



A SIGNET BOOK

THE FULLY DOCUMENTED STORY
of the infamous Nazi captured in Argentina to
stand trial for the murder of 6,000,000 Jews.

THE CASE AGAINST ADOLF EICHMANN

EDITED BY HENRY A. ZEIGER

SIXTEEN PAGES OF PHOTOGRAPHS

Affidavits from the head of the Gestapo and
the commandant of Auschwitz • Statements of
guards and death camp survivors • Testimony
from the Nuremberg trials • Transcripts of SS
meetings • Composite portrait by people who
knew Eichmann intimately • The facts behind
his escape from Allied prison camps . . . and the
story of his capture in Argentina

With a Foreword by **HARRY GOLDEN**

Eichmann . . .

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THE CASE AGAINST ADOLF EICHMANN



EDITED AND WITH A COMMENTARY BY
HENRY A. ZEIGER

With a Foreword by Harry Golden



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The documents, letters, and testimony reproduced herein have been presented faithfully. In some cases, however, in order to avoid confusion, the spellings of various names and places have been made consistent with that in the text.

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Foreword

We Jews have a Holy Day, Tishah b'Ab. Originally, it commemorated the destruction of Jerusalem and the Holy Temple. After the fifteenth century, and especially after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, the holiday took on its more somber and sad character, with mourning also for those who were killed during the Spanish Inquisition. Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes, an eminent Catholic historian, has estimated that between twelve thousand and fifteen thousand Jews were killed. Another hundred thousand were exiled. The world was shocked. Holland opened its doors to the refugees; the Sultan of Turkey invited Jews to take refuge in his domain on the island of Cyprus.

Even so, its terror had a function. Historians have argued that the Inquisition had a certain stabilizing effect on a Europe just emerging from the Dark Ages into a mercantile and urban society. The torturers of the Inquisition, cruel though they were, actually believed that God approved when they tore the breasts from Jewish mothers or put the torch to the heretic. The auto-da-fé literally translates as an "act of faith." It was always a well publicised event, attended by church and state dignitaries. Whatever other vicious emotions it fed, it was supposed to strengthen religious resolve.

What can we say of Herr Eichmann who carried out the orders of the Nazis to kill six million Jews in the twentieth century? What can we say of the Germans who empowered him? They did not believe God approved. This was no act of faith. They themselves did not believe they were doing right. Hitler undoubtedly thought the murder of these Jews had political advantages, Goebbels, ideological advantages, and Eichmann, personal advantages. The German agencies did not release daily statistics of the Jews eliminated to the world, and Eichmann did his best not to sign his name to any of the orders which consigned car-load lots of Jews to the crematoria. For Eichmann, the murder of Jews was simply a way of advancing his career, of demonstrating his efficiency to his bosses. This book reproduces Rudolf Franz Hoess' testimony that every step was taken to keep Jews from knowing they

were about to go to their death. The doors and walls of the gas chambers bore inscriptions that they were delousing stations. The gas chambers were hidden and strict security maintained that unauthorized German personnel might not know of the murders that went on. The Nazis knew it was wrong and they tried to hide it.

The Jews who went to the Inquisitional pyre of the heretic cried out: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord is God, the Lord is one." They died for their faith with dignity. The Nazis not only committed these mass murders but stripped their victims of all dignity. They killed Jews not for their religious faith or for their political beliefs but because they had been born. The Nazis shaved the heads of these Jews to use the hair for mattresses; they pulled out the gold fillings of their teeth to send to the *Reichsbank*; they gathered up the toys of the Jewish children for use in the Nazi winter drive.

For these reasons, the forthcoming trial of Karl Adolf Eichmann in Israel is of monumental importance. Nothing else is more important in the history of human relations. What happens to Eichmann personally is of minor interest. But his story, his testimony, should be recorded, for civilization needs to know why the Nazis proceeded as they did.

It is unreasonable to suppose the Nazis undertook the "final solution" of the Jewish "problem" without some indication, some sign, that continental Europe would let them. If only by its silence, continental Europe gave its permission. It didn't care. In the early part of this century, in the Russian city of Kishinev, Cossacks swept down upon the Jewish Pale of Settlement and left forty-seven dead. The world stood aghast. Protest inundated Russia from every civilized country. The Czar was deafened by complaint. Public opinion in its shock made itself felt.

But the Germans in the 1930's, with their back-stairs mythology, persuaded Europe to turn its back on the pleas of the Jews. It is well to remember that anti-Semitism was a respectable profession in Austria as early as 1880—only a few decades after Napoleon's edicts emancipated the Jews and let them escape the ghettos; anti-Semitism divided France in the Dreyfus case; every time economic disequilibrium appeared, the Czar mounted a pogrom. But the Nazis added something: they made anti-Semitism a political cause instead of a religious and heretical problem.

The Eichmann trial, and certainly this book, will tell us as other historians have tried, that anti-Semitism wasn't a by-product of National Socialism, as the record of the Nuremberg trials might indicate, but as integral to it as Hitler's promises of *lebensraum*, full employment, and war.

For fifteen hundred years anti-Semitism has been a European hobby and it was only a matter of time before it became incorporated into the official policy of a European state. Continental Europe waited and watched this experiment—the infusion of political implications into anti-Semitism.

The anti-Semitic movements which start with the imposition of economic and political disabilities and end with pain and humiliation and often death for Jews take place in the monolithic state made suddenly directionless by a political vacuum. Germany before World War I was such a state. Bureaucrats, administrators, tax collectors, soldiers, doctors, dentists, teachers were under the direct control of the Kaiser. The loss of the war dethroned him. Germany wallowed. When this vacuum was at last filled by Hitler, the persecutions took on a new character. Hitler went to Nuremberg to create new laws to legalize Jewish persecution.

Europe and the world regret it now. If the Nazis inflicted a terror upon the Jews, they inflicted a still greater terror on the world: they proved you can make barbarism a policy of state. They inspired brutishness, not only in *Gauleiters*, but in twentieth-century man. The case against Eichmann accuses not only an individual but the twentieth century. It is the most bestial of all centuries.

It is a complicated reason why the Jew is chosen as the scapegoat, as complicated as history itself. Part of the reason is that the Jew is as old as recorded history itself. The Jew bears an identity with all history, its upheavals, changes, its guilt and hope. The Jew, in fact, is subconsciously identified as man—man in the abstract, incarnate, the eternal postscript. The charge that the Jews desecrated the Host in Stuttgart in 1092 and the charge that the Jews push in the subways in 1960 are valid charges in that man does, has done, and will do all these things. The charge that the Jews are “radicals” in the twentieth century follows in proper sequence the literature of the nineteenth century which accused them of despoiling the placid agrarian age by encouraging the rise of a middle class. Margaret Mead’s vast research has led her to the conclusion that the classic anti-Semitism of the Middle Ages was rooted in a revolt against the development of capitalism.

These are alogical accusations but the anti-Semite is always alogical and that is why logic cannot prevail against him. The Germans who, says Thomas Mann, were catapulted into Christianity without a Renaissance, have particularly been infected with this virus. The adventure and the lure of Wotan and Valhalla were never banished by their conversion to Christianity. When the primitivism and atavism of Valhalla sounds, the Germans have lashed out against the Christian ethic by persecuting the Jews, the precursors of Christianity.

For this reason one can say Eichmann is essentially a Christian problem, a symbol of Christian failure. When anti-Semitism appears, people have largely abandoned the Christian ethic and owe only nominal allegiance to the ethical laws imposed by pulpit and Bible. Anti-Semitism remains incurable as long as Christianity does not realize and acknowledge that it is an attack upon itself. Certainly noble Christians have deplored anti-Semitism and wept for the Jews it kills. But Christianity does not feel that threat mounted against it. Not to recognize enemies and interior decay is a sign of failure and incapacity. Christianity has always been cerebral about anti-Semitism where it needs to be emotional. Christians must treat it as they treat heresy—with shock and despair. Anti-Semitism is a revolt against Christianity, for the Germans it was a revolt via *Realpolitik*. Shmarya Levin, the Jewish philosopher, wrote: "Friction begins where planes meet." Judaism and Christianity are planes that met long ago. The Jews are living witnesses to Christianity, and this only the psychotic anti-Semite understands. This is what Eichmann exploited.

The one thing we know about the anti-Semite—be he bully, murderer, polite critic, desecrator—is that he is sick. The anti-Semite is obsessed with a social pathology. All organisms, organic, inorganic, or social, exist in certain degrees of decay. The fact that anti-Semitism has been a constant in Western civilization, however, does not mitigate or lessen the affliction any more than supposing that because malaria was a constant people were healthy. The anti-Semite has a blind, unreasoning hatred not only for the living but for children as yet unborn and for people long since dead. The death of six million Jews does not begin to satisfy him. He will paint swastikas on Jewish synagogues on Christmas Eve. And if he has been able to kill all the Jews then he will turn to the Jewish cemeteries and desecrate and tumble all the Jewish headstones. In short the anti-Semite is psychotic, insane. Psychotics are made by abnormal degrees of anxiety and frustration. The ear runs, the teeth ache, a man is impotent, a woman frigid—these are the prime causes of psychosis. The early financial supporters of Hitler were the bored wives of rich industrialists and the inhibited spinsters and widows with an income who interested themselves in charity and cultural works and stood screaming, with spots of rust staining their necks, "Juden Raus!"

The world must read this record of a boss-man, Karl Adolf Eichmann, of these anti-Semites, and must judge it, for I doubt that we Jews are able to. It is time for civilization to realize that the anti-Semite succeeds not only in murdering Jews but many other things as well. When Eichmann and his Germany mutilated the Jews they did not realize, consciously at least, they were mutilating themselves. The flavor is gone from

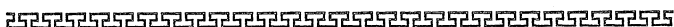
Germany, say its wise men. When six hundred thousand German Jews were killed, the hard core of German culture collapsed.

No German in this century will write a great symphony, for all the music teachers, who were largely Jewish, are dead; nor a great novel, nor a great poem, for the books these writers must read and learn from have been burnt. Germany mutilated herself past all recognition. I have said elsewhere that Germany today cannot be called a nation or a culture. It is only an economy.

Germany has always been torn between Beethoven and Hitler, between Goethe and Eichmann. But it is Eichmann who stands as the Nazi representative in the dock and when he pleads his case the Germans and Europeans must remember him before they find the memories of Goethe and Beethoven.

— Harry Golden

chapter one



The Hunt

On the afternoon of May 12, 1960, a middle-aged man got off a bus in a suburb of Buenos Aires. He looked very much like the other men on the bus. He was balding, he was tired, he was a commuter. If you looked closely, you might have seen something wild in his eyes, but you might not. You might have sensed that he was a frightened man, but then many middle-aged men are frightened for no apparent reason. So there was nothing that made this man unusual—nothing different, just another commuter.

As he walked toward his connection, a car suddenly screeched to a halt beside him. Several men got out and roughly dragged the commuter into the waiting car. Maybe he fought, but he could not have fought very hard. He had always known these men would come. He had been waiting for them for fifteen years.

Eleven days later, on May 23, in the midst of debate in the Knesset, the parliament of Israel, the Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion, got up and made this announcement: "I have to inform the Knesset that a short time ago one of the greatest of the Nazi war criminals, Adolf Eichmann, . . . was discovered by the Israel security services. Adolf Eichmann is already under arrest in Israel and will shortly be placed on trial in Israel under the terms of the law for trial of Nazis and their collaborators."

The Knesset cheered this announcement. They too had been waiting a long time for Adolf Eichmann.

The story of the hunt for Adolf Eichmann begins at the end of World War II in Germany. Eichmann, who knew he was on the "most wanted" list of the Allies, made his way south with a number of his subordinates to Alt-Aussee in a valley of the Salzkammergut. There he saw Ernst Kaltenbrunner, his

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direct superior, the head of the Gestapo. He asked Kaltenbrunner what he should do and Kaltenbrunner advised him to untertauchen—to duck.

According to one report, Eichmann did an untertauchen with Horia Simak, the head of the Romanian Iron Guard, in the mountains of the Bad Ischl. Eichmann had a large sum of money which he buried during this period. Finally he was picked up by a British patrol wearing the uniform of a German Army private. A few months later he escaped, but was picked up again, this time in an Air Force uniform. On both occasions he used an alias, and on both occasions his captors failed to notice a tattoo under his arm which identified him as an important official of the Third Reich.

While all this was happening, the Nuremberg trials were being prepared. Eichmann, according to these accounts, realized that he had a good thing in being interned under another name when the Central Intelligence Agency was looking half-way around the world for Adolf Eichmann. According to Dr. William Hoettl, a Gestapo comrade of Eichmann's, "It seems correct that to this day the American authorities have not realized that the man they had sought so intently had all the time been in their hands for months on end. A search for him in Cairo petered out and the hunt died down."

With the heat off for a while Eichmann again escaped and took to the woods—literally. According to most accounts, he spent the next three years working as a woodchopper in Northern Germany with the brother of a former Gestapo subordinate. Some, however, insist that when he got out for the second time he dug up his treasure and made off for the Arab countries where he had formed important connections during the war years. If this is true, there is as yet no explanation as to why he ever left their welcoming arms.

The next definite trace of Eichmann came in 1952 when he showed up in the city of Tucumán in northwest Argentina. There exists an Argentine police photo of one Ricardo Klement (see photo insert), which is certainly Eichmann. He then moved on to Brazil, and from there to Paraguay where he used the alias Rudiger. He was back in Argentina in 1955 but got nervous when Peron was ousted and left again. In 1956 he was back in Buenos Aires and then spent some six months in the interior, and in 1958 he moved back to San Fernando, a suburb of Buenos Aires, where he had been when he was discovered.

On the day after the announcement of his capture, the New York Times quoted a "reliable source" as to how Eichmann had spent these South American years.

He was always on the move. . . . He traveled from coun-

try to country, from city to city. He changed jobs, he changed names. But wherever he went he lived in constant terror of being killed.

He probably saw assassins around every corner. . . . He grew gaunt, nervous and bald. He tried to shroud his life in modest obscurity.

Eichmann had few acquaintances. Even with his Nazi friends he used a false name. He pretended he was Richard Krumei, one of his accomplices during the war.

As the years rolled by, he began to cling more and more to the hope he would be forgotten. But his terror never really subsided.

The picture of Eichmann's San Fernando dwelling (shown in the photo insert) is mute testimony to the hard life of a notorious exile. The house had no running water and no electricity. Eichmann commuted over two hours each way from this primitive brick hut to his factory in Buenos Aires. (Some days after he disappeared, a truck and a number of cars drove up to the house, and Eichmann's wife Vera and their two children, a watchdog, and all the Eichmann worldly possessions were spirited off to an unknown destination. Neighbors reported that the people who came for Frau Eichmann were well-dressed and German-speaking.) A psychologist might have something valid to say on the architectural similarity of this stark house, reportedly built by Eichmann himself, to a brick crematorium.

Why the search? Why the fear? There are literally thousands of German war criminals who have never been punished. It is commonly known that many of them are solidly entrenched in every level of the present West German government. Otto Skorenzy, a man about certain towns, writes books and gives interviews. Heinrich Mueller, Kaltenbrunner's deputy in the Gestapo, seems to have acquired some sort of semi-official position in the East German government. Krupp, who was an enthusiastic supporter of Hitler and who made millions from slave labor, is back in control of his industrial empire.

In the weeks following Eichmann's capture, Israel officially admitted that Eichmann was abducted from Argentina. Argentina, of course, demanded that he be returned; a violation of international law had obviously been committed. But it is unlikely that the State of Israel will ever give up Adolf Eichmann now that he is under their power. The following diplomatic note relative to the capture of Eichmann was sent to Argentina.

The Embassy of Israel presents its attentive salutations to the

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Ministry of Foreign Relations and has the honor of communicating the following:

The Government of Israel was ignorant of the fact that Adolf Eichmann had arrived in Argentina since the security services of Israel had not given information to this respect. Only after receiving the telegram of the Israeli Ambassador in Buenos Aires, dated June 1, 1960, the Government investigated the details of the case with the security services which had detained Eichmann and these are the circumstances resulting from those investigations.

1. From the termination of the Second World War, Jewish volunteers (among them some Israelis) began the search for Eichmann. . . .

2. For fifteen years those groups of volunteers searched for Eichmann in different European countries, in Arab countries and on the Latin-American continent without results.

3. Some months ago news reached one of these groups of volunteers engaged in the search that Eichmann was hiding in Argentina under a false name, without the knowledge of the Argentine authorities but with the aid of other Nazis who live in the country. It was not clear to the investigators if this news was reliable or not. But they were able to establish the fact that in Argentina there lived numerous Nazis.

4. The investigations were renewed with more intensity and uncovered the domicile of Eichmann, who lived under a false name. The volunteer groups which were investigating established contact with Eichmann and asked him if he would be disposed to go to Israel to be tried. On realizing that he had been recognized, Eichmann admitted his true identity and related that he lived in Argentina with false documents and under another name; when asked if he was willing to present himself to trial in Israel, he asked for a period of twenty-four hours to reply. That period was granted. The next day he expressed his conformity to go to Israel spontaneously to be tried and, at the same time, turned over to the group which had found him, a letter written in his own handwriting in which he manifested his willingness "to give expression without adornment to facts of his last five years of service in Germany, in order that the true picture of the facts be transmitted to future generations."

5. The group of volunteers then took Eichmann, with his conformity, out of Argentina and turned him over to the security services of Israel.

6. The security services communicated the 23rd of May of 1960 to the Israel Government that Eichmann was in their hands and the Government instructed the police and the state

attorney general to prepare the trial. Only later was it communicated to the Government that Eichmann had come from Argentina.

7. The text of the letter of Eichmann, translated into Spanish (and retranslated unofficially into English) says:

"I, the signer below, Adolph Eichmann, declare by my own will: Since my true identity is known, I realize that it makes no sense to continue hiding from justice. I declare that I am disposed to travel to Israel to present myself there before a competent tribunal. I understand that I will receive legal help and I will do all possible to express without adornment the facts of my last years of service in Germany in order that a true picture of the facts be transmitted to future generations. I make this declaration by my own will. I have not been promised anything nor have I been threatened. I wish to attain at last my peace of mind (or internal peace). Since I do not recall the details and also I confuse some things, I ask that I be helped by putting at my disposition documents and testimonies in my determination to find the truth.

(Signed) ADOLF EICHMANN, Buenos Aires, May, 1960."

The photostatic copy will be sent by mail to the Argentine Government for its exclusive knowledge.

8. In case that the group of volunteers should have violated the Argentine law or have interfered in the Argentine sovereign rights, the Government of Israel wishes to express its regret in this respect. The Government of Israel asks that it should be taken into consideration the extraordinary significance which surrounds the fact that there has been brought before the tribunal the man on whom weighs the responsibility for the assassination of millions of persons belonging to the Jewish people, and implores that the fact be contemplated that the volunteers, themselves survivors of the massacre, put this historic mission above any other consideration. The Government of Israel entertains the full certainty that the Argentine Government will show understanding before such historic and moral values.

Israel has always enjoyed good relations with Argentina and the rest of the Latin American countries. Israel is a small state with few friends and powerful enemies. Yet it is apparently willing to sacrifice this good will for the sake of punishing one man.

Why is this so important to Israel? With so many war criminals unpunished, what did this man Eichmann do that he must be punished fifteen years after the end of the war?

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Why did the volunteers in the Israeli security office spend all these years conducting the most relentless manhunt the world has ever seen?

Prime Minister Ben-Gurion tried to explain it in a letter to President Frondizi of Argentina:

Dear Mr. President:

In this hour in which as a result of the capture and transfer to Israel of Nazi war-criminal Adolf Eichmann misunderstandings could be produced in relations between the Argentine Republic and Israel, I think it is my duty to address this personal message to you. . . .

I believe you give the highest personal consideration to the diplomatic note that our Ambassador in Buenos Aires issued to your Minister of Foreign Relations on Friday, June 3. In this note you will find the reasons of our position. However, there are aspects that refer to the essence of the problem and that go beyond the limits of a diplomatic note.

These are the aspects that I would like to develop briefly, with the conviction that only the true understanding of them makes it possible to give a moral judgment on the problem.

This man, Eichmann, was during the years of the Second World War responsible for the execution of the orders of Hitler for the "final solution" of the Jewish problem in Europe, that is, the physical assassination of all Jews whom the Nazis could catch in the vast regions of Europe that they conquered.

Six million of our people were massacred, and it was Eichmann who organized that extermination in mass on a gigantic and unprecedented scale throughout all Europe.

Certainly, Mr. President, you do not need any explanation to understand what it means to any people to be the victim of such a satanic wave of assassinations, and what deep scars remain in the soul of the people that has gone through such an experience.

Even in the history of our hundred-year martyrdom we had not experienced such horrible atrocities. Not only were millions killed, among them more than a million children, but also destroyed was the cultural and spiritual center of our people that flourished in Europe until the Second World War.

It is almost impossible to find anywhere a Jew whose family has not been a victim of the Nazis. Hundreds of thousands of the survivors live among us, and there are hundreds of Jews in Israel and other countries who have not found peace since the end of the war until the man who directed such horrible massacres was found.

The aim of their lives was to bring the man responsible for those crimes without parallel in history to stand trial before

the Jewish people, a trial that can only take place here in Israel. . . .

With my highest consideration,

David Ben-Gurion
Prime Minister of Israel.

That is the crime of Adolf Eichmann. That is what brought him to a secluded courtroom in Tel-Aviv where he was charged under a law concerning "A person who has committed . . . during the period of the Nazi regime, in an enemy country, an act constituting a crime against the Jewish people." The applicable penalty under this law is death.

The Judge said: "Adolf Eichmann, you are charged with causing the death of millions of Jews in Germany and the enemy occupied countries in the years 1938 to 1945.

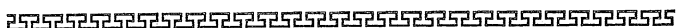
"Are you Adolf Eichmann?"

And the tired commuter from the bus in Buenos Aires answered in German: "Ich bin Adolf Eichmann." (I am Adolf Eichmann.)

Can these awful crimes be proven against Adolf Eichmann? The evidence is abundant and extremely clear. Adolf Eichmann is guilty of the murder of between four and six-million persons.

The most damning words come out of his own mouth. The following is taken from the testimony of Dieter Wisliceny at Nuremberg, a subordinate and intimate of Eichmann's: "He (Eichmann) said to me on the occasion of our last meeting in February, 1945, at which time we were discussing our fates upon losing the war: 'I laugh when I jump into the grave because of the feeling that I have killed 5,000,000 Jews. That gives me great satisfaction and gratification.'"

chapter two



The Background

If Adolf Eichmann was, as he claimed, responsible for the death of 5,000,000 people, he didn't do it all by himself. The actions and words of the leaders of National Socialism had prepared the world for Eichmann and his "final solution."

From the first, the Nazi were intensely anti-Semitic. They preached hatred of the Jews, and they practiced violence for twenty years before the final horrors, the gas chambers, were introduced. One of the witnesses at the Nuremberg trials has testified eloquently to the effect of this continuous barrage of hatred on the minds of the Germans. Lieutenant General Erich von dem Bach-Zilewski, when asked how one of his subordinates could calmly confess to the murder of 90,000 men, replied: "I am of the opinion that when for years, for decades, the doctrine is preached that the Slav race is an inferior race, and Jews not even human, then such an outcome is inevitable."

And Hans Frank, the Governor-General of Poland under the Nazi occupation, spoke to the same effect: "We have fought against Jewry, we have fought against it for years; and we have allowed ourselves to make utterances—and my own diary has become a witness against me in this connection—utterances which are terrible . . . A thousand years will pass and this guilt of Germany will still not be erased."

What were some of these terrible utterances? Let us listen to Hitler in 1922, outlining a policy for awakening the latent anti-Semitism in the German people.

Finally, we were the first to point out to the nation in broad outline a danger which had crept up on us, a danger which millions of people failed to see, but which will lead us all to destruction—the Jewish danger. And today they say again that we are "hate-mongers."

And certainly these people are excited by their misery. Out-

wardly perhaps impassive, but inside a seething cauldron. And when some people say: "It is a horrible crime to rouse their passions", then I tell myself: Their passions will be roused by their increasing need and these passions will one day lead to an eruption like this or like this and I would ask those who today call us "hate-mongers": "What have you to give the people in the way of a creed to which they can cling?"

Nothing at all. For you don't believe in your own prescriptions. The most tremendous task for our movement is to provide a new creed for these great, searching, stumbling masses, a creed which will not fail them in these times of confusion, by which they can swear and build, so that there will be at least one spot where their heart may find rest.

In Mein Kampf Hitler spelled out the same program.

And again it is the National Socialist Movement which has to fulfill its most tremendous task:

It must open the eyes of the people with regard to foreign nations and must remind them again and again of the true enemy [the Jew] of our present-day world. In the place of the hate against Aryans—from whom we may be separated by almost everything, to whom however, we are tied by common blood or the great tie of a common culture—it must dedicate to the general anger the evil enemy of mankind, as the true cause of all suffering.

It must see to it, however, that, at least in our country, he be recognized as the most mortal enemy and that the struggle against him may show, like a flaming beacon of a better era, to other nations, too, the road to salvation for a struggling Aryan mankind.

And Dr. Rudolph Fercks, writing after Hitler had come to power, summed up what he felt was the "educational achievement" of the Nazi party in the twenties:

It has often been said that National Socialism is purely negative and destructive in its attitude toward the racial question and that its material substance is the rowdy anti-Semitism. This reproach does not affect the essential point and disregards entirely the success and aim of the work toward racial education. In the Jewish question, which was our most tangible one, a whole generation that only learned to see men in men has recognized the importance of the racial question for their own people as well as for the rest of the world. The whole treatment of the Jewish problem in the years prior to our seizure of power is to be regarded essentially from the point of view

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of the political education of the German people, who had lost to a dangerous degree all racial instinct.

Throughout the years no one was more vicious in the anti-Semitic campaign than Julius Streicher, the editor of Der Stuermer. In November, 1922, he was "rousing the passions" in Nuremberg in a speech which contained the following choice matter:

I see thousands of workers poorly dressed passing me by after a hard day's work carrying a pot of soup. . . . They speak of their hard life and of their unbearable misery. But other people also pass me by clad in valuable fur coats, with fat necks and paunchy stomachs. These people do not work. They are Jews taking an evening walk. They speak of their business and their profit. . . .

It is wrong to say that France, England and the remaining Allies won the World War. THE ONLY VICTOR WAS THE INTERNATIONAL JEW.

We know that Germany will be free when the Jew has been excluded from the life of the German people.

Streicher could never be accused of a lack of consistency. For every problem, he had one answer. Here he tells us what he thinks the work of the Kultusminister (Minister of Public Worship and Instruction) should consist of:

The mere fact that the Jew has been living in Germany for ages does not mean a thing. The Jew belongs to a foreign race and his aims are of alien character. Therefore, he must not have the same rights as we have. The Jew should educate his children in Jewish schools. Later on you will realize how important it is to have these demands carried out.

In 1924 Streicher was still banging away at the same theme and praising Hitler (who was then doing a stretch in prison for his part in the beer hall putsch) for awakening Germany:

I beg you and particularly those of you who carry the cross throughout the land to become somewhat more serious when I speak of the enemy of the German people, namely, the Jew. Not out of irresponsibility or for fun do I fight against the Jewish enemy, but because I bear within me the knowledge that the whole misfortune was brought to Germany by the Jews alone . . .

The government allows the Jew to do as he pleases. The people expect actions to be taken. . . . You may think about Adolph Hitler as you please, but one thing you must admit!

HE POSSESSED THE COURAGE TO ATTEMPT TO FREE THE GERMAN PEOPLE FROM THE JEW BY A NATIONAL REVOLUTION. THAT WAS ACTION INDEED.

It was a fight to the death, according to Streicher, between 500,000 Jews (less than five percent of the total population) and the rest of Germany. He devotes some remarks to this thesis in April, 1925:

You must realize that the Jew wants our people to perish. That is why you must join us and leave those who have brought you nothing but war, inflation and discord. For thousands of years the Jew has been destroying the nations. Let us make a new beginning today so that we can annihilate the Jew.

Streicher never minded repeating himself. To his twisted mind there was only one subject worth talking about, and he talked about it continually. By 1932, shortly before the Nazis came into power, his arguments had hardly become more sophisticated.

For 13 years I have fought against Jewry.

But I know that the German worker can only be won back if these words are continually hammered into him: the Jews are our misfortune.

All Jews have one common aim: World Dominion.

We know that the Jew whether he is baptized as a Protestant or as a Catholic, remains a Jew. Why cannot you realize, you Protestant clergymen, you Catholic priests, you who have scales before your eyes and serve the god of the Jews who is not the God of Love but the God of Hate? Why do you not listen to Christ who said to the Jews: "You are the children of the devil."

But there were other "minds" at work in the Germany of these years. Alfred Rosenberg is sometimes spoken of as the "philosopher" of National Socialism. He used bigger words than Streicher, and had a starchy, Wagnerian pattern which he seemed to think guaranteed objectivity, but he still saw that same old fundamental problem and that same old solution—get rid of them. In this quotation from the year 1921 he was a little less obtuse than usual:

The "seething" force is in fullest motion in Germany. Silence has become senseless. But it is perhaps not yet too late to gather all Germans into a steel-hard racial united front. Ahead lies Bolshevistic chaos, the death of half the German nation.

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With this prospect before our eyes there can be no hesitation. This one challenge must go through the whole country: get the Jews out of all parties, institute measures for the repudiation of all citizenship rights of all Jews and half Jews, banish all eastern Jews, exercise strictest vigilance over the native ones, break up Zionism, which is involved in English-Jewish politics, confiscate its money, and banish its members to their English protector or to the Promised Land. Possible "Jew Strikes" must be dealt with accordingly.

With a firm will, this is possible. Hungary has proved it in part. If this is not done, none of the generations living today will have the opportunity to live in the German Fatherland again.

Germany, awake!

From the year 1934, here are some of Rosenberg's geopolitical ideas, taken from a more ambitious work, Wesen, Grundsätze, und Ziele der NSDAP ("Nature, Foundation and Aims of the Nazi Party"):

The great change of fates of today has brought about a new conception of world, history and state, which has not been clearly formulated as yet; however, its course has been unmistakably chartered. We recognize history no longer as the "eternal development of mankind," be it in the direction of humanity, or of the Christianization of all peoples, or of an imaginary "human culture," nor as a crude class fight, but as a clash of spiritual-racial powers with their surroundings and other races. The appearance and passing of the races is apparent to us as the last great law of nature; its disregard has created the racial chaos which ruined the great Aryan cultures of India, Persia, Greece, and Rome in their time. Becoming aware of a European race of German embodiment, that is the innermost awakening of our presence, that power of the soul, which does not want anything but to portray itself in the firm belief of creating in such a way the most valuable of which it is capable. After denying eternal nature for centuries, the racial (*voelkisch*) National Socialistic movement consciously goes back to the lawfulness of the eternal process of life. This consciousness gives it power and faith. . . .

A fundamental point of Rosenberg's—that the Jews are not and cannot be German citizens and must be subjected to a special set of laws—gives us a glimpse of the object of all this ranting, for at this period the Nazis were not ready, perhaps not even willing, to simply kill Jews.

Dieter Wisliceny, who will appear frequently in this study, testified at Nuremberg:

There were three distinct periods of activity affecting the Jews. The first period covered the time from 1937 when the Jewish Section was founded till 1940, during which the policy was to accelerate and compel Jewish emigration from Germany and Austria. Because of this, the Central Office for Jewish Emigration was founded in Vienna and later on a corresponding institution in Prague.

Wisliceny here is only referring to the particular official body which he was a part of. Actually, from the time the Nazis came in to power in 1933, their announced intention was to force the half-million Jews in Germany at that time to emigrate.

How could the Jews of Germany be encouraged to emigrate by the Nazis? The Nazis applied all their ingenuity and the full power of the German State to this problem. Among the earliest measures was a boycott, supposedly to counteract "Jewish propaganda," of all things! Dr. Goebbels, no mean propagandist himself, gave the order:

The national-socialist leadership had declared: "The boycott is legal," and the government demands that the people permit that the boycott be carried out legally. We expect iron discipline. This must be for the whole world a wonderful show of unity and manly training. To those abroad who believe that we could not manage it, we want to prove that we have the people in our hand.

Streicher was active in this campaign. A section of his diary is relevant:

1 April 1933.

The boycott against the world atrocity propaganda has incited Berlin and the entire Reich to the fullest extent. For my own information I drive through the Taucutzien street. All Jewish stores are closed. At their entrances S.A. sentries are standing. The public has declared its solidarity everywhere. An exemplary discipline prevails. An imposing spectacle! Everything takes its course in the utmost tranquillity, within the Reich too.

Streicher sent out a form letter to party leaders all over Germany:

30 March 1933

Defeat the Enemy of the World!

By Julius Streicher, head of the Central Committee for Defense against Jewish horror and boycott agitation.

All Judah wanted the battle, it shall have it! It shall have it until it realizes that the Germany of the Brown Battalions is not the Germany of cowardice and of surrender: All Judah shall have the battle until victory is ours.

National Socialists!

Defeat the enemy of the World! And if the World were full of devils, we must still succeed!

Following this, orders were issued. It is interesting to note the orders against violence at this stage of the game. Often suggestions such as these were hypocritical, and the Nazi who received the orders knew that they were not to be obeyed. However, in this case, since the object of the boycott was to persuade the rest of the world that all the nasty stories about Hitler and the SA were inventions of the Jews, there is at least the possibility that window breaking and blackjacking were kept at a minimum.

31 March 1933

Additional orders of the Central Committee for Defense against Jewish horror and boycott agitation.

NSK. The following additional orders are issued by the Central Committee for defense against Jewish horror and boycott agitation:

Order No. 3

In enforcing the defensive boycott, the closing of Jewish business or the use of violence against their customers is to be avoided under all circumstances.

If such an establishment closes its doors voluntarily, no higher power is involved, and the proprietors have no excuse for discharges without notice or for the refusal to pay wages and salaries or for reductions.

[Signed] Streicher

Slightly more to the point and less concerned with what people think were the orders to district leaders for a follow-up to the earlier boycott:

Coblenz June 7, 1933

Propaganda Department to all Kreis directorates

Subject: List M. 18, Jew Baiting Nr 2

You will receive in the next few days a list of the commu-

nities of your districts in which you will find the Jewish firms and businesses of your district. You will immediately check in your whole district whether the addresses given are correct or whether some have been forgotten. The highest importance is to be placed on accuracy since the list is to be printed.

Subject: Jew Baiting

The district directorate will set up a committee which has the task of directing and supervising the communities in the whole district. The strength of this committee will be determined by the district directed. You are to inform the Gau propaganda directorate at once of the committees named. The Gau propaganda directorate will then set itself in coordinating with these committees through you.

Present tasks of the committees.

The committee will form in all the local groups and support locally such committees whose names shall be known only to the district committee. The members of the sub-committees shall report to the district committee the names of those Party members and other Germans who buy from Jews. The district committee will publish articles whose content is such that it will point out to the miscreant members of the nation the shamefulfulness of their deed, and will make them aware of the shame to which they would be subjected if they were proceeded against publicly. This article must be arranged so that only the addresses of those involved, the business and the time in which he made the purchase will be given. The article should bear no signature and will be posted on various posting spots. Further the committees have to secure female clerks from Jewish stores, who can then very easily name those who purchase in Jewish shops. This demands some caution and has to be done with the greatest secrecy.

German girls who go with Jews are to be made cognizant of the shamefulfulness of their actions. A member of our party must, in no way, have anything to do with such a person.

Heil Hitler
Signed: Bang
Gau-Propagandaleiter

Why were Jews "carrying on a low attack . . . harmful to Germany"? Perhaps incidents like the following, reported by an American Consul in Germany, had some effect on their "imagination":

From Ralph C. Busser, American Consul, Leipzig, Germany.

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Date of Completion: April 5, 1933.

Date of Mailing: April 10, 1933.

In Dresden several weeks ago uniformed "Nazis" raided the Jewish Prayer House (*Bethaus*), interrupted the evening religious service, arrested 25 worshippers, and tore the holy insignia or emblems from their head covering worn while praying.

Eighteen Jewish shops, including a bakery, mostly in Chemnitz, had their windows broken by rioters led by uniformed "Nazis."

Five of the Polish Jews arrested in Dresden were compelled to each drink one-half liter of castor oil. As most of the victims of assault are threatened with worse violence if they report the attacks, it is not known to what extent fanatical "Nazis" are still terrorizing Jews, communists, and Social Democrats, who are considered as favoring the old Parliamentary regime in Germany.

Some of the Jewish men assaulted had to submit to the shearing of their beards, or to the clipping of their hair in the shape of steps. One Polish Jew in Chemnitz had his hair torn out by the roots.

But insults and financial injury were not all the Jews had to endure. Even in the beginning, the Nazis were not averse to an occasional murder:

BERLINER BOERSEN ZEITUNG, 12 April 1933,
night issue

Disguised Criminals Murder Jewish Lawyer.
Horrible Murder in Chemnitz

T. U. Chemnitz, 12th April

On Monday night the Jewish Lawyer Dr. Weiner was visited at his home by several men, who wore S.A. bands and brown caps, and taken away by force in an automobile. Next morning Dr. Weiner was found on the Wiedenauer Flur at Mittweida shot to death by a bullet through his head.

Police headquarters report the following:

"Here is no doubt that Dr. Weiner fell victim to a savage crime which obviously had been committed by enemies of the national movement. Here is no trace of the perpetrators. The following has been found so far: On 10th of April at 22:30 hours three men dressed in SA uniform demanded admittance to the lawyer's home in Chemnitz on Stollberg Strasse. Presenting an identification they declared that the lawyer was arrested and requested him to follow them. The lawyer

checked the identification personally and remarked upon a question of his wife that it were in order. The behaviour of the men was so confident that the wife of the lawyer and two of his friends who were then present failed to check with the police station, as repeatedly suggested by the press, although they had an emergency telephone in their home by which they could have called the riot squad.

The fact is that no warrant for protective custody for the lawyer Weiner existed, and no warrant for his arrest was issued to the SA.

The pretense that there has been a mistake or that Dr. Weiner was killed by "enemies of the national movement" was a nice try, but not very convincing.

Throughout the thirties, the "educational campaign" continued. Streicher had a new theme—a lie 1,000 years old—the lie of "ritual murder." According to this, Jews kill Gentiles at certain seasons of the year and use them in religious ceremonies. Needless to say, this was not a very truthful account of Judaism. The interesting thing is that Streicher really seems to have believed this, since he insisted on making a demented speech about it at Nuremberg. (It was quickly squelched by the presiding justice.) In fact, Streicher seems to have been only slightly less of a half-wit than the people he influenced. Here are a few variations on this moth-eaten theme (from Der Stuermer in 1937):

The murder of the 10 years old Gertrud Lenhoff in Quirschied (Saarpfalz) . . . The Jews are our MISFORTUNE! . . .

Also the numerous confessions made by the Jews show that the execution of ritual murders is a law to the Talmud Jew. The former Chief Rabbi (and later monk) Teofiti declares, f.i., that the ritual murders take place especially on the Jewish Purim (in memory of the Persian murders) and Passover (in memory of the murder of Christ).

The instructions are as follows:

The blood of the victims is to be tapped by force. On Passover, it is to be used in wine and matzos; thus, a small part of the blood is to be poured into the dough of the matzos and into the wine. The mixing is done by the Jewish head of the family.

Again in December of 1938:

The Thora is the old testament law book of the Jews. It contains:

The five books of Moses and all the oaths, curses, the criminal recipes and provisions of the God Jehovah for the Jewish people. The Talmud is the great Jewish book of crimes that the Jew practices in his daily life.

It is hard for us to believe that propaganda like this was taken very seriously, yet it all must have had its effect, for in 1937 Streicher was able to use this lie to explain the murder of Wilhelm Gustloff, an SS thug, by a Jew who may have been a little fed up with existence in the Third Reich. The speech, when it is not utterly vicious, runs over with syrupy adulation for the "martyred" Gustloff. An interesting feature of a certain German Weltanschauung is this mixture of treacle and venom.

“. . . With the memorial which has just been unveiled we honour, in the town of the Reich-Party rallies, the fighter who was murdered by a member of the Jewish people. In a plain and simple way it says on the bronze plaque "Wilhelm Gustloff, 30th January 1895—4th February 1936. Murdered by a Jew."

I believe Nurnberg is the first town to have the courage to write on a monument "Here a man is honoured who was killed by a Jew."

The Legacy of Wilhelm Gustloff

This inscription should always remind us of our task of saying before the whole world: This monument was not only built to honour a murdered man of the movement. Nay, it must be a real admonition. All those who walk or drive over this bridge should cast their eyes upon this beautiful monument with a quiet prayer. Bring your children here and let them pray, not to saints of the Jewish people, but to those who were murdered by the Jewish people. . . .

The man who murdered Wilhelm Gustloff had to come from the Jewish people, because the Jewish text-books teach that every Jew has the right to kill the non-Jew, and, indeed, THAT IT IS PLEASING TO THE JEWISH GOD TO KILL AS MANY AS POSSIBLE. . . .

We have dedicated our lives to the fight against the murderers of Christ and we are proud that we did not spend the last years in idleness, but by hard fighting carried enlightenment into the German people and furthermore into the other nations. This task is not yet completed but we will continue working in this spirit and belief to the last gasp. And if we always think of Adolf Hitler, then we cannot fail to receive strength and benediction from heaven.

Adolf Hitler also made this man, Wilhelm Gustloff, a follower of his, and Wilhelm Gustloff remained faithful to the Fuehrer unto death. We salute Adolf Hitler, the creator of the Third Reich, the Saviour of the German people.

Far more dangerous was the attack on the minds of the very young. When Streicher published a children's book, he was dealing with minds unequipped to resist his brand of poison. Here are passages from Der Giftpilz ("The Poisonous Mushroom") by Ernst Hiemer, which Streicher published in 1938. The flattery of Streicher by one of his paid hacks at the end of the selection is buffoon opera, but a generation of SS men can testify to the success of the book as a whole.

(P. 9) Then the teacher goes to the desk and turns over the blackboard, on its back is a verse. The children recite it in chorus:

From a Jew's countenance—the evil devil talks to us,
The devil, who is every land—is known as evil plague.
If we shall be free of the Jew—and again will be happy
and glad,
Then the youth must struggle with us—to subdue the
Jew devil.

(P. 32) Inge sits in the reception room of the Jew doctor. She has to wait a long time. She looks through the journals which are on the table. But she is most too nervous to read even a few sentences. Again and again she remembers the talk with her mother. And again and again her mind reflects on the warnings of her leader of the BDM [League of German Girls]: "A German must not consult a Jew doctor! And particularly not a German girl! Many a girl that went to a Jew doctor to be cured found disease and disgrace!"

