *Bayern in der NS-Zeit*, vol. 5: *Die Parteien KPD, SPD, BVP in Verfolgung und Widerstand* (Munich, 1983); Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 117ff.
63. Doris Seidel, 'Die jüdische Gemeinde Münchens 1933–1945', in Angelika Baumann and Andreas Heussler (eds), *München arisiert. Entrechtung und Enteignung der Juden in der NS-Zeit* (Munich, 2004), 31–53, here 34; Douglas Bokovoy, 'Verfolgung und Vernichtung', in idem and Stefan Meinig (eds), *Versagte Heimat. Jüdisches Leben in Münchens Isarvorstadt* (Munich, 1994), 223–60, here 223; Baruch Z. Ophir and Falk Wiesemann, *Die jüdischen Gemeinden in Bayern 1918–1945* (Munich 1979), 43f. Reinhard Weber, *Das Schicksal der jüdischen Rechtsanwältinnen in Bayern nach 1933* (Munich, 2006), 50.
64. On Müller, see Joachim Bornschein, *Gestapo-Chef Heinrich Müller. Technokrat des Terrors* (Leipzig, 2004); see, too, Andreas Seeger, 'Gestapo-Müller'. *Die Karriere eines Schreibtischtäters* (Berlin, 1996).
65. Reinhard Heydrich, *Wandlungen unseres Kampfes* (Munich and Berlin, 1936), 19.
66. On the triangular system of SS, political police and concentration camps, see Browder, *Foundations*, 66ff.; on the early camps, see Jane Caplan, 'Political Detention and the Origin of the Concentration Camps in Nazi Germany, 1933–1935/6', in Neil Gregor (ed.), *Nazism, War and Genocide: New Perspectives on the History of the Third Reich* (Exeter, 2008), 22–41; Drobisch and Wieland, *System*, 27ff.
67. Longerich, *Himmler*, 160f.; on Dachau, see Barbara Distel and Ruth Jakusch, *Konzentrationslager Dachau, 1933–1945* (Brussels, 1978); Anne Bernou-Fieseler and Fabien Théofilakis (eds), *Das Konzentrationslager Dachau. Erlebnis, Erinnerung, Geschichte. Deutsch-Französisches Kolloquium zum 60. Jahrestag der Befreiung des Konzentrationslagers Dachau* (Munich, 2006); Hans-Günter Richardi, *Schule der Gewalt. Die Anfänge des Konzentrationslagers Dachau 1933–1934. Ein dokumentarischer Bericht* (Munich, 1983).
68. Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager*, 125f.; Richardi, *Schule*, 55f. and 88ff.; Christopher Dillon, 'We'll Meet Again in Dachau': The Early Dachau SS and the Narrative of Civil War', *Journal of Contemporary History* 45 (2010), 535–54.
69. Both letters from Heydrich to Wagner of 5 August 1933 and 1 January 1934 are reprinted in Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 325, docs 17 and 17a. On the figures, see Stanislav Zámečník,

- 'Dachau-Stammlager', in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (eds), *Der Ort des Terrors* (Munich, 2005–9), vol. 2, 233–74, here 234.
70. Zámečník, 'Dachau-Stammlager', 235.
 71. See Best's post-war statement on Heydrich in IfZ, ZS 207/2.
 72. BAB, BDC, SSO Eicke.
 73. On the 'Dachau model', see Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager*, 141ff.; Richardi, *Schule*, 119ff.
 74. Heydrich to Gestapo branch offices, 29 October 1934, in BAB, R 58/264, f. 69. See, too, Browder, *Foundations*, 157.
 75. On life in the early camps, see Caplan and Wachsmann (eds), *Concentration Camps*.
 76. Paul Egon Hübinger, 'Thomas Mann und Reinhard Heydrich in den Akten des Reichsstatthalters von Epp', *VfZ* 28 (1980), 111–43.
 77. *Ibid.*, quotation on pp. 136ff.
 78. Hartmut Mehringer, 'Die KPD in Bayern 1919–1945. Vorgeschichte, Verfolgung und Widerstand', in Broszat and idem (eds), *Bayern in der NS-Zeit*, vol. 5: *Die Parteien KPD, SPD, BVP in Verfolgung und Widerstand*, 1–286, here 73ff.; see, too, Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager*, 53ff.
 79. On Hamburg, see Browder, *Foundations*, 100ff.; Wildt, 'Streckenbach', 93ff.; Ludwig Eiber, 'Unter Führung des NSDAP-Gauleiters. Die Hamburger Staatspolizei (1933–1937)', in Gerhard Paul and Klaus-Michael Mallmann (eds), *Die Gestapo. Mythos und Realität* (Darmstadt, 1995), 101–17. On Lübeck, Mecklenburg and Württemberg, see Browder, *Foundations*, 104ff. On Baden, see Michael Stolle, *Die Geheime Staatspolizei in Baden. Personal, Organisation, Wirkung und Nachwirken einer regionalen Verfolgungsbehörde im Dritten Reich* (Konstanz, 2001), 85ff. On Bremen, see Inge Marssolek and René Ott, *Bremen im 'Dritten Reich'. Anpassung – Widerstand – Verfolgung* (Bremen, 1986), 121ff. and 176ff. On Anhalt, Hessen, Thüringen, Saxony and Lippe, see Browder, *Foundations*, 109ff. On Brunswick, see Gerhard Wysocki, *Die Geheime Staatspolizei im Land Braunschweig. Polizeirecht und Polizeipraxis im Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt am Main and New York, 1997), 58f.
 80. Wildt, *Generation*, 247; Browder, *Foundations*, 100f.; Alwin Ramme, *Der Sicherheitsdienst der SS. Zu seiner Funktion im faschistischen Machtapparat und im Besatzungsregime des sogenannten Generalgouvernements* (East Berlin, 1970), 33ff.; Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 156ff.
 81. Herbert, *Best*, 133ff.
 82. Statement on Heydrich by Dr Werner Best, 1 October 1959, in Copenhagen, in IfZ, ZS 207/2, p. 3. For a similar account, see Schellenberg, *Labyrinth*, 36; and the post-war testimony of Anatol von der Milwe (26 June 1949), in IfZ, ZS 106.
 83. Statement on Heydrich by Dr Werner Best, 1 October 1959, in Copenhagen, in IfZ, ZS 207/2, p. 13.
 84. Herbert, *Best*, 91ff.
 85. Stefan Breuer, *Ordnungen der Ungleichheit. Die deutsche Rechte im Widerstreit ihrer Ideen, 1871–1945* (Darmstadt, 2001).
 86. Helmut Lethen, *Cool Conduct: The Culture of Distance in Weimar Germany* (Berkeley, CA, 2002); see, too, Moritz Bassler and Ewout van der Knaap (eds), *Die (k)alte Sachlichkeit. Herkunft und Wirkungen eines Konzepts* (Würzburg, 2004).
 87. Longenrich, *Himmler*, 265ff.
 88. See the post-war testimony of Walter Wanek, a senior official in the SD-Ausland, in IfZ, ZS 1579.
 89. The most insightful of these is the post-war account of Werner Best, in IfZ (Munich), ZS 207/2. Arthur Nebe wrote after the war that Heydrich's presence alone caused him 'physical shaking'. See Arthur Nebe, 'Das Spiel ist aus. Glanz und Elend der deutschen Kriminalpolizei', in *Der Spiegel*, 22 December 1949, 27. In a similar post-war statement, the head of SD-Inland, Franz Alfred Six, maintained that 'everyone was afraid of Heydrich'. Post-war testimony of Franz Alfred Six as quoted in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 25 October 1963, p. 7. See, too, the post-war testimony of Walter Wanek, a senior official in the SD-Ausland, in IfZ, ZS 1579.
 90. See the post-war testimony of Heydrich's personal adjutant Hans-Hendrik Neumann in IfZ, ZS 1260; see, too, Heydrich, *Wandlungen*, 19f. From 1937 onwards, Heydrich personally supervised the regular physical exercise of his men as *SS Inspekteur für Leibesübungen*. See Heydrich's orders of 9 May 1937 and 16 December 1940, in IfZ, Ed 450; see, too, Daniels, 'Leibeserzieher', *Leibesübungen und körperliche Erziehung* 61 (1942), 114–17; Ulrich Popplow,

- 'Reinhard Heydrich oder die Aufnordung durch den Sport', *Olympisches Feuer. Zeitschrift der deutschen Olympischen Gesellschaft* 8 (1963), 14–20.
91. See Heydrich's orders of 18 May 1940, 26 July 1940 and 6 January 1942, on 'Dienstliche Körperschulung im Reichssicherheitshauptamt', in IfZ, MA-445. From 1941 onwards, RSHA employees could choose between fencing, handball, football, boxing, athletics and swimming. The fencing lessons, in which Heydrich participated himself, took place on Thursdays between 6 p.m. and 9 p.m. in the RSHA's own gym. See Heydrich's order of 23 April 1941, in IfZ, MA 445.
 92. See Lina Heydrich to Peter Schneiders, 12 June 1962, NIOD, doc. I, 691A; Dieter Rebentisch and Karl Teppe (eds), *Verwaltung contra Menschenführung im Staate Hitlers. Studien zum politisch-administrativen System* (Göttingen, 1986).
 93. George C. Browder, 'Die Anfänge des SD. Dokumente aus der Organisationsgeschichte des Sicherheitsdienstes des Reichsführers SS', *VfZ* 27 (1979), 299–324; Banach, *Elite*, 95f.
 94. On the war youth generation and its leadership role in the SS, see Wildt, *Generation*; Ulrich Herbert, 'Ideological Legitimization and Political Practice of the Leadership of the National Socialist Secret Police', in Hans Mommsen (ed.), *The Third Reich between Vision and Reality: New Perspectives on German History, 1918–1945* (Oxford, 2001), 99–108; Herbert, *Best*, 187.
 95. Post-war testimony of Werner Best, in IfZ, ZS 207/2, pp. 3–5.
 96. BAB, BDC, SSO Hans-Achim Ploetz. He fell, in the late summer of 1944, on the Eastern Front.
 97. Banach, *Elite*, 19.
 98. Tüchel and Schattenfroh, *Zentrale*, 63f.; Tüchel, 'Gestapa und Reichssicherheitshauptamt. Die Berliner Zentralinstitutionen der Gestapo', in Paul and Mallmann (eds), *Gestapo. Mythos und Realität*, 84–100, here 86; Wildt, *Generation*, 217; Browder, *Foundations*, 89f.; Wilhelm, *Polizei*, 42; Gellately, *Gestapo*, 46; Christoph Graf, *Politische Polizei zwischen Demokratie und Diktatur. Die Entwicklung der preussischen Politischen Polizei vom Staatsschutzorgan der Weimarer Republik zum Geheimen Staatspolizeiamt des Dritten Reiches* (Berlin, 1983), 139ff.
 99. Tüchel, *Konzentrationslager*, 46; Graf, *Politische Polizei*, 179ff.; Browder, *Foundations*, 87.
 100. Wildt, *Generation*, 219f.; Tüchel, 'Gestapa', 88f.; Longerich, *Himmler*, 178.
 101. Heydrich to Göring, 9 July 1934, Geheimes Preussisches Staatsarchiv, I HA Rep. 90 P 8H2; see, too, Banach, *Elite*, 283; Tüchel, 'Gestapa', 90; Wildt, *Generation*, 222; Rudolf Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas. Es spricht der erste Chef der Gestapo* (Stuttgart, 1950), 415f.
 102. Tüchel and Schattenfroh, *Zentrale*, 80; Hans Buchheim, 'Die SS – Das Herrschaftsinstrument', in idem, Martin Broszat, Hans-Adolf Jacobsen and Helmut Krausnick, *Anatomie des SS-Staates* (3rd edn, Munich, 1994), vol. 1, 113–36; Tüchel, 'Gestapa', 90; Wildt, *Generation*, 222; Browder, *Foundations*, 115; Longerich, *Himmler*, 184.
 103. Elisabeth Kohlhaas, 'Die Mitarbeiter der regionalen Staatspolizeistellen. Quantitative und qualitative Befunde zur Personalausstattung der Gestapo', in Paul and Mallmann (eds), *Gestapo. Mythos und Realität*, 219–35; Browder, *Foundations*, 56.
 104. Walter Otto Weyrauch, *Gestapo V-Leute. Tatsachen und Theorie des Geheimdienstes. Untersuchungen zur Geheimen Staatspolizei während der nationalsozialistischen Herrschaft* (Frankfurt am Main, 1989); on the block warden, see Detlef Schmiechen-Ackermann, 'Der "Blockwart". Die unteren Parteifunktionen im nationalsozialistischen Terror- und Überwachungsapparat', *VfZ* 48 (2000), 575–602; Gisela Diewald-Kerkmann, *Politische Denunziation im NS-Regime oder die kleine Macht der Volksgenossen* (Bonn, 1995).
 105. Howard Smith as quoted in Roger Moorhouse, *Berlin at War: Life and Death in Hitler's Capital, 1939–45* (London, 2010), 227.
 106. Gellately, *Gestapo*; Eric A. Johnson, *Nazi Terror: The Gestapo, Jews, and Ordinary Germans* (New York, 1999), 392ff.; Reinhard Mann, *Protest und Kontrolle im Dritten Reich. Nationalsozialistische Herrschaft im Alltag einer rheinischen Grossstadt* (Frankfurt am Main, 1987); Stolle, *Geheime Staatspolizei*, 252ff.; Wildt, *Generation*, 214–62; Richard J. Evans, 'Coercion and Consent in Nazi Germany', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 151 (2007), 53–81, here 74.
 107. Moorhouse, *Berlin*, 224.
 108. The image of the Gestapo as an omnipresent and universally intrusive institution was challenged by Robert Gellately, 'Allwissend und allgegenwärtig? Entstehung, Funktion und

- Wandel des Gestapo-Mythos', in Paul and Mallmann (eds), *Gestapo. Mythos und Realität*, 47–70. See, too, idem, *Hingesehnt und weggesehen. Hitler und sein Volk* (Munich, 2002), 67ff.; Carsten Dams and Michael Stolle, *Die Gestapo. Herrschaft und Terror im Dritten Reich* (Munich, 2008); on Heydrich as a 'propagandist of terror', see Mallmann, Klaus-Michael and Paul, Gerhard, *Herrschaft und Alltag. Ein Industrieviertel im Dritten Reich* (Bonn, 1991), 164; and Heydrich's speech on the occasion of the 1941 Day of the German Police, as quoted in *Völkischer Beobachter*, 17 February 1941; idem, 'Die deutsche Sicherheitspolizei. Zum Tag der Deutschen Polizei', *Völkischer Beobachter*, 28 January 1939.
109. Longerich, *SA*, 184 and 206f.
 110. Heinz Höhne, *Mordsache Röhm. Hitlers Durchbruch zur Alleinberrschaft, 1933–1934* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1984), 224ff.; Longerich, *SA*, 204ff.; Herbert, *Best*, 141f. After the purges, the Security Police continued to collect 'evidence' to prove the homosexuality of leading SA members killed during the Night of the Long Knives. See Hamburg Police to Heydrich, 29 July 1934, in IfZ, Fa 108.
 111. Edmund Forschbach, *Edgar J. Jung. Ein Konservativer Revolutionär, 30. Juni 1934* (Pfullingen, 1984), 154ff.
 112. Kershaw, *Hitler: Hubris*, 505–17.
 113. See the trial testimonies of Karl Wolff (7–8 September) and Werner Best (1 October 1951), and the case against Sepp Dietrich (Munich, July 1956 and May 1957), as quoted in Browder, *Foundations*, 289, n. 4. For different interpretations, see Höhne, *Orden*, 97–112; Bessel, *Political Violence*, 132f.
 114. Post-war testimony of Dr Werner Best (18 June 1951), in IfZ, ZS 207; see, too, Wolfgang Sauer, *Die Mobilmachung der Gewalt* (Cologne, 1974), 955. On the context, see Höhne, *Mordsache Röhm*, 228f.
 115. Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 193; Herbert, *Best*, 143f.
 116. Evans, 'Coercion', 64; Höhne, *Mordsache Röhm*, 247ff.; Richard J. Evans, *The Third Reich in Power* (London, 2005), 31f.
 117. Yad Vashem Archive, 97–210 F I; Herbert, *Best*, 156.
 118. The decline of the family business is documented in Heydrich's correspondence of the early 1930s. See BAB, R 58/9319 (formerly 'Anhang 22'); see, too, Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 21f. On the general trends in the music industry, see Tim Blanning, *The Triumph of Music: Composers, Musicians, and their Audiences, 1700 to the Present* (London, 2008), 202.
 119. See copies of the letter exchange in BAB, R 58/9319 (formerly annexe 22). Two receipts for payments of 50 Reichsmarks each, paid on 21 and 23 November 1933, have survived in Heydrich's personal papers. See BAB, R 58/9318. On Wolfgang Heindorf's SD employment, see Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 62.
 120. BAB, R 58/9319 (formerly annexe 22).
 121. On Maria's party membership, see Bruno Heydrich to the magistrate of Halle, 7 July 1933, in StaH, Akten der Schulverwaltung, 118, vol. II. The letter can be found in BAB, R 58/9319.
 122. BAB, BDC, SSO Mehlhorn; on Herbert Mehlhorn and the SD in Saxony, see, too, Carsten Schreiber, *Elite im Verborgenen. Ideologie und regionale Herrschaftspraxis des Sicherheitsdienstes der SS und seines Netzwerks am Beispiel Sachsen* (Munich, 2008), 417f.
 123. Mehlhorn to Heydrich, 18 December 1933, in BAB, R 58/9319.
 124. Reinhard Heydrich to his mother Elisabeth, 29 January 1934, in BAB, R 58/9318; Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 38 and 44.
 125. Reinhard Heydrich to his mother, Elisabeth, 29 January 1934, in BAB, R 58/9318.
 126. StaH, FA 2571.
 127. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 43ff. and 63.

Chapter IV: Fighting the Enemies of the Reich

1. Browder, *Foundations*, 180ff.
2. Walter Nicolai, *Geheime Mächte. Internationale Spionage und ihre Bekämpfung im Weltkrieg und Heute* (Leipzig, 1923).

3. Browder, *Foundations*, 180ff.
4. Reinhard Heydrich, 'Vergiftung des Verhältnisses zwischen Waffenträger der Nation und Träger der Weltanschauung in Staat und Partei', January 1935, in IfZ, MA 438, ff. 2374ff.
5. Müller, *Canaris*, 162ff.
6. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 63.
7. See the file collection on Abwehr–Gestapo/SD collaboration in BAB, R 58/242; Browder, *Foundations*, 180ff.
8. Browder, *Foundations*, 148ff.; Horst Duhnke, *Die KPD von 1933 bis 1945* (Cologne, 1972), 194; Stolle, *Geheime Staatspolizei*, 222f.; Johnson, *Terror*, 19ff.; Norbert Frei, 'Zwischen Terror und Integration. Zur Funktion der politischen Polizei im Nationalsozialismus', in Christoph Dipper, Rainer Hudemann and Jens Petersen (eds), *Faschismus und Faschismen im Vergleich. Wolfgang Schieder zum 60. Geburtstag* (Cologne, 1998), 217–28.
9. Browder, *Foundations*, 163ff.
10. Longerich, *Himmler*, 209f.; Buchheim et al., *SS*, 52; Tuchel, 'Gestapo', 84.
11. Gellately, *Gestapo*, 59; Browder, *Foundations*, 231ff.
12. Heydrich, *Wandlungen*, 5; Longerich, *Himmler*, 211ff.
13. Heydrich, *Wandlungen*, 14ff.; Longerich, *Himmler*, 205.
14. *Wandlungen*, 18 and 20; Heydrich held on to this belief throughout his career. Still in October 1941, half a year before his assassination, he described the role of the SS as that of an ideological 'shock troop' of the party and its supreme leader. See Heydrich's speech in Černín Palace on 2 October 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114-6-4, carton 22.
15. Heydrich, *Wandlungen*, 3.
16. *Ibid.*, 6, 18f.
17. Heydrich, as quoted in Burckhardt, *Danziger Mission*, 56.
18. Longerich, *Himmler*, 217.
19. Heydrich, *Wandlungen*, 18ff.
20. Heydrich, 'Die Bekämpfung der Staatsfeinde', *Deutsches Recht* 6 (1936), 121–3. See, too, Banach, *Elite*, 283.
21. Heydrich to Taubert, 4 March 1940, in BAB, BDC, SSO Walter Fentz; see, too, Banach, *Elite*, 283.
22. Heydrich, 'Aufgaben und Aufbau der Sicherheitspolizei im Dritten Reich', in Hans Pfundtner (ed.), *Dr. Wilhelm Frick und sein Ministerium* (Munich, 1937), 153.
23. Himmler in Wannemacher, *Leben der Tat*, 81ff.
24. Heydrich, 'Aufgaben', 149; see, too, Wildt, *Generation*, 254.
25. Heydrich, 'Bekämpfung der Staatsfeinde', 121ff.; on the notion of the 'Wehrmacht within', see Werner Best, 'Der Reichsführer SS und Chef der Deutschen Polizei', *Deutsches Recht* 6 (1936), 257f.; Longerich, *Himmler*, 205f. and 824; Wegner, *Politische Soldaten*, 110ff. See, too, Andreas Schwegel, *Der Polizeibegriff im NS-Staat. Polizeirecht, juristische Publizistik und Judikative 1931–1944* (Tübingen, 2005), 208.
26. Heydrich to Hanke, 26 November 1936, in IfZ, Fa 199/37. See, too, Reinhard Heydrich, 'Der Anteil der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD an den Ordnungsmassnahmen im mitteleuropäischen Raum', *Böhmen und Mähren* 25 (1941), 176–8, here 177.
27. Heydrich's order of 1 July 1937, in BAB, R 58/239, ff. 198–202. See, too, Wildt, *Generation*, 254f.; Longerich, *Himmler*, 221; Buchheim et al., *SS*, 201ff.; Höhne, *Orden*, 136f.
28. Heydrich's order of 15 December 1936, USHMMA, 11.001 M01, reel 1, folder 25.
29. On the SD after 1936, see Browder, *Enforcers*, 210ff.; idem, 'Numerical Strength', 30–41; Wildt, *Generation*, 378ff.
30. Evans, *Third Reich in Power*, 536f.
31. Longerich, *Politik*, 26ff.; Avraham Barkai, *Vom Boykott zur 'Entjudung'. Der wirtschaftliche Existenzkampf der Juden im Dritten Reich, 1933–1943* (Frankfurt, 1988), 23ff.; Friedländer, *Persecution*, 36ff.
32. Michael Wildt, 'Before the "Final Solution": The Judenpolitik of the SD, 1935–1938', *Leo Back Institute Year Book* (1998), 245f.; see, too, the post-war testimony of Dieter Wisliceny, 18 November 1946, in Fa 64 IfZ, Fa 64, and the vast body of SD files on Communist and Socialist organizations (1932–4) in OA Moscow, 500/1/88–134.
33. Graf, *Politische Polizei*, 238.

34. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 97.
35. Jeffrey Herf, *The Jewish Enemy: Nazi Propaganda during World War II and the Holocaust* (Cambridge, MA, 2006).
36. The literature on this subject is vast. For a competent survey, see Walter Laqueur, *The Changing Face of Antisemitism: From Ancient Times to the Present Day* (Oxford, 2006).
37. Post-war statement on Heydrich by Dr Werner Best, 1 October 1959, in Copenhagen, in IfZ, ZS 207/2, p. 12.
38. On Himmler and the Jews, see Longerich, *Himmler*, 224ff.
39. Heydrich, *Wandlungen*, 13.
40. *Ibid.*
41. Holger Berschel, *Bürokratie und Terror. Das Judenreferat der Gestapo Düsseldorf 1935–1945* (Essen, 2001), 171.
42. See Heydrich's orders of 28 January and 6 March, in BAB, R 58/269. For a further order of 9 March 1935, see National Archives Prague, 114, supplement I, carton 89. See, too, Berschel, *Bürokratie*, 275ff.
43. Uwe Dietrich Adam, *Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf, 1972), 155; see, too, Joseph Walk (ed.), *Das Sonderrecht für die Juden im NS-Staat. Eine Sammlung der gesetzlichen Massnahmen und Richtlinien. Inhalt und Bedeutung* (2nd edn, Heidelberg, 1996), vol. 1, 516ff.
44. Göring's order of 4 July 1937, in BAB, R 43II/357. Heydrich would make extensive use of his new competences. See, for example, his orders of 27 November and 3 December 1941 ('Verfügungsbeschränkungen über das bewegliche Vermögen für Juden' and 'Massnahmen zur Verhinderung von Veräusserung jüdischen Vermögens') in IfZ, Eich 739 and MA 445, pp. 7845–53.
45. Longerich, *Himmler*, 589.
46. Internal SD memorandum for Heydrich, 24 May 1934, as printed in Michael Wildt (ed.), *Die Judenpolitik des SD 1935 bis 1938. Eine Dokumentation* (Munich, 1995), 66ff. See, too, the Gestapo report 'Gegenwärtiger Stand der Judenfrage', 2 November 1934, in OA Moscow, 501/1/18, ff. 49–56; reprinted in Otto Dov Kulka and Eberhard Jäckel (eds), *Die Juden in den geheimen NS-Stimmungsberichten 1933–1945* (Düsseldorf, 2004), doc. 48, pp. 90ff.
47. Michael Wildt, 'Before the "Final Solution": The Judenpolitik of the SD, 1935–1938', *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* (1998), 241–69.
48. Heydrich's order of 20 March 1934 is reprinted in Hans Mommsen, 'Der nationalsozialistische Polizeistaat und die Judenverfolgung vor 1938', *VfZ* 10 (1962), 68–87, here 77f. On the Reichsbund, see Ulrich Dunker, *Der Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten 1919–1938* (Düsseldorf, 1977), 113ff.
49. Heydrich to all State Police Offices, 17 January 1935, in IfZ, MA 172. Four weeks later, on 10 February 1935, Heydrich ordered the closing down of all Jewish gatherings advocating that Jews should remain in Germany. Heydrich to all State Police Offices, 10 February 1935, in IfZ, MA 172.
50. Heydrich, *Wandlungen*, 10ff.
51. Heydrich to Lammers, 16 July 1935, quoted in Werner Jochmann, *Gesellschaftskrise und Judenfeindschaft in Deutschland 1870–1945* (Hamburg, 1988), 236–54, here 245f.
52. SD Report of 17 August 1935, in OA Moscow, 500/3/316, ff. 1–3; reprinted in Wildt (ed.), *Judenpolitik*, 69–70.
53. Gestapo report on the meeting of 20 August 1935, in OA Moscow 500/1/379, ff. 75–85; as quoted in Wildt, 'Before the "Final Solution"', 249. On Schacht's role, see Albert Fischer, *Hjalmar Schacht und Deutschlands Judenfrage. Der 'Wirtschaftsdiktator' und die Vertreibung der Juden aus der deutschen Wirtschaft* (Cologne, 1995), 208.
54. Heydrich on 9 September 1935, in OA Moscow, 500/1/379, ff. 115–20; reprinted in Wildt (ed.), *Judenpolitik*, 70–3.
55. Heydrich's letter to the participants of the top-level meeting in the Reich Economics Ministry, 9 September 1935, in OA Moscow, 500/1/379, ff. 115–20; reprinted in Wildt, (ed.), *Judenpolitik*, 70–3.
56. Bernhard Lösener, 'Als Rassereferent im Reichsministerium des Innern', *VfZ* 9 (1961), 261–313; Adam, *Judenpolitik*, 125. For a critical assessment of Lösener's view, see Reinhard Rürup, 'Das Ende der Emanzipation. Die antijüdische Politik in Deutschland von der "Machtergreifung" bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg', in Arnold Paucker, Sylvia Gilchrist and

