

Notes

Prologue

- xxix 'If we aim at' John Maynard Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, Transaction Publishers, 2009, p.xv
- xxx 'a life's savings' <https://www.historyonthenet.com/authentichistory/1930-1939/4-roadtowar/1-germany/index.html>
- xxx 'In [these] times' Fest, *Hitler*, p.373
- xxx 'Within two months' Eltscher, *Traitors or Patriots?*, p.16
- xxxi 'I confront everything' Fest, *Hitler*, p.376
- xxxii 'a feeling as if' *Ibid.*, p.384
- xxxiii 'Harsh rulers don't' Ritter, *The German Resistance*, p.42

1: Carl Goerdeler

- 1 'Schneidemuehl' Now Pila in Poland
- 2 'Goerdeler was a' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.146
- 2 'Königsberg' Now Kaliningrad
- 3 'Goerdeler accepted' Young, *The 'X' Documents*, p.27
- 4 'Night of the Long Knives' Its official title was 'Unternehmen Kolibri' (Operation Hummingbird). In fact the German phrase '*Nacht der langen Messer*' long predates this event as a description of acts of unrestrained mass violence
- 4 'the army general' General Kurt von Schleicher
- 4 'personal secretary of another Chancellor' Herbert von Bose, head of the press division of the Vice Chancellery under Vice-Chancellor Franz von Papen
- 5 'local Leipzig Nazi leader' Hans Rudolf Haake
- 5 'There is one of' quoted in Deutsch, *The Conspiracy Against Hitler*, p.11
- 5 'All of us' Orbach, *The Plots Against Hitler*, p.24
- 5 'his position' See Mommsen, *Germans Against Hitler*, p.259
- 5 'a local Gauleiter' Gauleiters were the Nazi district governors. In this case Martin Mutschmann, the Gauleiter of Saxony
- 6 'as a patriot' Ritter, *The German Resistance*, p.82
- 6 'call black, black' quoted in Young, *The 'X' Documents*, p.24
- 6 'He has decided' Sir William Deedes, quoted in *ibid.*
- 6 'ex-World War I fighter pilot' Leslie Satchell
- 6 'industrialist' Hugh Quigley
- 6 'civil servant' Sir Wyndham Deedes
- 7 'His Master's Voice' quoted in Colvin, *Vansittart in Office*, p.148
- 7 'an alarmist' *Ibid.*, p.147
- 7 'an impressive, wise' TNA FO 371/20733
- 7 'Suppressed by Eden' Vansittart Papers: Vnst 1/20 Churchill College, and Colvin, *Vansittart in Office*, p.154

2: Ludwig Beck

- 8 'a degree of anti-Semitism' Mommsen, *Germans Against Hitler*, p.257
- 8 'I have wished' Ludwig Beck letter to Fraulein Gossler, 17 March 1933, in May, *Strange Victory*, pp.33-4
- 9 'facial skin' *Ibid.*, pp.31-2
- 9 'tense, sensitive' Deutsch, *Hitler and His Generals*, p.43
- 9 'Everyone who knew him' Count Rüdiger von der Goltz in Hoffmann, *The History of the German Resistance*, p.70
- 11 'humiliating retreat' quoted in May, *Strange Victory*, p.35
- 11 'a policy with moral' F. Hossbach, *Zwischen Wehrmacht und Hitler*, Hanover, 1949, p.152
(translation from Ritter, *The German Resistance*, p.76)
- 12 'I swear by God' Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, p.227
- 12 'blackest day of my life' From Gisevius's testimony at Nuremberg, 25 April 1946. (<http://avalon.law.yale.edu/imt/04-25-46.asp>) and in Ritter, *The German Resistance*, p.73
- 12 'could never rid himself' From Gisevius's testimony at Nuremberg, 25 April 1946
- 13 'It is not what' Note to Karl-Heinrich von Stülpnagel, then a colonel, in Peter Hoffmann, 'Ludwig Beck: Loyalty and Resistance', *Central European History*, Vol. 14, no. 4, December 1981, p.337
- 13 'All hope is placed' Ritter, *The German Resistance*, p.76
- 13 'The first German objective' Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, p.357, and Hossbach, *Entre la Wehrmacht et Hitler*, p.209 (and in Annexe II)
- 14 'forced to resign' Cave Brown, *The Last Hero*, p.287. The site of the alleged offence was Privaat Strasse, by Berlin's Wannsee station
- 14 'I exercise henceforth' Colvin, *Vansittart in Office*, p.179
- 14 'Mutiny and revolution' Ritter, *The German Resistance*, p.78
- 14 'It is my unalterable decision' Faber, *Munich 1938*, p.186
- 14 'The Führer's remarks' Hoffmann, 'Loyalty and Resistance', *op. cit.*, p.345

3: Wilhelm Canaris

- 15 'shop soiled and old' Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, p.103, quoting Gerhard Henke, 'Bericht und Erinnerungen eines IC', *Die Nachhut*, 13 Nov 1967
- 15 'He gave the impression' Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, p.103
- 16 'one of the most' Klemperer, *German Resistance Against Hitler*, p.23, quoted from Ernst von Weizsäcker in his *Erinnerungen* (Munich, 1950), p.175
- 16 'the Canarisi family' See Erika Canaris's letter to Allen Dulles of 24 Aug 1947; Allen Dulles Papers; Public Policy Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library, Box 11, Folder 6. [Findingaids.princeton.edu/collections/MC019/c00163](http://findingaids.princeton.edu/collections/MC019/c00163)
- 16 'believed in the supernatural' *Ibid.*
- 16 'Canaris had a profound' Manvell and Fraenkel, *The Men Who Tried to Kill Hitler*, p.193. The words are those of Dr Wolf Werner Schrader
- 16 'What had gone' Colonel Louis Rivet, 'Lénigme du Service de renseignements allemand sous le régime hitlérien', *Revue de Défense nationale*, décembre 1947, pp.778-807
- 16 'a friend noted' Erwin Lahousen, quoted in Gisevius, *To the Bitter End*, pp.439-42
- 17 'a kind person' Kessel speaking to Erika Canaris. See Erika Canaris's letter to Allen Dulles of 24 Aug 1947; Allen Dulles Papers; Public Policy Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library, Box 11, Folder 6
- 17 'tender emotions' Erika Canaris's letter to Donovan of 15 November 1945, <http://lawcollections.library.cornell.edu/nuremberg/catalog/nur:01696>
- 17 'light cruiser *Dresden*, on which Canaris was a junior officer' Some subsequent accounts report that Canaris was the *Dresden's* intelligence officer and closely involved in sowing misinformation which confused the British. But this is untrue. He in fact held a junior position as the Captain's secretary. Heiko Suhr, email to the author

- 18 'bay on an isolated island' Cumberland Bay, Robinson Crusoe Island, near the Chilean island of Más a Tierra
- 18 'back in Germany on 30 September 1915' File note Admiralty Staff, 5 October 1915, BA-MA, RM 5/2228, folio 247, quoted in Mueller, *Canaris*, p.265 fn 11
- 18 'If a Spaniard' Canaris to Piekenbrock, who told the author of Brissaud, *Canaris: chef de l'espionnage*, p.408
- 19 'put together the spy networks' Canaris contributed to the set-up of the Ettapendienst organisation which provided secret economic support to the German Navy in foreign waters and maritime Intelligence, TNA KV 3/384, and Robert H. Whealey, *Hitler and Spain: The Nazi Role in the Spanish Civil War 1936–1939*, University Press of Kentucky, 1989, pp.121 et seq.
- 19 'According to rumour' Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, pp.54–5
- 19 'the Croatian port of Cattaro' Modern-day Kotor in Montenegro
- 20 'Miss Hill terminated' See Heiko Suhr, email to the author
- 21 'he accompanied Erika' Heydrich also played first violin in Erika Canaris's string quartet
- 21 'twice choose to live' Both families lived on the Dollestrasse in the Dahlem district in Berlin up to January 1936 (Brissaud, *Canaris*, p.86), when they moved to adjacent houses connected by a garden gate in the Schlachtensee (Canaris's address was Waldsängerpfad, Bet-Teil 17, Schlachtensee: Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, p.99) – the street in which Canaris lived has had a number of names. It was called Dianastrasse until 1940, and then Betazeile during the war years. Heiko Suhr, email to the author, 10 November 2017
- 21 'Mrs Canaris played' Lina Heydrich, 7 Mar 1951: http://www.fpp.co.uk/Heydrich/Lina_Heydrich_070351.html and Kerjean, *Canaris*, pp.47–8
- 21 'kill all disabled children' Heiko Suhr, email to the author
- 22 'Canaris considered them' Manvell and Fraenkel, *The Men Who Tried to Kill Hitler*, p.193. The words are those of Dr Wolf Werner Schrader
- 22 'One of his superiors' Captain Arno Spindler. Ibid., p.84
- 22 'tipped off the British' Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, pp.122–4
- 22 'film-making enterprise' Ibid., p.89
- 23 'his immediate superior' Rear Admiral Bastian
- 23 'Swinemünde' Swinoujście in modern Poland
- 23 'adopted son' Colonel Louis Rivet, 'L'énigme du Service de renseignements allemand sous le régime hitlérien', *Revue de Défense nationale*, décembre 1947, pp.778–807
- 23 'avid reader of British spy novels' See Hugh Trevor-Roper article in TNA HW 5/23
- 23 'What I want' Cave Brown, *The Last Hero*, p.129, quoting Peter Fleming, *Operation Sea Lion*, New York, Simon & Schuster, 1957, p.211
- 24 'Hitler called in' There are some claims that Canaris himself was present, but it seems likely that he has been confused with another unnamed admiral. See especially Höhne, *Canaris*, p.231
- 25 'If you are looking' Richard Protze in 'The Double Life of Admiral Canaris', *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, 1996, Vol. 9, part 3, and Waller, *The Unseen War in Europe*, p.278
- 25 'one reported after the war' Special Interrogation Report of Franz, Maria Leidig, CSIR/6, 4 Oct 1945, Hoover Library T's Germany USA 7 F 697

4: Madeleine and Paul

- 26 'Above all' Lahousen's evidence, The International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, Vol. II, 30 November 1945, morning session, p.444
- 27 'A high-pressure zone' Information from Mark Beswick, Archive Information Officer, Met Office National Meteorological Archive, 23 May 2017
- 27 'The oldest eastern' Liulevicius, *The German Myth of the East*, p.184
- 29 'He knew nothing' TV film *MAD, une héroïne de l'ombre*, by Label Image, broadcast

Sunday, 25 February 2018, on France 5, 12:43

- 29 'the full report' TNA KV 2/173
- 29 'began on 8 February 1936' Lieutenant-Colonel František Morávec, then head of the research group, puts it in March 1937. Morávec, *Master of Spies*, p.58. However, the photo of one of Thümmel's letters shows that it is dated 1936: in Amort & Jedicka, *The Canaris File*, p.80
- 29 'medium height' Amort & Jedicka, *The Canaris File*, p.124
- 30 'The author of this' Piekalkiewicz, *Secret Agents, Spies and Saboteurs*, p.133
- 31 'I shall await' Amort & Jedicka, *The Canaris File*, pp.12-13
- 31 'one of Bartik's officers' Lieutenant Kyrinovic
- 31 'so badly tortured' Amort & Jedicka, *The Canaris File*, p.19
- 32 'Saturday 4 April' Piekalkiewicz, *Secret Agents, Spies and Saboteurs*, pp.135-6
- 32 'Grüss Gott' Ibid.
- 33 'the code number by which' Evidence of Alois Frank, *ibid.*, p.136
- 33 'warn the Czech government' Morávec, *Master of Spies*, p.107
- 33 'Both SIS in Prague' Andrew, *Her Majesty's Secret Service*, pp.393-4
- 34 'His Majesty's Government' Henderson, *Failure of a Mission*, p.139
- 34 'Thümmel was needy' See Igor Lukes, *Czechoslovakia Between Stalin and Hitler*, Oxford University Press, 1996, citing Jaroslav & Stanislav Kokoška, *Spor o agenta A-54*, Naše Vojsko, Prague, 1994, for an unflattering description of Thümmel's character, and also a different view on his activities in relation to the May 1939 invasion scare

5: Germany in the Shadow of War

- 35 '*Mittwochgesellschaft*' PAGH p.26. Schlabrendorff, *The Secret War Against Hitler*, pp.165-6. According to Schlabrendorff, the 'Wednesday Society' consisted of 16 scientists. Beck was admitted to the club as a military scientist, and Ulrich von Hassell as a political scientist. They met every other Wednesday.
<http://deacademic.com/dic.nsf/dewiki/966410>
- 36 'Weizsäcker chose' Klemperer, *German Resistance Against Hitler*, p.26
- 36 'senior position in Ribbentrop's Berlin office' Head of the Ministerial Office
- 38 'race of carnivorous sheep' Sir Hugh Dalton in Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.78. Dalton seems to have borrowed this colourful description from Churchill, who used the same phrase when talking to his military advisers (Earl Mountbatten, *Churchill the Warrior*, Fourth Winston Churchill Memorial Lecture (1970), 8.). For other examples of Dalton borrowing from Churchill see Ben Pimlott, *Hugh Dalton: A Life*, p.672. I am indebted to Prof. Piers Brendon for drawing my attention to this
- 38 'Canaris Familie GmbH' CIA-RDP78-03362A002500070002-3 GIS, SCF 52/20, 1 December 1945, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp78-03362a002500070002-3>
- 38 'eternal plotter' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.100
- 39 'the Swine' Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, p.716
- 39 'an elegant cavalry' Colvin, *Admiral Canaris*, p.46
- 39 'Being anti-Nazi' Colonel Louis Rivet, 'Lénigme du Service de renseignements allemand sous le régime hitlérien', *Revue de Défense nationale*, décembre 1947, pp.778-807
- 39 '*grande éminence grise*' Gersdorff, *Tuer Hitler*, p.120
- 40 'I have penetrated' Deacon, *A History of the British Secret Service*, p.274
- 40 'a Moroccan' Colonel Louis Rivet, 'Lénigme du Service de renseignements allemand sous le régime hitlérien', *Revue de Défense nationale*, décembre 1947, pp.778-807
- 41 'It had six' Erika Canaris, letter to General Donovan of 15 November 1945. <http://lawcollections.library.cornell.edu/nuremberg/catalog/nur:01696>
- 41 'Passive leadership' Gisevius, *To the Bitter End*, p.443
- 41 'known affectionately as' Abshagen, *Canaris*, p.71
- 41 'the little sailor' From Balfour & Frisby, *Helmuth von Moltke*, p.226
- 41 'Canaris was the most' Gisevius, *To the Bitter End*, pp.439 et seq.

