# THE GREATER GERMAN REICH AND THE JEWS

*Nazi Persecution Policies in the Annexed Territories 1935–1945*

*Edited by*

WOLF GRUNER & JÖRG OSTERLOH

## WAR AND GENOCIDE

General Editors: Omer Bartov, Brown University
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Translated from the German by Bernard Heise

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*Cover image: Jews escaping from Czechoslovakia, 1939.*
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*For a complete series listing, please see page 424.*

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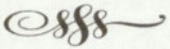
# Chapter 10

# Eupen-Malmedy

*Christoph Brüll*



## Prior to the Annexation

The League of Nations awarded the territory of Eupen-Malmedy—composed of the former Prussian-German Kreise (districts) of Eupen and Malmedy—to Belgium in September 1920.[1] While Kreis Eupen was German-speaking, the predominant population of the district town and its neighboring municipalities in the Kreis Malmedy spoke French and Walloon. In the southern part of the region, around the small town of St. Vith, which formed its own canton after the territories were integrated with Belgium, the population spoke German.

In spring 1938 Hans Joachim Beyer, the director of the Arbeitsstelle für Auslandsdeutsche Volksforschung (special department for ethnic research into Germans living abroad) in Stuttgart,[2] submitted plans for intensifying the National Socialist impact of *Westforschung*. They also included an Eupen-Malmedy program, which suggested creating a "list of all Jews living in the territory and their occupations" in the "event of a reintegration" with Germany.[3] Even though the sources for the post-annexation period fail to provide evidence of such a list, Beyer's plans at the very least document the interest of *Westforschung* in the area's Jewish population. In any event, creating such a list would have proved difficult, since no quantitatively significant Jewish

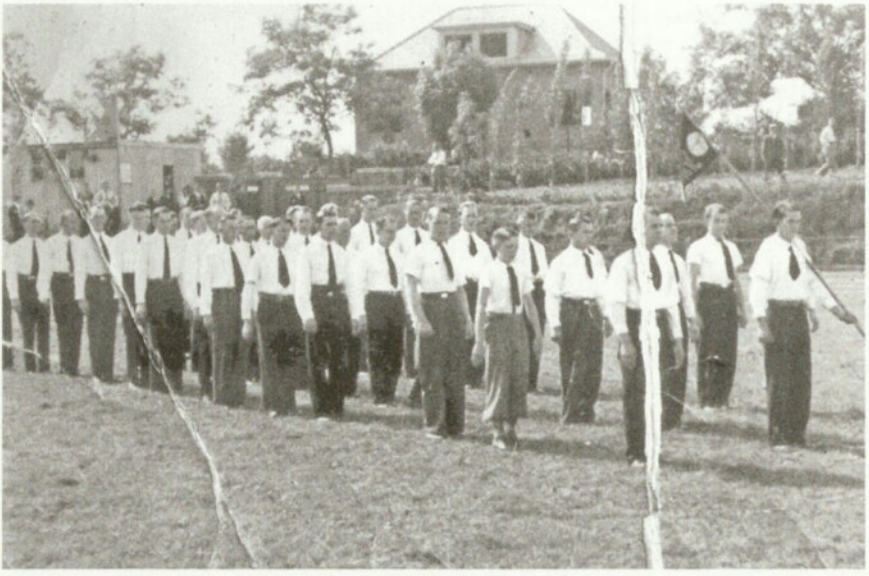


Figure 10.1. Parade by the Segelfliegerverein (glider pilot association) in Eupen, 1938/39. *Source:* Archive Herbert Ruland.

population lived in that small region. Neither in the Middle Ages nor in modern times did the area have a significant Jewish presence. To be sure, street names like "Judenstraße" in Eupen and "Judengasse" in St. Vith suggest the presence of Jewish merchants in these localities. But a larger community, like those that, due to particular historical circumstances, existed in the Kreis Schleiden on the German side of the border, never developed here. The population census of the German Reich in 1890 for the Kreise of Eupen and Malmedy registered thirteen Jews in each—this out of a total population of approximately 60,000 inhabitants.[4]

Due to the small size of the Eupen-Malmedy region and the almost complete absence of Jews, the area did not witness any large-scale deportation operations during the Second World War. Nonetheless, after the National Socialists assumed power, the region played an important role because of its border location. Until the war, for many German, Austrian, or eastern European Jews, reaching Eupen-Malmedy meant an initial successful escape from terror and persecution.[5] During the war, the border—impossible to monitor continuously along its entire length, but certainly very well guarded—was the last obstacle before arriving in Belgium. To be sure, after the occupation, reaching Belgium

did not guaranty safety, particularly after the deportations began there in June 1942; nevertheless, it could open up certain opportunities for further flight for those threatened by death and destruction.

Thus the history of the Jews in Eupen-Malmedy is in the first instance a history of refugees, but it is also about the non-Jewish population's attitudes toward them. The following will demonstrate how a constellation of perpetrators, rescuers, and bystanders developed in this region and investigate the motivations that guided the actors. To do so, however, we must first turn our attention to the political and social conditions in the period between the two world wars.[6] The integration of Eupen-Malmedy into the Belgian state was accompanied by great difficulties from the outset. The referendum stipulated by the Versailles Treaty and held by the Belgian administration in the first half of 1920 was conducted neither in secret nor neutrally. Many inhabitants perceived General Herman Baltia's transitional government, which for five years determined the region's administrative and political fate, as a paternalistic colonial regime. Press censorship did the rest. The region's final integration into the Belgian state did not occur until 1925, with its first involvement in the parliamentary elections ending in disappointment. The candidate for the Catholic Union, which managed to unite two-thirds of the votes in the three cantons, was not elected for the chamber at the Verviers district level. The refusal to confirm an Eupen mayoral candidate because of doubts about his pro-Belgian attitudes conveyed to many residents once and for all the feeling of being second-class Belgians.

The division within the population appeared at the latest during the 1929 elections. While the Catholic Union belonged to the traditional Belgian political parties and naturally advocated the continued existence of the Belgian state, the Christian People's Party (Christliche Volkspartei) gave voice to the pro-German bloc, whereby in this deeply Catholic region the commitment to the former fatherland explicitly included the requisite reference to religion.[7] The Belgian Labour Party, which since 1925 had sent to Brussels the delegate Marc Somerhausen, a resolute proponent of the new Belgians' interests, demanded the opportunity for the population to vote in a new referendum that ensured secret ballots and neutrality. The Socialists maintained this demand until Hitler's takeover of power and the banning of the Social Democratic Party in Germany.