- Barbara Suchy (eds), *Die Juden im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland, 1933–1943* (Tübingen, 1986), 97–114; and Jochmann, 'Judenpolitik', 247.
57. Hilberg, *Destruction*, vol. 1, 72 and 434–47. On the Nuremberg Laws, see Cornelia Essner, *Die 'Nürnberger Gesetze' oder die Verwaltung des Rassewahns, 1933–1945* (Paderborn, 2002); Otto Dov Kulka, 'Die Nürnberger Rassegesetze und die deutsche Bevölkerung im Lichte geheimer NS Lage- und Stimmungsberichte', *VfZ* 32 (1984), 582–624; Lothar Gruchmann, "'Blutschutzgesetz' und Justiz. Zur Entstehung und Auswirkung des Nürnberger Gesetzes vom 15. September 1935', *VfZ* 31 (1983), 418–42.
 58. See Chapter VII of this book.
 59. Wildt (ed.), *Judenpolitik*, 38. On their ideological commitment to anti-Semitism: Yaacov Lozowick, *Hitlers Bürokraten. Eichmann, seine willigen Vollstrecker und die Banalität des Bösen* (Zurich, 2000).
 60. Herbert A. Strauss, 'Jewish Emigration from Germany: Nazi Policies and Jewish Responses (II)', *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 26 (1981), 343–7; Francis R. Nicosia, 'The End of Emancipation and the Illusion of Preferential Treatment: German Zionism, 1933–1938', *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 36 (1991), 243–65; idem, 'Ein nützlicher Feind. Zionismus im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland 1933–1939', *VfZ*, 37 (1989), 367–400; Yehuda Bauer, *Jews for Sale? Nazi–Jewish Negotiations 1933–1945* (New Haven and London, 1994).
 61. Wisliceny, 'Was wird aus Palastina?', 15 July 1937, reprinted in Serge Klarsfeld (ed.), *Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine, Recueil de Documents du Service des Affaires Juives, le II–112, du Sicherheitsdienst SD (1937–1949)* (New York, 1980), 76–84. See, too, Nicosia, *Nützlicher Feind*, 388f.
 62. Hagen's report on Polkes's visit for Heydrich, 17 June 1937, in BAB, R 58/954, ff. 42–6. See, too, Adam, *Judenpolitik*, 200.
 63. Cesarani, *Eichmann*, 18–60; on Kaltenbrunner, see Black, *Kaltenbrunner*.
 64. Memo Six, 4 September 1937, BAB, R 58/623.
 65. Eichmann's report of 4 November 1937, in BAB, R 58/954, ff. 11–64.
 66. Bauer, *Jews for Sale?*, 27; Nicosia, *Nützlicher Feind*, 392f.
 67. Nicosia, *Nützlicher Feind*, 392.
 68. Friedländer, *Persecution*, 282; Longerich, *Politik*, 121ff.
 69. On Himmler's hostility towards the Churches, see Longerich, *Himmler*, 227ff.; Ackermann, *Himmler*, 88ff.
 70. Heydrich, *Wandlungen*, 7ff.; on Heydrich's attitude towards non-institutionalized religion and spirituality, see Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 96.
 71. Clark, 'Religion', 97.
 72. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 85. on the figures quoted above, see Longerich, *Himmler*, 229. On Nazi attitudes towards Christianity more generally, see Richard Steigmann-Gall, *The Holy Reich: Nazi Conceptions of Christianity, 1919–1945* (Cambridge, 2003).
 73. Wolfgang Dierker, *Himmlers Glaubenskrieger. Der Sicherheitsdienst der SS und seine Religionspolitik 1933–1941* (Paderborn, 2002), 192ff.; Doris Bergen, *Twisted Cross: The German Christian Movement in the Third Reich* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1996); Manfred Gailus, *Protestantismus und Nationalsozialismus. Studien zur Durchdringung des protestantischen Sozialmilieus in Berlin* (Cologne, 2001); Kurt Meier, *Kreuz und Hakenkreuz. Die evangelische Kirche im Dritten Reich* (Munich, 1992); on the Confessing Church as an example of Protestant defiance, see Victoria Barnett, *For the Soul of the People: Protestant Protest against Hitler* (New York, 1992).
 74. John S. Conway, *The Nazi Persecution of the Churches, 1933–45* (London, 1968).
 75. Heydrich's order of 18 March 1934, reiterating earlier orders of July 1933, in IfZ, Fa 183/1; Aronson, *Frühgeschichte*, 118–20.
 76. Dierker, *Glaubenskrieger*, 96ff.
 77. Petra Madeleine Rapp, *Die Devisenprozesse gegen katholische Ordensangehörige und Geistliche im Dritten Reich* (Bonn, 1981); on the involvement of the SD, see Dierker, *Glaubenskrieger*, 178ff.
 78. Hans Günter Hockerts, *Die Sittlichkeitsprozesse gegen katholische Ordensangehörige und Priester 1936/1937. Eine Studie zur nationalsozialistischen Herrschaftstechnik und zum Kirchenkampf* (Mainz, 1971), 4ff., 12ff., 63ff.; Dierker, *Glaubenskrieger*, 178ff., 185ff.
 79. Dierker, *Glaubenskrieger*, 335ff.; Friedrich Zipfel, *Kirchenkampf in Deutschland 1933–1945. Religionsverfolgung und Selbstbehauptung der Kirchen in der nationalsozialistischen Zeit* (Berlin, 1965), 458ff.; on Hitler's views, see Goebbels, *Tagebücher*, part I, vol. 3/2, 376.

80. Heydrich to Hitler, 27 May 1937, in National Archives, Kew, GFM 33/4830; Heydrich to Lammers, 15 July 1938, in National Archives, Kew, GFM 33/4830; Hitler in a monologue in his field headquarters, 13 December 1941, in Adolf Hitler, *Adolf Hitlers Monologe im Führerhauptquartier 1941–1944. Die Aufzeichnungen Heinrich Heims*, ed. Werner Jochmann (Munich, 1982), 32; Ian Kershaw, *Hitler 1936–1945: Nemesis* (London, 2000), 424.
81. On the persecution of Jehovah's Witnesses, see Detlef Garbe, *Zwischen Widerstand und Martyrium. Die Zeugen Jehovas im 'Dritten Reich'* (Munich, 1993); Richard Steigmann-Gall, 'Religion and the Churches', in Jane Caplan (ed.), *Nazi Germany* (Oxford, 2008), 146–67, here 146ff.; Hans Hesse (ed.), *Persecution and Resistance of Jehovah's Witnesses during the Nazi Regime, 1933–1945* (Bremen 2001); James Penton, *Jehovah's Witnesses and the Third Reich: Sectarian Politics under Persecution* (Toronto, 2004).
82. Garbe, *Zeugen*, 234ff. and 247ff.
83. Heydrich, *Wandlungen*, 12.
84. See OA Moscow, 500/4/261 and 500/1/154.
85. Helmut Neuberger, *Freimaurerei und Nationalsozialismus. Die Verfolgung der deutschen Freimaurerei durch völkische Bewegung und Nationalsozialismus 1918–1945*, 2 vols (Hamburg, 1980), vol. 2, 16ff., 101f., 119f.
86. Heydrich's order of 1 July 1937 (Gemeinsame Anordnung für den Sicherheitsdienst des Reichsführer-SS und die Geheime Staatspolizei), in BAB, R 58/239, ff. 198–202; reprinted in Wildt, *Judenpolitik*, 118–20. See, too, Wildt, *Generation*, 254f.; Longerich, *Himmler*, 221; Buchheim et al., *SS*, 62.
87. On the Central Jewish Museum, see Jan Björn Potthast, *Das jüdische Zentralmuseum der SS in Prag. Gegnerforschung und Völkermord im Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt am Main, 2002).
88. Neuberger, *Freimaurerei*, vol. 2, 45f. and 108; Burckhardt, *Danziger Mission*, 55.
89. Burckhardt, *Danziger Mission*, 57f.
90. Heydrich, 'Aufgaben', 149ff.; idem., 'Bekämpfung der Staatsfeinde', 121ff.
91. Browder, *Foundations*, 152; Detlef J. K. Peukert, *Inside Nazi Germany: Conformity, Opposition, and Racism in Everyday Life* (New Haven and London, 1987), 264f.; Burkhard Jellonek, *Homosexuelle unter dem Hakenkreuz. Die Verfolgung von Homosexuellen im Dritten Reich* (Paderborn, 1990), 95ff.
92. OA Moscow, 500/1/261. 'At least' is underlined in the original. See, too, Wolfgang Ayass, "'Ein Gebot der nationalen Arbeitsdisziplin". Die "Aktion Arbeitsscheu Reich" 1938', *Beiträge zur nationalsozialistischen Gesundheits- und Sozialpolitik* 6 (1988), 43–74; idem, *'Asoziale' im Nationalsozialismus* (Stuttgart, 1995).
93. Patrick Wagner, *Volksgemeinschaft ohne Verbrecher. Konzeptionen und Praxis der Kriminalpolizei in der Zeit der Weimarer Republik und des Nationalsozialismus* (Hamburg, 1996), 292ff.
94. Nikolaus Wachsmann, *Hitler's Prisons: Legal Terror in Nazi Germany* (New Haven and London, 2004), 165–83; Evans, *Third Reich in Power*, 85ff.
95. Karin Orth, *Das System der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager. Eine politische Organisationsgeschichte* (Hamburg, 1999), 32 and 38f.; Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth and Christoph Dieckmann, 'Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager. Geschichte, Erinnerung, Forschung', in Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth and Christoph Dieckmann (eds), *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager. Entwicklung und Struktur*, 2 vols (Frankfurt, 2002), vol. 1, 117–42.
96. Orth, *System*, 35ff.; Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager*, 326ff. On Sachsenhausen, see Hermann Kaienburg, 'Sachsenhausen-Stammlager', in Benz and Distel (eds), *Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, 17–72; Günter Morsch (ed.), *Mord und Massenmord im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen 1936–1945* (Berlin, 2005). On Buchenwald: Harry Stein, 'Buchenwald-Stammlager', in Benz and Distel (eds), *Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, 301–56. On Flossenbürg: Jörg Skriebeleit, 'Flossenbürg-Stammlager', in Benz and Distel (eds), *Ort des Terrors*, vol. 4, 17–66. On Mauthausen: Florian Freund and Bertrand Perz, 'Mauthausen-Stammlager', in Benz and Distel (eds), *Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, 293–346. On Neuengamme: Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Berlin, 1997). On Ravensbrück: Bernhard Strelbel, *Das KZ Ravensbrück. Geschichte eines Lagerkomplexes* (Paderborn, 2003).
97. Prützmann to Heydrich, 30 November 1938 (with a reference to the dinner in Dachau), in USHMMA, RG 11.001 M.24, reel 94, folder 1525.

98. On Gustav Rall, see BAB, BDC, SSO Gustav Rall; see, too, Johannes Tuchel, 'Reinhard Heydrich und die "Stiftung Nordhav". Die Aktivitäten der SS-Führung auf Fehmarn', *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte* 117 (1992), 199–225, here 201, n. 8.
99. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 50 and 88f. On the camp in Nauen/Stolpshof, see Wolfgang Weigelt, 'Nauen/Stolpshof', in Benz and Distel (eds), *Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, 231f.
100. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 59f.; Speer as quoted in Callum MacDonald, *Heydrich. Anatomie eines Attentats* (Munich, 1990), 148f.
101. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 60.
102. Heydrich's tax declaration for 1935, 1936 and 1937, in IfZ, Ed 450. On comparative salaries, see Browder, *Foundations*, 129.
103. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 60f.; Heydrich's tax declaration for 1938, in IfZ, Ed 450.
104. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 57f.; post-war testimony of Heydrich's personal adjutant Hans-Hendrik Neumann, in IfZ, ZS 1260; Joachim Lilla, *Der Preussische Staatsrat 1921–1933. Ein biographisches Handbuch* (Düsseldorf, 2005), no. 2.39; idem, *Statisten in Uniform. Die Mitglieder des Reichstags 1933–1945. Ein biographisches Handbuch* (Düsseldorf, 2004), 237. For the additional salary, see BAB, NS 19/3454.
105. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 54.
106. Arthur Nebe, 'Das Spiel ist aus', *Spiegel*, 9 February 1950, 24f. 58.
107. Lina Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 82 and 84.
108. Lina Heydrich to Peter Schneiders, NIOD, doc. I, 69/A; Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 63.
109. Jochen von Lang, *Der Adjutant Karl Wolff. Der Mann zwischen Hitler und Himmler* (Munich, 1985), 65ff. See, too, Schwarz, *Ehefrauen*.
110. Interview with Lina Heydrich, *Jasmin* 4/1969, pp. 70ff.; Schellenberg, *Labyrinth*, 41.
111. Schellenberg, *Labyrinth*, 17; Kersten, *Totenkopf*, 120.
112. *Der Spiegel* 6/1950, 9 February 1950, 25.
113. Lina Heydrich to Peter Schneiders, 30 January 1962, in IfZ, ZS 3092; Schellenberg, *Labyrinth*, 14; Reinhard Doerries, *Hitler's Last Chief of Foreign Intelligence: Allied Interrogations of Walter Schellenberg* (London, 2003), 73.
114. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 77.
115. Heydrich's speech on 17 March 1942, in National Archives, Prague, 114, carton 8.
116. Matthew Stibbe, *Women in the Third Reich* (London, 2003), 88f. On the 'New Woman' in the Weimar Republic, see, for example, Gesa Kessemeier, *Sportlich, sachlich, männlich. Das Bild der 'Neuen Frau' in den Zwanziger Jahren* (Dortmund, 2000).
117. See the various letter exchanges, SD reports and employers' complaints in BAB, R 58/9319.
118. *Ibid.*
119. Maria Heindorf (née Heydrich) to Reinhard Heydrich, 30 June 1939, in National Archives, Kew, WO 219/5283.
120. Heinz Pomme to Maria Heindorf, 19 July 1939, in National Archives, Kew, WO 219/5283. On Pomme, see BAB, BDC, SSO Kurt Pomme. On the subsequent correspondence, see BAB, R58/9319.

Chapter V: Rehearsals for War

1. The speech was recorded in the Hossbach protocol, in *IMT*, vol. 25, doc. 386–PS, pp. 402ff. See, too, Kershaw, *Hitler: Nemesis*, 63ff. Longerich, *Himmler*, 411ff.
2. Kirstin A. Schäfer, *Werner von Blomberg. Hitlers erster Field marshal* (Paderborn, 2006), 180ff.; Klaus-Jürgen Müller, *Das Heer und Hitler. Aimee und nationalsozialistisches Regime, 1933–1940* (Stuttgart, 1969), 255ff.; Karl-Heinz Janssen and Fritz Tobias, *Der Sturz der Generale. Hitler und die Blomberg–Fritsch–Krise 1938* (Munich, 1997). *Third Reich in Power*, 649. 22–81 (on Blomberg) and 83–195 (on Fritsch); Longerich, *Himmler*, 412ff.
3. Janssen and Tobias, *Sturz*, 92. See, too, post-war testimony of Himmler's adjutant, Karl Wolff, in IfZ, ZS 317.
4. Kershaw, *Hitler: Nemesis*, 63ff.
5. Janssen and Tobias, *Sturz*, 159ff.
6. *Ibid.*, 166 and 181f.

7. Herbert, *Best*, 185; Wolfgang Foerster, *Generaloberst Ludwig Beck. Sein Kampf gegen den Krieg. Aus den nachgelassenen Papieren des Generalstabschefs* (Munich, 1953), 92; Müller, *Heer*, doc. 34, pp. 639f.; Schellenberg, *Labyrinth*, 40f.
8. Conrad Patzig (10 November 1953), as quoted in: Müller, *Canaris*, 171.
9. Müller, *Canaris*, 162ff.
10. Janssen and Tobias, *Sturz*, 191.
11. Evans, *Third Reich in Power*, 664; Kershaw, *Hitler: Nemesis*, 63ff.; G. E. R. Gedy, *Fallen Bastions: The Central European Tragedy* (London, 1939), 144–216.
12. Evans, *Third Reich in Power*, 649. Kershaw, *Hitler: Nemesis*, 70ff.; Gedy, *Fallen Bastions*, 217ff.; Erwin A. Schmidl, *März 38. Der deutsche Einmarsch in Österreich* (Vienna, 1987), 31ff.
13. Hans-Joachim Neufeld, Jürgen Huck and Georg Tessin, *Zur Geschichte der Ordnungspolizei, 1936–1945* (Koblenz, 1957), 9ff.
14. Evans, *Third Reich in Power*, 650f. Barbara Jelavich, *Modern Austria: Empire and Republic, 1815–1986* (Cambridge, 1987), 218ff.; Gedy, *Fallen Bastions*, 236ff.
15. Evans, *Third Reich in Power*, 652. Kershaw, *Hitler: Nemesis*, 76ff.; Schmidl, *März 38*, 111ff.
16. *Neue Freie Presse*, 15 March 1938. See, too, Gerhard Botz, *Nationalsozialismus in Wien. Machtübernahme, Herrschaftssicherung, Radikalisierung* (rev. edn, Vienna, 2008), 72.
17. See Himmler's "Sonderauftrag Österreich", 11 March 1938', in BAB, R 19/401.
18. *Neue Freie Presse*, evening edition, 15 March 1938; *Neue Freie Presse*, morning edition, 16 March 1938. One day earlier, Heydrich had given orders for the new organizational structure of the Security Police in Austria, which was largely based on the German example. See his order of 15 March 1938, in DÖW, E 20.530. On Kaltenbrunner, see Black, *Kaltenbrunner*.
19. Franz Weisz, 'Personell vor allem ein "ständestaatlicher" Polizeikörper. Die Gestapo in Österreich', in Paul and Mallmann (eds), *Gestapo im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, 439–62. Evans, *Third Reich in Power*, 656.
20. Heydrich subsequently refused to hand these files over to the Ministry of Justice. See the letter exchange between Dr Hueber (Reich Ministry of Justice) and Heydrich, 21 June–26 July 1938, in DÖW, 01905.
21. Botz, *Wien*, 55ff.; Schmidl, *März 38*, 232–7; Freund and Perz, 'Mauthausen-Stammlager', 254ff.
22. See the daily reports of the Stapoleitstelle in Vienna, July–December 1938, in IfZ, MA 145/1. The figures of arrests quoted in the literature range from 10,000 to 70,000. Heydrich himself mentioned the figure of 10,000 people arrested to Ernst von Weizsäcker. See Weizsäcker's notes on the conversation of 5 July 1938, in *Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik 1918–1945* (Baden-Baden, 1950–95), series D, vol. 1, doc. 405, pp. 509–10. On Heydrich's express orders not to release anyone without his explicit consent, see his order to the Stapoleitstelle in Vienna on 16 March 1938, in DÖW, 9413.
23. Heydrich to Bürckel, 16 March 1938, in DÖW, Bürckel 2020.
24. See Heydrich's letter exchange with the Stapoleitstelle in Vienna about the arrests of leading Communists, 27 and 30 September 1938, in DÖW, 01575, and Heydrich's dossier on Habsburg royalists, in DÖW, 22124; and Heydrich to all Gestapo Offices, 16 March 1938, in DÖW, 21058/20.
25. Botz, *Wien*, 55ff.; Schmidl, *März 38*, 232ff.; Freund and Perz, 'Mauthausen-Stammlager', 254ff.
26. Heydrich to Ernst von Weizsäcker, 5 July 1938, *Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik*, series D, vol. 1, doc. 405, pp. 509–10.
27. Heydrich to Stapoleitstelle Vienna, BAB, R 581/256, f. 90. See, too, Erwin A Schmidl, *Der Anschluss Österreichs. Der deutsche Einmarsch im März 1938* (Vienna, 1994), 236. On the Stapoleitstelle in Vienna, see Thomas Mang, *Gestapo – Leitstelle Wien – Mein Name ist Huber* (Münster, 2004). On the Ketteler affair, see Lutz Hachmeister, *Der Gegnerforscher. Die Karriere des SS-Führers Franz Alfred Six* (Munich, 1998), 10ff.
28. Goebbels' diary entry of 26 March 1938, in Goebbels, *Tagebücher*, part I, vol. 5, 231.
29. Evans, *Third Reich in Power*, 657ff. Hans Safrian and Hans Witek (eds), *Und keiner war dabei. Dokumente des alltäglichen Antisemitismus in Wien 1938* (Vienna, 1988); Eckart Früh, 'Terror und Selbstmord in Wien nach der Annexion Österreichs', in Felix Kreissler (ed.), *Fünfzig Jahre danach. Der Anschluss von innen und aussen gesehen* (Vienna and Zurich, 1989), 216–23; Herbert Rosenkranz, 'Entrechtung, Verfolgung und Selbsthilfe der Juden in

- Österreich', in Gerald Stourzh and Birgitta Zaar (eds), *Österreich, Deutschland und die Mächte. Internationale und Österreichische Aspekte des 'Anschlusses' vom März 1938* (Vienna, 1990), 367–417, here 376–7.
30. Carl Zuckmayer, *Als wär's ein Stück von mir* (2nd edn, Hamburg, 1977), 88.
 31. BAB, R 58/991, ff. 106–21.
 32. *Völkischer Beobachter*, 17 March 1938.
 33. Heydrich to Bürckel, 17 March 1938, Dokumentationsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstandes, 15.909, reprinted in Dokumentationsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstandes (ed.), *'Anschluss' 1938. Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1988), 440.
 34. Order for the 'SS-Oberabschnitt Österreich' of 5 April 1938, in BAB, NS 31/236. See, too, Schmidl, *'Anschluss' Österreichs*, 236.
 35. Heydrich's order of 14 April 1938, in IfZ, MA 444/2.
 36. Heydrich's order of 17 March 1938, in IfZ, MA 445, ff. 8207–8; and 8218–21.
 37. Courier letter of Dr Werner Best, 22 March 1938, in IfZ, MA 438.
 38. Otmar Jung, *Plebiszit und Diktatur. Die Volksabstimmungen der Nationalsozialisten. Die Fälle 'Austritt aus dem Völkerbund' (1933), 'Staatsoberhaupt' (1934) und 'Anschluss Österreichs' (1938)* (Tübingen, 1995); Evans, *Third Reich in Power*, 655.
 39. Evans, *Third Reich in Power*, 657f.; Friedländer, *Persecution*, 241ff.
 40. Evans, *Third Reich in Power*, 659. Peter F. Hoerz, *Jüdische Kultur im Burgenland. Historische Fragmente – volkskundliche Analysen* (Vienna, 2006).
 41. Botz, *Wien*, 143; Evans, *Third Reich in Power*, 659.
 42. See the extensive files on the Viennese Central Office in USHMMA, RG 11.001 M, reel 8, 625; see, too, Botz, *Wien*, 332; Jonny Moser, 'Die Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung in Wien', in Kurt Schmid and Robert Streibel (eds), *Der Pogrom 1938. Judenverfolgung in Österreich und Deutschland* (Vienna, 1990); also Hans Safrian, *Die Eichmann-Männer* (Vienna, 1993), 36ff.; Friedländer, *Persecution*, 241ff.
 43. Heydrich during the meeting convened by Göring on 12 November 1938, in *IMT*, vol. 28, doc. 1816-PS, pp. 499ff.
 44. Evans, *Third Reich in Power*, 661f. Doron Rabinovici, *Instanzen der Ohnmacht. Wien 1938–1945. Der Weg zum Judenrat* (Frankfurt, 2000); Hans Safrian, 'Expediting Expropriation and Expulsion: The Impact of the "Vienna Model" on Anti-Jewish Policies in Nazi Germany, 1938', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 14 (2000), 390–414; Gabriele Anderl and Dirk Rupnow, *Die Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung als Beraubungsinstitution* (Vienna, 2004); Friedländer, *Persecution*, 243ff.
 45. Evans, *Third Reich in Power*, 661.
 46. Adam, *Judenpolitik*, 201. Heydrich closely observed the proceedings at Evian and sent regular reports on the conference discussions to Himmler, Göring and Ribbentrop. See copies of the reports in USHMMA, RG 11.001 M, reel 9, 649.
 47. 'Aufenthaltsverbot für Juden mit polnischer Staatsangehörigkeit', 26 October 1938, in BAB, R 58, 276; reprinted in Walk (ed.), *Sonderrecht*, II/569, p. 247; see, too, Sybil H. Milton, 'The Expulsion of Polish Jews from Germany, October 1938 to July 1939: A Documentation', *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 29 (1984), 169–74.
 48. Alan E. Steinweis, *Kristallnacht 1938* (Cambridge, MA, 2009), 17.
 49. Bradley F. Smith, Agnes F. Peterson and Joachim Fest (eds), *Heinrich Himmler: Geheimreden, 1933 bis 1945 und andere Ansprachen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1974), 25ff. (8 November 1938); Longerich, *Himmler*, 424.
 50. No copy of Goebbels's speech exists, but it can be reconstructed on the basis of his own diary entry and the testimony of several people present at the gathering. The most important account remains: 'Bericht des Obersten Parteirichters der NSDAP, Reichsleiter Walter Buch über die Vorgänge und parteigerichtlichen Verfahren im Zusammenhang mit den antisemitischen Kundgebungen vom 9. November 1938', in: Michaelis and Schaepler (eds.) *Ursachen und Folgen*, vol. 12, 582. Christian T. Barth, *Goebbels und die Juden* (Paderborn, 2003), 132ff.; Hermann Graml, *Reichskristallnacht. Antisemitismus und Judenverfolgung im Dritten Reich* (Munich, 1998), 17ff.; Martin Gilbert, *Kristallnacht: Prelude to Disaster* (London, 2006); Angela Hermann, 'Hitler und sein Stosstrupp in der "Reichskristallnacht"', *VfZ* 56 (2008), 603ff.; Peter Longerich, *Joseph Goebbels. Biographie* (Munich, 2010), 393.