- 41 'Admiral Canaris was' Special Interrogation Report of Franz, Maria Leidig, CSIR/6, 4 Oct 1945, Hoover Library T's Germany USA 7 F 697
- 42 'An intelligence officer worthy' Said by Canaris in Brussels during a tour of the Abwehr's offices in 1940 in Brissaud, *Canaris: - chef de l'espionnage*, p.249
- 42 'any officer who slept' Ibid., p.52, quoting Col. Franz Seubert, head of the Abwehr in Bulgaria
- 42 'By 1943 it had surged' Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, p.114; Colvin, *Admiral Canaris*, p.76
- 43 'sated, indolent and quiescent' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.77
- 43 'You know' Young, *The 'X' Documents*, p.43
- 44 'Canaris issued instructions' TNA KV 2/173
- 44 'the campaign against' Ritter, *The German Resistance*, p.88
- 44 'From his new' Email exchange dated 16 June 2017 with Peter C. Hoffman on a telephone conversation he had on 16 October 1979 with Harold C. Deutsch
- 44 'England must lend' Colvin, *Admiral Canaris*, p.55

6: The Emissaries

- 45 'Suddenly they came' The details in the following paragraphs are taken from Young, *The 'X' Documents*, pp.45 et seq.
- 45 'Rauschen-Düne' Now Svetlogorsk, 39 km north-west of Kaliningrad
- 46 'A revolution is no place' Young, *The 'X' Documents*, p.57
- 46 'Hansa Airlines 0800 flight' Lufthansa Berlin to London 1938 timetables, courtesy of Carola Kapitza of Lufthansa archives, Berlin
- 47 'Bring me certain' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.73, and Colvin, *Admiral Canaris*, p.62
- 48 'It would be unwise' TNA DBFP 3,ii, p.683
- 48 'For the first time' Colvin, *Admiral Canaris*, pp.53-4
- 48 'I must warn you' Ibid., p.54
- 48 'The Admiral [Canaris]' Ibid., p.60
- 49 'A friend of mine' TNA DBFP 3, ii, pp.683-9
- 49 'a conservative, a Prussian' Colvin, *Vansittart in Office*, p.226
- 49 'He spoke with' TNA DBFP 3, ii, p.685
- 49 'Of all the Germans' Colvin, *Admiral Canaris*, p.65
- 49 'Hitler has made' As reported by Vansittart to Halifax in a note dated 18 August 1938, in Colvin, *Vansittart in Office*, p.224
- 50 'Kleist started by' The Sir Winston Churchill Archives Trust, Cambridge, CHAR 2/331
- 50 'There can be no' W.S. Churchill, *The Gathering Storm*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1948, p.280
- 50 'Nevertheless I confess' TNA DBFP 3, ii, pp.688-9
- 51 'My Dear Sir' The Sir Winston Churchill Archives Trust, Cambridge, CHAR 2/331
- 51 'Kordt's brother' Klemperer, *German Resistance Against Hitler*, p.102; Parssinen, *The Oster Conspiracy of 1938*, p.100
- 51 'conspiracy against Hitler' Colvin, *Vansittart in Office*, p.235
- 52 'We could not be' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.74

7: 'All Our Lovely Plans'

- 53 'The silence of' Ibid., p.57, and Parssinen, *The Oster Conspiracy of 1938*, p.161
- 54 'Tonight Hitler will be' Major Groscurth to his brother, Deutsch, *The Conspiracy Against Hitler*, p.37
- 55 'from the end of August' Colvin, *Vansittart in Office*, p.232
- 56 'I thought I saw' Cadogan, *Diaries*, p.100
- 56 'Hitler has given' Faber, *Munich 1938*, p.349
- 56 'with a view to' TNA DBFP 3/11 No 1118, p.552
- 57 'Finally we have' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.94

- 57 'Don't give away' Meehan, *The Unnecessary War*, pp.177, 181
- 58 'It won't be long' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.95
- 58 'in the last useful' Ciano, *Diary 1937-1938*, p.133
- 58 'Go to the Führer' Kirkpatrick, *Mussolini*, p.360
- 58 'suggesting Mussolini supports' Ibid., p.134
- 59 '*Il Duce* informs you' Faber, *Munich 1938*, p.387
- 59 'I had already' *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuremberg Military Tribunals*, Green series, Vol. 12, 'The Ministries Case', p.1083
- 59 'What can troops' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.97
- 60 'Silent, mournful' Speech by Churchill on the Munich Agreement, House of Commons, 5 October 1938
- 61 'Peace for our time?' Gisevius, *To the Bitter End*, p.326
- 61 'The Munich agreement' Ibid., pp.427-8
- 61 'Never since 1933' Orbach, *The Plots Against Hitler*, p.60, quoting from Erich Kordt, *Wahn und Wirklichkeit*, Stuttgart, Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1947, p.12
- 61 'all our lovely plans' Gisevius, *To the Bitter End*, p.326
- 61 'One general' Franz Halder

8: March Madness

- 62 'strove unremittingly' Cave Brown, *The Secret Servant*, p.193
- 62 'By keeping the peace' Mueller, *Canaris*, p.139
- 62 'the British chargé d'affaires' George Forbes
- 62 'authoritative circles' Ritter, *The German Resistance*, p.118
- 63 'Of our top military' Cadogan was speaking in 1951; see Cadogan, *Diaries*, p.93
- 65 'In the middle of October' 14 October, in Young, *The 'X' Documents*, p.110
- 65 'Goerdeler's finest' Gisevius, *To the Bitter End*, p.327
- 65 'had a message' Cadogan, *Diaries*, p.128
- 66 'a job had been arranged' Schaub, *Call Your First Witness*, p.30
- 66 'it will be war' Gatard, *La Source MAD*, p.70 (The basis of this book is a memoir by Madeleine Bihet-Richou, written after the war. It is kept at the French Centre historique des archives, Service Historique de la Défense, Vincennes. Unfortunately, we were informed on 5 June 2017, having requested it, that the file - GR 1 KT 271 - was missing)
- 66 'a German diplomat in Paris' Ernst vom Rath. His assassin was Herschel Grynszpan
- 66 'The government has secretly' Ibid., p.59
- 67 'violent nationwide attacks' Orbach, *The Plots Against Hitler*, p.76, quoting from Leni Yahil, *The Holocaust: The Fate of European Jewry*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1990, p.111
- 67 'The shame and bitterness' Ritter, *The German Resistance*, p.115
- 67 'Canaris was later thanked' TNA KV 2/173
- 67 'In the afternoon of 9th November 1938' Evidence of Mrs C.K. Rosenstiel, Association of Jewish Refugees, Vol. 2, February 2014, front page - by kind permission of Mr Colin Rosenstiel. Mrs Rosenstiel did not accept Oster's offer, as she felt it would be too compromising for him if she did. The block of flats, at Bayriche Strasse 9, remains today exactly as it would have been at the time. It is now adorned with a plaque marking the fact that Oster lived there
- 67 'The son of Canaris's pastor' Dr Stefan Heyden
- 67 'Thirteen Jewish men' Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, p.15, quoting a letter to the author from Dr Stefan Heyden
- 68 'a secret organisation' TNA KV 2/173
- 68 'On 20 February' Papeleux, *L'Amiral Canaris*, p.76
- 68 'an agreement with France' The Bérard-Jordana agreements between France and Franco secured the neutrality of Spain in exchange for French recognition of Franco as the legitimate leader of Spain

- by which Germany and France guaranteed the inviolability of one another's borders and agreed to engage in mutual consultation to resolve all disputes peacefully, France and Germany engaged in serious discussions about commercial collaboration. It ended when Germany invaded Czechoslovakia
- 69 'a huge loan' Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, p.168
- 69 'the complete German plan' Navarre, *Le Service de renseignements*, p.59
- 69 'The March madness' Gisevius, *To the Bitter End*, p.336
- 69 'on 11 March' Some accounts give the date as 3 March – see Fryc in Piekalkiewicz, *Secret Agents, Spies and Saboteurs*, p.137
- 69 'his Czech handler' Captain Fryč
- 69 'On 15 March' Piekalkiewicz, *Secret Agents, Spies and Saboteurs*, p.137
- 69 'interrogation with great severity' Morávec, *Master of Spies*, p.138
- 69 'Two of these were' *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog – Deel 2 – Neutraal* pp.89–90. With thanks to Mike van der Heijden
- 70 'Good luck Colonel' Morávec, *Master of Spies*, p.139
- 70 'If such events' Amort & Jedicka, *The Canaris File*, p.41
- 70 'in the immediate future' Colvin, *Vansittart in Office*, pp.288–9
- 70 'a year or two' TNA BDFP 3/IV, *ibid.*, p.289
- 70 'The following day' *Ibid.*, pp.289–90. The speech was based on a briefing given by Chamberlain to lobby journalists the previous evening
- 70 'numerous boxes' Other files were sent back by Gibson through the British Diplomatic bag: Jeffery, *MI6*, p.308
- 70 'At 5.15 p.m.' Amort & Jedicka, *The Canaris File*, p.44; Piekalkiewicz, *Secret Agents, Spies and Saboteurs*, p.138

9: The March to War

- 71 'As an experienced' Orbach, *The Plots Against Hitler*, p.92
- 71 'elsewhere in army circles' Witzleben and his chief of general staff Georg von Sodenstern, Goerdeler, Gisevius and General Georg Thomas from the Army High Command were all active on this front – see Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.108
- 71 'The other, hidden purpose' Schaub, *Call Your First Witness*, p.193
- 72 'it is natural' Young, *The 'X' Documents*, p.170, and Colvin, *Vansittart in Office*, p.294
- 72 'We wanted to establish' Gisevius, *To the Bitter End*, p.344
- 72 'person of considerable influence' Dr Reinhold Schairer. *Ibid.*
- 72 'in the event' Statement by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on 31 March 1939
- 73 'Now I will mix' From Gisevius, in Ritter, *The German Resistance*, p.132
- 73 'one of these bearers of bad news' Erich Kordt
- 73 'Keep calm' Ritter, *The German Resistance*, p.134
- 73 'What have we' Colvin, *Admiral Canaris*, p.78
- 73 'one of the German general staff' Hans Böhm-Tettelbach
- 74 'a false British passport' TNA KV 2/1657
- 74 'Karel Sedláček' Thomas Selzinger, working for Narodni Listy, in Morávec, *Master of Spies*, p.38
- 74 'The Jelineks ran' Amort & Jedicka, *The Canaris File*, p.47. There are two rather different accounts of the meetings in The Hague with Thümmel: *The Canaris File*, which is based on sourced documents, and Morávec's autobiography, *Master of Spies*. They differ markedly in some areas (such as dates). In writing this account I have had to make judgements as to which account to use, according to what seems most logical and fits the other known facts
- 74 'the first return card' *Ibid.*
- 74 'These were sent through' *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog – Deel 2 – Neutraal*, pp.89, 90. With thanks to Mike van der Heijden

- 75 'I will be in' Ibid.
- 75 'a twenty-five-year-old junior diplomat' Gordon Etherington-Smith
- 75 'My dear fellow' Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, p.169
- 75 'Nazi leaders think' Amort & Jedicka, *The Canaris File*, p.48
- 77 'Throughout June' *Ulrich von Hassell Diaries*, entry 15 June 1941, p.130
- 77 'Poland is now' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.109
- 77 'two Swedish bankers' Gert Nylander, *The German Resistance Movement and England: Carl Goerdeler and the Wallenberg Brothers*, Banking & Enterprise, No. 2 Stockholm 1999, electronic issue, p.20
- 78 'under the condition' TNA FO 371/57648
- 78 'one of his adjutants' Colonel Rudolf Schmudt
- 78 'I must unfortunately' TNA FO 371/57648
- 78 'promptly rescinded' Ibid.
- 79 'The first inkling' Laqueur & Breitman, *Breaking the Silence*, p.67 (the information originated from Eduard Schulte, a German businessman who often travelled to Switzerland)
- 79 'A few minutes after' There are slightly different versions of the story in Mueller, *Canaris*, pp.149-50 and 305 fn 66
- 79 'a small group of German' Operation Himmler, also referred to as 'Operation Konserve', or Operation Canned Goods
- 80 '*Finis Germaniae*' In Latin in the original version of Hans Bernd Gisevius: *Bis zum bitteren Ende: vom Reichstagsbrand bis zum 20. Juli 1944. Vom Verfasser auf den neuesten Stand gebrachte Sonderausgabe*, Rütten & Loening, 1960, p.336

