

the wall of the basement, a prelude to execution. At that point, Siegmund, in a move that presaged his future work in the field of Jewish and Christian reconciliation in postwar, occupied Germany, intervened. He told the lieutenant that he and his wife were Jews and that the weapons did not belong to the inhabitants of the building but rather to members of the Volkssturm who earlier had passed through. Moreover, he explained, the residents of the building had known that he and his wife had been hiding in the building and had not betrayed them. In truth, no one in the building had known anything about the Weltlingers. The lieutenant believed them, though, and the atmosphere again became one of relief and celebration. Still, as Weltlinger remarked years later, “We really lucked out with the first soldiers.”⁹⁸ All around him, plunder and rape were occurring, a fact that shocked many of the U-boats and confirmed the German people’s worst suspicions.

The rumors of Soviet atrocities brought to the capital by refugees from the east confirmed for many what Goebbels and his propaganda machine had always claimed: the Bolsheviks were animals who would spare nobody. The behavior of the troops on their way to the city seemed to bear this out. Their thirst for revenge was inflamed by the words of the Soviet writer and propagandist Ilya Ehrenburg:

Do not count the days; do not count the miles. Count only the number of Germans you have killed. Kill the German—this is your mother’s prayer. Kill the German—this is the cry of your Russian earth. Do not waiver. Do not let up. Kill.⁹⁹

Although the behavior of the troops in the eastern provinces initially had proven useful to Stalin as a means of cleansing the future Soviet and Polish territories of its German inhabitants, the policy proved counterproductive once troops crossed the future Oder–Neisse line, the eastern boundary of the new postwar Germany.¹⁰⁰ In Berlin, full Soviet control over the troops vanished, and the Berliners witnessed rape, murder, and robbery. For the Jews who had managed to survive the years evading arrest and deportation by the Nazis, the first encounters with members of the Red Army often were bizarre and unsettling.

In the first case, the appearance of the Soviets was shocking. On 26 April, Ruth Arndt and Ellen Lewinsky went out to get water during a lull in the street fighting. They were stunned to run into two Russian soldiers. They were not afraid, however; the presence of the soldiers meant that freedom was near. Yet Ruth was flabbergasted. The soldiers looked “dilapidated,” a common state of affairs among the less-skilled infantry units.¹⁰¹ The appearance of these lower infantry troops did not appeal to Berliners, Jew or non-Jew, however grateful they may have been for their

liberation. Jewish Germans had been persecuted and almost annihilated by the Nazis; that fact did not mean, however, that the Soviet peoples were equals. Rather, the look of the troops was “fierce”; to Ruth, they looked like “Mongols.”¹⁰² Indeed, postwar accounts sometimes remember the Soviets as having “Asiatic” features or being “Mongolians,” even if that was not the case.¹⁰³ In part, such descriptions of the invaders came directly from Nazi propaganda.¹⁰⁴ Yet although Nazi propaganda often directly linked the threat of Bolshevism to the Jews, attitudes of German cultural superiority existed long before the Nazis came to power and had as much of an impact on Jewish perceptions of the East as they did on non-Jewish perceptions.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, the “Asiatic” nature of the Russians had been taught to all schoolchildren as far back as the Wilhelmine Empire.¹⁰⁶ As a result, the rhetoric of cultural superiority influenced all Germans, regardless of faith.

These cultural prejudices drew much of their strength from the appalling behavior of some of the troops. When the Red Army liberated Zoppot bei Danzig in March 1945, Charlotte Josephy tried to hide from them. Doubtless word of the soldiers’ behavior had reached her, and she was unsure of what to expect. The Bender house had been overrun by refugees, and the dwelling was subject to frequent attacks by the Soviets. Although Josephy does not elaborate on the nature of those attacks, her words are still telling: “The raw manner in which they behaved is impossible to describe. I attempted to conceal myself from them, but I was discovered and robbed of all of my possessions.”¹⁰⁷ Josephy only mentions being robbed; whether she experienced physical or sexual violence at the hands of the soldiers is unknown. After the war, shame and grief prompted many women to remain silent about their experiences of rape. Indeed, Soviet soldiers raped German women on a staggering scale.¹⁰⁸ Well over one million German women, ranging from children to the elderly, were victims of rape during the Soviet campaign; in Berlin alone, the soldiers raped between 95,000 and 130,000 women.¹⁰⁹ Rape and fear of rape also explain many of the more than 10,000 female Berliners who committed suicide during this period.¹¹⁰