51. Rudolf Jordan, *Erlebt und erlitten. Weg eines Gauleiters von München bis Moskau* (Leoni, 1971), 181f.; see, too, Barth, *Goebbels*, 135.
52. Dieter Obst, 'Reichskristallnacht'. Ursachen und Verlauf des antisemitischen Pogroms vom November 1938 (Frankfurt, 1991); Hans-Jürgen Döscher, *Reichskristallnacht. Die Novemberpogrome* (Munich, 2000), Longerich, *Himmler*, S. 424.
53. Müller to all Stapoleitstellen, 9 November 1938 (11.55 p.m.), in BAB, R 58/276, f. 124; see, too, Döscher, *Reichskristallnacht* 98. See, too, the post-war account of Werner Best (1 October 1959), in IfZ, ZS 207/2, f. 4.
54. Heydrich's telegram from Munich, 10 November 1938, 1.20 a.m., as reprinted in *IMT*, vol. 31, doc. 3051-PS, pp. 516–18.
55. Heydrich's telegram of 10 November 1938 (no time given), in BAB, R 58/276, f. 129, reprinted in *IMT*, vol. 31, doc. 3051-PS, pp. 518f.
56. On the mass arrests, see Heiko Pollmeier, 'Inhaftierung und Lagererfahrung deutscher Juden im November 1938', *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung* 8 (1999), 107–30; Harry Stein, 'Das Sonderlager im Konzentrationslager Buchenwald nach den Pogromen 1938', in Monica Kingreen (ed.), *Nach der Kristallnacht. Jüdisches Leben und antijüdische Politik in Frankfurt am Main 1938–1945* (Frankfurt am Main, 1999), 19–54.
57. Botz, *Wien*, 397–411. On anti-Jewish violence in the Sudetenland, see Jörg Osterloh, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung im Reichsgau Böhmen und Sudetenland, 1938–1945* (Munich, 2006), 185ff; see, too: Evans, *Third Reich in Power*, 661.
58. Peter Longerich, *'Davon haben wir nichts gewusst!' Die Deutschen und die Judenverfolgung 1933–1945* (Munich, 2006), 129ff.
59. International newspaper reports on German anti-Jewish policies were closely monitored by the SD. See the collection of press clippings in USHMM, RG 11.001 M, reel 9, folder 645.
60. Herbert Hagen, 'Bericht über die Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung in Wien', November 1938, as printed in Wildt (ed.), *Judenpolitik*, 193f.
61. Heydrich to Göring, 11 November 1938, in IfZ, Eich 1503.
62. Minutes of the meeting of 12 November 1938, in *IMT*, vol. 28, doc. 1816-PS, pp. 499ff.; on emigration figures, see Jonny Moser, 'Österreich', in Benz (ed.), *Dimension des Völkermords*, 67–93, here 68; Jacob Toury, 'Ein Auftakt zur "Endlösung". Judenaustreibungen über nichtslawische Reichsgrenzen 1933–1939', in Ursula Büttner, Werner Johe and Angelika Voss (eds), *Das Unrechtsregime. Internationale Forschung über den Nationalsozialismus* (Hamburg, 1986), vol. 2, 164–9.
63. Minutes of the meeting of 12 November 1938, in *IMT*, vol. 27, doc. 1816-PS, pp. 499ff.; see, too, Longerich, *Politik*, 208f.
64. Göring confirmed this at another meeting with regional party chiefs on 6 December 1938. See Göring's speech of 6 December 1938, as quoted in Götz Aly and Susanne Heim, 'Staatliche Ordnung und "organische Lösung". Die Rede Hermann Görings "Über die Judenfrage" vom 6. Dezember 1938', *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung* 2 (1992), 378–404, here 384. For Hitler's instructions following the November Pogrom see also Adam, *Judenpolitik*, 216ff.
65. Heydrich to Stapoleitstellen, 31 January 1939, in IfZ, Fa 183/1.
66. Heydrich to Ribbentrop, 30 January 1939, in IfZ, Eich 1368. See, too, Gabriele Anderl, 'Die "Zentralstellen für jüdische Auswanderung" in Wien, Berlin und Prag. Ein Vergleich', *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für Deutsche Geschichte* 23 (1994), 275–99.
67. Göring to Frick, 24 January 1939, in BAB, R 58/276, ff. 195f.; and Heydrich's circular letter of 11 February 1939, informing the ministries of the completion of preparations for the Reich Central Office, in, IfZ, MA 445, ff. 7828–9.
68. Wolf Gruner, 'Poverty and Persecution: The Reichsvereinigung, the Jewish Population, and anti-Jewish Policy in the Nazi State, 1939–1945', *Yad Vashem Studies* 27 (1999), 23–60; Esriel Hildesheimer, *Jüdische Selbstverwaltung unter dem NS-Regime. Der Existenzkampf der Reichsvertretung und Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland* (Tübingen, 1994), 79ff.
69. See Ulrich Herbert, 'Von der "Reichskristallnacht" zum "Holocaust": Der 9. November und das Ende des "Radauantisemitismus"', in idem, *Arbeit, Volkstum, Weltanschauung. Über Fremde und Deutsche im 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main, 1995), 59–77.
70. David Bankier, *The Germans and the Final Solution: Public Opinion under Nazism* (Oxford, 1992), 85ff.
71. Göring's speech of 6 December 1938, reprinted in Aly and Heim, 'Staatliche Ordnung', 395.

72. Helmuth Groscurth, *Tagebücher eines Abwehroffiziers 1938–1940*, ed. Helmut Krausnick and Harold C. Deutsch (Stuttgart, 1970), 162.
73. Adam, *Judenpolitik*, 213ff.
74. Minutes of the meeting of 12 November 1938, in *IMT*, vol. 27, doc. 1816-PS, pp. 499ff.; see, too, Adam, *Judenpolitik*, 210ff.
75. Minutes of the meeting of 12 November 1938, in *IMT*, vol. 27, doc. 1816-PS, pp. 499ff. An extended proposal for the marking, including five drafts of the marks, is to be found in USHMMA, RG 11.001 M, reel 9, folder 659. Karl A. Schleunes (ed.), *Legislating the Holocaust: The Bernhard Loesener Memoirs and Supporting Documents*, trans. Carol Scherer (Boulder, CO, 2001), 88ff. Göring communicated Hitler's decision against Heydrich's proposal during the Gauleiter meeting of 6 December 1938.
76. Strauss, 'Jewish Emigration', 313ff.; Arndt and Boberach, 'Deutsches Reich', 34.
77. On Czechoslovakia and the Sudeten German problem see Jürgen Tampke, *Czech–German Relations and the Politics of Central Europe: From Bohemia to the EU* (London, 2003), 25ff.; Mark Cornwall, '“A Leap into Ice-Cold Water”: The Manoeuvres of the Henlein Movement in Czechoslovakia, 1933–8', in idem and R. J. W. Evans (eds), *Czechoslovakia in a Nationalist and Fascist Europe, 1918–1948* (Oxford, 2007), 123–42; Jörg Kracik, *Die Politik des deutschen Aktivismus in der Tschechoslowakei 1920–1938* (Frankfurt am Main, 1999); Jörg K. Hoensch and Dušan Kováč (eds), *Das Scheitern der Verständigung. Tschechen, Deutsche und Slowaken in der Ersten Republik* (Essen, 1994); Kershaw, *Hitler: Nemesis*, 90f.
78. On the organization of the SD task forces and Gestapo units in the Protectorate, see 'Einsatz des SD im Falle CSR', June 1938, in *IMT*, vol. 39, doc. 509-USSR, pp. 537ff. On the arrest lists, see Tüchel and Schattenfroh, *Zentrale*, 127ff.; Herbert, *Best*, 235f.; Oldrich Sládek, 'Standrecht und Standgericht. Die Gestapo in Böhmen und Mähren', in Mallmann and Paul (eds), *Gestapo im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, 317–39.
79. Heydrich, 'Der Anteil der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD an den Ordnungsmaßnahmen im mitteleuropäischen Raum', *Böhmen und Mähren* 2 (1941), 176; and 'Einsatz des SD im Falle CSR'. Schellenberg added in a note that Heydrich had personally approved the composition of the *Einsatzgruppen*. On Stahlecker, see Jürgen Schuhladen-Krämer, 'Die Exekutoren des Terrors', in Michael Kissener and Joachim Scholtyseck (eds), *Die Führer der Provinz, NS-Biographien aus Baden und Württemberg* (Konstanz, 1997), 405–43.
80. Gerhard L. Weinberg, *Hitler's Foreign Policy 1933–1939: The Road to World War II* (New York, 2005), 699–777; Igor Lukeš and Eric Goldstein (eds), *The Munich Crisis, 1938: Prelude to World War II* (London, 1999).
81. Heydrich to Best, 22 September 1938, as quoted in Sládek, 'Standrecht', 319.
82. Volker Zimmermann, *Die Sudetendeutschen im NS-Staat. Politik und Stimmung der Bevölkerung im Reichsgau Sudetenland (1938–1945)* (Essen, 1999), 71ff.
83. 'Richtlinien für die Tätigkeit der Einsatzkommandos der Geheimen Staatspolizei in den sudetendeutschen Gebieten', BAB, R 58/291; on the Order Police, see Neufeld et al., *Ordnungspolizei*, 11.
84. Sládek, 'Standrecht', 317ff. On the Sudeten German Freikorps, see Werner Röhr, 'Das Sudetendeutsche Freikorps – Diversioninstrument der Hitler-Regierung bei der Zerschlagung der Tschechoslowakei', *Militärgeschichtliche Mitteilungen* 52 (1993), 35–66. Heydrich to Stapoleitstellen, 24 December 1938, in IfZ, Fa 183/1.
85. See Jan Gebhart, 'Migrace českého obyvatelstva v letech 1938–1939', *Český časopis Historický* 3 (1998), 561–73; Peter Heumos, *Die Emigration aus der Tschechoslowakei nach Westeuropa und dem Nahen Osten* (Munich, 1989), 21.
86. Evans, *Third Reich in Power*, 678f. Tampke, *Relations*, 57; Zimmermann, *Sudetenland*, 79ff.
87. Kershaw, *Hitler: Nemesis*, 164f. and 169; Evans, *Third Reich in Power*, 681.
88. Miroslav Kárný, 'Die Logik von München. Das Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren', in Dietrich Eichholtz and Kurt Pätzold (eds), *Der Weg in den Krieg* (Berlin, 1989), 279–308; Kershaw, *Hitler: Nemesis*, 157ff.; Evans, *Third Reich in Power*, 681.
89. Theodor Procházka, *The Second Republic: The Disintegration of Post-Munich Czechoslovakia, October 1938–March 1939* (Boulder, CO, 1981), 69. On Beneš, see Zeman, *Beneš*. On Hácha, see Tomáš Pasák, *Emil Hácha (1938–1945)* (Prague, 1997). On Slovakia, see Tatjana Tönsmeier, *Das Dritte Reich und die Slowakei 1939–1945. Politischer Alltag zwischen Kooperation und Eigensinn* (Paderborn, 2003).

90. *Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik*, series D, vol. 4, doc. 228; Donald Cameron Watt, *How War Came: The Immediate Origins of the Second World War, 1938–1939* (London, 1989), 141ff.; Weinberg, *Foreign Policy*, 465ff.
91. Mastny, *Czechs*, 45ff.; Bryant, *Prague*, 32ff.
92. George Kennan, as quoted in Bryant, *Prague*, 1.
93. 'Verordnung über den Aufbau der Verwaltung und der Deutschen Sicherheitspolizei im Protektorat', *Reichsgesetzblatt* 1939, I, 1682f.; the RSHA draft of this document in IfZ, MA 433, ff. 728354f.; Sládek, 'Standrecht', 323ff.; Helmut Krausnick, 'Die Einsatzgruppen vom Anschluss Österreichs bis zum Feldzug gegen die Sowjetunion. Entwicklung und Verhältnis zur Wehrmacht', in idem and Hans-Heinrich Wilhelm, *Die Truppe des Weltanschauungskrieges. Die Einsatzgruppen der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD, 1938–1942* (Stuttgart, 1981), 13–278, here 25f.; Brandes, *Tschechen*, vol. 1, 37f.
94. Heydrich during the meeting with his senior staff and Einsatzgruppen commanders in Berlin, 27 September 1939, in IfZ, Eich 983. See, too, the internal RSHA report on Communist activities inside and outside the Soviet Union since August 1939, 20 August 1940, in BAB, R 58/18.
95. 'Vermerk aus dem Sicherheitshauptamt', 22 April 1939, in BAB DH (Dahlwitz-Hoppegarten), ZR 521 A9, ff. 36/7–9. See, too, Dorothee Weitbrecht, 'Ermächtigung zur Vernichtung. Die Einsatzgruppen in Polen im Herbst 1939', in Klaus-Michael Mallmann and Bogdan Musial (eds), *Genesis des Genozids. Polen 1939–1941* (Darmstadt, 2004), 57–70, here 57; Wildt, *Generation*, 421f.; Klaus-Michael Mallmann, Jochen Böhrer and Jürgen Matthäus, *Einsatzgruppen in Polen. Darstellung und Dokumentation* (Darmstadt, 2008), 15.
96. Wildt, *Generation*, 422. Figure according to Wodzimierz Borodziej, *Terror und Politik. Die deutsche Polizei und die polnische Widerstandsbewegung im Generalgouvernement 1939–1944* (Mainz, 1999), 29; and Dorothee Weitbrecht, *Der Exekutionsauftrag der Einsatzgruppen in Polen* (Filderstadt, 2001), 9.
97. On the recurrent theme of Germany's medieval drive to the East in Hitler's speeches and writings, see Neil Gregor, 'Hitler', in Casey and Wright (eds), *Mental Maps*, 177–202.
98. See the extensive video coverage in BAB Filmarchiv (Berlin), DW 615/26/1942.
99. Mallmann et al., *Einsatzgruppen*, 16.
100. See Helmut Knochen's protocol of the meeting, in BAB DH, ZR 512 A9, ff. 36/10–12. See, too, Krausnick and Wilhelm, *Truppe*, 33 and 41, n. 52.
101. Schellenberg to Jost, 22 July 1939, in ÜSHMMA, RG 11.001 M.01, reel 1, folder 20.
102. Michael Wildt, 'Das Reichssicherheitshauptamt. Radikalisierung und Selbstradikalisierung einer Institution', *Mittelweg* 36 (1998), 33–40, here 22; Evans, *Third Reich at War*, 17.
103. See Keitel's post-war testimony of 29 March 1946, in *IMT*, vol. 10, 376ff. (doc. Keitel-12), here 378; see, too, Christian Hartmann and Sergej Slutsch, 'Franz Halder und die Kriegsvorbereitungen im Frühjahr 1939. Eine Ansprache des Generalstabschefs des Heeres', *VfZ* 45 (1997), 467–95, here 493.
104. Eduard Wagner, *Der Generalquartiermeister. Briefe und Tagebuchaufzeichnungen des Generalquartiermeisters des Heeres General der Artillerie Eduard Wagner*, ed. Elisabeth Wagner (Munich and Vienna, 1963), 103.
105. 'Richtlinien für den auswärtigen Einsatz der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD, 31 July 1939', BAB, R 58/241, f. 169; see, too, Mallmann et al., *Einsatzgruppen*, 16; Wildt, *Generation*, 426.
106. 'Richtlinien', BAB, R 58/241.
107. On this, see, too, Wildt, *Generation*, 427.
108. 'Richtlinien', BAB, R 58/241, ff. 169–71.
109. Hitler's speech of 22 August 1939, in *Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik*, series D, vol. 7, 172; see, too, Kershaw, *Hitler: Nemesis*, 208f.
110. Hans-Adolf Jacobsen (ed.), *Generaloberst Halder: Kriegstagebuch*, vol. 1: *Vom Polenfeldzug bis zum Ende der Westoffensive* (Stuttgart, 1962), 44; Wildt, *Generation*, 427.
111. Heydrich to Daluge, 2 July 1940, in BAB, R 19/395; see the commentary by Helmut Krausnick, 'Hitler und die Morde in Polen. Ein Beitrag zum Konflikt zwischen Heer und SS um die Verwaltung der besetzten Gebiete', *VfZ* 11 (1963), 196–209, here 207.
112. Testimonies of Lothar Beutel (20 July 1965) and Ernst Gerke (2 November 1966) in Bundesarchiv Ludwigsburg, B 162/Vorl. Dok. Slg. Einsatzgruppen in Polen II; Beutel's

- testimony is reprinted in Mallmann et al., *Einsatzgruppen*, 121f. See, too, Wetbrecht, 'Ermächtigung', 59ff.
113. Hitler's speech of 22 August 1939, in *Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik*, series D, vol. 7, 172; post-war testimony of Emanuel Schäfer, 13 June 1952, in IfZ, ZS 573; Longerich, *Himmler*, 490ff.
 114. Post-war testimony of Erwin Lahousen, 6 June 1950, in IfZ, ZS 658. See, too, Alfred Spiess and Heiner Lichtenstein, *Unternehmen Tannenberg. Der Anlass zum Zweiten Weltkrieg* (2nd rev. edn, Frankfurt am Main and Berlin, 1989), 26ff., quotation on p. 30. See, too, Jürgen Runzheimer, 'Die Grenzzwischenfälle am Abend vor dem Angriff auf Polen', in Wolfgang Benz and Hermann Graml (eds), *Sommer 1939. Die Grossmächte und der Europäische Krieg* (Stuttgart, 1979), 107–47; Höhne, *Orden*, 240ff.; post-war testimony of Alfred Naujocks, 19 November 1945, in *IMT*, vol. 31, doc. 2751-PS, pp. 90ff. Hitler's Reichstag speech of 1 September 1939 in Adolf Hitler, *Reden und Proklamationen*, ed. Max Domarus, 2 vols (Würzburg, 1962–3), vol. 2, 1312ff., quotation on p. 1315.
 115. Reinhard Heydrich to Lina Heydrich, 1 September 1939, in IfZ, Ed 450; see, too, Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 119.
 116. Browning, *Origins*, 12ff.

Chapter VI: Experiments with Mass Murder

1. A detailed account of the military campaign is provided by Horst Rohde, 'Hitler's First Blitzkrieg and its Consequences for North-Eastern Europe', in Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt (ed.), *Germany and the Second World War*, 10 vols (Oxford 1990–), vol. 2, 67–150.
2. The activities of the SS task forces in Poland are recorded in the daily 'Tannenberg reports' (forty-five in total), which were submitted to Heydrich by the Security Police commanders in the field. Their usefulness as historical evidence is, however, undermined by the subsequent alterations made to these reports as well as by the coded language used to describe mass killings. See the reports in BAB, R 58/1082. See, too, Mallmann et al., *Einsatzgruppen*, 116ff.; Wildt, *Generation*, 481; Czesław Madajczyk, *Die Okkupationspolitik Nazideutschlands in Polen 1939–1945* (Cologne, 1988), 14ff., 186ff.
3. 'Protokoll der Amtschefbesprechung', 7 September 1939, in BAB, R 58/825, and 'Protokoll der Amtschefbesprechung', 14 October 1939, in BAB, R 58/825.
4. The lower figure is quoted in Christian Jansen and Arno Weckbecker, *Der 'Volksdeutsche Selbstschutz' in Polen 1939/40* (Munich, 1992), 28; the higher figure is quoted in Browning, *Origins*, 31.
5. Wagner, *Generalquartiermeister*, 123; Jacobsen, *Halder: Kriegstagebuch*, vol. 1, 57 and 62. See, too, Mallmann et al., *Einsatzgruppen*, 18.
6. Włodzimierz Jastrzębski, *Der Bromberger Blutsonntag. Legende und Wirklichkeit* (Poznań, 1990); Weitbrecht, 'Ermächtigung', 61; Wildt, *Generation*, 438ff.
7. See Alexander B. Rossino, 'Nazi Anti-Jewish Policy during the Polish Campaign: The Case of the Einsatzgruppe von Woyrsch', *German Studies Review* 24 (2001), 35–53; idem, *Hitler Strikes Poland: Blitzkrieg, Ideology and Atrocity* (Lawrence, KS, 2003), 77 and 159; Weitbrecht, 'Ermächtigung', 60; Mallmann et al., *Einsatzgruppen*, 19; Wildt, *Generation*, 433ff. and 448; Tannenberg report of 11 September 1939, BAB, R 58/1082, ff. 51f.; Edward B. Westermann, *Hitler's Police Battalions: Enforcing Racial War in the East* (Lawrence, KS, 2005), 127ff; Longerich, *Himmler*, 445.
8. Heydrich to all departmental heads of Sipo and SD, 1 September 1939, Yad Vashem Archives, 97-210-FI; Wildt, *Generation*, 452; Mallmann et al., *Einsatzgruppen*, 54 and 59. Heydrich's own report about his experiences in Poland to departmental heads of the RSHA on 14 September is very vague. See the transcript of the meeting in BAB, R 58/825.
9. See Streckenbach's post-war testimony of 25 November 1966, in BA Ludwigsburg, 201 AR-Z 76/59, vol. 2, p. 42. See, too, the post-war testimony of Jakub Gasecki (a former resident in Dynów), in BA Ludwigsburg, B 162/Vorl. AR-Z 302/67, vol. 3., ff. 498f., partly reprinted in Mallmann et al., *Einsatzgruppen*, doc. 27, pp. 133f.; see, too, Rossino, *Poland*, 88ff.; Jacobsen, *Halder: Kriegstagebuch*, vol. 1, 67 (10 September 1939).

10. Heydrich to Daluge, 2 July 1940, in BAB, R 19/395. See, too, Mallmann et al., *Einsatzgruppen*, 59.
11. Wildt, *Generation*, 444ff.; Weitbrecht, 'Ermächtigung', 61; Rossino, *Poland*, 69ff.
12. Browning, *Origins*, 29; Hans Umbreit, *Deutsche Militärverwaltungen 1938/39. Die militärische Besetzung der Tschechoslowakei und Polens* (Stuttgart, 1977), 166. According to Wodzimierz Borodziej, 30,000 people were killed in Danzig-West Prussia, 10,000 in the Wartheland, 1,500 in Eastern Upper Silesia and 1,000 in the Zichenau district. See Borodziej, *Terror*, 29. No concrete figures have been established for how many of these victims were killed by the task forces as opposed to the Selbstschutz. See Mallmann et al., *Einsatzgruppen*, 87f. See, too, Volker Riess, *Die Anfänge der Vernichtung 'lebensunwerten Lebens' in den Reichsgauen Danzig-Westpreussen und Wartheland 1939/40* (Frankfurt am Main, 1995), 173ff.
13. On the Selbstschutz: Christian Jansen and Arno Weckbecker, 'Eine Miliz im "Weltanschauungskrieg". Der "Volksdeutsche Selbstschutz" in Polen 1939/40', in Wolfgang Michalka (ed.), *Der Zweite Weltkrieg. Analysen, Grundzüge, Forschungsbilanz* (Weyarn, 1997), 482–500. On the participation of ordinary Wehrmacht soldiers in the atrocities, see Joachim Böhler, *Auftakt zum Vernichtungskrieg. Die Wehrmacht in Polen 1939* (Frankfurt am Main, 2006); Rossino, *Poland*, 90f. and 99. On Alvensleben, see BAB, BDC, SSO Alvensleben; see, too, Dieter Schenk, *Hitlers Mann in Danzig. Albert Forster und die NS-Verbrechen in Danzig-Westpreussen* (Bonn, 2000), 157, n. 12.
14. Heydrich to Daluge, 2 July 1940, BAB, R 19/395; Müller to Eicke, 10 October 1939, informing Eicke that Heydrich was investigating incidents of plunder in Wloclawek, in USHMMA, RG 48.004 M, reel 3, folder 300041. See, too, Rossino, *Poland*, 102; Mallmann et al., *Einsatzgruppen*, 59.
15. Heydrich shared this attitude with Himmler, who, in his infamous Posen speech of 4 October 1943, explicitly threatened personal enrichment from Jewish property with the death penalty – an almost absurd twist of logic in light of the mass theft organized by the Nazi state. For Himmler's speech, see *IMT*, vol. 29, doc. 1919-PS, pp. 110–73, here p. 146.
16. Groscurth's diary entry of 8 September 1939, in Groscurth, *Tagebücher*, 201. Heydrich repeated the same sentiments in a conversation with Eduard Wagner some days later. See Jacobsen, *Halder: Kriegstagebuch*, vol. 1, 79 (19 September 1939).
17. Groscurth, *Tagebücher*, 201f.
18. 'Vermerk Oberstleutnant Lahousen vom 14.9.1939. Besprechung im Führerzug in Illnau am 12.9.1939', in IfZ, Nbg. Dok. PS-3047.
19. *Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik*, series D, vol. 7, doc. 193. On Hitler's response to the massacres of ethnic Germans, see Kershaw, *Hitler: Hubris*, 242.
20. OKH to AOK 4, 11 September 1939 as quoted in Krausnick and Wilhelm, *Truppe des Weltanschauungskrieges*, 33 and 57; Böhler, *Auftakt*, 205ff. See, too, Groscurth, *Tagebücher*, 360.
21. Brauchitsch to army commanders, 18 September 1939, Bundesarchiv Militärarchiv (Freiburg), RH 1/58; Groscurth, *Tagebücher*, 206.
22. Wagner, *Generalquartiermeister*, 134; Jacobsen, *Halder: Kriegstagebuch*, vol. 1, 79 (19 September 1939).
23. BAB, R 58/825.
24. Jacobsen, *Halder: Kriegstagebuch*, vol. 1, 82 (20 September 1939); Brauchitsch's order 'Tätigkeit und Aufgaben der Polizei-EG im Operationsgebiet' of 21 September 1939, in BA-MA, RH 20-14/178.
25. Groscurth, *Tagebücher*, 361–2; BA Ludwigsburg, 'Einsatzgruppen in Polen', vol. 1, 129ff.; see, too, Browning, *Origins*, 19.
26. Groscurth, *Tagebücher*, 209 and 362; Wagner, *Generalquartiermeister*, 135.
27. Protocol of the RSHA meeting of departmental heads and task-force commanders in September, in IfZ, Eich 983; see, too, Wildt, *Generation*, 460; Rossino, *Poland*, 118. Heydrich's order appears to have been a direct result of a meeting between Himmler and Brauchitsch earlier that day. See Mallmann et al., *Einsatzgruppen*, 64.
28. Blaskowitz to OKH, 27 November 1939, as quoted in Kershaw, *Hitler*, vol. 2, 342. Similar complaints were made by General Walter Petzel, General Wilhelm Ulex and Lieutenant General Fedor von Bock; see Evans, *Third Reich at War*, 25f. See, too, Krausnick, 'Einsatzgruppen', 80ff.