10: Switzerland

- 82 'The Swiss themselves' In 1939, with war around the corner, Swiss intelligence head Roger Masson began expanding his service, increasing its budget sixfold in that year alone. The Swiss service was divided into a security section, with responsibility for counter-intelligence, and an intelligence section, under Captain Max Waibel, who had very good links to German military circles, having attended the German Military College in Berlin during the pre-war years. Waibel's intelligence section was headquartered in Lucerne and had eight operational subsections based in St Gallen, Basle, Zürich, Schaffhausen, Samedan, Brig, Bern and Lugano. It also had a curious, half-privately run 'intelligence-gathering cell' called Büro Ha, established with private money under Captain Hans Hausamann, in the Villa Stutz, on the shores of Lake Lucerne
- 82 'Schloss am Mythenquai' Also known as Das Mythenschloss
- 83 'his team of five officers' Andrew King, Sheila Deane, Joanna Shuckburgh, Richard Arnold-Baker and Norman Wells
- 83 'the official history of MI6' Keith Jeffery, *MI6: The History of the Secret Intelligence Service 1909-1949*
- 83 '150,000 of its citizens' TNA KV 3/245, paper on German Intelligence in Switzerland of 21 June 1943
- 83 'centred on their legation' The German intelligence team included Prince Alois Auersperg, Lothar Philipp, Hans von Pescatore, Heinrich Piert and Dr Fritz Albert: TNA KV 2/281
- 84 'the sun outshone' Laqueur & Breitman, *Breaking the Silence*, p.199; and C.G. Mckay, *Major Chojnacki's Ace: the Solution to an Old Puzzle of Wartime Intelligence* (<https://intelligencepast.com/2015/11/02/major-chojnackis-ace-the-solution-to-an-old-puzzle-of-wartime-intelligence>) quoting Wilhelm Flicke
- 85 'triumphant welcome' Jeffery, *MI6*, p.294
- 85 'ran a network' TNA KV 2/1329/2

- 85 'probably the biggest' Laqueur & Breitman, *Breaking the Silence*, p.198
- 85 'in direct clandestine' Gisevius/Masson – *EN Archiv für Zeitgeschichte*, Hans Bernd Gisevius/4.6.3 *Personal account of some of my experiences in connection with Brigadier Masson (written by Hans Bernd Gisevius, 5.2.1945), MS 15 pp.Date: 1945*. With thanks to Peter Kamber, and for translation to Philip Cole
- 86 'Three years before' For a full discussion of this including a traffic analysis of the Rote Drei wireless signals to Moscow, see Mark Tittenhofer's CIA paper 'The Rote Drei: Getting behind the "Lucy" Myth' https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/vol13no3/html/v13i3a05p_0001.htm
- 86 'his spies in Berlin' Post-war comment based on *Rote Drei* messages presumes that Roessler had four sources, codenamed 'Werther', 'Teddy', 'Olga' and 'Anna' (see for example the CIA study into the Dora Ring at https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/vol13no3/html/v13i3a05p_0001.htm). Based on this presumption, it has always been thought that the most likely identification for 'Werther' is Hans Oster. However, we now know (email from Peter Kamber to the author of 30 July 2017) that the four codenames were invented by Rachel Duebendorfer, who under pressure from Moscow to identify Roessler's sources assembled the information according to type and allotted one of the codenames to each type – e.g. 'Werther' was primarily military information. While this means that Werther was not necessarily Oster, it was information of the sort which Oster, more than any other of the primary sources, would be most likely to have access to. It is important to note here that Roessler positively identified Gisevius and Goerdeler as two of his four primary sources, and gave sufficient indications to identify Oster as the most probable third source (Boelitz was the fourth). So while it would be wrong to identify Werther as Oster, we do know that Oster was a primary Roessler source
- 86 'His other sources are thought' Tarrant, *The Red Orchestra*, p.160; and Puenter, *Secrète en pays neutre*, pp.106, 254fn; and *The Rote Kapelle*, by the CIA, University Publications of America, 1979, pp.165 and 193
- 87 'I seem to detect' Malcolm Muggerridge, *Observer*, 8 January 1967, mentioned in Tittenhofer, 'The Rote Drei', op. cit.
- 87 'the Czechs' In mid-1939, thanks to an introduction made by Swiss intelligence, Rudolf Roessler also began to provide the Czech intelligence officer Karel Sedláček with a flow of high-level military reports which arrived almost weekly from Germany. Sedláček sent these back to his boss František Morávec in London, who passed them on to MI6, where they were referred to as 'Captain X's flimsies' after the tissue paper which was normally used to make carbon copies of his reports, as they were typed
- 87 'three of the main players' Max Waibel, Hans Hausamann and Bernhard Mayr von Baldegg
- 11: Halina
- 88 'Rain showers' Information from Mark Beswick, Archive Information Officer, Met Office

- 89 'looked a decent' Telephone interview with Halina's daughter Marysia, 8 August 2017
- 90 'We will spare' From Helmuth Groscurth diaries, 9 Sept 1939, quoted in Höhne, *Canaris*, p.363
- 90 'completely shattered' Ulrich von Hassell, *Ulrich von Hassell Diaries*, entry 11 Oct 1939, p.49
- 90 'How terrible!' Ibid., quoting from Oscar Reile, *Geheim Ostfront*, Munich, 1963, p.310
- 90 'If there is any' Erika Canaris's letter to Donovan, 15 November 1945
- 90 'a cashbox' The quote is from Lahousen in Höhne, *Canaris*, p.362
- 91 'Humanity will not forget' Sylvie Young interview with Halina Szymańska's daughter Marysia, 17 October 2016, and Garlinski, *The Swiss Corridor*, p.87
- 91 'That afternoon Szymański' Höhne, *Canaris*, p.362

- 92 'with only Polish documents' Garlinski, *The Swiss Corridor*, p.88
- 92 'train arrived at' Josef Garlinski, who interviewed Halina Szymańska for his book *The Swiss Corridor*, claims that the train from Berlin took them to Düsseldorf, and the rest of the journey to Basel was by car. This seems unlikely however, since Düsseldorf is more than 400 kilometres from Basel. A more likely final destination for their train journey would have been Freiburg (52 kilometres from Basel) or Stuttgart (175 kilometres)
- 92 'They were met' Ibid.
- 92 'she was formally recruited' By head of Polish intelligence Colonel Tadeusz Wasilewski and General Kasimierz Sosnkowski, the commander of the Union of Armed Struggle (the ZWZ)
- 92 'She was known' TNA KV 2/281, and <http://niepoprawni.pl/blog/rafal-brzeski/dyskretna-laczniczka-canarisa>
- 93 'I don't suppose' Colvin, *Admiral Canaris*, p.91
- 93 'When he spoke' Ibid.
- 93 'The admiral never' Ibid., pp.91-2
- 93 'Canaris knew' Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, p.181
- 93 'a very wise' TNA KV 2/173
- 93 'a very attractive' Jeffery, *MI6*, p.380
- 94 'In February 1940' Gisevius moved permanently to Zürich as the German vice-consul in mid-1940
- 94 'A man of towering' Laqueur & Breitman, *Breaking the Silence*, p.168
- 94 'first and foremost' Jeffery, *MI6*, p.381
- 94 'Many of these' Ibid., p.381

12: *Sitzkrieg*

- 96 'This war implies' Erwin Lahousen describing Canaris's view of his aims (adapted slightly to account for poor translation and the historical context), 30 November 1945, at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/imt/11-30-45.asp>
The original is: 'On its political motives or aims, I was not informed. I can only reiterate the thoughts and considerations which I, since I was one of Canaris's most intimate confidants, knew well. His inner attitude, which influenced and moulded not only my own actions but also those of the other men whom I mentioned, can be described as follows: We did not succeed in preventing this war of aggression. The war implies the end of Germany and of ourselves, a misfortune and a catastrophe of very great

extent.

However, a misfortune even greater than this catastrophe would be a triumph of this system. To prevent this by all possible means was the ultimate aim and purpose of our struggle. The sense of what I have just said was often expressed by Canaris among the group of which I am speaking.'

- 96 'He was whipping' Halder diaries, London, 1998. Mentioned in Garlinski, *The Swiss Corridor*, p.179, and Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, p.179
- 96 'An anti-Nazi general' Kurt von Hammerstein
- 97 'the advance of Bolshevism' Ritter, *The German Resistance*, p.140
- 97 'Why die for Danzig?' The title of an article written by the French socialist politician Marcel Déat in the Paris newspaper *L'Oeuvre* on 4 May 1939
- 97 'London and Paris watched' Jodl's evidence, The International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, Vol. XV, 4 June 1946, p.350
- 97 'It would be idle' *Final Report by the Right Honourable Sir Nevile Henderson GCMG on the circumstances leading to the termination of his mission to Berlin September 20 1939*, HMSO
- 99 'one of his adjutants' Colonel Rudolf Schmudt, Wehrmacht adjutant to Hitler, quoted in Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, pp.119–20
- 99 'When they protested ... question them' Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, p.640; Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.120

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- 99 'fundamental changes' 14 Oct 1939 entry in *Private War Journal of Generaloberst Franz Halder*, 1950, Vol. II, p.30, <http://cgsc.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/p4013coll8/id/3971/rec/1>
- 99 'unalterable' Mueller, *Canaris*, p.172
- 100 'a new band of plotters' These included Klaus, the elder brother of the theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Hans von Dohnanyi, Justus Delbrück and Baron Guttenberg
- 100 'In an attempt' Klemperer, *German Resistance Against Hitler*, p.155
- 100 'for weeks on end' From Helmuth Groscurth (private) diaries, entry 1 Nov 1939, p.222, quoted in Mueller, *Canaris*, p.174 and p.313 fn 31
- 100 'promised to have them ready' It was expected that the explosives would be supplied by Lahousen's Abteilung II, which had an explosive laboratory at Quenzgut in Brandenburg; Mueller, *Canaris*, p.174
- 101 'Lahousen, you know' CIA memo of 17 December 1945 – German Intelligence Service (WWII), Vol. 2_0007 report by Major General Lahousen
- 101 'The coup planning' Ritter, *The German Resistance*, p.148
- 101 'chalky white' Groscurth diaries, entry 5 Nov 1939, quoted in Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.127
- 101 'It is not possible' Von Brauchitsch to Groscurth in Orbach, *The Plots Against Hitler*, p.91
- 102 'I myself won't' Gisevius, *To the Bitter End*, p.389, and Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.129
- 102 'the forces we were' Groscurth diaries, p.225, in Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.128
- 102 'Then let the Admiral' Ibid.
- 102 'The entire edifice' Especially Witzleben and Leeb, *ibid.*
- 102 'I had to do it' Hellmut G. Haasis (trans. William Odom), *Bombing Hitler: The Story of the Man Who Almost Assassinated the Führer*, Skyhorse Publishing Co., Incorporated
- 103 'to the Isartorplatz' Gestapo Interrogation Report (November 1939) Bundesarchiv Koblenz, signatur R 22/310
- 103 'Security around' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.129
- 103 'Oster ... had formed' Gisevius, *To the Bitter End*, pp.421–5
- 104 'There is no turning' Höhne, *Canaris*, pp.401, 642fn 287, from an interrogation of Maria Leidig by Dr H. Krausnick and Pr H. Deutsch (IfZ, ZS 2125)

- 104 'One may say' Orbach, *The Plots Against Hitler*, p.93
- 104 'It cannot be a coincidence' I am indebted to Peter Kamber for this information, and to Philip Cole for his translation of Kamber's notes, which are based in part on *Der Verschwörer: General Oster und die Militäropposition* (The Conspirator. General Oster and the Military Opposition), Graf von Thun-Hohenstein, Berlin, 1982, pp.154ff, 169, 187, 191 and 193 – see Kamber's notes on the Viking Line in his book *Geheime Agentin*, Basis Druck, 2010, pp.147–53
- 105 'was also using his' Mueller, *Canaris*, p.140
- 105 'one of the generals' General Walther von Reichenau
- 105 '[Canaris] has given up' *Ulrich von Hassell Diaries*, entry 5 Dec 1939, p.62
- 105 'The old man' Mueller, *Canaris*, p.174
- 105 'Countess Elena Alexandra Theotokis' Elena Theotokis, whose Greek name was Elena-Alessandra Teotochi, was also known by her English friends as Ellen Alexandra. She had been married to a German called Kohn, who had been German military attaché in Madrid. I am much indebted to Bruce Dennis for this information
- 105 'Canaris had first met the countess' TNA GFM 33/2393 – For the full story see Mogens Pelt, *Tobacco, Arms and Politics*, Museum Tusulanum Press, pp.133 et seq. I am indebted to Philip Cole for his translation of these papers
- 105 'A very clever' TNA KV 2/173
- 105 'MI6 records show' TNA HW 5/23
- 106 'He planted trusted' Waller, *The Unseen War in Europe*, p.91
- 106 'Not long after' TNA KV 2/173

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NEIN!