When Inge had entered the waiting room, she experienced an extraordinary incident. From the doctor's consulting room she could hear the sound of crying. She heard the voice of a young girl: "Doctor, doctor leave me alone!"

(P. 61) The pimpf [Hitler boy between 10-14] so far has not said anything. Suddenly he stops. Then he grasps his two friends by the arm and pulls them away. They stop in front of a bill-board. They read a large poster. It says Julius Streicher makes an address in the People's Hall about "The Jews are our misfortune."

"That is where we go!" shouts Konrad, "I wanted to hear him speak for a long time." "I have heard him once before, at a meeting two years ago," says Erich. "Do tell us all about it!" the two pimpfs beg.

The Hitler youth recounts:

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"The meeting was overcrowded. Many thousands of people attended. To begin with, Streicher talked of his experiences in the years of struggle, and of the tremendous achievements of the Hitler Reich. Then he began to talk about the Jewish question. All he said was so clear and simple that even we boys could follow it. Again and again he told about examples taken from life. At one time he talked most amusingly and cracked jokes, making all of us laugh. Then again he became most serious, and it was so quiet in the hall that one could hear a needle drop. He talked of the Jews and their horrible crimes. He talked of the serious danger which Judaism is for the whole world.

"Without a solution of the Jewish question there will be no salvation of mankind."

That is what he shouted to us. All of us could understand him. And when, at the end, he shouted the "Sieg-Heil" for the Fuehrer, we all acclaimed him with tremendous enthusiasm.

These books had the intended effect. Witness the following fan letter from "the boys and girls of the National Socialist Youth Hostel, Grossmoellen."

Dear "Stuermer,"

The children of the "National Socialist Youth Hostel" at Grossmoellen in Pomerania also want to send you their greetings. We read your reports every week with great interest. The "Stuermer" is and will be a welcome guest in our house. With its help we get to know the Jew as he is. We also have a simple "Stuermer" case. We cut out the pictures from the "Stuermer" and fix them to a special notice board in our day room. There the boys and girls can get to know exactly what the Jews look like.

Now we want to tell you of another method, which we use to expose the Jew to all children. Every Sunday night the leader of our hostel presents a play about the Jews with his hand puppet show. We have a puppet which represents a proper Jew. He has a nose like the Devil. When the Casper comes we call on him to chase away the nasty Jew. But whenever during the game the Jew asks us to help him, we then simply call for Casper.

Today we saw a play on how the devil persuades the Jew to shoot a conscientious National Socialist . . .

Now we act regularly in plays about the Jews which the leader of our home reads to us from the "Stuermer." We can hardly wait for the next Saturday to come around again. We greet you, dear "Stuermer" with a loud "Heil Hitler."

The boys and girls of the National Socialist Youth Hostel,
Grossmoellen.

Out of the mouths of babes can come some awful stuff, if they get the right sort of prompting. But the children weren't the only people reading Der Stuermer; the old folks at home were using its pages for the dirty business of informing on any of their neighbours who had the outrageous gall to go on behaving like human beings.

Dear Stuermer,

The wife of the farmer Menzel, from Gross-Schiresdorf, near Goldberg, buys her shoes from a Jew, though her husband, as a former Stahlhelm-member, belongs to the SAR. Dear "Stuermer," we National Socialists of Silesia will work hard to make every compatriot realize the Jewish question. But the nation should also know who are the people who sabotage our defensive struggle.

Dear Stuermer,

Germany is still reacting against the treacherous crime committed at Davos by the Jew Frankfurter against the provincial group leader [Landesgruppenleiter] of the NSDAP, Gustloff. Every German, particularly every party member must know, that the Jew is the bitterest enemy of our nation. The party member Johann Jakob, known as Bauerndick, from Reichenbach near Teuschnitz, differs in his opinion. He is acting on behalf of the Jew, Gassenheimer, from Hildburghausen. In a public house—on 6th February, 1936—he called the Jews his friends. There is no room in the party for such who bow down to the Jews.

Dear Stuermer,

In Bruttig, in the lovely Moselkrampen, there is a boarding school for children. It is under the direction of sisters. Jewish children were cared for there too. That these offspring of Jews even stood round the little crib and took part in the performances during the Christmas plays reveals the spirit which prevails in this school. Now the National-Socialist communal counsellor has put an end to these undignified conditions. He put a ban on Jewish children being cared for at the school. There was great sorrow over this among those who bow down to the Jews. To overcome this "bad state of affairs," the wife of the richest peasant in Bruttig, Mrs. Nik. Loenarz, decided to look after the Jewish children. She now goes out for walks with Jewish children in bright daylight. No wonder the Loenarz family buys meat from the Jew. *"Tell me with whom you consort and I will tell you who you are."*

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It has long been a question as to what the German people thought of the more severe measures of the Nazis. This group of letters documents the fact that there were people who did not completely agree with all of Hitler's ravings. But it also documents the tremendous pressure the Nazis were able to mobilize to push the dissident back into line. In later years the crimes were far more terrible, the protests far more feeble; but by then it was a criminal offense to even talk to a Jew.

The Nazis had always used the machinery of the state, after it was in their control, to regularize their crimes, but in 1935 it started to be a criminal offense in Germany for a certain class of people to be human. The Nuremberg racial laws were announced.

All this said was that Germans are Germans, but that there are people who are not and cannot be Germans. Innocuous enough, but knowing the background it is easy to predict who is not German, who will be denied their rights. And as night follows day, so the "Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor" followed the "Reich Citizenship Law."

Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor of 15 September 1935

Thoroughly convinced by the knowledge that the purity of German blood is essential for the further existence of the German people and animated by the inflexible will to safeguard the German nation for the entire future, the Reichstag has resolved upon the following law unanimously, which is promulgated herewith:

Section 1

1. Marriages between Jews and nationals of German or kindred blood are forbidden. Marriages concluded in defiance of this law are void, even if, for the purpose of evading this law, they are concluded abroad.

2. Proceedings for annulment may be initiated only by the Public Prosecutor.

Section 2

Relations outside marriage between Jews and nationals of German or kindred blood are forbidden.

Section 3

Jews will not be permitted to employ female nationals of German or kindred blood in their household.

Section 4

1. Jews are forbidden to hoist the Reichs and national flag and to present the colors of the Reich.

The first supplemental decree deprived Jews of their political rights and attempted to define who a Jew was.

First Regulation to the Reichs Citizenship Law
of 14 Nov. 1935.

On the basis of Article 3, Reichs Citizenship Law, of 15 Sept. 1935 (RGBI I, page 146) the following is ordered:

Article 1

1. Until further issue of regulations regarding citizenship papers, all subjects of German or kindred blood, who possessed the right to vote in the Reichstag elections, at the time the Citizenship Law came into effect, shall, for the time being, possess the rights of Reich citizens. The same shall be true of those whom the Reich Minister of the Interior, in conjunction with the Deputy of the Fuehrer, has given the preliminary citizenship.

2. The Reich Minister of the Interior, in conjunction with the Deputy of the Fuehrer, can withdraw the preliminary citizenship.

Article 2

1. The regulations in Article 1 are also valid for Reichs subjects of mixed Jewish blood.

2. An individual of mixed Jewish blood, is one who descended from one of two grandparents who were racially full Jews, insofar as does not count as a Jew according to Article 5, paragraph 2. One grandparent shall be considered as full-blooded if he or she belonged to the Jewish religious community.

Article 3

1. A Jew cannot be a citizen of the Reich. He has no right to vote in political affairs, he cannot occupy a public office.

2. Jewish officials will retire as of 31 December 1935. If these officials served at the front in the World War, either for Germany or her allies, they will receive in full, until they reach the age limit, the pension to which they were entitled according to last received wages; they will, however, not advance in seniority. . . .

The Nazis continued their campaign of harassment through the Nuremberg race laws and extralegally. On November 7, 1938, Herschel Grynszpan, a boy of 17, decided to strike back. He waited on the steps of the German embassy in Paris, hoping to kill the ambassador, Count Johannes von Welczek. Instead he was met by the third secretary, Ernst vom Rath. Grynszpan struck, and vom Rath fell, dead.

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It was an unfortunate mistake, for vom Rath was not an anti-Semite and at the time of his death was being closely watched by the Gestapo for some remarks he had made opposing recent Nazi policies. Nevertheless, he now became another martyr on the model of Gustloff, and "spontaneous" outbreaks of anti-Semitism occurred throughout Germany.

From the columns of the Voelkische Beobachter:

Berlin 10, November.

On the announcement of the death of the German diplomat vom Rath, who was killed at the hands of a cowardly Jewish assassin, spontaneous anti-Jewish demonstrations have developed throughout the Reich.

And from American diplomats in Germany:

Report by: Edwin C. Kemp, U. S. Consul General in Bremen
To: The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.
Date: 10 November 1938

Subject: Anti-Jewish Demonstrations in Bremen

I have the honor to report that on the night of November 9th the Jewish synagogue and cemetery chapel in Bremen were burned, and the show windows of all the Jewish shops were smashed to pieces. Large notices written in red and black reading "Revenge for the murder of vom Rath," "Death of international Jewry" and similar phrases were left conspicuously in sight.

During the early hours of the 10th a number of arrests of Jews were made, and about nine o'clock in the morning about fifty Jewish men, some of decrepit age or health, were paraded along the main street under guard of about six S.A. men.

The attitude of the population, the presence of the many written notices which were done by the same hand and must have required some time to prepare are sufficient evidence that the destruction was not the work of a spontaneous mob enthusiasm, as claimed by some official authorities.

Report by: Samuel W. Honaker, American Consul General
To: U. S. Ambassador Hugh R. Wilson, Berlin
Date: 12 November 1938
Subject: Antisemitic Persecution in the Stuttgart Consular District.

I have the honor to report that the Jews of Southwest Germany have suffered vicissitudes during the last three days

which would seem unreal to one living in an enlightened country during the twentieth century if one had not actually been a witness of their dreadful experiences, or if one had not had them corroborated by more than one person of undoubted integrity.

Early on the morning of November 10th practically every synagogue—at least twelve in number—in Wuerttemberg, Baden and Hohenzollern was set on fire by well disciplined and apparently well equipped young men in civilian clothes. The procedure was practically the same in all cities of this district, namely, Stuttgart, Karlsruhe, Freiburg, Heidelberg, Heilbronn, et cetera. The doors of the synagogues were forced open. Certain sections of the building and furnishings were drenched with petrol and set on fire. Bibles, prayerbooks, and other sacred things were thrown into the flames. Then the local fire brigade were notified. In Stuttgart, the city officials ordered the fire brigades to save the archives and other written material having a bearing on vital statistics. Otherwise, the fire brigades confined their activities to preventing the flames from spreading. In a few hours the synagogues were, in general, heaps of smoking ruins.

From: /s/ David H. Buffum

David H. Buffum, American Consul

Date of Preparation: November 21, 1938

Date of Forwarding: To be carried to Berlin by trusted messenger as soon as practicable.

Approved: /s/ Ralph C. Busser,

Ralph C. Busser, American Consul General.

The following resume of the anti-Semitic onslaught in Germany so far as this consular district is concerned, constitutes a narration of Leipzig angles as to this flagitious attack upon a helpless minority that very probably has had no counter part in the course of the civilized world. . . .

The shattering of shop windows, looting of stores and dwellings of Jews which began in the early hours of November 10, 1938, was hailed subsequently in the Nazi press as "a spontaneous wave of righteous indignation throughout Germany, as a result of the cowardly Jewish murder of Third Secretary vom Rath in the German Embassy at Paris." So far as a very high percentage of the German populace is concerned, a state of popular indignation that would spontaneously lead to such excesses can be considered as nonexistent. On the contrary, in viewing the ruins and attendant measures employed, all of the local crowds observed were obviously benumbed over what had happened and aghast over the unprecedented fury of Nazi acts that had been or were taking

place with bewildering rapidity throughout their city. The whole lamentable affair was organized in such a sinister fashion, as to lend credence to the theory that the execution of it had involved studied preparation. It has been ascertained by this office that the plan of "spontaneous indignation" leaked out in Leipzig several hours before news of the death of Third Secretary vom Rath had been broadcasted at 10 P.M. November 10, 1938. It is stated upon authority believed to be reliable, that most of the evening was employed in drawing up lists of fated victims. Several persons known to this office were aware at 9 P.M. on the evening of November 9, 1938 that the "spontaneous" outrage was scheduled for the night sometime after midnight and several of such persons interviewed, stayed up purposely in order to witness it.

At 3 a.m. November 10, 1938 was unleashed a barrage of Nazi ferocity as had had no equal hitherto in Germany, or very likely anywhere else in the world since savagery, if ever. Jewish dwellings were smashed into and contents demolished or looted. In one of the Jewish sections an eighteen year old boy was hurled from a three story window to land with both legs broken on a street littered with burning beds and other household furniture and effects from his family's and other apartments. This information was supplied by an attending physician. It is reported from another quarter that among domestic effects thrown out of a Jewish dwelling, a small dog descended four flights to a broken spine on a cluttered street. Although apparently centered in poor districts, the raid was not confined to the humble classes. One apartment of exceptionally refined occupants known to this office, was violently ransacked, presumably in a search for valuables that was not in vain, and one of the marauders thrust a cane through a priceless medieval painting portraying a biblical scene. Another apartment of the same category is known to have been turned upside down in the frenzied course of whatever the invaders were after. Reported loss of looting of cash, silver, jewelry, and otherwise easily convertible articles, have been frequent.

Jewish shop windows by the hundreds were systematically and wantonly smashed throughout the entire city at a loss estimated at several millions of marks. There are reports that substantial losses have been sustained on the famous Leipzig "Bruhl", as many of the shop windows at the time of the demolition were filled with costly furs that were seized before the windows could be boarded up. In proportion to the general destruction of real estate, however, losses of goods are felt to have been relatively small. The spectators who viewed the wreckage when daylight had arrived were mostly in such

a bewildered mood, that there was no danger of impulsive acts, and the perpetrators probably were too busy in carrying out their schedule to take off a whole lot of time for personal profit. At all events, the main streets of the city were a positive litter of shattered plate glass. According to reliable testimony, the debacle was executed by S.S. men and Storm Troopers not in uniform, each group having been provided with hammers, axes, crowbars and incendiary bombs.

Three synagogues in Leipzig were fired simultaneously by incendiary bombs and all sacred objects and records desecrated or destroyed, in most instances hurled through the windows and burned in the streets. No attempts whatsoever were made to quench the fires, functions of the fire brigade having been confined to playing water on adjoining buildings. All of the synagogues were irreparably gutted by flames, and the walls of the two that are in the close proximity of the consulate are now being razed. The blackened frames have been centers of attraction during the past week of terror for eloquently silent and bewildered crowds. One of the largest clothing stores in the heart of the city was destroyed by flames from incendiary bombs, only the charred walls and gutted roof having been left standing. As was the case with the synagogues, no attempts on the part of the fire brigade were made to extinguish the fire, although apparently there was a certain amount of apprehension for adjacent property, for the walls of a coffee house next door were covered with asbestos and sprayed by the doughty firemen. It is extremely difficult to believe, but the owners of the clothing store were actually charged with setting the fire and on that basis were dragged from their beds at 6 A.M. and clapped into prison.

Tactics which closely approached the ghoulish took place at the Jewish cemetery where the temple was fired together with a building occupied by caretakers, tombstones uprooted and graves violated. Eye witnesses considered reliable report that ten corpses were left unburied at this cemetery for a week's time because all grave diggers and cemetery attendants had been arrested.

Ferocious as was the violation of property, the most hideous phase of the so-called "spontaneous" action has been the wholesale arrest and transportation to concentration camps of male German Jews between the ages of sixteen and sixty, as well as Jewish men without citizenship. This has been taking place daily since the night of horror. This office has no way of accurately checking the numbers of such arrests, but there is very little question that they have gone into several thousands in Leipzig alone. Having demolished dwellings and hurled most of the movable effects to the streets, the insatiably

sadistic perpetrators threw many of the trembling inmates into a small stream that flows through the Zoological Park, commanding horrified spectators to spit at them, defile them with mud and jeer at their plight. The latter incident has been repeatedly corroborated by German witnesses who were nauseated in telling the tale. The slightest manifestation of sympathy evoked a positive fury on the part of the perpetrators, and the crowd was powerless to do anything but turn horror-stricken eyes from the scene of abuse, or leave the vicinity. These tactics were carried out the entire morning of November 10th without police intervention and they were applied to men, women and children.

There is much evidence of physical violence, including several deaths. At least half a dozen cases have been personally observed, victims with bloody, badly bruised faces having fled to this office, believing that as refugees their desire to emigrate could be expedited here. As a matter of fact this consulate has been a bedlam of humanity for the past ten days, most of these visitors being desperate women, as their husbands and sons had been taken off to concentration camps.

Similarly violent procedure was applied throughout this consular district, the amount of havoc wrought depending upon the number of Jewish establishments or persons involved. It is understood that in many of the smaller communities even more relentless methods were employed than was the case in the cities. Reports have been received from Weissenfels to the effect that the few Jewish families there are experiencing great difficulty in purchasing food. It is reported that three Aryan professors of the University of Jena have been arrested and taken off to concentration camps because they had voiced disapproval of this insidious drive against mankind.

Sources of information

Personal observation and interviews.

As Consul Buffum suspected the riots were not exactly "spontaneous." Before the riots, before vom Rath's death had even been announced over the radio, orders had been issued. For the SS these orders came from Reinhard Heydrich, for the Gestapo from Heinrich Mueller. These names will recur in the subsequent history of these crimes.

Berlin NR 234404 9.11.2355

To all state police offices and state police administrative offices.

—To director or his deputy.

This teletype message is to be transmitted immediately in the most rapid way.

1. Actions against the Jews and in particular against their synagogues will occur in a short time, in all of Germany. They are not to be hindered. However, it is to be made certain, in agreement with the ordinary police, that plundering and similar law breaking will be held to a minimum.

2. Insofar as important archive material is present in the synagogues, it is to be secured by immediate measures.

3. The seizure of some 20 to 30 thousand Jews in the Reich is to be prepared. Wealthy Jews above all are to be chosen. More detailed directives will appear in the course of this night.

4. If, in the course of this action, Jews are found in possession of arms then the sharpest measures are to be employed. Special troops of the SS as well as the general SS can be drawn into the total action. In any case the direction of the actions through the State police is to be assured by proper measures.

Addenda for State Police Cologne:

In the synagogue of Cologne there is especially important material. This is to be made safe, immediately, by the quickest measures in agreement with the Security Services.

Gestapo I Mueller

This teletype is secret.

Blitz Munich 47767 10,11.38 0120

To all State police administrative offices and State police offices.

To all Security Service O.A. and W.S.

Subject: Tonight's measures against Jews.

On the basis of the attack upon Legation Secretary v. Rath in Paris demonstrations against the Jews are to be expected in the entire Reich tonight 9 to 10 November 38. The following orders are issued for the treatment of these incidents.

1. The directors of the administrative offices of the State police or their deputies have to take up, by long-distance phone, negotiations with the proper political directorates of their regions—Gauleitung or Kreisleitung—immediately upon the receipt of this telegram and to unify a discussion of the carrying out of the demonstrations to which the proper inspector or commander of the regular police is to be drawn.

2. Only such measures are to be taken, which do not entail

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a danger to German life and property (for example: burning of synagogues only if no fire hazard is present in the neighborhood).

3. As soon as the course of events tonight permits the use of the appointed officials for this purpose, as many Jews are to be seized, especially wealthy ones, in all regions as can be accommodated in the prisons at hand. Moreover, only healthy, male Jews of not too great an age are to be seized. After carrying out the seizure, negotiations are to be taken up at once with the proper concentration camps for the quickest accommodation of the Jews.

[Signed] Heydrich

SS Gruppenfuehrer

The mention of concentration camps is particularly sinister. This was the first large scale round-up and detention of Jews simply because they were Jews. It was not the last.

Heydrich's orders were obeyed, and the lower echelon SS leaders submitted reports on the work of their groups.

DARMSTADT, 2 Moosbergstrasse 11 November 1938
Tel. 7042 and 7043 Postal checking account: Frankfurt on
the Main 234-38 Bankaccount City Savings Bank 155
To: SA Group Electoral Palatinate (Kurpfalz) *Mannheim*

The following order reached me at 3 o'clock on 10 November 1938.

"On the order of the Gruppenfuehrer, all the Jewish synagogues within the 50th Brigade are to be blown up or set on fire immediately."

"Neighboring houses occupied by Aryans are not to be damaged. The action is to be carried out in civilian clothes. Rioting and plundering are to be prevented. Report of execution of orders to reach Brigade Fuehrer or office by 8:30."

I immediately alerted the Standartenfuehrer and gave them the most exact instructions; the execution of the order began at once.

CONFIDENTIAL

Notice!

8:35 Oberfuehrer Durein (?) for the area of Brigade 51 reports completion of the matter of the Synagogues.

Everything has been carried out up to Roelsheim (?) near Gernersheim.

10 Nov 38

(s) (Illegible)

CONFIDENTIAL

Note for Files

Telephone call by the Fuehrer of Brigade 50 Darmstadt, Brigadefuehrer Lucke.

Brigadefuehrer Lucke reports at 9 o'clock on 10 November 1938: The Jewish church at Darmstadt, the Synagogue at Darmstadt, and the Synagogue at Eberstadt were destroyed by fire. The Synagogue in Darmstadt destroyed and burned out. The Synagogue in Eberhardt destroyed and burned out. The Synagogues in Griesheim, in Graefenhausen and Oberamstadt destroyed. The Synagogue in Bernsheim destroyed by fire. The Synagogue in Lorsch near Bensheim destroyed by fire. The Synagogue in Heppenheim blown up. The Synagogues in Rimbach and Birkenau destroyed. The Prayer Hall at Alsbach a.d.B. destroyed. Meeting-room in the Jewish cemetery in Haehnlein destroyed. The Synagogue and Church in Gross-Gerau destroyed by fire. The Synagogue in Rueselsheim wrecked. In addition, the Synagogue and wooden church in Dornheim were demolished. In Offenbach the big Church and the Synagogue were destroyed by fire. Synagogues that may still exist will also be found and destroyed.

Mannheim, 10 Nov 1938.

/s/ Lohmann

Sturmhauptfuehrer

Copied:

CONFIDENTIAL

Note for Files

Telephone call from Brigade 151, Saarbruechken, by Sturmhauptfuehrer Rossel.

Sturmhauptfuehrer Rossel reports at 9.15 on the morning of 10 November 1938. Tonight the Synagogue in Saarbruecken was set on fire, and the Synagogues in Dillingen, Merzig, Saarlautern, Saarwillingen and Broddorf were also destroyed. Jews were taken into protective custody. The fire departments are occupied with extinguishing the fires. In the area of Standarte 174 all Synagogues were destroyed.

MANNHEIM, 10 November 1938

Copied:

/s/ Zimmermann
Standartenfuehrer

CONFIDENTIAL

Note for Files

Telephone call from the Fuehrer of Standarte 250, Bruchsal, Standartenfuehrer Ritter von Eberlein.

Standartenfuehrer Ritter von Eberlein reports at 9.00 on the morning of 10 November 1938. In the early morning of 10 November 1938, between the hours of 4.30 and 6.00 o'clock, the Synagogue at Bruchsal burned down to the foundations. The crowd broke all shopwindows of the Jewish stores in the city; the alerted SA put guards before the Jewish stores to prevent plundering. The Rabbi and several prominent Jews had to be taken into protective custody for their own safety. This was done by the Gestapo. The Synagogue at Phillippsburg also burned down at the same time. The infamous Rabbi Neuburger, who is known because of his foreign connections, was taken into protective custody by instigation of the SA. During the night the Synagogues at Wiesloch, Walldorf and Malsch were also destroyed. The male Jews had to be taken into protective custody for their personal safety. In the area of Sturmbann III/250 the Synagogues at Sinsheim, Neidenstein, Neckar-Bischofsheim, Hoffenheim, Wollenberg and Ittlingen were also destroyed.

MANNHEIM, 10 November 1938

Copied:

/s/ Zimmermann
Standartenfuehrer

CONFIDENTIAL

Note for Files

Standarte 17 reports by telephone call from Sturmbannfuehrer. Then at 10.13 o'clock in the morning of 10 November 1938: The Synagogues at Ludwigshafen and Frankenthal were burned down completely this morning between 7 and 8 o'clock. Several Jewish stores were demolished.

MANNHEIM, 10 November 1938

Copied:

/s/ [Illegible]
Standartenfuehrer

The first Nazi pogrom ran smoothly. But the violence of November 9th and 10th was only the beginning. The murder of vom Rath furnished these hate-mongers with an ideal excuse, and they introduced a series of restrictive measures

designed to isolate the remaining Jews and drive them from the "Greater Reich."

A fine was imposed on the entire Jewish community.

Decree relating to the payment of a fine by the Jews of German nationality of 12 Nov. 1938.

The hostile attitude of the Jewry towards the German people and Reich, which does not even shrink back from committing cowardly murder, makes a decisive defense and a harsh punishment (expiation) necessary. I order, therefore, by virtue of the decree concerning the execution of the 4-year Plan of 18 Oct. 1936 (RGB1. I, page 887) as follows:

Section 1.

On the Jews of German nationality as a whole has been imposed the payment of a contribution of 1,000,000,000 Reichsmark to the German Reich.

Section 2.

Provisions for the implementation are issued by the Reich-Minister of Finance in agreement with the Reich-Ministers concerned.

Berlin, 12 November 1938.

The Commissioner for the Four Year Plan
Goering
General Field-Marshal.

On November 16, they were denied the possibility of a higher education.

A decree of the Reich Minister for Education
taking immediate effect.

It is known that the Reich Minister for Science, Training, and Education for a long time has admitted Jews to the German universities to a very modest extent only. The draft of a bill now in preparation provides that in future no more Jews will be admitted to German universities.

Opportunities for employment were denied them.

Decree Relating to the Exclusion of Jews from the German Economic Life of November 12, 1938

Pursuant to the decree for the execution of the four year plan of 18 October 1936 (Reichsgesetzblatt I, p. 887), the following is being decreed:

Section 1

(1) Jews (sec. 5 of the first decree relating to the Reich citizenship law of 14 November 1935—Reichsgesetzbl. I, p.

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1333) are excluded from the operation of individual retail shops, exporting firms, sales agencies [Bestell Kontoren], as well as the independent operation of a trade, effective 1 January.

(2) If a Jew is employed as an executive in a business enterprise, he may be dismissed with 6 weeks' notice. After the expiration of this notice, all claims of the employee derived from the denounced contract become invalid, especially claims for retirement or dismissal pay.

Section 3.

(1) No Jew may be a member of a cooperative [Genossenschaft].

(2) Jewish members of cooperatives will be separated effective 31 December 1938. No special notice is required.

The Plenipotentiary for the Four Year Plan
Goering
Field Marshal

Berlin, November 12, 1938.

And Herr Goering and the gentlemen of the Gestapo issued other restrictions on housing, recreation, and practically everything that a human being does.

Police Regulation of the Appearance of Jews in Public of 28 November 1938

On the basis of the Decree of 14 November 1938 Regarding the Police Decrees of the Reich Ministers (Reichsgesetzblatt I, P. 1582), the following is decreed:

Article 1

The Government Presidents in Prussia, Bavaria, and the Sudeten German areas, the proper authorities in the remaining provinces of the old Reich, the district captains (the Mayor in Vienna) in Austria and the Reich Commissar of the Saar district may impose upon Jews, both subjects of the German State and stateless Jews (Article 5 of the First Decree of 14 November 1935, regarding the Reich Citizen Law, Reichsgesetzblatt I, p. 1333), restrictions as to place and time to the effect that they may not enter certain districts or may not appear in public at certain times.

Article 2

Whoever wilfully or negligently violates the regulations of Article I is to be fined up to 150 Reichsmarks or punished with imprisonment up to six weeks.

Article 3

This police decree goes into effect the day after its promulgation.

Berlin, 28 November 1938

By order:

Heydrich.

The Reich Minister of Interior

This police ordinance becomes effective immediately upon its publication by the press. No further communication will be made officially to the authorities in question.

Restriction against Jews in Berlin
beginning 6 December

In accordance with Reichs-Police-Decree [Reichspolizeiverordnung] of the 28 November 1938, Berlin, 4 December in regard to the appearance of Jews in public the President of the Police [Polizeipraesident] for the state police district [Landespolizeibezirk] of Berlin has issued a first order, which will become effective on the 6 December, 1938. It decrees, that streets, squares, parks and buildings, which are affected by the restriction against Jews, are not to be entered or driven through in vehicles by Jews of German citizenship or by Jews without citizenship . . .

The restriction against Jews in Berlin includes:

1. All theaters, cinemas, cabarets, public concert and lecture halls, museums, amusement places, the exhibition halls at the Messedamm including the exhibition area and radio-tower, the Deutschlandhalle and the Sports-place, the Reichs-sports-field [Reichssportsfeld], and all sports-places including the ice-skating rinks.

2. All public and private bathing establishments and indoor baths as well as open-air baths [Freibaeder].

3. The Wilhelmstrasse from the Leipziger Strasse up to Unter den Linden, including the Wilhelmplatz.

4. The Vosstrasse from the Hermann-Goering-Strasse up to the Wilhelmstrasse.

PRIME MINISTER FIELD-MARSHAL GOERING

Commissioner for four year plan

Berlin, 28 Dec. 1938

Upon my proposal, the Fuehrer made the following decisions concerning the Jewish problem:

A

1. *Housing of Jews*

1. a. The tenant protective law, as a rule, is not to be abrogated for the Jews. On the contrary, it is desired, if pos-

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sible, to proceed in particular cases in such a way that the Jews are quartered together in separate houses insofar as the housing conditions allow that.

2. Use of sleeping and dining cars is to be forbidden to the Jews. At the same time, no special Jewish compartments to be established. As well, the use of trains, street cars, suburban railways, underground railways, busses, and ships can not be prohibited to the Jews . . .

This melancholy record of legal restriction continues into 1939 when the "Reich Association of the Jews" was formed by a supplementary decree to the original racial laws. This permitted the Nazis to organize for their own purposes all phases of Jewish life. It was the administrative equivalent of the ghetto—it put all the Jews in Germany in one place where Heydrich and his Gestapo could control them.

Tenth Decree Relating to the Reich Citizenship Law of July 4, 1939

On the basis of section 3 of the Reich citizenship law of 15 September 1939 (Reichsgesetzblatt, Part I, p. 1146) the following is hereby decreed:

Article 1

Reich Association of the Jews

Section 1.

- (1) The Jews will be united into a Reich Association.
- (2) The Reich association is an organization endowed with legal personality. It bears the name "Reich Association of the Jews," and has its headquarters in Berlin.
- (3) The Reich association uses the Jewish worship congregations as local branch offices.

Section 2.

- (1) The Reich association has the purpose of promoting the emigration of the Jews.
- (2) The Reich association is likewise:
 - a. Supporter of the Jewish school instruction.
 - b. Supporter of the voluntary Jewish welfare administration.
- (3) The Reich minister of the interior may transfer other missions to the Reich association.

Section 3.

- (1) All Jewish citizens and stateless Jews belong to the Reich association who have their residence or their customary abode in Reich territory . . .

The purpose of all these measures? At this stage of the

insanity the Nazis were still concentrating on driving the Jews out of Germany. A few months after the vom Rath pogrom a white paper issued by the German Foreign Office, for the guidance of its diplomats, makes this perfectly clear.

Ministry for Foreign Affairs
83-26 19/1

Berlin, 25th January 1939

Contents: THE JEWISH QUESTION AS A FACTOR
IN GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE YEAR 1938

1. The German Jewish Policy as a basis and consequence of the decisions for the foreign policy of the year 1938.
2. Aim of German Jewish Policy: Emigration.
3. Means, ways and aim of the Jewish Emigration.
4. The Emigrated Jew as the best propaganda for the German Jewish Policy.

It is certainly no coincidence that the fateful year 1938 has brought nearer the solution of the Jewish question simultaneously with the realization of the "idea of Greater Germany," since the Jewish policy was both the basis and consequence of the events of the year 1938. The advance made by Jewish influence and the destructive Jewish spirit in politics, economy and culture paralyzed the power and will of the German people to rise again, more perhaps even than the power-policy opposition of the former enemy allied powers of the World War. The healing of this sickness among the people was therefore certainly one of the most important requirements for exerting the force which in the year 1938 resulted in the joining together of Greater Germany, in defiance of the world. To All diplomatic and qualified consular representatives abroad.

The necessity for a radical solution of the Jewish question arose however also as a consequence of the foreign political development, which resulted in a further 200,000 Jews in Austria in addition to the 500,000 of the Jewish Faith living in the Old Reich. The influence of Jewry on Austrian economy which had grown to enormous proportions under the Schuschnigg Regime, made immediate measures necessary, with the aim of excluding Jewry from German economy and utilizing Jewish property in the interests of the community . . .

The final goal of German Jewish Policy is the emigration of all the Jews living in Reich territory. It is foreseen that already the thorough measures in the economic sphere, which have prevented the Jew from earning and made him live on his dividends, will further the desire to emigrate. Looking back on the last five years since the assumption of power, it is, however, obvious that neither the Law for the Reestablishing of the Professional Character of the Civil Service nor the Nurn-

berg Jewish laws with their executive regulations, which prevented any tendency of Jewry being assimilated, contributed to any extent to the emigration of German Jews. On the contrary every period of domestic political tranquility has resulted in such a stream of Jewish immigrants returning, that the Gestapo has been obliged to put Jewish immigrants with German passports into a training camp for political supervision. (*i.e.*, a concentration camp. *Ed.*) . . .

It is even today an important duty of German policy to control and when possible direct the flow of Jewish emigration to be sure there is no incentive to cooperate with other countries such as Poland, Hungary and Rumania, who themselves are striving for the emigration of the Jewish sections of their population, in an attempt to solve this problem. From experience with this procedure interests clash, although directed towards the same goal, and retard the realization of Germany's urgent claim for German Jews to be admitted into other particular countries. . . .

Palestine—which has already become the slogan of world opinion, as the land for the emigrants—cannot be considered as the target for Jewish emigration, because it is incapable of absorbing a mass influx of Jews. Under the pressure of Arab resistance, the British Mandatory Government has restricted Jewish immigration into Palestine to the minimum. For the time being Jewish emigration to Palestine was helped to a great extent, as far as Germany was concerned, by the signing of an agreement with the representatives of Jewry in Palestine, which made it possible to transfer Jewish property in the form of additional exports (*Haavara-Agreement*). Apart from the fact that emigration was made possible by this method for a small number of wealthy Jews only, but not for the mass of JEWS WITHOUT MEANS [Pencil note: Are there such people?] there were fundamental considerations of foreign policy against this type of emigration: the transfer of Jewish property out of Germany, contributed to no small extent to the building of a Jewish State in Palestine. Germany must regard the forming of a Jewish State, as dangerous, which even in miniature would form just such an operational base as the Vatican for political Catholicism . . .

That is the programme expressing the foreign policy attitude of Germany towards the Jewish question. Germany is very interested in maintaining the dispersal of Jewry. The calculation, that as a consequence boycott groups and anti-German centres would be formed all over the world, disregards the following fact which is already apparent, the influx of Jews in all parts of the world invokes the opposition of the

native population and thereby forms the best propaganda for the German Jewish policy.

In North America, in South America, in France, in Holland, Scandinavia and Greece, everywhere, wherever the flood of Jewish immigrants reaches, there is today already a visible increase in anti-semitism. A task of the German foreign policy must be to further this wave of anti-semitism. The poorer and therefore the more burdensome the immigrant Jew is to the country absorbing him, the stronger this country will react and the more desirable is this effect in the interests of German propaganda. The object of this German action is to be the future international solution of the Jewish question, dictated not by false compassion for the "United Religious Jewish minority" but by the full consciousness of all peoples of the danger which it represents to the racial composition of the nations.

By Order

Schaumburg

At about the same date that this document was issued by the Foreign Office, Prime Minister Goering appointed Reinhard Heydrich to the Jewish Emigration Office. And in July of the same year, shortly before the invasion of Poland, Adolf Eichmann was picked out of the ranks of the SS to take charge of the Prague branch of the emigration office.

Eichmann proved to be an enthusiastic worker. He went to the Jewish Council in Prague and demanded that 70,000 Jews clear out of Czechoslovakia within a year. When the Council claimed that this was an impossible demand, Eichmann threatened to round up 300 Jews a day, street by street, and send them to Dachau, "where they will become very keen on emigration." Only the outbreak of war five weeks later prevented him from carrying out his plans.

But while the official emigration policy continued until the war broke out, there was another "solution" to the Jewish "problem" which had at least the verbal support of leading Nazis throughout the thirties. In 1935 Hitler's famous warning was heard for the first time.

If international finance—Jewry inside and outside Europe—should succeed in throwing the nations into another WORLD WAR, the result will not be the Bolshevization of the earth and thus the victory of Jewry, but the destruction of the Jewish race in Europe!

It was repeated by him in 1939 in a speech before the Reichstag.

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Once more I will assume the part of a prophet: If the international Jewish financiers within and without Europe succeeded in plunging the nations once more into a world war, then the result will be not the Bolshevization of the world and thereby the victory of Jewry—but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe. . . .

and echoed and re-echoed by the German press in a rising crescendo of hatred.

Der Stuermer, May, 1939.

The Jewish problem will only then be solved completely when the Jews have completely disappeared from amongst all nations.

A letter to *Der Stuermer*, September, 1939

The Jewish people ought to be exterminated root and branch. Then the plague of pests would have disappeared in Poland also at one stroke.

From an article, "Prostitution in Lodz," *Der Stuermer*, December, 1939

The immorality in the city is hardly describable. It will only end when Jewry is wiped out root and branch.

The Black Corps (*Das Schwarze Korps*) August 8, 1940

And Don't Forget the Jews

Just as the Jewish question will be solved for Germany only when the last Jew has been deported, the rest of Europe should also realize that the German peace which awaits it must be a peace without Jews.

The Jewish Question Past and Present (*Die Judenfrage in Geschichte und Gegenwart*) April-September 1941

The Jewish question will be solved for Europe only when the last Jew has left the European continent.

Der Stuermer, December 25, 1941

If the danger of the reproduction of that curse of God in the Jewish blood is to finally come to its end, then there is only one way: the extermination of that people whose father is the devil.

Finally, in a signed article that appeared on March 19,

1942, Streicher claimed that what the Nazis were doing was the concluding page of a long trend of history.

The Approaching Finale

The Prophecy of the Fuehrer

The teaching of Christianity had stood in the way of a radical solution of the Jewish problem in Europe. The Christian teaching which conceded to the Jewish people the title "God's people," the protection of the commandment of "love thy neighbour," a commandment which even demands that the neighbour known to be an enemy is not excluded: "If someone smite you on the right cheek, offer him your left cheek as well. . . ."

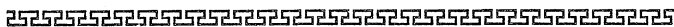
Fate has decreed that it was finally left to the 20th century to see the total solution of the Jewish problem. Just how this solution will be achieved has been made known to the European nations and to entire non-Jewish humanity in a proclamation read out by the Fuehrer of the German people on the 24th February 1942 (the 22nd anniversary of the day on which the N.S.D.A.P. was founded).

Today the ideas of our Nationalsocialist and those of the Fascist revolution have conquered large and mighty nations and my prophecy will find its fulfillment, that in this war not the Aryan race will be destroyed, but the Jew will be exterminated.

Students of this whole era of organized defamation and depravity will long debate the combination of reasons—economic, political, mental—behind its rise. There is no doubt that many Germans both in government and out profited from the Jewish persecutions, and there is no question that some of the higher ranking Party members, not blind to the political value of a scapegoat psychology, embraced anti-Semitism as a wonderful device for welding German citizenry to Fascist principles; but the fact remains that a large number, including Hitler, Streicher, and Eichmann, really believed in the racist insanities of German National Socialism.

What comes to mind as the most perceptive insight into the entire awful phenomenon is Jean Paul Sartre's remark to this effect—that if there were no Jew the anti-Semite would invent him.

chapter three



Prelude in Warsaw

On September 1, 1939, the Wehrmacht rolled into Poland. In its wake marched special troops of the SS under orders from Heydrich to reshuffle the races of Europe so that Aryans would not be contaminated. These special SS troops were known as Einsatzgruppen; their work was one of the bloodiest chapters in the history of the persecution of Jews.

The "theory" behind this work is rather complicated and not altogether clear. Certain races were superior, others inferior; the superior people were to occupy places where the climate and other conditions were favorable to human life; the inferior people were to be exiled to less favorable locations.

But what is a favorable location? Are all non-Germanic people equally inferior? Must the logistics, the practicalities of shuffling millions of people over the face of the earth be considered, or should everything be done on an "idealistic" theoretical basis? Even the Nazis were by no means certain as to the answer. Things were complicated by the Army, which resented the diverting of important transportation, men, and supplies from the war effort for the implementation of theories which they were none too sure of in the first place.

The problems, as even the dim-witted Nazi theoreticians could see, were immense. In practice they were never solved, and until the end of the war hundreds of thousands of people wandered over the face of the earth for no practical reason, but at the behest of Nazi "idealists" who never would finally make up their minds as to what degree of purity the Ukrainians or the Lithuanians had really attained. And all this, of course, like everything else in Hitler's Germany, was complicated by petty bureaucratic squabbles, so that 10,000 people might be slapped in a camp somewhere because the official who was in charge of them didn't get on with somebody in the Transportation Office and so could never arrange for a train

to take them where they were supposed to go. As an index to the confusion, it is sufficient to point out that the Volkdeutsch acquired in the Polish campaign were never finally resettled; and these were people who were "pure" Aryans and entitled to the highest priority in any resettlement plans.

But about one group of people the plans were much more definite, and they were carried out, although in this sphere there was always the possibility of somebody's having a change of heart. For example, Eichmann spent the better part of 1939 working on a detailed plan for Jewish emigration to Madagascar, only to see the idea tossed into the waste-paper basket a short time later.

But the Madagascar plan was a long-term project. In 1939, Heydrich had more definite plans for the Jews, and he outlined them in his orders to the Einsatzgruppen.

Berlin, 21 September 1939

The Chief of the Security Police

PP (II)—288/39 secret

Special Delivery Letter

To: The Chiefs of all detail groups (Einsatzgruppen) of the Security Police.

Concerning: The Jewish problem in the occupied zone.

I refer to the conference held in Berlin today, and again point out that the PLANNED JOINT MEASURES (i.e. the ultimate goal) are to be kept STRICTLY SECRET.

