New Archival Discoveries on Wannsee Conference Participant Georg Leibbrandt and "SS-Mann" Karl Stumpp

Introductory Note: This paper was presented at the German Studies Association Conference, New Orleans, 20 September 2003. Please be aware that much of the most vital aspects of this essay are contained in the endnotes.

I. Georg Leibbrandt

Georg Leibbrandt was born in 1899 in the German Lutheran village of Hoffnungsfeld near Odessa, Ukraine.[i] In 1933 Alfred Rosenberg appointed him Director of the Eastern Division of the NSDAP's Foreign Policy Office where he functioned as Rosenberg's political advisor.[ii] Works on Leibbrandt tend to neglect analyzing both his pre-Nazi[iii] and Nazi-era essays, and instead restrict themselves mainly to archival documentation. The literature seems to be unaware of Leibbrandt's most openly anti-Semitic publications, namely, his essays published in the *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte* (*NM*). These reveal a fully, indeed rabidly committed Nazi, who had embraced without reservation the ideological, political, and religious theories of Rosenberg.[iv] A typical example of Leibbrandt's Nazi-era thinking is found in "Die Entwicklung des Bolschewismus," *NM* vol. 82 (January 1937). Immediately after a quote about "Asiatic Bolshevism's" supposed desire to exterminate European culture, Leibbrandt writes:

> Jewry is a social-parasitical phenomenon. It has always understood to exploit the wounds in the *Völkerleben*. One can only understand the development of Bolshevism under the leadership of Jewry when one considers this racial-biologically. Just as there are parasites in animal and plant life, the same phenomenon is observed also in the *Völkerleben* (cf. A. Schickedanz, *Sozialparasitismus im Völkerleben*).
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> Jewry is the parasite among the peoples. Its religion is the expression of its racial mental attitude and proceeds in essential parts to the exploitation of the other peoples to its own advantage. As social

> parasite it lives in the national body and lives off the racial substance and the creative powers of other peoples.
>
> In this way, it undermines the biological and moral foundations of every nationality and every state and societal order. Thus in the past, the Middle Eastern-Syrian racial mixture struck various peoples with chaotic bastardization, and even today it endangers modern European culture with a similar threat.
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> The dream of the chosen people for world domination manifests itself for millennia in various forms, but always with the same thought. Whether Zionism or Sovietism, the great objective remains the conquest of world domination and the enduring subjugation and enslavement of the other peoples in favor of Jewry. Seen from this view, *the Bolshevik world revolution is nothing other than the realization of the long yearned for world domination of the Jews on the paths over the comitern and their allies. . . .*
>
> Jewry now found itself solidly established in Moscow, in this Asiatic racial chaos. . . . and the parallel Moscow-Zion was drawn. . . .
>
> The peoples of Europe . . . must . . . defend European culture against this danger . . . from Soviet-Judea (11-13).

When the Reich Ministry for Eastern Occupied Territories was created under Rosenberg in 1941, Leibbrandt was appointed its Director of Political Development until his position fell victim to SS rivalry in mid-1943.[v] The Sammlung-Leibbrandt 1930s-40s book series, with its many detailed maps laden with statistics on German and Jewish population statistics, reflects Leibbrandt's competence in Jewish population and Germanization policies which qualified him as an expert in these matters at the January 1942 Wannsee Conference.

But as early as 29 April 1941, Rosenberg's Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories was coordinating with the SS in the extermination of hundreds of thousands in the East. Directing the ministry's Political Department, Leibbrandt and his assistant, Otto Bräutigam, shaped nationalities policies for the East. These included the proposed 1941 "relocation" of 50,000 Jews to concentration centers in Riga and Minsk and the execution of Jews in Libau.[vi] Regarding these operations, Leibbrandt wrote that "the cleansing of the East of Jews is a necessary task." The liquidation of Jews in the East was to take place regardless of age, sex, and economic considerations and was to be carried out by the SS in coordination with Rosenberg's Ministry under Leibbrandt, Trampedach, Lohse,

and colleagues. Concerning the pending liquidation of 68,000-75,000 Jews in Ostland ghettos in 1942,[vii] Leibbrandt wrote to Generalkommisar Wilhelm Kube: "I intend to bring about a solution of the Jewish question as soon as possible." As Gerald Reitlinger reveals, "it was Leibbrandt who forwarded to Lohse the first proposal for a permanent gas chamber near Riga. . . ."[viii] These actions alone involve the lives of up to about 125,000 human beings.

Leibbrandt's rabid anti-Semitism, his actual involvement in executions, gas chambers, and his participation at the Wannsee Conference, constitute continuities that demonstrate that Otto Bräutigam's overall picture which he paints in his autobiography, where he claims that such matters as the "Judenfrage" was not a war-time, or military concern,[ix] is an obfuscation of the facts, crafted to cover up their complicity in the Holocaust. After the SS forced Leibbrandt's resignation, and he was replaced by *SS-Obergruppenführer* Gottlob Berger,[x] Leibbrandt passed the rest of the war in the German Navy, and was then imprisoned in Nuremberg (1945-1949).

We have covered Leibbrandt's role in the extermination of Jews. What about the Slavic and other peoples? His rabid anti-Slavic views of the 1930s are abundantly clear in his *NM* essays. Alexander Dallin after quoting how Leibbrandt asserted in February 1943 that "all the peoples of the Soviet Union are partners with equal rights in the European family of peoples," correctly notes that this is "a surprising departure from earlier views."[xi] The moderation of the Rosenberg Ministry was indeed based not on ideology but on concrete circumstances requiring particular concessions in the short term in order to achieve universal goals in the long term, namely Germanization of the East.[xii] Rosenberg's and Leibbrandt's "moderation" regarding the Slavic peoples was thus not as markedly different ideologically from the SS; the difference rested primarily in praxis, not theory. Indeed, Nazi racial theory in general is to be traced back to Rosenberg to a larger extent than sometimes formerly recognized.[xiii]

In 1947, under cross-examination, Leibbrandt called the "Final Solution" discussed at Wannsee *Wahnsinnpolitik* ("a policy of insanity").[xiv] This conflicts, however, with his later claim that Wannsee's Final Solution involved only relocation, not murder.[xv]

On 17 April 1946 during the Nuremberg Trials, Rosenberg admitted to Allied prosecutors that his assistants--including Erich Koch, Heinrich Lohse, Wilhelm Kube, Otto Bräutigam, and Georg Leibbrandt--were fully informed of the program to eliminate the Jews. The Court's President asked him, "Do you agree that these five people were engaged in exterminating Jews?" Rosenberg replied, "Yes. They knew about a certain number of liquidations of Jews. That I admit, and they have told me so, or if they did not, I have heard it from other sources."[xvi]

After the trial Leibbrandt worked in Bonn as an economic advisor, and published on village histories and genealogy.[xvii] For three decades he was involved with the Stuttgart *Landsmannschaft der Deutschen aus Russland*. In his later years, Leibbrandt conducted a research trip from 17 August-15 September 1974. He flew with his son Hangeorg to America and Canada. Leibbrandt writes that the trip was organized according to "an exact program" coordinated and assisted by his "brother Dr. Gottlieb L.—Canada, Mr. Gregory—Washington DC, Paul Reeb—Kansas und Dupper[xviii] —California. . . ." In Washington DC he had a conversation with Professor Austin App. On 21 August he departed for Niagra Falls, Ontario to see his brother. On the 26th he met with his "former colleague Sadiwnytschyj" in Cleveland, Ohio.[xix] The trip was an attempt to have his and Karl Stumpp's village reports housed at the National Archives relocated to Germany so that the crowning achievement of Leibbrandt's and Stumpp's lives would be reassembled in a single archives in Germany as their lasting legacy and contribution to their ethnic group.

II. Stumpp

Karl Stumpp was born in 1896 in Alexanderhilf near Odessa, Ukraine.[xx] In Germany in the 1930s he worked at the *Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland*, the *Deutsches Ausland-Institut*, and the *Forschungsstelle des Rußlanddeutschtums im Deutschen Ausland-Institut* whose main goal was "to do family-oriented and racial-biological research on all Russian Germans across the world."[xxi] In 1941, Stumpp's DAI activities came under Rosenberg's Reich Ministry for the Occupied Territories (RMO), under Leibbrandt the director and émigré liaison of the ministry's Political Dept.

Stumpp contributed several articles to *Deutsche Post aus dem Osten* which have gone unexamined in the literature.[xxii] In 1937, he writes: "Every pet owner is proud to

know his dog's or horse's pedigree. . . . The coming generation will scarcely be able to understand why precisely the highest creature—humanity—left unobserved their own pedigree, which is so important a thing for a people."[xxiii] In the same year, he integrates Mendel's findings into Nazi racial theory.[xxiv] In 1939, in relation to the Russian Germans he stresses Nazi ideas of "volksbiologische Voraussetzungen," "volksbiologische Kraft," and the need to remain "pure" of Jewish blood.[xxv] Stumpp's 1940 essay "Zur Volksbiologie der Rußlanddeutschen" ends by arguing that based on the record of the Russian Germans' massive colinization accomplishments and high reproductive rates, "in Russian Germandom, a healthy view of life in a national-biological respect has preserved itself, and in it slumbers pioneering powers which can and must be usefully applied and brought to bear upon Germandom as a whole."

Stumpp's essays in the DPadO, not previously integrated into scholarly literature on Stumpp, shows that he and Leibbrandt saw a strong Germandom as the only salvation from the world threat of the "Jewish-Bolshevik plague." The essays also indicate that Nazi motivations were primary and ethnic concerns secondary, contrary to previous research conclusions.

Stumpp was in fact the catalyst behind the modern genealogical preoccupation of Russian Germans in America. Stumpp sent Jacob Volz Nazi propaganda publications, which Volz in 1939 said "is so important to me, next to my Bible, the most important reading."[xxvi] Volz notes that the genealogical sections in such literature are "especially important to me." Immediately after receiving Stumpp's propaganda literature, Volz launched a campaign in the Russian-German newspaper *Welt-Post* (Lincoln/Omaha, Nebraska) to collect from its readership genealogical data on Volga-German villages.[xxvii] These village lists were later translated and published by the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia in Lincoln, Nebraska, sanitized, however, and divorced without editorial notice from their original Nazi context and background.[xxviii]

An eighty-member special-action unit headed by Stumpp called *Sonderkommando Stumpp* operated in Ukraine from late 1941 to early 1943, and was ordered to conduct a detailed demographic, cultural, and racial survey of Nazi-occupied Ukraine. The unit created over eighty reports for Ukrainian-German villages, mostly on settlements between the Dnieper and Ingulets. The *Sonderkommando* team included Mennonite

minister Gerhard Fast, Lutheran pastors Friedrich Rink and Heinrich Roemmich, a *Landsmannschaft* founder and staff member.