- 106 'a member of the Budapest Abwehr station' Kurt Fechner
- 106 'separate peace feelers' Through the Swedish businessman and amateur diplomat Johan Birger Essen Dahlerus
- 106 'This *Schweinerer!*' Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, p.177, quoting an interview with Canaris's secretary Inge Haag on 26 March 2004
- 108 'He gave instructions' TNA KV 2/282
- 108 'it had been "played"' Hastings, *The Secret War*, p.48

13: Warnings and Premonitions

- 109 'Thümmel had managed' *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog* – Deel 2 – Neutraal pp.89–90. With thanks to Mike van der Heijden
- 109 'sort of aerial torpedo' Amort & Jedicka, *The Canaris File*, p.59
- 109 'Thümmel's intelligence' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.141
- 111 'Documents which have come to light' See Chapter 9, and notes in Riebling, *Church of Spies*, pp.93–8
- 112 'You should not' Ritter, *The German Resistance*, pp.164–5
- 112 'a Benedictine monk' Damasus Zähringer. Other SD spies in the Vatican at the time were Gabriel Ascher, a Jewish convert, and Father Joachim Birkner, who worked in the Vatican Secret Archives. See Riebling, *Church of Spies*, p.106
- 112 'The German seminarists' *Ibid.*, p.93
- 112 'a British traveller and amateur diplomat' Lonsdale Bryans; 'a former German chancellor' Josef Wirth; 'Ulrich von Hassell's son-in-law' Detalmo Pirzio-Biroli
- 112 'led to nothing' Ritter, *The German Resistance*, pp.158 et seq.
- 113 'avoid any hint' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.138 – quoting Hassell diaries, entry 21 Dec 1941, p.150
- 113 'the young Turks' problem' TNA KV 2/173
- 114 'a few women' Educated women married to male members: Freya von Moltke, Margrit von Trotha, Marion and Irene Yorck von Wartenburg, and Rosemarie Reichwein
- 114 'Freiburg Circle' Led by Professors Constantin von Dietze, Adolf Lampe and

Gerhard
Ritter

- 114 'One right-wing group' Led by Ulrich von Hassel and Johannes Popitz
- 114 'a series of papers' These were 'The Aim' (1941), 'The problem of unemployment' (7 pages, 1 December 1940), 'Money plays no part' (63 pages, June 1941), a historical retrospect (no title, 61 pages, probably spring 1944), 'Practical measures for the re-organisation of Europe' (probably spring 1939), 'State aid to art after the war' (3 pages, 29 August 1943), 'Thoughts of a condemned man on Germany's future' (42 pages, 8 September 1944) and 'Our ideal' (40 pages, 1 November 1944)
- 115 'Madeleine reported all this' Navarre, *Le Service de renseignements*, p.59
- 116 'The build-up continues' Amort & Jedicka, *The Canaris File*, p.67
- 116 'Main ... attack to be' Morávec, *Master of Spies*, p.175
- 116 'A54 is an agent' Ibid.
- 116 'supplied [Max Waibel]' Special Report no. 43, 17 Dec 1942. See Braunschweig, *Secret Channel to Berlin*, p.405 fn 17, and Rossé, *Guerre Secrète en Suisse*, p.53
- 116 'Two weeks later' Riebling, *Church of Spies*, p.98 fn 21
- 116 'Sometime in early April' *Intelligence Co-Operation Between Poland and Great Britain During World War II: The Report of the Anglo-Polish Historical Committee: Vol. 1* (Government Official History Series), p.144
- 117 'a Swedish diplomat' Erik Boheman
- 117 'the Swedish military attaché in Berlin' Colonel Curt Juhlin-Dannfelt
- 117 'frightfully snubbed' Most secret dispatch from Stockholm of 5/9/44, TNA FO 371/43503
- 117 'Returning to Stockholm' Ibid.
- 117 'On 6 April' Ibid.

- 117 'In the days' Schaub, *Call Your First Witness*, p.201
 118 'they were circulated' Jeffery, *MI6*, p.399
 118 'the Belgian minister to the Holy See' Father Hubert Noots
 118 'From His Excellency' Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, p.191
 119 'On that same day' Schaub, *Call Your First Witness*, p.201; and Gatard, *La Source MAD*, p.110
 119 'Delivery of the' Morávec, *Master of Spies*, p.175, and Amort & Jedicka, *The Canaris File*, p.77
 119 'Tomorrow morning at dawn' <https://sites.google.com/site/oorloginlimburg/home-1/invasion/invasionnl>
 119 'the senior officer on duty' Major Jacobus van der Plassche

14: Felix and Sealion

- 121 'They are lucky' Colvin, *Admiral Canaris*, p.118
 121 'He [Canaris] had the same' Ibid. (Colvin speaking to Richard Protze after the war)
 121 'Churchill walked over' Ibid., p.119
 122 'shrunk to fewer' Höhne, *Canaris*, p.422 and p.644 fn 424
 122 'One group in the Kreisau Circle' Led by Fritz-Dietlof ('Fritzi') von der Schulenburg and Dr Eugen Gerstenmaier. See Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.144
 122 'Two Wehrmacht officers in Paris' Major Hans-Alexander von Voss and Captain Ulrich-Wilhelm Schwerin von Schwanenfeld
 122 'One of these would-be assassins' Von Schwanenfeld
 123 'In the conclusion of' Eltscher, *Traitors or Patriots?*, p.265
 123 'next kill' Young, *The 'X' Documents*, p.43
 123 'the gravest' Kirkpatrick, *The Inner Circle*, p.194
 124 'encouraged by Franco's' Papeleux, *L'Amiral Canaris*, p.82
 124 'Gibraltar Español' Ibid., p.86
 124 'He hinted' Ibid., p.83
 125 'intense preparation' Jeffery, *MI6*, p.399
 125 'reported to London' Garlinski, *The Swiss Corridor*, p.97, p.201 fn (Halina Szymańska, interview with author)
 125 'a diplomat at the US embassy in Bern' Donald Heath
 126 'I am water shy' Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, p.757, quoting Shulman, *Defeat in the West*, New York, 1948, p.50
 126 'The area Tunbridge' Colvin, *Admiral Canaris*, pp.121–2
 126 'it would [now]' TNA CAB 66/9/44, Churchill's Memorandum to the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, 10 July 1940
 126 'our attention must' Kershaw, *Hitler 1936–45*, p.305
 126 'messages from Paul Thümmel' Piekalkiewicz, *Secret Agents, Spies and Saboteurs*, p.143
 127 'one of these reports' Jeffery, *MI6*, p.399, and *ibid.*, p.143
 127 'postcards from different European cities' The cities were Cologne, Rome and Madrid: Gatard, *La Source MAD*, p.116
 127 'Sea Lion had been' Schaub, *Call Your First Witness*, p.205
 127 'chiefly to weather' Jeffery, *MI6*, pp.400–1
 127 'Under the alias' Höhne, *Canaris*, p.425
 127 'a leading Brandenburg Regiment expert' Hans-Jochen Rudloff
 127 'Franco's government, whose ministers' Especially minister of air Juan Vigón and foreign minister Juan Luis Beigbeder
 128 'Canaris privately admitted' OSS – SSU – CIG EARLY CIA DOCUMENTS VOL. 2_0001.pdf; and Gatard, *La Source MAD*, p.117
 128 'The Admiral asks you' Mueller, *Canaris*, p.195
 128 'According to a post-war' SS Group Chief Dr Walter Huppenkothen, mentioning General Munoz Grande. See Colvin, *Admiral Canaris*, p.132; 'The double life of Admiral Canaris,'

- 128 'divulged military secrets' Ibid.
- 128 'he decreed that' Payne, *Franco and Hitler*, p.85
- 128 'Spain does not' Papeleux, *L'Amiral Canaris*, p.82
- 128 'Canaris advised Franco's' Liddell Hart, *The Other Side of the Hill*, p.84
- 128 'On one occasion' 'The Spanish Government and the Axis: Notes of a Conversation Between the Fuehrer and the Spanish Minister of the Interior Serrano Súñer in the Presence of the Reich's Foreign Minister in Berlin on September 17, 1940', DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Publication 2483, EUROPEAN SERIES 8, 1946 (<http://www.ibiblio.org/pha/policy/1940/1940-08-08a.html>)
- 129 'My vote is that' Mueller, *Canaris*, p.191
- 129 'Tell Franco' Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, p.21, quoting Werner Emil Hart, deposition 23 June 1953, and Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, p.197
- 129 'fiasco' Schmidt, *Hitler's Interpreter*, p.191
- 129 'Hitler's adjutant' Major Gerhard Engel
- 129 'F. [the Führer]' Engel, *At the Heart of the Reich*, p.98
- 129 'During a discussion' Ciano, *Ciano's Diplomatic Papers*, p.402
- 130 'Franco's overwhelming instinct' Franco's behaviour has often been qualified as '*hábil prudencia*'; Paul Preston, 'Franco and Hitler: The Myth of Hendaye 1940', *Contemporary European History*, I, 1 (1992), pp.1-16
- 130 'persuade [the Spanish]' Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, p.201, quoting David Stafford, *Churchill and Secret Service*, London, 1997, p.202
- 130 'breaking the code' TNA KV 3/3. The first of these decrypted message read: 'The Chief [Canaris] ... with 4 officers and 3 drivers arriving at the Hague in armoured cars on 20 May'
- 131 'taken to the home' Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, p.233
- 131 'Popov records' Popov, *Spy Counter-Spy*, p.62
- 131 'Whether or not' Deacon, *A History of the British Secret Service*, p.282

15: The Red Three

- 132 'At a little before' TNA KV 2/1612/1
- 132 'La Taupinière' The French word for a molehill, which seems appropriate given 'Sonja's' profession. The chalet is on the Col de Jaman, midway between Caux and Les Avants
- 132 'perched at the end' Details taken from Werner, *Sonya's Report*, pp.187 et seq.
- 132 'the old Moscow Ballroom and Music School' The building had been converted to wartime use as the coding and transmission centre for the GRU. The description comes from http://www.untergrund-blättele.ch/gesellschaft/deckname_sonja_das_geheime_leben_der_agentin_ruth_werner.html (translation by Philip Cole)
- 133 'the penthouse flat' The building in which Radó lived has neither a front door nor a plaque showing its number - 113. Although this was Radó's registered private address, his personal letters and personal visitors came to the front door of 2, rue Gustave Moynier, in the next street. The fact that he collected his letters at 2, rue Gustave Moynier enabled Radó to use that as the registered address for his business, Geopress. By this means he was able to make use of two addresses for the same property, one of which he used for private matters and the other for his business
- 134 'rank of major general' https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/vol12i3/html/v12i3a05p_0001.htm
- 134 'Mikhail (Micha) and Janina (Nina)' Michael was by Ursula's husband, Rudolf Hamburger, and Janina by Johannes Patra (codename 'Ernst'), her GRU officer in Japanese-occupied Manchuria at the end of 1934. See TNA KV 6/41; Werner, *Sonya's Report*, and Green, *A Political Family*. See also Ursula Kuczynski's Swiss Permis de Séjour of 1940. Montreux Municipal Archives. With thanks to Andrew Stallybrass

- 134 'aged two' TNA KV 6/41
- 134 'chalet called La Taupinière' The chalet, which has changed very little in the intervening years, is still rented accommodation but has now been incorporated into the village of Caux. The address is 'La Taupinière', 63, chemin de Cerniaz, 1824 Caux. With thanks to Andrew Stallybrass of Caux for finding this information
- 134 'washing line' Email from Andrew Stallybrass in Caux, 10 Nov 2017
- 135 'villa on Berlin's Schlachtensee' Werner, *Sonya's Report*, p.3
- 135 'In the 1930s' Biographical database supplied by Peter Kamber (translation by Philip Cole) 135 '25 September 1938' Ursula Kuczynski's Swiss Permis de Séjour of 1940. Montreux Municipal Archives. With thanks to Andrew Stallybrass
- 135 'mid-October 1939' Len Beurton's Swiss Permis de Séjour of 1940 indicates that he arrived in Switzerland on 11 October 1939. Montreux Municipal Archives. With thanks to Andrew Stallybrass of Montreux
- 136 'retrain the two Englishmen' Foote, *Handbook for Spies*, p.38
- 136 'In December 1939' Radó, *Sous le Pseudonyme Dora*, p.116, Radó indicates a visit from Sonja in December 1939. See also Werner, *Sonya's Report*, p.214
- 136 'pool her finances with him' TNA KV 2/1648/1
- 136 'for personal reasons' Foote finally revealed that he had a girlfriend in the UK. See Werner, *Sonya's Report*, p.208
- 137 'frequent changes' Ibid., p.222
- 137 'The marriage took place' Ibid., p.221
- 137 'The date was chosen' Ibid.
- 137 'tried to tell' TNA KV 2/1611 2, and *ibid.*, p.224
- 137 'neither could understand' TNA KV 6/41, and *ibid.* cdxvi 'Leon Beurton ... Spain and France' Furthermore Beurton, having been part of the International Brigades, would not have been allowed in Spain
- 138 'in February 1941' TNA KV 6/41
- 138 'In early 1941' Tittenhofer, 'The Rote Drei', *op. cit.*
- 139 'not particularly brave' TNA KV 3/349 Report on the *Rote Kapelle*
- 139 'at least four of the agents' These were: 1. Radó to Puentner (who had his own independent ring), to Swiss intelligence, and through Neyrac to Chojnaski. 2. Foote, through Bohny to Sedláček and through Chamberlain and Abramson to MI6 3. Radó, through Duebendorfer, to Schneider, to Roessler (who ran his own independent ring), to Swiss intelligence, MI6 and to Sedláček 4. Radó, through Grimm to Chojnaski
- 139 'Foote described him as' TNA KV 3/349
- 139 'accused him of embezzling' Between 1941 and 1943 it is estimated that Radó spent SFR 300,000 on espionage – see TNA KV 2/1647/1
- 139 'Radó claimed sixty' TNA KV 2/1611/1
- 139 'for his own private purposes' TNA KV 2/1648
- 139 'in time, Moscow' TNA KV 2/1647/3
- 139 'gaining a reputation' Arsenovic, *Genève appelle Moscou*, p.29
- 139 'bought a chalet' TNA KV 2/1647/3
- 139 'withdrew from the Dora ring' TNA KV 6/41
- 139 'broke off all contact' TNA KV 2/1611/2
- 139 'he sold the' Ibid.
- 140 'useful intelligence information' TNA KV 6/641
- 140 'one of Sándor Radós' TNA KV 6/641, and Werner, *Sonya's Report*, p.245: L.T. Wang was married to a Dutch woman and was close to General von Falkenhausen, the German commander in Belgium and former military adviser to Chiang Kai-shek. Von Falkenhausen visited Wang in Geneva
- 140 'After a year' TNA KV 6/641
- 140 'On arrival he immediately' Ibid.
- 140 'in touch with' Ibid.