Strongly diverging opinions on how to achieve the goal of returning the region to the Reich plunged the Christian People's Party into serious crisis in the mid 1930s. In addition, in 1935 four leaders of the

*heimattreue* (faithful-to-the-homeland) movement lost their citizenship on the basis of a new law that punished breaches of state civic duty with the revocation of citizenship. The Christian People's Party ultimately merged into a new pro-German movement called the Heimattreue Front (patriotic front). The Heimattreue Front, however, had formed under very different auspices, and its leadership clearly operated under the influence of National Socialism. Not only did it receive—as had earlier the Christian People's Party—substantial financial support from Germany, but it also organized its operations according to the directives of the NSDAP Gauleitung in Cologne.[8] Over time, the pro-German movement established front organizations like the Segelfliegerverein (glider pilot club) in Eupen (see figure 10.1), the Bogenschützenverein (archery club) in St. Vith, and the Saalschutz (venue security) in Malmedy, which were supposed to make preparations for the region's return to the German Reich. All of these groups were basically gangs of thugs that emulated the SA and chiefly served to intimidate political opponents.[9]

In Eupen-Malmedy since the end of the 1920s, pro-Belgians and pro-Germans opposed each other with such irreconcilable severity that social communication had become impossible.[10] The spring election campaign for the 2 April 1939 parliamentary election—the last before the start of the war and thus the region's reintegration with Germany—took place in an extremely inflamed atmosphere. The pro-Belgian Catholic Party confronted the Eupen-Malmedy electorate with an extreme alternative: "Christian cross or crooked cross." The Catholic Party's opponent was the Heimattreue Front, which served as a "reservoir for National Socialists, revanchists, national-conservative Catholics, and German nationals."[11]

In the end, the elections gave the Heimattreue Front 45.7 percent of the votes in the three cantons of Eupen, Malmedy, and St. Vith. As a result, it admittedly remained the second strongest party, but for the first time since participating in elections, the revanchist camp had lost the absolute majority. This election result has been interpreted repeatedly as a vote for Belgium.[12] Yet it is perhaps more appropriate to seek an explanation in the growing skepticism toward National Socialist Germany on the part of many Catholics, who were further stirred up by a pastoral letter from the Bishop of Liège Kerkhofs, and likewise in the fact that these elections featured the first-time participation of a generation that had lived and gone to school exclusively in the Belgian state. Also significant was the fact the Heimattreue Front had indeed not brought about the region's return to Germany and, furthermore,

that the Third Reich appeared to show little interest in the small border region.

The Belgian state reacted to the increasing radicalization with legal, police, and military measures. Thus in 1939/40, during the mobilization period, new-Belgian soldiers in the Belgian army were removed in many cases from their regular units and transferred to logistics and support units behind the frontline troops. This measure was one of the major reasons why approximately 10 percent of new-Belgian soldiers deserted to Germany; during the Wehrmacht's march into Belgium on 10 May 1940, they would return, together with a few other eastern Belgians, as actively involved "locally informed *Volksdeutsche* [ethnic Germans]" in the Brandenburg Battalion's Special-Purpose Training and Construction Company No. 800.[13]

The desertions provide insights, on the one hand, into the polycratic structures of National Socialist rule and, on the other hand, into the *Volkstum* work carried out for Eupen-Malmedy, which, apart from the all-important People's Federation for Germandom Abroad (Volksbund für das Deutschtum im Ausland), involved the participation of seventeen other institutions. While German agencies near the border encouraged and helped organize the desertions, the authorities in Berlin viewed this matter quite differently. Thus the Foreign Office warned the Nazi Reich Warriors League (Reichskriegerbund) that the flight of Eupen-Malmedy residents into the German Reich could "cause a significant weakening of local German *völkisch* elements."[14] The scope of this article does not allow for a detailed description of the *Volkstum* work of Germany's *Westforschung*. But it should be noted that participants in this conflict of nationalities thought in *völkisch* categories; that is, they distinguished primarily between Germans and Walloons (or Belgians), but racist attributions hardly played a role.[15]

This does not mean that the conflicts of the 1930s were free of anti-Semitism, as came to light most clearly in the context of the 1938 November pogroms. While increased refugee activity had already been registered at the German-Belgian border ever since the National Socialists had assumed power, now hundreds of Jewish families attempted to reach Belgium. In this regard, however, Eupen-Malmedy was not a preferred haven, since it was part of a border zone from which the Belgian gendarmerie could immediately deport illegals to Germany—and it did so.[16]

Reports about the deplorable fates of refugees multiplied.[17] The Catholic, pro-Belgian newspaper *Grenz-Echo* (border echo) played a major role in this regard. Its editor Henri Michel had denounced

Germany's racial policies since 1933, and the archeologist Otto Eugen Mayer and Socialist Jewish journalist Kurt Grünebaum, both of whom had been persecuted by the National Socialists, worked on the newspaper's editorial board.[18] Of the articles covering events at the border, one from December 1938 stands out in particular, stating:

> On the other hand, one repeatedly encounters cases of true humanity. As we learned this morning, a local resident, who supposedly is even a member of the Heimattreue Front, went over to Germany in order to pick up a child there and bring it via Eupen on to Brussels where relatives are accepting the abandoned child, whose father and grandfather find themselves in a German concentration camp. Although the resident in question may not be pleased to have his local friends in the Heimattreue Front made aware of his noble-minded conduct, we cannot help but issue a fine testimony to his human decency, which naturally stands in blatant contradiction to the political principles of the Heimattreue Front.[19]

As well as taking an understandable jab at the pro-German movement, the article made it clear that supporters of the Heimattreue Front were not invariably radical anti-Semites, but that, even here, anti-Semitism clearly competed with Christian and humanist precepts of charity. In the harsh words of the Reich Commissioner (Reichsbeauftragter) for Eupen-Malmedy Franz Thedieck (1900–1995), who had been employed in the Prussian Interior Ministry as early as 1923 and, among other things, had acted as the region's Special Administrator (Sonderbeauftragter): "The leadership level of the *heimattreue* movement is decayed and spent, because it cannot detach itself from Catholicism."[20] This statement by the future State Secretary for the Ministry of All-German Affairs of the German Federal Republic (1949–1964) is all the more remarkable, since in 1943 he himself was relieved of his responsibilities as an Oberkriegsverwaltungsrat (Chief Military Administrator) in Brussels for "favoring Catholic interests" and assigned to front-line duties.[21]

Likewise in the context of the November pogroms, an article from newspaper *Die fliegende Taube* (The Flying Dove)—the Catholic's Union's mouthpiece in the old Belgian/Low German region—illustrates the competition between an evidently widespread Christian anti-Semitism and human compassion:

> What has happened and is still happening to the Jews these days in Germany is a disgrace for the entire country. To millions of Germans, this dishonoring of their good name and the responsibility that they thereby have

> to bear must be repugnant in the depths of the soul. Their influence today is undoubtedly vanishingly small, and we know well enough that the indignation abroad likewise no longer plays a role. Incidentally, perhaps nothing reveals with greater brutal clarity than these events how frighteningly far European humanity has fallen and how thoroughly European thought has already lost even its merely humane character. *One need not for this reason absolve Jewry of all economic and cultural guilt and may even be in agreement with the limitation of a certain overgrowth.* But what is happening at the moment can only be described as inhuman, and even the Jews themselves would probably concede that their much-maligned fate under the Christian solution to this question was one almost worth envying. . . . The totalitarian countries, especially Germany, are making life on their soil practically impossible for the Jews. . . . The other states, which for normal circumstances are themselves already pervaded by foreign influences [*überfremdet*] and in large part also pervaded by Jewish influences [*überjudet*], often refuse to accept them; accordingly the only choice remaining to the Jews, therefore, is to emigrate to the moon or allow themselves to be slaughtered, if they do not prefer to commit suicide.[22]