Heading the DAI Research Office, Stumpp was well informed of the SS killing activities. The Nazi ethnographers compiling village reports were directly informed about the extermination of Jews.[xxix] Fleischhauer explains that the Stumpp reports were "racial-biological" research and "may . . . have in many cases served as a guide for the *SS-Kommandos*, who were 'cleansing' the German regions."[xxx] Stumpp's Report No. 4 clearly shows that not all Jews had been killed yet when Stumpp would arrive in a village. As Buchsweiler notes, some of the *Dorfberichte* plainly state that various persons were shot on the spot (*erschossen*).[xxxi] In short, Stumpp possessed clear evidence about what was going on, and relayed this information back to Rosenberg and Leibbrandt in Berlin. With full ideological conviction, these Stumpp reports to the *Reichsminister* speak of "the Bolshevik-Jewish plague." Once in Berlin, the *Dorfberichte* were processed for publication at the *Sammlung Georg Leibbrandt/Publikationsstelle Ost* (*P-Stelle Ost*) - *Osteuropäische Forschungsgemeinschaft*.[xxxii]

Without the technical and administrative skills possessed by Stumpp and others involved in the operation *Heim ins Reich*, the SS-Raumplanung of 1942/43 would not have been realizable. It was then that Himmler planned new ethnic German "showcase settlements" in the Shitomir district of Ukraine patterned after the SS- and police support bases of Western Ukraine. Over 30,000 Ukrainian Germans were integrated into three settlement regions near Shitomir, Hegewald, and Försterstadt. The deportation of about 15,000 Ukrainians from these areas to the Dnepropetrovsk district was merely the first step in this Germanization project. The extermination of the Dnepropetrovsk district Jews was the second step.[xxxiii]

In 1979, Stumpp revealed concerning his work as Sonderkommando: "Another facet of my responsibility was the provision of German clothing for the residents."[xxxiv] Buchsweiler has documented that at times Jews and others in the East were murdered by the SS and then the clothing of the victims would be given to the ethnic Germans.[xxxv]

Because of SS rivalries, *Sonderkommando Stumpp* was dissolved on 31 March 1943. Stumpp shipped his office archives to Leibbrandt, but much material was lost

during transport. Some materials were later found and filmed in the Captured German Documents project.

After the war, Stumpp rejoined his wife and children in Tübingen where he taught at the *Uhlandgymnasium*. He was never prosecuted for war crimes.[xxxvi] In 1966, the Federal Republic of Germany awarded him the Distinguished Cross of Merit, First Class, in "recognition of services performed on behalf of the state and the people." In the late 1960s and early 1970s, he supported the establishment of various Russian-German organizations in America, serving as honorary president.[xxxvii]

Stumpp wrote in 1974 on his wartime activities: "At that time, we covered 327 communities. Most valuable statistical material. I myself am astonished, when I now look at the reports. . . . A treasure trove of statistical material. What would have happened if we could have thus [fully] completed all 327 communities!" He mentions that the reports are scattered in various archives and must be gathered together in one place to get a comprehensive picture of them. Dr. Leibbrandt was in Washington at the time to assist in having the *Dorfberichte* in America relocated to Germany: "In the meantime, Dr. Leibbrandt is in Washington. He knows the place inside-out, because he once worked there. He will report in Freiburg what he experiences." These materials, as well as the *Odessaer Zeitung*, should be returned to Germany, claimed Stumpp, "where it all belongs. Everything must go to the *Bundesarchiv* in Koblenz. Only the *Od. Zeitung* is the property of the *Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen*. Right remains right!"[xxxviii]

In fact, much of the correspondence of Stumpp with American Russian Germans was inspired by the wish to track down his war-time documents in American archives. This was what motivated his and Leibbrandt's American trips in the early 70s, trips which have attained legendary status among Russian Germans in America. But contrary to the American popular belief, these trips were not motivated by the desire to enjoy ethnic compatriot fellowship, but rather to recover and reconstruct what the two former Nazis considered their life's work.[xxxix]

In a lecture from around 1974, Stumpp claimed that the Sonderkommando Stumpp was his own idea, and that "Rosenberg immediately agreed" to it. One part of the lecture is titled "Atrocities and Bad times." But this refers only to the loss of archival material during the war, not Nazi murders: "We saved archive material (much burned—

no paper)."[xl] Apparently for Stumpp the main war atrocity involving the Sonderkommando Stumpp's work was the loss of archival material rather than the Holocaust he helped implement and document.[xli]

In a lecture from around 1974, Stumpp writes with nostalgia and excitement of the war days and his archival work in the East, never expressing any regret, any anti-Nazi statements or even the wider war situation. He says the Sonderkommando Stumpp was created at Leibbrandt's initiative, and he was "appointed with a special task (*Sonderaufgabe*) by the Wehrmacht for the Ostministerium." He warmly praises Gerhard Fast for his work and casually mentions that their task included the recording of statistics for Jews and "the number of *Mischehen*, number of children of *Mischehen*."[xlii] He never mentions Nazi murders in the East, only the Russian-German victims of Soviet crimes. Similarly in his life story as told to Arthur Flegel in 1979, he never mentions Nazi atrocities, never apologizes for them, and in his memories of the war, the greatest emotion he showed was fondling and kissing each and every one of his books after being reunited with them after the war.[xliii] He is strangely silent on any emotion regarding his being reunited with his wife and daughters after the war. He seems to have been almost exclusively preoccupied with books and statistics and to have been without regard or awareness of the effects of his Nazi-era activities on human beings.

III. Russian-German Cause Organizations and *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*

Among other authors of anti-Semitic or pro-Nazi pieces in the *DPadO* were Pastor Fr. Rink (an enthusiastic member of the Nazi Party), [xliv] the anti-Semite Pastor Jakob Stach,[xlv] Dr. Ernst Seraphim,[xlvi] the pro-Nazi Hans Roemmich,[xlvii] Johannes Schleuning (described by a colleague as a "big Nazi"[xlviii]), Hans Harder[xlix] (touted today by Mennonites as an anti-Nazi, but who actually published in the *DpadO* and eagerly embraced the Nazi Youth movement), Gertrud Braun,[l] Georg Rath,[li] Gottlieb Leibbrandt (whose anti-Semitic essays were as virulent as his brother's),[lii] etc.

There is a clear continuity between *Deutsche Post aus dem Osten* and the Stuttgart Landsmannschaft's *Heimatbuch* series. From the beginning of the *Heimatbuch*, the same central set of *DPadO* authors appear in them, merely minus the anti-Semitic

element of the *DpadO* period. Among Nazi authors whose works appeared in the early *Heimatbuch* editions who merely sanitized their Nazi publications after the war, are Joseph Geiger, Hans Rempel, Karl Götz, Hans Harder, Ludwig Finkh, Georg Leibbrandt, Theodor Hummel, Andreas Mergenthaler, Jacob Stach, Gerhard Fast, Karl Stumpp, Friedrich Rink, Gertrud Braun, Wilhelm Schneider, etc.[liii]

Stumpp, Leibbrandt and company are still praised in publications of Russian-German cause organizations in Germany.[liv] The North American Russian-German cause organizations consistently promote Stumpp and Leibbrandt and have never distanced themselves officially from them.[lv] The only semi-official change in America I am aware of is an article from a recent AHSGR headquarters newsletter by Luis Vasquez supporting Dr. Renate Bridental's critical research on Stumpp and friends. Vasquez wrote: "After having read her draft, I think Professor Bridenthal and her colleagues deserve all of the support from our organization on this upcoming publication. . . ."[lvi] Mr. Vasquez was also very helpful and kind to me while researching the Schwabenland-Haynes collection, a collection I have been researching since 1996. Mr. Vasquez announced he was being dismissed from AHSGR in July 2003, the stated reason being the lack of financial resources for his staff position. Whether the dismissal was actually implemented, I simply do not know.

Conclusions: The circle of perpetrators of Nazi genocide was much wider than merely the SS and the *Wehrmacht*, and encompassed countless low- and high-level scientific experts such as ethno-politicians and cartographers. Many of the perpetrators escaped justice and led respectable post-war lives and ethnic cause societies often have yet to demonstrate substantial evidence of Vergangenheitsbewältigung in relationship to these perpetrators.

Dr. Samuel Zinner
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ENDNOTES

[i] Leibbrandt biography in Ingeborg Fleischhauer, *Das Dritte Reich und die Deutschen in der Sowjetunion* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1983), 33. On Leibbrandt and Karl Stimpp, explored later in this essay, cf. Eric Schmaltz and Samuel Sinner, "The Nazi Ethnographic Research of Georg Leibbrandt and Karl Stumpp in Ukraine and Its North American Legacy," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 14 no. 1 (Spring 2000): 28-64; a revised and expanded version of the former in Eric Schmaltz and Samuel Sinner, "The Nazi Ethnographic Research of Georg Leibbrandt and Karl Stumpp in Ukraine, and Its North American Legacy." In *German Scholars and Ethnic Cleansing, 1920-1945*. Eds. Michael Fahlbusch, Ingo Haar, Georg Iggers (Oxford/New York: Berghahn Books, forthcoming, Spring 2004); Samuel Sinner, "Sonderkommando Dr. Karl Stumpp." In *Handbuch der völkischen Wissenschaft*. Eds. Michael Fahlbusch, Ingo Haar (forthcoming 2004?) Leibbrandt's higher education was done at Odessa, Dorpat, Leipzig, Tübingen, Paris, and London. He studied theology, philosophy, history, economics, international law and relations. He taught in Leipzig and worked at the *Reichsarchiv*. Between 1926-1932 he went on research trips to the USSR and America. Regarding Leibbrandt's 1920s USSR research trips, conflicting evidence exists for his early ideological inclinations. In recently declassified GPU records of a case against a supposed Fascist enclave in the German Department at the Odessa Pedagogical Institute involving V. M. Zhirmunskij, it is alleged that Georg Leibbrandt created the cell. The evidence showed that during his 1926, 1928, and 1930 visits, Leibbrandt displayed both pro and anti-Soviet stances. Cf. Review by Vadislav Y. Soshnikov, "From the Early Days of Stalin's Great Terror: Repression of Those Researching the Local History of the German Colonies, by Galina Malinova, Candidate in History (Ph.D.)," *RAGAS Report* vol. IV no. 4 (Winter 1999), 3-7. Online version at http://www.lib.ndsu.nodak.edu/gerrus/soshnikov.html. Though the same essay questions that the Georg Leibbrandt who visited the USSR was the same Georg Leibbrandt later employed by Rosenberg, the identification is beyond any doubt whatsoever. In 1932, he joined the SA Brownshirts.

[ii] Meir Buchsweiler, *Volksdeutsche in der Ukraine am Vorabend und Beginn des Zweiten Weltkriegs - ein Fall doppelter Loyalität?* (Gerlingen: Bleicher Verlag, 1984), p. 21; Michael Fahlbusch, *Wissenschaft im Dienst der nationalsozialistischen Politik?* (Nomos 1999), p. 591.