- 140 'Espionage on behalf' Ibid.
 140 'issuing Beurton with' Ibid.
 141 'In the spring' TNA KV 2/1626: Secret memorandum dated 10 Feb 1949 following
 a
 journalist's conversation with Otto Punter
 141 'Christian Schneider' Radó wrote later that he only became aware of the existence of
 Taylor (Schneider) in the summer of 1942. See Radó, *Sous le Pseudonyme Dora*,
 pp.142
 and 192
 141 'Sándor Radó never reported' The timing of this approach is confirmed in Punter,
Guerre Secrète en pays neutre, p.127, in which he recollects Radó, in May 1941,
 asking
 him to check out Roessler. This is denied by Radó in his book
 142 'On the face of it' Peter Kamber, letter to the author (translation by Philip Cole)
 142 'Duebendorfer was also listed' See Read & Fisher, *Operation Lucy*, p.99; Rupert
 Allason's
 post-war interview with Andrew King – Allason email to author 24 July 2017; and
 Gannon, *Stealing Secrets, Telling Lies*, pp.170–1
 142 'important intelligence [from' Radó, *Sous le Pseudonyme Dora*, p.210
 143 'a prominent Swiss communist' Pierre Nicole
 143 'The Abwehr's penetration' TNA KV 2/1741 SIS minute of 22 September 1949
 143 'an estimated thirty' TNA KV 2/1626: Secret memorandum dated 10 Feb 1949 following
 a journalist's conversation with Otto Punter
 144 '12 April' Radó, *Sous le Pseudonyme Dora*, p.140. It is significant that in January 1942 the
 British 'military attaché' in Bern sent London a coded message with information
 provided by 'a Swiss Intelligence Officer' of the German order of battle at that time.
 Its
 format follows precisely the style of this message sent by Foote, lending weight to
 the
 suggestion that the information from the Tirpitzufer provided to Dora was also
 shared
 with, and probably manipulated by, British and Swiss intelligence. The relevant
 part of
 this message, which is dated January 5 1942, reads: '1. Following is German order of
 battle as given to a Source A by a Swiss IO ... Dated January 2; 2. Russia,180
 divisions
 (about 100 in the front areas, 80 in reserve) all much under strength in men and
 material;
 Denmark and Norway, 8–10; France, Holland and Belgium, maximum 40; Libya, 7–
 8;
 Yugoslavia, 4–5; Bulgaria, 4–5; Greece, 6; Germany 30 ...' TNA FO 371/30893

16: Belgrade and Barbarossa

- 145 'It informed London' Morávec, *Master of Spies*, p.191
 145 'Bulgaria has allowed' Amort & Jedicka, *The Canaris File*, p.103
 146 'managed to steal' Höhne, *Canaris*, p.444
 146 'militarily and as a' Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, p.824. The order to
 postpone Barbarossa was in an underlined passage, in the top-secret OKW notes of
 the
 27 March meeting at the Chancellery
 146 'The delay cost' Carl Ritter, German Foreign Office liaison officer with the Army
 High
 Command. See Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, p.213, quoting from D.C. Poole, 'Light on
 Nazi
 Foreign Policy', *Foreign Affairs* XXV, October 1946
 146 'a Luftwaffe captain' Otto John; 'a German prince' Gottfried Hohenlohe-Langenburg, an
 old Canaris family friend; 'a Swiss diplomat and historian' Carl Burckhardt
 147 'The coup d'état' Gatard, *La Source MAD*, p.134
 147 'Senior Yugoslav officers' Colvin, *Admiral Canaris*, p.136
 147 'containing documents which' Morávec, *Master of Spies*, p.191, and Amort & Jedicka, *The
 Canaris File*, p.104
 147 'forty-eight hours' Gatard, *La Source MAD*, p.134
 147 'Menziess sent an urgent message' Jeffery, *M16*, p.415. Although Jeffery suggests the
 source here is Ultra, there seems a strong likelihood that it was the message from

'our
faithful friend Franz-Josef', which Schellenberg later found, only partially
destroyed,
in the UK Embassy in Belgrade. 'Franz-Josef' was of course later identified as Hans
Oster

- 147 'Inform Yugoslav general staff' Jeffery, *MI6*, p.415
- 147 'I shall never forget' Gisevius, *To the Bitter End*, p.441
- 148 'the origin of this information' Amort & Jedicka, *The Canaris File*, pp.120-1
- 148 'passed it on' Ibid.
- 148 'No, we won't attack Turkey' Colvin, *Admiral Canaris*, p.138
- 148 'a message warning' Morávec, *Master of Spies*, p.188
- 148 'The first proof' Waller, *The Unseen War in Europe*, p.93
- 149 'To start with' Ibid., p.204; Riebling, *Church of Spies*, pp.176, 292 fn 15, quoting among others Leiber, transcript, 9 April 1966, and Muller's transcript 24 March 1966, HDP, III, 1/7 and 31 August 1955, IfZ, ZS 659/1, 41
- 149 'the Germans were seeking' Waller, *The Unseen War in Europe*, p.195
- 149 'would be launched in' Piekalkiewicz, *Secret Agents, Spies and Saboteurs*, p.143
- 149 'convinced hostilities' Jeffery, *MI6*, p.381
- 150 'heated discussions' Ritter, *The German Resistance*, p.213. Evidence of Jodl at the Nuremberg trials - see Nuremberg 1949 Vol. 15, p.339
- 150 'If because of his' Ritter, *The German Resistance*, p.213 (written answer from Halder to Ritter)
- 150 'shot immediately' Hoffmann, *The History of the German Resistance*, p.263
- 150 'Everyone's hair' Entry of 4 May 1941 in *Ulrich von Hassell Diaries*, p.124
- 151 'He had a personality' Margarethe von Oven from *Courageous Hearts: Women and the Anti-Hitler Plot of 1944*, Dorothee von Medding, trans Michael Balfour and Volker Berghahn, Berghahn Books, 1997, pp.60-1, quoted in Orbach, *The Plots Against Hitler*, p.118
- 151 'In my life' Gersdorff, *Tuer Hitler*, p.117
- 151 'One has to resort' Orbach, *The Plots Against Hitler*, p.131, quoting from Horst Mühleisen, *Patrioten im Widerstand: Carl-Hans Graf von Hardenbergs Erlebnisbericht*, from *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 14 no. 3 (Jan 1993), pp.449-50
- 152 'the largest and most' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.175
- 152 'If we don't convince' Gersdorff, *Tuer Hitler*, pp.126-7
- 152 'We'll know how to' Ibid.
- 152 'Let it be noted' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, pp.176-7
- 152 'Goerdeler, Beck, Oster and others' Including Johannes Popitz
- 153 'a bunch of hopeless' Entry of 15 June 1941 in *Ulrich von Hassell Diaries*, p.130
- 153 'He even refused' Waller, *The Unseen War in Europe*, pp.191 et seq.
- 153 'received full details' Braunschweig, *Secret Channel to Berlin*, p.405 fn 17
- 153 'On 30 April, Hitler' Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, p.830
- 153 'At the end of May' Gatard, *La Source MAD*, p.136
- 153 '22 April' Radó, *Sous le Pseudonyme Dora*, p.140
- 154 'two further reports' Garlinski, *The Swiss Corridor*, pp.61 and 64; Radó, *Sous le Pseudonyme Dora*, pp.141 and 192; and Foote, *Handbook for Spies*, p.81
- 154 '6 June' Garlinski, *The Swiss Corridor*, p.60, and Radó, *Sous le Pseudonyme Dora*, p.138 (note the date difference between these sources)
- 154 'a US-decrypted telegram' Laqueur & Breitman, *Breaking the Silence*, p.102
- 154 '17 June' Radó, *Sous le Pseudonyme Dora*, p.141
- 154 'When Marshal Semyon Timoshenko' Waller, *The Unseen War in Europe*, p.207
- 155 'We have a' Braithwaite, *Moscow 1941*, p.58, quoting S. Stepashin (ed.), *Organy Gosudarstvenni Bezopasnosti SSSR Vol 1, Nakanune*, Moscow, 1995, pp.286-96
- 155 'Sparrows chirped' Ibid.
- 155 'heard the news' Evidence of Halina's daughter Marysia
- 155 'To the Director' Garlinski, *The Swiss Corridor*, p.64

17: General Winter

- 158 '2 July' Ibid., p.66
158 'On 23 August' Ibid.
158 '6 September' Höhne, *Codeword Direktor*, p.61 (from Flicke papers)
159 'twice a week' TNA KV 2/1648/1
159 'Helene Radó pitched in' TNA KV 2/1647/3
159 'the astonishing rate' TNA KV 2/1611/2
159 'Margrit Bolli, alias "Rosy"' Also 'Rosie' or 'Rosa'
160 'with her work' TNA KV 21612/1
160 'one-bedroomed flat' TNA KV 2/1404
160 'German listening stations' Garlinski, *The Swiss Corridor*, p.68
160 'Radó for Director' Höhne, *Codeword Direktor*, p.61 (from Flicke papers)
160 '27 October' Radó, *Sous le Pseudonyme Dora*, p.157
161 'on support from' Jeffery, *M16*, p.381
161 '29 October' Radó, *Sous le Pseudonyme Dora*, p.156
161 'If we do not' Orbach, *The Plots Against Hitler*, p.127, quoting Bodo Scheurig, *Henning von Tresckow: Ein Preusse gegen Hitler*, Berlin, Propyläen, 1987, p.130, and Alexander Stahlberg, *Die Verdammte Pflicht: Erinnerungen 1932–1945*, Berlin, Ullstein, 1994, p.222
163 'This war ... is irrevocably' Orbach, *The Plots Against Hitler*, p.128
163 'Poland was nothing' Colonel Helmuth Stieff
163 'A senior officer' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.179. The incident took place in Kovno, now Kaunas, 90 kilometres west of Vilnius, between 25 and 29 June 1941
163 '6,500 Jews' An eyewitness report written by an Abwehr office on this atrocity was sent to Lahousen. It can be found at <https://forum.axishistory.com//viewtopic.php?t=62301>. Also Gersdorff, *Tuer Hitler*, pp.138–40, and Schlabrendorff, *The Secret War Against Hitler*, p.175 (Schlabrendorff speaks about 5,000 Jews)
163 'by a Wehrmacht officer' Heinrich von Lehndorff-Steinort
164 'the Himmler-appointed civilian commissioner' Wilhelm Kube
164 'SS units slaughtered' TNA KV 2/173
164 'The [Abwehr] is up against' Amort & Jedicka, *The Canaris File*, p.114
164 'now conceded that' Ritter, *The German Resistance*, p.231
164 'a new draft constitution' Ibid.
164 'with Canaris's agreement' Höhne, *Canaris*, p.477
165 'the president of the General Motors Overseas Corporation' James Mooney
165 'an approach was made' *Canaris*, p.477
165 'a Jewish Abwehr agent in Stockholm and his female bridge partner' Edgar Klaus and Alexandra Kollontai
165 'the head of army personnel' Colonel Gustav von Ziehlberg
165 'prepared to do anything' Hoffmann, *The History of the German Resistance*, p.269
165 'prepared a shadow government' TNA FO 371/30893, 1942 Germany File No. 10, papers 10–1076: Report from the Polish Ambassador to the Holy See of 16 December

18: The Great God of Prague

- 167 'René's last reports' Amort & Jedicka, *The Canaris File*, p.127
168 'We are going to' Ibid.
168 'Traitor X' Ibid., p.146
168 'One of the radio operators' Jindřich Klečka
168 'but the other' Antonín Němeček
169 'Two were senior RSHA figures' Karl Frank and Hans-Ulrich Geschke
170 'I will not hide' Brissaud, *Canaris: chef de l'espionnage*, pp.356–7 (Schellenberg interview with Brissaud after the war)
171 'You can never tell' Höhne, *Canaris*, p.468, quoting from Gert Buchheit, *Der Deutsche Geheimdienst*, Munich, 1966, p.84

- 171 'some kind of Catholic mystic' Abshagen, *Canaris*, pp.16–17
- 172 'We walked through' The narrator is M16 Agent Desmond Bristow, Bristow & Bristow, *Un Juego de Topos*, Ed. B. Barcelona (España), 1993, pp.98 et seq. With thanks to Alfonso Esquadra (translation by Prof Gareth Williams)
- 173 'one of his Balkan experts' Colonel Otto Wagner
- 173 'We ought to open' Höhne, *Canaris*, p.469, from Gert Buchheit, *Der Deutsche Geheimdienst*, Munich, 1966, p.85
- 173 'It was about this time' Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, p.230, quoting a private information
- 173 'Canaris himself' Popov, *Spy Counterspy*, p.62, and Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, p.22
- 174 'There, at a meeting' Amort & Jedicka, *The Canaris File*, p.141
- 174 'A bit like a lovers' tiff' Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, p.231, quoting a source in British Intelligence
- 175 'The assassination would not' Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, p.235
- 176 'This signal was shown to' According to some sources, Czech president in exile Benes also saw the signal. One source claims that he asked for the views of the local resistance to be respected. Another indicates that he ordered that no reply should be sent. See Callum Macdonald, 'The Assassination of Reinhard Heydrich', Birlinn, 2007, pp.188–90, quoting from Stanislas F. Berton, 'Who Ordered the Assassination of Reinhard Heydrich and Why?', unpublished
- 176 'the head of Czech Intelligence in London' František Morávec
- 176 'I learned after' Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, p.263
- 176 'Lahousen had warned' Gatard, *La Source MAD*, p.128
- 177 'a senior SD officer in the Paris Gestapo' Helmut Knocken
- 177 'On 17 September 1942' We can identify the precise date from Bletchley decrypts which identify that the only two evenings Canaris was in Paris in this month was 17/18 September (see TNA KV 3/3)
- 177 'Well, *Langer*' Höhne, *Canaris*, p.475, and Abshagen, *Canaris*, p.196
- 177 'Canaris told Lahousen' TNA KV 2/173