The positions represented here can also easily be found in the Belgian refugee policies of those years.[23] Belgian gendarmes, for instance, were practically trained to be able to detect the escape organizations that regularly operated in the border region beginning in 1936. It would be a mistake to ascribe exclusively altruistic motives to those who helped refugees escape. In any case, according to Hans-Dieter Arntz, one can observe a shift, starting in 1938, from helping escaping refugees to systematic people smuggling. Such activity was widespread above all among the workers engaged in the construction of the West Wall in the South Eifel. They often coldly exploited the plight of the refugees out of a greed for profit, whereby prices of approximately 1,000 RM per refugee were the rule. In very extreme cases, after they had paid, refugees were driven back into the arms of their German persecutors.[24] Such motives and the necessary precautionary measures explain the statement today of a witness who at the time was still a youth: "Everyone knew that Jews were fleeing through our village. I believe that the adults also knew why they fled. But this topic was simply not talked about."[25]

In terms of their attitude toward the November pogrom, however, a few of the leading members of the Heimattreue Front, directed by the "especially anti-Semitic minded"[26] Cologne Gauleiter Josef Grohé, completely followed the National Socialist line,[27] as demonstrated even just by the reporting in the so-called revisionist newspapers, which were controlled by the pro-German movement. The report about the

attack on the diplomat Ernst vom Rath stated that a "Jew" had "taken up arms. . . . International Jewry, which is conspiring against Germany, does not shy away from leading the campaign against Berlin from French soil, as if its intention were to provoke difficulties between Germany and France."[28] This was followed by warnings addressed to France regarding Jewish emigrants who "show no consideration whatsoever, but rather apply the same parasitical methods as in other countries."[29] A report on the burning of the synagogue in the neighboring city of Aachen lacked any references to perpetrators, not even to the "spontaneous people's rage [*Volkszorn*]" that was mentioned with respect to other cities.[30] The left-wing Dutch writer and journalist Nico Rost, who toured Eupen-Malmedy in 1938, also reported on the region's anti-Semitism, mentioning, for example, that a Jewish store in Eupen was smeared with the slogan "Juda die!"[31] But there is no knowledge of any physical violence against Jewish residents.

Yet for most Jewish refugees, the border region by no means constituted a desirable haven, and the social climate did nothing to alter this fact. Almost no Jews at all seem to have been in the Belgian Eifel—the southern part of Eupen-Malmedy—shortly before the beginning of the Second World War. A number of Jewish families fleeing from Poland had settled in the Eupen region in the 1930s, where they primarily engaged in retail commerce. Because of their small numbers, they did not support a community life, apparently celebrating religious festivals in Liège, 35 kilometers away.[32] During the course of 1939, approximately forty Jews presumably settled in the Eupen region,[33] but they were by no means safe in the border zone.

## The First Weeks after Annexation

The German invasion on 10 May 1940 hardly took anyone in Belgium by surprise. Government and military circles in Brussels had been expecting the Wehrmacht's attack since fall 1939.[34] In spring 1940, the families of a number of exposed members of the pro-Belgian milieu, as well as high officials in Eupen-Malmedy, had even been evacuated into the country's interior. Many of those less fortunate were among the victims of the German persecutions—often based on local denunciations—during the first weeks after the Germans entered Belgium. They included, for example, the journalist Henri Michel, who would spend almost five years in the Oranienburg-Sachsenhausen concentration camp, as well as the Eupen Police Commissioner Fritz Hennes and

the Malmedy's Socialist mayor Joseph Werson, who both died in the concentration camps.[35]

There is no dispute in the scholarship today: 10 May 1940 constituted a day of celebration for the substantial majority of Eupen-Malmedy's population.[36] The territory's reintegration into the German Reich occurred by means of a Führer decree issued on 18 May 1940, thus even before combat operations against the Belgian army came to an end on 28 May 1940.[37] Judging by the ample volume of *Heimkehr* (homecoming; repatriation) literature, anti-Semitism probably did not play any role in the celebratory announcements.[38] But the Germans went beyond annexing merely the formerly Prussian-German region of Eupen-Malmedy. A circular decree from the Reich Interior Ministry from 29 May 1940 also incorporated into the Reich ten municipalities that had never belonged to Prussia or Germany,[39] justifying this move by referring to the German mother tongue of a portion of the population of these municipalities. The German Reich thereby gained a total of 87,000 inhabitants (see map 10.1).[40]

After a one-week military administration, the Reich administration took over the territory of Eupen-Malmedy. The responsibility was assigned to the Prussian Regierungspräsidium (government presidium) Aachen, which formally received authority over Eupen-Malmedy, but was never at any point provided with additional officials in order to fulfill this duty. As with other integrations, essential decrees for the region needed to be approved by the Reich Interior Ministry in its capacity as the Central Office for Reunification (Zentralstelle für die Wiedervereinigung). Section I/1, headed by Ministerialdirigent (Ministerial Director) Dr. Medicus, reviewed them "to ensure a standard procedure for carrying out the reunification."[41]

At the municipal level, after the Belgian mayors either departed or were deposed, their offices were initially taken over by members of Heimattreue Front: for Eupen, Ortsgruppenleiter (local group leader) Walther Rexroth; for Malmedy, Bezirksleiter (district leader) Wilhelm Buhrke; and for St. Vith, Bezirksleiter Franz Genten (the two latter men held office only until fall 1940). However, no significant personnel changes took place in the lower administrative ranks.[42]

The administrative boundaries were readjusted in accordance with the given realities of the German Reich, which entailed rescinding the Belgian divisions. Thus between May and November 1940, the Germans instituted Rhineland-Westphalia's District Code (Amtsordnung),[43] and Eupen-Malmedy once again consisted of two German Kreise instead of three Belgian cantons. The two Landräte (district

administrators)—Felix Seulen in Eupen and Heinz Ehmke in Malmedy—and the NSDAP Kreisleiter (district leader), Gabriel Saal, stemmed from the Old Reich. Such appointments would prove to be a trend; soon almost all of the Amtsbürgermeister (district mayors) and officials came from the Old Reich. Uncertainty about the loyalties of the locals, but also very urgent practical reasons, explain this staffing policy, which the people in Eupen-Malmedy experienced as a harsh disappointment. Only the Eupen Kreisleiter Stefan Gierets, in office until his death in 1941, came from the leadership of the Heimattreue Front; in contrast, his successor Karl Herwanger did not.[44]