The unbridled sexual violence against women reflected Soviet desires for vengeance, occasional lack of discipline among the troops, as well as the primitive view of women as “spoils of war.”¹¹¹ Nor was this atrocious act carried out only against non-Jews. Soviet troops also raped Jewish women, and they did so as individuals as well as in groups.¹¹² The extreme level of sexual violence against women caught many individuals off guard.¹¹³ Moreover, the behavior of Soviet troops must have come as a particular shock to Jewish women, who had expected the Soviets to be their liberators.¹¹⁴ Ruth W., for example, hid on the top floor of an apart-

ment to avoid falling prey to marauding soldiers. In those final days of the war, she recalled hearing the Russians screaming at night for women; she also personally knew of people who had been taken off the streets and raped.¹¹⁵ Annelies B. and her sister Marianne also hid upstairs in a top-floor apartment to evade the troops.¹¹⁶ Such a tactic was widespread among Berlin women, and it appears to have developed through the assumption that the soldiers were either afraid of being ambushed on the upper levels of buildings or else not inclined to make the effort of climbing multiple flights of stairs.¹¹⁷

Jewish men also had to beware the Soviet troops. While women needed to guard against becoming sexual victims of the Red Army, men had to avoid being mistaken for a Nazi official or soldier; after such intense fighting, the Soviets were wary of all German men, especially those of fighting age.¹¹⁸ Considering that the Battle of Berlin conscripted boys as young as twelve and men as old as seventy, the scope for suspicion was broad indeed. Berliners also needed to take care that they were not robbed. When Ruth and Ellen first encountered Soviet troops as they went to the pump to fetch water, they immediately returned to their shelter and came back with Ruth's brother Erich and his friend Bruno G, so that the two men could meet their liberators. Yet instead of greeting them as victims now liberated, one soldier pointed a rifle at Erich and took his leather jacket.¹¹⁹

The antiquarian Ralf Kollm had similar difficulties. Fifty years old, scion of an old Berlin Jewish family that had been in the city for over 150 years, Kollm had served valiantly in the First World War and, after receiving numerous injuries, been recognized as a "severely injured [veteran]" (*Schwerbeschädigter*). His documentation from the First World War, coupled with false papers and a non-Jewish name (the family had changed it from Kohn in 1887), had served Ralf well during his years on the run, providing him with his "best mask" (*beste Maske*). Kollm also made use of a yellow armband signifying him as blind. However, most Russians could not speak German and thus could not or would not differentiate between the various armbands. The consequence was that Kollm's armband caused the Soviets to mistake him for a soldier.¹²⁰

Kollm does not mention any negative consequences arising from this encounter, other than the presumed indignity of suffering for so long only to be rejected as an enemy combatant. Others, however, were less fortunate. Thirty-five-year-old Werner Wunderlich was liberated outside of Berlin on 21 April 1945, but he spent almost three weeks in a Soviet prison. He was released only when he managed to provide witnesses who could testify as to his true identity. Wunderlich credits his imprisonment to the Nazis; the new authorities did not trust the Jewish credentials that he had saved. Because he was the only person in the small town of Straus-

berg with Jewish papers, the Soviets were even more suspicious, taking him to be either a German officer trying to escape or else a spy.¹²¹

Soviets were fearful of German officials trying to pass themselves off as civilians or even as victims of Nazi persecution, and this could have dangerous consequences not only for Jews but also for their helpers. When real Nazis, eager to conceal their past lives, actually did insert themselves into the situation, the matter became even more complicated. The dentist and decorated soldier of the First World War Kurt Michaelis (see figure 4.5) experienced his liberation in the town of Ferch, located about forty-five kilometers outside of downtown Berlin. Michaelis's experience of liberation was bittersweet, especially because he blamed himself for the death of one of his helpers, a man who would have become his brother-in-law. The Rook family, including Michaelis's fiancée, had helped shelter Michaelis under the alias "Neumann" for over two years in a house they owned in the town. After being bombed out of their own home and losing their pub in Berlin in air raids in February 1945, the Rook family relocated to Ferch to await the war's end. When the Soviets moved in on



Figure 4.5. Dr. Kurt Michaelis.¹²²

2 May 1945, they commandeered the first floor of the home; the Rook family, including Michaelis, took the second floor, and a certain Frau Röper continued living on the third floor, although now with the Russian commander of the unit.