19: Rebound

- 180 'two of his resistance colleagues' Johannes Popitz and Ulrich von Hassell
- 180 'be able to obtain' Ritter, *The German Resistance*, p.216
- 180 'then we spoke of' Dalton, *Second World War Diary*, p.275, entry for 26 August 1941
- 180 'absolute silence' TNA PREM 4/100/8 (Churchill to Eden, December 1940 and September 1941)
- 181 'Phrases such as' Ritter, *The German Resistance*, p.218
- 181 'five-day visit to Stockholm' Nylander, *The German Resistance Movement and England*, op. cit., p.20
https://www.wallenberg.com/arkiv/sites/default/files/files/Arkivet/Bocker/german_resistance_movement_and_england.pdf
- 181 'to get a preliminary' Ibid., p.28
- 181 'I ... tried to make' Ibid., p.29
- 181 'he declared that' Ritter, *The German Resistance*, p.233
- 181 'the Swedish military attaché in Berlin' Colonel Curt Juhlin-Dannfelt
- 182 'enabling Canaris to' Ibid.
- 182 'formally nominated' Entry of 28 March 1942 in *Ulrich von Hassell Diaries*, p.160
- 182 'the technical centre' Anonymous, Munzinger Archives, 'ME-O: (Oster) 8.12.1962, 1128, Hans Oster (former German general): (See Tittenhofer, 'The Rote Drei', op. cit.)
- 182 'He once described' Gisevius, *To the Bitter End*, p.424
- 183 'The so-called' Abshagen, *Canaris*, p.122
- 183 'The Abwehr organization' Anonymous, Munzinger Archives, 'ME-O: (Oster) 8.12.1962, 1128, Hans Oster (former German general): (See Tittenhofer, 'The Rote Drei', op. cit.)
- 183 'particularly powerful' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.191
- 183 'two co-conspirators' Rudolf-Christoph von Gersdorff and Fabian von Schlabrendorff

- 183 'They finally settled' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.191, and Gersdorff, *Tuer Hitler*, pp.167–70
- 183 'a bit like a biro' Mortimer, *The SBS in World War II*, p.54
- 183 'met Dietrich Bonhoeffer in Stockholm' Dr Hans Schönfeld was also present
- 184 'satisfied that it is not' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.208
- 184 'an American journalist in Berlin' Ludwig 'Louis' Lochner, head of the Berlin Associated Press Bureau
- 184 'in an awkward position' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.210, and Klemperer, *German Resistance Against Hitler*, pp.233–4
- 184 'coded message' Tarrant, *The Red Orchestra*, p.49–50, and Puentner, *Guerre Secrète en pays neutre*, p.133
- 185 'significantly reduced' Timothy P. Mulligan, 'Spies, Ciphers and "Zitadelle": Intelligence and the Battle of Kursk, 1943', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 22 (1987), pp.235–60, p.241 – quoting F.H. Hinsley, *British Intelligence in the Second World War: Its Influence on Strategy and Operations*, Vol. 2, pp.616–27, 658–66, Vol. 3, pp.477–87; and Janus Piekalkiewicz, *Unternehmen Zitadelle*, Bergisch Gladbach, 1983, pp.63–8, 75, 91, 17
- 185 'an exceptional agent' 'Knopf', Agent 594 – probably Isidore Koppelman
- 185 'Other couriers' Theodore and Elisabeth Strünck, Eduard Schulte and the half-American, half-German Dr Eduard Waetjen
- 185 'a disgruntled Swiss employee' Named Fuerst
- 186 'wastepaper basket' TNA KV 2/1329/2
- 186 'Waibel was removed' Ibid.
- 186 '5,500 clandestine messages' Tittenhofer, 'The Rote Drei', op. cit.
- 186 'Almost every offensive' Garlinski, *The Swiss Corridor*, p.78, quoting from an interview with General Halder in an article in *Der Spiegel*, 16.01.1967
- 186 'within twenty-four hours' Dulles, *The Craft of Intelligence*, p.105. In *Sous le Pseudonyme Dora*, p.217, Radó says it took three to six days
- 186 'by secure Abwehr channels' In *Sous le Pseudonyme Dora*, pp.222–3, Radó says that the information was passed by telephone to the Abwehr station in Milan
- 187 'From here ... concourse' Peter Kamber, "Die Macht der Gesinnung" und "das romantische Ich": Rudolf Roessler und der deutsche Widerstand 1939 – 1944', in *Exil: Forschung, Erkenntnisse, Ergebnisse* 31 (2011) 1, S. 87–105 [Über den anonym arbeitenden Journalisten Roessler (1897–1958)], p.91 (translation by Philip Cole); and Radó, *Sous le Pseudonyme Dora*, p.223
- 187 'a diplomatic pouch' Tittenhofer, 'The Rote Drei', op. cit.
- 187 'For very urgent' Ibid.
- 187 'By the late spring' NL Hans Bernd Gisevius/4.6.3 *Persönliche Aufzeichnungen über einige Erlebnisse, die ich im Zusammenhang mit der Person des Oberstdivisionär (Brigadier) Masson gehabt habe (verf. von Hans Bernd Gisevius, 5.2.1945)*, MS 15 S, – *Archiv für Zeitgeschichte*, Zürich; with thanks to Peter Kamber (translation by Philip Cole)
- 187 'started sending agents' Garlinski, *The Swiss Corridor*, p.141

20: Codes and Contacts

- 188 'Sometime in mid-September' Claude Arnould's account of this was given during his final illness in 1974. According to his recollection the event took place in August, but there is no record from the Bletchley decrypts of the Abwehr administrative net that Canaris was in Paris in August. We know he was there from 16 to 19 September 1942 (TNA KV 3/3, p.16), and I have therefore placed this event during that period
- 188 'a most unusual' Testimony of Claude Arnould, written before his death, giving an account of his two meetings with Admiral Canaris; typed document sent to Professeur Michel Bergès on 17 March 1982 by Claude Arnould's daughter, Marie-Thérèse Raphanaud-Arnould

- 188 'recounted by Arnould' Ibid., and Ordioni, *La fracture*, pp.237 et seq
- 189 'in the early winter' Höhne, *Canaris*, pp.481 et seq.
- 189 'in the process of' Ibid., p.489, quoting Franz Josef Furtwängler, *Männer die ich sah und kannte*, Hamburg, 1951, p.211
- 190 'carpet layers' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.218, quoting Eberhard Zeller, *Geist der Freiheit*, Taschenbuchausg., 1956, pp.246-7
- 190 'Kill him' Ibid., p.244
- 190 'The point is no longer' Ibid., p.217, quoting from Joachim Kramarz, *Stauffenberg: The Architect of the Famous July 20th Conspiracy to Assassinate Hitler*, New York, 1967, p.113
- 190 'not a day to lose' Ibid., p.192, quoting from Count Romedio Galeazzo von Thun-Hohenstein, *Der Verschwörer: General Oster und die Militäropposition*, Cologne and Berlin, 1969, p.224
- 191 'On 17 July 1942' Laqueur & Breitman, *Breaking the Silence*, p.14, and Ritter, *The German Resistance*, p.218
- 191 'leading Jewish institutions' Ibid., p.120
- 191 'In early October 1942' Orbach, *The Plots Against Hitler*, p.195, quoting Axel von dem Bussche, ed. Gevinon von Medem, *Eid und Schuld*, Mainz, Hase & Koehler, 1994, p.138
- 191 'to die in battle' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.224
- 191 'describing the executions' Gatard, *La Source MAD*, p.166
- 192 '8 October' Tittenhofer, 'The Rote Drei', op. cit., p.3
- 192 '21 October' TNA KV 2/1611/3, Rote Drei W/T traffic (translation by Philip Cole)
- 192 'Early November' Radó, *Sous le Pseudonyme Dora*, p.237
- 193 '19 December' TNA KV 2/1611/3: Rote Drei W/T traffic (translation by Philip Cole)
- 193 '22 December' TNA KV 2/1611/3: Rote Drei W/T traffic (translation by Philip Cole)
- 194 'The Statistical Handbook' TNA KV 2/1611/1
- 195 'More likely, the investigators' Foote, *Handbook for Spies*, pp.126-7

21: Of Spies and Spy Chiefs

- 197 'Dulles's first act' Srodes, *Allen Dulles*, p.229
- 197 'bringing to my door' Von Hassell & MacRae, *Alliance of Enemies*, p.136, and Srodes, *Allen Dulles*, p.227
- 198 'the price of intelligence' Rossé, *Guerre Secrète en Suisse*, p.158
- 198 'It has been requested' Mark Murphy, 'The Exploits of Agent 110', CIA (https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/vol37no1/html/v37i1a05p_0001.htm) quoting from OSS/Director's Files: Telegram 8/19, WJD to Dulles, 29 April 1943
- 198 'a source with high-level contacts' Fritz Kolbe, alias 'George Wood'
- 198 'at weekly meetings' Braunschweig, *Secret Channel to Berlin*, p.205
- 198 'used some words' Speech given by Stalin on 19 October 1942, published in *Pravda*, TNA FO 371/30922/C11013
- 199 'one of his agents' Peter Kleist
- 199 'Among the key' Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, p.254
- 200 'You are a good' Ritter, *The German Resistance*, p.211, quoting a personal conversation with Jacob Wallenberg
- 200 'in order to ensure' Quoted in Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, p.256
- 201 'submitted for security clearance' Ibid., p.23
- 201 'Philby absolutely forbade' Trevor-Roper, *The Secret World*, pp.45-6, 106-7
- 201 'his handler at the Soviet embassy' Ivan Chichayev, alias 'Vadim'
- 201 'I want no action' Knightley, *Philby*, pp.105-6
- 201 'He hoped ... that' Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, p.257, quoting private information
- 201 'for fear of offending Russia' Deacon, *A History of the British Secret Service*, p.282
- 201 'would certainly not have' Winterbotham, *Secret and Personal*, p.162

- 201 'a splendid lunch' Winterbotham, *The Ultra Secret*, p.126
 201 'a senior MI6 colleague' Frederic Winterbotham
 201 'a close colleague' Karl Abshagen
 202 'threw off his' Abshagen, *Canaris*, p.216
 202 'General Mason MacFarlane' Colvin, *Admiral Canaris*, p.158
 202 'an OSS officer visiting Cairo' Colonel Ulius Amoss
 202 'Canaris would like' Mueller, *Canaris*, pp.220-1, and Cave Brown, *The Last Hero*, p.292
 202 'a blanket prohibition' Ibid.
 202 'an Abwehr officer who claimed' F. Justus von Einem
 202 'Donovan, his British' Höhne, *Canaris*, p.486, quoting a letter from F. Justus von Einem of 29 December 1967. In 1984, however, Höhne said that there was no unequivocal proof that Canaris, Donovan and Menzies actually met, according to Klemperer, *German Resistance Against Hitler*, pp.396-7 fn 3

22: Mistake, Misjudgement, Misfire

- 203 'It was probably' There are other interpretations of this story in Arsenovic, *Genève appelle Moscou*, pp.127-30, and Radó, *Sous le Pseudonyme Dora*, pp.201-5
 203 'paying daily visits' Accoco & Quet, *La guerre a été gagnée en Suisse*, p.128
 203 'scanned the airwaves' Christian Rossé, *Les échanges de l'ombre*, thèse de Sciences Humaines, Université de Neufchatel et Université de Technologie de Belfort-Montbéliard, 30 September 2013, p.212
 204 'On 9 November' Garlinski, *The Swiss Corridor*, p.134, and Bourgeois, *La véritable histoire de l'Orchestre Rouge*, p.228
 204 'It was not long' Foote, *Handbook for Spies*, p.125
 205 'Hans Peters, whose' TNA KV 2/1621/1
 205 'an uncoded message' Garlinski, *The Swiss Corridor*, p.147
 205 'chaos and revolution' Petersen, *From Hitler's Doorstep*, p.30, and OSS Archives, RG226, Natinal Archives, Washington DC
 205 'the secretary general of the World Council of Churches' Dr Willem Visser t'Hooft
 205 'It appears that' Tel. 314, *ibid.*, pp.30-1
 206 'At about the same time' Ritter, *The German Resistance*, p.263
 206 'Peace can come' Beschloss, *The Conquerors*, pp.13-14, and Lamb, *The Ghosts of Peace*, p.222
 207 'at the last minute' The formula was recorded, and according to Eisenhower (in *Crusade in Europe*) was mentioned in the American Joint Chiefs of Staff minutes of 7 January 1943: Colvin, *Admiral Canaris*, p.163, and Lamb, *The Ghosts of Peace*, p.222 and fn, quoting TNA PREM 3/476/9
 207 'I think unconditional' Frank Roberts, as reported by Richard Lamb, *The Ghosts of Peace*, pp.222-3
 207 'Perfect' Ibid.
 207 'Hear! Hear!' Ibid.
 207 'One senior official' William Cavendish-Bentinck to Alexander Cadogan, recounted by Cavendish-Bentinck to Richard Lamb, *The Ghosts of Peace*, p.223
 208 'total slavery' Dulles, *Germany's Underground*, p.132
 208 'Our generals will not' Colvin, *Admiral Canaris*, p.163 (reported by Lahousen in an interview with Colvin after the war)
 208 'by revealing to' Adams, *Historical Dictionary of German Intelligence*, p.141
 208 'This caused panic' Dulles, *Germany's Underground*, p.131
 208 'Prussian field marshals' Gersdorff, *Tuer Hitler*, p.188 (Gersdorff's conversation with Manstein)
 209 'Dulles entertained' Garlinski, *The Swiss Corridor*, p.131. Maximilian Egon Hohenlohe report on meeting with Dulles, Berlin 30 April 1943. Documents of Department VI of the RSHA, in Edwards & Dunne, *A Study of a Master Spy*, pp.29-33