Distinction must be made between

- (1) the ultimate goal (which requires a prolonged period of time) and
- (2) the sectors leading to fulfillment of the ultimate goal (each of which will be carried out in a short term).

The planned measures require thorough preparation both in technique and in the economic aspect.

Obviously the tasks at hand cannot be laid down in detail from here. The following instructions and directives serve at the same time for the purpose of urging chiefs of the detail groups to practical consideration of problems.

I

THE FIRST PREREQUISITE FOR THE ULTIMATE GOAL IS FIRST OF ALL THE CONCENTRATION OF THE JEWS FROM THE COUNTRY TO THE LARGER CITIES.

This is to be carried out speedily. In doing so distinction must be made:

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- (1) between the zones of Danzig and West Prussia, Poznan, Eastern Upper Silesia:
and
- (2) the other occupied zone.

If possible, the zone mentioned under item 1 shall be cleared completely of Jews, or at least the aim should be to form as few concentration centers as possible.

In the zones mentioned under item 2, there shall be established as few concentration points as possible so that future measures may be accomplished more easily. One must keep in mind that only such cities are chosen as concentration points which are located either at railroad junctions or at least along a railroad.

On principle, all Jewish communities UNDER 500 heads are to be dissolved and to be transferred to the nearest concentration center.

This decree does not count for the zone of detail group I, which is located East of Cracow and bounded by Bolanico, Jaroskaw, the new demarcation line and the previous Polish-Slovakian border. Within this zone merely an improvised census of Jews should be carried out. Furthermore, Councils of Jewish Elders as discussed below are to be set up.

The reason to be given for the concentration of the Jews to the cities is that Jews have most decisively participated in sniper attacks and plundering.

Heydrich instituted his ghettos and the Governor-General of Poland, Hans Frank, ordered that Jews would again have to wear the medieval mark of identification, the six-pointed star.

Decree concerning the designation of Jews and Jewesses in the Government General of 23 November 1939

On the basis of No. 5 paragraph 1 of the decree of the Fuehrer and Chancellor of the Reich on the administration of occupied Polish territory, dated 12 October 1939 (Reichsgesetzblatt I, p. 2077), I order:

1. All Jews and Jewesses, who are in Government General territory and who have reached the age of ten, shall be obliged to wear a white band not less than 10 cm wide on the right sleeve of their coats and overcoats beginning 1 December 1939.

2. Jews and Jewesses shall procure these arm bands themselves and shall furnish them with the appropriate markings.

3. (1) Failure to comply is punishable by imprisonment.

- (2) Judgment will be passed by special courts.

4. The necessary regulations concerning the execution of

this order will be released by the Chief of Section for Internal Administration, in the Office of the Governor General.

Cracow, 23 November, 1939

The Governor General for the occupied Polish territories

FRANK

The fate of the Warsaw ghetto is not altogether typical, but it is certainly the most dramatic story of the fate of the Jews in Poland. The Ghetto was formed in October of 1940. After a few months it was sealed off from the remainder of the city. For two years the Germans let disease and starvation do their work for them. Then within two months of 1942, 310,000 Jews from the Warsaw ghetto were "resettled"—murdered or sent to labor camps. The remainder proved a tougher nut to crack. General Stroop wrote a seventy-five page leather-bound report which he presented to Himmler, entitled "The Warsaw Ghetto Is No More." Perhaps the most fitting comment on this document is that of the Wehrmacht General, Alfred Jodl:

The dirty arrogant SS swine! Imagine writing a 75-page boastful report on a little murder expedition when a major campaign fought by soldiers against a well-armed army takes only a few pages.

Here is the opening section of Stroop's report. In spots it reads almost as a satire of the Nazi mind. Even in Stroop's self-interested, pompous prose the classic heroism of the hopelessly beleaguered, defiant Jews of the Warsaw ghetto sings through clearly—almost an antiphon to Stroop's praise for his stout troops and his scorn for the Jewish "cowards."

THE WARSAW GHETTO IS NO MORE

The creation of special areas to be inhabited by Jews, and the restriction of the Jews with regard to residence and trading is nothing new in the history of the East. Such measures were first taken far back in the Middle Ages; they could be observed as recently as during the last few centuries. These restrictions were imposed with the intention of protecting the aryan population against the Jews.

Identical considerations led us as early as February, 1940 to conceive the project of creating a Jewish residential district in Warsaw. The initial intention was to establish as the Ghetto that part of the City of Warsaw which has the Vistula as its Eastern frontier. The particular situation prevailing in Warsaw seemed at first to frustrate this plan. It was moreover opposed

by several authorities particularly by the City Administration. They pointed in particular that disturbances in industry and trade would ensue if a Ghetto were founded in Warsaw, and that it would be impossible to provide the Jews with food if they were assembled in a closed area . . .

The experiences in the district of Lowicz, after Ghettos had been installed, showed that this method is the only one suitable for dispelling the dangers which emanate repeatedly from the Jews.

The necessity of erecting a Ghetto in the City of Warsaw as well became more and more urgent in the summer of 1940, since more and more troops were being assembled in the district of Warsaw after termination of the French campaign. At that time the Department for Hygiene urged the speedy erection of a Ghetto in the interest of preserving the health of the German Forces and of the native population as well. The original plan of establishing the Ghetto in the suburb of Praga as intended in February 1940, would have taken at least 4 to 5 months, since almost 600,000 persons had to be moved. But since experience showed that greater outbreaks of epidemics might be expected in the winter months and since for this reason the District Medical Officer urged that the resettling action ought to be completed by 15 November 1940 at the latest, the plan of establishing a suburban ghetto in Praga was dropped; and instead, the area which hitherto had been used as a quarantine area for epidemics was selected for use as a Jewish residential area. In October 1940, the Governor ordered the Commissioner or the District, President for the City of Warsaw, to complete the resettlement necessary for establishing the Ghetto within the City of Warsaw by 15 November 1940.

The Ghetto thus established in Warsaw was inhabited by about 400,000 Jews. It contained 27,000 apartments with an average of $2\frac{1}{2}$ rooms each. It was separated from the rest of the city by partition and other walls and by walling-up of thoroughfares, windows, doors, open spaces, etc.

It was administered by the Jewish Board of Elders, who received their instructions from the Commissioner for the Ghetto, who was immediately subordinated to the Governor. The Jews were granted self-administration in which the German supervising authorities intervened only where German interests were touched. In order to enable the Jewish Board of Elders to execute its orders, a Jewish Police force was set up, identified by special armbands and a special beret and armed with rubber truncheons. The Jewish Police force was charged with maintaining order and security within the Ghetto and was subordinated to the German and Polish Police.

II

It soon became clear, however, that not all dangers had been removed by this confining the Jews to one place. Security considerations required removing the Jews from the city of Warsaw altogether. The first large resettlement action took place in the period from 22 July to 3 October 1942. In this action 310,322 Jews were removed. In January 1943 a second resettlement action was carried out by which altogether 6,500 Jews were affected.

When the Reichsfuehrer SS visited Warsaw in January 1943 he ordered the SS and Police Leader for the District of Warsaw to TRANSFER TO LUBLIN THE ARMAMENT FACTORIES AND OTHER ENTERPRISES OF MILITARY IMPORTANCE WHICH WERE WITHIN THE GHETTO, INCLUDING THEIR PERSONNEL AND MACHINES. The execution of this transfer order proved to be very difficult, since the managers as well as the Jews resisted in every possible way. The SS and Police Leader thereupon decided to enforce the transfer of the enterprises in a large-scale action which he intended to carry out in three days. The necessary preparations had been taken by my predecessor, who also had given the order to start the large-scale action. I myself arrived in Warsaw on 17 April 1943 and took over the command of the action on 19 April 1943, 0800 hours, the action itself having started the same day at 0600 hours.

Before the large-scale action began, the limits of the former Ghetto had been blocked by an external barricade in order to prevent the Jews from breaking out. This barricade was maintained from the start to the end of the action and was especially reinforced at night.

When we invaded the Ghetto for the first time, the Jews and the Polish bandits succeeded in repelling the participating units, including tanks and armored cars, by a well-prepared concentration of fire. When I ordered a second attack, about 0800 hours, I distributed the units, separated from each other by indicated lines, and charged them with combing out the whole of the Ghetto, each unit for a certain part. Although firing commenced again, we now succeeded in combing out the blocks according to plan. The enemy was forced to retire from the roofs and elevated bases to the basements, dug-outs, and sewers. In order to prevent their escaping into the sewers, the sewage system was dammed up below the Ghetto and filled with water, but the Jews frustrated this plan to a great extent by blowing up the turning off valves. Late the first day we encountered heavy resistance, but it was quickly broken by a special raiding party. In the course of further operations we

succeeded in expelling the Jews from their prepared resistance bases, sniper holes, and the like, and in occupying during the 20 and 21 April the greater part of the so-called remainder of the Ghetto to such a degree that the resistance continued within these blocks could no longer be called considerable.

The main Jewish battle group, mixed with Polish bandits, had already retired during the first and second day to the so-called Muranowski Square. There, it was reinforced by a considerable number of Polish bandits. Its plan was to hold the Ghetto by every means in order to prevent us from invading it. The Jewish and Polish standards were hoisted at the top of a concrete building as a challenge to us. These two standards, however, were captured on the second day of the action by a special raiding party. SS Untersturmfuehrer Dehmke fell in this skirmish with the bandits; he was holding in his hand a hand-grenade which was hit by the enemy and exploded, injuring him fatally. After only a few days I realized that the original plan had no prospect of success, unless the armament factories and other enterprises of military importance distributed throughout the Ghetto were dissolved. It was therefore necessary to approach these firms and to give them appropriate time for being evacuated and immediately transferred. Thus one of these firms after the other was dealt with, and we very soon deprived the Jews and bandits of their chance to take refuge time and again in these enterprises, which were under the supervision of the Armed Forces. In order to decide how much time was necessary to evacuate these enterprises, thorough inspections were necessary. The conditions discovered there were indescribable. I cannot imagine a greater chaos than in the Ghetto of Warsaw. The Jews had control of everything, from the chemical substance used in manufacturing explosives to clothing and equipment for the Armed Forces. The managers knew so little of their own shops that the Jews were in a position to produce inside these shops arms of every kind, especially hand grenades, Molotov cock-tails, and the like.

Moreover, the Jews had succeeded in fortifying some of these factories as centers of resistance. Such a center of resistance in an Army accommodation office had to be attacked as early as the second day of the action by an Engineer's Unit equipped with flame throwers and by artillery. The Jews were so firmly established in this shop that it proved to be impossible to induce them to leave it voluntarily; I therefore resolved to destroy this shop the next day by fire.

The managers of these enterprises, which were generally also supervised by an officer of the Armed Forces, could in most cases make no specified statements on their stocks and

the whereabouts of these stocks. The statements which they made on the number of Jews employed by them were in every case incorrect. Over and over again we discovered that these labyrinths of edifices belonging to the armament concerns as residential blocks, contained rich Jews who had succeeded in finding accommodations for themselves and their families under the name of "armament workers" and were leading marvelous lives there. Despite all our orders to the managers to make the Jews leave those enterprises, we found out in several cases that managers simply concealed the Jews by shutting them in, because they expected that the action would be finished within a few days and that they then would be able to continue working with the remaining Jews. According to the statements of arrested Jews, women also seem to have played a prominent part. The Jews are said to have endeavored to keep up good relations with officers and men of the armed forces. Carousing is said to have been frequent, during the course of which business deals are said to have been concluded between Jews and Germans.

The number of Jews forcibly taken out of the buildings and arrested was relatively small during the first few days. It transpired that the Jews had taken to hiding in the sewers and in specially erected dug-outs. Whereas we had assumed during the first days that there were only scattered dug-outs, we learned in the course of the large-scale action that the whole Ghetto was systematically equipped with cellars, dug-outs, and passages. In every case these passages and dug-outs were connected with the sewer system. Thus, the Jews were able to maintain undisturbed subterranean traffic. They also used this sewer network for escaping subterraneously into the Aryan part of the city of Warsaw. Continuously, we received reports of attempts of Jews to escape through the sewer holes. While pretending to build air-raid shelters they had been erecting dug-outs within the former Ghetto ever since the autumn of 1942. These were intended to conceal every Jew during the new evacuation action, which they had expected for quite a time, and to enable them to resist the invaders in a concerted action. Through posters, handbills, and whisper propaganda, the communistic resistance movement actually brought it about that the Jews entered the dug-outs as soon as the new large-scale operation started. How far their precautions went can be seen from the fact that many of the dug-outs had been skilfully equipped with furnishings sufficient for entire families, washing and bathing facilities, toilets, arms and munition supplies, and food supplies sufficient for several months. There were differently equipped dug-outs for rich and for poor Jews. To discover the individual dug-outs was difficult for the units, as they

had been efficiently camouflaged. In many cases, it was possible only through betrayal on the part of the Jews.

When only a few days had passed, it became apparent that the Jews no longer had any intention to resettle voluntarily, but were determined to resist evacuation with all their force and by using all the weapons at their disposal. So-called battle groups had been formed, led by Polish-Bolshevists; they were armed and paid any price asked for available arms.

During the large-scale action we succeeded in catching some Jews who had already been evacuated and resettled in Lublin or Troolinka, but had broken out from there and returned to the Ghetto, equipped with arms and ammunition. Time and again Polish bandits found refuge in the Ghetto and remained there undisturbed, since we had no forces at our disposal to comb out this maze. Whereas it had been possible during the first days to catch considerable numbers of Jews, who are cowards by nature, it became more and more difficult during the second half of the action to capture the bandits and Jews. Over and over again new battle groups consisting of 20 to 30 or more Jewish fellows, 18 to 25 years of age, accompanied by a corresponding number of women kindled new resistance. These battle groups were under orders to put up armed resistance to the last and if necessary to escape arrest by committing suicide. One such battle group succeeded in mounting a truck by ascending from a sewer in the so-called Prosta, and in escaping with it (about 30 to 35 bandits). One bandit who had arrived with this truck exploded 2 hand grenades, which was the agreed signal for the bandits waiting in the sewer to climb out of it. The bandits and Jews—there were Polish bandits among these gangs armed with carbines, small arms, and in one case a light machine gun, mounted the truck and drove away in an unknown direction. The last member of this gang, who was on guard in the sewer and was detailed to close the lid of the sewer hole, was captured. It was he who gave the above information. The search for the truck was unfortunately without result.

During this armed resistance the women belonging to the battle groups were equipped the same as the men; some were members of the Chaluzim movement. Not infrequently, these women fired pistols with both hands. It happened time and again that these women had pistols or hand grenades (Polish "pineapple" hand grenades) concealed in their bloomers up to the last moment to use against the men of the Waffen SS, Police or Wehrmacht.

The resistance put up by the Jews and bandits could be broken only by relentlessly using all our force and energy by day and night. ON 23 APRIL 1943 THE REICHS FUEHRER SS

ISSUED THROUGH THE HIGHER SS AND POLICE FUEHRER EAST AT CRACOW HIS ORDER TO COMPLETE THE COMBING OUT OF THE WARSAW GHETTO WITH THE GREATEST SEVERITY AND RELENTLESS TENACITY. I therefore decided to destroy the entire Jewish residential area by setting every block on fire, including the blocks of residential buildings near the armament works. One concern after the other was systematically evacuated and subsequently destroyed by fire. The Jews then emerged from their hiding places and dug-outs in almost every case. Not infrequently, the Jews stayed in the burning buildings until, because of the heat and the fear of being burned alive they preferred to jump down from the upper stories after having thrown mattresses and other upholstered articles into the street from the burning buildings. With their bones broken, they still tried to crawl across the street into blocks of buildings which had not yet been set on fire or were only partly in flames. Often Jews changed their hiding places during the night, by moving into the ruins of burnt-out buildings, taking refuge there until they were found by our patrols. Their stay in the sewers also ceased to be pleasant after the first week. Frequently from the street, we could hear loud voices coming through the sewer shafts. Then the men of the Waffen SS, the Police or the Wehrmacht Engineers courageously climbed down the shafts to bring out the Jews and not infrequently they then stumbled over Jews already dead, or were shot at. It was always necessary to use smoke candles to drive out the Jews. Thus one day we opened 183 sewer entrance holes and at a fixed time lowered smoke candles into them, with the result that the bandits fled from what they believed to be gas to the center of the former Ghetto, where they could then be pulled out of the sewer holes there. A great number of Jews, who could not be counted, were exterminated by blowing up sewers and dug-outs.

The longer the resistance lasted, the tougher the men of the Waffen SS, Police, and Wehrmacht became; they fulfilled their duty indefatigably in faithful comradeship and stood together as models and examples of soldiers. Their duty hours often lasted from early morning until late at night. At night, search patrols with rags wound round their feet remained at the heels of the Jews and gave them no respite. Not infrequently they caught and killed Jews who used the night hours for supplementing their stores from abandoned dug-outs and for contacting neighboring groups or exchanging news with them.

Considering that the greater part of the men of the Waffen-SS had only been trained for three to four weeks before being assigned to this action, high credit should be given for the pluck, courage, and devotion to duty which they showed. It must be stated that the Wehrmacht Engineers, too, executed

the blowing up of dug-outs, sewers, and concrete buildings with indefatigability and great devotion to duty. Officers and men of the Police, a large part of whom had already been at the front, again excelled by their dashing spirit.

Only through the continuous and untiring work of all involved did we succeed in catching a total of 56,065 Jews whose extermination can be proved. To this should be added the number of Jews who lost their lives in explosions or fires but whose numbers could not be ascertained.

During the large-scale operation the Aryan population was informed by posters that it was strictly forbidden to enter the former Jewish Ghetto and that anybody caught within the former Ghetto without valid pass would be shot. At the same time these posters informed the Aryan population again that the death penalty would be imposed on anybody who intentionally gave refuge to a Jew, especially lodged, supported, or concealed a Jew outside the Jewish residential area.

Permission was granted to the Polish police to pay to any Polish policeman who arrested a Jew within the Aryan part of Warsaw one third of the cash in the Jew's possession. This measure had already produced results.

The Polish population for the most part approved the measures taken against the Jews. Shortly before the end of the large-scale operation, the Governor issued a special proclamation which he submitted to the undersigned for approval before publication, to the Polish population; in it he informed them of the reasons for destroying the former Jewish Ghetto by mentioning the assassinations carried out lately in the Warsaw area and the mass graves found in Catyn; at the same time they were asked to assist us in our fight against Communist agents and Jews (see enclosed poster).

The large-scale action was terminated on 16 May 1943 with the blowing up of the Warsaw synagogue at 2015 hours.

Now there are no more factories in the former Ghetto. All the goods, raw materials, and machines there have been moved and stored somewhere else. All buildings, etc., have been destroyed. The only exception is the so-called Dzielna Prison of the Security Police, which was exempted from destruction.

III

Although the large-scale operation has been completed, we have to reckon with the possibility that a few Jews are still living in the ruins of the former Ghetto; therefore, this area must be firmly shut off from the Aryan residential area and be guarded. Police Battalion III/23 has been charged with this duty. This Police Battalion has instructions to watch the

former Ghetto, particularly to prevent anybody from entering the former Ghetto, and to shoot immediately anybody found inside the Ghetto without authority. The Commander of the Police Battalion will continue to receive further direct orders from the SS and Police Fuehrer. In this way, it should be possible to keep the small remainder of Jews there, if any, under constant pressure and to exterminate them eventually. The remaining Jews and bandits must be deprived of any chance of survival by destroying all remaining buildings and refuges and cutting off water supply.

It is proposed to change the Dzielna Prison into a concentration camp and to use the inmates to remove, collect and hand over for reuse the millions of bricks, the scrap-iron, and other materials.

IV

Of the total of 56,065 Jews caught, about 7,000 were exterminated within the former Ghetto in the course of the large-scale action, and 6,929 by transporting them to T. II, which means 14,000 Jews were exterminated altogether. Beyond the number of 56,065 Jews an estimated number of 5,000 to 6,000 were killed by explosions or in fires.

The number of destroyed dug-outs amounts to 631.

Booty:

7 Polish rifles, 1 Russian rifle, 1 German rifle

59 pistols of various calibers

Several hundred hand grenades, including Polish and home-made ones

Several hundred incendiary bottles

Home-made explosives

Infernal machines with fuses

A large amount of explosives, ammunition for weapons of all calibers, including some machine-gun ammunition.

Regarding the booty of arms, it must be taken into consideration that the arms themselves could in most cases not be captured, as the bandits and Jews would, before being arrested, throw them into hiding places or holes which could not be ascertained or discovered. The smoking out of the dug-out by our men, also often made the search for arms impossible. As the dug-outs had to be blown up at once, a search later on was out of the question.

The captured hand grenades, ammunition, and incendiary bottles were at once reused by us against the bandits.

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Further booty:

1,240 used military tunics (part of them with medal ribbons—Iron Cross and East Medal)

600 pairs of used trousers

Other equipment and German steel helmets

108 horses, 4 of them still in the former Ghetto (hearse)

Up to 23 May 1943 we had counted:

4.4 million Zloty; furthermore about 5 to 6 million Zloty not yet counted, a great amount of foreign currency, e.g. \$14,300 in paper and \$9,200 in gold, moreover valuables (rings, chains, watches, etc.) in great quantities.

State of the Ghetto at the termination of the large-scale operation:

Apart from 8 buildings (Police Barracks, hospital, and accommodations for housing working-parties) the former Ghetto is completely destroyed. Only the dividing walls are left standing where no explosions were carried out. But the ruins still contain a vast amount of stones and scrap material which could be used.

Warsaw, 16 May, 1943.

The SS and Police Fuehrer
in the District of Warsaw.

SS Brigadefuehrer and Majorgeneral of Police.

The war went well for Hitler—Poland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, Denmark—an endless string of conquests. But it was not enough, and so on June 22, 1941, in order to guarantee the proper LEBENSRAUM for the German folk and to destroy once and for all a hostile ideology, Hitler invaded Russia.

At first, the Wehrmacht rolled over everything. It looked as if the conquest would be permanent. But there was a certain amount of opposition to be overcome; the native population did not, in all cases, welcome National Socialism. To consolidate the conquest, and to reveal the high purpose of the Third Reich, Heydrich dispatched four new sets of Einsatzgruppen, labeled A, B, C, and D. The commanders of these groups filed periodic reports with Berlin. Their activities speak for themselves.

ACTION—Group A

Comprehensive Report up to 15 October 1941

Action-Group A, after preparing their vehicles for action proceeded to their area of concentration as ordered on 23 June 1941, the second day of the campaign in the East. Army

Group North consisting of the 16th and 18th Armies and Panzer-Group 4 had left the day before. Our task was to hurriedly establish personal contact with the commanders of the Armies and with the commander of the army of the rear area. It must be stressed from the beginning that co-operation with the Armed Forces was generally good, in some cases, for instance with Panzer-Group 4 under Col. Gen. Hoepfner, it was very close, almost cordial. Misunderstandings which cropped up with some authorities in the first days were cleared up mainly through personal discussions.

At the start of the Eastern Campaign it became obvious with regard to the SECURITY POLICE that its special work had to be done not only in the rear areas, as was provided for in the original agreements, with the High Command of the Army, but also in the combat areas, and this for two reasons. On the one hand, the development of the rear area of the armies was delayed because of the quick advance and on the other hand, the undermining communist activities and the fight against partisans was most effective within the area of actual fighting—especially when the Luga sector was reached.

Similarly, native anti-Semitic forces were induced to start pogroms against Jews during the first hours after capture, though this inducement proved to be very difficult. Following out orders, the Security Police was determined to solve the Jewish question with all possible means and most decisively. But it was desirable that the Security Police should not put in an immediate appearance, at least in the beginning, since the extraordinary harsh measures were apt to stir even German circles. It had to be shown to the world that the native population itself took the first action by way of natural reaction against the terror exercised by the Communists during the preceding period.

The Baltic Area. 1. Organization Measures. 1. Formation of auxiliary police-and of police. In view of the extension of the area of operations and the great number of duties which had to be performed by the Security Police, it was intended from the very beginning to obtain the co-operation of the reliable population for the fight against vermin—that is mainly the Jews and Communists. Beyond our directing of the first spontaneous actions of self-cleansing, which will be reported elsewhere, care had to be taken that reliable people should be put to the cleansing job and that they were appointed auxiliary members of the Security Police. The difference of the situation in each part of that area of operations also had to be taken into account. In Lithuania activist and nationalist people formed themselves into so-called partisan-units at the beginning of the Eastern Campaign, in order to take part in the fight against

Bolshevism. According to their own report they suffered 4,000 casualties.]

Reconstruction of prisons. [The prisons in the Baltic countries were found to be either empty or occupied by Jews or Communists who had been arrested by Self Protection Units.

Whenever the prisons were too small because of the large number of people who were to be arrested, provisional concentration camps were established. The construction of large concentration camps is in preparation. The schedules attached as encl. 5 show present occupancy of the prisons.

Cleansing and securing the Area of Operations 1. Instigation of self-cleansing actions. [Considering that the population of the Baltic countries had suffered very heavily under the government of Bolshevism and Jewry while they were incorporated in the USSR, it was to be expected that after the liberation from that foreign government, they (i.e. the population themselves) would render harmless most of the enemies left behind after the retreat of the Red Army. It was the duty of the Security Police to set in motion these self-cleansing movements and to direct them into the correct channels in order to accomplish the purpose of the cleansing operation as quickly as possible. It was no less important in view of the future to establish the unshakable and provable fact that the liberated population themselves took the most severe measure against the Bolshevik and Jewish enemy quite on their own, so that the direction by German authorities could not be found out.

In Lithuania this was achieved for the first time by partisan activities in Kowno. To our surprise it was not easy at first to set in motion an extensive pogrom against Jews. Klimatis, the leader of the partisan unit, mentioned above, who was used for this purpose primarily, succeeded in starting a pogrom on the basis of advice given to him by a small advanced detachment acting in Kowno, and in such a way that no German order of German instigation was noticed from the outside. During the first pogrom in the night from 25. to 26.6 the Lithuanian partisans did away with more than 1,500 Jews, set fire to several Synagogues or destroyed them by other means and burned down a Jewish dwelling district consisting of about 60 houses. During the following nights about 2,300 Jews were made harmless in a similar way. In other parts of Lithuania similar actions followed the example of Kowno, though smaller and extending to the Communists who had been left behind.

These self-cleansing actions went smoothly because the Army authorities who had been informed showed understanding for this procedure. From the beginning it was obvious that

only the first days after the occupation would offer the opportunity for carrying out pogroms. After the disarmament of the partisans the self-cleansing actions ceased necessarily. . . .

Action against Jewry. From the beginning it was to be expected that the Jewish problem in the East would not be solved by pogroms alone. In accordance with the basic orders received, however, the cleansing activities of the Security Police had to aim at a complete annihilation of the Jews. Special detachments, reinforced by selected units—in Lithuania partisan detachments, in Latvia units of the Latvian auxiliary police—therefore performed extensive executions both in the towns and in rural areas. The actions of the execution detachments were performed smoothly. When attaching Lithuanian and Latvian detachments to the execution squads, men were chosen whose relatives had been murdered or removed by the Russians.

Especially severe and extensive measures became necessary in Lithuania. In some places—especially in Kowno—the Jews had armed themselves and participated actively in franc-tireur war and committed arson. Beside these activities the Jews in Lithuania had collaborated most actively hand in glove with the Soviets.

The sum total of the Jews liquidated in Lithuania amounts to 71,105.

During the pogroms in Kowno 3,800 Jews were eliminated, in the smaller towns about 1,200 Jews.

In Latvia as well the Jews participated in acts of sabotage and arson after the invasion of the German Armed Forces. In Duensburg so many fires were lighted by the Jews that a large part of the town was lost. The electric power station burnt down to a mere shell. The streets which were mainly inhabited by Jews remained unscathed.

In Latvia up to now 30,000 Jews were executed in all. 500 were made harmless by pogroms in Riga.

Most of the 4,500 Jews living in Estonia at the beginning of the Eastern Campaign fled with the retreating Red Army. About 200 stayed behind. In Reval alone there lived about 1,000 Jews.

The arrest of all male Jews of over 16 years of age has been nearly finished. With the exception of the doctors and the Elders of the Jews who were appointed by the Special Commandos, they were executed by the Self-Protection Units under the control of the Special Detachment 1a. Jewesses in Pernau and Reval of the age groups from 16 to 60 who are fit for work were arrested and put to peat-cutting or other labor.

At present a camp is being constructed in Harku, in which

all Estonian Jews are to be assembled, so that Estonia will be free of Jews within a short while.

{ After the carrying out of the first larger executions in Lithuania and Latvia it became soon apparent that an annihilation of the Jews without leaving any traces could not be carried out, at least not at the present moment. Since a large part of the trades in Lithuania and Latvia are in Jewish hands and others carried on nearly exclusively by Jews (especially those of glaziers, plumbers, stovebuilders, cobblers) many Jewish partisans are indispensable at present for repairing installations of vital importance for the reconstruction of towns destroyed and for work of military importance. Although the employers aim at replacing Jewish labor with Lithuanian or Latvian labor, it is not yet possible to displace all employed Jews especially not in the larger towns. In co-operation with the labor exchange offices, however, all Jews who are no longer fit for work are being arrested and shall be executed in small batches. }

In this connection it may be mentioned that some authorities of the Civil Administration offered resistance, at times even a strong one, against the carrying out of larger executions. This resistance was answered by calling attention to the fact that it was a matter of carrying out basic orders.

Apart from organising and carrying out measures of execution, the creation of Ghettos was begun in the larger towns at once during the first days of operations. This was especially urgent in Kowno because there were 30,000 Jews in a total population of 152,400. Therefore, at the end of the first pogrom a Jewish Committee was summoned who were informed that the German authorities so far had not seen any reason to interfere in the quarrels between Lithuanians and Jews. The sole basis for creating a normal situation would be to construct a Jewish Ghetto. Against remonstrations made by the Jewish Committee, it was declared that there was no other possibility to prevent further pogroms. On this the Jews at once declared themselves ready to do everything in their power to transfer their co-racials to the town district of Viriampol which was intended as a Jewish Ghetto and with the greatest possible speed. This town district lies in the triangle between the Mamel river and a tributary; it is connected with Kowno by one bridge only and can, therefore, easily be locked off.

In Riga the so-called "Moskau suburb" was designated as a Ghetto. This is the worst dwelling district of Riga, already now mostly inhabited by Jews. The transfer of the Jews into the Ghetto-district proved rather difficult because the Latvians dwelling in that district had to be evacuated and residential space in Riga is very crowded. 24,000 of the 28,000 Jews living in Riga have been transferred into the Ghetto so far. In creat-

ing the Ghetto, the Security Police restricted themselves to mere policing duties, while the establishment and administration of the Ghetto as well as the regulation of the food supply for the inmates of the Ghetto were left to Civil Administration; the Labor Offices were left in charge of Jewish labor.

In the other towns with a larger Jewish population Ghettos shall be established likewise.

Marking of the Jews by a yellow star, to be worn on the breast and the back which was ordered in the first instance by provisional orders of the Security Police, was carried out within a short time on the basis of regulations issued by the Commander of the Rear area and later by the Civil Administration.

The preceding report was signed by General Stahlecker and represents several months of activity on the part of his Group A.

Not everyone was quite as delighted as Stahlecker with the course events were taking in the East. A master sergeant of the Wehrmacht, attached to Intelligence, submitted the following report to his chief, General Lahousen, on an execution which took place during this same month—October, 1941.

Report on the execution of Jews in Borrisow

24 October 1941

From Friday 17 October to Monday 20 October I had official business in Borrisow. Upon arrival there on Friday I was informed by the head of the Russian security police there, Ehof, who had been installed in this post some time ago by the SD, that on the night from Sunday to Monday all Jews of Borrisow were to be shot. To my astounded question, that it would be impossible to dispatch 8000 persons in Eternity in the course of a single night in a fairly orderly manner, he replied that it was not the first time that he did this and he would be able to finish the job with his men; he was no longer a layman at this. On this occasion I also learned that about 1500 Jews were to be spared temporarily, since they were specialists, such as cobblers, tailors, blacksmiths, locksmiths, in other words artisans who were urgently needed for building up the country. The said Ehof at this time presented me with an invitation, signed by him, to the "Celebration of the German Police" which was to take place in a Borrisow restaurant on Sunday 19 October at two o'clock.

I had known Ehof in my Borrisow days. He was at one time made Komm. [Communist?] mayor of Zemin, a town about

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25 kilometers from Borrisow, by some army high command. Before the outbreak of the war he was, as a Volga German, employed as a teacher for the German language in the Russian School in Zembin.

Although the shootings of Jews were to be kept secret, they were already known in the Ghetto early on Saturday. I gave my own boots for repair to a Jewish cobbler who lived on the street leading to the airport. There I learned that a delegation was on its way to the mayor, Dr. Stankewitsch, and the Chief of the Russian Security Police, Ehof, in order to obtain a temporary reprieve of these executions so that they might present a petition to the general. However, the cobbler could not tell me which general was meant.

He only told me that the Jews consider it altogether impossible that Adolf Hitler or the general could have given the order to shoot these 6,500 Jews. I learned further that the mayor, Dr. Stankewitsch, had promised them to speak to the general about it and that he added that he himself could only say that conduct of the Jews residing in his official district had been exemplary in every respect. By "conduct" he meant the order in the Ghetto, the performing of the work imposed on the Jews, the raising of 300,000 Rubles in taxes imposed on them a few weeks ago, the turning in of gold, silver, etc., which they fulfilled completely.

On Saturday I visited the already mentioned "Celebration of the German Police," not so much in order to drink beer or liquor there, but because I knew beforehand to what an unworthy extent this celebration would develop, in other words, to look the affair over.

This is what happened on the following morning: The shootings were begun at 3 a.m. First the men were brought out. They were driven to the place of execution in Russian cars, escorted by men of the Russian Security Police of Borrisow who were detailed for this purpose. Because there were not enough of these men, however, reinforcements were brought from the neighboring Russian Security Police offices, such as Sembin, etc. They were provided with the well-known red and white armband and armed with rifles or automatic pistols. On the Polotzkaja Uliza road leading to the airport I saw these cars, at considerable intervals, loaded with women and children. These cars were guarded by men of the Russian Security Police. On the roof sat among others a Russian policeman with an automatic pistol in readiness. The women and children of all ages in these cars cried and whimpered and screamed for help as soon as they saw a German Wehrmacht member. In this manner one car followed the other during the whole day in the direction of the place of execution, which was lo-

cated in the woods near the former staff headquarters of the army group "Center". Besides, since there were apparently not sufficient cars and the time was drawing short, groups of women and children were constantly being herded down the already mentioned road, partly with iron rods. On the periphery of the Ghetto—that is, on this same street—groups of Jewish women and children, even babies in their mothers' arms, were standing ready to be picked up. In the distance the noise of rifles could be heard all day, the women and children cried and screamed, cars raced through the streets and the Ghetto and kept bringing new victims—all before the eyes of the civilian population and the German military personnel that happened to come along.

A blockade may have been intended but could not be carried out because the other side of the street as well as the side streets were inhabited by non-Jews. The eyes of the latter expressed either complete apathy or horror, because the scenes which took place in the streets were ghastly! The non-Jews may have believed on the evening preceding the executions that the Jews deserved their fate, but on the following morning their sentiment was "Who ordered such a thing? How is it possible to kill off 6,500 Jews all at once? Now it is the Jews' turn, when will it be ours? What did these poor Jews do? All they did was work! The really guilty ones are surely in safety!" The executions continued all day Monday! Late in the evening the shooting could not only be heard from the woods but also spread to the Ghetto and nearly all the streets of the city since, in order to escape their fate, many Jews had broken out of the Ghetto and tried somehow to save themselves. On that evening and during that night it was not advisable even for a member of the Wehrmacht to venture on the streets, in order to avoid the danger of being killed or at least wounded by the Russian policemen, due to a generally prevalent nervousness. About 10 o'clock in the evening a fire was raging in the city and mild shooting was going on. A few houses were burning in the Ghetto and in the vicinity of the Ghetto—the cause is not known to me.

It must be added that German soldiers were summoned toward evening to blockade the Ghetto and to prevent the Jews escaping. As I learned from a noncommissioned officer, a few Jews were said to have been caught and turned over to the Russian Security Police for execution. The shooting continued throughout the night. On Tuesday, about 8 o'clock in the morning, I was again a witness of the same occurrences as on the previous day. By no means all the Jews had been shot. Many escorted Russian cars returned from the woods. Piled high on these cars was the clothing of the victims. Thus every-

body could see what was going on. The clothing was brought to city warehouses. At many places in the Ghetto and along the street already described groups of Jews cowered, awaiting their execution.

As I heard, some Jews are said to have committed suicide in the nearby Beresina. The most gruesome scenes are said to have taken place in the Ghetto during this operation. According to report all specialists were shot, at least the majority of them. That may be so, for, escorted by two Russian policemen, I entered the homes of a tailor and a cobbler on the main street; the barbed wire had been torn down and I found the house abandoned. It is hard to describe the appearance of these homes! In order to obtain details of the executions, I struck up a conversation with these two Russian Security men, and I was told the following:

A few days earlier Russian prisoners of war had dug in the woods some huge mass graves about 100 meters long, 5 meters wide, and 3 meters deep. According to the reports of these eye-witnesses, the executions were performed as follows:

The first delinquents, about 20 men, were made to jump into the pits after taking off all but their underwear. They were then shot from above! Of course these dead and half-dead people were lying pell-mell. The next victims had to line them up so as to gain as much space as possible. Then it continued as above. When the bottom row of the mass grave was full, the Jews had to put a layer of sand over the bodies and had to trample upon both sand and bodies. The most horrible scenes are said to have taken place in these two mass graves! Shortly before my departure for the front I met two German soldiers, a private first class and a corporal, who, for curiosity's sake had witnessed these executions from very close by. They fully confirmed the information sought by me. They added that the Russian policemen were given a great deal of liquor, otherwise they would hardly have been able to perform their difficult task! The population of Borrisow is of the opinion that the Russian Security men would enrich themselves with the valuables left behind by the Jews, such as gold, silver, furs, cloth, leather, etc., as they were said to have done during previous executions. These security men, moreover, are said to consist largely of old Communists, but nobody dares to report them because they are feared. The population generally desires the occupation of all important posts by German nationals!

[Signed] Soennecken
Master sergeant and interpreter
for the Russian language with
Intelligence Command B

Postscript: There is a rumor in Borrisow that the now vacant houses of the Jews shall be prepared for Jews from Germany, who in turn shall be liquidated in the same manner as were the Jews of Borrisow.

As the campaign continued this sergeant's complaint was expressed more often, usually by Wehrmacht officers. Their arguments were rarely an appeal to humanitarian instincts; they simply said that it would be more efficient to conduct the war without this waste of potential German soldiers—the executioners—and potential workers for the German effort—the executed.

General Kube, the Commissioner General for White Ruthenia, complained of the disorder caused by the appearance of a detachment of SS from the Einsatzgruppen.

The Commissioner General for White Ruthenia
Dept Gauleiter/Ka

Minsk, 1 November 1941

Personal

To: The Reich Commissioner for the Eastern Territories, Gauleiter Hinrich LOHSE Riga

Enclosed I submit a report of the Commissioner for the territory of Sluzk, party member Carl, with the request not to let this matter rest. Herewith I propose to prosecute the guilty officers commencing with the battalion commander of the security police to the last lieutenant.

For about the last three weeks, I have discussed the Sluzk action against the Jews with the responsible SS-Brigadier General and Brigadier-General of the Protection Police, Zenner, Member of the Reichstag, and I have pointed out that the tradesmen should be spared by all means and the commissioner responsible for the territory should be contacted prior to the action. Above all, any act lowering the prestige of the German Reich and its organizations in the eyes of the White Ruthenian population should be avoided.

The police battalion No. 11 from Kauen has, as a unit directly subordinate to the armed forces, taken independent action without informing me, the SS-Brigadier-General or any other office of the Commissariat General, thereby impairing most seriously the prestige of the German nation. I requested to have the commissioner of the territory, Carl, and all his officials and collaborators from Riga questioned under oath and to record the hearing. Then, in order to set an example, I request to grant my motion to prosecute the entire staff of officers of the police battalion 11.

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I am submitting this report in duplicate so that one copy may be forwarded to the Reich Minister. Peace and order cannot be maintained in White Ruthenia with methods of that sort. To bury seriously wounded people alive who worked their way out of their graves again, is such a base and filthy act that this incident as such should be reported to the Fuehrer and Reich Marshal. The civil administration of White Ruthenia makes very strenuous efforts to win the population over to Germany in accordance with the instructions of the Fuehrer. These efforts cannot be brought in harmony with the methods described herein.

The Commissioner General for White Ruthenia
[signed] Kube

Enclosures

The Commissioner of the Territory of Sluzk

Sluzk, 30 October 1941

Secret

To: The Commissioner General Minsk

Subject: Action against Jews

Referring to the report made by phone on 27 October 1941 I now beg to inform you in writing of the following:

On 27 October in the morning at about 8 o'clock a first lieutenant of the police battalion No. 11 from Kauen (Lithuania) appeared and introduced himself as the adjutant of the battalion commander of the security police. The first lieutenant explained that the police battalion had received the assignment to effect the liquidation of all Jews here in the town of Sluzk, within two days. The battalion commander with his battalion in strength of four companies, two of which were made up of Lithuanian partisans, was on the march here and the action would have to begin instantly. I replied to the first lieutenant that I had to discuss the action in any case first with the commander. About half an hour later the police battalion arrived in Sluzk. Immediately after the arrival the conference with the battalion commander took place according to my request. I first explained to the commander that it would not very well be possible to effect the action without previous preparation, because everybody had been sent to work and that it would lead to terrible confusion. At least it would have been his duty to inform me a day ahead of time. Then I requested him to postpone the action one day. However, he rejected this with the remark that he had to carry out this action everywhere and in all towns and that only two days were allotted for Sluzk. Within these two days, the town of Sluzk had to be cleared of Jews by all means. I immediately protested violently against it,

pointing out that a liquidation of Jews must not be allowed to take place in an arbitrary manner. I explained that a large part of the Jews still living in the towns were tradesmen and families of tradesmen respectively. But these Jewish tradesmen were not simply expendable because they were indispensable for maintaining the economic life. Furthermore, I pointed out that White Ruthenian tradesmen are so to say non-existent, that therefore all vital plants had to be shut down all at once, if all Jews should be liquidated. At the end of our conference, I mentioned that all tradesmen and specialists, inasmuch as they were indispensable, had papers of identification and that these should not be pulled out of the factories. Furthermore, it was agreed that all Jews still living in the town should first be brought into the ghetto in order to segregate them, especially with regard to the families of tradesmen which I did not want to have liquidated either. Two of my officials should be assigned to segregate them. The commander did not in any way contradict my idea and I had therefore the firm belief that the action would be carried out accordingly. However, a few hours after the beginning of the action the greatest difficulties already developed. I noticed that the commander had not at all abided by our agreement. All Jews without exception were taken out of the factories and shops and deported in spite of our agreement. . . .