The NSDAP officially assimilated the Heimattreue Front as early as May 1940, although it did not automatically accept the Heimattreue Front's members, much to the latter's disappointment. The mission of the Heimattreue Front had been accomplished. The (self-imposed) *Gleichschaltung* (synchronization) of the population relentlessly advanced during the next months and years. Martin Schärer estimates the number of NSDAP members in Eupen-Malmedy as approximately 7,000 during the period shortly before the region's liberation by the Allies in 1944.[45] Similar membership figures obtained for party organizations like the Hitler Youth and the Nazi Women's League. Even the SA enjoyed great popularity, and on 18 May 1941 the 1,240 men (some sources mention 1,500) of Standarte (regiment) 174 were able to welcome SA Stabschef (chief of staff) Viktor Lutze to Eupen for the oath-taking ceremony. Despite strong promotional efforts, the SS did not achieve the same success. Nonetheless, a few of the 800 military volunteers from Eupen-Malmedy were assigned to the Waffen SS.[46]

With respect to the subject of anti-Jewish policies, to date we have only been able to identify a single directive from any of the Reich agencies. In this May 1940 directive, the director of the Section IV A5 Emigration in the Reich Security Main Office (Reichssicherheitshauptamt) and officer responsible for "Jewish matters," Walter Jagusch, stipulated that the Reich Association of the Jews in Germany "itself or the Bezirksstelle [regional office] Cologne could take care of the (in any case few) Jews in Eupen-Malmedy."[47]

The few scattered Jews who had remained in the region had only two options. They could either attempt to relocate to Belgium's interior or go underground.[48] In order to hide, they had to rely on the help of the local population.[49] Otherwise they faced the danger of being taken into custody. Meanwhile, efforts to flee from the Old Reich to Belgium apparently continued without interruption. A 1916 emergency law put into force by the Belgian government on 10 May 1940 proved fateful for


Map 10.1. Eupen-Malmedy, Luxembourg, and Alsace-Lorraine, 1940

at least 6,000 Jewish refugees who had reached Belgium since 1938, declaring them at the onset of the war to be enemies of the state. For many this meant being arrested by the Belgian gendarmerie and deported to France.[50]

The arrests during the war's first weeks mentioned earlier were often preceded by denunciations. In at least one case, anti-Semitism—namely, in its typical Christian form—provided the justification. Einsatzkommando 5 of the Security Police (Sicherheitspolizei; SiPo) and the Security Service (Sicherheitsdienst; SD), which, like the Einsatzgruppen during the invasion of Poland, had evidently also followed the army into Belgium, reported a complaint from an Ortsgruppenführer of the Heimattreue Front to the government in Aachen. The Ortgruppenführer's village pastor—a converted Jew—had denied paschal absolution to those who voted for the Heimattreue Front and also performed indecent acts involving young people: "But my mind has almost stopped due to outrage, that it is possible that a priest who takes the savior into his heart every day can lie like that. There is only one explanation, namely this, that it was Jews whom the savior drove from the temple, and that it was, in turn, Jews who hammered the Most High to the cross . . . and that, after all, our current pastor emerged from this unfortunate *Volk*."[51]

## The Period of the Occupation

A decree by Hitler on 23 May 1940 provided for the introduction of Prussian and German laws on 1 September 1940.[52] The Reich Interior Ministry was in charge here as well. An ordinance on the civil-legal transitional regulations from 3 September 1940 sought to achieve conformity with German legal principles with as few problems as possible.[53]

The most complicated issue, however, was state citizenship, which remained unresolved until settled by an ordinance issued by the Reich Interior Ministry on 23 September 1941. Hitler's decree from 23 May 1940 had provisionally made the residents of Eupen-Malmedy German citizens, but only "in accordance with more specific provisions."[54] Notably, the new ordinance did not explicitly annul Belgian nationality, resulting in a kind of "double state citizenship" in terms of international law (fully ignored by those affected).[55]

The new state citizenship laws distinguished between two groups in the annexed region. Most of the population obtained Reich-German citizenship, while those deemed to be Jews as per the First Decree to the Reich Citizenship Law from 14 November 1935[56] or gypsies were excluded.[57] Because they had already been Belgians prior to the Treaty of Versailles, approximately 20,000 residents of the Kreise who spoke Low German received the status "German until revoked." Revocation

was supposed to be possible for a period of ten years. Here, too, Jews and "gypsies" were excluded, but *Mischlinge* (people of mixed race) were not, as long as "they had committed themselves to Germandom before 18 May 1940."[58] Even the SS Race and Settlement Main Office (Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt) held that its duty was less to emphasize restrictions than to keep "valuable German blood [from] being lost" by means of a generous interpretation of the state citizenship law.[59]

In spring 1941, a controversy regarding the question of so-called *Mischlinge* erupted between the NSDAP Kreisleiter Gierets and the Eupen Bürgermeister Rexroth—notably two former members of the Heimattreue Front. It involved two brothers with the status of "Half-Jew," born in Berlin and Dresden, who attended the city school. It is striking that Gierets, who as a faithful Catholic operated a shop for devotional items, had no qualms whatsoever with the National Socialist dictum: "The Half-Jew is to be equated to the widest extent with the Jew. Therefore it can hardly be reasonably expected that parents of German children send children to a class where, at the same time, a Half-Jew sits. Beyond that, there can probably be no interest whatsoever in still making a special school education in the German Reich available to Half-Jews." In a letter with an emphatically sober tone, Bürgermeister Rexroth invoked—as did Landrat Seulen—the applicable legislation, according to which the Reich Citizenship Law did not prohibit school attendance by *Mischlinge*. The Rhine province's Oberpräsidium (Upper Presidium) in Koblenz likewise saw no legal basis to forbid school attendance "even though it is unpleasant and undesired."[60]

This kind of anticipatory self-conformity can also be observed in a contemporaneous exchange of letters about renaming streets in the Eupen area. Since 1940, the new city leaders and German officials had renamed a fair number of the major streets after National Socialist politicians. It hardly seems surprising that the "Judenstraße" especially riled up anti-Semitic temperaments. The leadership of the Heimattreue Front had already conducted research into the street name's origins in the 1930s, but could never rule out the presumption that the name actually stemmed from a dialectal mutation of the name "Johannes." Nonetheless, from the perspective of the authorities in summer 1941, the matter seemed clear: "The inhabitants . . . have long been offended by the retention of the previous designation."[61] The new name, "Rötgener Straße," now referred to the next-closest village in the German Reich. The city's open-air swimming pool, which bore the name of Prussian Commercial Councilor Robert Wetzlar, an

industrialist with Jewish origins, was also renamed "Waldbad" (literally, forest swimming pool).[62]

It would probably be a mistake to interpret such measures in terms of their intent and effect as manifestations of a pronounced anti-Semitism. Rather, they appear to be attempts on the part of the few persons from Eupen-Malmedy still holding senior positions to accommodate the conceptions of the Reich-German agencies. After all, even though the term never shows up in the associated sources, these players considered themselves members of the *Volksgemeinschaft*. This interpretation is also suggested by the fact that prior to taking action, at least with respect to the renaming of roads, the city had been pressured by articles in the NSDAP party newspaper *Westdeutscher Beobachter*.[63] Whether the insufficient radicalism also had something to do with a lack of material incentives—the opportunity for systematic "Aryanization" obviously did not exist—must remain a matter for speculation.[64]