- 210 'a very special' TNA KV 4/83
- 210 'Canaris had once again' Fritz Hesse report of 19 February, TNA GFM 33/1087 (translation by Philip Cole)
- 210 'a tetchy atmosphere' Klemperer, *German Resistance Against Hitler*, p.341; Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.164
- 210 'Goerdeler should be' Hoffmann, *The History of the German Resistance*, p.367
- 211 'It's time to act' Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, p.264
- 211 'Have your people' German Intelligence Service (WWII), Vol. 2_0007.pdf, Report by Major General Lahousen, 17 December 1945
- 211 'It would be good' Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, p.264 (Reinhard Spitzzy describing Canaris to Pr. Deutsch)
- 211 'You will be judged' Ibid.
- 212 'to a friend' Major General Helmuth Stieff
- 212 'I waited until' Ibid., p.238
- 213 'After gently' Ibid.
- 213 'Almost immediately' Ibid., p.180
- 213 'In the event' Ibid., pp.183-4
- 214 'Entitled "The Aim"' Ritter, *The German Resistance*, p.239

23: The Worm Turns

- 215 'the morning of 5 March' Braunschweig, *Secret Channel to Berlin*, photo opposite p.234
- 216 'ward off any danger' Ibid., p.195
- 216 'The balance [of power]' Ibid.
- 216 'and a colleague' Captain Paul Meyer-Schwertenbach
- 217 'a Swiss spy captured in Stuttgart' Ernst Mörgeli
- 217 'A German Operation' Braunschweig, *Secret Channel to Berlin*, p.224. Viking's informant's warning came from his German liaison person at the staff of the German Armed Forces High Command, and therefore must have been, directly or indirectly, from Oster
- 218 'a senior judge' Manfred Roeder; 'an SS officer' Franz Xaver Sonderegger
- 218 'Abwehr agents' The operation, which Canaris was aware of, was codenamed 'Unternehmen Sieben' (Operation U-7). See Artist report of 7 October 1943, TNA HW 19/325; Orbach, *The Plots Against Hitler*, pp.151-8, and Mueller, *Canaris*, pp.226-8
- 218 'conspiratorial vacuum' Gisevius, *Valkyrie*, p.106
- 218 'general manager' Schlabrendorff, *The Secret War Against Hitler*, p.246
- 219 'a medium-level plotter' Colonel Friedrich 'Fritz' Jäger
- 219 'I have been warned' *Ulrich von Hassell Diaries*, entry 20 Apr 1943, p.195
- 219 'How is it possible' Rothfels, *The German Opposition to Hitler*, p.86
- 219 'informing Madeleine' Gatard, *La Source MAD*, p.176
- 220 'Only now his' Orbach, *The Plots Against Hitler*, p.142, quoting from Peter M. Kaiser, *Mut zum Bekenntnis*, Lukas Verlag, 2010, pp.463, 465-6
- 220 'one general complained' General Edgar Röhricht
- 220 'scourge of God' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.213
- 220 'had to be persuaded' Ibid.
- 220 'My Dear General' Wheeler-Bennett, *The Nemesis of Power*, pp.567-9
- 221 'It proposed a detailed new' Ritter, *The German Resistance*, pp.221-2, and Nylander, *The German Resistance Movement and England*, op. cit., p.35 (https://www.wallenberg.com/arkiv/sites/default/files/files/Arkivet/Bocker/german_resistance_movement_and_england.pdf)
- 221 'commenting ... "one of Canaris's"' Minute from Warner to Nichols, 30 May 1943, TNA FO 1093/287
- 221 'There have recently' Ibid.
- 221 'Eden responded' Rothfels, *The German Opposition to Hitler*, p.136

- 222 'Kittyhawk fighter bombers' Probably from No. 3 Squadron of the Royal Australian Air Force
- 222 'Radó warned Moscow Centre' Mulligan, 'Spies, Cyphers and "Zitadelle"', op. cit., p.241
- 222 'John Cairncross' Ibid., and Gannon, *Stealing Secrets, Telling Lies*, p.165
- 223 'I was convinced' Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, p.254, quoting Rüdiger von Manstein & Theodor Fuchs, *Manstein: Soldat im 20 Jahrhundert Militärisch-politische Nachlese*, Munich, 1981
- 224 'use it as a channel' Mulligan, 'Spies, Cyphers and "Zitadelle"', op. cit., p.238
- 224 'an attack on the Kursk salient' Ibid., p.241
- 224 'To the Director' Garlinski, *The Swiss Corridor*, p.139
- 224 'Our information about' Mulligan, 'Spies, Cyphers and "Zitadelle"', op. cit., p.243
- 224 'From Radó' Ibid., p.239
- 225 'The Russians have anticipated' Mungo, *Manstein*, p.363, quoting a handwritten note by Reinhard Gehlen dated 4 July 1943

24: The End of Dora

- 227 'Heinz Pannwitz' Höhne, *Codeword Direktor*, p.230
- 227 'a security scare' Hamel was arrested and spent some days in jail for political activity totally unconnected with his work for the *Rote Drei* – TNA KV 2/1625
- 227 'in May had moved' TNA KV 2/1611/2. The move was finished on 24 May 1943
- 227 'a Franco-German Jewish journalist' Ewald Zweig
- 227 "'Laura" and "Lorenz"' Their real names were Charles and Elsa Martin. See Foote, *Handbook for Spies*, pp.113 et seq., and Radó, *Sous le Pseudonyme Dora*, pp.359–60
- 228 'Schellenberg knew' TNA KV 2/1611/2
- 228 'revealed the lie' TNA KV 2/1611/2
- 228 'Director to Dora' Tittenhofer, 'The Rote Drei', op. cit., and Flicke analysis TNA KV 2/1611/2 (translation by Philip Cole)
- 229 'On 8 July ... address too' TNA KV 2/1611/2
- 229 'Dear Sissy' Tittenhofer, 'The Rote Drei', op. cit.
- 230 'Gisevius met' NL *Hans Bernd Gisevius/4.6.3 Persönliche Aufzeichnungen über einige Erlebnisse, die ich im Zusammenhang mit der Person des Oberstdivisionär (-Brigadier) Masson gehabt habe (verf. von Hans Bernd Gisevius, 5.2.1945), MS 15 S, – Archiv für Zeitgeschichte, Zürich*; with thanks to Peter Kamber (translation by Philip Cole)
- 230 'On 10 September' Garlinski, *The Swiss Corridor*, p.153, and Arsenovic, *Genève appelle Moscou*, p.142
- 230 'a very strong radio signal' Rossé, *Les échanges de l'ombre*, op. cit., p.211
- 231 'Bolli reported' TNA KV 2/1612/1, and Garlinski, *The Swiss Corridor*, p.154
- 231 'probably be in danger' TNA KV 2/1404, Tittenhofer, 'The Rote Drei', op. cit., and TNA KV 2/1611/2
- 231 'They rushed to' TNA KV 2/1612/1, Arsenovic, *Genève appelle Moscou*, p.164
- 231 'As Radó approached' TNA KV 2/1612/2
- 231 'Edouard has been' Arsenovic, *Genève appelle Moscou*, p.166
- 232 'Schellenberg arrived' Garlinski, *The Swiss Corridor*, p.156
- 232 'long circuitous routes' TNA KV 2/1612/1
- 232 'He reached out' TNA KV 2/1611/2; TNA KV 2/1647/3; Foote, *Handbook for Spies*, pp.131–2
- 232 'You must do' TNA KV 2/1611/2 (translation by Philip Cole)
- 233 'You can and must' TNA KV 2/1627 (translation by Philip Cole)
- 233 'an ex-Swiss army wireless' TNA KV 2/1212/1
- 233 'Later the Swiss' TNA KV 2/1647/3, KV 2/161/2, KV 2/1611/2, KV 2/1616/2; Arsenovic, *Genève appelle Moscou*, p.161
- 233 'Moscow Centre kept on trying' TNA KV 2/1611/2
- 233 'accepted that he must' Garlinski, *The Swiss Corridor*, p.153

- 234 'a single-roomed attic' Ibid., p.163
 234 'a small chalet' TNA KV 2/1647/3; Radó, *Sous le Pseudonyme Dora*, pp.393–5; TNA FO 371/48006
 234 'all his relatives' TNA KV 2/1649 Intercepted letter to a friend in 1945; and Radó, *Sous le Pseudonyme Dora*, p.399
 234 'only the lightest' Garlinski, *The Swiss Corridor*, p.173

25: Enter Stauffenberg

- 235 'a secret meeting' Under the direction of General Walter Warlimont
 235 'You gentlemen know' TNA KV 2/173
 235 'no confidence' Ibid.
 235 'It was clear' Ibid.
 235 'the head of the Abwehr station in Rome' Major Otto Helfferich
 236 'General Amè is ready' TNA KV 3/3
 236 'The previous meeting' Holt, *The Deceivers*, p.123
 236 'It was a brilliant' Information from Mark Beswick, Archive Information Officer, Met Office National Meteorological Archive, 4 Sep 2017
 236 'Canaris presented him' TNA KV 2/173 p.99
 236 'Be careful' TNA KV 2/173
 236 'Thank you Amè' Brissaud, *Canaris: chef de l'espionnage*, p.415
 236 'Afterwards the party' TNA KV 2/173
 237 'Heartiest congratulation' Brissaud, *Canaris: chef de l'espionnage*, p.415
 237 'Take my advice' Ibid.
 237 'urging his friend' Holt, *The Deceivers*, p.123; Höhne, *Canaris*, p.531; Riebling, *Church of Spies*, p.176
 237 'He loved Germany' *Canaris: chef de l'espionnage*, p.415
 237 'not portend any' Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, p.275, quoting ADSS 7.439 and 458 (Vatican archives)
 237 'is no need' Lamb, *The Ghosts of Peace*, p.224. For the full minute see TNA PREM 4/100/8
 238 'I am sure' Ibid.
 238 'Otto Skorzeny' TNA KV 23/3
 238 'the old man in peace' Bassett, *Hitler's Spy Chief*, p.278, quoting *Memoiren*, Walter Schellenberg, Cologne, 1956
 238 'The head of the local Abwehr station' Hans Meissner
 238 'take care that' TNA KV 3/3
 239 'My Dear Field Marshal' Wheeler-Bennett, *The Nemesis of Power*, pp.570–4
 239 'interesting information' Ritter, *The German Resistance*, p.223
 240 'a highly secret exchange', Nylander, *The German Resistance Movement and England*, op. cit., pp.36 et seq., and Bennett, *Churchill's Man of Mystery*, pp.236–7
 242 'Anyone could' Ritter, *The German Resistance*, p.242
 242 'His glowing eyes' Orbach, *The Plots Against Hitler*, p.162, quoting Eberhard Zeller, *Oberst Claus Graf Stauffenberg: Ein Lebensbild*, Schöningh, Paderborn, 1994, pp.14–15
 244 'a piece of lint' Gisevius, *Valkyrie*, p.133
 244 'a duty' Eltscher, *Traitors or Patriots?*, p.300
 245 'It's time for me' Orbach, *The Plots Against Hitler*, p.180; Hoffmann, *Stauffenberg*, p.183
 245 'The army alone' Ibid., p.302
 245 'It is too late' Gisevius, *Valkyrie*, pp.135–6
 245 'the High Priest' Eltscher, *Traitors or Patriots?*, p.301
 245 'The Anti-Christ' Manvell and Fraenkel, *The Men Who Tried to Kill Hitler*, p.228

26: Valkyrie and Tehran

- 246 'internal disturbances' Hoffmann, *The History of the German Resistance*, p.302
- 246 'Hitler himself had' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.219
- 247 "'Swallow" and "Seagull"' Orbach, *The Plots Against Hitler*, p.198
- 247 'Every Friday evening' Hoffmann, *Stauffenberg*, p.199
- 247 'to keep open' Schlabrendorff, *The Secret War Against Hitler*, p.186
- 248 'Under no circumstances' Hoffmann, *Stauffenberg*, p.198
- 248 'always came down' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.220
- 248 'recorded the approach' Ibid., p.221
- 249 'the first' Major General Helmuth Stieff
- 249 'the second' Colonel Joachim Miechssner
- 249 'was put in touch' By Fritz-Dietlof von der Schulenberg
- 249 'a mass execution' See Chapter 20
- 249 'The plan was' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, pp.224–5, and Hoffmann, *The History of the German Resistance*, pp.325–8
- 249 'The sunny late-autumn' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.224, quoting Eberhard Zeller, *Geist der Freiheit*, p.334
- 250 'The two men assigned' Major Joachim Kuhn and Lieutenant Albrecht von Hagen
- 250 'a friend of Hans Oster's' Lieutenant Colonel Werner Schrader
- 250 'A cranky' Manvell and Fraenkel, *The Men Who Tried to Kill Hitler*, p.77, and Hoffmann, *The History of the German Resistance*, p.366
- 251 'had to work hard' Ritter, *The German Resistance*, pp.270 et seq.
- 253 'Now the fate of Europe' Beevor, *The Second World War*, p.513
- 253 'Germany is to be' Churchill letter from Downing Street, 15 January 1944, Lamb, *The Ghosts of Peace*, p.227

27: Disappointment, Disruption, Desperation

- 255 'very well read' Cave Brown, *The Last Hero*, p.360
- 256 'Now all is lost' Klemperer, *German Resistance Against Hitler*, p.331, quoting from Balfour & Frisby, *Helmuth von Moltke*, p.273
- 256 'an OSS agent in Istanbul' Archibald Coleman (codename 'Snapdragon')
- 257 'on my own responsibility' Cave Brown, *The Last Hero*, p.363, letter Alexander Kirk to Richard Tindall – 10 January 1944, Plan Herman File OSSDF
- 258 'Vermehren applied' TNA KV 3/3, 22 September 1943
- 259 'colleagues had remarked on' Höhne, *Canaris*, p.551
- 260 'Allied intelligence policy' Cave Brown, *The Last Hero*, p.408, and Waller, *The Unseen War in Europe*, pp.237–8, referring to how Abwehr agents' defections would undermine Canaris and put the Double-Cross system at risk
- 260 'Lahousen was sent' TNA KV 2/173
- 261 'He got straight to' Orbach, *The Plots Against Hitler*, p.203, quoting a 1998 interview with Ewald-Heinrich von Kleist-Schmenzin
- 261 'You have to do it' Ibid.
- 262 'That swine' Peter Yorck von Wartenburg; Gersdorff, *Tuer Hitler*, p.198
- 262 'the field marshal's adjutant' Eberhard von Breitenbuch
- 262 'You only do' Hoffmann, *The History of the German Resistance*, p.336