29. Browning, *Origins*, 17; Catherine Epstein, *Model Nazi: Arthur Greiser and the Occupation of Western Poland* (Oxford, 2010), 124ff.; Umbreit, *Militärverwaltungen*, 154f.; Rossino, *Poland*, 116f.; Gerhard Engel, *At the Heart of the Reich: The Secret Diary of Hitler's Army Adjutant* (London, 2005), 79 (entries for 15 October and 18 November 1939). On army jurisdiction, see Heydrich's comments during the RSHA meeting of 21 September, in BAB, R 58/825. Martin Broszat, *Nationalsozialistische Polenpolitik (1939–1945)* (Stuttgart, 1961), 34f.
30. 'Protokoll der Amtschefbesprechung', 7 September 1939, in BAB, R 58/825. Similar sentiments were expressed in Himmler's memorandum on the 'treatment of alien peoples in the East' which he submitted to an approving Hitler in the spring of 1940. See *VfZ* 5 (1957), 195ff.
31. 'Protokoll der Amtschefbesprechung', 21 September 1939, in BAB, R 58/825, and 29 September 1939, in *IfZ*, Eich 983. Hitler referred to the idea of an Eastern Wall in a conversation with Rosenberg one week later. See Hans-Günther Seraphim (ed.), *Das politische Tagebuch Alfred Rosenbergs 1934/35 und 1939/40* (Munich, 1956), 98.
32. 'Protokolle der Amtschefbesprechung', 29 September, 3 October, 10 October and 14 October 1939, all in BAB, R 58/825. The term 'unweaving' was coined by Bloxham, *Final Solution*, 59ff.
33. 'Protokoll der Amtschefbesprechung', 21 September 1939, in BAB, R 58/825; 'Rundbrief Heydrich an Chef der Zivilverwaltung in Polen und Einsatzgruppen', 30 September 1939, in *IfZ*, MA 682, ff. 797f.
34. *Verhandlungen des Reichstages*, vol. 460, 51ff.
35. 'Erlass des Führers und Reichskanzlers zur Festigung des deutschen Volkstums', in *IMT*, vol. 26, doc. 686-PS, pp. 255f.; see, too, Phillip Terrell Rutherford, *Prelude to the Final Solution: The Nazi Program for Deporting Ethnic Poles 1939–1941* (Lawrence, KS, 2007), 55. Heydrich had already announced Himmler's imminent appointment as RKFDV to his departmental heads and the *Einsatzgruppen* commanders on 21 September. See 'Protokoll der Amtschefbesprechung', 21 September 1939, in BAB, R 58/825.
36. Heydrich's order of 13 October 1939 and 22 December 1939, in USHMMA, RG 15.007 M, 8/101/13; see, too, Heinemann, *Rasse*, 195ff. and 232ff.; and Aly and Heim, *Vordenker*, 152.
37. A good general discussion of these themes can be found in Bloxham, *Final Solution*, 58ff.
38. 'Protokoll der Amtschefbesprechung', 14 October 1939, in BAB, R 58/825.
39. Jansen, 'Selbstschutz', 154ff., 212ff.; Browning, *Origins*, 32ff.
40. Friedländer, *Extermination*, 40.
41. *Verhandlungen des Reichstages*, vol. 460, 51ff.
42. Bogdan Musial, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung und Judenverfolgung im Generalgouvernement. Eine Fallstudie zum Distrikt Lublin 1939–1944* (Wiesbaden, 1999), 183ff.; Rossino, *Poland*, 88ff.
43. Longerich, *Politik*, 224 and 251f.; Browning, *Origins*, 12.
44. 'Protokoll der Amtschefbesprechung', 7 September 1939, in BAB, R 58/825; and order to Stapoleitstellen in the Reich, 8 September 1939, in *IfZ*, Eich 1633.
45. 'Protokoll der Amtschefbesprechung', 14 September 1939, in BAB, R 58/825.
46. 'Protokoll der Sitzung des Ministerrats für die Reichsverteidigung', 19 September 1939, in *IMT*, vol. 31, 230–2. See, too, Wildt, *Generation*, 457.
47. Broszat, *Polenpolitik*, 20.
48. 'Protokoll der Amtschefbesprechung', 21 September 1939, in BAB, R 58/825.
49. Heydrich's courier letter of 21 September 1939, in BAB, R 58/276. See, too, Broszat, *Polenpolitik*, 21f.; Dan Michman, 'Why Did Heydrich Write the "Schnellbrief"? A Remark on the Reason and on its Significance', *Yad Vashem Studies* 32 (2004), 433–47; Browning, *Origins*, 111f.
50. Heydrich's courier letter of 21 September 1939, in BAB, R 58/276; see, too, Michman, 'Schnellbrief'; Hans Mommsen, *Auschwitz: 17. Juli 1942* (Munich, 2002), 97.
51. Protocol of the RSHA Amtsleiter and task-force commander meeting of 29 September 1939, in *IfZ*, Eich 983. See, too, Longerich, *Himmler*, 456.
52. Heydrich's courier letter to all *Einsatzgruppen* commanders, 21 September 1939, in BAB, R 58/276. Heydrich told Brauchitsch on 22 September that the area around Kraków had been chosen as the location for the future 'Jewish state'. See Groscurth, *Tagebücher*, 361.
53. Heydrich to Brauchitsch, in Groscurth, *Tagebücher*, 361f.
54. Rutherford, *Prelude*, 258.

55. 'Protokoll der Amtschefbesprechung', 29 September 1939, in BAB, R 58/825.
56. Rosenberg, *Tagebuch*, 98.
57. Mallmann et al., *Einsatzgruppen*, 63f.
58. Wildt, *Generation*, 464f.
59. Browning, *Origins*, 27; Mallmann et al., *Einsatzgruppen*, 64.
60. Schnellbrief, 30 September 1939, in BAB, R 58/276.
61. 'Protokoll der Einsatzgruppenleitertagung', 3 October 1939, in BAB, R 58/825; see, too, Mallmann et al., *Einsatzgruppen*, 64.
62. Müller to Eichmann, 6 October 1939, Akten der Gestapo Mährisch-Ostrau, Yad Vashem Archives, 0–53/93/283. See, too, Seev Goshen, 'Eichmann und die Nisko-Aktion im Oktober 1939. Eine Fallstudie zur NS-Judenpolitik in der letzten Etappe vor der Endlösung', *VfZ* 29 (1981), 74–96; Longerich, *Politik*, 256ff.; Wildt, *Generation*, 468ff.; Cesarani, *Eichmann*, 78.
63. On Eichmann's conversation with Wagner see Longerich, *Himmler*, 456–7; on Eichmann's conversation with Bürckel's Jewish expert, Becker, on 7 October 1939, see Longerich, *Politik*, 257.
64. On the 'Nisko project', see Miroslav Kárný, 'Nisko in der Geschichte der Endlösung', *Judaica Bohemiae* 23 (1987), 69–84; Goshen, 'Nisko-Aktion', 74ff.; Jonny Moser, 'Nisko: The First Experiment in Deportation', *Simon Wiesenthal Center Annual* 2 (1985), 1–30; Ludmila Nesládková (ed.), *The Case Nisko in the History of the Final Solution of the Jewish Problem* (Ostrava, 1995).
65. Goshen, 'Nisko-Aktion', 89ff.; Safrian, *Eichmann-Männer*, 77ff.; see, too, Lukáš Příbye, 'Das Schicksal des dritten Transports aus dem Protektorat nach Nisko', *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente* 7 (2000), 297–342.
66. Browning, *Origins*, 40f.
67. Longerich, *Himmler*, 457.
68. 'Fernschreiben SD-Hauptamt an Sipo und SD Donau, Mährisch-Ostrau vom 19.10.1939', Yad Vashem Archives, 053/87. See, too, Himmler's letter to Bürckel of 9 November 1939, as quoted in Gerhard Botz, *Wohnungspolitik und Juden deportation in Wien 1928–1945* (Vienna, 1975), 196. See, too, Longerich, *Politik*, 259.
69. Wildt, *Generation*, 471, n. 176.
70. Browning, *Origins*, 42.
71. Heydrich to the HSSPF in Krakau (Krüger) and Posen (Koppe) and to the Sipo commanders in both districts (Streckenbach and Damzog), 28 November 1939, in DÖW, 21732/62.
72. Although no copy of the finalized 'long-term plan' seems to have survived the war, an undated draft can be found in BAB, R 69/1146.
73. Heydrich to Sipo Krakau, Breslau, Posen, Danzig and Königsberg, 21 December 1939, in BAB, R 58/276.
74. '2. Nahplan', 21 December 1939, USHMMA, RG 15.015 M, 2/97/1–7. See, too, Götz Aly, *'Final Solution': Nazi Population Policy and the Murder of the European Jews* (London and New York, 1999), 73ff.; Longerich, *Politik*, 266.
75. Protocol of the meeting with representatives of the General Government in Berlin of 8 January 1940, in IFZ, MA 225; BAB, R 58/1032, protocol of the RSHA meeting of 30 January 1940. See, too, Browning, *Origins*, 59–60.
76. Longerich, *Himmler*, 461; Aly, *'Final Solution'*, 157; Sybille Steinbacher, *'Musterstadt' Auschwitz. Germanisierungspolitik und Judenmord in Ostoberschlesien* (Munich, 2000), 133f.
77. On the problems of implementing the short-term plan, see the report of Albert Rapp, head of the UWZ in Posen, 26 January 1940, in DÖW, 21732/62.
78. Adam, *Judenpolitik*, 254; Longerich, *Politik*, S. 267.
79. RSHA order of 24 April 1940, as quoted in Hans Günther Adler, *Der Verwaltete Mensch. Studien zur Deportation der Juden aus Deutschland* (Tübingen, 1974), 27.
80. See, for example, Reinhard Heydrich, 'Kripo und Gestapo', in *Düsseldorfer Nachrichten*, 29 January 1939; Timothy W. Mason, 'Die Erbschaft der Novemberrevolution für den Nationalsozialismus', in idem, *Sozialpolitik im Dritten Reich. Arbeiterklasse und Volksgemeinschaft* (Opladen, 1977), 15–41, here 21.
81. Heydrich to all Security Police Head Offices, 3 September 1939 ('Grundsätze der inneren Staatssicherung während des Krieges'), in IFZ, MA 444/2.

82. Ibid.
83. See Himmler's official order for the creation of the RSHA of 27 September 1939, in BAB, R 58/240, ff. 1f. On the RSHA more generally, see Wildt, *Generation*, 283ff.; and idem, 'Reichssicherheitshauptamt', 33ff.
84. Wildt, *Generation*, 259ff.; Banach, *Elite*, 287ff.
85. Wildt, *Generation*, 263f.
86. 'Vermerk Schellenberg', 5 July 1938, in BAB, R 58/827, ff. 13–17. See, too, Dierker, *Glaubenskrieger*, 318; Banach, *Elite*, 288; Wildt, *Generation*, 264.
87. Memorandum Schellenberg 'Reorganisation des Sicherheitsdienstes des Reichsführers SS im Hinblick auf eine organisatorische und personelle Angleichung mit der Sicherheitspolizei', 24 February 1939, in BAB, R 58/8262–30; memorandum Schellenberg 'Laufbahnrichtlinien und Dienstanweisung für die Inspekture der Sicherheitspolizei', 22 February 1939, in BAB, R 58/826, ff. 31–40; memorandum Ploetz 'Die Laufbahnen im Sicherheitsdienst', in BAB, R 58/827, ff. 27–40; see, too, Dierker, *Glaubenskrieger*, 318f.; Wildt, *Generation*, 267.
88. Memorandum Best 'Grundzüge der Ausbildung und der Laufbahn der Führer (leitenden Beamten) der Deutschen Sicherheitspolizei', 1 March 1939, in BAB, R 58/827, ff. 53ff.; see, too, Banach, *Elite*, 291; Wildt, *Generation*, 269f.; Dierker, *Glaubenskrieger*, 320.
89. Wildt, *Generation*, 270.
90. Heydrich to Daluge, 30 October 1941, in IfZ, MA 325/8591. See, too, Wilhelm, *Polizei*, 170.
91. Michael Wildt, 'Radikalisierung und Selbstradikalisierung 1939. Die Geburt des Reichssicherheitshauptamtes aus dem Geist des völkischen Massenmordes', in Paul and Mallmann (eds), *Gestapo im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, 11–41, here 15.
92. See BAB, R 58/826: 'Vermerk Schellenberg vom 4. April 1939'; BAB, R 58/137: 'Besprechung bei Heydrich am 15. April 1939 betr. Neugestaltung von Sipo und SD'; BAB, R 58/137: 'Vermerk Schellenberg vom 25. April 1939 betr. Kritik an Bests Position'; BAB, R 58/826: 'Runderlass Heydrichs vom 5. Juli 1939'; see, too, Wildt, *Generation*, 265; Dierker, *Glaubenskrieger*, 318.
93. Werner Best, 'Apologie des Juristen', *Deutsches Recht* 9 (1939), 196–9; idem, 'Der "politischste" Beruf', *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 12 April 1939; on this, see in greater detail Herbert, *Best*, 231ff. Heydrich held back Schellenberg's aggressive response because he was concerned about his apparatus's public image. See Schellenberg's comments on Best's articles in BAB, R 58/827, ff. 111f.; Banach, *Elite*, 292.
94. Statement on Heydrich by Dr Werner Best, 1 October 1959, in Copenhagen, in IfZ, ZS 207/2; see, too, Wildt, *Generation*, 93; Wilhelm, *Polizei*, 121; Herbert, *Best*, 228ff.
95. Heydrich's order of 5 July 1939, in BAB, R 58/826; Himmler's order of 27 September 1939, in BAB, R 58/240, p. 1. See, too, Reinhard Rürup, *Topographie des Terrors. Gestapo, SS und Reichssicherheitshauptamt auf dem Prinz-Albrecht-Gelände. Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin, 1987), 71; Gerhard Paul, "'Kämpfende Verwaltung". Das Amt IV des Reichssicherheitshauptamtes als Führungsinstanz der Gestapo', in idem and Mallmann (eds), *Gestapo im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, 42–81, here 47.
96. Hachmeister, *Gegnerforscher*; Dierker, *Glaubenskrieger*, 331ff.; Wildt, *Generation*, 364ff.; Banach, *Elite*, 366f.
97. Wilhelm, *Polizei*, 119f.; Wildt, *Generation*, 378ff.; Heinz Boberach (ed.), *Meldungen aus dem Reich 1938–1945. Die geheimen Lageberichte des Sicherheitsdienstes der SS*, 18 vols (Herrsching, 1984–5).
98. Wildt, *Generation*, 335ff. and 352ff.; Paul, "'Kämpfende Verwaltung'", 42ff.
99. Patrick Wagner, *Hitlers Kriminalisten. Die deutsche Kriminalpolizei und der Nationalsozialismus* (Munich, 2002), 76; Wildt, *Generation*, 301ff.
100. Thorsten J. Querg, *Spionage und terror. Das Amt VI des Reichssicherheitshauptamtes 1939–1945*. Phil. Diss., Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin, 1997., 165 and 183ff.; Wildt, *Generation*, 391ff.; Schellenberg, *Labyrinth*, 41.
101. Heydrich's order 'Entlastung der Geheimen Staatspolizei', 31 September 1939, in BAB, R 58/239; see, too, Wagner, *Volksgemeinschaft*, 330ff.
102. Tuchel, 'Gestapa', 97.
103. Michael Wildt, 'The Spirit of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA)', *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 6 (2005), 333–49. Heydrich used the term 'fighting

- administration' in a speech in Prague in September 1941. See Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, 108.
104. Wildt, *Generation*, 209ff. and 230ff.; Paul, "Kämpfende Verwaltung", 46. Quotation from Heydrich's speech on the occasion of the 1941 Day of the German Police, as printed in *Völkischer Beobachter*, 17 February 1941.
 105. On Elser's assassination attempt, see Anton Hoch and Lothar Gruchmann, *Georg Elser. Der Attentäter aus dem Volke. Der Anschlag auf Hitler im Münchner Bürgerbräu 1939* (Frankfurt, 1980); Roger Moorhouse, *Killing Hitler: The Third Reich and the Plots against the Führer* (London, 2006), 36ff.; RSHA directive, 9 November 1939, in USHMM, RG 11.001 M.01, reel 13/21; Longerich, *Himmler*, S. 488f.
 106. See the post-war account of Dr Albrecht Böhme, head of the Bavarian Criminal Police at the time of Elser's assassination attempt, in IfZ, ZS 1939.
 107. Schellenberg, *Labyrinth*, 82ff.; Höhne, *Orden*, 263ff.; Querg, *Spionage*, 224ff.; Wildt, *Generation*, 399f.; see, too, the post-war testimony of Walter Huppenkothen (Reg. Dir. RSHA/IV), in IfZ, ZS 249, ff. 16f.
 108. Orth, *System*, 97ff.
 109. Orth, *System*, 37ff., 86ff. and 109ff.
 110. Heydrich's order of 2 January 1941, in IfZ, PS-1063; on Mauthausen, see Orth, *System*, 86f.
 111. Heydrich to Frick, 4 October 1939, in IfZ, MA 145/1; on the context, Nikolaus Wachsmann, *Hitler's Prisons: Legal Terror in Nazi Germany* (New Haven and London, 2004), 194ff. and 394f.
 112. Himmler to Heydrich, 16 January 1942, in BAB, NS 19/219. On the persecution of 'deviant youths', see, too, Alfons Kenmann, 'Störfaktor and der "Heimatfront"'. Jugendliche Nonkonformität und die Gestapo', in Mallmann and Paul (eds), *Gestapo im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, 179–200.
 113. Heydrich to all Security Police Head Offices, 3 September 1939 ('Grundsätze der inneren Staatssicherung während des Krieges'), in IfZ, MA 444/2. The first written usage of the word *Sonderbehandlung* can be found in Heydrich's order of 20 September 1939, in BAB, R 58/243. See, too, Gerd Wýsocki, 'Lizenz zum Töten. Die "Sonderbehandlungs"-Praxis der Stapo-Stelle Braunschweig', in Paul and Mallmann (eds), *Gestapo im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, 237–54.
 114. Heydrich to Lammers, 22 January 1940, in National Archives, Kew, GFM 33/4830; Heydrich to all Stapoleitstellen, 5 February 1940 and 12 March 1940, DÖW 20752/93b.
 115. Ulrich Herbert, *Hitler's Foreign Workers: Enforced Foreign Labor in Germany under the Third Reich* (Cambridge and New York, 1997), 87ff.
 116. Heydrich's order of 12 September 1939, in Walk (ed.), *Sonderrecht*, IV/2. On Heydrich's order of 21 September 1939, see Adam, *Judenpolitik*, 260; Barkai, *Boycott*, 183ff.; Walk (ed.), *Sonderrecht*, 303ff.; Wildt, *Generation*, 132ff. and 153ff.
 117. On T4, see Götz Aly (ed.), *Aktion T4 1939–1945. Die 'Euthanasie'-Zentrale in der Tiergartenstrasse 4* (2nd edn, Berlin, 1989); Ulf Schmidt, 'Reassessing the Beginning of the "Euthanasia" Programme', *German History* 17 (1999), 543–50. Aly, 'Final Solution', 70ff.; Eugen Kogon, Hermann Langbein and Adalbert Rückert, *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas* (Frankfurt, 1983), 62ff.; Heike Bernhardt, "'Euthanasie" und Kriegsbeginn. Die frühen Morde an Patienten aus Pommern', *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 9 (1996), 773–88; Henry Friedländer, *The Origins of Nazi Genocide. From Euthanasia to the Final Solution* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1995); Michael Burleigh, *Death and Deliverance: 'Euthanasia' in Germany, c.1900–1945* (Cambridge, 1994); Hans-Walter Schmuhl, *Rassenhygiene, Nationalsozialismus, Euthanasie. Von der Verhütung zur Vernichtung 'lebensunwerten Lebens' 1890–1945* (Göttingen, 1987), 190ff.
 118. Heydrich's order of 1 March 1939 in *Mitteilungsblatt des Reichskriminalamtes* 2/4 (April 1939), 58–61; see, too, Guenter Lewy, *The Nazi Persecution of the Gypsies* (Oxford, 2001), particularly 54.
 119. See Heydrich's orders of 17 October 1939 and 27 April 1940, in IfZ, Fa 506/3; see, too, Michael Zimmermann, *Rassenutopie und Genozid. Die nationalsozialistische 'Lösung der Zigeunerfrage'* (Hamburg, 1996); Sybil H. Milton, "'Gypsies" as Social Outsiders in Nazi Germany', in Robert Gellately and Nathan Stoltzfus (eds), *Social Outsiders in Nazi Germany* (Princeton, NJ, 2001), 212–32.

Chapter VII: At War with the World

1. Hans-Martin Ottmer, *'Weserübung'. Der deutsche Angriff auf Dänemark und Norwegen im April 1940* (Munich, 1994); Richard J. Evans, *The Third Reich at War* (London, 2008), 117ff. See, too, Hans-Dietrich Looock, *Quisling, Rosenberg und Terboven. Zur Vorgeschichte und Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Revolution in Norwegen* (Stuttgart, 1970), 277ff.; Robert Bohn, *Reichskommissariat Norwegen. 'Nationalsozialistische Neuordnung' und Kriegswirtschaft* (Munich, 2000), 31ff.
2. Hitler's decision in favour of a military occupation regime in Western Europe was noted with relief by the Army High Command: BA-MA, RW 4/v. 581 ('Vortragsnotiz OKW', 20 January 1940), See, too, Bernhard R. Kroener, Rolf-Dieter Müller and Hans Umbreit, *Das Deutsche Reich und der Zweite Weltkrieg*, vol. 5/1: *Kriegsverwaltung, Wirtschaft, und personelle Ressourcen* (Stuttgart, 1988), 57, n. 178.
3. Heydrich to Daluge, 2 July 1940, in BAB, R 19/395.
4. 'Aktenvermerk über Besprechung bei Amtschef I', 2 April 1940, in BAB DH, ZR 277, ff. 8–9. Less than a week earlier, on 26 and 28 March, Heydrich had approved the formation of two *Einsatzkommandos*, one for the Netherlands and one for Belgium. He also ordered that no internal SD or Sipo documents should be passed on to the Wehrmacht. See IfZ (Munich), FA-228/2, ff. 205f.
5. See Stefan Semerdjiev, 'Reinhard Heydrich. Der deutsche Polizeichef als Jagdflieger', *Deutsche Militärzeitschrift* 41 (2004), 36–8; Deschner, *Heydrich*, 141f.
6. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 72; see, too, Heydrich's article in *Völkischer Beobachter*, 17 February 1941.
7. On 27 May 1937, Himmler had explicitly forbidden Heydrich to fly: IfZ, Ed 450. On Heydrich's time in Stavanger, see the reports of Frank-Werner Rott, Karl Holland and Berthold Jung, in Jochen Prien, *Geschichte des Jagdgeschwaders 77*, vol. 1: *1934–1941* (Eutin, 1992), 209.
8. Heydrich to Himmler, 5 May 1940; the postcard is reprinted in Max Williams, *Reinhard Heydrich: The Biography*, 2 vols (Church Stretton, 2001 and 2003), vol. 2, 30; Himmler to Heydrich, 15 May 1940, in Helmut Heiber (ed.), *Reichsführer! ... Briefe an und von Himmler* (Stuttgart, 1968), doc. 66, p. 80; Prien, *Jagdgeschwaders 77*, vol. 1, 209.
9. Robert Bohn, 'Die Errichtung des Reichskommissariats Norwegen in idem (ed.), *Neutralität und totalitäre Aggression. Nordeuropa und die Grossmächte im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Stuttgart, 1991), 129–47; Looock, *Quisling*, 277ff.; Longerich, *Himmler*, 508.
10. See Werner Best's notes on the meeting of the RSHA's departmental heads of 20 April 1940, in BA Dahlwitz-Hoppegarten, ZR 277.
11. On the role of the Security Police in Norway, see Robert Bohn, "Ein solches Spiel kennt keine Regeln". Gestapo und Bevölkerung in Norwegen und Dänemark', in Paul and Mallmann (eds), *Gestapo im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, 463ff.; Heydrich's order of 14 April 1940, as quoted in Bohn, *Reichskommissariat*, 77.
12. Konrad Kwiet, *Reichskommissariat Niederlande. Versuch und Scheitern nationalsozialistischer Neuordnung* (Stuttgart, 1968), 83ff.; Guus Meershoek, 'Machtentfaltung und Scheitern. Sicherheitspolizei und SD in den Niederlanden', in Paul and Mallmann, *Gestapo im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, 383–402, here 387ff.
13. Heydrich to Daluge, 2 July 1940, in BAB, R 19/395.
14. Werner Warmbrunn, *The German Occupation of Belgium, 1940–1944* (New York, 1993), 110ff.; Wolfram Weber, *Die innere Sicherheit im besetzten Belgien und Nordfrankreich 1940–1944. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Besatzungsverwaltungen* (Düsseldorf, 1978); Jay H. Geller, 'The Role of the Military Administration in German-Occupied Belgium, 1940–1944', *Journal of Military History* 63 (1999), 99–125. On the Sipo in Belgium, see Wildt, *Generation*, 522ff. On Reeder, Falkenhausen and their relationship with the SS, see, too, the post-war testimony of Erwin Brunner, 'Entwicklung des Verhältnisses zwischen Wehrmacht und SS in Belgien', in IfZ, ZS 1718, ff. 1–16.
15. Bernd Kasten, *'Gute Franzosen'. Die französische Polizei und die deutsche Besatzungsmacht im besetzten Frankreich 1940–1944* (Sigmaringen, 1993), 22f. On the role of the Sipo and SD in the first phase of the occupation, see Ahlrich Meyer, *Die deutsche Besatzung in Frankreich 1940–1944. Widerstandsbekämpfung und Judenverfolgung* (Darmstadt, 2000), 13ff.; and

- Wildt, *Generation*, 514ff.; Heydrich to Daluge, 2 July 1940, in BAB, R 19/395; Heydrich to RSHA Amtschefs, 24 August 1940, in BAB, R 58/241. Claudia Steur, *Theodor Dannecker. Ein Funktionär der 'Endlösung'* (Essen, 1997), 48.
16. Herbert, *Best*, 251ff.
 17. Walter Schellenberg, *Invasion 1940: The Nazi Invasion Plan for Britain* (London, 2000); see, too, Heydrich's memorandum of 5 May 1939, in IfZ, MA 451.
 18. *Ibid.* See, too: Mazower, *Empire*, 112 f.
 19. Mazower, *Empire*, 113.
 20. On the evolution of the Madagascar plan, see Magnus Brechtken, *'Madagascar für die Juden'. Antisemitische Idee und politische Praxis 1885–1945* (Munich, 1997); Browning, *Origins*, 81ff.; Hans Jansen, *Der Madagaskar-Plan. Die beabsichtigte Deportation der europäischen Juden nach Madagaskar* (Munich, 1997), particularly 320ff.; Leni Yahill, 'Madagascar, Phantom of a Solution for the Jewish Question', in Bela Vago and George L. Mosse (eds), *Jews and Non-Jews in Eastern Europe, 1918–1945* (New York, 1974), 315–34.
 21. 'Memorandum des SD-Amtes IV/2 an Heydrich vom 24.5.1934', in OA Moscow, 501–1–18, ff. 18–20; reprinted in Michael Wildt (ed.), *Die Judenpolitik des SD 1935 bis 1938. Eine Dokumentation* (Munich, 1995), 66–9.
 22. Memorandum in BAB, R 58/956, ff. 2–19; see, too, Wildt, *Generation*, 501.
 23. Hagen to Eichmann, 5 March 1938, in BAB, R 58/956, f. 47. See, too, Jansen, *Madagaskar-Plan*, 228; Brechtken, *'Madagaskar für die Juden'*, 142ff. The plan was taken up again after the Kristallnacht pogroms of November 1938. See *IMT*, vol. 28, doc. 1816-PS, pp. 499ff.; see, too, Browning, *Origins*, 82.
 24. The document is published in *VfZ* 5 (1957), 194–8. See, too, Longerich, *Politik*, 273f. Hitler informed Mussolini during a meeting in Munich in mid-June 1940 of his intention to use Madagascar as a Jewish reservation. On Hitler's comments to Mussolini, see Browning, *Origins*, 83. Hitler also mentioned the plan to the navy's Commander-in-Chief, Admiral Raeder. See Gerhard Wagner (ed.), *Lagevorträge Oberbefehlshabers der Kriegsmarine vor Hitler, 1939–45* (Munich, 1972), 106ff.
 25. PAAA, Inland II A/B 347/3. See, too, Brechtken, *'Madagaskar für die Juden'*, 226f.
 26. PAAA, Inland II A/B 347/3; Longerich, *Himmler*, 525.
 27. Heydrich to Ribbentrop, 24 June 1940, in IfZ, Eich 464 ('presently' is underlined in the original); see, too, Jansen, *Madagaskar-Plan*, 327.
 28. Cesarani, *Eichmann*, 87; Brechtken, *'Madagaskar für die Juden'*, 234f.; Jansen, *Madagaskar-Plan*, 332; Claudia Steur, 'Eichmanns Emissäre. Die "Judenberater" in Hitlers Europa', in Paul and Mallmann (eds), *Gestapo im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, 403–36. 'Protokoll der Abteilungsleitersitzung vom 12.7.1940', printed in Werner Präg and Wolfgang Jacobmeyer (eds), *Das Diensttagebuch des deutschen Generalgouverneurs in Polen 1939–45* (Stuttgart, 1975), 261.
 29. Brechtken, *'Madagaskar für die Juden'*, 239; Jansen, *Madagaskar-Plan*, 335.
 30. Rademacher's plan of 2 July, in PAAA, Inland IIg 177. See, too, Jansen, *Madagaskar-Plan*, 327ff.
 31. On the RSHA's plan, compiled by Eichmann and his assistants Theodor Dannecker and Erich Rajakowitsch, see PAAA, Inland IIg 177, ff. 197–221. See, too, Dannecker to Rademacher, 15 August 1940, in Jansen, *Madagaskar-Plan*, 341ff.; Christopher R. Browning, *The Final Solution and the German Foreign Office: A Study of Referat DIII of Abteilung Deutschland 1940–43* (New York and London, 1978), 40f.
 32. PAAA, Inland IIg 177, ff. 197–221.
 33. Longerich, *Himmler*, 526.
 34. Heydrich's circular of 30 October 1940, in USHMMA, RG 15.015 M, reel 3/168/8–14.
 35. Browning, *Origins*, 88.
 36. *Ibid.*, 90ff.
 37. Heydrich to Luther, 29 October 1940, in PAAA, Inland IIg 189. See, too, Jacob Toury, 'Die Entstehungsgeschichte des Austreibungsbefehls gegen die Juden der Saarpfalz und Badens', *Jahrbuch des Instituts für Deutsche Geschichte* 15 (1986), 431–64; Browning, *Origins*, 89ff.
 38. Heydrich to Luther, 29 October 1940, in PAAA, Inland IIg 189.
 39. On the preparations for Operation Barbarossa see Hitler's orders of 12 November 1940 (no. 18) and 18 December 1940 (no. 21), reprinted in Walther Hubatsch (ed.), *Hitlers Weisungen für die Kriegsführung 1939–1945. Dokumente des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht* (2nd rev.