[iii] For the pre-Nazi period, see: Georg Leibbrandt, *Die Deutschen Kolonien in Cherson und Bessarabien* (Stuttgart: Ausland und Heimat Verlags-Aktiengesellschaft, 1926). The *Vorwort* states that it is a "Beitrag zur Erforschung der kolonisatorischen Fähigkeiten der Deutschen." Regarding the Black Sea Germans, he attributes "the preservation of their national character (*Volkstum*) and their faith, in language, traditions, and customs, as in their accomplishments in the areas of culture and economics" to their "German character, German energy, and German spirit" (7).

Dr. Georg Leibbrandt, Washington D.C., "The Emigration of the German Mennonites from Russia to the United States and Canada in 1873-1880: I," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* (Goshen, Indiana, October 1932), 205-26. Dr. Georg

Leibbrandt, Washington D.C., "The Emigration of the German Mennonites from Russia to the United States and Canada in 1873-1880: II," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* (January 1933), 5-41. These two articles document the statistics of Russian-German Mennonites' colonization in America and Canada in the 19th century. The second article ends on an anti-Soviet note as it mentions the Soviet anti-Kulak campaign which began in 1929 and praises the German relief organization "Brüder in Not" (cf. pp. 40-41).

Ein deutscher Todesweg (Berlin: Eckart-Verlag, 1930). Though the authors are listed as Neusatz and Erka, these are, according to archival evidence, actually Georg Leibbrandt and Adolf Ehrt, a Mennonite anti-Semite who once headed the Anti-Comitern. Emma Schwabenland Haynes [hereafter, ESH] to Dr. Georg Leibbrandt, Nov. 7, 1980: "By the way, if you have a moment's time, would you please tell the co-author with you for the book Ein deutscher Todesweg? I have been told that the names Neusatz and Erka are fictitious. Or do you prefer not to let it be known that you helped write this book?" (ESH Collection at the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, Lincoln, Nebraska, Box 3: Research Letters). Based on the proximity of notes in a notebook in ESH 1: Notebooks file, it would appear that Karl Stumpp may have been the source of the information. In the latter source, it is specified that "Neusatz = G. Leibbrandt" and that "Erka" = "Adolf Ehrt."

[iv] For Leibbrandt's *NM* essays, see: Vol. 104 (Nov. 1938), "Das Protokoll der Poale Zion," 62-65 (=1,007-1,009). He uses quotation marks to refer to Jews pejoratively as "das 'auserwählte Volk'" (62). He mentions the Jewish organization "Poale Zion," which he claims "played an essential role in the Russian Revolution" (62). Concerning the Jewish goal of world domination: "The world revolutionary activities and the centralized-dictatorial leadership of the Moscow government and of the Jewish-Bolshevik International offer us the best proof for the carrying out of this Jewish objective" (64).

Vol. 97 (April 1938), "Bilanz der Sowjetaußenpolitik für 1937," 67-70 (=355-358). Refers supportingly to Hitler's remarks of 30 January 1937: "The Führer in his *Reichstag* speech of 30 January 1930 laid out before all the world our fundamental position that we in 'Bolshevism view an intolerable world danger and that we will endeavor to hold at bay this danger from our nation'" (68). He then refers to "the Jewish-Soviet ambassador Boris Stein" (68). He closes his international analysis with references to "Jewish-Bolshevik activities," "the Jewish Moscow diplomats," "the representatives of world Jewry who everywhere support Soviet policies," "the Free-Masonic relations of the Jewish foreign minister of the Soviet Union, Litvinov-Finkelstein," "the threatening danger of Red Moscow's imperialism and Jewry's road to world domination" (70). He ends: "Adolf Hitler through his suppression of communism in Germany has saved the German people from this life danger and thereby advanced in a front with other peoples for the salvation of Europe upon the foundation of a system of healthy national states" (70). The article, after mentioning the USSR as a foe of Nazi Germany, then details Soviet agitation and subversive activities in Italy, Japan, China (page 68), Mongolia, East Turkestan, England, France, Czechoslovakia, North-East Europe in general, Scandinavia, Finland, Estonia, Poland (page 69), Yugoslavia, Greece, Romania, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan (page 70).

"Weltbolschewismus," vol. 94 (January 1938), 68-71. Surveys and analyzes Soviet influences and subversive activities in North Africa (page 68), France, Spain (page 69), offers an expose of anti-Franco Free Masons of Spain, especially of the Grand Orient, then continues with the USA, Canada, and England (page 70).

"Juden über das Judentum," vol. 94 (January 1938), 41-55. "Juden über das Judentum," vol. 95 (February 1938), 55-69 (=151-165). This two-part essay reviews Samuel Roth, *Now and Forever* (New York: Robert M. McBride & Company, 1925). Leibbrandt opens by mentioning "the objectives of world Jewry, which is always aimed at world domination," and that the book confirms "Jewry's plans in the same spirit as stated in the 'Elders of Zion'" (41). On page 44, he refers to the "'chosen people'" pejoratively in quotation marks.

"Rassisch-völkische Bedingtheit der bolschewistischen Revolution," vol. 92 (November 1937), 61-64 (=1,021-1,024). In this article, Leibbrandt represents Rosenberg's racial theories: "The Slavs originating from the South-West mixed their blood, more or less, with the rest of the peoples, who still remained there. Simultaneously with the adoption of Christianity was added to this racial commingling the Byzantine concept of despotic rule. . . . The most significant blood mingling occurred, however, during the 200-year rule of the Tatars" (61). Then he argues that the Muscovites mingled their blood with Mongolian blood (61). "In Russiandom, two essential components always struggle against each other, the Nordic-inclined character against the Mongolian-Asiatic instincts" (62). This is why Muscovy has always "vacillate between Europe and Asia," never developing its own "personality" (62). He then refers explicitly to Rosenberg's claim that in addition to 19th-century Russian Nihilism and Pan Slavism, in the Russian depths slumbers anarchic tendencies which had earlier erupted during the times of Ivan the Terrible, Peter the Great, Pugachev, Stenka Razin, and that all these constituted the "foundation for the world destructive Bolshevik doctrine" (63). He continues: "Into this quite distinctive racial mingling of the Russian people, the Jewish Marxism of Western Europe was imported" (63). "However, the bearer of this Bolshevik plague was *Jewry*. Here it could succeed as a power in the form of Bolshevism thanks only to the national body that was ill in both character and mind" (63). Again mentioning Rosenberg, he refers to "Jewry as bearer of the Asiatic-Nomadic desert mentality," which he calls a "bastardization" that is "a tool in the hands of the Jewish dictatorship" (63). Further examples of "bastardization" are the "Kalmuk-Tatar Lenin" and the "Georgian Stalin." "Certainly, not all the leaders of the Revolution were Jews. However, here the fact is decisive that they let themselves be defined by Jewry, or at least swore to the Jewish doctrine of Marxism and had thereby already placed themselves in the service of Jewry. Additionally, yet another conclusion must be made: As far as the leaders of Bolshevism, who are of non-Jewish ancestry, are concerned, these are not members of the European peoples, but are rather racially and by blood Near Eastern-orientally defined. Their defining characteristic is first of all a strong anti-European attitude, as comes so pronouncedly to expression in Lenin" (63). Page 64 refers to "non-bastardizing peoples," then: "From the beginning of the Revolution, it was typical that Jewry, scarcely having achieved power, immediately determined with *the most gruesome means to exterminate the high-quality racial and ethnic elements not only in Russiandom but also among the other peoples*. With great orchestration and devilishly cunning system, the Checka exterminated humans as a Jewish instrument in bestial

manner. At the same time, at the level of interior policy, measures were taken through dispossession and resettlement, which was to advance racial mingling in order to shape a formless mass as a submissive tool in the hands of the Jewish dictators. The great sympathy which the Soviet government finds among Jewry in the whole world, the support from the side of Freemasonry and of finance capital shows *the solidarity of world Jewry, which since the Bolshevik Revolution up to the present day has only more solidly coalesced*" (64).

"Pest in Rußland," vol. 91 (October 1937), 925. This reproduces Leibbrandt's foreword to Rosenberg's book *Pest in Rußland*, originally published in 1922. This version, with Leibbrandt's foreword, appeared in 1937 and 1944. Leibbranndt says: "The phenomenon of Bolshevism is explored from the standpoint of the racial-ethnic historical perspective and its origin and development are reported." "The leading role of Jewry in Bolshevism as well as of the intimate collaboration of world Jewry and the Soviet government is here so clearly and unambiguously proven, just as it was to the world 14 years later [after 1922] at the 1936 Parteitag in Nuremberg by the NSDAP leadership."

"Weltbolschewismus," vol. 90 (September 1937), 69-73 (=837-841). Leibbrandt first deals with Soviet atheistic propaganda (69-71) before launching into an international analysis of Soviet activities in France, Czechoslovakia, Spain, and Poland (72).

"Weltbolschewismus," vol. 92 (November 1937), 69-73 (= 1,029-1,033). Refers to "the Jewish-Bolshevik leaders of the Moscow *Zwangsstaat*," "the Jewish Moscow leadership" (70), which is an "international Jewish clique" (71), then mentions "the Jewish-Bolshevik Moscow agents" (73).

"Moskau und die Katholischen Verbände," vol. 86 (May 1937), 58-61 (=442-445). Leibbrandt reports: "The slogan is: Creation of a unified front of Communist, Socialist, Christian, and especially of Catholic youth *Verbände* . . . to promote and defend democracy in all lands" (59). He is alarmed that "in England and the United States, the collaboration of the religious youth and some other organizations of Catholic-Youth is already realized," even though the Catholic hierarchy is opposed to the movement (60). As Leibbrandt reports: "The Catholic Church works together with Franco, Hitler, and Mussolini most intimately and the Pope and highest hierarchy had supported the Abysinian War" (60).

"Alfred Rosenberg vor 15 Jahren über die bolschewistische Pest," vol. 83 (February 1937), 2-25 (=98-121). Leibbrandt writes that Rosenberg "saw the major connections from the standpoint of the racial-ethnic historical perspective and recognized the nature of Bolshevism" (2). On the Red Terror executions: "And all that happened under *Jewish leadership*" (8). Quotes Rosenberg approvingly: "The Jewish head in the principal cities naturally according to plan took care that even the Soviet representatives abroad, i.e. the Jewish-Bolshevik foreign political tools would be almost entirely in the hands of racial compatriots" (9-10). Refers to "the Jewish government" of Soviet Russia (11), "the Jewish high finance of the West" (12), then: "The Jewish government's bloody instrument of murder is the Checka" (11). Refers to "the Jewish-Soviet government" (22), then: "Lenin had a pronounced Kalmuck-Tatar skull. . . . Chicherin's face is that of a bastardized Armenian. . . . [The] actual leader, however, of this Asiatic-Nomadic desert spirit . . . is Jewry" (24). The "representatives" of "Völkerchaos" are "the Jews" (24). "As an Asiatic horde" stands "the entirety of Jewry" opposed to "all of Europe" (25).