For the rest, as regards the execution of the action, I must point out to my deepest regret that the latter bordered already on sadism. The town itself offered a picture of horror during the action. With indescribable brutality on the part of both the German police officers and particularly the Lithuanian partisans, the Jewish people, but also among them White Ruthenians, were taken out of their dwellings and herded together. Everywhere in the town shots were to be heard and in different streets the corpses of shot Jews accumulated. The White Ruthenians were in greatest distress to free themselves from the encirclement. Regardless of the fact that the Jewish people, among whom were also tradesmen, were mistreated in a terribly barbarous way in the face of the White Ruthenian people, the White Ruthenians themselves were also worked over with rubber clubs and rifle butts. There was no question of an action against the Jews any more. It rather looked like a revolution. I myself with all my officials have been in it without interruption all day long in order to save what could yet be saved. In several instances I literally had to expel with drawn pistol the German police officials as well as the Lithuanian partisans from the shops. My own police was employed for the same mission but had often to leave the streets on account of the wild shooting in order to avoid being shot themselves. The whole picture was

generally more than ghastly. In the afternoon a great number of abandoned Panje carriages with horses were standing in the streets so that I had to instruct the municipal administration to take care of the vehicles immediately. Afterwards it was ascertained that they were Jewish vehicles ordered by the armed forces to move ammunition in. The drivers had simply been taken off the carriages and led away, and nobody had worried in the least about the vehicles.

I was not present at the shooting before the town. Therefore I cannot make a statement on its brutality. But it should suffice, if I point out that persons shot have worked themselves out of their graves some time after they had been covered. Regarding the economic damage I want to state that the tannery has been affected worst of all. Twenty-six experts worked there. Of them, fifteen of the best specialists alone have been shot. Four more jumped from the truck during the transport and escaped, while seven others were not apprehended after they fled. The plant barely continues to operate today. Five wheelwrights worked in the wheelwright shop. Four of them have been shot and the shop has to keep going now with one wheelwright. Additional tradesmen such as carpenters, blacksmiths, etc. are still missing. Up till now it was impossible for me to obtain an exact survey. I have mentioned already in the beginning, that the families of tradesmen should be spared too. But now it seems that almost in all families some persons are missing. Reports come in from all over, making it clear that in one family the tradesman himself, in another family the wife and in the next one again the children are missing. In that way, almost all families have been broken up. It seems to be very doubtful whether under these circumstances the remaining tradesmen will show any interest in their work and produce accordingly, particularly as even today they are running around with bloody and bruised faces due to the brutality. The White Ruthenian people, who had full confidence in us, are dumfounded. Though they are intimidated and don't dare to utter their free opinion, one has already heard that they take the viewpoint that this day does not add to the glory of Germany and that it will not be forgotten. I am of the opinion that much has been destroyed through this action which we have achieved during the last months and that it will take a long time until we shall regain the confidence of the population which we have lost. . . .

So far the report. I shall come to Minsk in the immediate future, in order to discuss the affair personally once again. At the present time, I am not in a position to continue with the action against the Jews. First, order has to be established

again. I hope that I shall be able to restore order as soon as possible and also to revive the economic life despite the difficulties. Only, I beg you to grant me one request: "In the future, keep this police battalion away from me by all means."
[signed] Carl

Evidently General Kube complained more than once about the situation, for two years later, in 1943, we find his direct superior forwarding another report of his to Berlin. Unfortunately, Kube's original report seems to have disappeared.

Copy

The Reich Commissar for the Eastland
[Der Reichs Kommissar fuer das Ostland]

Diary No. 3628/43 secret

stamp: Personal Staff—Reichsfuehrer SS
Documents Administration
File No. Secret/227
Riga, 18 June 1943

Secret

To: The Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territory
Berlin

The attached secret received from General Commissar Kube deserves special consideration.

The fact that Jews receive special treatment requires no further discussion. However it appears hardly believable that this is done in the way described in the report of the General Commissar of 1 June 1943! What is Katyn against that? Imagine only that these occurrences would become known to the other side and exploited by them. Most likely such propaganda would have no effect only because people who hear about it, simply would not be ready to believe it.

The fight against bands also is taking on forms which are highly questionable if pacification and exploitation of the several territories are the aims of our policy. Thus, the dead who were suspected of belonging to bands and whose number was indicated in the report of 5 June 1943 about the "Cottbus" project to have amounted to 5,000 in my opinion, with few exceptions would have been suitable for forced labor in the Reich.

It should not be ignored in this connection that in view of the difficulties of making oneself understood as generally in such clean-up operations, it is very hard to distinguish friend from foe. Nevertheless, it should be possible to avoid atrocities and to bury those who have been liquidated. To lock men, women and children into barns and to set fire to

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these, does not appear to be a suitable method of combatting bands, even if it is desired to exterminate the population. This method is not worthy of the German cause and hurts our reputation severely.

I am asking that you take the necessary action.

[signed] [signature illegible]

Earlier, in 1941, there was a flurry of correspondence from a district commander who seemingly complained about the same things as General Kube. Apparently, he wanted a direct order in writing before continuing the executions in his district, but even with the Nazis riding high the responsible officials were reluctant to commit themselves on paper. The "verbal discussions" referred to probably settled everything for the worse, as far as the Jews were concerned.

The Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories

Berlin W 35, 31 October 19

Rauchstrasse 17/18

Telephone: 21 95 15 and 39 50 46

Cable address: Reichsministerost

No. 1 / 2591 / 41

It is requested to refer to this number and the subject matter in future correspondence.

[Stamp:]

Reich Commissioner East

5 November 1941

Main Division IIa

To: The Reich Commissioner for the East (Ostland) in Riga
Herman Goering Street 26

The Reich and Security Main Office has complained that the Reich Commissioner for the East has forbidden executions of Jews in Liepaja (Libau). I request a report in regard to this matter by return mail.

By order

[Signed:] Dr. Leibbrandt

certified

[illegible signature]

Regierungsinspektor

[Stamp:]

Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories

Secret

The Reich Commissioner for the East

IIa 4 M 219/41 secret

Riga, 15 November 1941

1) To the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories
Berlin

Rauchstr. 17/18

Re: Executions of Jews

District of Erlau 31 October 1941 1/2591/41

Reporter: Reg. Rat [Trampedach?]

I have forbidden the wild executions of Jews in Liepaja because they were not justifiable in the manner in which they were carried out.

I should like to be informed whether your inquiry of 31 October is to be regarded as a directive to liquidate all Jews in the East? Shall this take place without regard to age and sex and economic interests (of the Wehrmacht, for instance in specialists in the armament industry)?

[Note in different handwriting:] Of course the cleansing of the East of Jews is a necessary task; its solution, however, much be harmonized with the necessities of war production.

So far I have not been able to find such a directive either in the regulations regarding the Jewish question in the "Brown Portfolio" [Brau Mappe] or in other decrees.

Tr. 8.11.

2) Resubmit 1.12.24 Submitted 1.12

[initialed]

[pencilled note] 28

The Reich Minister of the occupied Eastern Territories
Berlin, W 35, 18 Dec. 1941

Rauchstrasse 17/18

Telephone: 219515 and 395046

Cable Address: Reichsministerost

[illegible initials] 12/I

Received 22/12 [illegible initial]

V a

J. .9 I.

Ma 23/1.

Top Secret

No. 1/1/157/41 Top Secret

Please use this business sign and subject in further correspondence.

Journal No. 394/41

[stamp] Top Secret

[pencilled note] A

6 J 1

1) To: The Reich Commissioner for the East [Ostland]

Riga / Leitort Tilsit

Adolf Hitler Street

Subject: Jewish Question re correspondence of 15 Nov. 1941

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Clarification of the Jewish question has most likely been achieved by now through verbal discussions. Economic considerations should fundamentally remain unconsidered in the settlement of the problem. Moreover, it is requested, that questions arising be settled directly with the Senior SS and Police Leaders.

By order

[signed] Braeutiger [?]

2) Filed II. a 4 Ma 26./1.

The executions continued in spite of all protests. More important people than General Kube or Master Sergeant Soennecken insisted that they be followed through to the bitter end. Heinrich Himmler and Reinhard Heydrich wanted the shootings continued, and they were.

Himmler, according to reports, actually witnessed one of the executions, and at several SS celebrations made rambling and almost incoherent speeches in praise of the beauty and idealism the SS was demonstrating in carrying out this butchery.

Now I would like to bring another matter to your attention. Very frequently the member of the Waffen-SS thinks about the deportation of this people here. These thoughts came to me today when watching the very difficult work out there performed by the Security Police, supported by your men, who help them a great deal. Exactly the same thing happened in Poland in weather 40 degrees below zero, where we had to haul away thousands, ten thousands, hundred thousands; where we had to have the toughness—you should hear this but also forget it again immediately—to shoot thousands of leading Poles, where we had to have the toughness, otherwise it would have taken revenge on us later. We also had to bring, in, in this winter of 40 degrees below zero, ten thousands of Germans, and had to take care of their needs—that the women were warm; that, when they bore children, these children did not experience want and destitution; where we had to take care of their horses; where we had to take care of the baggage of these poor Germans from Volkynia; all duties where the proud soldier says: “My God, why do I have to do that, this ridiculous job here . . . !” Gentlemen, it is much easier in many cases—and that I would like to tell you this once, or would like to recall to you, you will gladly admit: in many cases it is much easier to go into combat with a company than to suppress an obstructive population of low cultural level in some area with a company, or to carry out ex-

ecutions, or to haul away people, or to evict crying and hysterical women, or to return our German racial brethren across the border from Russia and to take care of them. I want to tell you: In the entire Waffen-SS we must begin to view the other great activity of the entire SS [Gesamt-SS] and entire police. We must see to it that you consider the activity of the man in green uniform as just as valuable as the activity you yourself are engaged in. You have to consider the work of the SD man or of the man of the Security Police as a vital part of our whole work just like the fact that you can carry arms. You are the ones to be envied, because if you do something, if a unit achieves fame, then one can talk of fame, and it can be decorated. It is much more difficult in many other positions—and with that I do not want to underestimate your achievements; I would be the last one to do that—but, believe me, in many places it is much more difficult, this silent work-compulsion, this silent activity, this standing guard over our ideology, this necessity of remaining steadfast, this necessity of not compromising is very much more difficult in places . . . This activity is necessary, as I said, 1. to eliminate these negative people from the German people, 2. to exploit them once more for the great folk community by having them break stones and make bricks so that the Fuehrer can again erect his grand buildings and 3. to in turn invest the money, earned soberly this way, in houses, in ground, in settlements so that our men can have houses in which to raise large families and lots of children. This in turn is necessary because we stand or die with this leading blood of Germany and if the good blood is not reproduced we will not be able to rule the world.

Speech of the Reichsfuehrer—SS
at the meeting of SS Major-Generals at Posen
October 4th, 1943

One basic principle must be the absolute rule for the SS man: we must be honest, decent, loyal, and comradely to members of our own blood and to nobody else. What happens to a Russian, to a Czech does not interest me in the slightest. What the nations can offer in the way of good blood of our type, we will take, if necessary by kidnapping their children and raising them here with us. Whether nations live in prosperity or starve to death [*verrecken*—to die—used of cattle] interests me only in so far as we need them as slaves for our Kultur; otherwise, it is of no interest to me . . .

I also want to talk to you, quite frankly, on a very grave matter. Among ourselves it should be mentioned quite frankly,

and yet we will never speak of it publicly. Just as we did not hesitate on June 30th, 1934 to do the duty we were bidden, and stand comrades who had lapsed, up against the wall and shoot them, so we have never spoken about it and will never speak of it. It was that tact which is a matter of course and which I am glad to say, is inherent in us, that made us never discuss it among ourselves, never to speak of it. It appalled everyone, and yet everyone was certain that he would do it the next time if such orders are issued and if it is necessary.

I mean the clearing out of the Jews, the extermination of the Jewish race. It's one of those things it is easy to talk about—"The Jewish race is being exterminated," says one party member, "that's quite clear, it's in our program—elimination of the Jews, and we're doing it, exterminating them." And then they come, 80 million worthy Germans, and each one has his decent Jew. Of course the others are vermin, but this one is an A-1 Jew. Not one of all those who talk this way has witnessed it, not one of them has been through it. Most of *you* must know what it means when 100 corpses are lying side by side, or 500 or 1000. To have stuck it out and at the same time—apart from exceptions caused by human weakness—to have remained decent fellows, that is what has made us hard. This is a page of glory in our history which has never been written and is never to be written, for we know how difficult we should have made it for ourselves, if—with the bombing raids, the burdens and the deprivations of war—we still had Jews today in every town as secret saboteurs, agitators and trouble-mongers. We would now probably have reached the 1916/17 stage when the Jews were still in the German national body.

So the "decent fellows" continued their trying work. Otto Ohlendorf, who estimated that his Einsatzgruppen D had killed 90,000 Jews, and who was one of the few of these butchers to be punished (he was hanged), describes the day-by-day routine of such work in his testimony at Nuremberg.

COL. AMEN: In what respects, if any, were the official duties of the Einsatz groups concerned with Jews and Communist commissars?

OHLENDORF: On the question of Jews and Communists, the Einsatzgruppen and the commanders of the Einsatzkommandos were orally instructed before their mission.

COL. AMEN: What were their instructions with respect to the Jews and the Communist functionaries?

OHLENDORF: The instructions were that in the Russian

operational areas of the Einsatzgruppen the Jews, as well as the Soviet political commissars, were to be liquidated.

COL. AMEN: And when you say "liquidated" do you mean "killed"?

OHLENDORF: Yes, I mean "killed."

COL. AMEN: Prior to the opening of the Soviet campaign, did you attend a conference at Pretz?

OHLENDORF: Yes, it was a conference at which the Einsatzgruppen and the Einsatzkommandos were informed of their tasks and were given the necessary orders.

COL. AMEN: Who was present at that conference?

OHLENDORF: The chiefs of the Einsatzgruppen and the commanders of the Einsatzkommandos and Streckenbach of the RSHA who transmitted the orders of Heydrich and Himmler.

COL. AMEN: What were those orders?

OHLENDORF: Those were the general orders on the normal work of the Sipo and the SD, and in addition the liquidation order which I have already mentioned.

COL. AMEN: And that conference took place on approximately what date?

OHLENDORF: About 3 or 4 days before the mission.

COL. AMEN: So that before you commenced to march into Soviet Russia, you received orders at this conference to exterminate the Jews and Communist functionaries in addition to the regular professional work of the Security Police and SD; is that correct?

OHLENDORF: Yes. . . .

COL. AMEN: Do you know how many persons were liquidated by Einsatz Group D under your direction?

OHLENDORF: In the year between June 1941 to June 1942 the Einsatzkommandos reported 90,000 people liquidated.

COL. AMEN: Did that include men, women, and children?

OHLENDORF: Yes.

COL. AMEN: On what do you base those figures?

OHLENDORF: On reports sent by the Einsatzkommandos to the Einsatzgruppen.

COL. AMEN: Were those reports submitted to you?

OHLENDORF: Yes.

COL. AMEN: And you saw them and read them?

OHLENDORF: I beg your pardon?

COL. AMEN: And you saw and read those reports, personally?

OHLENDORF: Yes.

COL. AMEN: And it is on those reports that you base the figures you have given the Tribunal?

OHLENDORF: Yes.

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COL. AMEN: Do you know how those figures compare with the number of persons liquidated by other Einsatz groups?

OHLENDORF: The figures which I saw of other Einsatzgruppen are considerably larger.

COL. AMEN: That was due to what factor?

OHLENDORF: I believe that to a large extent the figures submitted by the other Einsatzgruppen were exaggerated.

COL. AMEN: Did you see reports of liquidations from the other Einsatz groups from time to time?

OHLENDORF: Yes.

COL. AMEN: And those reports showed liquidations exceeding those of Group D; is that correct?

OHLENDORF: Yes.

COL. AMEN: Did you personally supervise mass executions of these individuals?

OHLENDORF: I was present at two mass executions for purposes of inspection.

COL. AMEN: Will you explain to the Tribunal in detail how an individual mass execution was carried out?

OHLENDORF: A local Einsatzkommando attempted to collect all the Jews in its area by registering them. This registration was performed by the Jews themselves.

COL. AMEN: On what pretext, if any, were they rounded up?

OHLENDORF: On the pretext that they were to be resettled.

COL. AMEN: Will you continue?

OHLENDORF: After the registration the Jews were collected at one place; and from there they were later transported to the place of execution, which was, as a rule an antitank ditch or a natural excavation. The executions were carried out in a military manner, by firing squads under command.

COL. AMEN: In what way were they transported to the place of execution?

OHLENDORF: They were transported to the place of execution in trucks, always only as many as could be executed immediately. In this way it was attempted to keep the span of time from the moment in which the victims knew what was about to happen to them until the time of their actual execution as short as possible.

COL. AMEN: Was that your idea?

OHLENDORF: Yes.

COL. AMEN: And after they were shot what was done with the bodies?

OHLENDORF: The bodies were buried in the antitank ditch or excavation.

COL. AMEN: What determination, if any, was made as to whether the persons were actually dead?

OHLENDORF: The unit leaders or the firing-squad commanders had orders to see to this end and, if need be, finish them off themselves.

COL. AMEN: And who would do that?

OHLENDORF: Either the unit leader himself or somebody designated by him.

COL. AMEN: In what positions were the victims shot?

OHLENDORF: Standing or kneeling.

COL. AMEN: What was done with the personal property and clothing of the persons executed?

OHLENDORF: All valuables were confiscated at the time of registration or the rounding up and handed over to the Finance Ministry, either through the RSHA or directly. At first the clothing was given to the population, but in the winter of 1941-42 it was collected and disposed of by the NSV.

COL. AMEN: All their personal property was registered at the time?

OHLENDORF: No not all of it, only valuables were registered.

COL. AMEN: What happened to the garments which the victims were wearing when they went to the place of execution?

OHLENDORF: They were obliged to take off their outer garments immediately before the execution.

COL. AMEN: All of them?

OHLENDORF: The outer garments, yes.

COL. AMEN: How about the rest of the garments they were wearing?

OHLENDORF: The other garments remained on the bodies.

COL. AMEN: Was that true of not only your group but of the other Einsatz groups?

OHLENDORF: That was the order in my Einsatzgruppe. I don't know how it was done in other Einsatzgruppen.

COL. AMEN: In what way did they handle it?

OHLENDORF: Some of the unit leaders did not carry out the liquidation in the military manner, but killed the victims singly by shooting them in the back of the neck.

COL. AMEN: And you objected to that procedure?

OHLENDORF: I was against that procedure, yes.

COL. AMEN: For what reason?

OHLENDORF: Because both for the victims and for those who carried out the executions, it was, psychologically, an immense burden to bear.

COL. AMEN: Now, what was done with the property collected by the Einsatzkommandos from these victims?

OHLENDORF: All valuables were sent to Berlin, to the RSHA

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or to the Reich Ministry of Finance. The articles which could be used in the operational area, were disposed of there.

COL. AMEN: For example, what happened to gold and silver taken from the victims?

OHLENDORF: That was, as I have just said, turned over to Berlin, to the Reich Ministry of Finance.

COL. AMEN: How do you know that?

OHLENDORF: I can remember that it was actually handled in that way from Simferopol.

COL. AMEN: How about watches, for example, taken from the victims?

OHLENDORF: At the request of the Army, watches were made available to the forces at the front.

COL. AMEN: Were all victims, including the men, women and children, executed in the same manner?

OHLENDORF: Until the spring of 1942, yes. Then an order came from Himmler that in the future women and children were to be killed only in gas vans.

COL. AMEN: How had the women and children been killed previously?

OHLENDORF: In the same way as the men—by shooting.

COL. AMEN: What, if anything, was done about burying the victims after they had been executed?

OHLENDORF: The Kommandos filled the graves to efface the signs of the execution, and then labor units of the population leveled them.

COL. AMEN: Referring to the gas vans which you said you received in the spring of 1942, what order did you receive with respect to the use of these vans?

OHLENDORF: These gas vans were in future to be used for the killing of women and children.

COL. AMEN: Will you explain to the Tribunal the construction of these vans and their appearance?

OHLENDORF: The actual purpose of these vans could not be seen from the outside. They looked like closed trucks, and were so constructed that at the start of the motor, gas was conducted into the van causing death in 10 to 15 minutes.

COL. AMEN: Explain in detail just how one of these vans was used for an execution.

OHLENDORF: The vans were loaded with the victims and driven to the place of burial, which was usually the same as that used for the mass executions. The time needed for transportation was sufficient to insure the death of the victims.

COL. AMEN: How were the victims induced to enter the vans?

OHLENDORF: They were told that they were to be transported to another locality.

COL. AMEN: How was the gas turned on?

OHLENDORF: I am not familiar with the technical details.

COL. AMEN: How long did it take to kill the victims ordinarily?

OHLENDORF: About 10 to 15 minutes; the victims were not conscious of what was happening to them.

COL. AMEN: How many persons could be killed simultaneously in one such van?

OHLENDORF: About 15 to 25 persons. The vans varied in size.

COL. AMEN: Did you receive reports from those persons operating these vans from time to time?

OHLENDORF: I didn't understand the question.

COL. AMEN: Did you receive reports from those who were working on the vans?

OHLENDORF: I received the report that the Einsatzkommandos did not willingly use the vans.

COL. AMEN: Why not?

OHLENDORF: Because the burial of the victims was a great ordeal for the members of the Einsatzkommandos . . .

COL. AMEN: Are you familiar with the letter from Becker to Rauff with respect to these gas vans?

OHLENDORF: I saw this letter during my interrogation.

COL. AMEN: May it please the Tribunal, I am referring to Exhibit 501-PS, Exhibit USA-288, being a letter already in evidence, a letter from Becker to Rauff.

[Turning to the witness] Will you tell the Tribunal who Becker was?

OHLENDORF: According to my recollection, Becker was the constructor of the vans. It was he who was in charge of the vans of Einsatzgruppe D.

COL. AMEN: Who was Rauff?

OHLENDORF: Rauff was group leader in Amt II of the RSHA. Among other things, he was at the time in charge of transportation.

COL. AMEN: Can you identify that letter in any way?

OHLENDORF: The contents roughly correspond to my experiences and are therefore probably correct.

[Document 501-PS was handed to the witness.]

COL. AMEN: Will you look at the letter before you and tell us whether you can identify it in any way?

OHLENDORF: The external appearance of the letter as well as the initial "R" (Rauff) on it, and the reference to Zwabel or Fabel who took care of transportation under Rauff, seems to testify to the letter's authenticity. The contents roughly correspond to the experiences which I had at that time.

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COL. AMEN: So that you believe it to be an authentic document?

OHLENDORF: Yes.

The letter mentioned in Ohlendorf's testimony is reproduced below. Dr. Becker is oblivious to any moral problems which his work may involve, but he has some sharp things to say about the state of Russian highways and broken axles.

Field Post Office
No 32704
B Nr 40/42
Top Secret

Kiev, 16 May 1942

To: SS-Obersturmbannfuehrer Rauff
Berlin, Prinz-Albrecht-Str. 8

[Handwritten:]
pers.
R/29/5 Pradel n.R
b/R

[Handwritten:] Sinkkel (?) b.R., p 16/6

The overhauling of vans by groups D and C is finished. While the vans of the first series can also be put into action if the weather is not too bad, the vans of the second series (*Saurer*) STOP COMPLETELY IN RAINY WEATHER. If it has rained for instance for only one half hour, the van cannot be used because it simply skids away. It can only be used in absolutely dry weather. It is only a question now whether the van can only be used standing at the place of execution. First the van has to be brought to that place, which is possible only in good weather. The place of execution is usually 10-15 km away from the highways and is difficult to access because of its location; in damp or wet weather it is not accessible at all. If the persons to be executed are driven or led to that place, then they realize immediately what is going on and get restless, which is to be avoided as far as possible. There is only one way left; to load them at the collecting point and drive them to the spot.

I ordered the vans of group D to be camouflaged as house-trailers by putting one set of window shutters on each side of the small van and two on each side of the larger vans, such as one often sees on farm-houses in the country. The vans became so well-known, that not only the authorities, but also the civilian population called the van "death van," as soon as one of these vehicles appeared. It is my opinion, the van cannot be kept secret for any length of time, not even camouflaged.

The Saurer-van which I transported from Simferopol to

Taganrog suffered damage to the brakes on the way . . .

Because of the rough terrain and the indescribable road and highway conditions the caulking and rivets loosen in the course of time. I was asked if in such cases the vans should be brought to Berlin for repair. Transportation to Berlin would be much too expensive and would demand too much fuel. In order to save those expenses I ordered them to have smaller leaks soldered and if that should no longer be possible, to notify Berlin immediately by radio that Pol. Nr. — is out of order. Besides that I ordered that during application of gas all the men were to be kept as far away from the vans as possible, so they should not suffer damage to their health by the gas which eventually would escape. I should like to take this opportunity to bring the following to your attention: several commands have had the unloading after the application of gas done by their own men. I brought to the attention of the commanders of those S.K. concerned the immense psychological injuries and damages to their health which that work can have for those men, even if not immediately, at least later on. The men complained to me about head-aches which appeared after each unloading . . .

The application of gas usually is not undertaken correctly. In order to come to an end as fast as possible, the driver presses the accelerator to the fullest extent. By doing that the persons to be executed suffer death from suffocation and not death by dozing off as was planned. My directions now have proved that by correct adjustment of the levers death comes faster and the prisoners fall asleep peacefully. Distorted faces and excretions, such as could be seen before, are no longer noticed.

Today I shall continue my journey to group B, where I can be reached with further news.

[Signed] Dr. Becker
SS Untersturmfuehrer

Reichs Security Main Office
Message Center

1900, 15 June 1942
Riga E 2
Message No. 152452

[Handwritten:]
II D 3a Maj Pradel
R 16/6
Wiederhausen

Riga 7082—15-6-42—1855—BE
To Reichs Security Main Office—Roem. 2D3A—Berlin
Top Secret
Subject: S-Vans

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A transport of Jews, which has to be treated in a special way, arrives weekly at the office of the commandant of the Security Police and the Security Service of White Ruthenia.

The three S-vans, which are there, are not sufficient for that purpose. I request assignment of another S-van (5-tons). At the same time I request the shipment of 20 gas-hoses for the three S-vans on hand (2 Diamond, 1 Saurer), since the ones on hand are leaky already.

The Commandant of the Security Police and
the Security Service
"Ostland"

Roem IT—126/42 GRS

[Signed] Truehe, SS-Hauptsturmfuehrer

Stamp:

No 240/42

II D 3a 16 June 42

Procedure: [handwritten]

1. When can we count on having another S-van ready?
2. Are gas-hoses on hand, ordered, or when to be delivered?
3. Request answer.

R 16/6

For a more compassionate view of these "actions" than that offered by Ohlendorf and Becker, let us look at the affidavit of Hermann Graebe, who was a civilian engineer during the German occupation of Russia. He witnessed the destruction of the ghetto at Rowno.

Before me, Homer B. Crawford, being authorized to administer oaths, personally appeared Hermann Friedrich Graebe, who, being by me duly sworn through the interpreter Elisabeth Radziejewska, made and subscribed the following statement:

I, Hermann Friedrich Graebe, declare under oath:

From September 1941 until January 1944 I was manager and engineer-in-charge of a branch office in Sdolbunow, Ukraine, of the Solingen building firm of Josef Jung. In this capacity it was my job to visit the building sites of the firm. The firm had, among others, a site in Rowno, Ukraine.

During the night of 13th July 1942 all inhabitants of the Rowno Ghetto, where there were still about 5,000 Jews, were liquidated.

I would describe the circumstances of my being a witness of the dissolution of the Ghetto, and the carrying out of the pogrom [Aktion] during the night and the morning, as follows:

I employed for the firm, in Rowno, in addition to Poles,

Germans, and Ukrainians about 100 Jews from Sdolbunow, Ostrog, and Mysotch. The men were quartered in a building—5 Bahnhofstrasse, inside the Ghetto, and the women in a house at the corner of Deutsche Strasse—98.

On Saturday, 11 July 1942, my foreman, Fritz Einsporn, told me of a rumor that on Monday all Jews in Rowno were to be liquidated. Although the vast majority of the Jews employed by my firm in Rowno were not natives of this town, I still feared that they might be included in this pogrom which had been reported. I therefore ordered Einsporn at noon of the same day to march all the Jews employed by us—men as well as women—in the direction of Sdolbunow, about 12 km from Rowno. This was done.

The Senior Jew [Judenrat] had learned of the departure of the Jewish workers of my firm. He went to see the Commanding Officer of the Rowno SIPO and SD, SS Major [SS Sturmbannfuehrer] Dr. Puetz, as early as the Saturday afternoon to find out whether the rumor of a forthcoming Jewish pogrom—which had gained further credence by reason of the departure of Jews of my firm—was true. Dr. Puetz dismissed the rumor as a clumsy lie, and for the rest had the Polish personnel of my firm in Rowno arrested. Einsporn avoided arrest by escaping from Sdolbunow. When I learned of this incident I gave orders that all Jews who had left Rowno were to report back to work Rowno on Monday, 13 July 1942. On Monday morning I myself went to see the Commanding Officer, Dr. Puetz, in order to learn, for one thing, the truth about the rumored Jewish pogrom and secondly to obtain information on the arrest of the Polish office personnel. SS Major [SS—Sturmbannfuehrer] Puetz stated to me that no pogrom (Aktion) whatever was planned. Moreover such a pogrom would be stupid because the firms and the Reichsbahn would lose valuable workers.

An hour later I received a summons to appear before the Area Commissioner of Rowno. His deputy, Stableiter and Cadet Officer [Ordensjunker] Beck, subjected me to the same questioning as I had undergone at the SD. My explanation that I had sent the Jews home for urgent delousing appeared plausible to him. He then told me—making me promise to keep it a secret—that a pogrom would in fact take place on the evening of Monday, 13 July 1942. After lengthy negotiation I managed to persuade him to give me permission to take my Jewish workers to Sdolbunow—but only after the pogrom had been carried out. During the night it would be up to me to protect the house in the Ghetto against the entry of Ukrainian militia and SS. As confirmation of the discussion

he gave me a document, which stated that the Jewish employees of Messrs. Jung were not affected by the pogrom [Original attached.]

On the evening of this day I drove to Rowno and posted myself with Fritz Einsporn in front of the house in the Bahnhofstrasse in which the Jewish workers of my firm slept. Shortly after 22:00 the Ghetto was encircled by a large SS detachment and about three times as many members of the Ukrainian militia. Then the electric arclights which had been erected in and around the Ghetto were switched on. SS and militia squads of 4 to 6 men entered or at least tried to enter the houses. Where the doors and windows were closed and the inhabitant did not open at the knocking, the SS men and militia broke the windows, forced the doors with beams and crowbars, and entered the houses. The people living there were driven on to the street just as they were, regardless of whether they were dressed or in bed. Since the Jews in most cases refused to leave their houses and resisted, the SS and militia applied force. They finally succeeded, with strokes of the whip, kicks and blows with rifle butts in clearing the houses. The people were driven out of their houses in such haste that small children in bed had been left behind in several instances. In the street women cried out for their children and children for their parents. That did not prevent the SS from driving the people along the road, at running pace, and hitting them, until they reached a waiting freight train. Car after car was filled, and the screaming of women and children, and the cracking of whips and rifle shots resounded unceasingly.

Since several families or groups had barricaded themselves in especially strong buildings, and the doors could not be forced with crowbars or beams, these houses were now blown open with hand grenades. Since the Ghetto was near the railroad tracks in Rowno, the younger people tried to get across the tracks and over a small river to get away from the Ghetto area. As this stretch of country was beyond the range of the electric lights, it was illuminated by signal rockets. All through the night these beaten, hounded and wounded people moved along the lighted streets. Women carried their dead children in their arms, children pulled and dragged their dead parents by their arms and legs down the road toward the train. Again and again the cries "Open the door!" "Open the door!" echoed through the Ghetto.

About 6 o'clock in the morning I went away for a moment, leaving behind Einsporn and several other German workers who had returned in the meantime. I thought the greatest danger was past and that I could risk it. Shortly after I left,

Ukrainian militia men forced their way into 5 Bahnhofstrasse and brought 7 Jews out and took them to a collecting point inside the Ghetto. On my return I was able to prevent further Jews from being taken out. I went to the collecting point to save these 7 men. I saw dozens of corpses of all ages and both sexes in the streets I had to walk along. The doors of the houses stood open, windows were smashed. Pieces of clothing, shoes, stockings, jackets, caps, hats, coats, etc., were lying in the street. At the corner of a house lay a baby, less than a year old with his skull crushed. Blood and brains were spattered over the house wall and covered the area immediately around the child. The child was dressed only in a little shirt. The commander, SS Major Puetz, was walking up and down a row of about 80-100 male Jews who were crouching on the ground. He had a heavy dog whip in his hand. I walked up to him, showed him the written permit of Stabsleiter Beck and demanded the seven men whom I recognized among those crouching on the ground. Dr. Puetz was very furious about Beck's concession and nothing could persuade him to release the seven men. He made a motion with his hand encircling the square and said that anyone who was once here would not get away. Although he was very angry with Beck, he ordered me to take the people from 5 Bahnhofstrasse out of Rowno by 8 o'clock at the latest. When I left Dr. Puetz, I noticed a Ukrainian farm cart, with two horses. Dead people with stiff limbs were lying on the cart. Legs and arms projected over the side boards. The cart was making for the freight train. I took the remaining 74 Jews who had been locked in the house to Sdolbunow.

Several days after the 13th of July 1942 the Area Commissioner of Sdolbunow, Georg Marschall, called a meeting of all firm managers, railroad superintendents, and leaders of the Organization Todt and informed them that the firms, etc., should prepare themselves for the "resettlement" of the Jews which was to take place almost immediately. He referred to the pogrom in Rowno where all the Jews had been liquidated, i.e. had been shot near Kostolpol.

I make the above statement in Wiesbaden, Germany, on 10 November 1945. I swear by God that this is the absolute truth.

Hermann Friedrich Graebe

Subscribed and sworn to before me at Wiesbaden, Germany this 10 day of November 1945.

Homer B. Crawford
Major, AC

Investigator Examiner, War Crimes Branch

We have some accounts from the few survivors of these massacres.

TRANSLATION OF DOCUMENT D-964

Affidavit of Szloma Gol

I, SZLOMA GOL, declare as follows:

1. I am a Jew and lived in Vilna, Lithuania. During the German occupation I was in Vilna ghetto.

2. The administration of Vilna ghetto was managed by the SA. The Town Commissioner of Vilna (Stadtkommissar) was an SA officer called Hinkst. The Landkommissar for Vilna was an SA officer called Wolf. The Advisor on Jewish questions was an SA officer called Muerer.

3. In December 1943, 80 Jews from the ghetto including 4 women and myself and my friend Josef Belic were ordered by an SA Sturmfoehrer, whose name I forget, to live in a large pit some distance from the town. This pit had originally been dug for an underground petrol tank. It was circular, 60 meters in diameter and 4 meters deep. When we lived in it the top was partially covered with boarding, and there were two wooden rooms partitioned off, also a kitchen and lavatory. We lived there 6 months altogether before we escaped. The pit was guarded by SA guards about whom I give details below.

4. One morning the Sturmfoehrer standing on the edge of the pit accompanied by 14 or 15 SA men said to us "Your brothers and sisters and friends are all near here. Treat them properly, and if you complete your work we will send you to Germany where each man can practice his own vocation." We did not know what this meant.

5. Thereupon the SA men threw chains into the pit, and the Sturmfoehrer ordered the Jewish foreman (for we were a working party) to fasten the chains on us. The chains were fastened round both ankles and round the waist. They weighed 2 kilos each, and we could only take small steps when wearing them. We wore them permanently for 6 months. The SA said that if any man removed the chains he would be hanged. The 4 women (who worked in the kitchen) were not chained.

6. After that we were taken out to work. We walked in chains 5 to 6 meters.

7. Our work consisted in digging up mass graves and piling the bodies onto funeral pyres and burning them. I was engaged in digging up the bodies. My friend Belic was engaged in sawing up and arranging the wood.

8. We dug up altogether 68,000 graves. I know this because two of the Jews in the pit with us were ordered by the

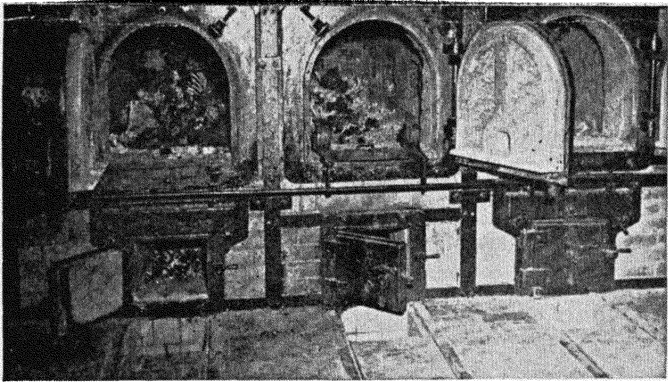


Photo from European
Crematoria at Weimar.



Photo from European
Results of one day's labor of Eichmann's efficient SS at
Weimar.

Another of Eichmann's camps, Belsen, destroyed by British flame-thrower tanks after evacuation of survivors.

Photo from European

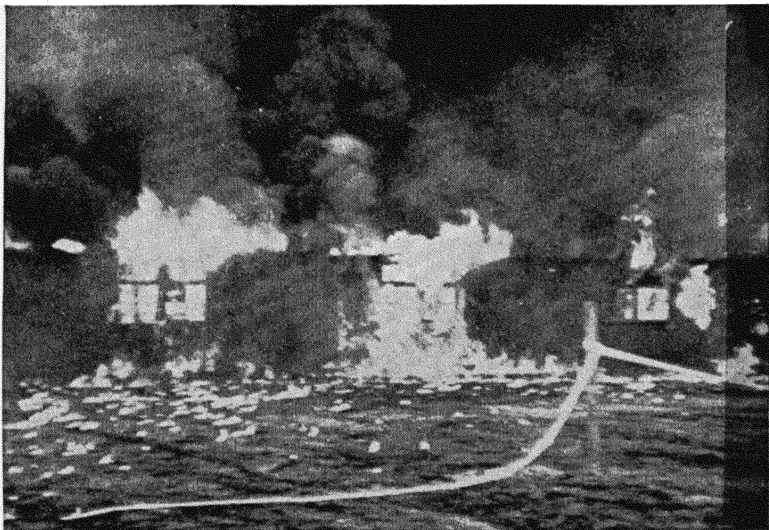


Photo from European

This sign was put up afterwards.



United Press International Photo

The Nuremberg trials, 1946, from which Eichmann was notoriously absent, having twice escaped Allied prison camps by posing as a *Wehrmacht* private. Shown in this picture are other representatives of the infamous Nazi command. In the middle row, left to right: Hermann Goering; Rudolf Hoess; Joachim von Ribbentrop; Wilhelm Keitel; and Ernst Kaltenbrunner, second head of the Gestapo.

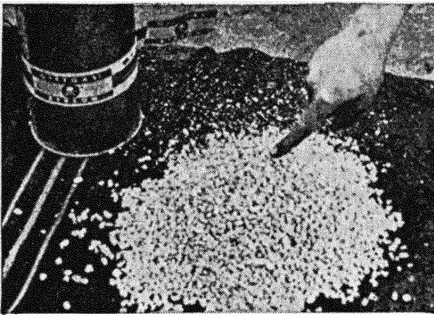


Photo from European
Crystals of poison gas, to
which the Nazis gave the
trade name *Zyklon*—cy-
clone—used at the anni-
hilation camp at Lublin,
Poland.



United Press International Photo

Rudolf Hoess, a subordinate of Eichmann's, confessed at Nuremberg that he had supervised the death by gas of two million people at Auschwitz: "I built Auschwitz from a small collection of huts into the greatest murder camp the world has ever known." He was hanged so that the last sight to meet his eyes was his pride, Auschwitz.

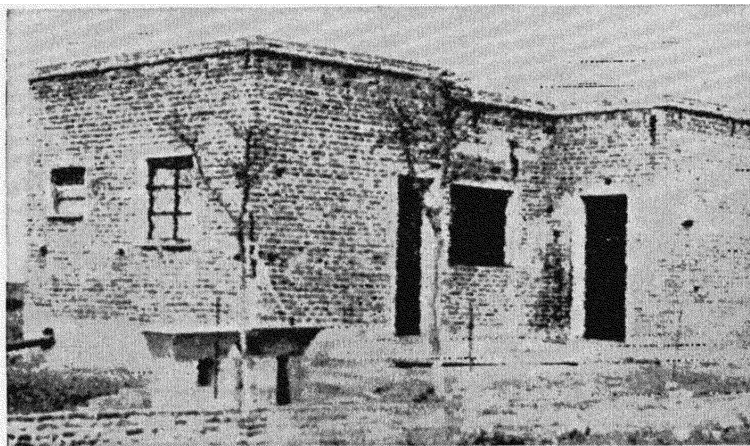
Adolf Eichmann, in an Official Israeli photo of June 8, 1960, at the jail in Israel where he was taken.

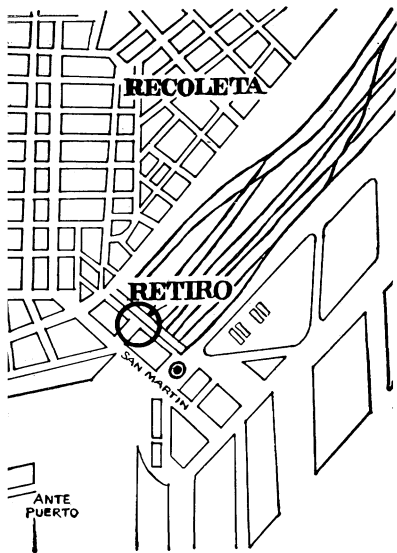


United Press International Photo

This is the primitive house (no electricity, no water) built by Eichmann himself in San Fernando, 22 miles from Buenos Aires, in which he was living at the time of his capture.

United Press International Photo





A map of Buenos Aires, showing the street on which Eichmann is believed to have been captured while transferring from one bus to another on his two-hour commutation from his factory job to his home.