To prepare for the deportations from the Reich's territory, on 1 September 1941 the Reich Interior Ministry issued the Police Decree on the Identification of the Jews, which also restricted their mobility and freedom of movement.[65] Shortly thereafter, the ministry refined the decree to the effect that "until ruled otherwise, Jews of foreign origin are not subject to the provisions of the decree, with the exception of the Jews living in the territories of Eupen/Malmedy and Moresnet . . . who hold Belgian state citizenship."[66]

Since an emigration ban was also issued in October 1941 for Germany and the annexed and occupied territories, the only chance to escape the incipient deportations was to flee. The available sources do not allow us to determine whether any raids or deportations subsequently occurred in Eupen-Malmedy. But in any event, surveillance of the German-Belgian border would once again intensify. The fact that German authorities had compelling reasons for such measures seems beyond dispute. A number of escape networks remained active in the border region as late as 1943 and in many cases successful—as we can assume based on the Germans' inability to maintain constant surveillance along the entire border.[67] The refugees during this phase consisted mostly of French prisoners of war. Naturally, precise figures are impossible to establish. Yet recent research on the deportation of Jews living on Belgian soil during the war years suggests that the number of successful escape efforts was quite high. Insa Meinen has argued that a substantial portion of the Jews deported from Mechelen and Drancy were picked up individually or in small groups, and not during raids in Antwerp or Brussels. This leads her to conclude that these Jews, escaping from the Old Reich, Austria, Eastern European countries, and

the Netherlands, did not reach Belgian territory until after 1938 and during the first years of the war.[68]

An example of a failed escape attempt in fall 1942—one that has already been discussed a number of times in the scholarly literature—illustrates both how the escape was organized as well as the mechanisms of persecution in the German-Belgian border region.[69] On 3 September 1942, two Berlin Jews, Jacques Bar (born in 1886) and Dr. Emil Hirsch (born in 1875) were taken into custody near the border in Eupen; Rywa Löwinsohn (born in 1886 in Warsaw), who had stayed behind in Aachen, was arrested as well. Of the group of refugees, only a single Jewish married couple with a child successfully reached Belgium. Two people who facilitated the escape, Hubert K. and Hedwig R. (who gave the escape organization "Hedwig" its name), were also arrested.

The Aachen Gestapo's interrogation records provide more precise information not only on how the Jews contacted the escape agents while still in Berlin and the horrendous amounts of money paid for the escape, but also about the despair that drove them to flee as a last resort to avoid deportation to the East. The refugees were not held in custody in Eupen very long, but were quickly transferred to prison in Aachen. In Aachen, a court sentenced them to prison terms of between eighteen months and two years. After the verdict, any traces of them disappear, and their names are not found on any lists. We know, however, that other Jewish refugees arrested in connection with the trial against Hedwig R. were deported.[70]

The origins of these refugees were by no means unusual. Those fleeing in the 1930s predominantly came from the eastern part of Germany and Austria. From the Old Reich, however, the geographically nearest group was the Jews from Cologne, which has led Arntz to note: "But the phenomenon—which to this day the author finds incomprehensible—was that refugees arrived from afar, often without any knowledge of what this 'green border'[71] looked like, while many Jews from the Eifel, who knew every stick and stone in the old German-Belgian border zone, all too rarely took their chances."[72]

The inmate registry of the Eupen jail, which briefly held a number of refugees, also suggests the latter's distant origins, although, admittedly, the 1,000 inmates registered between 1941 and the end of the German occupation in September 1944 included only ninety-three captured refugees.[73]

Escape agents faced the threat of punishment. While a few got off with prison terms, others were sent to concentration camps.[74] It appears as if a number of families incurred immense risks and hid Jewish families in Eupen-Malmedy. Contemporary witnesses have also referred

to the sudden disappearance of a Jewish family, but also, for example, to people with disabilities being seized from their hiding places by the Gestapo,[75] although documents pertaining to such incidents have not yet been found. In light of the small number of Jews, estimates of the number of rescuers should not be set too high. A few rescuers from the core region of Belgium, however, operated specifically along the border between Eupen-Malmedy and occupied Belgium. At the local border railway station at Montzen, for example, which belonged to the annexed territory, a number of locomotive engineers are said to have attempted to free prisoners as the locomotives shunted the deportation trains.[76]

Who exactly informed authorities about the refugees and escape organizations can no longer be determined, although presumably they came from Eupen-Malmedy. However, they probably numbered no higher than the rescuers. Evidence of perpetrators is scarce. In 1947, a court in Liège sentenced the Eupen resident August Voss, who had volunteered for service with the Gestapo and worked in occupied Belgium, to a twenty-year prison term. He was said to have participated in the arrest and deportation of 1,000 Jews in this area.[77]

## Conclusion

Because of Eupen-Malmedy's particular geographical situation, Nazi Jewish policy amounted in the first instance to a policy of border control, developed after the start of the war by the Reich Interior Ministry and implemented by the Gestapo. Actors from the annexed region were few. A decisive factor in this respect was the region's integration into the Aachen Regierungsbezirk and the appointment of Germans from the Old Reich to the most important offices.

While to some extent, Christian anti-Semitism in Eupen-Malmedy provided a bridge for anti-Jewish Nazi policies, racial anti-Semitism did not play a major role in the population. Consequently, with respect to reintegration, anti-Semitism could hardly have functioned to establish a bond between the Old Reich and what had been separated from Germany twenty years earlier; the conflicts between nationalities and national traditions and practices were too virulent. Yet it should also be said that, for most people, what they knew or could have known—whether from newspapers, relatives, or even refugee activities at the border—since the 1930s about the treatment of Jews in the German Reich did not prevent them from dreaming about, or actively striving toward, their region's return to Germany.

Due to the very small numbers of Jews in Eupen-Malmedy, their fate came to the fore only as a result of refugee movements triggered by National Socialist policies of persecution. Because of the border situation of the Kreise, as well as the region's Christian anti-Semitism, none of the refugees could imagine permanent settlement. Many residents, however, became either members or accessories of organizations that helped escaping refugees. Apart from humanitarian motives, the basis for such involvement was chiefly the pursuit of profit, which probably explains why any discussion of these activities was later suppressed. Once the war began, the few Jews still living in Eupen-Malmedy were left with only the choice of fleeing into occupied Belgium or hoping that they could survive the war in hiding. In both instances, opportunities to do so were created above all by residents of the ten old-Belgian municipalities that were annexed by Germany in addition to the actual territory of Eupen-Malmedy; their willingness to engage in resistance was significantly more pronounced than their counterparts in the old-German districts.

Looking back on a project involving interviews with contemporary witnesses, the eastern Belgian historians Carlo Lejeune and Klaus-Dieter Klauser have stated that the twentieth century "did not even leave [German-speaking Belgians] with any heroes."[78] This is certainly also applicable with regard to the subject of the persecution of Jews during the Second World War and the preceding refugee movements of the 1930s.

For a number of important reasons, eastern Belgian efforts to deal with the past—even scholarly efforts—have included few attempts to analyze this aspect of the war years. For a public chiefly interested in the conflict between Belgian and German nationalism and its consequences, the issue has seemed marginal,[79] all the more so because very few Jews settled in this area after 1945.[80] A growing number of recent publications and Dietrich Schubert movie *Nicht verzeichnete Fluchtbewegungen—oder: Wie die Juden in der West-Eifel in die Freiheit kamen* (1990)[81] have not yet ended the subject's suppression, perhaps also because a widespread "anti-Semitism without Jews" continues to exist.