28: The Tip of the Spear

- 263 'a courier' Eduard Waetjen
- 263 'They are anxious' Petersen, *From Hitler's Doorstep*, p.263, and OSS Archives, RG226, National Archives, Washington DC
- 263 'Group prepared' Ibid.
- 264 'some Nazi generals' Ibid., p.289

- 264 'assassination was certain' Ritter, *The German Resistance*, p.221, and Nylander, *The German Resistance Movement and England*, op. cit., p.35
(https://www.wallenberg.com/arkiv/sites/default/files/files/Arkivet/Bocker/german_resistance_movement_and_england.pdf)
- 264 'They would have to' Ritter, *The German Resistance*, p.272
- 265 'his jailer' Lieutenant Colonel Albrecht Focke
- 265 'Admiral Canaris will be' Höhne, *Canaris*, p.557, and p.657 fn 9, quoting a letter dated 21 March 1944 from the Naval Personnel Department OKM to HQ Baltic Command, Canaris Personal File
- 265 'one of Canaris's Swedish friends' Baron Vladimir Kaulbars
- 265 'the Admiral's removal' Höhne, *Canaris*, p.561, quoting Kaltenbrunner report to Bormann of 29 September 1944, in *Spiegelbild einer Verschwörung*, p.425
- 265 'get a message through' Cave Brown, *Bodyguard of Lies*, p.595. Gerald Philip George Keun DSO, alias 'Amiral' ('Ami'), was the other part, with Claude Arnould, alias 'Colonel Ollivier' ('Col'), of 'Amicol', the MI6 French resistant network Jade-Amicol
- 266 'also the headquarters' Ibid.
- 266 'Canaris seemed' Ibid., p.599
- 266 'the mother superior' Henriette Frédé, known as Mère Jean
- 266 'simple but wholesome meal' Cave Brown, *Bodyguard of Lies*, p.599
- 266 '*Finis Germaniae*' Ibid., and testimony of Claude Arnould, written before his death, giving an account of his two meetings with Canaris; typed document sent to Professeur Michel Bergès on 17 March 1982 by Arnould's daughter, Marie-Thérèse Raphanaud-Arnould
- 267 'two old Abwehr colleagues' Colonel Wessel Freytag-Loringhoven and Lieutenant Colonel Werner Schrader
- 267 'a mutual friend' Lieutenant Heinrich Ahasverus Graf von Lehndorff-Steinort
- 267 'The attempt must' Ritter, *The German Resistance*, p.275, and Schlabrendorff, *The Secret War Against Hitler*, p.277
- 268 'The most terrible thing' Hoffmann, *Stauffenberg*, p.243
- 268 'It is quite clear' Ibid., p.237
- 268 'Finally a general staff officer' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.237
- 268 'always came down on the right side' Ibid., p.220
- 268 'in a daze' Ibid., p.238
- 268 'flew to the Berghof' Hoffmann, *Stauffenberg*, p.253
- 268 'yet another newly-recruited assassin' Major General Helmuth Stieff
- 268 'all the stuff' Hoffmann, *Stauffenberg*, p.253
- 269 '*Germans!*' Orbach, *The Plots Against Hitler*, p.199
- 269 'nineteen names' Hoffmann, *The History of the German Resistance*, pp.367-9
- 270 'Stauffenberg's cousin' Caesar von Hofacker
- 270 'the leaders of the Solf Circle' Including Nikolaus von Halem, Dr Herbert Mumm von Schwarzenstein and Otto Kiep
- 270 'an army colonel' Wilhelm Staehle
- 271 'an Abwehr officer' Ludwig Gehre
- 271 'It's time now' Hoffmann, *Stauffenberg*, p.243
- 271 'He did not say' Peter Kamber email to the author, 7 Dec 2017
- 271 'Hitler's overthrow is not' Gisevius/Masson – *EN Archiv für Zeitgeschichte NL, Hans Bernd Gisevius/4.6.3 Personal account of some of my experiences in connection with Brigadier Masson (written by Hans Bernd Gisevius, 5.2.1945), MS 15 pp.Date: 1945*. With thanks to Peter Kamber (translation by Philip Cole)
- 271 'Good God' Hoffmann, *Stauffenberg*, p.254
- 272 'disappear as quickly' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.252
- 272 'a friend's country estate' Baron Kraft von Palombini
- 272 'a naval officer' Lieutenant Commander Alfred Kranzfelder

29: Thursday, 20 July 1944

- 273 'an officer in Potsdam' Lieutenant Colonel von der Lancken
- 274 'a staff officer' Major General Helmuth Stieff
- 275 'These connected three' SHAEF Psychological Warfare Division Interrogation of eyewitness Karbinsky, 24 March 1945. TNA MSS.154/3/PW/1. With thanks to Bruce Dennis
- 275 'Facilities in the outer' Hoffmann, *Stauffenberg*, Appendix XI
- 275 'two senior officers' General Walther Buhle and Lieutenant General Henning von Thadden
- 276 'a messenger' Staff Sergeant Werner Vögel
- 277 'the classic image' Ibid., p.266, quoting the words of General Walter Warlimont from an interview
- 277 'Colonel Count Stauffenberg' Allen W. Dulles Papers, Call no. MC019, Public Policy Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library, Box 33, Folder 19, Attempt on Adolf Hitler's life of 20 July 1944, courtesy of Bruce Dennis
- 277 'A communications officer' Sergeant Major Arthur Adam
- 277 'one of Hitler's briefers' Colonel Heinz Brandt
- 278 'In a flash' Jones, *Countdown to Valkyrie*, p.192
- 278 'The man in charge' Sergeant Kobe
- 278 'The colonel is not permitted' SHAEF Psychological Warfare Division Interrogation of eyewitness Karbinsky, 24 March 1945, TNA MSS.154/3/PW/1. With thanks to Bruce Dennis
- 278 'one of the Führer's adjutants' Leonhard von Möllendorff
- 279 'another conspirator' Quartermaster General Eduard Wagner
- 279 'tall pillars of' Information from Mark Beswick, Archive Information Officer, Met Office National Meteorological Archive, 27 Sep 2017
- 279 'Partially paralysed' Allen W. Dulles Papers, Call no. MC019, Public Policy Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library – Box 33, Folder 19 – Attempt on Adolf Hitler's life of 20 July 1944
- 279 'I almost laughed' Junge, *Until the Final Hour*, p.130
- 280 'After a moment of panic' Jones, *Countdown to Valkyrie*, pp.197–9; Hoffmann, *Stauffenberg*, pp.267–9; and Hoffmann, *The History of the German Resistance*, which details the various testimonies on the timing
- 280 'two of his colleagues' Mertz von Quirnheim and General Friedrich Thiele
- 280 'What I will never forget' Ewald Heinrich von Kleist-Schmenzin in Orbach, *The Plots Against Hitler*, p.210
- 281 'at about five o'clock that afternoon' When he was visited by army judge advocate Karl Sack
- 281 'According to one version' Höhne, *Canaris*, pp.567–8
- 281 'For the Führer!' Jones, *Countdown to Valkyrie*, p.232
- 282 'And now, gentlemen' Hoffmann, *The History of the German Resistance*, p.503
- 282 'In the name of' Ibid., p.507
- 283 '*Es lebe das heilige Deutschland*' Jones, *Countdown to Valkyrie*, p.235
- 283 'One version relates' Hoffmann, *Stauffenberg*, p.353 fn 86

30: Calvary

- 284 'In a totally calm' Schlabrendorff, *The Secret War Against Hitler*, pp.294–5
- 284 'Just as God' It seems clear from the German here that von Tresckow is referring to the relevant passage in the Lord's prayer, and I have altered the quoted English translation accordingly
- 285 'My fellow countrymen!' <https://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/1944/jul/21/fromthearchive> and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LpCwuCzud-E>

- 285 'Providence has decided' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.284, quoting Carl Buchheit, *Der Deutsche Geheimdienst*, Munich, 1966, p.445
- 285 'narrowly able to slip away' Ritter, *The German Resistance*, pp.288–91, for the facts that follow
- 285 'an old World War I comrade' Major Ludwig Ehrhardt
- 286 'with the help of friends' Kurt Schatter, a councillor from Chemnitz, and the ex-lord mayor of Freital, Gustave Klimpel
- 286 'a junior clerk' Bruno Labedzki
- 286 'the home of a friend' Hermann Lehman
- 286 'the pastor of the German Confessional Church' Johannes Lilje
- 286 'A German pastor' Minister Desert
- 287 'two friends' Baron Vladimir Kaulbars and his nephew Erwin Delbrück
- 287 'one of Canaris's ex-colleagues' SS Hauptsturmführer Baron von Völkersam
- 287 'Somehow I thought' Walter Schellenberg, *The Labyrinth: Memoirs*, p.357
- 288 'You can have us' *Von Schlabrendorff Diaries*, p.298
- 289 'They looked like' Kardorff, *Diary of a Nightmare*, p.134
- 289 'Since National Socialism' Letter to sons (in German), van Roon, G., ed., Berlin, Siedler Verlag, p.6
- 290 'I still hold today' Höhne, *Canaris*, p.578, quoting a handwritten statement by Canaris found in Kaltenbrunner Reports pp.409–10
- 290 'His driver' Kurt Kerstenhahn
- 291 'His last letter' Rothfels, *The German Opposition to Hitler*, p.152
- 291 'always came down on' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.220
- 292 'The little admiral took' Höhne, *Canaris*, p.596, quoting Fischer disposition *Die Welt* 1 October 1955
- 292 'On the morning of' Mark Devine, *Bonhoeffer Speaks Today*, Nashville, Broadman & Holman, 2005, pp.36–7
- 293 'I die for my' John H. Waller, 'The Double Life of Admiral Canaris', *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, 1996, Vol. 9, part 3, p.287, and Abshagen, *Canaris*, p.255

31: Epilogue

- 296 'sated, indolent' Chamberlain to Ida, 30 December 1939, quoted in Maurice Cowling, *The Impact of Hitler: British Politics and British Policy 1933–1940*, Cambridge University Press, 2005, p.355
- 298 'The other principal' TNA PREM 4/100/8
- 299 'they had never shown' Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Death*, p.336, and Rothfels, *The German Opposition to Hitler*, p.137
- 299 'A post-war CIA' CIA-RDP78-03362A002500070002-3: The General Intelligence Service and the War
- 299 'Inefficient, intriguing' All these quotes come from Cave Brown, *The Last Hero*, pp.128–9
- 300 'Personally, I am not' Memorandum from Churchill to Cadogan, 25 April 1944, TNA FO 371/39024, quoted in Pauline Elkes's thesis 'The Political Warfare Executive: A re-evaluation based upon the intelligence work of the German section', Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, History Department, Sheffield University, May 1996, p.138; with thanks to Peter Dixon for alerting me to this
- 301 'I do not' Edmund Burke speech, 22 March 1775

32: After Lives

- 303 'That's one we forgot' Nuremberg trials, 30 November 1945, from Gilbert, *Nuremberg Diary* 304 'when Erich Fellgiebel phoned' Gisevius, *To the Bitter End*, p.544
- 304 'Alexander Foote slipped over' TNA KV 2/1647/3, Foote, *Handbook for Spies*, p.145
- 305 'supported by Novikov' TNA KV 2/1647/3

- 305 'means would be found' Ibid.
- 305 'only scratched' Arsenovic, *Genève appelle Moscou*, p.253
- 306 'still displaying suicidal tendencies' TNA KV 2/1649
- 306 'the man who appears' Ibid.
- 306 'something to do' Ibid.
- 306 'we do not wish' TNA KV 2/1647/2
- 306 'wrote to London' TNA KV 2/1649
- 306 'of considerable interest' Ibid.
- 306 'London wrote complaining' TNA KV 2/1647/2, and KV 2/1649
- 307 'interesting and important' TNA KV 2/1647/1
- 307 'was finally sent' TNA KV 2/1647/2
- 307 'a good deal more' Ibid.
- 307 'at 0200 on 30 July 1945' TNA KV 2/1649/2
- 308 'My first six weeks' Foote, *Handbook for Spies*, p.180
- 308 'Rachel Duebendorfer' With thanks to Bernd-Rainer Barth for access to his article 'Goulag et Ordre du Drapeau rouge pour une résistante communiste allemande, Rachel Duebendorfer' of April 2014
- 308 'on 20 April 1945' There is some evidence that he might have been shot a week later on 27 April, Amort & Jedicka, *The Canaris File*, p.155
- 309 'a charitable organisation' 'Committee for the Aid of Survivors of the German Resistance', see Allen Dulles Papers, MC019 Box 3, Folders 1 and 2, with thanks to Bruce Dennis for alerting me to these papers. And MC019 Box 57 Folder 10, which includes a letter of thanks for the food parcels from Olbricht's widow, Eva
- 310 'Dietrich has gone' *Come Before Winter*, documentary directed by Kevin Ekvall, USA, January 2017, 1:02:44

Afterword: Cock-up or Conspiracy?

- 312 'to a friend' Hans Peters
- 312 'An interdepartmental group' Balfour & Frisby, *Helmuth von Moltke*, p.135
- 312 'Oster managed' Gisevius, *To the Bitter End*, p.423