Michaelis's true identity had been revealed to the commander and his troops upon their arrival. Frau Röper, however, had continued to refer to Michaelis as Herr Neumann. Michaelis knew that the Röper family had always been Nazi sympathizers and suspected them of belonging to the party and even to the SS. A few days after the Soviets' arrival, around lunchtime, Michaelis was ordered to report to Frau Röper's floor. When he got there, he found the captain, Herr Rook, and Frau Röper engaged in an energetic debate, and the captain demanded to see Michaelis's papers. Evidently, Michaelis's true identity as a Jew had been revealed, but Frau Röper continued to deny that Michaelis was Jewish. The controversy, however, aroused the captain's suspicions, and Rook and Michaelis were taken away and locked in a room. The captain soon approached them with a revolver, screaming, "You both are Gestapo informants and will now be shot!"¹²³ Michaelis tried his best to explain, asserting his innocence and suggesting that Frau Röper was of a mind to seek revenge on them. Michaelis and Rook were taken out to the pump house and locked in with sentries posted outside.

After an agonizing fifteen minutes, during which time Michaelis's fiancée, Frau Rook, the captain, Frau Röper, and a translator discussed the matter, Michaelis and Herr Rook were freed. The troops soon left. At that point, Herr Rook, knowing that Frau Röper had been responsible for the mess, ordered her to leave the property. Michaelis testified that Röper had always hated the family; she knew they were anti-Nazis and the previous month had denounced the family to a member of the Volkssturm, who had in turn warned "Herr Neumann" that the family should be careful. Michaelis stayed in his room as Rook accompanied Röper off the property, but he heard what happened next from eyewitnesses. Rook and Röper had a scuffle (*Handgemenge*). She screamed, and the departing troops returned. One of the soldiers shot Rook, and he was killed instantly.¹²⁴

On 21 October 1945, while submitting his application for OdF status, Michaelis added this story as an addendum to his application; the event clearly represented a traumatic point in his hiding experience. Michaelis wrote, "It is a tragedy that directly through my person a death should have been caused, that Herr Rook had to die only two days before the war's end."¹²⁵ That Michaelis should blame himself is difficult for us to see. The perpetrator, by all accounts, was Frau Röper, and her method of murder was the frightened and mistrustful Soviet troops. She demon-

strated the pernicious and vindictive spirit of the Nazis in the war's final days and used the chaos of this period, when everyone was a suspect and everyone an enemy, to take her revenge. Although he survived the event, Michaelis, having benefitted from the Rook family's protection and having built strong emotional ties with them, could not think about his experiences of war and liberation without also thinking about the fate of Herr Rook. For Michaelis, his experiences and the experiences of the Rooks were inextricable.

As the early encounters with the Soviets indicated, proving one's identity as Jewish was not always easily accomplished. The problem, according to Bruno G., was that the troops were "uneducated Mongolians" who could not tell the difference between Jews and Germans. Bruno perhaps forgot in his testimony, given decades later, that these "differences" were largely the product of Nazi antisemitic imagination. Yet in their desire for revenge and as a product of their bitter experiences on the front, the Soviets were not taking any chances. Moreover, having liberated Auschwitz and other camps and having encountered the victims of Nazism on their way to Berlin, the Soviets believed that most Jews had been exterminated. Even a Jewish ID card, kept for years in hiding at great peril, did not afford automatic protection. When Charlotte Josephy tried to show her card to Polish soldiers who had moved into the area around Zoppot, they refused to believe her.¹²⁶ When the Russian troops, who had stolen Erich Arndt's leather jacket at gunpoint, were told by Ruth that they were Jewish, one soldier looked at them, pulled his finger across his throat, and said, "Juden kaputt" (The Jews are dead).¹²⁷ Not even the Jewish ID cards that Erich and Ruth's mother had sewed in their coats helped. Nor was this an isolated experience. What the Russians had seen convinced them that the Jews were dead and that those who claimed to be Jews were lying.¹²⁸