"The battle of the future, which means destruction or the reconfiguration of Germany and Europe, shall and must in all states be led under the banner of ethnic thought. On one side stands before us all the fatal Asiatic-Mediterranean spirit, led by international Jews; on the other side is the spirit of our venerable Europe, led by German men" (25). The Germans will bring "a new world-configuration [*Weltgestaltung*]" (25). In the end, the choice is between "chaos – form," and "destruction or victory" (25).

"Die Entwicklung des Bolschewismus," vol. 82 (January 1937), 2-13. Begins: "The point of departure for judging the Bolshevik problem is the National Socialist *Weltanschauung*. Only from the National Socialist character posture is the correct assessment of this question guaranteed by us" (2). He sketches this historically: The Enlightenment and Rationalism lead to the French Revolution (2-3), then Democracy and Liberalism lead to "a new doctrine . . . Marxism" (3). "Marxism is . . . racially defined" and was anticipated by 19th-century Russian Nihilism and the "ever-growing influence of Jewry on the intellectual life of the Tsarist empire" (3). Leibbrandt proceeds from a "racial-biological standpoint" (3): "It is all too often overlooked that Eastern Europe represents, according to its racial constitution an extraordinarily variegated mixture" (4). As for the Russians, they have an "essential part of Mongolian blood" within them (4). Then he mentions Tatars and Turks, blood and racial mingling, which produce a racial entity composed of Asiatic and Northern ancestry (4). "This racial diversity" of the "Russian soul" is typified by the "Kalmuck-Tatar Lenin", leader of Bolshevism led in turn by Jewry (4). Leibbrandt warns of "Prague as an outpost of Moscow, is the gateway of attack for a new wave of invasion by the Near Eastern spirit against Europe in the present" (4). He divides the history of Bolshevism into three distinctive phases. 1: The first Russian Revolution of 1904/05 to the 1917 October Bolshevik Revolution; 2: The October Revolution to the National Socialist Revolution in Germany; 3: The *Machtübernahme* to the present, namely, January 1937 (5). After the 1917 October Revolution, it is necessary for the Baltic States, Finland, and Poland to turn away from the "Asiatic defined East" to "European culture" (6). In 1922/23, the USSR comes into being. On pages 6 and 7 he says, "wir, als Nationalsozialisten," and then "racial-biological viewpoint" (7). "The German ethnic fragment in the Soviet Union is the part of the German national body on which Bolshevism reaps revenge for the victory of National Socialism" (8). Mentions Versailles and the "shortsightedness and the petit bourgeois of the Weimar system" (9). At the beginning of 1937, "The slogan is now: Unified front against fascism. Under fascism is understood first of all National Socialism" (10). "The swasitka is now already regarded even among the peoples of the Soviet Union as the symbol of ethnic freedom and the concurrent possibility of development" (10). "From the occupation of the Rhineland, the Führer has drawn the consequences from this threatening danger for Germany" (10). He laments "how little one has recognized the Asiatic danger in Bolshevism" (11). According to Leibbrandt, the choice is not between National Socialism and Bolshevism as ideologies, but more concretely "between a robust system of national states partitioned in Europe or the Asiatic Bolshevism, which has positioned itself with the task of exterminating the foundations of European culture" (11).

Georg Leibbrandt and Egmont Zechlin, "Welt-Politik und Wissenschaft," vol. 129 (December 1940), 11-17 (=747-753). Leibbrandt-Zechlin begin with an historical survey of "world politics" starting with the ancient world empires of Egypt, Persia, etc. Other

than the "West-Asiatic-European world kingdoms," to which ancient Germanic peoples belonged, in the Far East arose the idea of an "unlimited world state" (11). In this connection, the Chinese empire is mentioned, as well as the idea that "as the sky does not have two suns, so according to the basis of natural law, the earth cannot have two leaders" (12). Then the world politics of the Caliphs are detailed, then that of the Mongolian kingdom and Papal rule. "With the age of Discovery, the concept of 'world policy' assumes a new content" (12). By this, Leibbrandt-Zechlin refer to the age of colonialism and imperialism in relation to Portugal, Holland, France, England, and then at the end of the 19th century, Germany (13). Soon follow references to Richelieu, "the classical representative of French foreign policy," Fredrick the Great, King William III, and the slave trade out of Africa (13-14). This brings Leibbrandt-Zechlin up to World War II: "And today? The [first] World War was ignited by the Serbian question, and the war in which we stand today, by the Polish [question]. They are therefore European conflicts . . ." (14). This Euro-centric perspective then determines the ideology of the rest of the article. Europe is led by Germany and Italy, and it is hoped that England can be brought to recognize "the new European order" (14). In the modern era, world politics has changed because of technology's role in bringing the world into ever more intimate communication: "Thus we see in the fluctuating context, a political, economic, and even cultural interconnection across this globe, which has grown so close in the 20th century that scarcely an event of significance in any given land remains without repercussion in other parts of the earth. The new development of the trade system and of news transmission have even more deepened all connections" (14). This relates "not only to the economic system, and also not only to the relationship of European mother lands to their overseas colonies and dependants, it concerns the global order, as the concept of European policy related to European order" (14). The modern tendency to unification finds anticipations in "the uniting of Italy by Cavour and Garibaldi, of Germany by Bismarck, and of Japan's abandonment of 240 feudal lords in favor of a unified central power," and in the process, "the peoples arose" who will become "the bearers of a new global order" (15). Thus concludes the first part of the Leibbrandt-Zechlin essay.

The second section addresses the more theoretical question of how German, that is, Nazi science will serve the ends of the creation of the new fascist global order: "Through this development a monumental task is placed before German science. It is still to occupy itself with placing humanities research in the service of defending the fatherland, for demands raise themselves on the horizon, which in the tempestuous tempo striking world history today may be of immediate urgent necessity" (15). This statement is used as a springboard to focus again on Euro-centered themes, such as "the Christian-Western cultural community of the Germanic-Roman peoples," and the necessity to study the "economic and legal relationships" between "the racial-ethnic structure of the indigenous" and "the modern colonial economy" (15). The colonial, or overseas aspect is emphasized because, "even in other parts of the earth, race consciousness is growing; religious ideas and cultures even across the ocean are seeking to rediscover appropriate forms, ethnic self-consciousness and social justice are promoted everywhere, new economic forms thrive all over the world" (15). In the new era, "It is therefore no longer appropriate to consider the overseas world and the non-European cultures as only peripheral or separately from Western history. The influences from overseas since the European age of Discovery, the global political repercussion since the end of the 19th

century, and the opposition to European domination, this reciprocal influence of overseas-European interests and tendencies demands for an understanding of the present in its greater relationships not only an insight into historical depths, but also insight into the distance" (16).

Leibbrandt is quite clear that Nazi science must be guided by racial-biological doctrine: "Modern science must give these facts consideration and also take into account the mature peoples and cultures independent of and separated from Europe in their racial-ethnic structure and in their original economic and legal relations, as they appeared before the European peoples conquered the earth. Not as mere objects of European expansion, they are rather to be grounded in their own life, in their appropriate forms, in their racial and spatial living conditions, and they are to be integrated into the collective picture. In this direction must our research methods be built, so that the connection to peoples and cultures can be exposed, whose thought can be grasped only indirectly with Western concepts and classified in European categories. Scientific exploration and representation of overseas states and peoples should not lag behind each other" (16). With references to "living spaces," "the diversity of political, social, and cultural relations, the historical development of the peoples, their racial and ethnic components," Leibbrandt-Zechlin then observe: "The task of science arises in a time in which political action (*Tat*) determines the character of the epoch. More than ever the successes of conducting science stipulates task and goal. Scientific striving for knowledge occurs by new judgment (*Wertung*) . . . . A science without assumptions cannot exist, because every observer is bound to the powers of his origin and environment, to his race, people, and land" (16-17). Only by recognizing this can one avoid "the circle of relativism. It also gives to the observer the courage to permeate his representation with the strength of his personality and to conduct his researches in continual intellectual connection to the political events of the present" (17). "With this, a task is allotted to science for the global political education of the German people, which has rightly arisen only through the war. Now after the German people have found their form in National Socialism and the war has cleared the way for the new configuration of Europe, science will help to create the intellectual foundations for the approaching clashes with the rest of the world" (17).

When Leibbrandt-Zechlin write, "The task of science arises in a time in which political action (*Tat*) determines the character of the epoch," we are reminded of Rosenberg's statement: "A Weltanschauung is by no means dialectical, it is neither only a written word, rather it is even so immediate action (*Tat*)" ("Weltanschauung und Wissenschaft," NM vol. 81 [December 1936], 10 [2-12 (=1,066-1,076]). Rosenberg spoke these words at the 19-22 November 1936 third *Reichstagung der Reichsstelle zur Förderung des deutschen Schrifttums*, a Berlin conference attended by Leibbrandt, who incidentally spoke there on the "Entwicklung des Bolschewismus."

Compared to Leibbrandt's other works in the *NM*, the Leibbrandt-Zechlin article is rather abstract and theoretical, and above all reflects his "competence" in international studies. The Leibbrandt-Zechlin essay was the result of a Rosenberg request to address the question of world events—obviously World War II—in relation to "German science in the service of education" (11).

This is an extremely important document, which reflects equally the ideas of Rosenberg, Leibbrandt, and Zechlin. It presents the theoretical foundations for a "renewed," reconfigured Europe led by fascist Germany, Italy, and also Japan, which will

attain world domination like the ancient world empires listed in the essay's first part. This goal will be achieved in part, as laid out in the essay's second section, by reshaping science according to racial-biological, and present political concerns. This will lead to the understanding of non-European cultures and peoples so that they can then be subjected to assimilation to fascist Europeanization. Among those peoples that will not be "Europeanized" are the "parasitic Jews" and the "bastardized Slavs."

During World War II, Leibbrandt contributed only a small piece to *NM*: Georg Leibbrandt, "Deutschland im Kampf" vol. 118 (January 1940), 60. This is a book review of *Deutschland im Kampf*, edited by J. Berndt, Ministerial Director in the Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda and by Oberleutnant von Wedel in the Oberkommando der Wehrmacht.

Karl Viererbl., "Die Jahrestagung des DAI," vol. 91 (October 1937) contains on pages 948-49 a Rosenberg propaganda statement released through Leibbrandt.

Some important materials also appeared in *Deutsche Post aus dem Osten* (Berlin). Though Georg Leibbrandt did not write items specifically for *DPadO*, statements of his and news about him appeared in its pages. Gottlieb Leibbrandt refers to Georg in Gottlieb Leibbrandt, "Die Sintflut des Weltbolschewismus," vol. 4 (1937), 4, where he mentions with approval his bothers anti-Semitic articles. *Deutsche Post aus dem Osten*: Georg Leibbrandt is mentioned and quoted in vol. 9 (1937), 3-4; an important article about Georg Leibbrandt appeared in vol. 6 (1942), 25. Another very important article, by Emil Meynen, "Sammlung Georg Leibbrandt. Aus der Forschungsarbeit über das Deutschtum Osteuropas," appeared in No. 7 (1942), 1-3.