- edn, Koblenz, 1983), 67ff. and 84ff. On Hitler's orders to Heydrich, see Longerich, *Politik*, 287f. On 21 January 1941, Theodor Dannecker in a note for Eichmann referred explicitly to Heydrich's 'mandate from the Führer' to 'submit a proposal for a final solution project'. Dannecker to Eichmann, 21 January 1941, reprinted in Serge Klarsfeld, *Vichy – Auschwitz. Die Zusammenarbeit der deutschen und französischen Behörden bei der 'Endlösung der Judenfrage' in Frankreich* (Nördlingen, 1989), 361ff. Göring's appointment book, entry for 24 January 1941, in IFZ, Ed 180/5. That same day, Heydrich met Himmler, presumably to discuss the same subject. Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 24 January 1941, p. 112.
40. BAB, NS 19/3979. See, too, Wildt, *Generation*, 535; Longerich, *Himmler*, 528.
 41. Memorandum Dannecker, 21 January 1941, as printed in Klarsfeld, *Vichy – Auschwitz*, 361f.
 42. See, for example, Heydrich to Luther, 5 February 1941, in PAAA, Inland II AB 80–41 Sdh. III, vol. 1. See, too, Browning, *Origins*, 101ff.
 43. Heydrich's memorandum of 26 March 1941, in OA Moscow, 500/3/795; see, too, Aly, *'Final Solution'*, 172.
 44. Heydrich to head of SS Personnel Main Office, SS-Gruppenführer Schmitt, 25 January 1942, with annexed letter from Göring dated 31 July 1941, in *IMT*, vol. 26, doc. 710–PS. See, too, Browning, *Origins*, 315.
 45. This contradicts Edouard Husson's recent argument that a comprehensive genocide of Europe's Jews was already planned by Heydrich in January 1941. See Edouard Husson, 'Die Entscheidung zur Vernichtung aller europäischen Juden. Versuch einer Neuinterpretation', in Klaus Hildebrand, Udo Wengst and Andreas Wirsching (eds), *Geschichtswissenschaft und Zeiterkenntnis. Von der Aufklärung bis zur Gegenwart. Festschrift für Horst Möller* (Munich, 2008), 277–89, particularly 284ff., and, more comprehensively, idem, *Heydrich et la solution finale* (Paris, 2008).
 46. Halder, *Kriegstagebuch*, vol. 2, 335f., and vol. 1, 341f. See, too, Evans, *Third Reich at War*, 170ff. Peter Jahn and Reinhard Rürup (eds), *Erobern und Vernichten. Der Krieg gegen die Sowjetunion 1941–1945* (Berlin, 1991); Christian Hartmann, *Wehrmacht im Ostkrieg. Front und militärisches Hinterland 1941/42* (Munich, 2009).
 47. 'Richtlinien auf Sondergebieten zur Weisung Nr. 21 (Fall Barbarossa)', reprinted in Hans-Adolf Jacobsen, 'Kommissarbefehl und Massenexekution sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener', in Buchheim et al., *SS*, doc. 1, pp. 449–544.
 48. Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde. Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg, 1999), 71 and 81; Breitman, *Architect*, 148. Heydrich reported back to duty after his holiday on 7 March; see Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 7 March 1941. Heydrich and Himmler met again on 10 and 15 March, presumably to discuss the SS position in the ongoing negotiations: Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 10 and 15 March. First draft of the agreement of 26 March 1941, reprinted in Jacobsen, 'Kommissarbefehl', doc. 2, pp. 202 ff.
 49. Krausnick and Wilhelm, *Truppe*, 117; Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord. Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg, 2003), 45, n. 48.
 50. Heydrich's notes of 26 March 1941 on a meeting with Göring, as quoted in Aly, *'Final Solution'*, 270.
 51. On the German military campaign in the Balkans see Klaus Olshausen, *Zwischenspiel auf dem Balkan. Die deutsche Politik gegenüber Jugoslawien und Griechenland von März bis Juli 1941* (Stuttgart, 1973); Walter Manoschek, 'Serbien ist judenfrei'. *Militärische Besatzungspolitik und Judenvernichtung in Serbien 1941/42* (Munich, 1993); Stevan Pavlowitch, *Hitler's New Disorder. The Second World War in Yugoslavia* (London, 2008); Karl-Heinz Golla, *Der Fall Griechenlands 1941* (Hamburg, 2007); Mark Mazower, *Inside Hitler's Greece: The Experience of Occupation, 1941–1944* (New Haven, 1993), 1ff.; Anestis Nesson, *Griechenland 1941–1944* (Osnabrück, 2009). Himmler, Heydrich and Daluge held an emergency meeting on 27 March 1941: Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 27 March 1941. On 8 April, Heydrich received Himmler's permission to fly: *Dienstkalender*, 8 April 1941.
 52. Longerich, *Himmler*, 536. See, too, Roland G. Förster (ed.), 'Unternehmen Barbarossa'. *Zum historischen Ort der deutsch-sowjetischen Beziehungen von 1933 bis Herbst 1941* (Munich, 1993), 507f.; Manoschek, 'Serbien ist judenfrei', 41f.
 53. Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 16 April 1941. Longerich, *Himmler*, 536. A detailed account of the negotiations can be found in Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik*, 41ff.

54. Krausnick and Wilhelm, *Truppe*, 281ff.; Peter Klein (ed.), *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion, 1941/42: Die Tätigkeits- und Lageberichte des Chefs der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD* (Berlin, 1997).
55. Hans-Heinrich Wilhelm, *Die Einsatzgruppe A der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD 1941/42* (Frankfurt am Main, 1996), 281ff.; Wildt, *Generation*, 538ff.
56. Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 19, 26, 29 May and 9 June 1941.
57. *Ibid.*, 11–15 June 1941; on the Wewelsburg, see Karl Hüser, *Wewelsburg 1933 bis 1945 – Kult- und Terrorstätte der SS. Eine Dokumentation* (2nd edn, Paderborn, 1987); and, more recently, Jan Erik Schulte (ed.), *Die SS, Himmler und die Wewelsburg* (Paderborn, 2009).
58. Longerich, *Himmler*, 540; Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik*, 108, n. 240.
59. Memorandum of the meeting of 2 May 1941, in *IMT*, vol. 31, doc. 2718-PS, pp. 84–5; and economic policy guidelines for the East, 23 May 1941, in *IMT*, vol. 36, doc. 126-EC 135–57, here 145; see, too, Alex J. Kay, 'Germany's Staatssekretäre, Mass Starvation, and the Meeting of 2 May 1941', *Journal of Contemporary History* 41 (2006), 685–700; idem, *Exploitation, Resettlement, Mass Murder: Political and Economic Planning for German Occupation Policy in the Soviet Union, 1940–1941* (New York and Oxford, 2006); Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, 46f.
60. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 86ff. See, too: Lizzie Collingham, *The Taste of War: World War Two and the Battle for Food* (London, 2011), 33.
61. Backe as quoted in Alexander Dallin, *German Rule in Russia, 1941–1945: A Study of Occupation Policies* (rev. edn, Boulder, CO, 1981), 39f. No serious biography of Backe exists to date. For brief biographical sketches, see Joachim Lehmann, 'Herbert Backe – Technokrat und Agrarideologe', in Ronald Smelser (ed.), *Die braune Elite* (Darmstadt, 1993), vol. 2, 1–12; Gesine Gerhard, 'Food and Genocide: Nazi Agrarian Politics in the Occupied Territories of the Soviet Union', *Contemporary European History* 18 (2009), 45–65; Joachim Lehmann, 'Verantwortung für Überleben, Hunger und Tod. Zur Stellung von Staatssekretär Herbert Backe im Entscheidungsgefüge von Ernährungs- und Landwirtschaft, Agrar- und Aggressionspolitik in Deutschland während des Zweiten Weltkrieges sowie deren Voraussetzungen', in Ernst Münch (ed.), *Festschrift für Gerhard Heitz zum 75. Geburtstag* (Rostock, 2000), 509–26.
62. Post-war testimony of task-force commando 7a leader Dr Walter Blume, in IfZ, ZS 2389; and post-war testimony of Dr Erhard Kröger in Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik*, 109.
63. Ohlendorf's post-war trial testimony of 31 January 1946, in *IMT*, vol. 4, doc. 2348-PS 344ff., here 350.
64. Wildt, *Generation*, 557.
65. Ralf Ogorreck, *Die Einsatzgruppen und die 'Genesis der Endlösung'* (Berlin, 1996), 83, 98.
66. Heydrich to all *Einsatzgruppen* commanders, 29 June 1941, in BAB, R 70 SU/32, and Heydrich to HSSPF, 2 July 1941, in BAB, R 70 SU/31, reprinted in Peter Longerich (ed.), *Die Ermordung der europäischen Juden. Eine umfassende Dokumentation des Holocaust 1941–1945* (Munich, 1989), 116ff.
67. Heydrich to HSSPFs, 2 July 1941, in BAB, R 70 SU/31, reprinted in Longerich, *Ermordung*, 116ff. See, too, Yitzhak Arad, Yisrael Gutman and Abraham Margalit (eds), *Documents on the Holocaust: Selected Sources on the Destruction of the Jews of Germany and Austria, Poland, and the Soviet Union* (Yad Vashem, 1981), doc. 171, pp. 377f.
68. Longerich, *Himmler*, 541.
69. When, in mid-July, Heydrich issued guidelines for the screening of Soviet POW camps calling for the identification 'of all Jews', he again left it to the recipients of this order to decide what was to be done with Jewish POWs once they had been identified. Heydrich's 'Einsatzbefehl no. 8', 17 July 1941, reprinted in Klein, *Einsatzgruppen*, 331ff.
70. Christian Hartmann, *Wehrmacht im Ostkrieg. Front und militärisches Hinterland 1941–42* (Munich, 2009); Dieter Pohl, *Die Herrschaft der Wehrmacht. Deutsche Militärbesatzung und einheimische Bevölkerung in der Sowjetunion 1941–1944* (Munich, 2008); Christian Streit, *Keine Kameraden. Die Wehrmacht und die sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen 1941–1945* (Stuttgart, 1978), 128; Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (London, 2010), 182.
71. See the daily 'incident reports' of the *Einsatzgruppen* for the period between 23 June 1941 and 24 April 1942, in BAB, R 58/214–21. See, too, Ronald Headland, *Messages of Murder: A Study of the Reports of the Einsatzgruppen of the Security Police and the Security Service* (Rutherford, NJ, 1992).

72. Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 30 June 1941; Heydrich's 'Einsatzbefehl no. 3', 1 July 1941, in BAB, R 70 SU/32; Incident Report no. 21, 13 July 1941, in BAB, R 58/214–21.
73. Report of Stapostelle Tilsit, 1 July 1941, OA Moscow, 500/1/758; 'Incident Report USSR no. 19', 11 July 1941, and 'Incident Report USSR, no. 26', 18 July 1941, both in BAB, R 58/214.
74. Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 11 July 1941; Diary Bach-Zelewski, entry for 12 July 1941, in BAB, R 20/45b, f. 3; Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, 544f; Longerich, *Himmler*, 544.
75. Popplow, 'Aufnordung', 15.
76. Browning, *Origins*, 256ff.
77. Headland, *Messages*, 211ff; Longerich, *Himmler*, 544.
78. See Klein, *Einsatzgruppen*, 113.
79. Heydrich to *Einsatzgruppen* commanders, 29 June 1941, in BAB, R 70 SU/32. Browning, *Origins*, 258ff
80. Andrzej Zbikowski, 'Local Anti-Jewish Pogroms in the Occupied Territories of Eastern Poland, June–July 1941', in Lucjan Dobroszycki and Jeffrey S. Gurock (eds), *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union: Studies and Sources on the Destruction of the Jews in the Nazi-Occupied Territories of the USSR, 1941–1945* (Armonk, NY, 1993), 173–9; Aharon Weiss, 'The Holocaust and the Ukrainian Victims', in Michael Berenbaum (ed.), *A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis* (New York, 1990), 109–15; Bogdan Musiał, 'Konterrevolutionäre Elemente sind zu erschossen'. *Die Brutalisierung des deutsch-sowjetischen Krieges im Sommer 1941* (Berlin and Moscow, 2000), 172.
81. Heydrich to *Einsatzgruppen*, 1 July 1941 BAB, R70 SU/32; Klein, *Einsatzgruppen*, S. 320.
82. A comprehensive dossier on the NKVD, based on this extorted information, was sent by Heydrich to all higher SS and police leaders as well as to the Sipo and SD commanders on 2 April 1942. See National Archives, Kew, WO 208/1858, 324795.
83. Vejas Gabriel Liulevicius, *The German Myth of the East: 1800 to the Present* (Oxford, 2009); idem, 'Der Osten als apokalyptischer Raum. Deutsche Fronterfahrungen im und nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg', in Gregor Thum (ed.), *Traumland Osten. Deutsche Bilder vom östlichen Europa im 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 2006), 47–65; David Blackbourn, *The Conquest of Nature: Water and the Making of Modern German Landscapes* (London, 2005), 251ff.
84. On the 'Garden of Eden' speech, see Martin Bormann's notes, in *IMT*, vol. 38, doc. 221-L, pp. 86–94. See, too, Browning, *Origins*, 309f.
85. See 'Erlass des Führers über die Verwaltung in den neu besetzten Ostgebieten', 17 July 1941, in *IMT*, vol. 38, doc. L-221, pp. 86ff.; Longerich, *Himmler*, 545ff.; Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 24 June 1941. On Rosenberg, see Ernst Piper, *Alfred Rosenberg. Hitlers Chefideologe* (Munich, 2005). Quotation: Heydrich to Berger, 4 November 1941, in Buchheim et al., *SS*, 100.
86. Heydrich to Daluge, 30 October 1941, as quoted in Buchheim et al., *SS*, 100.
87. See the correspondence between Heydrich and Lammers, 18 July–23 October 1941, in *IfZ*, Fa 199/41, ff. 165–75.
88. On Heydrich's search warrant for Kube's house, see the letter exchange between Kube and Himmler of March 1936, in BAB, BDC, Wilhelm Kube.
89. Mark Mazower, *Hitler's Empire: Nazi Rule in Occupied Europe* (London, 2008), 144ff. On Heydrich's scepticism towards the mobilization of Slavic populations for the German war effort, see Christoph Dieckmann, Babette Quinkert and Tatjana Tönsmeier (eds), *Kooperation und Verbrechen. Formen der 'Kollaboration' im östlichen Europa 1939–1945* (Göttingen, 2003), 171.
90. Longerich, *Himmler*, 545ff.
91. Heydrich to Himmler, 20 October 1941, in *IfZ*, MA 328, f. 30.
92. Longerich, *Himmler*, 545ff.
93. Heydrich in *Völkischer Beobachter*, 17 February 1941. See, too, Heydrich, 'Der Anteil der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD in Böhmen und Mähren', *Böhmen und Mähren 2* (1941), 176.
94. Browning, *Origins*, 310ff. On Ohlendorf's visit to Berlin in late August, see Ogorrek, *Einsatzgruppen*, 208f.
95. Prien, *Jagdgeschwaders 77*, vol. 2, 704f.
96. Himmler's funeral speech of 9 June as printed in Reichssicherheitshauptamt (ed.), *Reinhard Heydrich, 7. März 1904–4. Juni 1942. Meine Ehre heisst Treue* (Berlin, 1942), 14–22, here 19.
97. Report Georg Schirmböck, in Prien, *Jagdgeschwaders 77*, vol. 2, 704.

98. See the reports of Georg Schirmböck and Joachim Deicke, in *ibid.*, 704ff.; Semerdjiev, 'Jagdflieger', 36f.; Deschner, *Heydrich*, 141f.
99. *IMT*, vol. 26, doc. 710-PS, pp. 266–7.
100. Browning, *Origins*, 315.
101. Browning, *Origins*, 315f.
102. On Einsatzkommando 9, see Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, 545f.; on Einsatzkommando 3, which adopted the same approach in early August, see the 'Jäger report' of 1 December 1941, in OA Moscow, 500/1/25, reprinted in Vincas Bartusevičius, Joachim Tauber and Wolfram Wette (eds), *Holocaust in Litauen. Krieg, Judenmorde und Kollaboration im Jahre 1941* (Cologne, 2003), 303ff.
103. This was openly articulated in Himmler's infamous Posen speech of 1943. See, too, Omer Bartov, 'Defining Enemies, Making Victims: Germans, Jews, and the Holocaust', in Amir Weiner (ed.), *Landscaping the Human Garden: Twentieth-Century Population Management in a Comparative Framework* (Stanford, CA, 2003), 135–47.
104. Himmler's funeral speech as printed in Wannemacher (ed.), *Leben der Tat*, 81ff.
105. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 48.
106. By mid-October 1941, Einsatzgruppe A claimed to have killed 125,000 Jews, 80,000 of them in Lithuania alone. See Stählecker's activity report of 15 October 1941, in *IMT*, vol. 37, doc. L-180, pp. 670–17; see, too Krausnick, Helmut, *Einsatzgruppen: Die Truppen des Weltanschauungskrieges 1938–1942* (Frankfurt, 1989), 606; Konrad Kwiet, 'Rehearsing for Murder: The Beginning of the Final Solution in Lithuania in June 1941', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 12 (1998), 3–26.
107. Figures as quoted in Browning, *Origins*, 244. On collaboration, see Katrin Reichelt, 'Kollaboration und Holocaust in Lettland, 1941–1945', in Wolf Kaiser (ed.), *Täter im Vernichtungskrieg. Der Überfall auf die Sowjetunion und der Völkermord an den Juden* (Munich, 2002). On the particularly early escalation of genocidal policies in Lithuania, see Christoph Dieckmann, 'The War and the Killing of the Lithuanian Jews', in Ulrich Herbert (ed.), *National Socialist Extermination Policies: Contemporary German Perspectives and Controversies* (New York and Oxford, 2000), 240–75.
108. Longerich, *Himmler*, 565; Browning, *Origins*, 410–14.
109. Longerich, *Ermordung*, 74f. Browning, *Origins*, 354f.
110. *Ibid.*, 355.
111. Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, 648; Alfred Gottwald and Diana Schulle, *Die Judendeportationen aus dem Deutschen Reich von 1941–1945. Eine kommentierte Chronologie* (Wiesbaden, 2005), 52ff.; on Serbia, see Manoschek, 'Serbien ist judenfrei', 169ff.
112. Moorhouse, *Berlin at War*, 172ff.
113. Heydrich to Sipo commanders, 3 September 1941, printed in Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet and Jürgen Matthäus (eds), *Einsatz im Reichskommissariat Ostland. Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin, 1998), 67ff.
114. Browning, *Origins*, 263.
115. Lösener, 'Rassereferent', 303; Kershaw, *Hitler: Nemesis*, 473.
116. Adam, *Judenpolitik*, 254f.; Adler, *Verwaltete Mensch*, 47f.; Goebbels's diary entry of 19 August 1941, in *Tagebücher*, part II, vol. 2/1, 265f.; Longerich, 'Davon haben wir nichts gewusst', 159ff.
117. Friedländer, *Extermination*, 305; Hilberg, *Destruction*, 130; Longerich, *Politik*, 214; Adam, *Judenpolitik*, 334; Notes of Walter Tiessler, 21 April 1941, in IfZ, MA 423; see, too, Adler, *Verwaltete Mensch*, 48; and Willi A. Boelcke, *Kriegspropaganda 1939–1945. Geheime Ministerkonferenzen im Reichspropagandaministerium* (Stuttgart, 1955), 695.
118. Longerich, 'Davon haben wir nichts gewusst', 161f.
119. Goebbels, *Tagebücher*, part II, vol. 1 (entry for 12 August 1941), 218.
120. Lösener, 'Rassereferent', 303f.
121. Goebbels, *Tagebücher*, part II, vol. 1 (entry for 19 August 1941), 265f.; on the conversation between Goebbels and Hitler on 18 August 1941, see, too, Friedländer, *Extermination*, 267; Longerich, *Politik*, 427.
122. Adler, *Verwaltete Mensch*, 49.
123. *Reichsgesetzblatt* 1941, part I, 547; Lösener, 'Rassereferent', 307. See, too, IfZ, Eich 1064; and MA 445, ff. 7854–60.