## Notes

1. The territory of Neutral Moresnet (today Kelmnis) was an exception. Starting in 1815, it was initially governed by the Netherlands and later (as of 1830) jointly by Belgium and Prussia; it was assigned directly to Belgium by the Treaty of Versailles—the relevant articles 32, 33, and 34 of the Treaty of Versailles are printed

in Freddy Cremer and Werner Mießen, *Spuren: Materialien zur Geschichte der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft Belgiens. Einführung* (Eupen, 1996), 10.

2. The *Arbeitsstelle* was created in 1936 under the direction of the Deutschen Auslandsinstituts in Stuttgart as a *Mittelstelle* (intermediate position); it was renamed in 1937. Karl Heinz Roth, "Heydrichs Professor: Historiographie des 'Volkstum' und der Massenvernichtungen: Der Fall Hans Joachim Beyer," in *Geschichtsschreibung als Legitimationswissenschaft 1918–1945*, ed. Peter Schöttler (Frankfurt, 1997), 262–342.
3. Archiv des Landschaftsverbandes Rheinland (Pulheim), no. 4585, Forschungsbereich Eupen-Malmedy, Anlage zu: Niederschrift über Besprechung am 8. April 1938, quoted in Thomas Müller, "Die Formierung des 'Grenzraums': Die 'Abteilung G' des Reichsinspekteurs und Landeshauptmanns Haake," in *Griff nach dem Westen: Die 'Westforschung' der völkisch-nationalen Wissenschaften zum nordwesteuropäischen Raum (1919–1960)*, vol. 2, ed. Burkhard Dietz, Helmut Gabel, and Ulrich Tiedau (Münster, 2003), 763–790, quote on 788.
4. Figures from http://www.verwaltungsgeschichte.de/eupen.html and http://www.verwaltungsgeschichte.de/malmedy.html (accessed 26 December 2012). This information is based on the German Reich's statistics at the time.
5. See Herbert Ruland, "Fluchtbewegungen an der deutsch-belgischen Grenze und in Innerbelgien vor dem Hintergrund der zeitgeschichtlichen Entwicklung 1914–1945," http://www.grenzgeschichte.eu/archiv/FLUCHT1.pdf (accessed 26 December 2012); Herbert Ruland, "Belgien: Zeitgeschichte und Erinnerung an zwei Weltkriege in einem komplizierten Land; Beobachtungen aus der Randposition des deutsch-belgischen Grenzraums," in *Gemeinsames Erinnern an den Nationalsozialismus? Gedenkorte und Geschichtsprojekte in den Niederlanden, Belgien und Nordrhein-Westfalen*, ed. Bildungswerk der Humanistischen Union NRW (Recklinghausen, 2000), 22–38.
6. Since 1990, an increasing number of publications have dealt with the history of Eupen-Malmedy and Belgium's German-speaking community. The references here are to a few recent overviews that largely provide the basis for the following paragraphs: Carlo Lejeune, *Die Säuberung*, vol. 1: *Ernüchterung, Befreiung, Ungewissheit (1920–1944)* (Büllingen, 2005), 25–59; Christoph Brüll, "Un passé mouvementé: L'histoire de la Communauté germanophone de Belgique," in *La Communauté germanophone de Belgique–Die Deutschsprachige Gemeinschaft Belgiens*, ed. Katrin Stangherlin (Brussels, 2005), 17–47; Ulrich Tiedau, "Die Rechtslage der deutschsprachigen Bevölkerung in Belgien nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg,"in *Deutschsprachige Minderheiten 1945: Ein europäischer Vergleich*, ed. Manfred Kittel et al. (Munich, 2007), 435–522; Peter M. Quadflieg, *"Zwangssoldaten" und "Ons Jongen": Eupen-Malmedy und Luxemburg als Rekrutierungsgebiet der deutschen Wehrmacht im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Aachen, 2008), 20–41.
7. The population voted predominantly for the Zentrum (Catholic Center Party) during the Prussian-German period as well. See Benedikt Jonas, "Die Wahlen zum preußischen Abgeordnetenhaus in der Stadt Eupen zur Zeit des Deutschen Kaiserreichs (1871–1918)," in *Geschichtliches Eupen* 35 (Eupen, 2001): 119–137.
8. See Bruno Kartheuser, *Die 30er Jahre in Eupen-Malmedy: Einblick in das Netzwerk der reichsdeutschen Subversion* (Neundorf, 2001). The study, however, has a predominantly documentary character, since the author engages in a questionable selection of sources. He organizes them in a very one-sided manner, therefore significantly narrowing the work's interpretive content.
9. Ibid., 121–124; Cremer and Mießen, *Spuren*, 12.
10. See Heidi Christmann, *Presse und gesellschaftliche Kommunikation in Eupen-Malmedy zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen* (Munich, 1974).