[v] Buchsweiler, p. 21.

[vi] These 1941-42 events relate to the background and contents of International Military Tribunal evidentiary documents 1024-PS and 3663-PS, presented as part of the prosecution's case against Alfred Rosenberg. Cf. *Trial of the Major War Criminals*, (Nuremberg, 1947-49), vol. 26, p. 560ff. and vol. 32, p. 435-36.

[vii] Hilberg, ed., *The Destruction of the European Jews*, vol. 1 (NY: Holmes & Meier, 1985), p. 384. Cf. "Leibbrandt via Lohse to Kube," 23 Oct. 1942, Occ E 3-45 and "Generalkommisar of White Russia to East Ministry," 23 Nov. 1942, Occ E 3-45.

[viii] Gerald Reitlinger, *The SS. Alibi of a Nation 1922-1945* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1981), 186.

[ix] Cf. Otto Bräutigam, *So hat es sich zugetragen. . . Ein Leben als Soldat und Diplomat* (Würzburg: Holzner Verlag, 1968), 305, 477.

[x] Bräutigam, p. 627ff.; Fahlbusch, p. 591; Fleischhauer, *Das Dritte Reich*, pp. 100-101. Consider Buchsweiler's comment on Leibbrandt's departure: "The impression advanced by some, as if the mentioned exit from OMI is to be traced back to his distancing himself from the National Socialist line, contradicts the general record of his life and the written expressions of his opinions. Even if Dr. Leibbrandt rejected certain aspects of Nazi

policy regarding the non-Russian peoples in the occupied Soviet Union, this is still far removed from a resistance to National Socialist praxis in general" (p. 22 note 6).

[xi] Alexander Dallin, *German Rule in Russia 1941-1945. A Study of Occupation Politics*. 2nd rev. ed. (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1981), 565.

[xii] The more "lenient" or "tolerant" policy of Rosenberg and company on non-Germanic peoples in the East as opposed to the SS, must not be exaggerated, but seen for what it was, namely, pragmatism in the face of concrete situations, such as the need to pacify and please local populations. Rosenberg and Leibbrandt wanted to be pragmatic not because they were more ideologically lenient or tolerant than the SS, but because they wanted the Nazi Germanization policy to succeed, for only a strong Germandom would, in their view, save the world from the threat of the "Jewish-Bolshevik plague." When Otto Bräutigam writes in an amusing tone that the RMO could care less about fighting over definitions of Jew, *Mischlinge*, etc., since it was ludicrous as having no military importance during a war, that is obfuscation, as is his opposing the "Jew-hatred of the SS" over against the RMO and Leibbrandt as the protector and friend of Jews (305; cf. also 501, 623-24), especially when he says that "Dr. Leibbrandt and I . . . had absolutely nothing to do with the *Judenfrage*" (477), as opposed to Wetzel's insistence that RMO possessed competence in this field.

[xiii] As Reinhard Bollmus explains, that despite Rosenberg's frequent marginalization by other Nazi offices, "However the consequences of his activities should not be underestimated. . . . As far as the period 1920-2, and possibly as far as 1924, is concerned, recent research has provided a basis for the theory that Rosenberg had greater influence on Hitler than had previously been supposed." Reinhard Bollmus, "Alfred Rosenberg: National Socialism's 'Chief Ideologue?," in Ronakd Smelser and Rainer Zitelmann (eds.), *The Nazi Elite* (Washington Square, New York: New York University Press, 1993), 183-84. "At the same time it would be wrong to assume that Rosenberg did not have any effect on ideology. Schirach had proclaimed in 1934 that 'Rosenberg's path is the path of German youth'" (ibid., 187). Bollmus quotes F. Nova to the effect "that the Nazi holocaust rose inevitably upon its theoretical foundation. And to this Rosenberg contributed substantially" (ibid., 192). The mutual influence between Leibbrandt and Rosenberg must not be underestimated. As Fleischhauer notes, he helped prepare Rosenberg speeches (*Das Dritte Reich*, 59). Bräutigam reveals close daily contacts between Leibbrandt and Rosenberg, of openness and frankness between the two, and a certain access to knowledge about Hitler's plans is also shown (431, 511, 297, 400).

[xiv] Robert M. W. Kempner, *Eichmann und Komplizen* (Zürich, Stuttgart, Vienna: Europa Verlag, 1961), p. 155.

[xv] An article published by the Institute for Historical Review, a pseudo-scientific organization that denies the Holocaust, offers the following claim: "Although he played no role in Germany's wartime Jewish policy, Dr Braun told what he knew about the so-called 'final solution' policy, based on his conversations with Dr. Georg Leibbrandt, a friend who has represented the Reich East Ministry at the Wannsee conference of January

1942, where the 'final solution' policy was coordinated. The two men had known each other since 1934. After the war, Leibbrandt emphatically told Braun in private that the 'final solution' had been a policy, not of extermination, but rather of deportation to the occupied eastern territories." Cf. Mark Weber, "Dr. Karl Otto Braun: A Memorial Tribute," *Journal of Historical Review* vol. 8, no. 4, pp. 504-507. Online version at: http://64.143.9.197/jhr/v08/v08p504_Weber.html.

[xvi] For Rosenberg's admission of Leibbrandt's knowledge of the Final Solution, see Nuremberg Trial Proceedings, Volume 11, pp. 560-61. Incidentally, Richard Bollmus reveals that Bräutigam's claim that Robert Kempner believed that Rosenberg should not have been executed is false (cf. Bollmus, 193).

[xvii] "The German-Russian Branch of the Lauffen-Markgroener Leibbrandts. By Dr. Georg Leibbrandt, Reich Ministerial Director (1933-43), retired. Translated by Paul Reeb," in *Heritage Review* (Bismarck, North Dakota vol. 11 no. 3 (September 1981), 19-25. This is a translation of a work published in West Germany, "Southwest German Leaflet for Family and Heraldic Information" vol. 14 no. 3 (December 1973). The translator, who was present at the 1973 lecture, notes: "At the conclusion of Dr. Leibbrandt's speech, he was rewarded with a vigorous applause for his comments, which, in touching on the fatalism of German history, surely will not be forgotten by those who were present" (page 19). In this essay, we learn that Georg Leibbrandt's paternal great-grandfather emigrated and died in McCook, Nebraska in 1901 (25). Further close relatives were visited by Leibbrandt in 1932 during his research trip funded by a Rockefeller Foundation grant, namely Elisabeth Leibbrandt of Oakland, California, married to Andreas Schaechterle, Gustav Peter Leibbrandt of St. Francis, Kansas, and Johann Adam Leibbrandt's children in McCook, Nebraska (22).

[xviii] About Alexander Dupper: ESH to Mr. Kindsvater, May 30, 1983. As far as ESH knows, Dupper was born in Russia, joined the German Navy after the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union, became a German citizen, and came to the United States in 1952. (ESH 4: G-Kle)

[xix] Georg Leibbrandt to "Liebe Freunde und Verwandte!" 12 Dec. 1974 in ESH 4: A-D. For additional materials on Leibbrandt in the ESH collection: Langensiepen & [Margarete] Woltner Interviews. Nov. 6-7, 1975," page 1, ESH 4: A-D. "Woltner Criticism of Williams' book [Robert C. Williams, *Culture in Exile: Russian Emigres in Germany, 1881-1941* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1972), pp. 331-63]": "Leibbrandt did not study in England and she questions that he ever attended the University of Dorpat. On page 335 she said that [the] Rohsenberg [sic] Schickedanz [acquaintance] went back to World War I. The Nazis could not be blamed for Rosenberg because he was during the Weimar Republic. . . . (Also said Leibbrandt joined Rosenberg much later.)"

ESH to Dr. Georg Leibbrandt, Nov. 18, 1979: "I am always amazed at how you and Dr. Stumpp continue to do important work for our people. Age dos not seem to affect either one of you. How do you manage?" (ESH 3: Research Letters)

Adam Giesinger to ESH, Jan. 13, 1983, on Robert C. Williams, *Culture in Exile*. "Thanks for the extract from Williams. He is just another of the historians in the English-speaking world who downgrades our people! . . . They judge our people entirely from the writings of the émigrés who came to Germany after the revolution. These émigrés, understandably, were very anti-Communist and became very nationalistic Germans in the fatherland. When Hitler came to power, unfortunately, they greeted him too readily as the savior who would liberate their people from the Communist tyranny. Many of them bought the Nazi theory of a worldwide Jewish-Bolshevik conspiracy and became very anti-Semitic. Their extreme German nationalism and their anti-Semitism discredited their writings among the intellectuals in the western world, who wrote them off as mere Nazi propagandists. Some of them, of course, were mainly that, but others, such as Leibbrandt and Stumpp, told a generally truthful story about events in Russia, verifiable from other, supposedly less biased sources. It is because of the fact that we have had such a bad press that I consider it providential that a society such as AHSGR came into being. We can do a lot to set the record straight. What should you say in describing the chapter from Williams in your Journal article? I would say very little. . . . His comments are not worth discussing at any length. . . . Somewhat connected with the above—I have recently received a copy of some handwritten personal letters written by Pastor Jakob Stach (the Black Sea historian) to a friend during the Nazi era. Although I have not had time to puzzle them out in detail, they show him to have been an ardent Nazi (which I knew before, from one of his pre-1939 books). I don't know what to do with such material." (ESH 4: G-Kle)

[xx] Buchsweiler, p. 21; Fleischhauer, *Das Dritte Reich*, 33; Fleischhauer and Pinkus, *Die Deutschen in der Sowjetunion: Geschichte einer nationalen Minderheit im 20. Jahrhundert* (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1987), pp. 18, 220-26.

[xxi] Buchsweiler, p. 83. Cf. Stumpp, "Zur Volksbiologie des Rußlanddeutschtums," GR T-81, R 608, F 5399053-56 (1940); "Gesundheitsübersicht vom Gebiet Emiltschino," GR T-81, R 606, F 5396990.

[xxii] For Stumpp's *DPadO* articles from the Nazi period, see:

1936:

"Aus der Geschichte der rußlanddeutschen Kolonisten," No. 6/7, 15-17, No. 8, 6-9 (with statistical charts and maps), No. 9, 7-10, No. 10, 10-12. Concluded in "Die kulturelle und materielle Not unserer deutschen Volksgenossen in Bessarabien," No. 3 (1936), 10-11.

1937:

"Aus der Geschichte der rußlanddeutschen Kolonisten," No. 1/2, 17-19.
"Deutschtum Bessarbiens im Kampf gegen die Not," No. 6, 9-10.
"Familienforschung," No. 8, 21-23; No. 9, 25-26; No. 10, 21-23.

1938:

"Ziele und Aufgabe der 'Forschungsstelle des Rußlanddeutschtums," No. 11, 19-20.
In 1938, Stumpp's activities are mentioned in: No 5/6, last page; No. 6/7, 20, 32-35.