For over two years, survival depended upon the concealment of one's Jewish identity. As the Soviets poured into the city, however, a drastic reversal occurred, and the best way to secure help and protection was to prove beyond a doubt that one was Jewish. Friedrich Rhonheimer had managed this feat during the battle when he encountered Jewish officers of the Red Army fighting in the Wichertstraße.¹²⁹ Rhonheimer does not say, however, how he accomplished this. As the case of Michaelis suggests, not all Soviets necessarily denied the survival or existence of Jews in Germany; indeed, at first, the captain had believed Michaelis. If identification did not suffice, however, U-boats were able to prove themselves most easily if they ran into Jews serving in the Red Army. Ruth Arndt and her family proved themselves when an officer asked her to recite the Sh'ma Yisrael (Hear, O Israel), a cornerstone of Jewish prayer.¹³⁰ Char-

lotte Josephy also managed to receive recognition as a Jew by reciting the same prayer.¹³¹ After years of persecution due to their faith and supposed race, the act of expressing their faith openly must have come as a tremendous and gratifying relief to many individuals. Rather than a cause for persecution, the prayer was a guarantee of their salvation and an end to the nightmare of the Third Reich.

Conclusion

The Second World War ended on 8 May 1945. After years of camouflaging their true identities, the city's divers could surface—this time for good. As Lydia Haase, who survived the war to be reunited with her son Falko, remarked, “With the invasion of the Russians . . . I once again took my old name.”¹³² Still, some had lived under a false name for so long that the adjustment was not automatic. Martin Riesenburger held his first synagogue service on 11 May. He recalled the panic he noticed on the faces of some former U-boats when he called them by their real name for the first time; fear of denunciation and the Gestapo did not vanish overnight.¹³³ Thekla Beyer put her liberation in other words: “My proper life began again only with the invasion of the Red Army.”¹³⁴ However they expressed themselves, Jews slowly allowed the realization that the nightmare was over to set in.

The years of living submerged in the capital of the Third Reich had been challenging, even brutally so. The final months were no exception. They presented the U-boats not only with new challenges to survival but also with new opportunities for survival. The city they had learned to navigate in the previous two years fell apart, worsening an already precarious position. However, the ingenuity and resourcefulness of the U-boats helped them to survive, and so did their willingness to take advantage of the chaos caused by the Allied invasion of Germany. Yet the chaos soon started to work against the submerged as well, and during the Battle of Berlin, they faced their last challenge to survival. In confronting the realities of war at home and the invading troops, the U-boats had to come to terms with what was now a mostly uncomfortable dual identity as German and Jew. As far as the bombers were concerned, U-boats were Germans. To the Nazis they encountered, they were Jews. To the Soviets, they were suspect, perhaps an enemy or perhaps a friend. The average Berliner did not much care one way or the other, so long as the war ended. Yet despite the complicated experiences of liberation, freedom was the ultimate result of the Soviet advance, and the one that mattered most to survivors. Liberation came for Paul and Helene Helft when they approached a Rus-

sian officer while waving a white towel. This officer inspected their papers and believed their story. What he told them was heartening: “You are free and can move around anywhere. You can choose English, American, or Russian citizenship.” After recording this in his postwar application for OdF recognition, Paul Helft remarked, “May he be right!”¹³⁵

Notes

1. Tony Le Tissier, *The Battle of Berlin* (Shroud: Tempus Publishing Limited, 2007), 37.
2. The tremendous difficulties associated with the experience and process of liberation in Europe receive excellent attention and analysis in Dan Stone, *The Liberation of the Camps: The End of the Holocaust and its Aftermath* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).
3. Gottwaldt and Schulle, “*Judendeportationen*,” 466–67.
4. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 31551.
5. See also Maurer, “From Everyday Life,” 370.
6. Bruno G. Holocaust Testimony (T-1764), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.
7. Thomas Darnstädt and Klaus Wiegrefe, “Vater, erschieß mich!” in *Die Flucht: Über die Vertreibung der Deutschen aus dem Osten*, edited by Stefan Aust and Stephan Burgdorff (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 2002), 21–22.
8. Beevor, *Fall of Berlin*, 48.
9. Darnstädt and Wiegrefe, “Vater, erschieß mich!,” 28.
10. Darnstädt and Wiegrefe, “Vater, erschieß mich!,” 28.
11. Beevor, *Fall of Berlin*, 47–48.
12. Beevor, *Fall of Berlin*, 48.
13. Beevor, *Fall of Berlin*, 49.
14. Beck, *Underground Life*, 144.
15. Beevor, *Fall of Berlin*, 49, 52.
16. Bruno G. Holocaust Testimony (T-1764), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.
17. Ruth G. Holocaust Testimony (T-1763), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.
18. See Annelies H. Holocaust Testimony (T-276 AND T-1866), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.
19. See Ruth W. Holocaust Testimony (T-619), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.
20. For the use and practice of the term, see, for example, CJA 4.1, 3101. See also Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair*, 209; Maurer, “From Everyday Life,” 370.
21. Bruno G. Holocaust Testimony (T-1764), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.
22. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 35368.
23. Beevor, *Fall of Berlin*, 48, 126, 401.
24. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 31551.
25. Bruno G. Holocaust Testimony (T-1764), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.