11. Quadflieg, *Zwangssoldaten*, 28.
12. On the elections in Eupen-Malmedy between 1925 and 1939, see Jochen Lentz, *Das Wahlverhalten in den Kantonen Eupen, Malmedy und St. Vith bei den Parlamentswahlen von 1925 bis 1939*, 2 vols. (Eupen, 2000).
13. See Christoph Brüll, "Entre méfiance et intégration. Les germanophones dans l'armée belge (1920–1955)," *Cahiers Belge d'Histoire Militaire* 4 (December 2006): 135–166, here in particular 151–158; Christoph Brüll, *Die deutschsprachigen Einheiten in der belgischen Armee zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen* (St. Vith, 2004), 76–96; Quadflieg, *Zwangssoldaten*, 29–31.
14. Luther to Major (ret.) von Rechenberg, 21 February 1940, in *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918–1945*, ed. Paul R. Sweet et al., series D, vol. 8 (4 April 1939–18 April 1940) (London, 1954), no. 632, 807–808. See Brüll, *Einheiten*, 94.
15. Carlo Lejeune, "'Des Deutschtums fernster Westen' Eupen-Malmedy, die deutschen Dialekt redenden Gemeinden um Arlon und Montzen und die 'Westforschung,'" in *Griff nach dem Westen*, vol. 1, ed. Dietz, Gabel, and Tiedau, 493–538.
16. See Hans-Dieter Arntz, *Judenverfolgung und Fluchthilfe im deutsch-belgischen Grenzgebiet: Kreisgebiet Schleiden; Euskirchen–Monschau–Aachen–Eupen/Malmedy* (Euskirchen, 1990), 269. See also the documentation in Günther Bernd Ginzel, ed., *" . . . das durfte keiner wissen!": Hilfe für Verfolgte im Rheinland von 1933 bis 1945; Gespräche, Dokumente Texte* (Cologne, 1995); Stefan Kirschgens, *Wege durch das Niemandsland: Dokumentation und Analyse der Hilfe für Flüchtlinge im deutsch-belgisch-niederländischen Grenzland in den Jahren 1933 bis 1945* (Cologne, 1998).
17. Arntz, *Judenverfolgung*, 493–498.
18. Ibid., 247–255. On Grünebaum see Roland Baumann, "Kurt Grünebaum, entre l'Allemagne et la Belgique," in *Carl Einstein in Brüssel: Dialoge über Grenzen; Carl-Einstein-Kolloquium 1998*, ed. Roland Baumann and Hubert Roland (Frankfurt, 2001), 277–292. On Mayer see Heinrich Toussaint, *Die drei Leben des Otto Eugen Mayer* (Eupen, 1989).
19. *Grenz-Echo*, 2 December 1938.
20. Quoted in Carlo Lejeune, *Die Säuberung*, vol. 2: *Hysterie, Wiedereingliederung, Assimilierung (1945–1952)* (Büllingen, 2007), 179.
21. Martin R. Schärer, *Deutsche Annexionspolitik im Westen: Die Wiedereingliederung Eupen-Malmedys im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt, 1978), 108. Regarding Thedieck's later career, see Stefan Creuzberger, *Kampf für die Einheit: Das gesamtdeutsche Ministerium und die politische Kultur des Kalten Krieges 1949–1969* (Düsseldorf, 2008), 65ff.
22. Emphasis in the original; quoted in Herbert Ruland, "Faschistische Bewegungen, Widerstand und Flüchtlingsschicksale in Neu-Belgien in der Zwischenkriegszeit," http://www.grenzgeschichte.eu/archiv/faschNeu-Belgien.pdf, 8–9 (accessed 26 December 2012), emphasis by the author.
23. See Rudi Van Doorslaer et al., *La Belgique docile: Les autorités belges et la persécution des Juifs en Belgique durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale*, vol. 1 (Brussels, 2007), 59–117; Frank Caestecker, "Onverbiddelijk, maar ook clement: Het Belgische immigratiebeleid en de Joodse Vlucht uit nazi-Duitsland, maart 1938-augustus 1939," *Bijdragen tot de Eigentijdse Geschiedenis* 13–14 (2004): 99–139.
24. Arntz, *Judenverfolgung*, 510–511.
25. Quoted in Carlo Lejeune and Klaus-Dieter Klauser, *Die Säuberung*, vol. 3: *Verdrängte Erinnerungen–340 Zeitzeugen berichten* (Büllingen, 2008), 52.
26. Peter Longerich, *Heinrich Himmler* (Oxford, 2012), 216 (German original: Munich, 2008).

27. The gardener Josef Kerres, shot by Belgian soldiers on 10 May 1940, serves as prototypical National Socialist fanatic in the Heimattreue Front; he was posthumously appointed to the rank of SS-Sturmbannführer and stylized as a "martyr of the movement." See Schärer, *Annexionspolitik*, 47–49.
28. "Mordanschlag auf den deutschen Legationssekretär in Paris," *Eupener Nachrichten*, 8 November 1938.
29. "Die französische Öffentlichkeit gegen jüdische Parasiten," *Eupener Nachrichten*, 9 November 1938.
30. "Antijüdische Kundgebungen im Reich," *Eupener Zeitung*, 10 November 1938.
31. Nico Rost, "In Eupen 3, " *Die neue Weltbühne* 35, no. 44 (1939), quoted in Herbert Ruland, "Faschistische Bewegungen," in *Ostbelgien und der 10. Mai 1940: Zeitgeschichte, Verdrängung und Aktualität; Kolloquium in Büllingen am 12. Mai 1990*, ed. Volkshochschule der Ostkantone (n.p., 1990), 37–41.
32. Herbert Ruland, "Spuren jüdischen Lebens in Eupen 1930–1949: Rosa Schalit-Mendelzwaig; eine gebürtige Eupenerin überlebt den Holocaust," *GrenzGeschichte DG: Rundbrief* (February 2011): 2–7, here 2–3, http://www.grenzgeschichte.eu/rundbriefe/Rundbrief-Nr.-11_kl.pdf (accessed 26 December 2012).
33. Lejeune and Klauser, *Säuberung*, vol. 3, 53.
34. See Jean Vanwelkenhuyzen, *Les avertissements qui venaient de Berlin* (Paris, 1982).
35. See Heinrich Toussaint, "Kollaboration und Widerstand," *Grenzland seit Menschengedenken*, cassette 2: *Abhängigkeit*, no. 71, ed. Groupe de Recherche et d'Etudes sur la Communication Culturelle (Eupen, 1990).
36. See the very balanced discussion in Quadflieg, *Zwangssoldaten*, 40. The enthusiasm also applied in particular for the French- and Walloon-speaking canton of Malmedy.
37. The Führer decree dated 18 May 1940, complemented by the enforcement decree dated 23 May 1940; Reichsgesetzblatt (RGBl.), 1940 I, 777 and 803. On the historical and international-legal assessment of this annexation, see Lejeune, *Säuberung*, vol. 1, 63–75; Lejeuene, *Säuberung*, vol. 2, 41–43; Jacques Wynants, "Les autorités belges et la situation des Cantons de l'Est 1940–1944," *Bulletin d'information du Centre liégeois d'Histoire et d'Archéologie Militaires* 9 no. 1 (March 2004): 15–26.
38. See, for example, Julius Boehmer, *Eupen-Malmedi bleibt deutsch!* (Eupen, 1941); Peter Dehottay, *Die Fremdherrschaft in Eupen-Malmedy* (Cologne, 1940); Karl Pütz, ed., *Volksdeutsche Jugend zwischen den Fronten* (Aachen, 1942); Anonymous, *Eupen-Malmedy ist frei! Tatsachenberichte* (Aachen, 1940).
39. Circular decree from the Reich Interior Minister, signed by Frick, dated 29 May 1940, Bundesarchiv (BArch) Koblenz, R43 II/1404a, I 440/40–1933; quoted in Schärer, *Annexionspolitik*, 283.
40. Ibid., 79–80.
41. Circular decree from the Reich Interior Ministers, dated 20 May 1940, BArch, R18/359, and Circular decree from the Reich Interior Minister, dated 31 May 1940, ibid., R18 (Rep. 320)/380; quoted in Schärer, *Annexionspolitik*, 108. The first circular decree also affected other annexed territories.
42. Ibid., 56ff., 146.
43. Ibid., 113.
44. Ibid., 125.
45. In any event, prior to 1942, non-Heimattreue Front members were not yet allowed to apply for NSDAP membership. Supposedly, however, party authorities interpreted the *Ariernachweis* (proof of Aryan ancestry) back to 1800 very broadly. See ibid., 170. So-called *Sippenforscher* (clan researchers) began operating in the area in 1940: Notes from summer 1940, Staatsarchiv (StA) Eupen, Eupen–Neuzeit, no. 456/45.