1939:
"Rußlanddeutsche Sippenkunde," No. 1/2, 27-29.
"Die Geschichte der Familie Baatz, Schwarzmeergebiet, Kreis Ananjew" No. 1/2, 29-30.
"Büchertisch," No. 2/3, 48.
"Rußlanddeutsche Sippenkunde," No. 4/5, 29-30.
"Rußlanddeutsche Sippenkunde," No. 8/9, 31-32.
"Das weltweite Wandern der rußlanddeutschen Kolonisten," No. 10/11, 9-12
"Rußlanddeutsche Siedlungen im Reich," No. 12, 10-11.
"Zur 125-Jahr-Feier des Deutschtums in Bessarabien," No. 12, 16-20.

1940:
"Rußlanddeutsche Sippenkunde," No. 1, 15-17.
"Zur Volksbiologie des Rußlanddeutschtums," No. 2, 2-ff.
"Wolhynien und Galiziendeutsche - heimgekehrt," No. 3, 1-4. This article is especially anti-Semitic and typified by Nazi racial thought.
"Rußlanddeutsche Sippenkunde," No. 4, 19-21.
"Rußlanddeutsche Sippenkunde," No. 5, 18ff.
"Rußlanddeutsche Sippenkunde," No. 6, 13ff.
"Rußlanddeutsche Sippenkunde," No. 7, 17ff.
"Das Deutschtum in Bessarabien," No. 8, 1-4.

1941:
"Heimkehr der Bessarabiendeutschen," No. 1, 3-4. Pro-Nazi thought is pronouced.
"Von Auszug der Dobrudschadeutschen," No. 1, 4-6. Pro-Nazi thought is pronouced.
"Die rückgewanderten 'Holländer' oder 'Hauländer'," No. 2, 16-18.
"Ludwig Finckh 65 Jahre," No. 4, 22-23. Stresses "Blut und Rasse."
"Dr. Bruno Fendrich," No. 7, 20-21.
No. 12, 2-4 by Carlo von Kügelgen, "Von den deutschen Kolonisten in Wolhynien und in der Ukraine westlich des Dnjepr," gives a report by Stumpp.

In the pre-Nazi era, Stumpp apparently (I did not have access to *DPadO* for 1931 and 1932) contributed only one article to *DPadO*, "Wirtschaftliche Sorgen in den deutschen Kolonien Bessarabiens," No. 1 (1929), 9-.]

[xxiii] Karl Stumpp, "Rußlanddeutsche Sippenkunde. Familienforschung," *DPadO* No. 8 (1937), p. 21.

[xxiv] Karl Stumpp, "Rußlanddeutsche Sippenkunde," *DPadO* No. 10 (1937), 21-22.

[xxv] Karl Stumpp, "Das weltweite Wandern der rußlanddeutschen Kolonisten," *DPadO* No. 10/11 (1939), 10-11; "Zur 125-Jahr-Feier des Deutschtums in Bessarabien" *DPadO* No. 12 (1939), p. 18.

[xxvi] Jacob Volz, lettter dated 18 Aug. 1939 to Karl Stumpp, German Records, National Archives, Alexandria, Virginia, T-81 Roll 606 Frame 5396351 (Microfilm).

[xxvii] See the articles originally published by Jacob Volz in 1939 and 1940 in *Die Welt-Post* on the following Volga-German villages: Balzer, 19 Oct. 1939, 7; Bangert, 2 May 1940, 8; Bauer, 28 Sept. 1939, 7; Brunnental, 22 Feb. 1940, 8; Beideck, 14 Sept. 1939, 8; Dinkel, 15 Feb. 1940, 6; Erlenbach, 21 March 1940, 7; Frank, 19 Oct. 1939, 7; Franzosen, 14 March 1940, 7; 21 March 1940, 7; Grimm, 11 April 1940, 8; Huck, 7 Sept. 1939, 8; Jost, 21 March 1940, 7; Kautz, 11 April 1940, 8; Kolb, 19 Oct. 1939, 8; Kraft, 21 March 1940, 7; Kukkus, 28 Sept. 1939, 8; Kutter, 14 Sept. 1939, 8; Lauwe, 12 Oct. 1939, 8; Merkel, 11 April 1940, 8; Neu-Bauer, 11 April 1940, 8; Neukolonie, 4. Jan. 1940, 3; 15 Feb. 1940, 5; Norka, 31 Aug. 1939, 7; 21 Sept. 1939, 5; Rosenberg, 21 March 1940, 8; Schilling, 14 Sept. 1939, 5; Walter, 14 Dec. 1939, 5; Warenburg, 12 Oct. 1939, 8. On Jacob Volz reported on in the *DPadO*, cf.: "Jubiläum von Balzer in York, Nebraska," No. 9 (1938), 22. Cf. also the enthusiastic letter of G. D. Groß, mayor of Ashley, North Dakota in *DPadO*, "Vom Rußlanddeutschtum aus aller Welt," No. 8 (1938), 27-28.

[xxviii] Gerda S. Walker, "Volga Village Lists," *Clues 1978*, AHSGR, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1978, 58-77; Gerda S. Walker and Art E. Flegel, "Names of Families Residing in the Volga Villages," *Clues 1979 Part 1*, AHSGR, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1979, 70-77.

[xxix] Fahlbusch, pp. 607-9, 613.

[xxx] Fleischhauer, *Das Dritte Reich*, p. 98.

[xxxi] Buchsweiler, pp. 368-69.

[xxxii] Fahlbusch, pp. 102, 590-609, 613. Cf. Stumpp, *Bericht über das Gebiet Chortitza: im Generalbezirk Dnjepropetrowsk* (Berlin: Publikationsstelle Ost, 1943), 10 pp.; Stumpp, *Bericht über das Gebiet Kronau-Orloff (Orloff jetzt Marienburg)* (Berlin: Publikationsstelle Ost, 1943), 7 pp.

[xxxiii] Cf. the report of the RKF Hegewald officer SS-Standartenführer Theodor Henschel to Heinrich Himmler, 25 Nov. 1942 in Bundesarchiv R49/2427 and Isabel Heinemann, "Towards an 'Ethnic Reconstruction' of Occupied Europe: SS Plans and Racial Policies," in *Annali dell 'Instituto storico italo-germanico in Trento*, vol. 27 (2001), 512ff. The author thanks Dr. Michael Fahlbusch of Basle Switzerland for these two references.

[xxxiv] "Life Story of Dr. Karl Stumpp," p. 13 of transcription of recording of 7 June 1979 by Arthur Flegel in ESH 2: Miscellaneous.

[xxxv] Buchsweiler, 372-73.

[xxxvi] Stumpp recalled his denazification process as follows: "When I mentioned my work with the VDA, the Communist Party member exclaimed, 'Ah, yes, a Nazi organization.' To which I responded, 'Sir, the VDA was founded in 1875, many years before Hitler was born in Austria.' This seemed to completely confound him and after some further

questioning, the commission absolved me of all guilt and compliance with the Nazi Party." Cf. "Life Story of Dr. Karl Stumpp," p. 21 in ESH 2: Miscellaneous. Obviously, Stumpp's account leaves out many key elements of his "denazification" process. Above all Stumpp's claim is a bare-faced lie; in a private communication our colleague Michael Fahlbusch has uncovered in the Nazi materials captured by the Allied forces a document that explicitly lists Stumpp as a member of the SS with the rank "SS-Mann," one of the lowest positions, but this proves that Stumpp was an SS member.

[xxxvii] See Giesinger, "Germans from Russia in Germany in the 1950s: The Early Years of the Landsmannschaft," *Journal of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia* 4:1 (Spring 1981): pp. 26-33; Giesinger, "The History of the AHSGR: The Important Role of Dr. Stumpp in the Early Years: Based on the Documents in the Society Files," *Journal of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia* 5:2 (Summer 1982): pp. ii-3.

[xxxviii] Karl Stumpp to ESH, Nov. 7, 1974 (ESH 5: Mi-Sh). For additional materials relating to Stumpp in the ESH collection: "Interview with Dr. Karl Stumpp (Sept. 12, 1964)" p. 2, in Bessarabia in 1939: "The Russians didn't like the idea of his taking the Church Books but he finally managed to get them out of the country. Then when the Russians were advancing at the end of the war he managed to bring several trunks full of these books to Berlin. With the help of an American officer the books got moved to the West Zone. . . . According to Dr. Stumpp the 'Südrussländer' were infinitely superior to the Volga Germans in education, character and background." (ESH 4: E-J)

Adam Giesinger to ESH, Jan. 21, 1984: "I have only one problem with these reports and you'll understand what that is. Dr. Stumpp was anti-Jewish and it shows here and there in what he wrote at that time. The worst paragraph is the one on page 2 of the enclosed, which you commented on when you first read the microfilm. I could omit Report No. 1 and start with No. 2, but that wouldn't be quite an honest thing for a historian to do. It would be obvious too from the context that an earlier report is missing. I decided therefore to comment on this aspect of the reports in my Introduction. What would you do? The reports are too valuable to leave unpublished." (ESH 4: G-Kle)

ESH to Adam Giesinger, Jan. 31, 1984:

"It does seem to me that you simply must include those sentences that Dr. Stumpp wrote against the Jews. After all, somebody else could look up the reports, and your reputation as a scholar would be jeopardized if you left them out. I thought that you adopted just the right tone. You made it clear that we as an organization do not approve of Dr. Stumpp's comments, and perhaps Dr. Stumpp also changed his mind after the war was over and he regretted the ideas that he once had. He once told me that he had said to a group of S.S. officials with whom he worked in Russia, 'You are making us lose the war.' And then he worried that he might be arrested as a defeatist.

I have saved much of the wartime material that we Americans received after the war. Some of it sounds terribly racist and anti-democratic today. It was believed in those days that there wasn't such a thing as a single good German. And that they told lies about the Russians which we should not believe. Much of this can be found in a booklet called Occupation. United States Forces, European Theatre.

There was also an anti-fraternization law, which fortunately didn't last long, but any soldier caught flirting with a German girl could be punished for it. I was also warned not to invite German lawyers to my house at parties. But fortunately never got into trouble for doing this" (ESH 4: G-Kle).

ESH to Adam Giesinger, Feb. 7, 1984: "I'm still all interested in the Stumpp articles which you are translating. I'd love to know to what extent Dr. Stumpp regretted his anti-Semitism. He never once said anything to me that indicated he disliked the Jews" (ESH 4: G-Kle).

[xxxix] See for example, Stumpp to ESH Nov. 22, 1970, ESH to Stumpp, Nov. 18, 1970, (ESH 2: German), and elsewhere similar materials, for example, Stummp's typed lecture, "Veröffentlichtes und unveröffentlichtes Quellenmaterial zur Erforschung des Rußlanddeutschtums" p. 4-5 (ESH 4: Unmarked).

[xl] ESH 1: Notebooks File; ca. 1973/74.