All that remains to show that Adolf Eichmann and his family lived in this brick hut in San Fernando. On June 2, 1960, a group of German-speaking persons driving several expensive automobiles were reported by neighbors to have spirited away Vera Eichmann (known locally as Señora Catalina de Klement), her two young children, and a fierce watchdog.

United Press International Photo

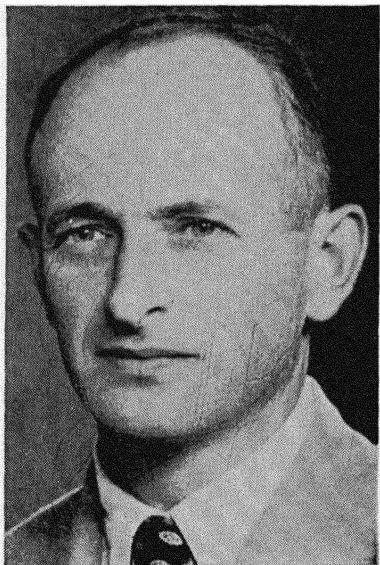




United Press International Photo

Earlier photos of Eichmann: (circa 1940) in SS uniform; and as Ricardo Klement in a Tucumán, Argentina, police photo taken in 1952.

Wide World Photo



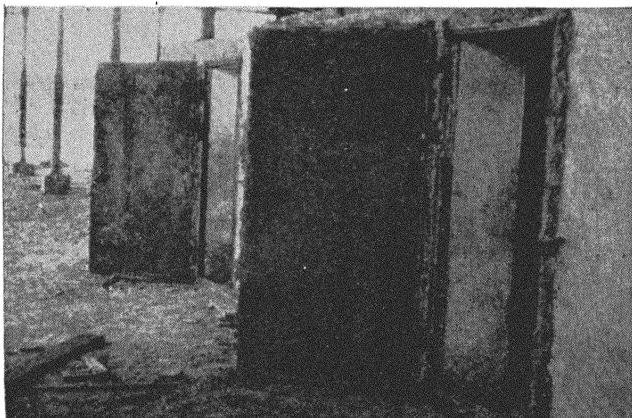
**Evidence of Eichmann's administrative efficiency as head of
the Nazi genocide program: French prisoners at Sand-
bosten . . .**

United Press International Photo



Gas chambers at Majdanek in Lublin, Poland. . . .

Photo from European



Germans to keep count of the bodies—that was their sole job. The bodies were mixed, Jewish, Polish priests, Russian Prisoners of War. Among those that I dug up I found my own brother. I found his identification papers on him. He had been dead for two years when I dug him up, because I know that he was in a batch of 10,000 Jews from Vilna ghetto who were shot in September, 1941.

9. The procedure for burning the bodies was absolutely methodical. Parallel ditches 7 meters long were dug. Over these a square platform of boards was laid. A layer of bodies was put on top, the bodies had oil poured on them and then branches were put on top, and over the branches logs of wood. Altogether 14 such layers of bodies and fuel were put on each pyre. Each pyre was shaped like a pyramid with a wooden funnel sticking up through the top. Petrol and oil were poured down the funnel, and incendiary bombs put round the edge of the pyre. All this work was done by us Jews. When the pyre was ready the Sturmfuhrer himself or his assistant Legel (also in the SA) personally lit the pyre with a burning rag on the end of a pole . . .

11. The guards (principally the SA guards) hit us and stabbed us. I still have scars on both legs and on my neck. I was once knocked senseless onto the pile of bodies, and could not get up, but my companions took me off the pile. Then I went sick. We were allowed to go sick for 2 days, the third day we were taken out of the pit “to hospital”—this meant to be shot.

12. Of 76 men in the pit, 11 were shot at work. Forty-three of us eventually dug a tunnel from the pit with our bare hands, and broke our chains and escaped into the woods. We had been warned by a Czech SS man who said “they are going to shoot you soon, and they are going to shoot me too, and put us all on the pile. Get out if you can, but not while I am on guard.”

I declare the above to be correct.

9 August 1946.

[signed] Szloma Gol

TRANSLATION OF DOCUMENT D-969

Affidavit of Leib Kibart

I, LEIB KIBART, declare as follows:

1. I am a Jew and lived during the German occupation in the Ghetto of Schaulen, about 130 kilometres of Riga. I am a leather worker by trade.

2. I was arrested in the street and forced to work for the Germans for three years making mostly women's handbags. I lived in the Ghetto but I was taken daily by SA men to the

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Courtyard of the District Commissioner where I and other Jews worked on various jobs. . . .

6. There were 4,500 Jews in the Ghetto, which was very over-crowded. In August 1941 the SA therefore surrounded the whole Ghetto, and numbers of them went into the houses and took out women, children and old men, and put them into lorries and drove them away. I saw all this myself. It was done exclusively by SA. I saw them take children by the hair and throw them into the lorries. I did not see what happened to them but a Lithuanian told me afterwards that they had been driven 20 kilometres away and shot: he said he had seen the SA make them undress and then shoot them with automatic pistols.

7. In 1943 working parties were sent out from the Ghetto into the country and they sometimes brought back food such as potatoes. The SA searched them and if they found food on them they beat them in the streets. In June 1943 a man called Mazawetzki, a master baker, was caught by Bub with four or five cigarettes and some sausage.

He was beaten and brought to the District Commissioner's office. I was working in the Courtyard with other Jews and Bub said to the working party that the man must be hanged because he wanted to show that he too could hang Jews. Next Sunday we were all kept in the Courtyard and Bub had Mazawetzki hanged in front of us by Jews.

8. The District Commissioner in whose Courtyard I worked was called Gewecke. I saw him every day. He was in the SA.

9. The SS took over from the SA in September 1943, and the Ghetto then became a working commando.

I declare the above to be true.

10 August 1946

[signed] Lieb Kibart

When the Germans retreated for good in the East in 1943-44 they tried to clean things up a little. They burned bodies which had previously been buried and they attempted to liquidate many of the witnesses to their misdeeds. Needless to say, they did not improve their moral stature in this clean-up and from any point of view, simply made a bad thing worse. The victims were no longer necessarily Jews; blood begets blood and the SS were killing to ward off the reprisals they felt would fail, or possibly out of the sheer joy at seeing people die.

RECORD NO. 53

Deposition, by witness Alexandra Krecziewicz, resident at No. 45, Gorszewska street, in Warsaw, taken by Irene Travinska, on 8 September 1944 in the Podkova-Lesna Hospital.

I was resident in Wola, Górszewska street No. 45; on 2 August, the SS men issued an order for us to move to the house across the road; our house, as well as the house next door, was set on fire; on 3 August we were informed that we shall be shot; several hundred persons were assembled in the house; on 4 August at 11 a.m. the Germans surrounded the house and gave the order to evacuate the apartments; there were awful cries of children and women and we heard some shots—several persons were killed and wounded at the exit; we were driven to potato fields and still guarded we were ordered to lie down so there could be no question of escape; a few minutes later we were ordered to get up and we were driven under a bridge which was near-by; there was no doubt about our fate; at the question of one of the women “where are we being taken to?” we heard the answer “German women and children are perishing by your fault, therefore, all of you must perish.” We were put in ranks and a group of seventy people was separated from us and ordered to go behind the bridge on the hill; the rest (including myself) were put against the wall between barbed wires; from different points near-by, we heard shots; the victims of German henchmen were dying; we were huddled together, and I was on the outer edge of the crowd; at a distance of 5 meters in front of us one of the henchmen, very quietly loaded his machine gun; another one was preparing his camera; they wanted to prolong the execution. Several Germans were guarding us; we heard several shots, noises, groans—I fell down wounded and lost consciousness.

After a while I came back to my senses and I heard how they were finishing up the wounded; I did not move and I simulated death; they left one of the Germans on guard and the rest of them went away. The henchmen set fire to the huts and the houses in the neighborhood. I was scorched by the heat and almost suffocated by the smoke and my dress smouldered; the German was still on guard so I tried quietly to put out the fire on me, my feet were burning, and I was thinking only of how to get away from this hell. From the front I was protected by the basket of potatoes; when the German turned his head, I pushed the basket and I crawled behind it and in this way I went on for a few metres; then, the wind blew a cloud of smoke in our direction and the guard could not see me any more; quickly I got up and ran to the cellar of a house on fire; there I met some people slightly wounded; the lucky ones who managed to escape from the pile of corpses. We started to work on a small tunnel; it was a difficult job, in the heat and the smoke—we were risking

suffocation; at last, after many hours of superhuman efforts, the small tunnel led us out into the yard of the neighboring house, untouched by the fire. It was half past 12 p.m. Somebody let us out to the fields from this place of struggle and fire; I was completely exhausted and till the present moment, I am lying in the hospital; the group of people shot in my presence numbered some 500 persons—of whom no more than three or four managed to escape. All the executioners were SS-men.

RECORD No. 92

Deposition of the witness Bronislav Dylak, 32, Warsaw Przebieg Street 1, taken by Apolonia Czelna and Irene Tranvinska on 16 September 1944 at the Hospital of Milanovek.

Very badly wounded in the stomach I was hospitalized in the Field Hospital Długa Street 7.

On the 7th September 1944 the Germans ordered the nurses and those inmates who were able to walk to abandon the hospital and the heavily wounded. I was in this latter group and we stayed in the ward situated in the cellar. In the whole hospital there were a few hundred sick and heavily wounded who could not abandon the hospital. Shortly after the nurses had left the hospital in the evening the German SS arrived; shooting started; first those were killed who with a superhuman effort left their beds and went to the doors and the staircases waiting for the possibility to get out and save themselves. They were immediately killed by the Germans. Two murderers burst into our ward. One had a candle in his hand (it was already dark). The other was killing, shooting from his pistol the men lying in beds and shouting "bandits." Together with a few of the inmates of our ward, I was saved because the passage to our beds was obstructed by other beds. Our ward consisted of two different parts: I was in the second smaller part the entrance to which was obstructed. In the first part, all were killed, the second ward was saved by a pure miracle (maybe because somebody was calling the murderers away), we heard many shots from the other wards. The execution went on throughout the hospital. One of the other many Germans was passing deciding whether everybody was dead. Then we were simulating death; one of my comrades lying near me, stained himself with blood on his chest and head and was simulating death. One of the Germans, speaking Ukrainian, went about among the killed striking them in their faces with his gun. It was a terrible night. During a certain moment a hand grenade, the so-called "stick," was thrown through the window into

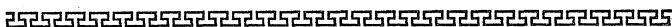
our ward. One of my comrades had his stomach open. Finally, the building was set on fire.

The fire spread very quickly; those who tried to escape were killed. A woman in our ward tried to push the inflammable stuff away from the exit and to protect the ward from the fire. All other wards, as well as the staircase, were on fire; the smoke, the smell of burning corpses, indescribable thirst; the wounded seized medicine bottles for lack of water, one of my neighbors mad from heat and thirst, seized a bottle with iodine and drank the contents, poisoning himself to death; for myself, together with some other, I moistened my lips with peroxide solution. So we lay until the morning of the following day when, with a superhuman effort, we managed to creep out from the burning ruins. As I was then only three days after a stomach operation, the stitches were torn as I dragged myself to the Podval, suffering great pain. Here I was arrested by some Tartars in German uniform and directed to the church of the Carmelites. The heroic nurses of the Polish Red Cross, who obtained from the Germans the authorization to transfer the wounded, went to fetch those who were still alive in the hospital of Długa Street.

Thus, out of several hundred heavily wounded at the Hospital in Długa Street No. 7, only a few score were left alive.

These actions in Russia were only one phase of the campaign of annihilation which Hitler was conducting. Back in Germany a man sat in an office, made out papers, forwarded telegrams, dispatched his messengers to the four corners of the Reich. This man was Adolf Eichmann, and he was killing even more people, by even more sinister methods. He was attempting the "final solution."

chapter four



The "Final Solution"

On July 31, 1941, Hermann Goering sent Reinhard Heydrich the following letter:

"Complementing the task that was assigned to you on 24 January, 1939, which dealt with arriving at—through furtherance of emigration and evacuation—a solution of the Jewish problem as favorable as possible, I hereby charge you with making all necessary preparations in regard to organizational and financial matters for bringing about a complete solution of the Jewish question in the German sphere of influence in Europe.

"Wherever other Government agencies are involved, these are to co-operate with you.

"I charge you furthermore, to send me before long an overall plan concerning the organizational, factual, and material measures necessary for the accomplishment of the desired final solution of the Jewish question."—signed—"Goering."

Heydrich had no trouble in recommending a "final solution." His advice was to kill every Jew in Europe; this recommendation was accepted by Hitler and Goering.

On January 20, 1942, a conference was held at Gross-Wannsee in the offices of the International Criminal Police Commission. Attending this conference were Heinrich Mueller and Adolf Eichmann representing the head office of the Gestapo; in addition there were SS and police officials from various parts of the conquered territories, representatives of many of the Axis satellite powers, and subordinate officials of the Nazi occupation forces in such countries as France and Poland. At this remarkable conference Heydrich discussed his "final solution" in rather cryptic terms, but we can take it for granted that everyone got the point. He said in part:

"In big labour gangs with separation of sexes the Jews who are capable of work are brought to these areas (in the Eastern occupied territories) and employed in road building, in which task undoubtedly a large part will fall out through natural diminution. The remnant that is able finally to survive all this, since this unquestionably is the part with the strongest resistance, must be given treatment accordingly, because these people, representing a natural selection, are to be regarded as the germ-cell of a new Jewish development should they be allowed to go free."

Heydrich (at least in the stenographic report which survives) did not mention what the "treatment" would be, but the implication is clear.

Reinhard Heydrich did not live to see his final solution practiced. On May 29, 1942, his car was hit by a grenade thrown by Czech partisans as he drove from Prague to his country house at Panenske Brezany. He died six days later in terrible agony, his spine having been severed by the explosion.

The man chosen to carry out Heydrich's plan was Adolf Eichmann. He did not succeed to Heydrich's office (this was filled some months later by Ernst Kaltenbrunner); instead he was placed under the direct orders of Himmler and Heinrich Mueller and told to supervise the destruction of the Jews in Europe.

Eichmann had some experience with these matters. He was put in charge of the Vienna emigration office after the Anschluss, and his recommendation for promotion to captain reads, "Eichmann directs the entire Jewish emigration." In 1939 he moved on to the office in Prague, where we have already seen him in action. After the conference at Gross-Wannsee, Eichmann was placed in charge of the Central Emigration Office for Jews and the Jewish Investigation Department of the Gestapo; these two divisions were consolidated under him as Bureau IVA, 4b of the Reichssicherheitshauptamt, or RSHA.

What kind of a man was Eichmann? Contrary to legend he was not born in Palestine; the records of the German bureaucracy make it clear that he was born in Solingen, Germany, in March, 1906; his father was head of an electrical construction company. While Eichmann was still an infant, his family moved to Linz in Austria, where it is thought he attended school with Ernst Kaltenbrunner.

His education was cut short in 1925 when his father was ruined by the postwar inflation, although Eichmann always listed his civilian occupation as "mechanical engineer" and apparently was working in this line when he was apprehended

in Argentina. In 1927 Eichmann became a salesman for Vacuum Oil A.G. and in 1931 joined the Austrian National Socialist Party. He trained with the Austrian Legion in Germany in 1933, and in 1934 was transferred to the Berlin office of the SD, the elite of the SS.

There is a possibility that Eichmann was sent on a mission (probably espionage) to Palestine in 1937, but if so, he wasn't much of a success there; the British expelled him within forty-eight hours. But from this time on he was always deeply involved in the Gestapo treatment of "the Jewish question."

We have several statements as to Eichmann's personal character. While not entirely in agreement with one another, they give us a fairly good idea of the kind of man Eichmann was.

Dieter Wisliceny at Nuremberg made out this affidavit about Eichmann:

I consider Eichmann's character and personality important factors in carrying out measures against the Jews. He was personally a cowardly man who went to great pains to protect himself from responsibility. He never made a move without approval from higher authority and was extremely careful to keep files and records establishing the responsibility of Himmler, Heydrich and later Kaltenbrunner. I have examined many of the files and records dealing with all matters in his department. Every move taken by Eichmann in executing measures against the Jews was submitted to Heydrich and later to Kaltenbrunner for approval. I have seen signed duplicate copies of Eichmann's reports to Himmler. These all went through the Chief of RSHA, Heydrich, and later Kaltenbrunner, who signed them. Signed duplicate copies of these reports bearing the name of Kaltenbrunner were filed by Eichmann. The regular channel was from Eichmann through Mueller to Kaltenbrunner and to Himmler. Eichmann was very cynical in his attitude toward the Jewish question. He gave no indication of any human feeling toward these people. He was not immoral, he was amoral and completely ice-cold in his attitude. He said to me on the occasion of our last meeting in February 1945, at which time we were discussing our fates upon losing the war: "I laugh when I jump into the grave because of the feeling that I have killed 5,000,000 Jews. That gives me great satisfaction and gratification."

Rudolf Franz Hoess, the commandant of Auschwitz, testified at a trial held in Poland after the war:

Eichmann was a man of about 30, agile, active, and full of energy. He was always scheming, on the lookout for inno-

vations and improvements. He knew no rest. He was obsessed with the Jewish question and its final solution . . . Eichmann was inwardly convinced that if the biological base of world Jewry were destroyed through annihilation of Eastern European Jewry, the Jews could never recover from such a blow, because assimilated Jewry in the West and in America could never recover from such a loss of blood. These people could hardly be expected to bring about a considerable increase in population. In this conviction he was confirmed by a fanatical Zionist leader in Hungary who always pleaded for families rich in children. Eichmann held long discussions with that Zionist leader on various Jewish subjects. . . . (from the trial in Poland, quoted in *Race and Reich* by Joseph Tannenbaum)

Neither of these portraits supports the picture of Eichmann as a wild man a la Skorenzy, who had a mistress in every port. Although he did seem to enjoy playing the Machiavelli, and particularly rejoiced in making crudely cynical jokes to those of his victims he dealt with personally, he was after all a bureaucrat. He enjoyed his work, but it was paper work.

Eichmann may not have been a slashing, diabolical killer, but his importance should not be discounted. Precisely because he was a typical clerk, precisely because he was not a hysterical anti-Semite of the Streicher variety, he was the perfect man for Himmler and Heydrich. Always correct, always in control of himself, he kept his finger on every detail of the operation personally, kept the transports moving to the death camps, and kept the lines of men and women staggering into the gas chambers.

Perhaps the best description of Eichmann's part in the whole apparatus of death was given by Wisliceny.

I, Dieter Wisliceny, being duly sworn, declare:

1. I am 34 years old and have been a member of the NSDAP since 1933 and a member of the SS since July 1934. I have been Hauptsturmfuehrer SS since 1940. From 1934 to 1937, I was assigned in Berlin and from 1937 to 1940 in Danzig. From 1940 to September 1944, I was assigned as specialist on Jewish matters in Slovakia and my mission included service in Hungary and Greece. I have known Adolph Eichmann, the former Chief of AMT IV A 4 of the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA) well since 1934 in which year we joined the Sicherheitsdienst (SD). Our relationship was so close that we addressed each other with the intimate "Du." We served together from 1934 to 1937 in Berlin and maintained friendly relations from 1937 until 1940 when he was in Vienna and I was in Danzig. Eichmann's mission in Vienna

was to direct the Central Office for Jewish Emigration and he later came to Berlin with the RSHA to take charge of AMT IV A 4, which was responsible for the solution of the Jewish question and for all church matters. At Eichmann's suggestion, I accepted an assignment as expert for AMT IV A 4 in Slovakia dealing solely with the Jewish question.

2. There were three distinct periods of activity affecting the Jews. The first period covered the time from 1937 when the Jewish Section was founded till 1940, during which the policy was to accelerate and compel Jewish emigration from Germany and Austria. Because of this, the Central Office for Jewish Emigration was founded in Vienna and later on a corresponding institution in Prague. After the victory over France, Madagascar was contemplated, but never used, as a site for the emigration. The second period during 1940 and 1941 covered the concentration of Jews in Poland and eastern territories, in Ghettos and concentration camps. The last period, from beginning 1942 to October 1944, covered the evacuation of Jews from all Germany and German controlled territories to concentration camps and their biological annihilation.

3. I first became interested in the number of Jews affected by measures taken through the RSHA when I met other specialists on Jewish matters in Eichmann's office in Berlin. It was customary for Eichmann to call the specialists in for a meeting at least once a year, usually in November. Meetings were held in 1940, 1941, 1942 and 1943. I was present at all but the latter meeting. In these meetings each representative reported on conditions in his territory and Eichmann discussed the over-all picture. He particularly stressed total figures and the use of charts which included the number of Jews in different countries, their occupations, their age groups, and statements showing the portion of Jews to the total population of each country. These charts did not include the number of persons effected by evacuation and extermination activities, since these figures were kept secret. However, from many discussions with Eichmann and specialists on the Jewish question, I learned the effects of the program of final solution in each of the countries concerned.

4. I was sent to Berlin in July or August 1942 in connection with the status of Jews from Slovakia, which mission is referred to more fully hereinafter. I was talking to Eichmann in his office in Berlin when he said that on written order of Himmler all Jews were to be exterminated. I requested to be shown the order. He took a file from the safe and showed me a top secret document with a red border, indicating immediate action. It was addressed jointly to the Chief of the Security

Police and SD and to the Inspector of Concentration Camps. The letter read substantially as follows: "The Fuehrer has decided that the final solution of the Jewish question is to start immediately. I designate the Chief of the Security Police and SD and the Inspector of Concentration Camps as responsible for the execution of this order. The particulars of the program are to be agreed upon by the Chief of the Security Police and SD and the Inspector of Concentration Camps. I am to be informed currently as to the execution of this order." The order was signed by Himmler and was dated some time in April 1942. Eichmann told me that the words "final solution" meant the biological extermination of the Jewish race, but that for the time being able-bodied Jews were to be spared and employed in industry to meet current requirements. I was so much impressed with this document which gave Eichmann authority to kill millions of people that I said at the time: "May God forbid that our enemies should ever do anything similar to the German people." He replied: "Don't be sentimental—this is a Fuehrer order." I realized at that time that the order was a death warrant for millions of people and that the power to execute this order was in Eichmann's hands subject to approval of Heydrich and later Kaltenbrunner. The program of extermination was already under way and continued until late 1944. There was no change in the program during Kaltenbrunner's administration.

5. After my meeting with Eichmann in July or August 1942, when I first learned of the Hitler order for final solution of the Jewish question by extermination, I became particularly interested in the number of persons effected and at every opportunity made notes on the basis of information from other countries. In 1943, my interest was further accentuated by requests for information from the Joint Distribution Committee and I thereafter took particular pains to collect all information available as to the number of Jews effected in other countries. In Budapest 1944 I conferred with Dr. Rudolph Kastner, representative of the Joint Distribution Committee, and compared with him information on numerous occasions particularly dealing with the total number of Jews effected. I was constantly in touch with Dr. Kastner after May 1944. I last saw him on 30 March 1945, in my apartment in Vienna.

6. On numerous occasions Eichmann told me that Jews had no value except as laborers and that only 20-25 percent were able to work. I was present in Budapest in June or July 1944 at a meeting between Eichmann and Hoess, Commandant of Auschwitz concentration camp, at which they talked specifically about the percentage of Hungarian Jews that

would be strong enough for labor. On the basis of transports previously received at Auschwitz and the supply of Jews inspected by him in collection centers, Hoess stated that only 20 or at the most 25 percent of these Hungarian Jews could be used for labor. Hoess said that this percentage also pertained to all Jews transported to Auschwitz from all over German occupied Europe, with the exception of Greek Jews who were of such poor quality that they all had to be eliminated. Among the able-bodied were women and some children over the age of 12 or 13 years. Both Eichmann and Hoess said that all Jews unfit for labor were liquidated.

7. All exterminations of Jews took place in closed camps. The camps at Auschwitz and Majdenek were referred to as extermination camps "A" and "M" respectively. I know that Jews at Auschwitz and other extermination camps were killed with gas, starting at least as early as the spring of 1942. Eichmann said that in the cases of groups from which the able-bodied had already been selected, the remainder were gassed immediately upon their arrival at the concentration camps. In cases where there was no prior selection, the screening had to take place at the concentration camps before the unfit were gassed. The inspections at concentration camps to determine who was considered able-bodied and who was to be executed were very superficial.

8. Late in 1944, Himmler directed that all executions of Jews were to cease, but Eichmann did not carry out this order until he received a written directive signed by Himmler. Unaccountable thousands of Jews who had been sent to concentration camps died of epidemics and undernourishment, such as in the camps at Flossenbrueck and Sachsenhausen.

9. In appendix A-1, I have prepared a chart of the organization of RSHA in 1944 to show the relative position of AMT IV A4 and its subsections. In the same exhibit, *I have listed the experts on the Jewish problem who served in a capacity similar to my own in other countries. Their names and assignments were:*

Hauptsturmfuehrer Dr. Seidl (Theresienstadt)
 Hauptsturmfuehrer Wisliceny (Slovakia)
 Hauptsturmfuehrer Abromeit (Croatia)
 Hauptsturmfuehrer Dannecker (Bulgaria)
 Hauptsturmfuehrer Brunner (France)
 Obersturmbannfuehrer *Krumey* (Lodz—later Vienna)
 Hauptsturmfuehrer Burger (Theresienstadt—later Athens)

I have also shown members of the staff in Eichmann's office that includes Hauptsturmfuehrer Franz Novak who had

charge of all transportation matters concerning all evacuations of Jews and Untersturmfuehrer Hartenberger who was a specialist in individual cases. To my personal knowledge, based on my observations during several years service in the Balkan countries and close association with leaders in these countries who were responsible for actions taken against the Jews, the number of Jews affected were approximately: 66,000 in Slovakia; 60,000 in Greece; 8,000 in Bulgaria; 3,000 in Croatia and 500,000 in Hungary. In Appendix A-111 I have set forth details as to their disposition.

* * * * *

12. My mission in Slovakia was to advise the Slovak government on all Jewish questions, I was instructed to establish good relations with the Slovak government and consider my work as a diplomatic mission. I was assigned for administrative purposes to the German Legation at Bratislava and reported to Minister von Killinger, later to Minister Ludin. Copies of these reports were sent to Eichmann to whom I regularly sent confidential SD reports.

13. In 1941 when I visited the concentration area Sosnowitz where approximately 100,000 Jews were used as slave labor in large factories making uniforms and furniture, I was accompanied by a Slovak mission which was interested in establishing similar concentration labor projects in Slovakia. We found conditions not favorable but bearable. Thereafter two concentration work areas were established in Slovakia at Sered and Novaky where about 4,000 Jews, who had been removed from their individual shops and businesses, were forced to labor in factories and joiner's workshops. These work centers continued to operate until the insurrection in September 1944.

14. In March and April 1942, 17,000 specially selected Jews were sent to Lublin and Auschwitz, Poland, as construction workers and in May and June 1942, approximately 35,000 members of their families were sent to Auschwitz, at the request of the Slovak government since no provision had been made to support these families. At the request of the Slovak government, I went to Berlin in late July or August 1942, to obtain permission for a Slovak commission to visit these Jews in the area of Lublin. Eichmann, speaking of the 35,000 in the second group, told me that such a mission would be impossible and that "The Slovaks won't be able to see their Jews any more because they are no longer alive."

15. In September 1944, there remained about 25,000 Jews in Slovakia. Some of these joined in the insurrection at that

time. SS Hauptsturmfuehrer Brunner who had been sent to Slovakia from Paris in August 1944 pursuant to Eichmann's order, had all Jews that could be found arrested and sent to Sered. They were thereafter transported to Auschwitz and executed. I know of no survivors from this evacuation of Jews from Slovakia, although many escaped who had hidden during the rounding up in October 1944.

16. In January 1943, I was ordered by Eichmann to go to Salonika and make arrangements with the military administration to find a final solution for the Jewish problem there. Shortly before my departure from Bratislava I was told to meet Hauptsturmfuehrer Brunner in Vienna. He showed me a "Marsch" order and told me that he had been given the assignment by Eichmann to arrange all technical matters and that I was to make contacts with the authorities and governmental agencies. We went to Salonika together on 2 February 1944, and conferred with the Chief of the Military Administration, War Administrative Counsellor Dr. Merten from the military command, Area Salonika-Aegeus. Also, the local branch office of the Secret Police and SD, the Criminal Commissioner Paschleben and Counsel General Schoenberg. Dr. Merten was the decisive authority and said he wished the Jews in Salonika first be concentrated in certain areas of the city. This was done without difficulty during February-March 1943. At least 80 percent of the Greek Jews were workers, laborers, craftsmen or longshoremen, but a large proportion of them had tuberculosis and had also suffered from epidemics raging in their quarters. The Salonika Jews had lived in Greece since the 15th century, when they had fled from the inquisition in Spain. On or about 10 March, Eichmann sent Brunner a message that the compulsory evacuation (Aussiedlung) of Jews was to start at once. Dr. Merten agreed to the action but requested 3,000 male Jewish workers for railroad construction work under the Organization Todt who were later returned in time for inclusion in the last transports. I talked to Eichmann by telephone in Berlin telling him that typhus raged among the Jews but he said his orders for immediate compulsory evacuation would stand.

* * * * * * * *

18. Altogether, 60,000 Jews were collected from Greece and shipped to Auschwitz. I am sure that this figure is approximately correct. I know that twenty-four transports averaging approximately 2,300 human beings each were shipped from Salonika and surroundings between March and May 1943, under the supervision of Hauptsturmfuehrer Brunner

and myself, while two transports of about 2,500 each were shipped from Athens in July 1944 under the supervision of Hauptsturmfuehrer Burger. The freight cars used in these transports were furnished by the Military Transport Command. The requests for these cars went from Hauptsturmfuehrer Novak in IV A 4 b to Department Counsellor Stange in the Ministry of Transport, Berlin and thence through channels to the area transport command. Transports used in effecting the final solution of the Jewish problem commanded a sufficiently high priority to take precedence over other freight movements. All shipments were made on schedule, even in July 1944 when the Germans were evacuating Greece and rail transport needs were critical. Upon the departure of each transport a message was sent to Eichmann in Berlin stating the number of heads sent. I have seen copies of these cables in a folder kept by Brunner and upon completion of the movement of Jews from Northern Greece, Brunner made a summary report to Eichmann. I returned to Bratislava for several weeks and arrived again in Salonika at the end of May 1943 at which time Brunner was preparing the last shipment. The last transport left Salonika two days after my arrival and upon completion of the last shipment, Brunner was transferred to Paris for his new assignment.

19. During the period of collection into designated areas, the Jewish population was compelled to furnish their own subsistence. Upon arrival in the collecting camp, representatives of the Jewish community took over all cash and valuables from the inmates. Altogether, by August 1943, 280,000,000 drachmas had been deposited in the Greek National Bank for such purpose. This amount was appropriated by the German Military Administration. The property left behind, houses, businesses, apartments, movable belongings, etc., were administered by the Greek Governor General of Macedonia under the control of the Military Administration.

20. In July 1944, Hoess, Commandant of Auschwitz, told Eichmann in my presence in Budapest that all of the Greek Jews had been exterminated because of their poor quality.

* * * * *

28. I am not personally informed as to the effects of measures taken in Germany or other occupied countries although I have heard many discussions by Eichmann and the Jewish Specialists from RSHA on such areas concerning the numbers involved. Neither am I informed as to the results of operations by Einsatz Groups in Poland and Russia but I know the Einsatz Groups operating in the East were designated "A"

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through at least "H." I talked to members of Einsatz Group "H" late in 1944 in Hungary, who had operated in the area around the Black Sea. On the basis of the information I have received, some of which came direct from Eichmann, there were hundreds of thousands of Jews exterminated by these Einsatz Groups.

29. In November 1942, in Eichmann's office in Berlin, I met Standartenfuehrer Plobel, who was leader of Kommando 1005, which was specially assigned to remove all traces of the final solution (extermination) of the Jewish problem by Einsatz Groups and all other executions. Kommando 1005 operated from at least autumn 1942 to September 1944 and was all this period subordinated to Eichmann. The mission was constituted after it first became apparent that Germany would not be able to hold all the territory occupied in the East and it was considered necessary to remove all traces of the criminal executions that had been committed. While in Berlin in November 1942, Plobel gave a lecture before Eichmann's staff of specialists on the Jewish question from the occupied territories. He spoke of the special incinerators he had personally constructed for use in the work of Kommando 1005. It was their particular assignment to open the graves and remove and cremate the bodies of persons who had been previously executed. Kommando 1005 operated in Russia, Poland and through the Baltic area. I again saw Plobel in Hungary in 1944 and he stated to Eichmann in my presence that the mission of Kommando 1005 had been completed.

* * * * *

32. On the first of February, the camp in Trebnitz was evacuated because of the approaching Russians. Mueller returned me to Eichmann. In late February I talked to Eichmann and he made the statement which I have referred to above in paragraph 10. Eichmann proposed to Runschke and myself that he was going to have Theresienstadt destroyed together with all the Jewish inmates. We prevailed upon him to abandon such a plan. At this meeting, Eichmann also said that if matters came to the worst, he would return to Prague and shoot his family and himself. I did not see Eichmann again.

* * * * *

I understand written English and have made the foregoing statements and attached Appendix A-I and II voluntarily and under oath.

[signed] DIETER WISLICENY

Although Wisliceny is one of the few witnesses who mention Eichmann in connection with the Einsatzgruppen actions, it is clear from the organization of the RSHA, through whose channels all of these actions flowed, that Eichmann knew exactly what was going on in Russia, and it is more than likely that he helped Heydrich and later Kaltenbrunner with the administrative details of these actions.

We shall return to Wisliceny later in this chapter for further information on one of Eichmann's pet schemes—the "blood for money" exchange in Hungary.

Rudolf Franz Hoess, the commandant of Auschwitz, was a technician of death. A scrupulous man about mechanical matters, he was proud of the "improvements" he had devised in the gas chambers, yet proved incapable of any feeling toward the men and women he put through those chambers. Both the manner and substance of his testimony at Nuremberg reveal him as the perfect Nazi, a man so far gone in the National Socialist ideology that he told the glaring truth about these crimes, without feeling it necessary to hedge or evade any questions, because he did not even consider it possible that any guilt should attach itself to his actions.

He was examined by the defense attorney for Ernst Kaltenbrunner, Dr. Kauffmann.

DR. KAUFFMANN: With the agreement of the Tribunal, I now call the witness Hoess.

[The witness Hoess took the stand.]

THE PRESIDENT: Stand up. Will you state your name?

RUDOLF FRANZ FERDINAND HOESS: (Witness); Rudolf Franz Ferdinand Hoess.

THE PRESIDENT: Will you repeat this oath after me: I swear by God—the Almighty and Omniscient—that I will speak the pure truth—and will withhold and add nothing.

[The witness repeated the oath in German.]

THE PRESIDENT: Will you sit down?

DR. KAUFFMANN: Witness, your statements will have far-reaching significance. You are perhaps the only one who can throw some light upon certain hidden aspects, and who can tell which people gave the orders for the destruction of European Jewry, and can further state how this order was carried out and to what degree the execution was kept a secret.

THE PRESIDENT: Dr. Kauffmann, will you kindly put questions to the witness.

DR. KAUFFMANN: Yes.

[Turning to the witness.] From 1940 to 1943, you were the Commander of the camp at Auschwitz. Is that true?

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HOESS: Yes.

DR. KAUFFMANN: And during that time, hundreds of thousands of human beings were sent to their death there. Is that correct?

HOESS: Yes.

DR. KAUFFMANN: Is it true that you, yourself, have made no exact notes regarding the figures of the number of those victims because you were forbidden to make them?

HOESS: Yes, that is correct.

DR. KAUFFMANN: Is it furthermore correct that exclusively one man by the name of Eichmann had notes about this, the man who had the task of organizing and assembling these people?

HOESS: Yes.

DR. KAUFFMANN: Is it furthermore true that Eichmann stated to you that in Auschwitz a total sum of more than 2 million Jews had been destroyed?

HOESS: Yes.

DR. KAUFFMANN: Men, women, and children?

HOESS: Yes.

DR. KAUFFMANN: When were you commander at Auschwitz?

HOESS: I was commander at Auschwitz from May 1940 until December 1943.

DR. KAUFFMANN: What was the highest number of human beings, prisoners, ever held at one time at Auschwitz?

HOESS: The highest number of internees held at one time at Auschwitz was about 140,000 men and women.

DR. KAUFFMANN: Is it true that in 1941 you were ordered to Berlin to see Himmler? Please state briefly what was discussed.

HOESS: Yes. In the summer of 1941 I was summoned to Berlin to Reichsfuehrer SS Himmler to receive personal orders. He told me something to the effect—I do not remember the exact words—that the Fuehrer had given the order for a final solution of the Jewish question. We, the SS, must carry out that order. If it is not carried out now then the Jews will later on destroy the German people. He had chosen Auschwitz on account of its easy access by rail and also because the extensive site offered space for measures ensuring isolation.

DR. KAUFFMANN: During that conference did Himmler tell you that this planned action had to be treated as a secret Reich matter?

HOESS: Yes. He stressed that point. He told me that I was not even allowed to say anything about it to my immediate superior Gruppenfuehrer Glucks. This conference concerned the two of us only and I was to observe the strictest secrecy.

DR. KAUFFMANN: What was the position held by Glucks whom you have just mentioned?

HOESS: Gruppenfuehrer Glucks was, so to speak, the inspector of concentration camps at that time and he was immediately subordinate to the Reichsfuehrer.

DR. KAUFFMANN: Does the expression "secret Reich matter" mean that no one was permitted to make even the slightest allusion to outsiders without endangering his own life?

HOESS: Yes, "secret Reich matter" means that no one was allowed to speak about these matters with any person and that everyone promised upon his life to keep the utmost secrecy.

DR. KAUFFMANN: Did you happen to break that promise?

HOESS: No, not until the end of 1942.

DR. KAUFFMANN: Why do you mention that date? Did you talk to outsiders after that date?

HOESS: At the end of 1942 my wife's curiosity was aroused by remarks made by the then Gauleiter of Upper Silesia, regarding happenings in my camp. She asked me whether this was the truth and I admitted that it was. That was my only breach of the promise I had given to the Reichsfuehrer. Otherwise I have never talked about it to anyone else.

DR. KAUFFMANN: When did you meet Eichmann?

HOESS: I met Eichmann about 4 weeks after having received that order from the Reichsfuehrer. He came to Auschwitz to discuss the details with me on the carrying out of the given order. As the Reichsfuehrer had told me during our discussion, he had instructed Eichmann to discuss the carrying out of the order with me and I was to receive all further instructions from him.

DR. KAUFFMANN: Will you briefly tell whether it is correct that the camp of Auschwitz was completely isolated, describing the measures taken to insure as far as possible the secrecy of carrying out of the task given to you?

HOESS: The Auschwitz camp as such was about 3 kilometers away from the town. About 20,000 acres of the surrounding country had been cleared of all former inhabitants, and the entire area could be entered only by SS men or civilian employees who had special passes. The actual compound called "Birkenau," where later on the extermination camp was constructed, was situated 2 kilometers from the Auschwitz camp. The camp installations themselves, that is to say, the provisional installations used at first were deep in the woods and could from nowhere be detected by the eye. In addition to that, this area had been declared a prohibited area and even members of the SS who did not have a special pass could not enter it. Thus, as far as one could judge, it was impossible for anyone except authorized persons to enter that area.

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DR. KAUFFMANN: And then the railway transports arrived. During what period did these transports arrive and about how many people, roughly, were in such a transport?

HOESS: During the whole period up until 1944 certain operations were carried out at irregular intervals in the different countries, so that one cannot speak of a continuous flow of incoming transports. It was always a matter of 4 to 6 weeks. During those 4 to 6 weeks two to three trains, containing about 2,000 persons each, arrived daily. These trains were first of all shunted to a siding in the Birkenau region and the locomotives then went back. The guards who had accompanied the transport had to leave the area at once and the persons who had been brought in were taken over by guards belonging to the camp.

They were there examined by two SS medical officers as to their fitness for work. The internees capable of work at once marched to Auschwitz or to the camp at Birkenau and those incapable of work were at first taken to the provisional installations, then later to the newly constructed crematoria.

DR. KAUFFMANN: During an interrogation I had with you the other day you told me that about 60 men were designated to receive these transports, and that these 60 persons, too, had been bound to the same secrecy described before. Do you still maintain that today?

HOESS: Yes, these 60 men were always on hand to take the internees not capable of work to these provisional installations and later on to the other ones. This group, consisting of about ten leaders and subleaders, as well as doctors and medical personnel, had repeatedly been told, both in writing and verbally, that they were bound to the strictest secrecy as to all that went on in the camps.

DR. KAUFFMANN: Were there any signs that might show an outsider who saw these transports arrive, that they would be destroyed or was that possibility so small because there was in Auschwitz an unusually large number of incoming transports, shipments of goods and so forth?

HOESS: Yes, an observer who did not make special notes for that purpose could obtain no idea about that because to begin with not only transports arrived which were destined to be destroyed but also other transports arrived continuously, containing new internees who were needed in the camp. Furthermore, transports likewise left the camp in sufficiently large numbers with internees fit for work or exchanged prisoners.

The trains themselves were closed, that is to say, the doors of the freight cars were closed so that it was not possible, from the outside, to get a glimpse of the people inside. In addition to that, up to 100 cars of materials, rations, *et cetera*, were

daily rolled into the camp or continuously left the workshops of the camp in which war material was being made.

DR. KAUFFMANN: And after the arrival of the transports were the victims stripped of everything they had? Did they have to undress completely; did they have to surrender their valuables? Is that true?

HOESS: Yes.

DR. KAUFFMANN: And then they immediately went to their death?

HOESS: Yes.

DR. KAUFFMANN: I ask you, according to your knowledge, did these people know what was in store for them?

HOESS: The majority of them did not, for steps were taken to keep them in doubt about it and suspicion would not arise that they were to go to their death. For instance, all doors and all walls bore inscriptions to the effect that they were going to undergo a delousing operation or take a shower. This was made known in several languages to the internees by other internees who had come in with earlier transports and who were being used as auxiliary crews during the whole action.

DR. KAUFFMANN: And then, you told me the other day, that death by gassing set in within a period of 3 to 15 minutes. Is that correct?

HOESS: Yes.

DR. KAUFFMANN: You also told me that even before death finally set in, the victims fell into a state of unconsciousness?

HOESS: Yes. From what I was able to find out myself or from what was told me by medical officers, the time necessary for reaching unconsciousness or death varied according to the temperature and the number of people present in the chambers. Loss of consciousness took place within a few seconds or a few minutes.

DR. KAUFFMANN: Did you yourself ever feel pity with the victims, thinking of your own family and children?

HOESS: Yes.