26. Friedrich, *The Fire*, 317.
27. See also Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair*, 211.
28. LAB, C Rep 118-01, Nr.: 38677.
29. CJA 4.1, Nr.: 1694.
30. LAB, F Rep. 290, 01 NS Zweiter Weltkrieg, Luftschutz, 372688.
31. Ruth G. Holocaust Testimony (T-1763), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.
32. Ruth G. Holocaust Testimony (T-1763), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library. See also Ruth Gumpel, interview with author, and Lovenheim, *Survival in the Shadows*, 167–70.
33. Riesenburger, *Das Licht verlöschte nicht*, 40, 46–48.
34. Lovenheim, *Survival in the Shadows*, 170.
35. Le Tissier, *Battle of Berlin*, 19.
36. Le Tissier, *Battle of Berlin*, 20.
37. Moorhouse, *Berlin at War*, 307–8.
38. Le Tissier, *Battle of Berlin*, 19. See also, Friedrich, *The Fire*, 98.
39. Friedrich, *The Fire*, 316. See also, Le Tissier, *Battle of Berlin*, 19.
40. Le Tissier, *Battle of Berlin*, 19.
41. Moorhouse, *Berlin at War*, 348.
42. Moorhouse, *Berlin at War*, 357.
43. Le Tissier, *Battle of Berlin*, 19–20.
44. Beevor, *Fall of Berlin*, 419.
45. LAB, 01 NS Zweiter Weltkrieg, Luftangriffe, Bestell-Nr. 172508.
46. Beck, *Underground Life*, 143.
47. Friedrich, *The Fire*, 316.
48. Weinstein, *Aufzeichnungen aus dem Versteck*, 376–77.
49. Friedrich, *The Fire*, 317.
50. ZfA, File of Charlotte Josephy, “Erlebnisse,” 4. See also, ZfA, File of Lola Alexander, “Bericht über meine Illegalität Während der Nazizeit in Deutschland von Lola Alexander, Berlin-Lichtenberg.”
51. Bruno G. Holocaust Testimony (T-1764), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.
52. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 31545.
53. Moorhouse, *Berlin at War*, 184, 202.
54. Beck, *Underground Life*, 143.
55. Beck, *Underground Life*, 143.
56. CJA 4.1, 495.
57. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 31545.
58. See Anlage I zu Formblatt C. in LAB, E Rep. 200-22, Nr.: 7 + 8.
59. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 33971.
60. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 35368.
61. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 34878. See also the testimony of Hans Lang concerning the increasing difficulties for Jews in hiding during the last months of the War in LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 38043.
62. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 33122.
63. Norbert Haase estimates that well over one hundred thousand German soldiers deserted the Wehrmacht in Haase, “Wehrkraftersetzung und Fahnenflucht,” in Benz and, *Lexikon des deutschen Widerstandes*, 316.
64. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 31804.
65. Gruner, *Judenverfolgung*, 91.