124. *Reichsgesetzblatt* 1941, part I, 547.
125. Heydrich's letter of 15 September 1941, in BAB, R 58/276; as well as Heydrich's orders of 30 September and 16 October 1941, in *ibid.*
126. Printed in Konrad Kwiet, 'Die Kennzeichnung mit dem Judenstern im Herbst 1941', in Wolfgang Benz (ed.), *Die Juden in Deutschland 1933–1945. Leben unter nationalsozialistischer Herrschaft* (Munich, 1988), 614–31, here 615ff.
127. On Hitler's change of mind, see Heydrich to Ribbentrop, 24 September 1941, explaining the new police directive on the marking of Jews, in IfZ, Eich 949.
128. On the renewed registration process, see 'Evidenz der Juden. Registrierung. Transporte', reproduced in Helena Krejčová, Jana Svobodová and Anna Hyndráková (eds), *Židé v Protektorátu. Hlašení Židovské náboženské obce v roce 1942. Dokumenty* (Prague, 1997), doc. 10, pp. 167–8; Livia Rothkirchen, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: Facing the Holocaust* (Lincoln, NB, 2005), 126. Anti-Jewish measures were widely publicized throughout the Protectorate. See, for example, *Der Neue Tag*, 6 October 1941.
129. Senior staff meeting in the Reich Protector's Office, 10 October 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114–2–56, reprinted in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, doc. 29, pp. 137–41.
130. Heydrich at a press conference in Prague on 11 October 1941, as quoted in Eva Schmidt-Hartmann, 'Tschechoslowakei', in Wolfgang Benz (ed.), *Dimension des Völkermords. Die Zahl der jüdischen Opfer des Nationalsozialismus* (Munich, 1991), 353–80, here 361 n. 28; Heydrich to Himmler, 19 October 1941 on 'Movement of Jews from the Old Reich into the Litzmannstadt Ghetto', BAB, NS 19/2655.
131. Protocol of the meeting of 4 October 1941, in BAB, NS 19/1734; Heydrich's letter to the General Quartermaster of 6 November 1941, as quoted in Klarsfeld, *Vichy*, 369f.
132. Luther memoranda of 13 and 17 October 1941, as quoted in Browning, *Origins*, 368–9.
133. Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 18 October 1941, p. 238.
134. Uebelhoer to Himmler, 4 and 9 October 1941 and Heydrich to Himmler, 8 October 1941, all in BAB, NS 19/2655.
135. Heydrich to Himmler, 19 October 1941, in BAB, NS 19/2655. See, too, Browning, *Origins*, 332.
136. Heydrich to Himmler, 8 October 1941, BAB, NS 19/2655. Heydrich quoted this figure again during a meeting with senior SS staff members in Prague on 10 October 1941, in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, doc. 29, pp. 137ff.
137. Lammers to Rosenberg, 6 September 1941, in BAB, R 43II/684a. See, too, Longerich, *Himmler*, 557.
138. RSHA memorandum on the meeting between Heydrich and Rosenberg's deputy, Alfred Meyer, 4 October 1941, in BAB, NS 19/1734; see, too, Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, 580f.
139. Manoschek, 'Serbien ist judenfrei', 105ff.; Browning, *Foreign Office*, 56ff.
140. Browning, *Origins*, 346ff.
141. Longerich, *Himmler*, 565f.
142. No written record of the meeting exists, but most scholars agree that the construction of the Belzec extermination camp can be traced back to Globocnik's initiative. See Dieter Pohl, 'Die grossen Zwangsarbeiterlager der SS- und Polizeiführer für Juden im Generalgouvernement 1942–1945', in Herbert et al. (eds), *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 1, 415–38; Musial, *Zivilverwaltung*, 265; Browning, *Origins*, 359ff.; Michael Tregenza, 'Belzec Death Camps', *Wiener Library Bulletin* 30 (1977), 8–25. On Heydrich in Nauen, see Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 253.
143. Browning, *Origins*, 333f.
144. Epstein, *Model Nazi*, 188f.
145. Ian Kershaw, 'Improvised Genocide? The Emergence of the "Final Solution" in the Warthegau', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series (1992), 51–98.
146. Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 14, 25 and 29 October; see, too, Longerich, *Himmler*, 556.
147. Browning, *Origins*, 373.
148. Longerich, *Politik*, 440, 448, 456.
149. *Ibid.*
150. Longerich, *Himmler*, 569; Dieter Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien 1941–1944. Organisation und Durchführung eines staatlichen Massenverbrechens* (Munich, 1996), 405. On the role of local actors in committing the atrocities, see Martin Dean,

- Collaboration in the Holocaust: Crimes of the Local Police in Belorussia and Ukraine, 1941–44* (New York, 2000); Bernhard Chiari, *Alltag hinter der Front. Besetzung, Kollaboration und Widerstand in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Düsseldorf, 1998), 96ff.
151. Hitler's Reichstag speech of 11 December 1941, in Hitler, *Reden und Proklamationen*, vol. 2, 1794ff. On Heydrich and Himmler attending the Reichstag session together, see Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 11 December 1941, p. 288.
 152. See Goebbels's diary entry of 13 December 1941, in *Tagebücher*, vol. II, vol. 2, 487ff.
 153. Longerich, *Himmler*, 570.
 154. Christian Gerlach in particular has argued that Hitler's statement of 12 December indicated a principle decision, after the declaration of war on the United States, to murder all European Jews. Christian Gerlach, 'Die Wannsee-Konferenz, das Schicksal der deutschen Juden und Hitlers politische Grundsatzentscheidung, alle Juden Europas zu ermorden', *WerkstattGeschichte* 6 (1997), 7–44.
 155. Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 18 December 1941.
 156. Longerich, *Himmler*, 570f.
 157. See Heydrich to Luther, 29 November 1941, in PAAA, (Inland IIg 177) R 100857, f. 188. See, too, Mark Roseman, *The Villa, the Lake, the Meeting: Wannsee and the Final Solution* (London and New York, 2002), 56f.; Johannes Tuchel, *Am Grossen Wannsee 56–58: Von der Villa Minoux zum Haus der Wannsee-Konferenz* (Berlin, 1992).
 158. Heydrich to Luther, 29 November 1941, PAAA, (Inland IIg 177) R 100857, f. 188. See, too, Wildt, *Generation*, 630.
 159. Roseman, *Wannsee*, 57f; On the participants, see Wolf Kaiser, 'Die Wannsee-Konferenz. SS-Führer und Ministerialbeamte im Einvernehmen über die Ermordung der europäischen Juden', in Heiner Lichtenstein and Otto R. Romberg (eds), *Täter – Opfer – Folgen. Der Holocaust in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (2nd edn, Bonn, 1997), 24–37.
 160. The following quotations are based on the only surviving copy of the protocol, in PAAA, (Inland IIg 177) R 100857, ff. 166–180, here f. 168. See, too, the reprint: 'Besprechungsprotokoll der Wannsee-Konferenz vom 20. Januar 1942', in Kurt Patzold and Erika Schwarz (eds), *Tagesordnung. Judenmord. Die Wannsee Konferenz am 20. Januar 1942. Eine Dokumentation zur Organisation der 'Endlösung'* (Berlin, 1992), 102–12.
 161. Heydrich to Rosenberg, 10 January 1942, Yad Vashem Archives, M9/584.
 162. On this conflict, see Longerich, *Himmler*, 453.
 163. Roseman, *Villa*, 85.
 164. Friedländer, *Extermination*, 367; Wildt, *Generation*, 636, n. 89; Eichmann memorandum of 1 December 1941, as printed in Pätzold and Schwarz (eds), *Tagesordnung*, 90ff.; Yehoshua Büchler, 'A Preparatory Document for the Wannsee Conference', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 9 (1995), 121–9.
 165. PAAA, (Inland IIg 177) R 100857, f. 170; see, too, Wildt, *Generation*, 628.
 166. The estimates were based on statistics that Eichmann had begun to compile in early November 1941. See Cesarani, *Eichmann*, 112.
 167. PAAA, (Inland IIg 177) R 100857, ff. 172–3; Friedländer, *Extermination*, 371.
 168. The strongest proponent of the first position is Gerlach, 'Wannsee-Konferenz', 33ff. Peter Longerich and Saul Friedländer, by contrast, pointed out that 'road construction' was not merely a codeword for murder: Friedländer, *Extermination*, 370; Longerich, *Politik*, 470f. See Eichmann's testimony of 24 July 1961, in Longerich, *Ermordung*, 92. See, too, Cesarani, *Eichmann*, 237ff.; Roseman, *Villa*, 72.
 169. PAAA, (Inland IIg 177) R 100857, f. 179f.; John A. S. Grenville, 'Die "Endlösung" und die "Judenmischlinge" im Dritten Reich', in Ursula Büttner, Werner Johe and Angelika Voss (eds), *Das Unrechtsregime. Internationale Forschung über den Nationalsozialismus* (Hamburg, 1986), vol. 2, 91–21.
 170. PAAA, (Inland IIg 177) R 100857, f. 174.
 171. Longerich, *Himmler*, 575.
 172. PAAA, (Inland IIg 177) R 100857, ff. 179f; Longerich, *Himmler*, 575.
 173. Longerich, *Himmler*, 576.
 174. On Nazi policies towards the *Judenmischlinge*, see Essner, 'Nürnberger Gesetze', 410ff.; Jeremy Noakes, 'The Development of Nazi Policy towards the German "Mischlinge", 1933–1945', *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 34 (1989), 291–354. A detailed study of the fate

- of Hamburg's Jewish *Mischlinge* is Beate Meyer, *Jüdische Mischlinge'. Rassenpolitik und Verfolgungserfahrung 1933–1945* (Hamburg, 1999); and Claudia Koonz, *The Nazi Conscience* (Cambridge, MA, 2003), 163–89. On the discussion about *Mischlinge* at Wannsee in particular, see Pätzold and Schwarz, *Tagesordnung*, 109–111.
175. Noakes, 'Development', 69.
 176. Roseman, *Villa*, 82. The propositions made by Heydrich at the Wannsee Conference were not *per se* new. On 21 August 1941, Eichmann had convened a meeting at which the party Chancellery, the Race and Settlement Office and the RSHA co-ordinated their demands. The demands raised were almost identical with those Heydrich put on the table at Wannsee. See Noakes, 'Development', 339; Lösener, 'Rassereferent', 297.
 177. PAAA, Inland IIg 177, f. 179; Hilberg, *Destruction*, vol. 2, 418.
 178. PAAA, Inland IIg 177, f. 179.
 179. Meyer, *Mischlinge*, 25.
 180. Noakes, 'Development', 337; Meyer, *Mischlinge*, 30f.
 181. On the two follow-up conferences on the treatment of *Mischlinge* and mixed marriages in 1942, see Hilberg, *Destruction*, vol. 2, 436ff. See, too, the protocol of the RSHA meeting of 5 March 1942, in IFZ, Eich 119.
 182. Cesarani, *Eichmann*, 114.
 183. Heydrich to Luther, 26 February 1942, in PAAA, (Inland IIg 177) R 100857, p. 156; see, too, Hilberg, *Destruction*, 491.
 184. Noakes, 'Development', 341; Pätzold and Schwarz, *Tagesordnung*, 158.
 185. For the minutes of the meetings, see Robert Kempner, *Eichmann und Komplizen* (Zurich, Stuttgart, Vienna, 1961), 165–80 (March), and 255–67 (October); Roseman, *Villa*, 101; Meyer, *Mischlinge*, 12.
 186. Wolf Gruner, '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 (2003), 178–208.
 187. Adler, *Verwaltete Mensch*, 202ff., 280f.
 188. Wolfgang Benz, 'Die Dimension des Völkermordes', in idem. (ed.), *Dimension des Völkermordes*, 1–23, here 17; Streit, *Keine Kameraden*, 142ff.
 189. Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 21 January 1942, p. 331.

Chapter VIII: Reich Protector

1. For the latest analysis of the Nazi occupation of Bohemia and Moravia, see Bryant, *Prague in Black*.
2. The 'viceroy' analogy to British India was first used by the State Secretary of the Interior, Wilhelm Stuckart, who devised the Protectorate's civil administration structure. See Miroslav Kárný and Jaroslava Milotová (eds), *Anatomie okupační politiky hitlerovského Německa v 'Protektorátu Čechy a Morava'. Dokumenty z období říšského protektora Konstantina von Neuratha* (Prague, 1987), doc. 2, p. 7.
3. Alice Teichová, 'The Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (1939–1945): The Economic Dimension', in Mikulas Teich (ed.), *Bohemia in History* (Cambridge, 1998), 267–305; Brandes, *Tschechen*, 166; Eva Drdáčková, *Správni uspořádání protektorátu do Heydrichovy správní reformy (1939–1942)* (Plzeň, 2004).
4. Eduard Kubů and Drahomír Jančík, *Arizace' a arizátoři. Drobný a střední židovský majetek v úvěrech Kreditanstalt der Deutschen (1939–45)* (Prague, 2005); Evans, *Third Reich in Power*, 686f; Drahomír Jančík, Eduard Kubů and Jan Kuklík (eds), *Arizace a restituce židovského majetku v českých zemích (1939–2000)* (Prague, 2003).
5. Teichová, 'Protectorate', 274f.; Evans, *Third Reich*, vol. 2, 665ff. Heydrich's 17th report for Bormann (30 December 1941), in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, 201ff.
6. John L. Heinemann, *Hitler's First Foreign Minister: Constantin Freiherr von Neurath, Diplomat and Statesman* (Berkeley, CA, 1979), esp. 3, 9–16, 86–166; Mastny, *Czechs*, 60; Richard Overy, *Interrogations: The Nazi Elite in Allied Hands, 1945* (New York, 2001), 82.
7. John G. Lexa, 'Anti-Jewish Laws and Regulations in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia', in Avigdor Dagan (ed.), *The Jews of Czechoslovakia*, 4 vols (Philadelphia,

- 1968–84), vol. 3, 77–103. See, too, the collection of policy documents and internal documents in 'Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD. Zentralamt für die Regelung der Judenfrage in Böhmen und Mähren', in Yad Vashem Archives, 051/204.
8. Brandes, *Tschechen*, vol. 1, 83ff.
 9. On the Czech resistance, see Jaroslav Čvachara, *Někomu život, někomu smrt. Československý odboj a nacistická okupační moc 1939–1941* (Prague, 2002); Radomír Luža, *V Hitlerově objekt. Kapitoly z českého odboje* (Prague, 2006); on the German Communists in the Sudetenland, see Mark Cornwall, 'Stirring Resistance from Moscow: The German Communists of Czechoslovakia and Wireless Propaganda in the Sudetenland, 1941–1945', *German History* 24 (2006), 212–42.
 10. Brandes, *Tschechen*, vol. 1, 171ff.
 11. Neurath's report to Bormann and Hitler of 15 September 1941, in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, doc. 1, pp. 77ff.
 12. See Brandes, *Tschechen*, vol. 1, 196; Sládek, 'Standrecht', 330f.
 13. On Hitler's order (31a) of 16 September, see Hubatsch (ed.), *Hitlers Weisungen*, 149; Keitel's order of the same day, in BA-MA, RH 26, 104/14. On Serbia, see Manoschek, 'Serbien ist judenfrei', 43ff. On Western Europe, Guus Meershoek et al. (eds), *Repression und Kriegsverbrechen. Die Bekämpfung von Widerstands- und Partisanenbewegungen gegen die deutsche Besatzung in West- und Südosteuropa* (Berlin and Göttingen, 1997); Weber, *Sicherheit*, 59ff.
 14. Heydrich to Stapoleitstellen, 27 August 1941, in BAB, R 58/1027, f. 205; Bohn, *Reichskommissariat*, 81f. and 92ff.
 15. Guus Meershoek, 'Machtentfaltung und Scheitern. Sicherheitspolizei und SD in den Niederlanden', in Paul and Mallmann (eds), *Gestapo im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, 383–402.
 16. John A. Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism, 1935–1949* (2nd edn, New York, 1963), 69f.
 17. Heydrich to Lammers, 18 September 1941, BAB, R 43 II/396. Heydrich and Himmler flew to Riga, and drove on to Mitaue and Reval (Tallinn) the next day, and from there to Dorpat and Pleskau. On 21 September, they arrived at the Führer headquarters near Rastenburg in the Masurian Forests where they dined with Hitler and discussed the situation in the Protectorate and Heydrich's appointment to the post of acting Reich Protector. Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 18–21 September 1941, pp. 214f. On the meeting with Hitler, see, too, Koeppen, report no. 35 of 22 September 1941, BAB, R 6/34a, f. 24.
 18. See, for example, the report from the Stapoleitstelle in Prague of 19 September 1941, in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, doc. 6, p. 86; Detlef Brandes, 'Nationalsozialistische Tschechenpolitik', in idem and Václav Kural (eds), *Der Weg in die Katastrophe. Deutsch-tschechoslowakische Beziehungen 1938–1947* (Essen, 2004), 39–50, here 46.
 19. Kershaw, *Hitler*, vol. 2, 641; *Dienstkalender*, 217ff.
 20. On the reasons for Hitler's change of mind on this issue, see Friedländer, *Extermination*, 291f. See, too, Browning, *Origins*, 326; Kershaw, *Hitler: Nemesis*, 477.
 21. See Lösener's memorandum for Frick of 18 August 1941, in Lösener, 'Rassereferent', 303. The issue was also discussed between Himmler and Heydrich on 2 September. See Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 203.
 22. Himmler to Greiser, 18 September 1941, in BAB, NS 19/2655, f. 3; reprinted in Peter Witte, 'Two Decisions Concerning the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question": Deportations to Lodz and the Mass Murder in Chelmnó', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 9 (1995) 318–45. A copy of the letter was sent to Heydrich.
 23. Goebbels's diary entry of 24 September 1941, in *Tagebücher*, part II, vol. 1, 480ff.
 24. Yet, despite the existence of Jewish partisan brigades, Jews made up less than 5 per cent of the overall partisan strength in the occupied territories. See Leonid Smilovitsky, 'Righteous Gentiles, the Partisans and Jewish Survival in Belorussia, 1941–44', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 11 (1997), 301–29.
 25. On Heydrich's emotional response to the appointment, see Schellenberg, *Labyrinth*, 225; Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 56. On the relationship with Himmler after 1941, see Longerich, *Himmler*, 589.
 26. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 98f.; Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 24 September 1941, p. 217.
 27. On Frank, see BAB, BDC, SSO Karl Hermann Frank; Miloslav Moulis and Dušan Tomášek, *K. H. Frank. Vzestup a pád karloovarského knihkupece* (Prague, 2003), 12ff.; Ralf

- Gebel, *Heim ins Reich. Konrad Henlein und der Reichsgau Sudetenland (1938–1945)* (Munich, 1999), 43ff.
28. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 102. Heydrich to Bormann, 27 September 1941, in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, doc. 11, p. 93. See, too, the description of the mood in Prague as described by Naudé, *Politischer Beamter*, 116; and Wilhelm Dennler, *Die böhmische Passion* (Freiburg, 1953), 55.
 29. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 104.
 30. Heydrich's speech in Černín Palace on 2 October 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114–6–4, carton 22. Naudé, *Politischer Beamter*, 124. Similar sentiments were expressed in Heydrich's speech of 4 February 1942, in National Archives, Prague, 114–22, f. 56.
 31. See Heydrich's Declaration of the State of Emergency of 27–28 September 1942 and the version for press dissemination in National Archives, Prague, 114, carton 1140. See also the second (more detailed) Declaration of the State of Emergency of 1 October 1941, in *ibid.* The quotation is from Heydrich's speech to Protectorate journalists on 10 October 1941, National Archives, Prague, 114–2–47, carton 8.
 32. Kural, *Vlastenci proti okupaci*, 156ff. On the number of people brought before summary courts, see Brandes, *Tschechen*, vol. 1, 212. On the verdicts of 30 September, see Gregory's report to Heydrich of 20 September 1941, in National Archive, Prague, 114, carton 1140. See, too, Martin Hořák and Tomáš Jelínek, *Nacistická perzekuce obyvatel českých zemí* (Prague, 2006).
 33. Heydrich to Bormann, 1 October 1941, in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, doc. 20, p. 105; and protocol of the senior staff meeting in the Reich Protector's Office, 17 October 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114–2–26.
 34. Sládek, 'Standrecht', 326.
 35. Brandes, 'Nationalsozialistische Tschechenpolitik', 45; Hans Maršálek, *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen* (Vienna, 1980), 122; on the number of prisoners sent to Auschwitz, see Miroslav Kárný, 'Introduction', in *idem et al.* (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, 41.
 36. See Heydrich's decree as published in *Der Neue Tag*, 12 October 1941. See, too, Mark Dimond, 'The Sokol and Czech Nationalism, 1918–48', in Mark Cornwall and R. J. W. Evans (eds), *Czechoslovakia in a Nationalist and Fascist Europe, 1918–1948* (Oxford, 2007), 185–206. Report of the Foreign Office representative in the Reich Protector's Office, Gerstberger, of 2 October 1941, in PAAA, R 101109, vol. 2.
 37. Heydrich to Bormann, 16 May 1942, in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, docs 96 and 97, pp. 259f. and 262f. See, too, Jaroslav Kokoška and Stanislav Kokoška, *Spor o agenta A-54* (Prague, 1994).
 38. Stapo Leitstelle Prague, report on arrests of resistance members, 10 November 1942, in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, doc. 47, pp. 177–81. On the fate of the democratic resistance, see Brandes, *Tschechen*, vol. 1, 217ff.
 39. Heydrich to Hácha, 9 October 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 109–4–16.
 40. Hitler as quoted in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, 11.
 41. See the trial proceedings in BAB, R 22/4070; and Helmut Heiber, 'Zur Justiz im Dritten Reich. Der Fall Eliáš', *VfZ* 3 (1955), 275–396. Eliáš as quoted in Heydrich's letter to Bormann of 1 October 1941, in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, doc. 20, p. 103. He had previously reported the news to Himmler over the phone on 28 September; see Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 221. For the published declaration, see, for example, *Der Neue Tag*, 2 October 1941; *České slovo*, 2 October 1941; *Venkov*, 2 October 1941; *Národní politika*, 2 October 1941. On collaboration in the Protectorate more generally, see Detlef Brandes, 'Kolaborace v Protektorátu Čechy a Morava', *Dějiny a současnost* 16 (1994), 25–9; Jiří Frajdl, *Protektorátní kolaborantské a fašistické organizace, 1939–1945* (Prague, 2003).
 42. Heydrich to Bormann, 30 December 1941, in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, doc. 65, p. 202, and Heydrich to Bormann, 3 January 1942, *ibid.*, doc. 66, p. 208. See, too, Gustav von Schmoller, 'Heydrich im Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren', *VfZ* 27 (1979), 626–45. Brandes, *Tschechen*, vol. 1, 213ff.; Mastny, *Czechs*, 187ff.
 43. Mastny, *The Czechs*, 200.
 44. Hácha on 4 December 1941, as quoted in Mastny, *Czechs*, 197ff. See, too, Kural, *Vlastenci proti okupaci*, 156f.
 45. Heydrich's speech in Prague Castle, 4 February 1942, in National Archives, Prague, 114–6–2, carton 22, p. 10.

46. Brandes, *Tschechen*, vol. 1, 225–7.
47. Heydrich's speech in Prague Castle, 4 February 1942, National Archives, Prague, 114–6–2, carton 22, pp. 1–2. Similar sentiments were articulated in Heydrich's telegram to Lammers of 9 October 1941, BAB, R 43II/1326.
48. See the eyewitness report in Lisl Urban, *Ein ganz gewöhnliches Leben* (Leipzig, 2006), 113. On Heydrich's strategy, see Heydrich to Bormann, 1 October 1941, in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, doc. 20, p. 105, and protocol of senior staff meeting in the Reich Protector's Office, 17 October 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114–2–26. On the continuation of executions: SS-Sturmbannführer Illmer, President of the Prague summary court, to Frank, 6 November 1941, in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, doc. 46, pp. 176–7. It is likely that this strategy was discussed between Himmler and Heydrich during a five-hour meeting in Berlin on 14 October. See Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 234f.
49. Intelligence Report as quoted in Bryant, *Prague in Black*, 144. See, too, Brandes, *Tschechen*, vol. 1, 212.
50. Werner Best, 'Grundfragen einer deutschen Grossraum-Verwaltung', in *Festgabe für Heinrich Himmler* (Darmstadt, 1941), 33–60; see, too, Herbert, *Best*, 275ff.; Mazower, *Hitler's Empire*, 235ff.
51. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 100; Naudé, *Politischer Beamter*, 122.
52. Lina Heydrich to Peter Schneiders, 12 January 1962, NIOD, doc. I, 69 A.
53. *Völkischer Beobachter*, 3 December 1941 and 16 December 1941. See, too, Daniels, 'Leibeserzieher', 116; Bahro, 'Sportler', 118.
54. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 10 and 100ff.
55. On Panenské Brežany, see: <http://www.panenskebrezany.cz/view.php?cisloclanku=2007110002>. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 108 and 112.
56. On these areas of interest, see Heydrich to Hácha, 24 December 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114–6–2, carton 22; Heydrich to Hácha, 4 May 1942, in National Archives, Prague, 114–5–15, carton 19; Heydrich's notes of 22 April 1942, in National Archives, Prague, 114–5–15, carton 19; Heydrich to Göring, 27 December 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114–6–2.
57. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 106.
58. Lina Heydrich to Peter Schneider (Amsterdam), 12 January 1962, NIOD, doc. I 691 A.
59. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 86ff.; see, too, Heydrich to Backe, 6 December 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114–5–15, carton 19. Interview with Heider Heydrich, March 2009.
60. Adam Tooze, *Wages of Destruction: The Making and Breaking of the Nazi Economy* (London, 2006), 477ff. Kay, 'Staatssekretäre', 685–700.
61. Richard Overy, 'Business in the "Grossraumwirtschaft": Eastern Europe, 1938–1945', in Harold James (ed.), *Enterprise in the Period of Fascism in Europe* (Burlington, VT, 2002), 151–77; Václav Kural, 'Von Masaryks "Neuem Europa" zu den Grossraumplänen Hitler-Deutschlands', in Richard Plaschka (ed.), *Mitteleuropa-Konzeptionen in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna, 1995), 351–7; Horst Kahrs, 'Von der "Grossraumwirtschaft" zur "Neuen Ordnung". Zur strategischen Orientierung der deutschen Eliten 1932–1943', in Götz Aly (ed.), *Modelle für ein deutsches Europa. Ökonomie und Herrschaft im Grosswirtschaftsraum* (Berlin, 1992), 9–28.
62. Werner Daitz, Walther Funk and Hermann Göring, in Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham (eds), *Nazism, 1919–1945. A Documentary Reader*, 4 vols (Exeter, 1995–8), vol. 3, 884–900; see, too, Paolo Fonzi, 'Nazionalsocialismo e nuovo ordine europeo: la discussione sulla "Grossraumwirtschaft"', *Studi Storici* 45 (2004), 313–65.
63. Mastny, *Czechs*, 80ff.; correspondence Heydrich and Reich Press Chief Dr Dietrich of 9 December 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114-5-15, carton 19.
64. Heydrich's opening speech at the economic forum of the South-Eastern Europe Society in Prague, 17 December 1941, National Archives, Prague, 114-5-15, carton 8. He had discussed the event with Himmler over the phone on the previous day. See Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 291.
65. Göring to Heydrich, 27 December 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114-6-2.
66. Heydrich's speech in Černín Palace on 2 October 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114-6-4, carton 22.

67. Newspaper articles crediting Heydrich personally with the increase in food rations can be found in *České slovo*, 25 October 1941; *Národní politika*, 25 October 1941; *Venkov*, 25 October 1941.
68. Heydrich's speech to union representatives on 24 October 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114-6-8. See, too, the notes on the event taken by SS-Sturmbannführer Wolf, in National Archives, Prague, 109-4-175. The propaganda gatherings were deemed to be a complete failure by the SD – they had been too overtly propagandistic and were rejected as such by the very same workers whom they sought to convince. See the SD report of 20 October 1941, in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, doc. 35, pp. 158–9.
69. *Der Neue Tag*, 25 and 26 October, 30 September and 4 October 1941. See, too, *Česke slovo*, 3 October 1941; Walter Wannemacher, 'Reinhard Heydrich', *Böhmen und Mähren* (1942), 188–9.
70. Jaroslav Krejčí, 'The Bohemian-Moravian War Economy', in Michael Charles Kaser and Edward Albert Radice (eds), *The Economic History of Eastern Europe, 1919–1975* (Oxford, 1986), 491, table 19; see, too, Heydrich's speech to Czech agricultural workers' representatives in Prague Castle on 5 December 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114-6-8.
71. Senior staff meeting in the Reich Protector's Office, 1 November 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114-2-26. Heydrich's speech in Černín Palace on 2 October 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114-6-4, carton 22. Similar sentiments are expressed in Heydrich's speech in Prague Castle, 4 February 1942, in National Archives, Prague, 114-22, ff. 30–3. See, too, the post-war interrogations of Walter Jacobi, Archive of the Ministry of the Interior (AMV), Prague, 325-166-3.
72. Václav Průcha, *Hospodářské a sociální dějiny Československa 1918–1992, 1. díl období 1918–1945* (Brno, 2004), 427–31; Dana Musilová, 'Problémy sociálně ekonomického vývoje v letech 1939–1945 v protektorátu Čechy a Morava', *Historický obzor* 3 (1992), 149–52.
73. *Der Neue Tag*, 12 February 1942. When the exhibition moved to Berlin, a fire-bomb went off on 18 May 1942. In response, Heydrich had the instigator of the incident, the 'Communist Mischling' Herbert Baum and 154 other Jewish men arrested and sent to Sachsenhausen where they were shot alongside ninety-six other Jewish inmates. See Wolfgang Scheffler, 'Der Brandanschlag im Berliner Lustgarten im Mai 1942 und seine Folgen. Eine quellenkritische Betrachtung', *Berlin in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Jahrbuch des Landesarchivs Berlin* 3 (1984), 91–118, and Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 26 May 1942, p. 437.
74. *Der Neue Tag*, 26 October 1941.
75. Burian et al., *Assassination*, 53. It is difficult to assess how successful this form of propaganda was, but it is likely to have had little bearing on the Czech population at large. Tim Fauth, *Deutsche Kulturpolitik im Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren, 1939–1941* (Göttingen, 2004), 89f.
76. Evans, *Third Reich in Power*, 686f.
77. Mazower, *Hitler's Empire*; Evans, *Third Reich at War*, 346ff; Streit, *Keine Kameraden*, 128.
78. Herbert, *Foreign Workers*, 143ff.; Jaroslava Milotová, '“Cizorodí” dělníci a jejich pracovní nasazení v nacistickém Německu v letech 1939–1945', in Jana Havlíková (ed.), *Museli pracovat pro Říši. Nucené pracovní nasazení českého obyvatelstva v letech 2. světové války. Doprovodná publikace k výstavě* (Prague, 2004), 26.
79. Speer as quoted in Deschner, *Heydrich*, 322.
80. Havlíková (ed.), *Museli pracovat pro Říši*, 28; Herbert, *Foreign Workers*, 163ff.
81. Heydrich's speech on 26 May 1942, in National Archives, Prague, 114, carton 8. On the May decree see IMT, vol. 26, p. 485; Miroslav Kárný, 'Der "Reichsausgleich" in der deutschen Protektoratspolitik', in Ulrich Herbert (ed.), *Europa und der 'Reichseinsatz'. Ausländische Zivilarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene und KZ-Häftlinge in Deutschland 1938–1945* (Essen, 1991), 26–50, here 38.
82. Intelligence report of 21 May 1942, in National Archives, Kew, HS 4/79.
83. Heydrich to Hácha on 6 November 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114-5-15, carton 19.
84. Brandes, *Tschechen*, vol. 1, 224–5. See also Heydrich's letter to Bormann of 18 May 1942 in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, doc. 98, pp. 262–3. Heydrich's letter to Hácha of 6 November 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114-5-15, carton 19.
85. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 92f., 99; Heydrich to Hácha, 24 December 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114-6-2.