[xli] In 1979, Stumpp further reflected on his Nazi career: "My work with the VDA turned out to be most satisfying and was truly an inspiration for me. . . . 'Commando Stumpp'. . . . I was now a Special Officer in the German Army with a rank equivalent to that of Lieutenant. . . . As a Wehrmacht Commandant, I was attached to the Command General Von Rock whose Adjutant Oberst Von Grossick was responsible for maintaining order in the military occupied districts" ("The Life Story of Dr. Karl Stumpp," pp. 11-13 in ESH 2: Miscellaneous). Stumpp reveals that as a Sonderkommando, he gave lectures that had to be attended by "officers from the rank of General down through Lieutenants and all enlisted men" (14). He does not tell us what he talked about. Later, he "was placed in charge of a Prisoner of War Camp at Königsberg" (15).

[xlii] Stumpp lecture, "Veröffentlichtes und unveröffentlichtes Quellenmaterial zur Erforschung des Rußlanddeutschtums" ca. 1973/74 in ESH 4: Unmarked.

[xliii] "I couldn't help pressing each copy to my breast for to me they were almost like my children" ("Life Story of Dr. Karl Stumpp," pp. 21-22 in ESH 2: Miscellaneous).

[xliv] F. Rink, "Das rußlanddeutsche Siedlungsunternehmen Nueva Wolhynia in Mexiko," (1926), 13ff. "Das organisierte deutsche Wolhyniertum in Deutschland," (1928), 178-79. Rink's articles pick up again in 1939: No. 12 (1939), 5-7. He quotes: "Mutter Germania wird Raum schaffen für alle ihre Kinder" (p. 6-7). Elsewhere, Pastor Rink is praised for bringing documents to Germany which served as the basis of statistical information on Germans in Volynia for use in the following confidential work: Sonderausgabe. Nur für den Dienstgebrach! *Die deutschen Siedlungen in der Sowjetunion. Teil 2: Wolhynien und die unmittelbar angrenzenden Gebiete (SSSR Ukraine).* Ausgearbeitet und herausgegeben von der Sammlung Georg Leibbrandt, Berlin 1941, page ii. Adolf Eichler wrote of Rink in 1939: "His concern over the future of the German *Volksgesamtheit* led him already in the early days to the National Socialist movement." Cf. Adolf Eichler, "Friedrich Rink - Fünfizjähriger," *DPadO* No. 6/7 (1939), 43.

[xlv] For the pre-Nazi period, see: "Mein Freund Franz Bauer," (1927), 82ff.; 103ff..
Pastor J. Stach, "Karl Wilhelm," (1929), 170-73.

For the Nazi period, see:

1937:

"Frieden im Krieg," No.1/2, 1. This is a poen by Stach in praise of Hitler.
"Sowjetmethoden im Kampf gegen die Religion," No. 3, 3-6.
"Die gegenwärtige Gestalt des Christentums in der Sowjetunion," No. 6, 1-2.
"Aus der Vorgeschichte des Rußlanddeutschtums," No. 5, 12ff.
"Aus der Vorgeschichte des Rußlanddeutschtums," No. 6, 10-12
"Adolf Sonderegger, der erste Zeitungsredakteur unter den deutschen Kolonisten," No. 7, 15-17.
"Die letzte Entwicklungsphase des Bildungswesens in den deutschen Kolonien vor und nach dem Kriege," No. 8, 12-15. Speaks of the "Judenterror der Revolution" (15).
With Paul Beltz, "Das Kinderelend unter den Sibiriendeutschen," No. 10, 15-17.
"Die Zentralschulen in den deutschen Kolonien Südrußlands," No. 11, 7-11.
"Eine notwendige Abwehr," No. 12, 25ff.

1938:

"Deutscher Einsatz für die Milderung der Sträflingsbehandlung in Sibirien," No. 1, 7-10.

Stach is mentioned in No. 1, 31-32 along with Gottlieb Leibbrandt. In No. 6/7, 33, Stach is mentioned along with Gottlieb Leibbrandt and Karl Stumpp.

1939:

"Das Wolgadeutschtum in Sibirien," No. 8/9, 23-25.

[xlvi] "Aus dem Leben des letzten Ritterschaftshauptmanns von Estland, Freiherrn Eduard von Dellingshausen," (1930), 125-26.
His essays resume in the Nazi period in 1942:
"Der Weg zur baltendeutschen Einigkeit," No. 5, 3-5.
"Nikolai von Klot," No. 10/11, 32.
"Zum Gedächtnis von Professor Egbert Braatz Königsburg," No. 10/11, 32.
"Andriews Niedra," No. 10/11, 32-33.
Cf. also Andres Moritz, "Dr. Ernst Seraphim zum 80. Geburtstag," No. 6, 25-26.

[xlvii] See *DPadO* No. 7 (1938), p. 33, where Roemmich praises the *DPadO*. See also: H. Roemmich, "Der Kampf der Deutschen Bessarabiens um ihren Lebensraum," *Archiv für das gesamte Auslanddeutschtum 1931*, in Verbindung mit Reichsminister a. D. Dr. Külz herausgegeben von Moritz Durach und Dr. Walther Hofstaetter (Deutscher Buch-und Kunstverlag William Berger, 1931), 85-89. In this article, Roemmich presents detailed statistical data on the economy and population dynamics of the Germans in Bessarabia. In terms that could have been influenced by Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, Roemmich begins: "For every community expansion of *Lebensraum* means growth, whereas diminishment of *Lebensraum* is reversal of *Lebenskraft*. Without space, no life (*Ohne Raum kein Leben*). For a community of people every ethnic compatriot is a bearer of its life. If it wants to survive in the struggle for existence (*im Kampfe ums Dasein*), then the greatest

attention must be paid to the mastery (*Beherrschung*) of *Lebensraum* by its bearers" (85). "Land possession is therefore the most important form of the mastery of *Lebensraum* for the Germans in Bessarabia" (ibid.). Roemmich sets out to paint a "picture of the mastery of *Lebensraum*" in relation to the Germans in Bessarabia (ibid.). The group is characterized by "starke Volksvermehrung," increasing between 1814-1914 from 9,000 to 80,000 members (85-86). Through the Land Reform legislation of 1919, the Germans lost land, and "the loss of land means "eine empfindliche Einbuße an Lebensraum" (86). He stresses that the "preservation of church and school and with that of language and *Volkstum*, is essentially dependent upon economic prosperity of the individual and of the collectivity. In this the economic problems assume an even greater, yes fateful significance and emerge ever more into the forefront in the circle of the *volklichen* and ecclesiastical leadership" (*Führung*) (87). He then complains about the "Romaniazation" of German schools (88) and concludes that even though they have lost some *Lebensraum*, the "volkserhaltendes und produzierendes Bauerntum" remains *lebenskräftig* in its *Kern* (89). A copy of this book from Karl Stumpp's personal library is housed at AHSGR, with Stumpp's underlining of the Roemmich essay. Stumpp therefore knew of Roemmich's competence in such matters a decade before he drafted him for work in Sonderkommando Stumpp. According to Dr. Karl Cramer in 1966, in the post-War period, Roemmich was a Nazi sympathizer: "Another man whom he criticized was Dr. Roemisch [Roemmich] who is still very active in German-Russian [i., e., *rußlanddeutschen*] affairs here in Germany. Roemisch was also described as being a Nazi" (cf. "Interview with Dr. Karl Cramer in Erlangen on May 7, 1966," ESH: Box 4: E-J). As for Cramer himself, he was a notorious Nazi in the 1930s, a frequent contributor to the *DPadO*, an expert in racial-biological research of the Russian Germans. This surfaces even in the 1966 Schwabenland Haynes interview: "Dr. Cramer is very proud of the Volga Germans and takes issue with anyone who has anything derogatory to say about them. They are <u>healthy</u> people and had an amazing lack of feeble-mindedness among them. Cramer explains this by pointing out that the original settlers came from many different countries and from practically all sections of Germany. He says that their faces were interesting and dignified, and that it makes him furious when they are described as being of a lower class of society than the Süd Russländers" (ibid.). In the interview, Cramer presents himself as a victim of both the Soviets and the Nazis; of the Soviets because of the Red Terror he witnessed, of the Nazis because after arriving in Germany during World War I and becoming pastor of a Church near Gotha, "when the Nazis came to power he was forced to resign his church and in 1938 moved to Erlangen. During the war years professors were badly needed and he was finally hired there. It seemed ironic to me that he should have had such terrible experiences with both the communists and the Nazis" (page 1).

[xlviii] ESH 4: E-J, "Interview with Dr. Karl Cramer in Erlangen on May 7, 1966: "Dr. Cramer had no use for Rev. John Schleuning whom he designated as a big Nazi."

[xlix] See *DPadO* 1939: "Die Muschel," No. 8/9, 18-19; "Die Rußlanddeutschen," No. 8/9, 16; "Gebet in der Fremde," No. 8/9, 27. 1940: "Die Heimfahrt der Kolonisten," No. 6, 1; "Mitteilungen des Sippenverbandes der Epp-Kauenhowen-Zimmermann," No. 5, 17. Hans Harder was born 1903 in a Volga-German village, interned 1914-1917 with his

parents in Siberia. To Germany in 1918, education in Elbing and the university at Königsberg. Associated for a time with the Bruderhof Eberhard Arnolds in the Rhön. Then moved to Wernigerode. From 1946, Professor for Sozialwissenschaften und Sozialpädagogik at the Pädagogische Akademie Wuppertal (information from ESH 4: E-J). Further ESH data shows Harder enthusiastically embraced the Nazi Youth movement. Cf. August Schwabenland to ESH, 1 August 1971, p. 4 in ESH 3: Genealogy Letters. August Schwabenland was a Volga-German Theosophist who resettled in Curitiba, Parana, Brazil.

Al Reimer, one-time editor of *Mennonite Mirror*, translator of one of Hans Harder's books, gives the following information on Harder: Born Neuhoffnung in the Mennonite conclave Alexandertal in Samara province. "After the Russian Revolution, his father, a businessman, decided to move his family back to its ancestral home in West Prussia. . . . From 1928-33 Harder was busy as editor and publisher (the Hans Harder Verlag). A man of strong principles and fearless integrity, he did not hesitate to take an anti-Nazi stand when Hitler rose to power. He withdrew from the Hamberg Mennonite Church because it contained many avowed Nazis. From 1933 until the end of World War II he was active in the Confessing Church." He retired 1968. See ESH 5: "Big Ben" File.

[l] Cf. "Rußlanddeutsche Rückwanderer aus Bulgarien," No. 12 (1939), 11-13. About the *NS-Frauenschaft*. "Die rußlanddeutsche Kolonistenfrau," No. 12 (1941), 13-15. Reflects the Nazi preoccupation with "biological and racial questions" relating to mothers and the "astounding" absence of *Mischehen* among Russian Germans.