66. Gottwaldt and Schulle, *Judendeportationen*, 441.
67. Gottwaldt and Schulle, *Judendeportationen*, 466–67.
68. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 30895. See also, LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 30901.
69. LAB, A Pr.Br. 030-03 Tit. 198 B Nr.: 1811.
70. Beck, *Underground Life*, 131–32, 156.
71. Beck, *Underground Life*, 147.
72. Beck, *Underground Life*, 156.
73. LAB, A Pr.Br. 030-03 Tit. 198 B Nr.: 1811.
74. LAB, A Pr.Br. 030-03 Tit. 198 B Nr.: 1811.
75. Beck, *Underground Life*, 147.
76. Beck, *Underground Life*, 156.
77. Beck, *Underground Life*, 156.
78. Beck, *Underground Life*, 156–57.
79. CJA 4.1, 2303.
80. Moorhouse, *Berlin at War*, 365.
81. Alan Axelrod, ed., *Encyclopedia of World War II* (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 2007), 165
82. LAB, F. Rep. 290, 01 NS/ 2. Weltkrieg Eroberung Berlins, Bestell-Nr. 183845, 183854.
83. Moorhouse, *Berlin at War*, 367–368.
84. Ruth G. Holocaust Testimony (T-1763), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.
85. Moorhouse, *Berlin at War*, 366.
86. Moorhouse, *Berlin at War*, 364–65.
87. CJA, 4.1, Nr.: 759.
88. CJA, 4.1, Nr.: 759.
89. Moorhouse, *Berlin at War*, 366.
90. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 34878.
91. Moorhouse, *Berlin at War*, 364–65.
92. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 34878.
93. Beck, *Underground Life*, 162–63.
94. CJA, 4.1, 2898.
95. ZfA, File of Dr. Charlotte Bamberg, “Untergetaucht.”
96. This also applies to camp survivors. See, for example, Stone, *Liberation of the Camps*, 53.
97. Weltlinger, “Hast du es schon vergessen?,” 27.
98. Weltlinger, “Hast du es schon vergessen?,” 28.
99. In Beevor, *Fall of Berlin*, 169, 196–97.
100. Le Tissier, *Battle of Berlin*, 16.
101. Le Tissier, *Battle of Berlin*, 17.
102. Ruth G. Holocaust Testimony (T-1763), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.
103. Moorhouse, *Berlin at War*, 375. See also Bruno G. Holocaust Testimony (T-1764), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.
104. Atina Grossmann points out that as a result of Goebbels’s propaganda, the Russian soldiers were “invariably coded as Mongols.” See Atina Grossmann, “A Question of Silence: The Rape of German Women by Occupation Soldiers” in *West Germany under Construction: Politics, Society, and Culture in the Adenauer Era*, ed. Robert Moeller (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 52.

105. Aristotle A. Kallis, *Nazi Propaganda and the Second World War* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 82. See also, Stephen G. Fritz, *Endkampf: Soldiers, Civilians, and the Death of the Third Reich* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2004), 44.
106. Vejas Gabriel Liulevicius, *The German Myth of the East: 1800 to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 126.
107. ZfA, File of Charlotte Josephy, "Erlebnisse," 4.
108. The earliest postwar report of the rape of German women appeared in a stylized semiautobiographical and anonymously written pseudo-diary: Anonymous, *A Woman in Berlin* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1954). For a discussion of the rape of German women at the hands of members of the Red Army and its social consequences, see "Gendered Defeat: Rape, Motherhood, and Fraternization," chapter 2 in Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*. Also see Grossmann, "A Question of Silence: The Rape of German Women by Occupation Soldiers," in Moeller, *West Germany under Construction*.
109. Moorhouse, *Berlin at War*, 376. See also, Beevor, *Fall of Berlin*, 410
110. Goeschel, *Suicide in Nazi Germany*, 158.
111. Beevor, *Fall of Berlin*, 326–27.
112. Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, 63–64. See also Beevor, *Fall of Berlin*, 345–46; and Moorhouse, *Berlin at War*, 378.
113. Beevor, *Fall of Berlin*, 312–13.
114. See Annelies H. Holocaust Testimony (T-276 and T-1866), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library. See Grossmann, "Question of Silence," 53.
115. See Ruth W. Holocaust Testimony (T-619), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.
116. See Annelies H. Holocaust Testimony (T-276 AND T-1866), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.
117. Moorhouse, *Berlin at War*, 379.
118. Beck, *Underground Life*, 163.
119. Ruth G. Holocaust Testimony (T-1763), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library. See also Bruno G. Holocaust Testimony (T-1764), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.
120. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 38443.
121. CJA, 4.1, 3140.
122. LAB, C Rep. 118-01, OdF Kartei, A-31212.
123. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 31212.
124. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 31212.
125. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 31212.
126. ZfA, File of Charlotte Josephy, "Erlebnisse," 5.
127. Ruth G. Holocaust Testimony (T-1763), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library. See also Bruno G. Holocaust Testimony (T-1764), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.
128. See Moorhouse, *Berlin at War*, 306.
129. CJA, 4.1, Nr.: 1694.
130. Ruth G. Holocaust Testimony (T-1763), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library. See also Bruno G. Holocaust Testimony (T-1764), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.

131. ZfA, File of Charlotte Josephy, “Erlebnisse.” See also Benz, *Überleben im Untergrund*, 25–26.
132. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 31209.
133. Riesenburger, *Das Licht verlöschte nicht*, 53.
134. LAB, C Rep.118-01, Nr.: 30500.
135. CJA, 4.1, Nr.: 698.