86. Senior staff meeting of 1 November 1941 (with Heydrich, Frank, Burgsdorff, Böhme, Fuchs and Maurer in attendance), in National Archives, Prague, 114-2-26. Jaroslava Milotová, 'Výsledky Heydrichovi správní reformy z pohledu okupačního aparátu', *Paginae historiae* 2 (1994), 161-74. Jaroslava Milotová, 'Personální aspekty tzv. Heydrichovi správní reformy', *Paginae historiae* 1 (1993), 196-218. On the meeting with Lammers in Munich on 9 November 1941, see Heydrich's notes of 11 November 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114-5-15, carton 19; Heydrich to Bormann on 30 December 1941, in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, doc. 65, p. 206.
87. Heydrich's speech in Prague Castle, 4 February 1942, in National Archives, Prague, 114-6-2, p. 19. On the critical response to Bertsch's appointment from his Czech colleagues, see the SD report for Heydrich of 20 January 1942, National Archives, Prague, 114-5-15, carton 19.
88. See, for example the British Intelligence Reports in National Archives, Kew, HS 4/79/324795.
89. See the protocol of Moravec's meeting with Frank of 6 February 1942, in which the latter handed Moravec Heydrich's detailed instructions for propaganda in the Protectorate, in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, doc. 78, pp. 234-5. On Moravec, see Jiří Pernes, *Až na dno zrady. Emanuel Moravec* (Prague, 1997).
90. Heydrich's speech to the new Protectorate government, 19 January 1942, in National Archives, Prague, 114-6-8.
91. Heydrich to Bormann, 16 November 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114-3-17.
92. Protocol of the senior staff meeting in the Reich Protector's Office, 1 November 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114-2-26.
93. Heydrich to Bormann, 16 November 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114-3-17.
94. Protocol of the senior staff meeting in the Reich Protector's Office, 1 November 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114-2-26.
95. Heydrich's speech to the new Protectorate government, 19 January 1942, in National Archives, Prague, 114-6-8; *Der Neue Tag*, 20 January 1942.
96. Figures according to Mazower, *Hitler's Empire*, 238; Heydrich to Bormann, 18 May 1942, in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, doc. 98, p. 266.
97. Bryant, *Prague in Black*, 31ff.
98. Heydrich to senior staff members on 1 November 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114-2-26. By June 1942, the only remaining *Oberlandrat* offices were in Prague, Budweis, Pilsen, Königgrätz, Brünn and Iglau.
99. Heydrich to Bormann, 18 May 1942, in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, doc. 98, p. 266. In reality, the number of civil servants 'freed up for military service' was significantly lower, perhaps around 30,000. See Miroslav Kárný, 'Introduction', in idem et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, 53.
100. Mastny, *Czechs*, 201; Brandes, 'Nationalsozialistische Tschechenpolitik', 46.
101. Heydrich's speech of 4 February 1942, in National Archives, Prague, 114-22, 39.
102. Goebbels's diary entry of 21 January 1942, in *Tagebücher*, part II, vol. 3, 161.
103. Hitler on 25 January 1942, Hitler, *Monologe*, 227f.
104. Adolf Hitler, *Hitler's Table Talk 1941-1944*, (London, 1953), 490ff., quotation on p. 494.
105. Brandes, 'Nationalsozialistische Tschechenpolitik', 51. On Heydrich's measures for workers, see Dana Severová, 'Socialní politika nacistů v takzvaném Protektorátu v letech 1939-1945', *Dějiny socialistického Československa* 7 (1985), 184-90; Mastny, *Czechs*, 194f.; Brandes, *Tschechen*, vol. 1, 230f.
106. See Miroslav Kárný, 'Die materiellen Grundlagen der Sozialdemagogie in der Protektoratspolitik Heydrichs', *Historica* 19 (1989), 123-59.
107. Naudé, *Politischer Beamter*, 123.
108. Pohl, *Ostgalizien*; Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*; Wendy Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building and the Holocaust in Ukraine* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2005).
109. Brandes, *Tschechen*, vol. 1, 32ff; Mastny, *Czechs*, 94f.
110. Bormann to Heydrich, in National Archives, Prague, 114-2-26.
111. Heydrich quotation from his speech in Černín Palace of 2 October 1941, in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, doc. 22, p. 120. Bryant, *Prague in Black*, 31.
112. Werner Koepen's report on Heydrich's conversation with Hitler, 2 October 1941, in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, doc. 21, p. 107.

113. Kárný, 'Introduction', in *ibid.*, 13–14. On the SD reports, see Boberach (ed.), *Meldungen aus dem Reich*. Heydrich's time in Prague is covered in vols 8 to 10, pp. 2809–3787. The daily and monthly SD reports from the Protectorate ended in October 1941.
114. Goebbels's diary entry of 15 February 1942, in *Tagebücher*, part II, vol. 3, 316.
115. Heydrich's speech in Prague Castle, 4 February 1942, in National Archives, Prague, 114-6-2, carton 22, f. 4.
116. Heinemann, "Perpetrator", 387ff.
117. Browning, *Origins*, 240ff.; Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, 26ff.; Karel C. Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair: Life and Death in Ukraine under Nazi Rule* (Cambridge, MA, 2004), 35ff.; Dean, *Collaboration*, 110ff.; Streit, *Keine Kameraden*, 128.
118. Heinemann, "Perpetrator", 387ff.
119. Memorandum by General Friderici, Plenipotentiary of the Wehrmacht to the Reich Protector of Bohemia and Moravia, on the meeting of 9 October 1940, as printed in Václav Král (ed.), *Die Deutschen in der Tschechoslowakei 1933–1947. Dokumentensammlung* (Prague, 1964), doc. 322a, pp. 427f.
120. Foreign Office memo on Hitler's decision about Czech autonomy and Germanization policies in the Protectorate of 14 October 1940, in *ibid.*, 428.
121. Heinemann, 'Rasse', 155ff.
122. Bryant, *Prague in Black*, 159. See, too, Isabel Heinemann, "Deutsches Blut". Die Rasseexperten der SS und die Volksdeutschen', in Jerzy Kochanowski and Maïke Sach (eds), *Die 'Volksdeutschen' in Polen, Frankreich, Ungarn und der Tschechoslowakei. Mythos und Realität* (Osnabrück, 2006), 163–82.
123. Heydrich during the senior staff meeting in the Reich Protector's Office on 17 October 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114-2-26.
124. Deschner, *Heydrich*, 217ff.; Dederichs, *Heydrich*, 155ff.
125. Naudé, *Politischer Beamter*, 124; see, too, Dennler, *Böhmische Passion*, 62f.
126. Heydrich's speech in Černín Palace on 2 October 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114-6-4, carton 22.
127. *Ibid.*, Bryant, *Prague in Black*, 159.
128. On this debate, see in greater detail Robert Gerwarth and Stephan Malinowski, 'Hannah Arendt's Ghosts: Reflections on the Disputable Path from Windhoek to Auschwitz', *Central European History* 42 (2009), 279–300.
129. Hitler on 17 September 1941, as quoted in Hitler, *Monologe*, 62f.; see, too, 193 and 361.
130. Birthe Kundrus, 'Kontinuitäten, Parallelen, Rezeptionen. Überlegungen zur Kolonialisierung des Nationalsozialismus', *WerkstattGeschichte* 43 (2006), 45–62, here 57f.
131. Reinhard Höhn and Helmut Seydel, 'Der Kampf um die Wiedergewinnung des deutschen Ostens. Erfahrungen der preussischen Ostsiedlung 1866–1914', in *Festgabe für Heinrich Himmler* (Darmstadt, 1941), 61–174, particularly 99ff. On Imperial Germany's 'colonial policies' towards Poland, see Philipp Ther, 'Deutsche Geschichte als imperiale Geschichte. Polen, slawophone Minderheiten und das Kaiserreich als kontinentales Empire', in Sebastian Conrad and Jürgen Osterhammel (eds), *Das Kaiserreich transnational. Deutschland in der Welt, 1871–1914* (Göttingen, 2004), 129–48; Thomas Serrier, *Entre Allemagne et Pologne. Nations et identités frontalières, 1848–1914* (Paris, 2002); Vejas Gabriel Liulevicius, *The German Myth of the East: 1800 to the Present* (Oxford, 2009).
132. Heydrich's speech in Černín Palace on 2 October 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114-6-4, carton 22.
133. Goebbels had read a draft of the speech and commented on it in writing. See his letter to Heydrich of 28 September 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114-6-4, carton 1140.
134. Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 20 March 1941; Helmut Heiber, 'Der Generalplan Ost', *VfZ* 6 (1958), 281–325.
135. On the genesis of the Generalplan Ost and the RuSHA's plans, see Heinemann, 'Rasse', 362ff.; Rutherford, *Prelude*; Czesław Madajczyk (ed.), *Vom Generalplan Ost zum Generalsiedlungsplan* (Munich, 1994); Rolf-Dieter Müller, *Hitler's Ostkrieg und die deutsche Siedlungspolitik. Die Zusammenarbeit von Wehrmacht, Wirtschaft und SS* (Frankfurt, 1991); Mechtild Rössler and Sabine Schleiermacher (eds), *Der 'Generalplan Ost'. Hauptlinien der nationalsozialistischen Planungs- und Vernichtungspolitik* (Berlin, 1993).

136. On the context, see Alena Mišková, 'Rassenforschung und Oststudien an der Deutschen (Karls-) Universität in Prag', in Detlef Brandes, Edita Ivaničková and Jiří Pešek (eds), *Erzwungene Trennung. Vertreibungen und Aussiedlungen in und aus der Tschechoslowakei 1938–1947 im Vergleich mit Polen, Ungarn und Jugoslawien* (Essen, 1999). On Karl Valentin Müller, see Eduard Kubů, "Die Bedeutung des deutschen Blutes im Tschechentum". Der "wissenschaftspädagogische" Beitrag des Soziologen Karl Valentin Müller zur Lösung des Problems der Germanisierung Mitteleuropas', *Bohemia. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der böhmischen Länder* 45 (2004), 93–114.
137. Müller's appointment certificate, 6 November 1941, as quoted in Kubů, 'Bedeutung', 98.
138. Martin Paul Wolff to Franz-Alfred Six, with copy of Müller's memorandum 'Die tschechisch-deutsche Frage', in Státní oblastní archiv Praha (Prague State Archive), NSDAP Prag, file collection 'K. V. Müller'. See, too, Kubů, 'Bedeutung', 96ff.
139. Kubů, 'Bedeutung', 96ff.
140. Hans Joachim Beyer, *Aufbau und Entwicklung des ostdeutschen Volksraums* (Berlin, 1935); Karl Heinz Roth, 'Heydrichs Professor. Historiographie des "Volkstums" und der Massenvernichtungen. Der Fall Hans Joachim Beyer', in Peter Schöttler (ed.), *Geschichtsschreibung als Legitimationswissenschaft* (Frankfurt, 1997), 262–342, esp. 307.
141. Alexander Pinwinkler, 'Assimilation' und "Dissimilation" in der Bevölkerungsgeschichte ca. 1918–1960', in Rainer Mackensen (ed.), *Bevölkerungsforschung und Politik in Deutschland im 20. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 2006), 23–48, here 36.
142. Hans Joachim Beyer, 'Auslese und Assimilation', *Deutsche Monatshefte* 7 (1940), 418; idem, 'Amerikanisches oder bolschewistisches "Volkstum"', *Deutsche Volksforschung in Böhmen und Mähren* 2 (1943), 204ff.; see, too, Roth, 'Heydrichs Professor', 262ff.
143. Hans Joachim Beyer, *Das Schicksal der Polen. Rasse – Volkscharakter – Stammesart* (Leipzig, 1942), 158ff.
144. In 1945, Beyer escaped from Prague to Germany and started a second and rather different career, first as spokesperson of the Protestant Church in Schleswig-Holstein, then, from 1950, as professor of history at the University of Flensburg. Pinwinkler, "Assimilation", 30; Andreas Wiedemann, *Die Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung in Prag 1942–1945* (Dresden, 2000); Alena Mišková, 'Die Deutsche Universität Prag im Vergleich mit anderen deutschen Universitäten der Kriegszeit', in Hans Lemberg (ed.), *Universitäten in nationaler Konkurrenz. Zur Geschichte der Prager Universitäten im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 2003), 177–94, here 186.
145. Heydrich's speech in Černín Palace on 2 October 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114-6-4, carton 22. For the SS racial surveys of March 1940 on which Heydrich's opinion was based, see BAB, NS 2/88, 30–8.
146. Heydrich's speech in Černín Palace on 2 October 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114-6-4, carton 22. On the context, see Boris Čelovský (ed.), *Germanisierung und Genozid. Hitlers Endlösung der tschechischen Frage. Deutsche Dokumente 1933–1945* (Brno and Dresden, 2005).
147. Götz Aly and Karl Heinz Roth, *Die restlose Erfassung. Volkszählen, Identifizieren, Aussondern im Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt am Main, 2000); Bartov, 'Defining Enemies', 135ff.; Eric D. Weitz, *A Century of Genocide: Utopias of Race and Nation* (Princeton, NJ, 2003), 113ff.
148. Heinemann, "Perpetrator", 392.
149. For a general discussion of the various agencies involved in the ethnic reconstruction of occupied Europe, see Isabel Heinemann, "Ethnic Resettlement" and Inter-Agency Cooperation in the Occupied Eastern Territories', in Gerald D. Feldman and Wolfgang Seibel (eds), *Networks of Nazi Persecution: Bureaucracy, Business, and the Organization of the Holocaust* (Oxford and New York, 2004), 213–35.
150. Although no record exists of this conversation, Hitler's lunchtime table talk that day consisted of a monologue on the destruction of the Czech people. Heydrich was present and their conversation about the Protectorate must have taken place either before or after that meal. See Hitler, *Monologe*, 106ff.
151. Heydrich's speech in Prague Castle on 4 February 1942, in National Archives, Prague, 114–22.
152. Bryant, *Prague in Black*, 158. John Connelly, 'Nazis and Slavs: From Racial Theory to Racist Practice', *Central European History* 32 (1999), 1–33, here 16–19; Lothar Kettenacker,

- Nationalsozialistische Volkstumspolitik im Elsass* (Stuttgart, 1973), 232; Doris Bergen, 'The Nazi Concept of "Volksdeutsche" and the Exacerbation of Anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe, 1939–1945', *Journal of Contemporary History* 29 (1994), 569–82, here 572.
153. Bryant, *Prague in Black*, 158–9.
 154. Werner Koeppen's report on the meeting of Heydrich and Hitler of 1–2 October 1941, in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, doc. 21, p. 107.
 155. Heydrich to Bormann, 30 December 1941, in *ibid.*, doc. 65, p. 206. See, too, Bryant, *Prague in Black*, 158.
 156. Heydrich to Bormann, 18 May 1942, in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, doc. 98, p. 272.
 157. Bryant, *Prague in Black*.
 158. On the Bodenamt and land confiscations, see Miloš Hořejš, 'Spolupráce Böhmsch-Mährische Landgesellschaft, Bodenamt für Böhmen und Mähren a Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle na germanizaci české půdy na Mělnicku a Mladoboleslavsku (1939–1945)', *Tereziánské listy* 34 (2006), 89–124.
 159. Heydrich at senior staff meeting in the Reich Protector's Office, 17 October 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114-2-26. Heydrich's speech of 4 February 1942, in National Archives, Prague, 114-2-2, p. 23.
 160. Wendy Lower, 'A New Ordering of Space and Race: Nazi Colonial Dreams in Zhytomyr, Ukraine 1941–1944', *German Studies Review* 25 (2002), 227–54; Uwe Mai, *Rasse und Raum. Agrarpolitik, Sozial- und Raumplanung im NS-Staat* (Paderborn, 2002).
 161. SD files on members of the Prague Land Office, in National Archives, Prague, 114-5-15, carton 19.
 162. Brandes, 'Nationalsozialistische Tschechenpolitik', 53–4.
 163. On the number of Czechs expelled from their homes, see Brandes, *Tschechen*, vol. 1, 170; Heinemann, 'Rasse', 166–7.
 164. Mazower, *Hitler's Empire*, 186.
 165. Heydrich's speech in Černín Palace on 2 October 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114-6-4, carton 22.
 166. On Heydrich's racial experts, see Roth, 'Generalplan Ost', 36; Heinemann, 'Rasse', 131; Míšková, 'Rassenforschung', 39ff.
 167. Brandes, 'Nationalsozialistische Tschechenpolitik', 52; Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 101.
 168. Heinemann, 'Rasse' 169ff.; Bryant, *Prague in Black*, 161.
 169. Heydrich's speech in Prague Castle of 4 February 1942, in National Archives, Prague, 114-2-2, 24. For a detailed discussion of Heydrich's youth policy, see Tara Zahra, *Kidnapped Souls: National Indifference and the Battle for Children in the Bohemian Lands, 1900–1948* (Ithaca, NY, and London, 2008), 232ff.
 170. Heydrich's speech in Prague Castle of 4 February 1942, in National Archives, Prague, 114-2-2, 24.
 171. *Ibid.*
 172. Höppner to Ehlich and Eichmann, 3 September 1941, as quoted in Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland* (Wiesbaden, 2006), 375.
 173. See Heydrich's order of 29 September 1941, in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, doc. 15, pp. 97–8. See, too, *Der Neue Tag*, 6 October 1941.
 174. Heydrich at the press conference of 10 October 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114-2-47, carton 8.
 175. Heydrich to Hácha, 6 October 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114, supplement I, carton 43.
 176. Heinemann, *Rasse*, 174; Rothkirchen, *Jews*, 51f.; Nathan Stoltzfus, 'The Limits of Policy: Social Protection of Intermarried German Jews in Nazi Germany', in Robert Gellately and idem (eds), *Social Outsiders in Nazi Germany* (Princeton, NJ, 2001), 117–44. See, too, Heydrich's circular to the district governors on the naturalization of Jewish *Mischlinge* of 28 March 1942, in USHMM RG 48.005 M, reel 2; Report of the Chief of the Racial Office of RuSHA on the activities of RuSHA in Bohemia and Moravia, 25 January 1944, in BAB, NS 2/153.
 177. 'Bericht der Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung', 2 October 1941, in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, doc. 23, pp. 122–7.

178. Miroslav Kárný, 'Zur Statistik der jüdischen Bevölkerung im sogenannten Protektorat', *Judaica Bohemiae* 23 (1987), 9–19.
179. Zimmermann, *Rassenutopie*, 218ff.
180. On the number of deaths, see Ctibor Nečas, *Holocaust českých Romů* (Prague, 1999), 175.
181. Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 405, n. 60.
182. Werner Koeppen's report on Hitler's table talk of 6 October 1941, in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, doc. 25, p. 130.
183. Bryant, *Prague in Black*, 149; Kershaw, *Hitler: Nemesis*, 479.
184. Heydrich to Himmler, 19 October 1941, in IfZ, Eich 1544. On the Łódź Ghetto, see Sascha Feuchert, Erwin Leibfried and Jörg Riecke (eds), *Die Chronik des Ghettos Lodz/Litzmannstadt* (Göttingen, 2006), and Andrea Löw, *Juden im Getto Litzmannstadt. Lebensbedingungen, Selbstwahrnehmung, Verhalten* (Göttingen, 2006). Longerich, *Politik*, 434ff.
185. Senior staff meeting in the Reich Protector's Office, 10 October 1941, in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, doc. 29, pp. 137–41.
186. Senior staff meeting in the Reich Protector's Office, 17 October 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114-2-26. On Theresienstadt, see the reprint of Hans Günther Adler, *Theresienstadt 1941–1945. Das Antlitz einer Zwangsgemeinschaft* (Göttingen, 2005); Vojtěch Blodig, 'Dějiny ghetta Terezín (1941–1945)', in Miloš Pojar (ed.), *Stín šoa nad Evropou* (Prague, 2001), 57–66; Tomáš Fedorovič, 'Zánik města Terezín a jeho přeměna v ghetto', *Terezínské listy* 32 (2004), 15–43.
187. On the number of arrivals at Terezín, see Hilberg, *Destruction*, vol. 2, 455.
188. Goebbels's diary entry of 18 November 1941, in *Tagebücher*, part II, vol. 2, 309.
189. Miroslav Kárný, 'Konečné řešení'. *Genocida českých židů v německé protektorátní politice* (Prague, 1991), 155ff.
190. Browning, *Origins*, 244.
191. Eichmann's courier letter of 31 January 1942, reprinted in Longerich, *Ermordung*, 165f.
192. Transcript of the meeting of 9 March 1942, as reprinted in Longerich, *Ermordung*, 167ff.
193. Private film coverage of Heydrich in the Bavarian Alps shows him relaxed and cheerful. See BA Filmarchiv (Berlin), DW 615/26/1942. See, too; Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 7 March 1942, p. 371.
194. Dieter Pohl, *Von der 'Judenpolitik' zum Judenmord. Der Distrikt Lublin des Generalgouvernements 1939–1944* (Frankfurt am Main, 1993), 13ff.; David Silberklang, 'Die Juden und die ersten Deportationen aus dem Distrikt Lublin', in Bogdan Musial (ed.), *Aktion Reinhardt. Der Völkermord an den Juden im Generalgouvernement 1941–1944* (Osnabrück, 2004), 141–64.
195. Witte, 'Two Decisions', 335f.
196. Kárný, 'Konečné řešení', 153f. On Sobibor more generally, see Jules Schelvis, *Vernichtungslager Sobibór. Dokumente – Texte – Materialien* (Berlin, 1998).
197. Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 20 October 1941; Yehoshua Büchler, 'The Deportation of Slovakian Jews to the Lublin District of Poland in 1942', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 6 (1991), 151–66.
198. Tuka's memorandum on Heydrich's visit, dated 10 April, in National Archives, Prague, 114-7-300; see, too, Büchler, 'Deportation', 153ff.
199. Note by Dannecker, 10 March 1941, printed in Klarsfeld, *Vichy*, 374f. The deportation of 5,000 French Jews to Auschwitz was carried out between 5 June and 17 July.
200. Yitzhak Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka: The Operation Reinhard Death Camps* (Bloomington, IN, 1987), 36ff and 75; Jürgen Matthäus, "'Operation Barbarossa" and the Onset of the Holocaust', in Browning, *Origins*, 253–5, here 304.
201. This visit was reconstructed during the trial of the former Gestapo chief in Minsk, Georg Heuser, in 1963. See Irene Sagel-Grande, H. H. Fuchs and C. F. Rüter (eds), *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen. Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1945–1966*, vol. 19: *Die vom 10.01.1963 bis zum 12.04.1964 ergangenen Strafurteile* (Amsterdam, 1978), vol. 19 (Amsterdam, 1987), doc. no. 552 p. 192. On the new round of mass killings, see Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, 694ff.
202. On the Ukraine, see Dieter Pohl, 'Schauplatz Ukraine. Der Massenmord an den Juden im Militärverwaltungsgebiet und im Reichskommissariat 1941–1943', in Norbert Frei,

- Sybille Steinbacher and Bernd C. Wagner (eds), *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit. Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik* (Munich, 2000), 135–73, here 159f.
203. Longerich, *Himmler*, 583.
 204. Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 410ff.; Longerich, *Himmler*, 582f.
 205. Heydrich's speaking notes of 19 December 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114–22.
 206. On German cultural policies in the Protectorate up until Heydrich's arrival in Prague, see Fauth, *Kulturpolitik*; Jirí Doležal, *Česká kultura za protektorátu* (Prague, 1996); František Červinka, *Česká kultura a okupace* (Prague, 2002).
 207. Fauth, *Kulturpolitik*, 88.
 208. Heydrich to Goebbels, February 1942, in National Archives, Prague, 109–4–711.
 209. Letter, Heydrich to Goebbels, 29 September 1941, and Goebbels's response of 1 October 1941, both in National Archives, Prague, 114, carton 1140. See, too, Goebbels's diary entry of 17 November 1941, in *Tagebücher*, part II, vol. 2, 309.
 210. See the 'Protokoll über die Abmachungen mit dem Reichspropagandaministerium über die beabsichtigten Massnahmen auf dem Sektor Kulturpropaganda' of 14 October 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114, carton 1140.
 211. Heydrich's speech in Prague Castle, 4 February 1942, in National Archives, Prague, 114–22, ff. 23 and 50. Himmler warmly approved of these 'very good' ideas. See Himmler to Heydrich, 23 October 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114, carton 1140.
 212. Heydrich's speech in Černín Palace on 2 October 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114–6–4, carton 22. On the importance of the Wenceslas myth for Heydrich's propaganda, see, too, the post-Second World War interrogations of Walter Jacobi, Archive of the Ministry of the Interior (AMV), Prague, 325–166–3.
 213. See, for example, 'Tschechische Betrachtungen zur Wenzelstradition', *Der Neue Tag*, 21 November 1941.
 214. Hácha and Heydrich as quoted in *Der Neue Tag*, 19 November 1941.
 215. Reinhard Heydrich, 'Die Wenzelstradition', *Der Neue Tag*, 20 November 1941.
 216. National Archives, Kew, HS 4/79/324795.
 217. Heydrich, 'Die Wenzelstradition'.
 218. Heydrich's speech in Černín Palace, 2 October 1941, in National Archives, Prague, 114–6–4, carton 22.
 219. Heydrich's notes on the history of Bohemia (undated), in National Archives, Prague, 114–5–15, carton 8. Few of these interpretations originated with Heydrich. He drew heavily on memoranda written by Karl Hermann Frank in 1940, as well on a series of essays published by the Sudeten German law professor Hermann Raschhofer in the Nazi periodical *Böhmen und Mähren*. See Karl Hermann Frank, *Böhmen und Mähren im Reich. Vortrag gehalten am 24. Juni 1941 im Ostinstitut in Krakau* (Prague, 1941). See, too, Himmler to Heydrich, 23 October 1941 (with particular emphasis on the Wenceslas myth), in National Archives, Prague, 114, carton 1140.
 220. Hans Lemberg, 'Prag im Zerrspiegel. Die Propagierung des "deutschen Prag" in der Protektoratszeit', in *Magister noster. Sborník statí věnovaných in memoriam Prof. Dr. Janu Havránkovi* (Prague, 2005), 383–94. Vojtěch Šustek, 'Josef Pfltzner a germanizace města Prahy', in *Osm set let pražské samosprávy. Sborník příspěvků z 18. vědecké konference Archivu hlavního města Prahy* (Prague, 2002), 167–81.
 221. Heydrich's speech in Prague Castle, 4 February 1942, in National Archives, Prague, 114–22, f. 56. On his genuine passion for the history of Bohemia and Moravia see, too, Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 105.
 222. On Heydrich's interest in Wallenstein, see Deschner, *Heydrich*, 218. On the excavations, see Heydrich to Hácha, 4 May 1942, in National Archives, Prague, 114–5–15, carton 19.
 223. Heydrich to Bormann, 8 May 1942, in National Archives, Prague, 114–3–17; Heydrich to Bormann, 16 November 1941, in *ibid.*
 224. See Himmler's 'Denkschrift über die Behandlung der Fremdvölkischen' of May 1940, reprinted in *VfZ* 5 (1957), 195ff.
 225. Heydrich's speech of 4 February 1942, in National Archives, Prague, 114–22, f. 29; Heydrich to Bormann, 22 January 1942, National Archives, Prague, 114–3–17.
 226. *České slovo*, 1 May 1942.
 227. National Archives, Kew, HS 4/79/324795.