DR. KAUFFMANN: How was it possible for you to carry out these actions in spite of this?

HOESS: In view of all these doubts which I had, the only one and decisive argument was the strict order and the reason given for it by the Reichsfuehrer Himmler.

DR. KAUFFMANN: I ask you whether Himmler inspected the camp and convinced himself, too, of the process of annihilation?

HOESS: Yes. Himmler visited the camp in 1942 and he watched in detail one processing from beginning to end.

DR. KAUFFMANN: Does the same apply to Eichmann?

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HOESS: Eichmann came repeatedly to Auschwitz and was intimately acquainted with the proceedings.

[Col. Amen cross-examined Hoess for the prosecution.]

COL. AMEN: Witness, you made an affidavit, did you not, at the request of the Prosecution?

HOESS: Yes.

COL. AMEN: I ask that the witness be shown Document 3868-PS, which will become Exhibit USA-819.

[The Document was submitted to the witness.]

COL. AMEN: You signed that affidavit voluntarily, Witness?

HOESS: Yes.

COL. AMEN: And the affidavit is true in all respects?

HOESS: Yes.

COL. AMEN: This, if the Tribunal please, we have in four languages.

[Turning to the witness.] Some of the matters covered in this affidavit you have already told us about in part, so I will omit some parts of the affidavit. If you will follow along with me as I read, please. Do you have a copy of the affidavit before you?

HOESS: Yes.

COL. AMEN: I will omit the first paragraph and start with Paragraph 2:

"I have been constantly associated with the administration of concentration camps since 1934, serving at Dachau until 1938; then as Adjutant in Sachsenhausen from 1938 to 1 May, 1940, when I was appointed Commandant of Auschwitz. I commanded Auschwitz until 1 December 1943, and estimate that at least 2,500,000 victims were executed and exterminated there by gassing and burning, and at least another half million succumbed to starvation and disease making a total dead of about 3,000,000. This figure represents about 70 or 80 percent of all persons sent to Auschwitz as prisoners, the remainder having been selected and used for slave labor in the concentration camp industries; included among the executed and burned were approximately 20,000 Russian prisoners of war (previously screened out of prisoner-of-war cages by the Gestapo) who were delivered at Auschwitz in Wehrmacht transports operated by regular Wehrmacht officers and men. The remainder of the total number of victims included about 100,000 German Jews, and great numbers of citizens, mostly Jewish, from Holland, France, Belgium, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Greece, or other countries. We executed about 400,000 Hungarian Jews alone at Auschwitz in the summer of 1944."

That is all true, Witness?

HOESS: Yes, it is.

"4. Mass executions by gassing commenced during the summer of 1941 and continued until fall 1944. I personally supervised executions at Auschwitz until first of December 1943 and know by reason of my continued duties in the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps, WVHA, that these mass executions continued as stated above. All mass executions by gassing took place under the direct order, supervision, and responsibility of RSHA. I received all orders for carrying out these mass executions directly from RSHA." Are those statements true and correct, Witness?

HOESS: Yes, they are.

COL. AMEN: "5. On 1 December 1943 I became Chief of Amt I in Amt Group D of the WVHA, and in that office was responsible for co-ordinating all matters arising between RSHA and concentration camps under the administration of WVHA. I held this position until the end of the war. Pohl, as Chief of WVHA, and Kaltenbrunner, as Chief of RSHA, often conferred personally and frequently communicated orally and in writing concerning concentration camps. . . ." You have already told us about the lengthy report which you took to Kaltenbrunner in Berlin, so I will omit the remainder of Paragraph 5.

"6. The 'final solution' of the Jewish question meant the complete extermination of all Jews in Europe. I was ordered to establish extermination facilities at Auschwitz in June 1941. At that time, there were already in the General Government three other extermination camps: Belzek, Treblinka, and Wolzek. These camps were under the Einsatzkommando of the Security Police and SD. I visited Treblinka to find out how they carried out their exterminations. The camp commandant at Treblinka told me that he had liquidated 80,000 in the course of one-half year. He was principally concerned with liquidating all the Jews from the Warsaw Ghetto. He used monoxide gas, and I did not think that his methods were very efficient. So when I set up the extermination building at Auschwitz, I used Cyklon B, which was a crystallized prussic acid which we dropped into the death chamber from a small opening. It took from 3 to 15 minutes to kill the people in the death chamber, depending upon climatic conditions. We knew when the people were dead because their screaming stopped. We usually waited about one-half hour before we opened the doors and removed the bodies. After the bodies were removed our special Kommandos took off the rings and extracted the gold from the teeth of the corpses."

Is that all true and correct, Witness?

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HOESS: Yes.

COL. AMEN: Incidentally, what was done with the gold which was taken from the teeth of the corpses—do you know?

HOESS: Yes.

COL. AMEN: Will you tell the Tribunal?

HOESS: This gold was melted down and brought to the Chief Medical Office of the SS at Berlin.

COL. AMEN:

"7. Another improvement we made over Treblinka was that we built our gas chamber to accommodate 2,000 people at one time whereas at Treblinka their 10 gas chambers only accommodated 200 people each. The way we selected our victims was as follows: We had two SS doctors on duty at Auschwitz to examine the incoming transports of prisoners. The prisoners would be marched by one of the doctors who would make spot decisions as they walked by. Those who were fit for work were sent into the camp. Others were sent immediately to the extermination plants. Children of tender years were invariably exterminated since by reason of their youth they were unable to work. Still another improvement we made over Treblinka was that at Treblinka the victims almost always knew that they were to be exterminated and at Auschwitz we endeavored to fool the victims into thinking that they were to go through a delousing process. Of course, frequently they realized our true intentions and we sometimes had riots and difficulties due to that fact. Very frequently women would hide their children under the clothes, but of course when we found them we would send the children in to be exterminated. We were required to carry out these exterminations in secrecy but of course the foul and nauseating stench from the continuous burning of bodies permeated the entire area and all of the people living in the surrounding communities knew that exterminations were going on at Auschwitz."

Is that all true and correct, Witness?

HOESS. Yes.

[Dr. Kauffmann re-examined Hoess.]

DR. KAUFFMANN: Under Point 4, at the end, you state:

"All mass executions through gassing took place under the direct order, supervision, and responsibility of RSHA. I received all orders for carrying out these mass executions directly from RSHA."

According to the statements which you previously made to the Tribunal, this entire action came to you directly from

Himmler through Eichmann, who had been personally delegated. Do you maintain that now as before?

HOESS: Yes.

Further evidence of Eichmann's complicity in the "final solution" and the order of the chain of command was given by a variety of witnesses. It should always be kept in mind while reading this evidence that these defendants were trying to save their own skins and for that reason some of them may have tended to blame everything on Eichmann. But even if this is taken into account, it is clear that Eichmann bears a major share of the guilt.

Kaltenbrunner's testimony, in particular, was incredible at times. That he never heard of Auschwitz, one of the largest camps, until 1943; that he only heard about the "final solution" in 1944—replies like these insulted the intelligence of his judges. Nevertheless, he told a good deal about Eichmann's role in the RSHA organization, which he headed after Heydrich's death.

KALTENBRUNNER: I do not know the date when these two camps were set up. The one in Lublin and the other one in Hertogenbosch were subordinate through the channel of the WVHA to the Higher Police and SS Leader of the occupied countries in which they were situated, so that the main offices in Berlin had nothing to do with them.

DR. KAUFFMANN: Now, will you please answer this question with "yes" or "no": Had the concentration camp at Auschwitz been known to you as such?

KALTENBRUNNER: No, I did not know about it until November of 1943.

DR. KAUFFMANN: Were you, simultaneously with learning of the camp's existence, informed of the significance of this camp, namely, that it was exclusively an extermination camp for Jews handed over by Eichmann?

KALTENBRUNNER: No, it could not have been known to anybody as such, for the question put to Himmler, "Why was such a large camp being installed there?" was always answered by him, "Because of the proximity of the large armament works." And I think he mentioned then Vitkovice and others.

At any rate—and I think this must be emphasized—there was such a complete secrecy regarding what went on in Auschwitz, that the statements of not only the defendants but of anyone else who might be asked by the Americans, "Do you know about it?" and answers in the negative must be believed.

DR. KAUFFMANN: The most atrocious excesses are connected with this camp in Auschwitz. This concentration camp

was under the spiritual leadership of the infamous Eichmann. Now I am asking you: When did you get acquainted with Eichmann?

KALTENBRUNNER: I became acquainted with Eichmann in my home town, Linz. The Prosecution have stated—and today the attempt was made to establish from an affidavit—that I was a friend, or at least a close acquaintance, of Eichmann. I would like to make the following statement on this with particular reference to my oath. I have a different conception of a close acquaintance or even a friendship.

I learned of Eichmann's existence in Linz because his father, as director of an electrical construction company at Linz, consulted my father as a lawyer, and thus they knew each other, and because, he, the son of his father, attended the same high school as my brothers.

Therefore, the statement of Hoettl that I had met Eichmann in an SS platoon at Linz is wrong, because when I joined the SS Eichmann had already fled to Germany, as I learned later.

Secondly, the Prosecution states that I met the same Eichmann for the first time in 1932 and for the second time in February or March 1945. Therefore, I did not see him for 13 years and after that last meeting I never saw him again.

On the basis of these two personal meetings, I can draw the conclusion that I was neither a friend of his nor that we were closely acquainted. It is true that on that second occasion he accosted me and said, "Obergruppenfuehrer Eichmann is my name! I come from Linz too." I said, "Pleased to meet you. How are things back home?" But there was no official contact.

DR. KAUFFMANN: Witness Lammers stated yesterday that in the RSHA a conference took place regarding the so-called "final solution." Did you know about it?

KALTENBRUNNER: No. I think that the witness Lammers, and another witness, too, stated that Eichmann, possibly under my name, had called a meeting at the RSHA in Berlin during February or March 1943, a so-called discussion with department chiefs. I have to say to that, that nominally I did commence my services in Berlin on 30 January, but in fact, until May I was not in Berlin except for a few official visits, but in Vienna, where I was enlarging my intelligence service in order to transfer it eventually to Berlin.

DR. KAUFFMANN: One further question to that. When did you hear for the first time, that the camp at Auschwitz was an extermination camp?

KALTENBRUNNER: Himmler told me that in 1944, in February or March. That is, he did not tell me, he admitted it.

DR. KAUFFMANN: What was your attitude upon learning this?

KALTENBRUNNER: I did not hear the question.

DR. KAUFFMANN: What attitude did you adopt when you heard about it?

KALTENBRUNNER: I had no knowledge of Hitler's order to Heydrich regarding the final solution of the Jewish problem at the time I took up my office. In the summer of 1943 I gathered from the foreign press and through the enemy radio . . .

THE PRESIDENT: This is not an answer to your question. You asked him what he did when he found out that Auschwitz was a concentration camp. He is now making a long speech about Heydrich. You asked for his attitude. I suppose you meant what he did when he first heard that Auschwitz was an extermination camp, in February or March 1944. He is now telling us a long story about something having to do with Heydrich.

DR. KAUFFMANN: Please try to give me a direct answer to that question. What was your attitude after you heard about that? Answer quite briefly and very concisely, please.

KALTENBRUNNER: Immediately after receiving knowledge of this fact, I fought, just as I had done previously, not only against the final solution, but also against this type of treatment of the Jewish problem. For that reason I wanted to explain how through my intelligence service I became acquainted with the whole Jewish problem, and what I did against it.

THE PRESIDENT: We still don't know what you did . . .

DR. KAUFFMANN: What did you do? I am asking you for the last time.

KALTENBRUNNER: In order to explain what I did I must explain how I reacted, just as I have to tell you what I heard about it.

DR. KAUFFMANN: Just explain to us your reactions.

KALTENBRUNNER: First I protested to Hitler and the next day to Himmler. I did not only draw their attention to my personal attitude and my completely different conception which I had brought over from Austria and to my humanitarian qualms, but immediately, from the first day, I concluded practically every one of my situation reports right to the very end by saying that there was no hostile power that would negotiate with a Reich which had burdened itself with this guilt. Those were the reports I put to Himmler and Hitler, particularly pointing out also that the intelligence sector would have to create the atmosphere for discussions with the enemy.

DR. KAUFFMANN: When did the Jewish persecution end?

KALTENBRUNNER: October 1944.

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DR. KAUFFMANN: Do you want to say that this was due to your intervention?

KALTENBRUNNER: I am firmly convinced that this is chiefly due to my intervention, although a number of others also worked toward the same end. But I do not think that there was anyone who kept dinning it into Himmler's ears every time he met him or that there was anyone who would have spoken so openly and frankly and with such self-abnegation to Hitler as I did.

DR. KAUFFMANN: Was that instruction to Eichmann an instruction which came from Hitler and Himmler to the RSHA and then to Eichmann, or was it a strictly personal order outside the competence of the RSHA?

KALTENBRUNNER: Naturally I can only reconstruct the situation today, since I was not there when these orders were issued; but I have reason to assume that the channels for this order were: Hitler, Heydrich, Eichmann; and that Himmler, shortly after Heydrich's death, kept on working with Eichmann and probably very often even excluded Mueller.

DR. KAUFFMANN: The witness Wisliceny, who was examined here—and this I am going to put to you—stated on 3 January that practically the final solution was carried out between April 1942 and October 1944. Wisliceny referred to a personal order from Himmler and stated further that Eichmann was personally charged with the task. But he goes on to say, "The extermination of Jews continued under Kaltenbrunner without any reduction or alleviation." Reports made by Eichmann to that effect were sent at regular intervals to Kaltenbrunner through Mueller. It is stated that in 1944 Eichmann called personally on Kaltenbrunner, and Wisliceny affirms having seen Kaltenbrunner's signature on such reports to Himmler.

That was Wisliceny's testimony. Now my question: Is this testimony true in its essential points?

KALTENBRUNNER: The testimony is wrong, but I can clarify it. Wisliceny may have seen my signature once, not on a report to Himmler which I had received from Eichmann and Mueller, but on a letter which I wrote to Himmler, a copy of which I passed on to Mueller and Eichmann for their information and in which I referred to my last report—verbal report—to Himmler regarding the Jewish question. It was on this occasion that, for the first time, I heard of Eichmann's activity in that respect, and, in order to make it clear to Eichmann that I did not want to be associated with that activity, I had Mueller give this man a copy of the letter to Himmler. In that letter I asked Himmler to define his attitude so that, since the Fuehrer again had ordered me to report to

him, I could give the Fuehrer a full report on Himmler's activities and therefore wanted an early decision.

DR. KAUFFMANN: The witness Hoettl has stated in an affidavit that he had heard from Eichmann that a total number of 4 to 5 million Jewish persons had been exterminated, about 2 million of them in Auschwitz. Have you heard any such figures?

KALTENBRUNNER: I have never heard such figures. But I approached Himmler on that subject and asked him whether he had any idea of all these crimes so far. The reason I put that question to him was that he would realize the extent of the catastrophe which was bound to follow. He replied to me that he had no figures. I do not believe it. I believe he had them.

DR. KAUFFMANN: Do you want to assume a responsibility in this connection or do you want to deny it?

KALTENBRUNNER: I must deny it completely, because I hope to be able to prove through Burckhardt that there was nobody who exposed himself more on this question in favor of another solution.

Dr. Kauffmann introduced affidavits which tended to show Eichmann as a wolf, Kaltenbrunner a lamb. That Eichmann was vicious cannot be doubted; but the judges did not believe in Kaltenbrunner's innocence and he was hanged on October 16, 1946.

Affidavit. I the undersigned, Dr. Wilhelm Hoettl, make the following affidavit in answer to the questions put to me by attorney Dr. Kauffmann for presentation to the International Military Tribunal.

* * * * *

Question Number 4: Do you know about the 'Eichmann Operation' to exterminate the Jews?

Answer: I learned details of the Eichmann Operation only at the end of August 1944. At that time Eichmann himself gave me detailed information. Eichmann explained, among other things, that the whole action was a special Reich secret and was known to only very few people. The total number of members of this Kommando, in my opinion, could hardly have exceeded 100.

Question Number 5: What do you know about the relations between Eichmann and Kaltenbrunner?

Answer: I know nothing about the official relations between the two. However, Eichmann may well have had no direct

official contact with Kaltenbrunner. He often asked me to arrange a meeting with Kaltenbrunner for him. Kaltenbrunner always refused.

Col. Amen, for the prosecution, produced counter-affidavits.

COL. AMEN: The affidavit of Dr. Mildner dated 9 April 1946 will become Exhibit Number USA-791 and the affidavit of Wilhelm Hoettl which I am about to read, dated 10 April 1946, will become Exhibit Number USA-792.

"I, the undersigned, Dr. Wilhelm Hoettl, make the following affidavit in response to cross-interrogation relating to an affidavit executed by me on 30 March 1946 answering questions put by Dr. Kauffmann for presentation to the International Military Tribunal.

"2) With respect to question Number 4: Is it not a fact that Heydrich, as Chief of Sipo and SD, gave the initial instructions to Eichmann concerning the extermination of Jews; that in the RSHA Eichmann's immediate superior was Mueller, Chief of the Gestapo; that Mueller was first the deputy of Heydrich and later of Kaltenbrunner?

"With respect to 2): Yes, I heard from Eichmann, probably in August 1944, that Heydrich had given him these directives. It is also correct that Mueller, Chief of the Gestapo, was Eichmann's immediate superior. As far as I know, Mueller was the deputy of Heydrich and later of Kaltenbrunner only in the field of the Gestapo, as likewise were the other office chiefs in their respective fields.

"3) With respect to Question Number 5: Is it not a fact that you know from your discussions with Kaltenbrunner and with Eichmann that they came from the same community in Austria and were exceptionally close friends; that Eichmann always had direct access to Kaltenbrunner and that they frequently conferred together; that Kaltenbrunner was well pleased with the manner in which Eichmann carried out his duties; that Kaltenbrunner was very interested in the extermination work performed by Eichmann; that you personally know that Kaltenbrunner went to Hungary for the purpose of discussing the extermination program in Hungary with officials of the Hungarian Government and with Eichmann and other members of his staff in Hungary? Please confirm or correct these statements and make any statement necessary to clarify your answer.

"With respect to 3): I heard from Eichmann that he knew Kaltenbrunner from Linz and that they served there together in 1932 in an SS Sturm. I do not know that they were particularly close friends or that Eichmann always had direct

access to Kaltenbrunner and that they conferred frequently.

"I do not know the details about their official relationship. I do not know whether Kaltenbrunner also had conferences concerning the program of extermination of Jews in Hungary during his stays in Hungary in the spring of 1944. Winkelmann, the former Higher SS and Police Leader in Hungary, must know exactly about that, since, according to my knowledge, he, together with Kaltenbrunner, visited persons in the Hungarian Government.

"Question Number 5: With respect to your answer to Question Number 7 of your affidavit of 29 March 1946, is it not a fact that:

"a) After you sent a telegram to Muller requesting that the Jewish persecution be stopped, you received an order by Himmler that the Jewish actions were to be carried out?

"b) That you then flew to Berlin for the purpose of talking with the Chief of the Sipo and SD, Kaltenbrunner, personally, but that since he was absent you saw his deputy, Muller, Head of Office IV of the RSHA, who, in your presence, wrote a message to Himmler containing your request that the persecutions of the Jews in Denmark be stopped?

"c) That shortly after your return to Copenhagen you received a direct order by Himmler sent through Kaltenbrunner as Chief of the Sipo and SD, stating that the 'The Anti-Jewish actions are to be started immediately'?

"d) That for the purpose of carrying out this action the Sonderkommando Eichmann, which was under the Gestapo, was sent from Berlin to Copenhagen for the purpose of deporting the Jews in two ships which it had chartered?

"Answer: Yes, to each question—a), b), c), and d).

"Question Number 6: Is it not a fact that the action of Sonderkommando Eichmann was not a success; that Muller ordered you to make a report explaining the causes for the lack of success in deporting of Jews; and that you sent this report directly to the Chief of the Sipo and SD, Kaltenbrunner?

"Answer: Yes. That is right.

"I have read the above questions and answers as written and swear they are true and correct. . . ."—*et cetera*.

Kaltenbrunner's attorney summarized this theory of the sole responsibility of Eichmann and Himmler in these words:

Nobody will be able to deny that the question is justified whether it was not Kaltenbrunner's duty to have himself informed in the shortest possible time at least about the most essential proceedings in all the departments of the Reich Security Main Office and whether he would not then very soon

have obtained knowledge of, for example, Himmler's and Eichmann's anti-Jewish operation and many other serious terrorist measures. I may remind you that Kaltenbrunner declared repeatedly and emphatically, in answering my questions before this Tribunal, that he protested regularly every time he heard of such occurrences, addressing himself to Himmler and even to Hitler, but that he had but little success, and this only after a long while. The defendant, for example, traces back the cessation of the extermination of Jews, by an order of Hitler in October 1944, to his personal initiative. However difficult it may be to judge whether the power and influence of a single person would have been sufficient to bring about the suspension of a program of the extermination of a race, already in its final phase, I believe I may say without being open to correction that many tens of thousands of Jews owe it to this man that they escaped the hell of Auschwitz and can still see the light of the sun. From the statements of Dr. Bachmann and Dr. Meyer of the International Red Cross it appears that Kaltenbrunner asked the International Red Cross to organize relief shipments to a large Jewish nonpolitical camp at Unskirchen near Weis.

Wanneck has characterized Kaltenbrunner's attitude toward the question of Himmler's Jewish policy as follows. He says: "In the daily haste of our joint labors and discussions on foreign policy, we no longer dwelt upon the problem of Jewish policy. At the time Kaltenbrunner came into office this question was already so far advanced that Kaltenbrunner could not have had any more influence on it. If Kaltenbrunner expressed himself at all on the subject, it was to the effect that mistakes had been made here that could never be made good."

This witness then finally confirmed the fact that this operation was conducted independently through a direct channel of command from Himmler to Eichmann and said that the position of Eichmann, which already had been a dominating one when Heydrich was still alive, had increased steadily, so that eventually he had acted completely independently in the entire Jewish sphere. And here I add that, according to the statement of Hoess, the only man left alive who is familiar with this question, it is established that only about 200 or 300 people knew of that dreadful order of Himmler's which was given during a conference which lasted for 10 or 15 minutes, on the basis of which more than four million people were exterminated.

Dr. Hoettl had an interview with Eichmann toward the end of the war. He summarized it in an affidavit for the prosecution at Nuremberg.

At the end of August 1944 I was talking to SS-Obersturmbannführer Adolf Eichmann, whom I had known since 1938. The conversation took place in my home in Budapest.

According to my knowledge Eichmann was, at that time, *Abteilungsleiter* in Amt IV (the Gestapo) of the Reich Security Office [Reichssicherheitshauptamt] and in addition to that he had been ordered by Himmler to get a hold of the Jews in all the European countries and to transport them to Germany. Eichmann was then very much impressed with the fact that Rumania had withdrawn from the war in those days. Therefore, he had come to me to get information about the military situation which I received daily from the Hungarian Ministry of War and from the Commander of the Waffen-SS in Hungary. He expressed his conviction that Germany had now lost the war and that he, personally, had no further chance. He knew that he would be considered one of the main war criminals by the United Nations since he had millions of Jewish lives on his conscience. I asked him how many that was, to which he answered that although the number was a great Reich secret, he would tell me since I, as a historian, would be interested and that he would probably not return anyhow from his command in Rumania. He had, shortly before that, made a report to Himmler, as the latter wanted to know the exact number of Jews who had been killed. On the basis of his information he had obtained the following result:

Approximately four million Jews had been killed in the various extermination camps while an additional two million met death in other ways, the major part of which were shot by operational squads of the Security Police during the campaign against Russia.

Himmler was not satisfied with the report since, in his opinion, the number of Jews who had been killed must have been more than six million. Himmler had stated that he would send a man from his Office of Statistics to Eichmann, so that he could make a new report on the basis of Eichmann's material, in which exact figures should be worked out.

I have to believe that this information given to me by Eichmann was correct, as he, among all the persons in question, certainly had the best survey of the figures of the Jews who had been murdered. In the first place, he "delivered" so to speak the Jews to the extermination camps through his special squads and knew, therefore, the exact figure, and, in the second place, as *Abteilungsleiter* in Amt IV (the Gestapo) of the RSHA, who was also responsible for Jewish matters, he knew indeed better than anyone else the number of Jews who had died in other ways.

In addition to that, Eichmann was at that moment in such a state of mind as a result of the events, that he certainly had no intention of telling me something that was not true.

I, myself, know the details of this conversation so well because I was, naturally, very much affected and I had already, prior to the German collapse, given detailed data about it to American Quarters in a neutral foreign country with which I was in touch at that time.

I hereby swear, that the above statements have been made by me voluntarily and without duress or compulsion, and that the above statements are true according to my best knowledge and belief.

[Signed] DR. WILHELM HOETTL

Hoettl added to this statement in another affidavit. From this it can be seen that Eichmann and the Einsatzgruppen commanders moved in the same grisly circles.

Dr. Wilhelm Hoettl, after being sworn, declares:

I was a member of the SD from 1938 until the German collapse except for two interruptions during the years 1939 and 1941-1943. Until 1939 I had charge of the department "Catholic Church" with the SD in Vienna, subsequently I was employed in Department VI, Foreign Information Service.

In connection with my activities in Vienna, I made the acquaintance of Obersturmbannfuehrer Eichmann, whom I met again in 1943 as a section chief in Department IV of the Gestapo. There he handled the Department for Jews [Judenreferat].

In August 1944 at the occasion of a visit in my apartment in Budapest, Eichmann told me that he had to make a report for Himmler on the number of Jews killed, and that he estimated the sum-total of the Jews killed as 6 millions. Of those 4 million had been killed in the extermination institutions in the East, while the additional 2 millions were killed by shootings—mainly by the Einsatzgruppen of the SIPO and the SD during the campaign in the East.

About 1942 I had a conversation with SS Brigade Commander Dr. Stahlecker, who had been in command of such an Einsatzgruppe of the SIPO and the SD in the East. He told me that he had been ordered by Obergruppenfuehrer Heydrich to take command of such an Einsatzgruppe, whose field of action was the area of an Army group. He had the order to exterminate the Jews in that district by shootings.

From my conversations with Eichmann and Stahlecker and other members of the SIPO and the SD I conclude that the Jews were killed since the beginnings of the Russian cam-



Photo from European

Heinrich Himmler, Gestapo chief.



Photo from European

Reinhard Heydrich, whose assassination in Czechoslovakia led to the razing of Lidice and also to Eichmann's appointment.



United Press International Photo

Ernst Kaltenbrunner, Eichmann's immediate superior, shown at Nuremberg as he pleads Not Guilty to charges. He was executed.



Wide World Photos

**American soldiers gazing at a cluster of bodies hurriedly abandoned
by retreating SS in 1945.**

**More abandoned dead at Nordhausen, Germany. Graves
were dug by German civilians under the direction of troops
of the U. S. Third Armored Division.**

Photo from European

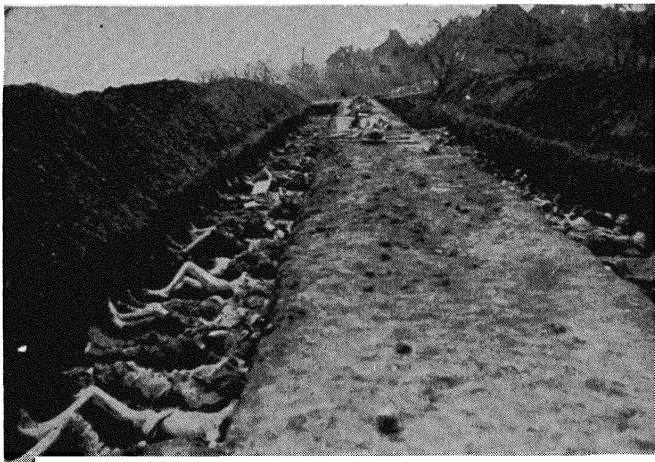




Photo from European

A rescue at Nordhausen, Germany.



Photo from European

Belsen? Nordhausen? Weimar? Majdanek?



Photo from European

Shoes of victims collected for distribution to hard-pressed German citizens.



Passports of the dead collected at Majdanek, Lublin, Poland.

Photo from European



United Press International Photo

A view of Belsen.

Photo from European

Nazi aesthetics: Part of a lampshade made from the tattooed chest of a murdered prisoner at Buchenwald for Ilsa Koch, wife of the commandant.



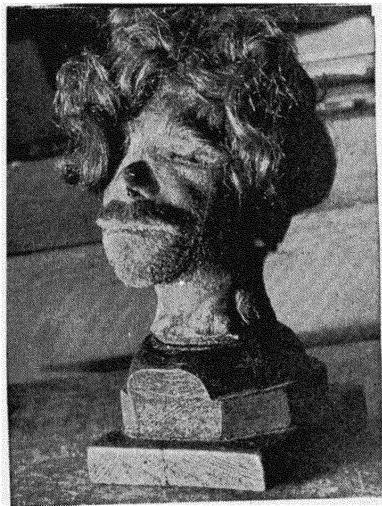


Photo from European

The shrunken head of this young Pole was made into a paperweight for the German administrators at Buchenwald.

Troops of the British Second Army, which took the infamous Belsen concentration camp and forced captured SS men to remove bodies of their victims for burial.

Wide World Photos





The final solution . . .

paign (1941), at first by the Einsatzgruppen of the SIPO and the SD and later—probably since the beginning of 1943—in the extermination camps in the East.

The arrest of the Jews and their shipment to the extermination camps was carried out by a special detachment [Sonderkommando] under the direction of Eichmann, which was composed of members of the SIPO—especially Gestapo. Heydrich had given the instructions for this to Eichmann. In the RSHA his chief was the head of the Gestapo, SS Obergruppenfuehrer Mueller.

[Signed] DR. WILHELM HOETTL

Dr. Rudolf Mildner, head of the Gestapo in Upper Silesia and Denmark, reinforced earlier testimony as to the chain-of-command.

I, Dr. Rudolf Mildner, Colonel of the Police, being first duly sworn, declare:

After the entry of the U.S.A. into the European war, Hitler put into execution the threat he once made in a speech in the West, "The Jews will be exterminated for that."

Out of the whole Reich territory and the Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia, the General Government Poland, as well as from the countries of Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France, Italy, Croatia, Serbia, Greece, Hungary, Slovakia, and from the German occupied Russian territory, under what was called "Arbeitseinsatz" [labor employment], the Jews were taken into concentration camps and camps for the armament industry.

The order of deportation of the Jews in the Reich and in the countries occupied by German troops to labor and concentration camps were issued by RF SS Himmler. The orders had his signature and were classified "top secret" [Geheime Reichssache]. They passed through the Chef der Sicherheitspolizei and SD, Dr. Kaltenbrunner, to the Amtschef IV RSHA, Gruppenfuehrer Mueller, who orally talked over the execution of the matter with the head of action IV A 4, SS Obersturmbannfuehrer Eichmann, member of the SD and transferred from Department III to Department IV. The orders also went directly from RF SS Himmler to the local competent Hoeheren SS and Polizeifuehrer, with the Chef der Sipo and SD, Dr. Kaltenbrunner, being informed.

Orders of the RF SS Himmler concerning the type of labor employment of the prisoners and the extermination of the Jews, so far as I could gather from conversations with a comrade of the Sipo, went directly through Obergruppenfuehrer Pool, Gruppenfuehrer Glucks, head of the Amtsgruppe D and

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the head of the concentration camps as "top secret" [Geheime Reichssache], either written or orally. SS Obersturmbannfuehrer Eichmann held the following positions: adviser to RF SS Himmler, the Chief of the Security Police and SD, SS Gruppenfuehrer, Dr. Kaltenbrunner, and the Amtschef of Section IV on all Jewish questions; deputy of RF SS Himmler in all deportations to camps and conversations with other countries concerning the evacuation of the Jews; and liaison man with all Hoeheren SS and Polizeifuehrer in matters concerning the Jews.

The orders for the carrying out of measures against the Jews Eichmann received (either orally from RF SS Himmler or in an order signed by Himmler) orally or on written orders from Chef der Sipo and SD, Dr. Kaltenbrunner, and from the Amtschef IV RSHA, Gruppenfuehrer Mueller, in Berlin. The channels for the issuing of orders on Jewish matters in the Sipo were known to me from conversations with Gruppenfuehrer Mueller and comrades in the Sipo. I also got some information from the working plan and the business directions of the Sipo.

I swear under oath that the foregoing is correct and true.

[Signed] R. MILDNER

From Hitler to Himmler to Kaltenbrunner to Eichmann. All these gentlemen were concerned with "policy," "strategy," "ideals," "the folk." But there are more mundane matters to attend to when you exterminate 6,000,000 people. There are bills to be paid, like the following:

24 March 1943

Waffen SS
Natzweiler Concentration Camp
Commandant's office
3.43/Kr/Jg.

8000151, VIII/64 C 16
Concentration Camp Natzweiler
Bill

To the Security Police and SD, Strassburg.

For the 20 prisoners executed and cremated in this concentration camp, costs amounting to RM 127,05 arose.

The Commandant's office of the Natzweiler concentration camp requests the early dispatch of the above mentioned sum.

[Initialled]

SS Hauptsturmfuehrer and Commandant.

Of the big names in the "final solution" only Eichmann was involved on this level. He was the man who saw that the

thing was done—that people were delivered to the gas chambers and died there. At times, like every other bureaucrat, he had his troubles. M. Faure, the French prosecutor at Nuremberg, tells us about some of these. (Dannecker was Director of the Office of Jewish Affairs in France: a direct subordinate of Eichmann.)

MR. FAURE: Gentlemen, in order not to prolong the discussion too much, I should like, if it please the Tribunal, to submit as documents all the documents in my book, but to read and analyse only some of the most important.

I shall then pass over Documents RF-1211, 1212, 1213, and 1214. I should like, however, to draw the attention of the Tribunal to the end of the mimeographed French text. As the letter "K" appeared on the document, the word "Keitel" was written in, quite wrongly. I should like to say that this does not occur in the document. I should like to read this Document Number RF-1215, which is very short:

"Secret—13 May 1942. To the Chief of Area A."

"In accordance with instructions from OKH, Quartermaster General, the words 'dispatch to the East' must not be used in announcements referring to the forced evacuation of the population, in order to avoid a defamation of the occupied regions in the East. The same applies to the expression 'deportation,' this word being too strongly reminiscent of the banishment to Siberia at the time of the Czars. In all publications and correspondence we must use the phrase 'dispatch for forced labor.'"

Document Number RF-1216, which I offer in evidence now, is another memorandum from Dannecker, dated 10 March 1942. The purpose of this memorandum is defined as "Deportation from France of 5,000 Jews." The quotation of the title suffices to indicate the subject of the document. Dannecker alludes to a meeting of the Office for Jewish Affairs, a meeting which took place at the RSHA in Berlin on 4 March 1942 at which it was decided that negotiations would be undertaken for the deportation of 5,000 Jews from France. The memorandum specifies Paragraph 4, second sentence:

"Jews of French nationality must be deprived of their nationality before being deported, or at the latest on the day of the deportation itself."

In a subsequent passage of the document Dannecker explains that the expenses of this deportation would have to be paid by the French Jews, since in the case of impending mass deportations of Jews from Czechoslovakia provisions had been made for the Slovakian Government to pay a sum of 500 marks

for each Jew deported and, in addition, to bear the cost of deportation.

I now offer in evidence Document Number RF-1217, which is a memorandum of 15 June 1942 headed "Other Transports of Jews Coming from France." It is still dealing with the same operation, but I believe it is interesting to submit these documents without reading them, since they show the extremely complex and regular working of this administration whose purpose was to arrest and deport innocent people. The beginning of the memorandum alludes to a new conference held in Berlin on 11 June 1942 and attended by those responsible for the Jewish departments in Brussels and The Hague, as well as by Dannecker himself. If the fourth paragraph on Page 1 of this document I read the last sentence of the paragraph, "Ten percent of Jews unfit for labor may be included in these convoys," This sentence shows that the purpose of this deportation was not merely to procure labor, even if it involved labor to be exterminated by work.

I should like also to read the fifth paragraph, which contains only one sentence:

"It was agreed that 15,000 Jews should be expelled from Holland, 10,000 from Belgium, and up to 100,000 from France, including the unoccupied zone." . . .

* * * * * * * *

I now present Document Number RF-1218, which is a memorandum dated 16 June 1942, entitled "The Transportation of Jews from France: Subject, Order from the SS Obersturmbannfuehrer Eichmann to SS Hauptsturmfuehrer Dannecker, 11 June 1942." The first three paragraphs of this memorandum show that there was difficulty in transporting deportees, because of the large quantity of railway stock necessary for the preparation of the eastern campaign. I should like to read the last two paragraphs of this letter:

"We are now carrying out a large-scale reorganization of the German transport agencies in France. The main feature of this is that the numerous organizations existing hitherto will be taken over by the Reich Ministry of Transportation, which will be responsible for them. This reorganization, which was ordered without notice, takes a few days to complete. Before that date it is impossible to give approximate information as to whether the transportation of Jews can be carried out in the near future or at a later date, on the scale anticipated, or even partially." . . .

I now submit Document Number RF-1219 which is a memorandum by Dr. Knocken dated 15 June 1942. This memorandum is entitled, "Technical Execution of New Con-

voys of Jews from France." Not to take too much time I shall read only the first paragraph of this memorandum:

"To avoid any conflict with the operation in progress with regard to 'French workmen for Germany,' mention will be made only of Jewish resettlement. This version is confirmed by the fact that the convoys may include entire families and therefore the possibility is left open of sending at a later date for the children under 16, who were left behind."

The remainder of the memorandum, like all these texts, which are so extremely painful from a moral point of view, continues to discuss the question of the deportation of the Jews in round figures as if all these human beings were mere goods and chattels.

I now submit Document Number RF-1220, which is a letter from the German Embassy in Paris, from Dr. Zeitschel, dated 27 June 1942. I should like to read this letter, which is thus expressed:

"Following my conversation with Hauptsturmfuehrer Dannecker on 27 June, during which he stated that he needed, as soon as possible, 50,000 Jews from the free zone for deportation to the East and that something had to be done to support the operations of Darquier de Pellepoix, the Commissioner General on Jewish questions, I immediately informed Ambassador Abetz and Counsellor Rahn of this matter. Counsellor Rahn is to meet President Laval this afternoon and he promised to discuss with him at once the handing over of these 50,000 Jews, demanding at the same time plenary powers for Darquier de Pellepoix, in conformity with laws already promulgated, and the immediate granting of the credits promised him. . . .

"As unfortunately I shall be away from Paris for a week, I request, in view of the urgency of the question, that Hauptsturmfuehrer Dannecker contact Counsellor Rahn directly, on Monday, 29 June, or Tuesday, 30 June, at latest, to learn Laval's reply." . . .

I submit now Document Number RF-1221. It is a memorandum dated 26 June 1942 of which I shall give only the title, "Directives for the Deportation of Jews."

Now I come to Document Number RF-1222, of which I shall also read only the title, "Conference with the Specialists for Jewish Questions of the Security Police, Command of the Section IV-J on 30 June 1942. Deportation to Auschwitz of Jews from the Occupied Territories."

In this memorandum Dannecker again alludes to the conference which took place at the RSHA, according to which 50,000 Jews were to be transferred. There follows a list of trains, the stations in which they were to be assembled, and a request for reports.

I now submit Document RF-1223. It is a memorandum, dated 1 July 1942, summing up a conference between Dannecker and Eichmann, who, as we already know, was in Berlin but had to come to Paris on that occasion. "Subject: Departmental Conference with SS Hauptsturmfuehrer Dannecker, Paris, Concerning the Impending Evacuation from France." It still deals with the preparation of the great operation envisaged.

I now submit Document Number RF-1224, of which I read only the title and the date, "4 July 1942: Directives for a Major Round-up of Jews in Paris."

I now offer in evidence Document Number RF-1225, which is a Dannecker memorandum dated 6 July 1942. Subject: "Deportation of Jews from France." It concerns a conference held with representatives of French authorities. We see in the document the expression "Judenmaterial," which was translated in a roundabout way by the words "Jewish livestock."

I now submit Document Number RF-1226. I should like to read, if the Tribunal please, the first paragraph of this document which is very revealing both in regard to the collaboration with the transport services and the horrifying mentality of the Nazi authorities. The memorandum is the sequel to a telephone conversation between the signatory Rothke and the SS Obersturmfuehrer Eichmann at Berlin:

"The SS Obersturmfuehrer Eichmann in Berlin telephoned on 14 July 1942 about 1900 hours. He wished to know why the train provided for the transport of 15 July 1942 had been cancelled. I replied that originally the star bearers in the provinces were to be arrested too but that by virtue of a new agreement with the French Government only stateless Jews were to be arrested to begin with.

"The train due to leave on 15 July 1942 had to be cancelled because, according to information received by the SD Kommando at Bordeaux, there were only 150 stateless Jews in Bordeaux. There was no time to find enough other Jews to fill this train. SS Obersturmfuehrer Eichmann replied that it was a question of prestige. They had to conduct lengthy negotiations about these trains with the Reichminister of transportation, which turned out successfully; and now Paris cancels a train. Such a thing had never happened to him before. The matter was highly shameful. He did not wish to report it to SS Gruppenfuehrer Müller right now, for the blame would fall on his own shoulders. He was reflecting whether he would not do without France as an evacuation country altogether." I now submit Document Number RF-1227, which gives statistics indicating that up to the 2nd of September 1942 27,069 Jews were evacuated and that by the end of October a total figure of 52,069 might be reached. They are anxious to ac-

celerate the pace and to attack also the Jews in the unoccupied zone of France.

I now submit Document Number RF-1228. It is also an account of a conference where there were invited representatives of the French authorities. I should like to read only the last paragraph of this document:

"On the occasion of the meeting which took place on 28 August 1942 in Berlin, it was stated that most of the European countries are much nearer to a final solution of the Jewish problem than France. In fact, these countries began much earlier. We then must catch up with them in many matters between now and 31 October 1942. . . ." I now submit Document Number RF-1230, which is a memorandum dated 6 March 1943, headed, "Ref: Present Situation of the Jewish Question in France." In the first part of this document, the deportations are stated to have reached a total of 49,000 Jews as on 6 March 1943. This is followed by a statement of the nationalities, which are extremely varied, of a certain number of Jews who were deported in addition to the French Jews. Paragraph 3 of this memorandum is headed, "Attitude of the Italians with Regard to the Jewish Question." I shall read only the first and the last lines of this long paragraph:

"The attitude adopted up to now in the French territory occupied by Italy must be changed by all means if the Jewish Problem is to be solved. A few conspicuous cases. . . ." I break off the quotation here. These conspicuous cases were cases in which the Italians opposed the arrest of Jews in the zone occupied by them. I now read the last paragraph:

"A.A. has been informed by the RSHA (Eichmann) about proceedings of the Italians."—A.A. appears to be the initials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and this is confirmed by the following sentence. I continue the quotation—"The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ribbentrop, meant to discuss, in negotiations with the Duce, the attitude adopted by the Italians with regard to the Jewish question. We do not yet know the results of these discussions." I shall not submit Documents RF-1231 and RF-1232. I pass then to the last documents which I want to present to the Tribunal. These documents relate more specifically to the deportation of children.