46. Schärer, *Annexionspolitik*, 170–173; Lejeune, *Säuberung*, vol. 2, 181–189.
47. Esriel Hildesheimer, *Jüdische Selbstverwaltung unter dem NS-Regime: Der Existenzkampf der Reichsvertretung und Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland* (Tübingen, 1994), 136. Unfortunately, Hildesheimer does not provide any verifiable source references. On the context, see Christopher R. Browning, *The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939–March 1942* (Lincoln, NE, 2004), 197–205.
48. Rosa Schalit-Mendelzwaig, who grew up in Eupen, reported on how the local victory celebrations in May 1940 frightened the family. Since it was not yet possible to reach the Belgian interior from annexed Eupen-Malmedy, the family moved to Liège. In summer 1942, most of the family members were deported to Auschwitz and murdered in the gas chambers. Ruland, "Spuren," 4–5.
49. See Lejeune and Klauser, *Säuberung*, vol. 3, 51–54.
50. See Ruland, "Fluchtbewegungen," 11; Van Doorslaer et al., *Belgique*, vol. 1, 177–261.
51. Einsatzkommando 5 of the SiPo and the SD, Eupen-Malmedy to Gauleiter Grohé, Cologne, and Regierungspräsident Vogelsang, Aachen, dated 22 June 1940, quoted in Schärer, *Annexionspolitik*, 295. See Lejeune, *Säuberung*, vol. 1, 44–45.
52. Schärer, *Annexionspolitik*, 133ff.
53. RGBl. I 1940, 1222ff., and Durchführungsverordnung (enforcement order) dated 7 August 1941, RGBl. I 1941, 376f.
54. RGBl. I 1940, 803.
55. Ordinance on the state citizenship of the residents of Eupen, Malmedy, and Moresnet, dated 23 September 1941, RGBl. I 1942, 584; see Schärer, *Annexionspolitik*, 143–158.
56. RGBl. I 1935, 1333.
57. Ordinance on the state citizenship of the residents of Eupen, Malmedy, and Moresnet, dated 23 September 1941, RGBl. I 1942, 584.
58. Quoted in Schärer, *Annexionspolitik*, 150. References to the relevant ordinances from the various German authorities can also be found here.
59. BArch Berlin, NS 2, no. 89, vol. . 4/1, Aufgaben des Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamtes-SS im Westen–Elsass, Lothringen, Luxemburg, Eupen, Malmedy und Moresnet, Aktenvermerk, 28 September 1942.
60. Gierets to Rexroth, 10 February 1941; Rexroth to Gierets, 14 February 1941; Oberpräsident der Rheinprovinz, Abteilung für Höheres Schulwesen, to Landrat Seulen, 6 March 1941, StA Eupen, Eupen–Neuzeit, no. 314/126. The entire exchange of letters is also found in Cremer and Mießen, eds., *Spuren*, folder 2: 1939–1944, Spur (trace), 17.
61. StA Eupen, Eupen–Neuzeit, no. 330/201, Vermerk Rexroth, 5 August 1941. See also Hubert Keutgen, "Eupener und Ketteniser Straßennamen und ihre Bedeutung," in *Geschichtliches Eupen* 40 (Eupen, 2006): 31–49, here 40.
62. Sabine Haring, "Wer war Robert Wetzlar?" in *Geschichtliches Eupen* 40 (Eupen, 2006): 51–53.
63. StA Eupen, Eupen–Neuzeit, no. 330/201, Vermerk für Bürgermeister Rexroth, 9 April 1941.
64. The limited sources only permit conjectures. Consequently, the fate of the few Jewish businesses that existed prior to the war remains obscure. One suspects "Aryanization" in these cases, but there is no evidence. In addition, during the last two years of the war, forced laborers worked in the Eupen-Malmedy region. However, nothing suggests the presence of Jewish forced laborers. See Els Herrebout, "Von der osteuropäischen Scholle zum Eifeler Acker: Einsatz von ausländischen Arbeitern in der hiesigen Landwirtschaft im Zweiten Weltkrieg," *Zwischen Venn und* Schneifel, vol. 5 (2001): 89–82.

65. RGBl. 1941 I, 547.
66. Express letter from the Reich Minister of the Interior to all State Police headquarters, 15 September 1941, 12, quoted in Arntz, *Judenverfolgung*, 656–657.
67. Ibid., 663–666. See also Leo Wintgens, *Honneurs aux passeurs, Commémoration de la Résistance au nazisme dans la région de Montzen* (Montzen, 1990); Leo Wintgens, ed., *Le journal de Germaine Demoulin. Montzen 18.01.1941–15.09.1944: Chronique d'une famille de passeurs* (Montzen, 2006).
68. See now Insa Meinen and Ahlrich Meyer, *Verfolgt von Land zu Land: Jüdische Flüchtlinge in Westeuropa 1938–1944* (Paderborn, 2013). Arntz (*Judenverfolgung*, 668) also notes: "Basically one can say that in 1942 there were still many Jewish refugees whose path led them over the *'grüne Grenze'* [see note 72 below] to Belgium and old Belgium."
69. On this and the following, see Arntz, *Judenverfolgung*, 663–678, as well as Insa Meinen and Ahlrich Meyer, "La Belgique–pays de transit: Juifs fugitifs en Europe occidentale au temps des déportations de 1942," *Cahiers d'Histoire du Temps Présent* 20 (2008): 145–194, here 151–155, first printed in German: "Transitland Belgien: Jüdische Flüchtlinge in Westeuropa während der Zeit der Deportationen 1942," *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente* 14 (2007): 378–431.
70. Meinen and Meyer, "Belgique," 155.
71. Green border—*Grüne Grenze*—refers to the course of an international boundary between official border crossings.
72. Arntz, *Judenverfolgung*, 656.
73. See Manfred Müller, *Die Kommunalverwaltung der Stadt Eupen und des Amtes Eupen-Land während des Zweiten Weltkriegs* (unpublished thesis, Katholische Universität Neu-Löwen, 1997), 209ff. Due to imprecise references, this information is based on speculation; in addition, figures are lacking for 1942, the year that the deportations from the West began.
74. Lejeune, Klauser, *Säuberung*, vol. 3, 54.
75. Ibid., 52, 112, 150.
76. See Marion Schreiber, *Stille Rebellen: Der Überfall auf den 20. Deportationszug nach Auschwitz* (Berlin, 2000).
77. "Vor dem Lütticher Kriegsgericht," *Grenz-Echo*, 4 June 1947; "Vor dem Lütticher Kriegsgericht," *Grenz-Echo*, 26 June 1947.
78. Lejeune, Klauser, *Säuberung*, vol. 3, 328.
79. Freddy Cremer, "'Verschlusssache Geschichte': Über den Umgang mit der eigenen Vergangenheit," in *Spuren in die Zukunft: Anmerkungen zu einem bewegten Jahrhundert*, ed. Freddy Cremer, Andreas Fickers, and Carlo Lejeune (Büllingen, 2001), 9–26.
80. See Herbert Ruland, "Horst Naftaniel–ein Überlebender des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz-Monowitz," in *Zwischen Hammer und Amboß. Eupen, Malmedy, St. Vith und die "zehn Gemeinden" von 1939–1945*, ed. Herbert Ruland et al. (Eupen, 1996), 91–100.
81. Translation: "Unrecorded Refugee Movements—or How the Jews in the West Eifel Made It to Freedom."