228. Heydrich's speech in Prague Castle, 4 February 1942, in National Archives, Prague, 114–22, f. 28. On the German academics in Prague involved in the Germanization of the academic landscape, see Ota Konrád, 'Die deutschen Hochschullehrer in Prag vor und nach 1938/39. Versuch einer Bestandsaufnahme', in Jerzy Kochanowski and Maike Sach (eds), *Die 'Volksdeutschen' in Polen, Frankreich, Ungarn und der Tschechoslowakei. Mythos und Realität* (Osnabrück, 2006), 147–62; Míšková, 'Rassenforschung'; quotation from Karl Hermann Frank, in Wannemacher (ed.), *Leben der Tat*, 39.
229. Wiedemann, *Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung*, 44; Alan E. Steinweis, 'German Cultural Imperialism in Czechoslovakia and Poland, 1938–1945', *International History Review* 13 (1991), 466–80.
230. Wiedemann, *Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung*, 89.
231. Heydrich to Bormann, 18 May 1942, in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, doc. 98, pp. 264ff.; Wiedemann, *Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung*, 44.
232. The Reinhard Heydrich Foundation was officially launched on 27 May 1943, the first anniversary of Heydrich's death. See Wiedemann, *Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung*.
233. Heydrich to Bormann, 30 December 1941, in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, doc. 65, pp. 203–4. See, too, Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 105. Dinner seating plans modified by Heydrich at Prague Castle on 4 December 1941 (dress code: men in uniform, women in short evening dresses) can be found in Burian et al., *Assassination*, 40. Speer's post-war account of Heydrich as quoted in Deschner, *Heydrich*, 322.
234. *Böhmen und Mähren*, November 1941, 400ff.; *Der Neue Tag*, 29 October 1941. See, too, Vlasta Reittererová, 'Das Mozartjahr 1941 in Prag. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Musiklebens im Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren', in *Přednášky z 47. běhu Letní školy slovanských studií* (Prague, 2004), 184–206.
235. File 'Heydrich und das Deutsche Theater (nur Rohmaterial!)', in National Archives, Prague, 114–2–26. See, too, Karl Hermann Frank, in Wannemacher (ed.), *Leben der Tat*, 40.
236. Heydrich's speech of 16 October 1941 on the occasion of the reopening of the Rudolfinum, in National Archives, Prague, 114–2–47, carton 8.
237. *Ibid.*
238. Heydrich, 'Grusswort' for Musical Week, in IfZ, Ed 450; Berndt to Goebbels, 13 January 1941, in BAB, R 55, 20750.
239. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 114.
240. *Ibid.*; Naudé, *Politischer Beamter*, 127f.; Klein, 'Pfitzner and the Two Heydrichs', 308–17.
241. Heydrich to Bormann, 16 May 1942, in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, doc. 96, p. 258. See, too, the daily SD reports of January–May 1942 which highlighted the surge in resistance activities that Heydrich was referring to.
242. Heydrich's speech of 26 May 1942, in National Archives, Prague, 114, carton 8.
243. On Eastern Europe, see the draft 'Verordnung über Kollektivmassnahmen in den besetzten Ostgebieten', sent by Heydrich to Rosenberg on 16 March 1942, in BA-MA, SF-01/28985, ff. 127–9.
244. Heydrich to Ribbentrop, 3 June 1942 (the letter was signed by Heydrich before his assassination, but only posted afterwards), printed in Fritz Petrick, *Die Okkupationspolitik des deutschen Faschismus in Dänemark und Norwegen, 1940–45* (Berlin, 1992), doc. 61, p. 139.
245. Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 28 January 1942, p. 331.
246. Heydrich to General Quartermaster Wagner, 6 November 1941, in IfZ, MA 280; reprinted in Klarsfeld, *Vichy*, 369. See, too, Burrin, *Hitler and the Jews*, 123f. The content of the letter had apparently been approved by Himmler who talked to Heydrich over the phone on the very same day that Heydrich's letter was posted. See Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 21 December 1941, p. 255.
247. Heydrich to Canaris, 5 February 1942, in IfZ, MA 1498. A copy of the letter was sent to Himmler, who discussed the matter with Heydrich on 7 and 10 February. See Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 7 and 10 February 1942, pp. 340 and 343.
248. Canaris to Heydrich, 8 February 1942, in IfZ, MA 1498.
249. 'Grundsätze für die Zusammenarbeit der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD und den Abwehrstellen der Wehrmacht', in BAB, NS 19/3514.

250. On the conference, see BA Hoppegarten, MIA, 35; Archive of the Czech Interior Ministry, 114–3–14/36–7; on Canaris as a house guest in the Heydrich home, see Lina Heydrich to Peter Schneiders (Amsterdam), 12 January 1962, in NIOD, doc. I, 691A.
251. Post-war testimony of Huppenkothen, IfZ, ZS 249, 40.
252. Letter, Canaris to Lina Heydrich, as quoted in: Höhne, *Canaris*, 379.
253. See Hitler's order of 9 March 1942, in BAB, R 70/13, and the previous negotiations between the SS and the Wehrmacht during February 1942, in IfZ, MA 342 ff. 8339–45.
254. Heydrich to Bormann (from Paris), 7 May 1942, in Káraý et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, doc. 93, p. 254.
255. Dannecker to Knochen, 10 March 1942, as quoted in Klarsfeld (ed.), *Endlösung*, doc. 28.
256. Post-war testimony of Hans Boetticher, Chief Justice in the German military administration in France, 29 October 1949, as quoted in Bernhard Brunner, *Der Frankreich-Komplex. Die nationalsozialistischen Verbrechen in Frankreich und die Justiz der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Göttingen, 2004), 59.
257. Walter Bargatzky, *Hotel Majestic. Ein Deutscher im besetzten Frankreich* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1987), 103f.
258. Best to Heydrich, 15 April 1942, in BAB, BDC, Best; see, too, Best's post-war statement on Heydrich (1 October 1959), in IfZ (Munich), ZS 207/2, ff. 6–7; and Herbert, *Best*, 316–19.
259. Best to Wolff, 15 November 1941, in BAB, BDC, Best; see, too, Herbert, *Best*, 316.
260. Heydrich to Wolff, 14 April 1942, in BAB, BDC, Best. On 4 May, Heydrich sent Best's letter to him on to Himmler, adding in the margin that 'I have nothing to add to Best's letter.' Heydrich to Himmler, 4 May 1942, in BAB, BDC, Best.
261. Best to Heydrich, 7 May 1942, in BAB, BDC, Best. The previous day, he had written to Wolff to clarify his position: *ibid.*
262. Best to Wolff, 13 May 1942, BAB, BDC, Best.
263. Čestmír Amort, *Heydrichiáda* (Prague, 1965), 37; MacDonald, *Killing*, 166; Brandes, *Tschechen*, vol. 1, 263; Deschner, *Heydrich*, 236; Dederichs, *Heydrich*, 139.
264. Miroslav Kárný, 'Heydrichova cesta do Paříže (5.5.1942)', *Historie a vojenství* 41 (1992), 95–108. In Giese's papers there is only a brief note from Böhme to Frank of 4 May 1942, indicating that Heydrich was currently in Paris and that he had ordered that they should pretend that he was in Berlin. Böhme to Frank, 4 May 1942, in National Archives, Prague, 109–4–729.
265. This meeting had also been encouraged by Himmler, who informed Heydrich on 11 May that he had suggested to Hitler that he should meet Heydrich in order to discuss ways of overcoming the wave of resistance throughout Europe. Himmler to Heydrich, 11 May 1942, in IfZ, MA 328. Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche Politik*, 74.
266. Post-war testimony of Dr Ludwig Hahn, the Sipo and SD commander in Warsaw, as quoted in Deschner, *Heydrich*, 236f.
267. SD report 58/42, in National Archives, Prague, 114–308–3.
268. Karl Wolff remembered after the war that Himmler had asked Heydrich in May to take greater precautions in the light of recent threats against his life. See Wolff's post-war testimony, in IfZ, ZS 317, ff. 34f. According to the only Czech surgeon present during Heydrich's operation on 27 May, Alois Vincenc Honek, Heydrich wore a bullet-proof vest on the day of the operation. See Dederichs, *Heydrich*, 144.
269. Speer as quoted in MacDonald, *Killing*, 148f.

Chapter IX: Legacies of Destruction

1. Haasis, *Tod*, 116; Axel Huber, "Du, Reinhard Heydrich, bist ein wahrhaft gutter SS-Mann gewesen": Totenkult und Heldenmythos nach dem Tod von SS-Gruppenführer Reinhard Heydrich', MA thesis, University of Konstanz, 2009. See, too, the detailed programme of and instructions for Heydrich's funeral services in Prague and Berlin, in BAB, BDC, SSO Reinhard Heydrich, and IfZ, Ed 450. See, too, Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 6f. and 131; and Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 4 and 7 June 1942, pp. 450 and 455.
2. See the strict guidelines provided by the Ministry of Propaganda as summarized by the Berlin correspondent of *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Fritz Sänger, in Kárný et al. (eds), *Deutsche*

- Politik*, doc. 107, pp. 291f.; see, too, Volker Ackermann, *Nationale Totenfeiern in Deutschland. Von Wilhelm I. tris Franz Josef Strauss, eine Studie zur politischen Semiotik* (Stuttgart, 1990), 196. Quotations from the obituary in *Der Neue Tag*, 5 June 1942. See, too, *Völkischer Beobachter*, 5 June 1942; 'Ein Leben für das Reich', *Das Schwarze Korps*, 11 June 1942; Herbert von Daniels, 'Synthese Sportler und Soldat. Heydrich bleibt Vorbild für die deutsche Jugend', undated article, in BAB, BDC, SSO Reinhard Heydrich; Fritz Helke, 'Jagdflieger Heydrich', *Königsberger Allgemeine Zeitung*, 9 June 1942.
3. Himmler's funeral speech as printed in Wannemacher (ed.), *Leben der Tat*, 81–90. The volume was published by the Prague-based publishing house Volk und Reich on the second anniversary of Heydrich's death. On the extensive preparations for the volume, see the correspondence between SS-Standartenführer Gies (Prague) and SS-Standartenführer Brandt (Persönlicher Stab Reichsführer SS), in National Archives, Prague, 110–4–549. See, too, the correspondence between Frank and Himmler on the festive commemoration of Heydrich's death, in National Archives, Prague, 110–4–549.
 4. Hitler's speech as printed in Reichssicherheitshauptamt (ed.), *Meine Ehre heisst Treue*, 23.
 5. See Himmler's correspondence on this matter, in BAB, NS 19/3454, and the letters written by Wilhelm Petersens to Lina Heydrich, in BAB, R 58, supplement 23. According to Hitler's orders, Heydrich was to be reburied in a newly built Great Hall for Germany's military leaders after the war's end. Bormann to Lammers, 6 June 1942, in BAB, R 45II/1157b. On Heydrich's grave, see Laurenz Demps, *Der Invalidenfriedhof. Denkmal preussisch-deutscher Geschichte in Berlin* (Stuttgart, 1996), 80ff.
 6. On Heydrich becoming a household name, see the SD report, no. 290, of 11 June 1942 in BAB, R 58/172; reprinted in Boberach (ed.), *Meldungen aus dem Reich*, vol. 10, 3802ff. See, too, *Wochenschau*, no. 615, 17 June 1942. On Hitler's orders: letter from the NSDAP-Reichsleitung to SS-Obergruppenführer Schmitt, head of the SS Personnel Department, 23 July 1942, in BAB, BDC, SSO Reinhard Heydrich. On the name change of the 6th SS Infantry Standard, see *Völkischer Beobachter*, 7 June 1942, and IFZ, Ed 450. See, too, the letter exchanges between Lina Heydrich and the commanders of the SS infantry regiment 'Reinhard Heydrich', in BAB, R 58 appendix 23. On the special Heydrich stamp, see BAB, NS 19/545. The stamp is reprinted in Deschner, *Heydrich*, 176. On the renaming of streets, see *Der Neue Tag*, 31 May 1943. The quotation is from *Germanische Leitbhefte*, June 1942, p. 2.
 7. Sabine Behrenbeck, *Der Kult um die toten Helden. Nationalsozialistische Mythen, Riten und Symbole 1923 bis 1945* (Cologne, 1996), 595ff.; Daniel Siemens, *Horst Wessel. Tod und Verklärung eines Nationalsozialisten* (Munich, 2009). On SS celebrations of death, see Fritz Weitzel, *Die Gestaltung der Feste im Jahres- und Lebenslauf in der SS-Familie* (Wuppertal, 1942), 38 and 76; Karl Hermann Frank, 18 October 1942, in National Archives, Prague, 114–6–8, carton 22.
 8. Goebbels, *Tagebücher*, part II, vol. 4, p. 450 (entry for 4 June 1942).
 9. Brandes, *Tschechen*, vol. 1, 261.
 10. See Böhme's notes of 12 June 1942, Archive of the Ministry of the Interior, Prague, 114–10–1/II, and Král, *Deutschen*, 480.
 11. Brandes, *Tschechen*, vol. 1, 263; Berton, 'Attentat', 690f.
 12. Berton, 'Attentat', 668ff.
 13. The letter is quoted in length in *ibid.*, 688, n. 15. On the murder of the two suspects, see 'Totenbuch des SS-Standortarztes Mauthausen', 24 October 1942, in KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen, AMM Y/46. On the fact that they were gassed rather than shot, see the confessions of the two SS officers in charge of the killings, Martin Roth and Werner Fassel, in 'Urteil des Landgerichts Hagen', 24 July 1970, 11 KS 1/70, in KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen, AMM P/19/45; and Pierre Serge Choumoff, *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas auf österreichischem Gebiet 1940–1945* (Vienna, 2000), 101ff.
 14. Brandes, *Tschechen*, vol. 1, 263f.; Mastny, *Czechs*, 215ff. See, too, Peter Steinkamp, 'Lidice 1942', in Gerd R. Ueberschär (ed.), *Orte des Grauens. Verbrechen im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Darmstadt, 2003), 126–35. See, too, Geschke's final report on the destruction of Lidice, dated 24 June 1942, in Archive of the Ministry of the Interior, Prague, 301–5–4. See, too, Daluge's 'Führerbericht über den Mordanschlag auf SS-Obergruppenführer Heydrich' (29 June 1942), in Archive of the Ministry of the Interior, Prague, 301–5–4. Death figures

- as quoted in Wolfgang Benz, *Legenden, Lügen, Vorurteile. Ein Wörterbuch zur Zeitgeschichte* (Munich, 1992), 140. The youngest victim was fourteen-year-old Josef Hroník, the oldest was eighty-four-year-old Emanuel Kovářovský. See, too, Official Statement by the German government, 10 June 1942, as quoted in the British SOE Report, National Archives, Kew, HS 4/79.
15. Archive of the Interior Ministry, Prague, 325–2–2, 325–2–4, 325–2–5. On the ‘Lebensborn’ project, see Georg Lilienthal, *Der ‘Lebensborn e. v.’. Ein Instrument nationalsozialistischer Rassenpolitik* (Frankfurt, 1993), 242ff. See, too, Zahra, *Kidnapped Souls*, 197.
 16. Miroslav Kárný, “‘Heydrichiaden’”: Widerstand und Terror im “Protectorat Böhmen und Mähren”, in Loukia Droulia and Hagen Fleischer (eds), *Von Lidice bis Kalavryta. Widerstand und Besatzungsterror. Studien zur Repressalienpraxis im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Berlin 1999), 51–63, here 61. For Goebbels’s quotation, see his diary entry of 14 June 1942, in *Tagebücher*, part II, vol. 4, 523f.
 17. See, for example, *The Times*, 26 June 1942; *New York Times*, 11 June 1942.
 18. War Office ‘Memorandum on German Occupation of the Protectorate’ (12 January 1943), in National Archives, Kew, HS 4/79.
 19. See the eulogies in *Lidice: A Tribute by Members of the International P.E.N.* (London 1944), Thomas Mann’s quotation on p. 90. On Mann’s *Lidice*, originally entitled *Der Protektor*, see Uwe Naumann, *Faschismus als Grotteske. Heinrich Manns ‘Lidice’* (Worms, 1980). The story of this operation and the subsequent annihilation of Lidice have also inspired countless post-war films, novels, plays and songs. The story of the assassination inspired films such as *Attentat* (1964), *Operation Daybreak* (1975) and *The Assassination of Reinhard Heydrich* (1991), as well as the song ‘A Lovely Day Tomorrow’ by the British rock band Sea Power.
 20. Thomas Mann, *Essays*, vol. 5: *Deutschland und die Deutschen 1938–1945*, ed. Hermann Kurzke and Stephan Stachorski (Frankfurt, 1997), 185f. On the text’s dissemination as a propaganda leaflet dropped behind German lines in September and October 1942, see *ibid.*, 373f. On Mann and Heydrich, see Hübinger, ‘Mann und Heydrich’, 111ff.
 21. Beneš to Bartoš, as quoted in Mastny, *Czechs*, 217.
 22. Less than two months later, on 29 September 1942, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk received written assurance from the French government-in-exile that it, too, considered the Munich Agreement null and void. See Jan Kuklík, ‘Oduznání mnichovské dohody za druhé světové války’, *Historie a vojenství* 46 (1997), 49–68; Jan Němeček, ‘Rok 1942 v československém zahraničním odboji’, in *Rok 1942 v českém odboji. Sborník příspěvků z vědecké konference* (Prague, 1999), 19–24.
 23. Frank’s speech of October 1942, in National Archives, Prague, 114–6–8.
 24. Brandes, *Tschechen*, vol. 1, 265; Dennler, *Böhmische Passion*, 78–80. See the long list of informers and sums paid to them in exchange for information in Archive of the Ministry of the Interior, Prague, 315–194–30.
 25. MacDonald, *Killing*, 193ff. Čurda was arrested by the Czech authorities in 1945 and, after an unsuccessful suicide attempt, was hanged in 1947 for high treason.
 26. Berton ‘Attentat’, 694, n. 27; ‘Totenbuch des SS-Standortarztes Mauthausen’, 24 October 1942, in KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen, AMM Y/46.
 27. See Daluge’s ‘Führerbericht über den Mordanschlag auf SS-Obergruppenführer Heydrich’ (29 June 1942), in Archive of the Czech Ministry of the Interior, 301–5–4.
 28. Berton, ‘Attentat’, 668ff.; Haasis, *Tod*, 152.
 29. ‘Totenbuch des SS-Standortarztes Mauthausen’, 24 October 1942, in KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen, AMM Y/46.
 30. Brandes, *Tschechen*, vol. 1, 265; Mastny, *Czechs*, 220ff.; MacDonald, *Killing*, 196; Frantiček Schildberger, *Ležáky* (Hradec Králové, 1982).
 31. See Geschke’s report on death sentences of 24 June 1942, in Archive of the Ministry of the Interior, Prague, 301–5–4; see, too, Brandes, ‘Nationalsozialistische Tschechenpolitik’, 47; Sládek, ‘Standrecht’, 332f.
 32. See the report ‘Protectorate Background for Operations’, 14 August 1942, in National Archives, Kew, HS 4/79. On the productivity of the Czech armaments industry until 1945, see Vladimír Francev, ‘Panzerjäger – Program. Nový úkol pro protektorátní průmysl’, in *Válečný rok 1944* (Prague, 2002), 320ff.

33. Smith et al., *Himmler: Geheimreden*, 146–61, here 159. That Himmler was deeply shaken by Heydrich's death is confirmed by Wolff's post-war testimony, in IfZ, ZS 317, f. 31. See, too, Longerich, *Himmler*, 586ff. Kurt Daluge argued along similar lines when on 7 June 1942 he wrote in *Völkischer Beobachter* that Heydrich's death had made the SS 'even more determined to exterminate those elements of the European underworld' responsible for the assassination, by which he meant the Jews. *Völkischer Beobachter*, 7 June 1942.
34. Longerich, *Himmler*, 586ff.; Christopher R. Browning, *The Path to Genocide: Essays on Launching the Final Solution* (Cambridge, 1992), 169; see, too, Pohl, *Ostgalizien*.
35. Meetings between Himmler and Hitler took place on 27, 28, 30 and 31 May, as well as on 3, 4 and 5 June 1942. See Witte et al. (eds), *Dienstkalender*, 441–56; and Longerich, *Himmler*, 588ff.; Witte, 'Two Decisions', 333f.; Pohl, *Ostgalizien*, 204f.
36. The odd spelling of Heydrich's first name with a 't' has given rise to the somewhat curious speculation that the genocidal operation in the General Government was not named after the murdered Reich Protector and chief organizer of the 'Final Solution', but after the State Secretary of Finance, Fritz Reinhardt, whose ministry administered the stolen property of the murdered Jews. See: Robert Lewis Koehl, *German Resettlement and Population Policy, 1939–1945: A History of the Reich Commission for the Strengthening of Germanism* (Cambridge MA, 1957), 198. The confusion caused by the existence of both spellings – *Aktion Reinhard* and *Aktion Reinhardt* – is easily explained. Throughout the 1930s, Heydrich himself used both spellings for his first name. See: Peter Witte and Stephen Tyas, 'A New Document on the Deportation and Murder of Jews during 'Einsatz Reinhard' 1942' in *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 15 (2001), 468–486, here 484, note 41.
37. See Shlomo Aronson and Richard Breitmann, 'Eine unbekannte Himmler-Rede vom Januar 1943', *VfZ* 38 (1990), 337–48. See, too, Peter Black, 'Die Trawniki-Männer und die Aktion Reinhard', in Bogdan Musial (ed.), *Aktion Reinhardt. Der Völkermord an den Juden im Generalgouvernement 1941–1944* (Osnabrück, 2004), 309–52; BAB, BDC, SSO Reinhard Heydrich; see, too, the letter exchange between Himmler and Globocnik, 4 and 30 November 1943 and 5 January 1944, in BAB, NS 19/2234, also printed as part of 4024-PS, in *IMT*, vol. 34, 68–71.
38. Goebbels, *Tagebücher*, part II, vol. 4, 432 (diary entry for 2 June 1942); Gottwald and Schulle, *Judendeportationen*, 260ff.
39. Kárný, *Konečné řešení*, 153f. On the number of Jewish survivors, see Adler, *Theresienstadt*, 15.
40. Longerich, *Himmler*, 638f.; Juliane Wetzels, 'Frankreich und Belgien', in Benz (ed.), *Dimensionen des Völkermordes*, 105–35; Klarsfeld, *Vichy*, 379ff.; Longerich, *Himmler*, 590ff.
41. Brandes, *Tschechen*, vol. 1, 261.
42. Smith et al., *Himmler: Geheimreden*, 146–61, here 159. See, too, Heinemann, 'Rasse', 167f.
43. Schirach as quoted in Botz, *Wien*, 597f.
44. Bormann to Goebbels, 8 June 1942, in BAB, NS 19/1969.
45. Bryant, *Prague*, 173f. Heinemann, 'Rasse', 157.
46. *Ibid.*, 359f., n. 10; Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building*, 177.
47. Heinemann, 'Rasse', 162ff.
48. Wildt, *Generation*, 704.
49. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 123.
50. See Lina's correspondence about the camp inmates in BAB, NS 19/18. Testimonies of eyewitnesses and former slave labourers on the Heydrich estate, recorded in Prague after 1945, as quoted in Schwarz, *Frau an seiner Seite*, 211. See, too, Archive of the Ministry of the Interior, Prague, 325–57–3; Jörg Skriebeleit, 'Jungfern-Breschan', in Benz and Distel, *Ort des Terrors*, vol. 4, 164ff.
51. Newspaper clipping with the announcement of Klaus's death, in IfZ, Ed 450.
52. Gitta Sereny, *Das Ringen mit der Wahrheit. Albert Speer und das deutsche Trama* (Munich, 1995), 381f.; Lili Scholz, 'Bis alles in Scherben fällt'. *Tagebuchblätter 1933–1945* (2nd edn, Hamburg, 2007), 415f. See, too, the letter published by Heydrich's commanding officer, Kurt Joachim Fischer, in *Der Spiegel*, 16 March 1950.
53. Interview with the author in March 2009. The theft theory was confirmed by a military court case against Fischer on 28 December 1944. See Generallandesarchiv Halle, Sign. 465a/59/15/7492. I am grateful to Axel Huber for this reference.

54. On expulsions, see Benjamin Frommer, *National Cleansing: Retribution against Nazi Collaborators in Postwar Czechoslovakia* (Cambridge, 2005).
55. The fate of Elisabeth Heydrich according to her grandson, Heider Heydrich, in an interview with the author in March 2009.
56. Heydrich, *Kriegsverbrecher*, 154f.; and Werner Maser's commentary on 201f.
57. See the extensive documentation in IfZ, Ed 450 II. See, too, Uwe Danker, 'NS-Opfer und Täter. Versorgung mit zweierlei Mass. Lina Heydrich und Dr. Norbert L. mit Rentenangelegenheiten vor Gericht', *Demokratische Geschichte. Jahrbuch zur Arbeiterbewegung und Demokratie in Schleswig-Holstein* 10 (1996), 277–305.
58. *Jasmin* 4/69.