I submit Document RF-1233, which is a memorandum by Dannecker dated 21 July 1942. I shall read Paragraph 2:

"The question of deporting children has been examined with SS Obersturmbannführer Eichmann. He decided that as soon as deportations to the Government General could be resumed, convoys of children could be sent by rail. SS Obersturmführer Nowak promised to arrange about six convoys to the Government General at the end of August or the beginning

of September, which may comprise all sorts of Jews (also disabled and old Jews.)" Now I offer in evidence Document Number RF-1234. It is a memorandum dated 13 August 1942. Before pointing out the interest of this document I remind the Tribunal that I have already submitted Document Number RF-1219 and in that document there was a formula which I recall, namely, "The possibility is left open of sending at a later date for children under 16 who were left behind." The Nazis wished to give the impression that they deported entire families at the same time or at least that they did not deport whole trainloads of children. To give this impression, they invented a device which is wholly incredible unless you actually see it in black and white: the mingling of children and adults in definite proportions. I read Paragraph 4 of this Document Number RF-1234:

"The Jews arriving from the unoccupied zone will be mingled at Drancy with Jewish children now at Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande, so that out of a total of 700 at least 500 Jewish adults 300 to 500 Jewish children will be allotted. According to instructions of the Reich Security Main Office, no trains containing Jewish children only are to leave."

I read the next sentence too:

"Leguay has been told that 13 trainloads of Jews would also leave Drancy in September and that Jewish children from the unoccupied zone could be handed over."

I now submit the last document of the series dealing with the Jewish question, Document Number RF-1235. I am going to read it, as it is very short.

"6 April 1944, Lyons, 2010 hours. Subject: Home for Jewish Children at Izieu, Ain.

"The home for Jewish children, 'Child Colony', at Izieu (Ain) was raided this morning and a total of 41 children aged from 3 to 13 were apprehended. Moreover, the arrest of the entire Jewish personnel, numbering 10 in all and including 5 women was successfully carried out. Money or other property could not be seized. The convoy for Drancy will leave on 7 April 1944."

This document also bears a memorandum written by hand and couched in the following terms:

"Matter discussed in the presence of Dr. V. B. and Hauptsturmfuehrer Brunner. Dr. V. B. stated that in cases of this kind, special measures were provided for the billeting of the children by the Obersturmfuehrer Rothke. The Hauptsturmfuehrer Brunner stated that he knew of no such instructions or plans and that on principle he did not approve of such special measures. In this case he would also follow the lines of the usual regulations for deportation. For the moment I

made no decision affecting the principle in this respect." For me what is even more striking and more horrible than the concrete fact of removing these children is the administrative color given to the proceedings, the report made through official channels, the meeting at which different officials placidly discussed the matter as if it were part of the normal business of the department. All the administrative mechanism of the State—I am speaking of the Nazi State—was set in motion on such an occasion and for such a purpose. It is a perfect illustration of the word used by Dannecker in his report: "The cold manner."

Another transportation problem arose in Romania in 1941. It is interesting to see the witness' reaction the minute he hears Eichmann's name.

Brautigam was your liaison officer with Rosenberg, wasn't he, Witness? Was Brautigam your liaison officer in Rosenberg's office?

VON STEENGRACHT: No. Brautigam was, I think, in the Foreign Office in 1941.

COL. PHILLMORE: And in 1942.

VON STEENGRACHT: Yes, but in 1941, since he had previously been working on Eastern problems in the Foreign Office, he had been transferred and was now in the Rosenberg office.

COL. PHILLMORE: Very well. And you will see there he is referring to a conference with Obersturmbannführer Eichmann, that is, the chief of the Jewish section of the Gestapo, and a Dr. Wetzel, and he sends you a copy of an agreement made at Tighina in Romania on the 30th of August 1941 with the request for acknowledgment.

VON STEENGRACHT: Mr. Prosecutor, there could be an error here. This letter is dated 11 March 1942. I became State Secretary in May 1943. I therefore know nothing about this matter. I should like to remark . . .

COL. PHILLMORE: You just listen and wait until you are asked a question. We shall get on faster if you just listen to the letter:

"I point out especially Number 7 of the agreements . . . I have already taken a position in my letter of 5 March 1942." Now, that enclosed an agreement made between the German and Romanian General Staffs, and if you will look at Paragraph 7, on Page 38 of the German, Page 27 of the English, this was the agreement they made:

"Deportation of Jews from Transnistria. Deportation of Jews across the Bug is not possible at present. They must,

therefore, be collected in concentration camps and set to work until a deportation to the east is possible after the end of operations."

And then there's a note on the file on the next page of the German, still on Page 27 of the English:

"According to information from Director General Lecca, Today 110,000 Jews are being evacuated from Bukovina and Bessarabia into two forests in the Bug River Area. As far as he could learn this action is based upon an order issued by Marshal Antonescu. Purpose of the action is the liquidation of these Jews."

Now, do you doubt that that agreement, enclosed with that letter sent to the Foreign Office, would have reached the Defendant Ribbentrop?

VON STEENGRACHT: Well, I see this document and this agreement for the first time today. Nothing of this entire affair . . .

COL. PHILLMORE: Yes. Would you answer the question? Do you doubt that that letter and that agreement enclosed with it would have been shown to the Defendant Ribbentrop?

VON STEENGRACHT: At that time there was an Under Secretary of State Luther in the Foreign Office who acted quite independently; and I fought a bitter battle against him although I was not called upon to do it, because he wanted to introduce National Socialist Methods. Whether he submitted this matter to Ribbentrop or not I cannot decide.

But there were always compensations. Little favors could be done for one's fellow bureaucrat. For example, a certain Dr. Hirt was starting a skeleton collection—could Eichmann help?

First, Dr. Hirt makes a request of Comrade Brandt:

Dear Comrade Brandt:

"Prof. Dr. Hirt's report, which you requested in your letter of 29/12/41—Journal No. AR/493/37, is submitted in the enclosure. I was not able to send it to you before because Prof. Hirt took ill some time later. He was stricken by bleedings of the lung (diagnosis: "Cyst—lung")—at least it is not TB. In addition he was afflicted by a weakening of the systemic circulation. At the present time he is still in the hospital but hopes that the doctor will release him in the near future so that he will be able to resume his work, at least to a small extent. Because of this Prof. Hirt was merely able to write a preliminary report which, however, I should like to submit to you. The report concerns

(1) his research in the field of the *Intravitalmikroskopie* (microscoping living organs), the discovery of a new method of examination, and the construction of a new research microscope.

(2) his proposal for securing skulls of Jewish-Bolshevik Commissars."

Some special copies were enclosed as a supplement to the report (1) among which the two articles in the *Zeiss-Nachrichten* No. 10 (second series) and No. 1-5 (third series) make possible the quickest orientation whereas the other publications are complicated individual scientific work.

Yours sincerely

Heil Hitler!

Yours

[Signature illegible]

"SUBJECT: Securing skulls of Jewish-Bolshevik Commissars for the purpose of scientific research at the *Reichsuniversitaet* Strassburg.

We have a nearly complete collection of skulls of all races and peoples at our disposal. Of the Jewish race, however, only very few specimens of skulls are available with the result that it is impossible to arrive at precise conclusions from examining them. The war in the East now presents us with the opportunity to overcome this deficiency. By procuring the skulls of the Jewish-Bolshevik Commissars, who represent the prototype of the repulsive, but characteristic subhuman, we have the chance now to obtain a palpable, scientific document.

The best, practical method for obtaining and collecting this skull material could be handled by directing the Wehrmacht to turn over alive all captured Jewish-Bolshevik Commissars to the Feldpolizei (Field M.P.). The Feldpolizei in turn is to be given special directives to inform a certain office at regular intervals of the number and place of detention of these captured Jews and to give them special close attention and care until a special delegate arrives. This special delegate, who will be in charge of securing the material (a junior physician of the Wehrmacht or even the Feldpolizei or a student of medicine equipped with a motor car and driver), has the job of taking a series of previously established photographs, anthropological measurements, and in addition has to determine, so far as is possible, the background, date of birth, and other personal data of the prisoner. Following the subsequently induced death of the Jew, whose head should not be damaged, the delegate will separate the head from the body and will forward it to its proper point of destination in a hermetically sealed tin can, especially produced for this purpose and filled

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with a conserving fluid. Having arrived at the laboratory, the comparison tests and anatomical research on the skull, as well as determination of the race membership of pathological features of the skull form, the form and size of the brain, etc., can proceed. The basis of these studies will be the photos, measurements, and other data supplied on the head and finally the tests of the skull itself."

Comrade Sievers lends a helping hand.

The Reichs Secretary

Berlin, 2 November 1942

To:

SS Obersturmbannführer Dr. Brandt

Berlin

Secret

Dear Comrade Brandt:

As you know, the Reichsführer-SS has directed that SS-Hauptsturmführer Prof. Dr. Hirt be supplied with everything needed for his experiments. For certain anthropological experiments—I already reported to the Reichsführer-SS on them—150 skeletons of prisoners or Jews are required, which are to be supplied by the KL Auschwitz. The only thing that remains to be done is that the RSHA receive an official directive from the Reichsführer-SS. This, however, can also be given by you, acting for the Reichsführer-SS.

Kindest regards.

Heil Hitler
your SIEVERS

1 Encl. Draft of a letter to the RSHA

Obersturmbannführer Brandt turns to the one man who he is sure can supply him with the required material:

The Reichsführer-SS

Secret

Personal Staff

Command Post, 6 November 42

Log. No. 41/1/43g

1. To: Main Office for the Security of the Reich
—Office IV B 4—

Attention: SS-Lt Colonel [Obersturmbannführer]

EICHMANN

Berlin SW 11

Prinz-Albrecht-Str. 8

Subject: Organization of a skeleton collection in the anatomical institute of Strassburg.

The Reichsführer-SS has ordered that everything necessary for the research work of SS-Captain [Hauptsturmführer]

Prof. Dr. Hirt, who is at the same time director of a branch of the institute for Military Scientific Researches for Specific Purposes in the Office "Ahnenerbe" [Ancestry Research based on racial theory] should be placed at his disposal. By order of the Reichsführer-SS, I therefore request you, to make the organization of the planned skeleton collection possible. The SS-Lt Colonel [Obersturmbannführer] Sievers will contact you for details.

/s/ Brandt
SS-Lt Col [Obersturmbannführer]

And Sievers tells Eichmann the job is accomplished.

"Ahnenerbe" Society 21 June 1943
Institute for Military Scientific Research. Berlin-Dahlem,
G/H/6 S2/He Puecklerstrasse 16.

Top Secret
G.R.Z.I.A.H.Sk. No 10
5 copies. 2nd copy.
No enclosures.

To the RSHA
Department IV B4
For the attention of SS-Obersturmbannführer Eichmann,
Berlin SW 11

Prinz-Albrecht-Str. 8

Subject: Establishment of a Collection of skeletons.

Referring to your letter of 25 September 1942, IV B 4 3576/42 Secret 1488 and the personal conversations which have since taken place on this subject, I wish to inform you that our associate, SS-Hauptsturmführer Dr. Beger who was in charge of the above special project, concluded his experiments in the KL Auschwitz on 15.6.1943 because of the existing danger of epidemics.

Altogether 115 persons were experimented on. 79 were Jews, 30 were Jewesses, 2 were Poles, and 4 were Asiatics. At the present time these prisoners are segregated by sex and are under quarantine in two hospital buildings of KL Auschwitz.

For the further experimentation on these selected prisoners it will be necessary to have them transferred to the KL Natzweiler. This transfer should be made as speedily as possible because of the existing danger of an epidemic at Auschwitz. A list of the selected people is attached.

We request that the necessary directives be issued. Since this transfer of prisoners presents a certain amount of danger, such as spreading the epidemic to Natzweiler, we request that immune and clean prisoner suits for 80 men and 30 women be sent from Natzweiler to Auschwitz immediately. At the same

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time lodging should be prepared for the women at Natzweiler in the near future.

Sievers,

SS-Standartenführer.

And far out of sight of even Eichmann the SS performed the monotonous duty of transforming human flesh into ashes.

Nürnberg, Germany

22 November 1945

I, Alois Hoellriegl, being first duly sworn, depose and state as follows:

1. I became a member of NSDAP and the SS in 1938. I was trained for military service in 1939 and after an illness was transferred to the Totenkopf SS as a guard. I served as a guard at the Mauthausen Concentration Camp from early 1940 to May 1945.

2. During 1940 and 1941 I saw the following persons visit the camp: Pohl, Richard Gluecks, Baldur von Schirach, August Eigruber, who was Gauleiter of Upper Austria, and Uiberreiter, who was Gauleiter of Styria. It was a common event for important officials to come to Mauthausen at this time.

3. On one occasion, I believe it was in the fall of 1942, Ernst Kaltenbrunner visited Mauthausen. I was on guard duty and saw him twice. He went down to the gas chamber with Zereis, Commandant of the camp, at a time when prisoners were being gassed. The sound of the gassing operation is well known to me. I heard the gassing taking place while Kaltenbrunner was present.

4. Executions were carried out almost daily at Mauthausen. In the years preceding 1942 they were carried out by firing squads and bodies were burned in the camp incinerator which operated almost daily. SS-guards made up the firing squads and were detailed for the work in a routine manner the same as for other work details. Victims executed by a firing squad were always shot singly by six men using rifles. The number of executions varied daily. Sometimes they included persons brought by the Gestapo who were executed immediately.

5. In 1942 a gas chamber resembling a shower room was built next to the incinerator. Gas executions were carried out in the gas chamber approximately three times a week and the bodies were burned in the adjoining incinerator. From my guard post I could hear the sound of the victims pounding on the door when the gas was turned on. The gas chamber had a capacity of 25 to 40 persons and the usual procedure was to require persons to report there for the purpose of taking a

bath. After they entered the chamber the door was closed and the gas turned on. After a few minutes the dead bodies were taken to the incinerator and the gas chamber was aired for the next execution. Both the use of the firing squad and the gas chamber continued until the day of liberation of the camp in May 1945.

6. More than 2,000 of the prisoners were used for work in a stone quarry near Mauthausen. In 1941 I was on duty in a watch tower about 200 meters from the quarry. I saw Hauptscharfuehrer Spatznegger and Unterscharfuehrer Edenhofer drive ten or twelve Jews to the top of the quarry which had a precipice of 30 to 40 meters. The Jews had been beaten with sticks so that they cringed on the ground. I watched very closely. Spatznegger kicked one of the Jews repeatedly with his feet and then dragged him almost to the edge of the rock and then left him there. After a while this Jew threw himself off the rock into the quarry. Five or six others were dragged to the edge of the rock and pushed off. The two guards had to be careful not to be dragged down themselves. I was told by my comrades that these things happened on other days later but I did not see them myself. In the evening after duty we guards discussed these things. We called the people "Parachutists" who jumped down or were pushed down from the rock.

The facts stated above are true; this declaration is made by me voluntarily and without compulsion; after reading over the statement I have signed and executed the same this 22nd day of November 1945 at Nurnberg, Germany.

[Signed] Alois Hoellriegl
ALOIS HOELLRIEGL

Interrogation of Johann Kanduth, 30 November 1945, at Salzburg, Austria, Hq WCIT 6836, by Lt. Col. David G. Paston, O-189428, concerning the murder of American and British prisoners of war on or about 24 January 1945.

Q. What is your name?

A. Kanduth, Johann.

Q. Where do you live?

A. Linz, Weissenwolfstrasse 7.

Q. Have you an address in Salzburg?

A. Salzburg, Solleystasse 13.

Q. Where you at any time an inmate of the concentration camp at Mauthausen?

A. Yes.

Q. During what period?

A. From the 21st of March 1939 till the 5th of May 1945.

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Q. Besides your work in the kitchen did you also work in the crematorium?

A. Yes.

Q. At what date did you begin your work in the crematorium?

A. From the 9th day of May.

Q. What did you do there?

A. I worked the heating for the cremation of the bodies.

Q. Describe your work.

A. At first my occupation consisted of removing the bodies, then I served the heating and had to learn how to put in the corpses, then I had to stir up and to take out the ashes. This was my occupation during 4 years. Afterwards I had to fill the urns. In the first quarter of the year cremations of single persons took place, afterwards there were only mass cremations, the ashes were thrown away. When the Americans advanced, we filled 3,000 urns of Dutch Jews. We had to smash the urns afterwards and to throw the ashes away, so that every trace was wiped out.

* * * * *

Q. Do you know how many bodies you cremated?

A. Yes.

1940 — 1,242

1941 — 1,676

1942 — 6,523

1943 — 2,960

1944 — 5,479

1945 — 9,676

We had two categories, the non-Jewish and the Russian prisoners. These papers I saved. But there were many additional corpses which were not cremated in the ovens. They were transported to a private crematorium at Steyr.

Q. Do these figures really represent the cremations you yourself did?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you ever seen Kaltenbrunner at Mauthausen on a visit at any time?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember when it was?

A. In 1942 and 1943.

Q. Can you give it more exactly, maybe the month?

A. I do not know the date.

Q. Do you remember only this one visit in the year of 1942 or 1943?

A. I remember [meeting] Kaltenbrunner three times.

Q. What year?

A. Between 1942 and 1943.

Q. Tell us, in short—what did you think about these visits of Kaltenbrunner which you describe? That is: what did you see, what did you do, and when did you see that he was or was not present at such executions?

A. Kaltenbrunner was accompanied by Eigruher, Schulz, Zeireis, Bachmaier, Streitwieser, and some other people. Kaltenbrunner went laughing in the gas chamber. Then the people were brought from the bunker to be executed and then all three kinds of executions: hanging, shooting in the back of the neck, and gassing were demonstrated. After the dust had disappeared, we had to take away the bodies.

* * * * *

Q. When did you see the three different kinds of executions? Were these just demonstrations or regular executions?

A. I do not know if they were regular executions, or just demonstrations. During these executions, beside Kaltenbrunner the bunker-leaders "Hauptscharfuehrer" Seidel and Duessen, were also present. The last named then led the people downstairs.

Q. Do you know whether these executions were announced for this day or if they were just demonstrations or if the executions were staged just for pleasure of the visitors?

A. Yes, these executions were announced for this day.

Q. How do you know they were set for this day? Did somebody tell you about these announced executions?

A. "Hauptscharfuehrer" Roth, the leader of the crematorium always had me called to his room and said to me: "Kaltenbrunner will come today and we have to prepare everything for the executions in his presence." Then we were obliged to heat and to clean the stoves.

Major Christian Wirth is one of the incredible figures to appear from the records of the Nuremberg trials. He was one of the first to use gas for the "actions," and was criticized freely by Hoess, who thought he had vastly improved on Wirth's methods. He remains a shadowy figure, mentioned in very little of the testimony.

The witness in the testimony about to be cited is Konrad Morgen, who at the instigation of Himmler conducted an investigation of the activities of the SS during the latter part of the war. The origins of and reasons for this investigation are somewhat obscure; they seem to have to do with a factional fight within the SS, with Kaltenbrunner and Himmler

as the key contestants. Himmler evidently tried to use Morgen's findings to get rid of personnel who favored Kaltenbrunner, but there are as many stories as there were witnesses connected with this investigation. All that we need to know here is that Morgen stumbled on to Wirth, who operated the death camp at Treblinka, and was told by him of the strange and horrible way in which the executions were handled there. [Herr Pelckmann is defense counsel for the SS.]

HERR PELCKMANN: Please go on, Witness, to describe your investigations.

MORGEN: I asked Wirth what this had to do with the Jewish wedding. Then, Wirth described the method by which he carried out the extermination of Jews, and he said something like this: "One has to fight the Jews with their own weapons, that is to say"—pardon me for using this expression—"one has to cheat them."

Wirth staged an enormous deceptive maneuver. He first selected Jews who would, he thought, serve as column leaders, then these Jews brought along other Jews, who worked under them. With that smaller or medium-sized detachment of Jews, he began to build up the extermination camps. He extended this staff of Jews, and with these Jews Wirth himself carried out the extermination of the Jews.

Wirth said that he had four extermination camps and that about 5,000 Jews were working at the extermination of Jews and the seizure of Jewish property. In order to win Jews for this business of extermination and plundering of their brethren of race and creed, Wirth gave them every freedom and, so to speak, gave them a financial interest in the spoliation of the dead victims . . .

Then I asked Wirth how he killed Jews with these Jewish agents of his. Wirth described the whole procedure that went off like a film every time. The extermination camps were in the east of the Government General, in big forests or uninhabited wastelands. They were built up like a Potemkin village. The people arriving there had the impression of entering a city or a township. The train drove into a dummy railroad station. After the escorts and the train personnel had left the area, the cars were opened and the Jews got out. They were surrounded by these Jewish labor detachments, and Kriminalkommissar Wirth or one of his representatives made a speech. He said, "Jews, you were brought here to be resettled, but before we organize this future Jewish State, you must of course learn how to work. You must learn a new trade. You will be taught that here. Our routine here is, first, everyone must take off his clothes so that your clothing can be disinfected, and

you can have a bath so that no epidemics will be brought into the camp."

After he had found such calming words for his victims, they started on the road to death. Men and women were separated. At the first place, one had to deliver the hat; at the next one, the coat, collar, shirt, down to the shoes and socks. These places were faked cloakrooms, and the person was given a check at each one so that the people believed that they would get their things back. The other Jews had to receive the things and hurry up the new arrivals so that they should not have time to think. The whole thing was like an assembly line. After the last stop they reached a big room, and were told that this was the bath. When the last one was in, the doors were shut and the gas let into the room.

As soon as death had set in, the ventilators were started. When the air could be breathed again, the doors were opened, and the Jewish workers removed the bodies. By means of a special procedure which Wirth had invented, they were burned in the open air without the use of fuel.

HERR PELCKMANN: Was Wirth a member of the SS?

MORGEN: No, he was a Kriminalkommissar in Stuttgart.

HERR PELCKMANN: Did you ask Wirth how he arrived at this devilish system?

MORGEN: When Wirth took over the extermination of the Jews, he was already a specialist in mass-destruction of human beings. He had previously carried out the task of getting rid of the incurably insane. By order of the Fuehrer himself, whose order was transmitted through the Chancellery of the Fuehrer, he had, at the beginning of the war, set up a detachment for this purpose, probably composed of a few officials of his, as I believe, the remainder being agents and spies of the Criminal Police.

Wirth very vividly described how he went about carrying out this assignment. He received no aid, no instructions, but had to do it all by himself. He was only given an old empty building in Brandenburg. There he made his first experiments. After much consideration and many individual experiments, he evolved his later system, and then this system was used on a large scale to exterminate the insane.

A commission of doctors previously investigated the files, and those insane who were listed by the asylums as incurable were put on a separate list. Then the asylum concerned was told one day to send these patients to another institution. From this asylum the patient was transferred again, often more than once. Finally he came to Wirth's institution, where he was killed by gas and cremated.

This system, which deceived the asylums and made them

unknowing accomplices, enabled him with very few assistants to exterminate large numbers of people, and this system Wirth now employed with a few alterations and improvements for the extermination of Jews. He was also given the assignment by the Fuehrer's Chancellery to exterminate the Jews.

HERR PELCKMANN: The statements which Wirth made to you must have surpassed human imagination. Did you immediately believe Wirth?

MORGEN: At first Wirth's description seemed completely fantastic to me, but in Lublin I saw one of his camps. It was a camp which collected the property or part of the property of his victims. From the piles of things—there were an enormous number of watches piled up—I had to realize that something frightful was going on here. I was shown the valuables. I can say that I never saw so much money at one time, especially foreign money—all kinds of coins, from all over the world. In addition, there was a gold-smelting furnace and really prodigious bars of gold.

I also saw that the headquarters from which Wirth directed his operations was very small and inconspicuous. He had only three or four people working there for him. I spoke to them too.

I saw and watched his couriers arrive. They actually came from Berlin, Tiergartenstrasse, the Fuehrer's Chancellery, and went back there. I investigated Wirth's mail and I found in it confirmation of all this.

Of course, I could not do or see all this on this first visit. I was there frequently. I pursued Wirth up to his death.

Wirth's methods made for trouble and had to be abandoned; one consequence of his ideas was that his Jewish assistants took a large enough share of the loot so that they were able to bribe the Gestapo into letting them off from the fate for which they were destined. Also, Wirth himself grew unusually rich from the proceeds of the executions; indeed, it is likely that what Morgen was really investigating was not Wirth's murder methods, but what was happening to the money that should have been arriving in Berlin.

Morgen's statement that Wirth is dead is not reliable. He was reportedly killed by partisans in 1944, but by then the war looked lost and a man of Wirth's talents and wealth may have decided that it was a good time to go underground.

The only story more bizarre than Wirth's in the annals of Nazidom has to do with Eichmann. The principal facts are these: in May of 1943 Eichmann offered to sell 1,000,000 Jews in exchange for war material, principally trucks. This was apparently at the instigation of Himmler who thought he

would do something for the Reich and curry favor for himself as a humanitarian in case Germany lost the war. This offer was never accepted, but a deal of sorts was made. Dr. Rudolf Kastner tells his version of the story in the affidavit which follows. It should be noted that there was a good deal of acrimony following the war about these negotiations, and that Kastner was murdered in Palestine because of the role he played there. This does not necessarily discredit him or his story; he was placed in a position where it was natural to think the worst of him.

[There is frequent misspelling of names in these official records; particularly note Aichmann instead of Eichmann; Danegger, Dannecker; Grumey, Krumey.]

The Germans entered into discussion with leaders of the Jewish community for reasons of administrative efficiency. We conducted the discussion in the hope that we might be able to save some human lives. By holding the ax over our heads they made us responsible for financial contributions and other exactions imposed on the Jewish community. Ultimately the leaders of the "Jewish council" and other intermediaries were also scheduled for extermination. The SS and the Gestapo was particularly intent on liquidating those who had direct knowledge of their operations. I escaped the fate of the other Jewish leaders because the complete liquidation of the Hungarian Jews was a failure and also because SS Standartenfuehrer Becher took me under his wings in order to establish an eventual *alibi* for himself. He was anxious to demonstrate after the fall of 1944 that he disapproved the deportations and exterminations and endeavored consistently to furnish me with evidence that he tried to save the Jews. SS Hauptsturmfuehrer Wisliceny repeatedly assured me that according to him Germany cannot win the war. He believed that by keeping me alive and by making some concessions in the campaign against the Jews he might have a defense witness when he and his organization will have to account for their atrocities. Strangely he came to Hungarian Jews with the letter of recommendation from leading Slovak Jews. The latter were not deported in 1942 and were saved over until the end of 1944.

Major phases in the persecution of Hungarian Jewry

Before the German occupation.

1. 17,000 Jews—mainly from Ruthenia—were deported to Poland in August 1941. There they were transferred to the

German military authorities. These were executed during the succeeding 3 months. In Kamenetz-Podolsk alone 4,500 Hungarian Jews were shot dead. Responsible: Prime Minister Bordossy.

2. Between 23 and 25 January 1942 Hungarian military units "cleaned up" the southern region captured from the Yugoslavs. In Novisad they shot dead 1,500 Jews found at home or in the streets, or taken to the Serbian cemetery or to the beach. A further 2,000 Jews were only saved by an order from Admiral Horthy. Commanders of the Military force were General Feketealm-Zeisler, General Bajor-Bayer and Captain Zoeldi.

3. The so-called Jewish Labor companies created within the framework of military pioneer services, were in fact concentration camps organized on the German model. Of the 130,000 Hungarian Jews recruited by this means, about 50,000 died from starvation, typhus and shooting, 30,000 were taken prisoners by the Russians, 20,000 were deported to Germany; about 30,000 remained in Hungary.

Organizers of the "Labor Service" were Bartha, Minister for War, Werth, Chief of the Military Staff.

After the German occupation.

19 March 1944: Together with the German military occupation arrived in Budapest "Special Section Commando" of the German Secret Police with the sole object of liquidating the Hungarian Jews. It was headed by Adolf Eichmann, SS Obersturmbannfuehrer, Chief of Section IV.B of the Reich Security Head Office. His immediate collaborators were: SS Obersturmbannfuehrer Hermann Krumei, Hauptsturmfuehrer Wisliceny, Hunsche, Novak, Dr. Seidl, later Dannegger, Wrotk. They arrested, and later deported to Mauthausen, all the leaders of Jewish political and business life and journalists, together with the Hungarian democratic and anti-Fascist politicians; taking advantage of the "interregnum" following upon the German occupation lasting 4 days they have placed their Quislings into the Ministry of the Interior. These were Ladislav Endre and Ladislav Baký. Utilizing the Hungarian administrative organs they have:

a. Arrested all Jews arriving or leaving Budapest (about 2,500 persons, who were interned at Kistarcsa).

b. Excluded the Jews from using postal and telephone facilities.

c. Took over the SS and German military purposes all Jewish public buildings, schools, and hospitals.

On 23 March 1944 the Quisling Cabinet was formed, the purpose of which was—according to the statement made by Wisliceny (to use in June 1944 in Budapest)—solely the solu-

tion of the Jewish problem. During the deliberations preceding the formation of the Cabinet, Prime Minister Sztojay undertook in the presence of SS Obergruppenfuehrer Winckelmann, Hungary's SS Commander, SS Standartenfuehrer Wesenmayer, new German Minister and Aichmann, that the Hungarian Government will do everything possible to help in the liquidation of the Hungarian Jewry. One anti-Jewish decree followed another after the Sztojay Cabinet took over. At the same time Krumej and Wisliceny appeared in the building of the Budapest Jewish Committee and informed Samuel Stern, President, that the matters concerning the Hungarian Jewish problem would be henceforth "dealt with" within the competence of the SS. They warned the Jews against creating panic and obliged the Jewish leaders to form a "Jewish Council." A gigantic levy was imposed (money and goods worth about 11,000,000 pengoes had to be handed over). When President Stern made an inquiry at the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior he was told: "You must fulfill the German demands. . . ."

On the 26 March 1944 the whole of Ruthenia, Upper Hungary and Northern Transylvania were declared operational territory at the request of the German General Staff. During the next days that followed Aichmann, Wisliceny, and Hunsche had daily conferences with Ladislas Endre who received full authority from the Cabinet in matters concerning the Jews.

On 9 April 1944 the military authorities, with headquarters at Munkacs began the rounding-up of 320,000 Jews into Ghettos within the operational area. In order to prevent any armed resistance by the Jews, they were concentrated in brick factories (as at Kassa, Ungvar, Kolozsvár) or under the open sky (as at Nagybanjam, Marosvasarhely, Des), in a few cases they were allowed to retire into some sections of the cities (as in Nagyvarad, Maramorossziget), Food allocations: daily $\frac{1}{5}$ th of a pound of bread and two cups of soup. From the Jews sent into the Ghettos even matches were taken away.

While an agreement was arrived at between Wesenmayer, German Minister and a representative of Sauckel on the one hand, and Prime Minister Sztojay, on the other, that Hungary would place 300,000 Jewish workers at the disposal of the Reich (who were to be selected by a mixed Hungarian-German committee), total deportation of all Jews was decided by Endre, Baky and Aichmann at a meeting in the Ministry of the Interior on the 14 April 1944.

Novak and Lullay left on the next day for Vienna to discuss the question of transport facilities with the management of the German railways.

A levy of 2,000,000 pengoes each was imposed by the

Gestapo on the Jews of Novisad and Ungvar. Jewish shops were looted by Germans. Despite a German protest, the Hungarian Government ordered the closing down of all Jewish shops. The Jews resisted in the Ghetto of Munkacs. The Gestapo shot 27 of them, including the entire executive of the Jewish Community.

On 23 April 1944 the first deportation takes place; 1,500 persons suitable as laborers were taken from the Kistarcsa internment camp to Oswiecim. There, they were compelled to write encouraging notes to their relatives with datelines from "Waldsee." The notes were brought by an SS Courier to Budapest and were distributed by the Jewish Council.

In the meantime the Budapest Relief Committee received two messages from the Bratislava Committee. One message said that there was feverish work going on in Oswiecim to restore the gas chambers and crematoriums there, which were not working for months, and a remark made by an SS NCO that "soon we will get fine Hungarian sausages" was reported. The other message was to the effect that an agreement was reached, between the Hungarian, Slovakian, and German railway managements that, for the time being, 120 trains would be directed, via Presov, towards Oswiecim. This information was passed on to the Bratislava Relief Committee by an anti-Nazi Slovakian railway official. It was obvious that it concerned deportation trains.

The delegate of the International Red Cross, to whom I have appealed for intervention, stated that in view of the Geneva Convention this was impossible for him. The Swedish and Swiss Legations promised that they would report to their Governments and ask for instructions. After repeated appeals the Primate of the Catholic Church promised an intervention on behalf of the Converted Jews. But Sztojaj refused to listen.

After consulting with all Jewish leaders we turned to the Germans. At first Grumey, Wisliceny, and Hunsche negotiated with us; later Aichmann took over the negotiations. Aichmann arrived at Budapest on the first day of the German occupation, 19 March, 1944. Wisliceny arrived there on March 22. The first time we negotiated was 3 April. At first the Germans demanded a compensation of 2,000,000 dollars and promised that in return for this sum they would not deport anyone. Later Aichmann declared: "I can only sell the Hungarian Jews as from Germany. Brand should leave at once for Istanbul and inform the Jews there and the Allies that I am prepared to sell 1,000,000 Hungarian Jews, for goods, primarily vehicles. I would transport them to Oswiecim and 'put them on ice.' If my generous offer is accepted I will release all of them. If not, they will all be gassed."

In the meantime the organization of the Ghettos had been directed by Wisliceny, who had been traveling from town to town. The Hungarian police and gendarmerie were at his disposal everywhere. Officially he only acted as an "Advisor" to the Hungarian authorities; in reality everything took place on German orders.

15 May 1944 General and total deportation begins. One day before the evacuation all hospital cases, newly born babies, blind and deaf, all mental cases and prison inmates of Jewish origin were transferred to the Ghettos. About 80-100 Jews were placed in each cattle-car with one bucket of water; the car was then sealed down. At Kassa the deportation trains were taken over from the escorting Hungarian gendarmerie by the SS. While searching for "hidden valuables" the gendarmerie squads tortured the inmates with electric current and beat them mercilessly. Hundreds committed suicide. Those who protested or resisted were shot at once (as for instance Dr. Rosenfeld, solicitor of Marosvasarhely).

Then Hungarian press and radio kept quiet about the deportations. The Hungarian government denied in the foreign press that Jews were tortured.

Between 5 June and 8 June 1944 Aichmann told me: We accepted the obligation toward the Hungarians that not a single deported Jew will return alive!"

Up to 27 June 1944 475,000 Jews were deported.

The Pope and the King of Sweden intervened with Horthy. Then followed the ultimatumlike appeal of President Roosevelt to stop the brutal anti-Jewish persecutions. Thereupon Horthy has forbidden the deportation of the Jews from the capital which was already fixed to take place on July 5.

Endre, Baky, and the Germans protested against this decision and a further 30,000 Jews were deported from Transdanubia; the outer suburbs of Budapest were also emptied. Horthy dismissed Endre. But Aichmann, Endre, and Baky continued to try to liquidate the Jews of the capital with the collaboration of the gendarmerie. Liberator bombed Budapest and the railway junctions which were to be used by the deportation trains. Horthy has ordered the mobilization of the Army against an attempted coup d'etat (8 July). The gendarmerie thereupon went over to Horthy's side. But Aichmann emptied the camp of Kistarcsa by secretly collaborating with the Camp Commander and another 1,700 Jews were transported off in the direction of Oswiecim. On Horthy's orders the train was stopped at the frontier and the people were brought back. But Aichmann repeated his coup after 3 days and prevented any information reaching Horthy in time.

On 15 July 1944 an ultimatum was handed over by Wesen-

mayer, German Minister to the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs demanding the deportation of the Budapest Jews. The Hungarian Government replied in a note to the effect that it was prepared to transfer the Budapest Jews to satisfy demands of military security, but only within the borders of the country. (27 July).

Allied successes have strengthened the position of the Hungarian Government against the Germans. Lakatos, new Hungarian Prime Minister sent a note to the German Government demanding the recall of Aichmann and his staff from Hungary, the transfer of the German-controlled internment camps to Hungarian authorities and the handing over of Hungarian politicians and high-ranking officers in German captivity to the Hungarians.

On 25 August 1944, the following instructions received from Himmler, Wesenmayer informed the Hungarian Government that its demands would be fulfilled by the Germans. *But on 15 October 1944* a German coup ended the Horthy regime and Szalasy took over power. On 17 October Aichmann return to Budapest by air. On his order the Arrow-Cross Party and the police began the deportation of all Jews locked into the houses marked by yellow stars; 25,000 Jewish people, mostly women were made to walk over 100 miles in rain and snow without food to the Austrian border; hundreds died on the way, more died in Austria through exhaustion and dysentery. On the border the transports were taken over by Wisliceny; 20,000 Labor Service men shared the same fate.

The German authorities were the same as before; the most active Hungarian collaborators were: Minister Emil Kovarcz Solymosi, Under-Secretary of State, and Ladislav Ferendzi, Lt. Col. of the gendarmerie.

On 8 December the deportations from Budapest stopped. According to Wisliceny, Aichmann refused to carry out Himmler's order to stop deportations until he received written instructions from Himmler himself. Until 11 February 1945 the Arrow-Cross party-men did not stop to hunt down Jews in hiding, living on false papers; 10-15,000 Jews were shot on the shores of the Danube or in the streets during these 2 months. Thousands have died in the Ghettos, as well as in the "protected houses" of the Swedish and Swiss Legations, as a result of enemy action, sickness or starvation.

The losses of Hungarian Jewry

The 1940-41 census found 762,000 person of Jewish persuasion within what was then Hungarian territory. But the persecution was extended to the Converted Jews, as well as to

mixed marriages, of whom there were no official figures. Their numbers were estimated generally at 60,000.

According to figures estimated in August 1945:

There are at present in Budapest.....	150,000	Jews
In the provinces.....	40,000	Jews
In Transylvania (returned to Rumania), in Rutenia (attached to Russia), in Upper Hungary (attached to Slovakia), and in the Backa (returned to Yugoslavia), there are estimated to be	50,000	Jews

Total.....240,000 Jews

In territory occupied by the Allies and in Russia, Sweden and Switzerland approx.....	50,000	Jews
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Total.....290,000 Jews

Of the 10,000 or so Slovakian, Polish, Yugoslav, and German Jews who were in Hungary at the time of the German occupation only about 750 are still alive, according to a reliable estimate.

Therefore, a total of 540,000 Hungarians and 10,000 refugee Jews perished, of them—

The Germans were responsible for the death of....	450,000
The Hungarians were responsible for the death of..	80,000
Suicides, sickness, enemy (allied) action.....	20,000
	<hr/> 550,000

The figures concerning the deported Jews originate from Wisliceny, who directed the deportations and was fully competent to give these figures.

It may be added that the objective of the new wave of deportations which started at the end of October 1944 was no longer Oswiecim. On this occasion older people, children, and the sick were not deported. Those who remained alive after the long journey on foot were—in the majority—employed on fortification works along the Austro-Hungarian border; a lesser number were sent to Oranienburg, Dachau, and Bergen-Belsen.

Wisliceny was active in Hungary. His account of events there follows:

21. In connection with the movement of the German Army into Hungary in March 1944, it was agreed between Hitler and Horthy that the Army should not enter Budapest. No mention was made of the Security Police, however, and an Einsatz Group of about 800 members was secretly organized, under the leadership of Standartenfuehrer, later Oberfuehrer Dr.

Geschke. The rank and file of the Einsatz Group consisted of members of the Security Police from all over Germany and occupied Europe, in addition about sixty men from the Waffen SS. Shortly after arrival in Budapest, a further battalion of Waffen SS was assigned to the Einsatz Group for guard purposes. Most of the experts on final solution of the Jewish question in IV A 4 b were organized under the designation "Special Action Commando Eichmann". This Special Commando was directly subordinated to the Chief of the Security Police and SD, Kaltenbrunner. Both the Einsatz Group and the Special Commando were first activated about 10 March 1944. The personnel were assembled at Mauthausen in Linz, Austria, and moved later into Hungary 19 March 1944. Matters of personnel for the Special Action Commandos were handled by Geschke while all operations were directed by Eichmann personally. The Army had informed higher SS and Police Leader Winckelman as representative of Himmler, and Oberfuehrer Piffraeder and Dr. Geschke as representatives of RSHA, of the place and hour of the invasion of Hungary. I had advance knowledge of the action that was to be undertaken although it was kept secret from the rank and file of the group. I had seen Eichmann studying maps of Hungary in advance of the movement. We marched into Budapest on 19 March 1944 ahead of the Army and Eichmann arrived there on 21 March.

22. During the first days after arrival in Budapest, Eichmann, Hunsche and I conferred with Endre and von Baky who were Administrative State Secretary and Political State Secretary respectively of the Ministry of Interior for Hungary. Actions against Jews were discussed in the smallest detail. It was the purpose to start evacuation of Jews as soon as possible. In late March 1944, about 200 Jews prominent in the economical and cultural life of Hungary were taken as hostages on orders of Geschke. Thereafter in accordance with the agreement between Endre and Eichmann, Jews were concentrated in designated larger cities and towns in Karpato-Russia and Siebenbuergen (Transylvania), such actions being undertaken by the Hungarian Gendarmerie under Lt. Colonel Ferenzcy who had the same relative position for the Hungarian Ministry of Interior as I had for Special Action Commando Eichmann in the carrying out of these actions. Eichmann's delegates were sent to each of the larger collecting points.

23. While detailed preparations were being made and actions taken to prepare all Hungarian Jews for evacuation, Dr. Rudolph Kastner of the Joint Distribution Committee gave me 3,000,000 pengoe for Eichmann to induce him to grant a first interview on the Jewish question. This money was carefully counted and taken over by Geschke's treasurer. About 8 or 10

April, a meeting was arranged at the Hotel Majestic in Eichmann's office between Dr. Kastner, Mr. Brand—another representative of the Committee—and Eichmann. There followed a series of conversations in which Eichmann was implored to leave Hungarian Jews alone upon an offer to pay any amount to stop further action. Eichmann reported the situation to Himmler who sent Standartenfuehrer Becher to continue negotiations in Budapest. Demand was made by Becher for payment in trucks and raw materials with the condition that they would not be used against England or America. I was later informed that this proposal was turned down by the Allied countries because there was no assurance that they would not be used against the U.S.S.R. As Eichmann had predicted and wished, the negotiations failed and although Dr. Kastner fought bitterly to obtain some concessions, the planned actions went ahead.