[li] Rath was an American Russian-German poet and retains the reputation of a respected poet among Russian Germans in America. In the 1940s he lived in Worland, Wyoming. Cf. *DPadO*: 1940: "Meinem rußlanddeutschen Volk zum Trost," No. 6, 19; "Meine Heimat," No. 7, 7; "Kampfruf," No. 9, 8; "Heimatlied," No. 5, 21.

[lii] Photo of Gottlieb Leibbrandt with his distinctive Hitler-like mustache in *DPadO* No. 4 (1937).

Gottlieb Leibbrandt essays, always rabidly anti-Semitic in content, in *DPadO*:

1936:
"Führertum und Geschichte," No. 5, 19-20.

1937:
"Bilanz über die weltgeschichtliche Erscheinung des Marxismus-Bolschewismus," No. 12, 4-7.
"Deutschland - das europäische Schicksal," No. 5, 1-4.
"Die Sintflut des Weltbolschewismus," No. 4, 4-6.
"Die sowjetische Außenpolitik und die Weltrevolution," No. 11, 1-5.
"Die Wissenschaft im Rätestaat," No. 6, 5-7.

1938:
"Danksagung," No. 1, 31.

After 1938, Gottlieb Leibbrandt articles stop appearing. However, references to his organizational and lecture work continue in *DPadO* in 1938 (cf. No. 5, last page, No. 6/7, 133, etc.).

Gottlieb Leibbrandt was born Hoffnungsfeld 30 July 1908, died Kitchener, Ontario, Canada 15 August 1989. Cf. "Zum 80. Geburtstag von Dr. Gottlieb Leibbrandt," Kanada Kurier, 25 August 1988. Organization leader of the Verband der Rußlanddeutschen (Beriln) in the Nazi period. Gottlieb never apologized or came to grips with his Nazi past. On the post-war years, he merely maintained silence and continued his anti-Soviet crusade, minus the public identification of "Bolshevism = Jewry." The only suffering he recognized as being caused in any sense by the Nazis was the "backlash persecution" of ethnic Germans in America and Canada. A case in point is his book, *Little Paradise. The Saga of the German Canadians of Waterloo County, Ontario, 1800-1975*—which contains the official endorsement, with government seal, of Jim Fleming, Minister of State Multiculturalism (page vi). In pages 260-68, Leibbrandt offers an historical survey, without approval or disapproval, of openly Nazi clubs in Canada during the 1930s. In pages 268-72, a section titled "Reflections," he offers his "interpretation," or assessment, of these Nazi clubs. Nowhere does he ever condemn them, nor does he write a single negative word about them. He excuses them, without ever condemning Nazism itself: "He [the German] is always prepared to conform to the law of the land; his political conscience dictates civil obedience to the established government out of a sense of duty—as taught by Immanual Kant—and discipline, as taught by the educational experience of serving in the armed forces. He would rather serve than become politically active" (270).

The only negative statement he makes in this section is in lashing out against "the hate propaganda released against the Germans, their schools, clubs and newspapers, during two World Wars" (271). On the back dust jacket of this book, Dr. Leibbrandt is promoted and praised as a humanitarian who "has maintained a special interest in the World Refugee problem, the migration and expulsion of people and ethnic groups and the human right to self determination. . . . For the last few years Dr. Leibbrandt has been involved in scientific investigation of major problems facing humanity today. Subjects such as: Duties and Rights of Ethnic Communities in a multi-cultural society, International Protection and Self Determination of people and ethnic cultural groups plus Truth and Illusion in the myth of the East-West, Orient-Occident Conflict." The dust jacket contains endorsements by Prof. Dr. C. H. Cardinal of Victoria B. C., Prof. Frank Epp of Conrad Grebel College in Waterloo, Prof. Dr. Guenter Moltmann of Hamburg, and Prof. Dr. Hermann Boeschenstein of Toronto, Ontario, and by Jim Fleming, Minister of State Multiculturalism, who gives his praise with "great pleasure." The chapter on the anti-German "hate" years of World War I and II is titled "Dark Times," and the next chapter, "After the Great Calamity 1945-1975," both reveal that Leibbrandt considered the "dark times" and the "great calamity" to have been the "hatred" unleashed against ethnic Germans—he remains completely silent about the Holocaust of Jews and Roma and Sinti, the mass murder of other groups, and about German perpetration of anti-Semitism. He never mentions any of this, and never once portrays as negative what he himself calls the pro-Nazi German clubs of Canada. On the contrary, for Leibbrandt, these were the only victims of two World Wars. In the Landsmannschaft der Deutschen

aus Russland's obituary, not a word is spoken about his Nazi career and anti-Semitic propaganda of the 1930s and 1940s (cf. "Gottlieb Leibbrandt ist tot," *VadW* Sept. 1989, 32).

[liii] *Heimatbuch der Ostumsiedler 1954*:
Joseph Geiger, "Nach 112 Jahren wieder in der Pfälzer Heimat," 46-48; ibid., "Alter Humor aus den Beresaner Kolonien," 103-05.
Hans Rempel, "Unsere Geschichte unser Schicksal," 49-51.
Karl Götz, "Wie es einem beim Grußausrichten gehen kann," 96.
Ludwig Finkh, "Wiegenland Reutlingen," 97.
Hans Harder, "Der Doktor von Minsk," 98-99; Johannes Harder, "Zum Geleit," for Karl Stumpp, "Verzeichnis der über das Rußlanddeutschtum erschienenen Bücher," 118.
G. Rath, "Wie lieb ich dich so tief und hehr," poem, 25.

Heimatbuch 1956:
Georg Leibbrandt, "Hoffnungstal," 39-42.
Theodor Hummel, "Auszug aus dem Lebenserinnerungen von Theodor Hummel," 49-61.
Hummel is praised in: Johannes Schleuning, "Theodor Hummel. Der Vater der Kaukasusdeutschen," 73-80.
A[ndreas] M[ergenthale]r, "Die deutschen Bauern im Schwarzmeergebiet und ihre kolonisatorischen Leistungen," 84-89.

Hematbuch 1957:
J. Stach, "Die Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinde Kaisertal," 13-32.
G. Fast, "Die deutschen Siedlungen im Gebiet Chortitza," 55-58.

Heimatbuch 1958:
Karl Stumpp, "Geschichte der einsamen deutschen Bauernkolonie Riebendorf in Zentralrußland," 35-46. Page 41 has photos of "Frauentypus aus Riebendorf" and "Kolonist von Riebendorf," which are very reminiscent of Nazi-era books.

Heimatbuch 1959:
Friedrich Rink, "Die Wolhyniendeutschen. Ihr Werk und Schicksal," 39-51.
Gertrud Braun, "16. Februar 1918," (poem), 143. (See also Gertrud Braun: K. Stumpp, "Gertrud Braun – 75 Jahre," *Volk auf dem Weg* [*VadW*] (March 1981), 7).

Heimatbuch 1965:
Wilhelm Schneider, "Die rußlanddeutsche Dichtung von den Anfängen der Siedlung bis 1936," 55-71.

[liv] The article, "Dr. Karl Stumpp," *VadW* May 1996, 5 is about the 100th anniversary of Stumpp's birth. It is a pro-Stumpp statement implying that allied justice was delivered in Nuremberg with Stumpp's exoneration of all war crimes. Anton Bosch of Stuttgart wrote in 2001 of Stumpp: "In the field of historical research in the Federal Republic of Germany his name is—unjustly—given a negative overtone today because the beginnings of his educational mission were during the period of National Socialism."

Cf. *Heimat ist Geschichte und Geschichte ist unser Auftrag! Heimat is History and History is Our Order!* (Fargo, North Dakota: North Dakota State University Libraries, 2001), 19. Stumpp's obituary in *VadW* (February 1982, 3) makes no mention of his Nazi connections.

Georg Leibbrandt's obituary in *VadW* (August/September 1982) similarly makes no mention of his Nazi past, but rather praises in glowing terms his activities before, during, and after World War II on behalf of the Russian Germans. There is even an unpublished claim, spread by rumors from certain pro-Leibbrandt Russian Germans in the city of Stuttgart, that he was involved in the Hitler assassination attempts. This mythology was probably invented to avoid confronting the tainted past of some Russian-German organizations' promotion of Leibbrandt.

The anti-Semite Jakob Stach is praised in Martha Gosling, "Pastor Jakob Stach (24. 9. 1865-23. 11. 1944)," *Heimatbuch 1997/98*, 126-29. This is a completely positive essay, not containing a word about Stach's pro-Nazi career and anti-Semitism.

See also the "Warum keine Nazi?" article in *Volk auf dem Weg*, March 1995, page 3. The question was directed to the editorial staff of the Stuttgart *Landsmannschaft* by Edmund Rung of Seattle, Washnigton. The editorial answer was: "Es gab unter den Deutschen in Rußland keine Nazis."

As recently as the mid-1990s a public outcry erupted when the German Interior Ministry funded the publication of a *Landsmannschaft* booklet based partly on the late Stumpp's revised manuscripts, *Volk auf dem Weg. Deutsche in Rußland und in der GUS, 1763-1993*. Some public figures criticized its apparently "positive" portrayal of the Nazi "liberation" of Russian Germans. In a press statement at the time, German parliamentary delegate Annelie Buntenbach of *Bündnis 90/Die Grünen* called the ministry's financial backing of this brochure "an unbelievable scandal." Concerning the brochure publication controversy, refer to the Internet article "Rassebiologie vom BMI" in *Forum Wissenschaft 1/96*, <http://www2.hrz.tu-darmstadt.de/fsmathe/BdWeb/Forum/96-1/nari.html>.

[lv] Though not an official statement, see the Roland M. Wagner article, "Some Reflections on the *Ostforschung* and its Critics: Implications for Assessing the Literature on the Germans from Russia," at <http://pixel.cs.vt.edu/library/journal/wagner-reflections.pdf>. Wagner, an ardent apologist for Stumpp and Leibbrandt, selectively quotes Fleischhauer and Buchsweiler in an attempt to present Stumpp's *Dorfberichte* as harmless scientific achievements. He neglects to quote Fleischhauer, *Das Dritte Reich*, p. 98, where she states that the *Dorfberichte* were not innocent, but "rassenbiologische Forschung." Adam Giesinger, when AHSGR director, wrote to ESH, Nov. 25, 1983: "Thanks for the Schlau review of the book [by Fleischhauer, *Das Dritte Reich*]. It is interesting. I can see why Heitman likes her. His views are very much like hers, only she's much more scholarly. Scholars are sometimes not fair in their selection of material from their research, because they are biased to begin with. I'm afraid that some of the Jewish scholars (people like Fleischhauer, Buchsweiler, and lesser people like Heitman) are taking revenge (perhaps not consciously) on our people for the Holocaust. It's obvious that we won't like some parts of this book, but we should have a copy of it nevertheless" (ESH 4: G-Kle).

[lvi] Luis G. Vasquez, "Following Emma Schwabenland-Haynes," *American Historical Society of Germans from Russia Newsletter* no. 107 (Fall/Winter 2002), 15.