24. I think it quite important to describe the attitude of the Hungarian Government. According to Ferenzcy, the Hungarian Government at first agreed only to concentrate the Jews in certain collecting points. Conditions created by the massing of hundreds of thousands of people in narrow camps were unbearable. The inmates could not be fed or taken care of. Ferenzcy went to Budapest about 20 April 1944, and reported to Endre and von Baky that either the Jews would have to be returned to their homes or removed to other areas. This was Eichmann's hoped for moment. He declared that he would be ready to take over these Jews if the Hungarian Government would make a special request. It happened as follows: Ferenzcy arrived in Budapest in the morning, reported to von Baky who sent him to Eichmann. Ferenzcy saw Eichmann around noon and received Eichmann's request. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon the Hungarian Government had made the demanded request. Eichmann arranged at once in Vienna a conference of transport experts for the arrangement of the time table of the evacuation. In this conference, Novak, for the Hungarian Captain Lulay, Ferenzcy's Adjutant, participated and in addition, representatives from the Reich Ministry of Transport were present. I saw copies of the cables which were sent regarding all these matters from Eichmann to the Chief of the Security Police and SD, Kaltenbrunner, reporting the developments; furthermore, a cable to Eichmann's deputy, Sturmbannfuehrer Rolf Guenther, requesting him to immediately inform the Inspector of concentration camps, Brigadefuehrer Glicks, of the arrival of the Hungarian Jews in Auschwitz, and ask him to make all necessary preparations for their reception.

25. The evacuation of Jews from Hungary took place in four stages. First, Karpato-Russia and Northern Transylvania from which area approximately 320,000 were evacuated. The second stage was in Northern Hungary including parts ceded by Slovakia. There were about 42,000 evacuated from this area. The third stage covered Southern Hungary including Szeged from which 46,000 were evacuated. The fourth stage covered Western Hungary and removed about 40,000 Jews. Action in this area started at the end of the first stage and continued during the second in Northern Hungary. A special action took place in Batschka involving about 10,000. The aggregate number in these four stages was approximately 458,000. Only the city of Budapest remained outside the scope of the evacuation. Eichmann and his fellow conspirators, Endre and von Baky, made repeated attempts to carry through actions in Budapest but were prevented by the intervention of Horthy who, through the intermediary of Dr. Kastner and I, was informed of the planned actions.

26. Negotiations between the Joint Distribution Committee and Himmler's representative, Becher, continued during all this time. Fearing that some kind of an agreement would eventually be achieved, Eichmann decided to send about 9,000 Hungarian Jews to Vienna. He called them "Joint Jews" so they could be shown to representatives of the Joint Distribution Committee. It was Krumei who sold the idea to Eichmann. In this connection, Eichmann together with Becher visited Himmler in July. In August 1944, 3,000 additional "Joint Jews" were sent to Bergen-Belsen from where, in December, they were sent to Switzerland.

27. In November and December 1944, about 30,000 Jews were evacuated from Budapest to Austria. A small number were forwarded to the concentration camps of Flossenbrueck and Sachsenhausen. The evacuation of these 30,000 took place under terrible conditions. The group consisted mostly of women and some Jewish units from the Hungarian labor service, and they were forced to walk about 180 kilometers in rain and snow and without food to the Austrian border. There Abromeit and I were charged with receiving the group and further transporting them to the labor camps. The group arrived in a state of complete exhaustion and I was told by the Hungarian guards that a considerable number had died of exhaustion and starvation during the march. I first refused but was later compelled to take over the transport from the Hungarians when this protest was reported by the Hungarians to Eichmann. From that moment on, Eichmann completely lost his confidence in me, a confidence which had already earlier been shaken. My participation in the Hungarian actions ended.

Dr. Kastner knew the workings of Eichmann's organization intimately. He was carried around Europe by certain Nazis after the events in Hungary as a sort of good-luck charm. He has particularly valuable information about Eichmann during the last days of the Third Reich.

The entire machinery of the German State supported Section IV.B. in this work. In occupied countries the Commanders of the Wehrmacht and the Gauleiters (Seyss-Inquart, Frank, Heydrich, etc.), in countries allied to Germany the German diplomats (Killinger in Bucharest, Wesenmayer in Zagreb, later in Budapest) supported the work.

The plan of operation was almost identical in all countries; at first Jews were marked, then separated, divested of all property, deported and gassed.

The Officers of IV.B. traveled from country to country. Wisliceny—according to his own admission—directed the deportation in Slovakia and Greece.

Brunner II. in Poland and Slovakia.

Krumei, Seidl directed the work in Hungary, Austria and Poland.

Seidl was the first commander of Theresienstadt.

Guenther directed deportations in Austria and Czechoslovakia.

Danegger, Brunner in France.

Almost everywhere the local Quisling authorities and even part of the civilian populations assisted them.

Commanders of the death-camps gassed only on direct or indirect instructions of Aichmann. The particular Officer of IV.B. who directed the deportations from some particular country had the authority to indicate whether the train should go to a death camp or not, and what should happen to the passengers. The instructions were usually carried by the SS-NCO escorting the train. The letters "A" or "M" on the escorting instruction documents indicated Auschwitz (Oswiecim) or Majdanek; it meant that the passengers were to be gassed.

In case of doubt instructions by wire were asked from Aichmann in Berlin.

Regarding Hungarian Jews the following general ruling was laid down in Oswiecim: children up to the age of 12 or 14, older people above 50, as well as the sick, or people with criminal records (who were transported in specially marked wagons) were taken immediately on their arrival to the gas chambers.

The others passed before an SS doctor who, on sight, indicated who was fit for work, and who was not. Those unfit were

sent to the gas chambers, while the others were distributed in various labor camps.

In September 1944 Slovakian partisans engineered the revolt in Banska-Bystrica. The Jewish youth joined the revolution enthusiastically. Aichmann thereupon sent SS Hauptsturmfuehrer Brunner to Bratislava with instructions to deport all the 17,000-odd Jews still left behind after the deportations of 1942. They were to go to Oswiecim.

SS and Hlinka-Guards arrested the Jews. They were transported from Sered. About 13,500 Jews were caught, the rest were in hiding. Following my appeal the A.D.C. of Becher Capt. Grueson journeyed to Bratislava and tried to intervene with SS Obersturmbannfuehrer Vitezka, Slovakian Gestapo Chief, to stop the deportation. Vitezka's reply was: "As far as I am concerned I will agree readily if I get telegraphic authority from Kaltenbrunner to this effect." Becher said on 2 November 1944, in the Hotel Walhalla, St. Gallen, Switzerland, in the presence of the representative of the Joint D. C.: "We have militarily annihilated the Slovakian Jews."

In the first half of November 1944 about 20,000 Jews were taken from Theresienstadt to Oswiecim and were gassed on instructions from Aichmann. As far as I could ascertain this was the last gassing process.

According to Becher, Himmler issued instructions—on his advice—on 25 November 1944 to dynamite all the gas-chambers and crematoria of Oswiecim. He also issued a ban on further murdering of Jews.

Wisliceny confirmed the existence of such an order. But he maintained that Aichmann sabotaged this order and was supported in this by Mueller and Kaltenbrunner.

Following the advance of the Russian Army it was necessary to evacuate the Polish and Silesian camps. Some of the Jewish prisoners were sent to Bergen-Belsen or other camps. Most of the Jews found in these camps by the Allies arrived there either at the end of 1944 or at the beginning of 1945. Other Jews in the extermination camps were shot, or were frozen dead on the way.

There were no mass-murders in the months preceding the German surrender but owing to starvation—due partly to the collapse of the German transport system and the general lack of food—the sick and weakened Jews died by the thousands.

After the fall of 1944 Himmler granted several concessions. Thus he permitted the departure for Switzerland of 1,700 Hungarian Jews deported to Bergen-Belsen and also agreed to suspend the annihilation of the Jews of the Budapest Ghetto. Himmler permitted handing over to the Allies the Jews of Bergen-Belsen and Theresienstadt without a shot being fired,

which in his eyes and the eyes of his colleagues was such a generous and colossal concession that he certainly hoped some political concession in return. In the hope of establishing contact with the Allies Himmler made some concessions even without expecting economic returns. To this desire of Himmler may be ascribed the general prohibition dated 25 November 1944, concerning the further killing of Jews. On 27 November 1944 Becher showed me a copy of Himmler's order on this subject. Aichmann at first did not obey this order.

chapter five

They Were Killing People

This, then, was the work of Adolf Eichmann, a man directly responsible for more murders than any other man in history. But the staggering extent of his crime should not blind us to the fact that Eichmann was dealing with people, not numbers. There is a natural tendency when looking at a crowd to forget that it is composed of individuals: in reading of these "occurrences" we may forget that each of these people had feelings, that each person suffered, that each person had the same fright when the gas was turned on, that they all had reasons for living and that they would not have died when they did except for the Nazis and Adolf Eichmann.

"Each man dies alone" and the fact that there were hundreds of others in the gas chamber when people started to cough does not make it any the less of an individual experience. We read with horror of the death of one man by violence in connection with a robbery, or because somebody was drunk and driving a car. We should not forget that Eichmann's victims are just as dead, just as innocent as the victim of a hit-and-run driver, and that they also did not choose to die.

This book, then, closes with the statements of people who were in the camps and were familiar with what went on there. It will be seen from these statements that murder was not the only crime against humanity committed in these camps and that the man who sent his victims into such hells, Adolf Eichmann, must bear some of the guilt for these violations of the human spirit.

For an over-all view of the camp from the point of view of the prisoners, here is a report prepared by two escapees who told what they knew to the War Refugee Board. The war was still on and the camps were operating when this document was prepared.

On April 13, 1942, our group of one thousand men was loaded into railroad cars at the assembly camp of Sered. The doors were shut so that nothing would reveal the direction of the journey. When they were opened we realized that we had crossed the Slovak frontier and were in Zwardon. The train, until then guarded by *Hlinka* men, was now taken over by SS guards. At night we arrived at Oswiecim, where we stopped on a sidetrack.

We were at once led into huge barracks where we had to undress, leaving our clothes and valuables behind. Naked, we proceeded to an adjoining barracks, where we were shaved and disinfected with lysol. At the exit every man was given a number. We were then herded into a third barracks for registration. The numbers we had received were tattooed on the left side of our chests.

Oswiecim is a concentration camp for political prisoners. At the time of my arrival in April 1942, the camp contained about 15,000 prisoners, the majority of whom were Poles, Germans and Russian civilians. At the time of our escape, at the beginning of April 1944, the number had risen to 180,000. Oswiecim camp headquarters controls the Birkenau camp as well as the farm labor of camp Hermense.

All prisoners, irrespective of category or nationality, are treated the same. However, to facilitate identification, they are distinguished by various colored triangles sewed on their clothing over the left breast. The letter indicates the nationality of the prisoner, for instance "P" for Poles. The colored triangles signify:

red	political prisoners
green	professional criminals
black	"dodgers" (labor slackers), "anti-socials" (mostly Russians)
pink	homosexuals
violet	members of the religious sect of <i>Bibelforscher</i>

The Jewish prisoners wear no triangle, but the "Star of David."

Within the enclosure of the camp are several factories: *Deutsche Aufruestungswerke* belonging to the Krupp works, another one, a branch of the Siemens concern. Outside the camp is the tremendous Buna plant covering several square kilometers.

The prisoners' actual living quarters, if such a term may be used, cover an area of approximately 300 by 500 meters surrounded by a double row of concrete posts about three meters high, connected with one another by a dense network of high-

150 meters, are five-meter-high watchtowers, equipped with machine guns and searchlights.

The camp itself is composed of three rows of houses. Between the first and second row is the camp street. The camp entry road cuts across the row of houses; over the entrance gate runs the ironic inscription: WORK BRINGS FREEDOM.

At a radius of some 2,000 meters the whole camp is encircled by the big or outer chain of sentry posts. The factories and other workshops are between the inner and outer chain of sentry posts. The towers of the inner chain are only manned at night. Escape through these sentry posts—and many attempts have been made—is practically impossible. If the roll call reveals that a prisoner is missing, sirens immediately sound the alarm. If the escaped is caught alive, he is hanged in the presence of the whole camp; but if he is found dead, his body is brought back to camp; a small notice is clasped in his hands, reading: "Here I am." During our two years' imprisonment there were many attempts at escape; but, with the exception of two or three, all were brought back, dead or alive.

The work was extremely hard, and there were no rest periods. The way to and from work had to be covered at a brisk military trot; anyone falling out of line was shot.

After a number of weeks of painful work at the Buna plant a typhus epidemic broke out. The weaker prisoners died by the hundreds. An immediate quarantine was ordered and work at the Buna plant stopped. Those still alive were sent to tension wires. Between the two rows of posts, at intervals of the gravel pit at the end of July 1942.

I was then detailed for work at the *Deutsche Aufruestungswerke* where we had to paint skis. The prescribed minimum to be painted in each day was 120. Anyone unable to paint that many was flogged in the evening.

Somewhere around the middle of August 1942, all the Jewish girls from Slovakia who lived next to our quarters, on the other side of the wall, were transferred to Birkenau. They were weak and half-starved. They were dressed in old Russian uniforms and wore wooden clogs. Their heads were shaven clean.

I was detailed for a clearance squad which consisted of about a hundred Jewish prisoners. We were sent to a far corner of the camp. Here we found huge sheds full of knapsacks, suitcases and other luggage. We had to sort the contents into large cases especially prepared for each category of goods: combs, mirrors, sugar, canned food, chocolate and medicines. Underwear, shirts and clothes went to a special barracks, where they were sorted and packed by Jewish girls. Old and worn clothes were addressed to the "Textile Factory" at Memel. The usable

garments were dispatched to a collecting center in Berlin. Gold, money, bank notes and precious stones were handed over to the political section.

During the night shift I was able to witness how incoming convoys were handled. The transport contained Polish Jews. They had received no water for days. They were utterly exhausted. About a hundred of them had died during the journey. The living were lined up in rows of five. It was our job to remove the dead, the dying and the luggage from the cars. The dead were piled in a heap. Luggage and parcels were collected and stacked up. The railroad cars had to be thoroughly cleaned so that no trace of their frightful load was left behind. The remainder of the convoy was loaded on trucks, sent to Birkenau and gassed, while the dead and dying were taken directly to the furnaces.

I did not hold this comparatively good job with the clearance squad for long. Soon after, I was transferred to Birkenau on disciplinary grounds and remained there over a year and a half. On April 7, 1944, I managed to escape with my companion.

BIRKENAU

At the time of our arrival in Birkenau we found only one huge kitchen for 15,000 people and three stone buildings, two of which were completed and one under construction. The buildings were surrounded by an ordinary barbed-wire fence. The prisoners were housed in three buildings and in others constructed later. All are built according to a standard model. Each house is about thirty meters long and eight to ten meters wide, with a gable of about five meters, and no inner ceiling. The cubicles are too narrow for a man to lie stretched out and not high enough for him to sit upright. Some 400 to 500 people are accommodated in one house or "block," as they are called. Birkenau camp, like Oswiecim, is surrounded by a so-called inner chain of sentry posts. Within a radius of two kilometers, as at Oswiecim, Birkenau is also surrounded by an outer chain of sentry posts. It has the same type of watch system as at Oswiecim.

The buildings we found had been erected by 12,000 Russian prisoners of war brought there in December 1941. They had to work under inhuman conditions in severe winter weather as a result of which most of them died of exposure. Whenever fresh convoys of Russian prisoners arrived, they were not issued the current Oswiecim prisoner numbers but those of deceased Russians in the 1 to 12,000 series. It is, therefore, difficult to estimate how many Russian prisoners passed through the camp.

By the middle of May 1942, a total of four convoys of male Jews from Slovakia had arrived at Birkenau.

From the first and second transports 120 men were placed at the disposal of the administration of the camp of Oswiecim, which was in need of doctors, dentists and clerks.

Shortly thereafter a so-called sick building (*Krankenbau*) was set up. I became chief attendant and later administrator. The chief of this infirmary was a Pole. Actually this building was nothing but an assembly center for death candidates. There was no question of any medical attention or care. We had some 150 dead daily, and their bodies were sent for cremation to Oswiecim.

At the same time the so-called selections were introduced. Twice a week, Mondays and Thursdays, the camp doctor indicated the prisoners who were to be gassed and burned. These "selectees" were loaded into trucks and brought to Birch Forest. Those still alive upon arrival were gassed in a big barracks erected near the trench. The weekly "draft" in dead from "Block 7" was about 2,000 of whom 1,200 died of a "natural death" and about 800 through "selection."

All Jewish convoys were dealt with in the same manner. Approximately ten per cent of the men and five per cent of the women were allotted to the camps; the remaining were immediately gassed. Trucks, during long months, brought thousands of Jews from the various ghetto districts direct to the pit in the crematorium.

The remainder of this chapter is composed of details of life in one camp—Belsen. There is a wealth of material on this camp because of the trial which convicted the commandant and a number of his guards. Most of the material only deals with life there toward the end of the war for the simple reason that there were few survivors from the earlier years. Yet in these few months in this one camp, there was enough misery to last the world for thousands of years.

Joseph Kramer, the camp commandant, called the "Beast of Belsen," was an unsatisfactory witness looked at from any angle. His story—that he knew nothing and had done nothing wrong—was too good to be believed. The judges didn't believe him and he was hanged. Kramer had spent most of his working life in the camps, in one capacity or another. If he had chosen to tell the truth, we would have learned much about the camps and the SS structure.

Nevertheless, even Kramer had to admit that toward the end of the war conditions deteriorated. In fact, that was his story: everything had been fine until then. He reports one particularly shocking detail of what hunger can drive men to.

I do not know the number of deaths which occurred in this period at all, but the conditions in Belsen got worse from the middle of February till the middle of April, 1945, when the Allies came. I inspected the camp daily during this period and was fully aware of the conditions and the great number of people who were dying. The death rate during the months of February, March and April gradually mounted until it reached 400 or 500 a day. . . . It was absolutely impossible for me to procure enough bread to feed the number of prisoners I had. In the early days the bread had been supplied by local bakeries at Belsen. Later there were so many prisoners in the camp that the local bakeries could not supply the required quantity any longer, and I sent out lorries to Hanover and other places to fetch bread, but even then I was not able to get half the bread I required to feed prisoners on normal rations. Apart from bread, the rations were never cut down. Flour was supplied in lieu of bread and was employed in making meals. It turned out, however, that had we made bread of this flour the death rate would not have been so high. I went to the depot in Celle and then to the next higher authority in Hanover and put them in the picture as to what was going on in Belsen. I also pointed out to them that if a catastrophe was going to happen, I would not only disclose the facts but also make them responsible. I cannot remember whom I saw at either of these places. I have never applied to Berlin in these matters because they could not have helped me in any way. This was entirely a matter for the ration people in Celle and in Hanover. My visits to these depots resulted in extra rations of potatoes and turnips arriving some time later.

I remember one case of cannibalism quite well. It was reported to me that a prisoner had entered the mortuary and that parts of one body there were missing. I put a guard on the dead bodies at night and that guard arrested a man the same night who had approached a dead body. This man was arrested, but before he could be interrogated next morning he hanged himself. Whether there were more cases of cannibalism I cannot tell, but I put a guard on the mortuary from that night onwards. That guard consisted of prisoners. I thought that the prisoners would guard the bodies against other prisoners. Whether they did or did not do so I cannot tell. The mortuary was not always in the same building, as the prisoners fluctuated to such a great extent. I had to shift the accommodation continuously and therefore the building detailed as a mortuary was not always the same. If changes took place, this building was cleaned by the prisoners and used for their accommodation the next day.

Dr. Zdenek Wiener, a Czech physician who was assigned to Kramer's camps as a prisoner, confirms this story and adds some details of medical conditions in the camp.

I do not know exactly on what date Kramer actually took this camp over. I gave certain patients what treatment I could, but I had no vaccine, and my treatment was mainly confined to strengthening the heart. In many cases I saw injections of petrol and creosol being given by the S.S. orderlies. In some cases big lumps were caused by these injections being given by untrained men. I was called in to operate on these lumps in three cases. As a doctor I can positively say that the liquid with which these persons were injected was petrol or creosol. Furthermore, on one occasion a bottle of petrol was lost and I was personally threatened with an injection of petrol, as it was thought that the loss of this petrol was due to sabotage. I was also asked on another occasion by the Lagerfuhrer (who was the Camp Leader appointed by the Kommandant) whether I would take part in these petrol injections. Dr. Jaeger, an S.S. doctor, was the head doctor at that time. Later on, Dr. Jaeger left and was succeeded by Dr. Klein, who was in the camp when the camp was taken.

After the outbreak of typhus there was an outbreak of erysipelas in which I again was asked to finish off injected persons by these injections. There were about 10 to 15 cases. Another doctor, a Russian named Larion Michailowski, of Kiev, was present when I received this request. I only dealt with men, I had nothing to do with women.

I cannot give an estimate of the deaths that occurred during the whole year I was here, as conditions grew worse and worse as other camps were evacuated into this camp. I estimate that during the last three months there were 25,000 deaths. In many cases half of the prisoners were dead in the railroad carriages that brought them here. I am afraid the figure of deaths as given for the last three months is even too low, considering the increasing mortality rate which towards the end was between 500 and 1400 per day. There was a gradual increase of typhus, but the majority of deaths was due to hunger. During the last 12 days we had no bread, but only swedes boiled in water. Before that, there was a period during which we had only a ration of 50 grams of bread per day.

Owing to the prevailing hunger, many people tried at night to get into the food stores to get potatoes or swedes and were shot. I personally saw the bodies lying on the ground and it was said in the camp that the shooting was a sport enjoyed by the guards and that Kramer himself took part in

it. On one occasion there was said to be 52 bodies, but I personally saw only 45.

I personally witnessed many floggings, and the number of strokes varied from 25 to 50. Deaths occurred as a consequence of these floggings.

I personally have seen about 20 bodies with either the ears, the liver or other intestines or the scrotum or the penis cut out by a knife. This was strictly forbidden, but I actually saw a man produce from his coat a human liver and eat it. Some people were caught and shot for this. The liver was the part usually cut out.

The prisoners' stories are an endless tale of unimaginable torment, unendurable grief. No further comment is necessary, but there are a few details of the camp organization that should be explained.

Particularly toward the end of the war, it was common practice for the SS to use prisoners in a supervisory capacity. These people were usually habitual criminals or political offenders who decided that the best way to survive the camps was to cooperate with the Nazis. Therefore, in the following accounts not all of the charges were made against SS men and women. For example, the prisoner Helena Kopper made a long deposition accusing various SS personnel of certain crimes, but you will find that Kopper herself is named as an offender in other depositions. It would seem to be the case that most of the prisoners used by the SS to watch their companions in misery employed methods that were just as harsh as anything done by the SS.

(35) DEPOSITION OF WILHELM GRUNWALD (Czech, aged 17)

About 10th April, 1945, whilst at Belsen, I saw two prisoners crawl through a hole in the wire surrounding Kitchen No. 2. They were attempting to steal some carrots piled up there. Before the two prisoners could reach the pile I saw an SS man, whom I recognize as No. 3 on photograph 3, shoot at them with his pistol and the prisoners fell. I have now been told that this SS man's name is Fritz Mathes. About twenty minutes later I saw other prisoners collect the two prisoners, who had been shot and were lying on the ground, and carry their bodies away to a pile of corpses. I have no doubt that the men were killed by Mathes.

I recognize No. 5 on photograph 25 as an SS woman at Belsen. I have now been told that her name is Herta Bothe. Between 1st and 15th April, 1945, I saw several very weak female prisoners carrying a food container from the kitchen to the block. As it was filled and very heavy the

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women could not stand the weight and put it down to rest. At that moment I saw Bothe shoot at the two prisoners with her pistol. They fell down, but I cannot say whether they were dead or wounded, but as they were very weak, thin and undernourished I have no doubt that they died.

(36) DEPOSITION OF STANISLAW HALOTA (Pole, aged 26)

I identify No. 3 photograph 5 as an SS man at Belsen who was in charge of Kitchen No. 1. I have now been told that his name is Ansgar Pichen. I was in a working party which had to carry containers of soup from Pichen's kitchen to the women's camp. On 13th April, 1945, I was waiting outside the kitchen for the containers when two male prisoners started to take some turnips from a pile outside the kitchen. Pichen was standing outside the kitchen and saw the men taking the turnips. He immediately pulled out his revolver and shot at them both, from a distance of about 25 metres. The two men fell to the ground and Pichen walked away. I saw the whole incident, including the shooting. This incident occurred about 12 noon and at about 4 o'clock that afternoon I was outside the kitchen when the Totenkommando appeared. The two bodies were still lying on the ground and I assisted the Totenkommando to put the bodies on a stretcher. They were both dead. One of them had been hit with a bullet at the back of the neck. The bullet which hit the other man had penetrated his body under the right shoulder-blade and had come out of his body through the left chest.

(40) DEPOSITION OF JOLAN HOLDOST (Austrian, aged 25)

At Auschwitz I lived in a block adjacent to the gas chamber and I saw thousands of persons sent to the gas chamber. I remember, in particular, one occasion when there was not enough room in the gas chamber and other prisoners were forced to pour petrol over the 300 to 400 people left outside, who were then burnt. My child died from hunger three weeks after I arrived at Auschwitz.

I had a child at Ravensbruck which died from hunger when three months old. I was then, against my will and on the orders of Dr. Dreitz, and in his presence, sterilized. This was on 7th January 1945. Dr. Dreitz is aged about 36, height 6 ft., very thin, thin face, pale complexion, brown hair, long nose, scar on face.

(53) DEPOSITION OF KLARA LEBOWITZ (Czech, aged 31)

I worked in the kitchen and though I was dismissed from Appelle after a few minutes in order that I might go to work,

whilst working in the kitchen I could see what happened at the Appelle.

S.S. woman Grese was in charge of the Appelle which took place twice a day. These lasted at least two hours and, more often, three or four hours. If a mistake was made in counting the internees they were made to stand until the missing one was found, and this often meant all day. No time was allowed for food, and people used to fall unconscious as a result of this. When the woman Grese attended these Appelles she often made the internees go on their knees for hours on end or hold stones in their hands high above their heads. If an internee did not stand upright, because she was weak or for any reason, she would beat her with a rubber truncheon sometimes until she was unconscious. She would kick persons lying on the ground and many people were taken to hospital as a result of her treatment. The internees were not allowed to carry anything in their pockets, and the woman Grese would often stop and search internees whom she would beat unmercifully if she found anything on them, even a handkerchief.

I have often seen the woman Grese with Dr. Mengele selecting people for the gas chamber and for forced work in Germany. If the woman Grese saw a mother and daughter or sisters trying to get together in selections for forced work in Germany she would beat them until they were unconscious and leave them lying on the ground.

(52) DEPOSITION OF ALEXANDER KUROWICKI (Pole, aged 32)

On Appell we had to remove our caps when Schreier came on the scene and those who did not raise their hats quickly enough, as a sign of respect for him, were beaten by him. Also, those who did not stand up straight or were not in line with other prisoners received similar treatment. I remember one occasion about May or June, 1943, when Schreier beat a man unconscious. It was a very hot day and men of my block, including myself, were on Appell, of which Schreier was in charge. One of the prisoners, a man about 43 years of age, was a little faint and swayed a bit owing to the hot sun. Just at that moment Rapportführer Stibitz looked towards the men of our block. Stibitz shouted something to Schreier who then went up to the man who was faint and punched him in the face and stomach with his fist. The man fell to the ground. I then saw Schreier kick him again and again with the heel of his boot. He kicked the man as hard as he could in the stomach, front and back of his head and other parts of his body. The man whose head was bleeding profusely, lost consciousness. After the Appell was over I saw two other prisoners pick up the unconscious man and

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take him to the hospital. From the treatment he received from Schreirer and from the injuries I saw to his head I feel sure that the man died. I never saw this man again after his admission to hospital. I am quite sure that the man I saw in Belsen Camp dressed in Wehrmacht uniform is in fact the S.S. man Schreirer.

(78) DEPOSITION OF CESA SILBERBERG (Pole, aged 20)

I identify No. 21 on photograph Z/4/7 as an S.S. kitchen chief of No. 1 Kitchen at Belsen. I have now been told that his name is Erich Basch. On or about 13th April, 1945 (being shortly before the English arrived), I was standing outside No. 1 Kitchen and I saw Basch standing near the door to the kitchen. There was a girl prisoner standing near a pile of turnips which was outside the kitchen. Basch apparently saw her and walked towards her. When he was about three metres from her he fired two or three shots, from a pistol which he was carrying in his hand, at this girl. I saw the girl fall to the ground and blood coming from her head. I did not see her move, and in my opinion she was dead. The only reason I can give for the shooting was because she was near the turnips. Basch called another girl who had witnessed the incident and asked her if she was thirsty. The girl said that she was, and Basch then told her to drink the blood of the girl prisoner who was lying on the ground. I heard this remark. I remember another girl was present when this shooting took place; she is Miriam Winter.

(79) DEPOSITION OF DORA SILBERBERG (Pole, aged 25)

I recognize No. 3 on photograph 19 as an S.S. woman at Auschwitz. I knew her by the name of Bormann. I have now been told that her full name is Juana Bormann. On 15th June, 1944, whilst at Auschwitz, I was working with a working party outside the camp. Working with me was a good friend of mine named Rachella Silberstein, aged 21 years, from Lodz, Poland. On this day she felt very sick and could not walk on her own to the working site. We had to assist her and on arriving at the working site she sat down because she was so weak and suffered from very severe pains. Bormann, who was supervising the party, ordered my friend to go to work immediately. Because my friend could hardly speak through pain I intervened and told Bormann that Silberstein was too ill to work. Bormann hit me in the face with her fist, knocking out two of my teeth, and told me to go back to work. As I moved away she hit me all over the body with a thick stick which she carried. She then ordered a big dog, which always accompanied her, to attack Silberstein, who was sitting on the

ground. The dog grasped her leg with its teeth and dragged her round and round until she finally collapsed. Bormann then ordered the dog to let go of my friend. After about ten minutes Silberstein recovered consciousness, but lay all day on the ground. I could see no open wounds, but the leg which had been gripped by the dog became very swollen and blue-black in colour. I had the impression that it was blood-poisoning. When we marched back to the camp four girls had to carry Silberstein, and on her arrival they took her to the hospital. On the following day I went to visit her and she was very weak. She could neither speak nor eat. When I went to see her on 17th June, 1944, the warden told me that she had died. He said that the dead body was in the yard and I went there and saw a corpse covered with blankets. I lifted the blankets and recognized my dead friend.

(85) DEPOSITION OF VLADIMIR SULIMA (U.S.S.R., aged 21)

On 14th June, 1945, I was shown by Sergeant Scamans, 86 Special Investigation Section, Corps of Military Police, a man whom I recognize as the Kapo of the block in which I lived at Dora Camp. I have now been informed that his name is Vladislav Ostrowoski.

Whilst at Dora Camp I saw Ostrowoski beat many prisoners every day. The prisoners at Dora Camp, including myself, were compelled to work on twelve-hour shifts, alternately nights and days, underground. We had to dig a deep tunnel there for a factory, and the work was very hard. Ostrowoski did not work in the tunnel but remained in the block all the time. When we finished work we returned to the block for food. Ostrowoski frequently refused to give many of us food and he did not give much to the others. He never distributed the food fairly so that many of the prisoners starved. When prisoners went to him to ask for food he beat them. Sometimes he beat them with his hands, sometimes with a thick stick, sometimes a big metal soup-spoon, and he often kicked them whilst they were on the ground. Ostrowoski delighted in punishing prisoners and would not allow us to sleep during non-working hours. When we went to the block to rest he called Appelle at all hours, sometimes at three and four o'clock in the morning after we had been working all day, and sometimes during the day-time when we had been on the night shift. Ostrowoski worked on behalf of the S.S. and took these Appelle on his own, receiving special considerations for doing so. He received drink and cigarettes from the S.S. for the way in which he treated the prisoners. I saw this several times, but cannot name the S.S. men or describe them. Many of the prisoners at Dora died from overwork, under-nourishment, lack of rest and beat-

ings. Ostrowoski was responsible for this ill-treatment. I did not see him actually kill any prisoner outright by beating them at Dora.

On transfer to Ellrich Concentration Camp I was for those two days in Block 19, of which Ostrowoski was again the Kapo. During these two days none of us received any food, and Ostrowoski beat many prisoners as before.

Ostrowoski moved to Belsen with us and we were placed in Block 19 with Ostrowoski again as the Kapo. He continued to beat and ill-treat prisoners in the same way as before. About 4 a.m. one morning, about three days after we arrived at Belsen, Ostrowoski ordered all of us out of the block on to Appell. One prisoner, a Frenchman, was sick and unable to get up. I saw Ostrowoski go to the Frenchman and give him a very heavy blow on the head with a piece of iron which he was carrying. The blow smashed the Frenchman's head and smothered his head and face with blood. He did not move again. I saw that he was dead. Later in the day the Frenchman's body, together with others who had died in the block during the night, was carried out and put in a heap of dead bodies in the camp. I assisted in this job. I am quite certain that the Frenchman was killed by the brutal attack made on him by Ostrowoski.

I have been beaten myself by Ostrowoski on a number of occasions, both at Dora and Belsen. One day in Belsen, when I was sick with typhus, I asked Ostrowoski for food. Instead of giving me any, Ostrowoski beat me across the shoulders with a stick.

(87) DEPOSITION OF EDITH TRIEGER (Slovak, aged 20)

At Auschwitz I knew an S.S. woman by the name of Grese and I identify her as No. 2 on photograph Z/4/2. I have now been told that her full name is Irma Grese. Grese was at Auschwitz from about June, 1942, until 31st October, 1944. Until May, 1944, Grese was in charge of working parties of women, but from that date onwards until she left the camp she was a Rapportfuehrerin. I also saw Grese in Belsen after I left Auschwitz.

In August, 1944, I saw this S.S. woman Grese at Auschwitz shoot a Hungarian Jewess who was aged about 30 years. I saw this incident from my block. At this time a transport of prisoners was arriving at the camp by train, and when prisoners arrived all prisoners in the camp were confined to their blocks. The Hungarian woman stood outside the block watching the transport arrive, when Grese approached the woman on her bicycle. She stopped and got off her bicycle, about five meters away from the woman, and shouted to the woman, "Get in

your block." Then, without giving the woman an opportunity to go to her block, Grese produced a revolver from a holster she was carrying, aimed at the woman and fired. The woman fell to the ground and stayed there unconscious. Grese rode away on her bicycle, leaving the woman there. I saw all this occur from the distance of about 50 meters. After about a quarter of an hour the transport passed by and Grese disappeared from view. I then went to the woman who had been shot and found that she had a bullet-hole through the left breast. I pulled her clothes open and saw the hole where the bullet had penetrated and left the body. There was a pool of blood on the ground and the woman's clothing was soaked in blood. The woman was dead. I am quite certain of this, as I put a mirror to the woman's mouth to test whether she was breathing and it did not cloud over. After satisfying myself that the woman was actually dead I returned to my block. No one else came to see the body at that time as we were still confined to our blocks. The body lay in the road for another hour and then other prisoners came out and carried the body away to a spot behind a hut and covered it with a blanket. I did not see the body after that.

One day in the beginning of October, 1944, a selection to choose people for the gas chamber was made inside the block in which I lived. Selections were sometimes made outside and sometimes inside the block. The selectors were Kommandant Kramer, Dr. Mengele, S.S. woman Drechsler and S.S. woman Mandel, Dr. Mengele was in charge of the selection. The woman Grese was present, moving about the block in the passage and round the door of the block. All the women in the block had to undress. I was excused as I was a Block Leader. Those selected were taken to my room to await removal to the gas chamber and I was ordered to keep those selected in my room. Drechsler stood near to me all the time and I was made to stand in front of the doorway of my room with my hands outstretched. The selected persons endeavored to escape by passing under my arms and between my legs. When an opportunity occurred I let them do so and they ran out into the street. Grese saw this. One or two got away, but Grese caught the majority and beat them with her hands and kicked them until they were forced back into the room. All the girls were naked.

(99) DEPOSITION OF JOSEF DEUTSCH (Czech, aged 21)

On 9th July, 1945, accompanied by No. 13041777, Sergeant Eric George Stanley, Pioneer Corps, 21st Army Group Interpreters Pool, I visited Belsen Detention Cells, where I identified a man as Anton Polanski, whom I first met at Belsen. He

was assistant Block Leader of Block 12, Camp I, Belsen Concentration Camp. I lived in this block.

I was with my father in Belsen and we were employed carrying dead bodies. One morning, two or three days before the British arrived, at Appell, for no apparent reason, Polanski started beating my father and I in the face, over the head and on all parts of the body. My father was in a very weak condition and was so bad after being beaten by Polanski that he was taken to hospital. I believe that he died as a result of this beating, for I have not been able to trace him. I have not yet recovered from the beating which Polanski gave me on this occasion and still bear the following wounds: a deep cut on my head, an infected wound on my right hand and a deep wound on my right leg. In addition to beating my father and I, Polanski also beat many other prisoners of our working party.

(102) DEPOSITION OF ENGEL SANDOR (Czech, aged 21)

On 1st July, 1945, I noticed a man in Kitchen No. 6 in Camp 3, Belsen Camp, whom I recognized as Anton Polanski, who had been the assistant Block Leader of the block in which I lived in Belsen. At the time I saw him I was with Mendel Fuchs. Polanski, when he saw us, tried to get away, but with the assistance of some British soldiers we caught him and took him to the Military Police.

I was in Camp I, Block 12, Belsen, and Polanski was the assistant Block Leader. One day early in April, 1945, about 3 a.m., we were all called out of our block. Grouped round the doorway there were several men, one of whom was Polanski. They were all armed with wooden clubs or rubber truncheons or leather belts, and as we filed past them we were all beaten. I myself was beaten on the head and neck with a rubber truncheon wielded by Polanski. I had a deep red mark round my neck for some time after the beating. While I was being beaten I fell down and Polanski continued to beat me, and at the same time kicked me in the body with his heavy boots. He shouted that I did not want to work and still continued to beat me. I managed to get on my feet and worked the rest of the day carrying corpses. There was no apparent reason for this beating.

On the following day I was engaged on the same work, but in order to avoid direct contact with the dead bodies we covered our hands with small pieces of cloth. When Polanski noticed this he took the cloth, which had already been in contact with dead bodies, from my hands and stuffed it into my mouth.

For the next few days I tried to avoid Polanski as much as possible as I was scared of what he might next do to me. Early

in the morning of 15th April, the day on which the British arrived, he saw me with some of my friends. He followed us, driving us on all the time. He was carrying a wooden club. He shouted that all the corpses had to be removed from sight. In my party there was a Pole named Jacobovitsch who was very weak. He was aged about 40 and was a cobbler. Polanski started to shout at him to make him move more quickly, then started to beat him with the club. Jacobovitsch fell down and cried out, "I can't carry any longer." Polanski continued to beat him with his club until Jacobovitsch died. Polanski then ordered myself and other prisoners to drag the body to the large pit to drop it in, which we did.

(109) DEPOSITION OF SEVEK KOBRINER (Pole, aged 30)

On 20th June, 1945, I was shown by No. 14573509, Sergeant Edward Dinsdale, 86 Special Investigation Section, Corps of Military Police, a man whom I recognized as a Kapo in Drutte Camp. I knew him by the name of Burgraf, and I have now been told that his full name is Medislaw Burgraf.

At Camp Drutte, Burgraf was in charge of the working party to which I belonged. We worked in a shell factory, a branch of the Hermann Goering works, in day and night shifts. One night in February, 1945, a friend of mine called Wachtel, who came from Cracow, was very weak and could not work as quickly as the others. Burgraf approached him and commenced to beat him with a thick square stick all over the head, face and body. His eyes became very swollen and he had a bleeding nose. My friend was unable to continue working and had to sit down. When we left the factory at the end of the shift he was unable to walk, and another man and myself assisted him to the camp. When we arrived at our block my friend started shouting and throwing his bedding about. He spoke in a confused manner and generally behaved strangely, as if his mind was unbalanced. Burgraf called a warden of the hospital and I assisted the warden to carry the man to the hospital. Two days later friends in the hospital told me that Wachtel had died. I have not seen him since that date.

One day in January, 1945, I saw Burgraf beating my friend, Wolf Platkewitch, who worked in the same shell factory at Drutte. He hit him partly with his fists and partly with a wooden stick on the face. I do not know the reason for the beating, but I noticed that some shells which should have been stacked had collapsed. Immediately afterwards the Kapo, whom we called Siga, in charge of the working hall, appeared and I heard Burgraf tell him that Platkewitch had committed sabotage. Both Kapos then took him into a small wire-partitioned place where they laid him over a box face downwards.

They then commenced to beat him with iron bars all over the body until he lost consciousness and fell off the box. The two Kapos then went away. He was unable to work any more that day and had to be carried back to his block at the end of the shift. His body was badly bruised and he was in the hospital for four weeks. Siga was a deserter from the German Army. He was about 28 years old, 5 foot 7 in. tall, slender, with fair hair, thin face, long nose and pale complexion, clean shaven.

(110) STATEMENT OF HELENA KOPPER (Hungarian, aged 35)

I am 35 years of age. Neither my husband nor I are Jewish. I was arrested in Cracow in June, 1940, because the Gestapo suspected me of anti-German sympathies and found me in possession of an anti-German pamphlet. I was in prison for four months at the Gestapo prison, Cracow. I was sent to Ravensbrück Camp in October, 1940, and subsequently to Auschwitz-Birkenau in October, 1941, thence to Bergen-Belsen in December, 1944.

I recognize No. 2 on photograph Z/4/2 as S.S. Aufseherin Irma Grese. I knew her first in Ravensbrück in 1941, but I know of nothing against her during that time. She was Blockführerin at Auschwitz and subsequently in charge of the punishment company in Auschwitz from 1942 to 1944. She was in charge of the punishment company when working outside the camp, for six months in 1943. The remainder of the time she did not go outside. I was also in the punishment company and, during the time that Grese was in charge when working outside, we were employed outside the camp in a sand-pit. There were 700-800 women working in this company, some of whom were detailed to dig sand and fill iron trucks with the sand, and others had to push these trucks along a narrow gauge railway. The place in which we worked was surrounded by a strand of wire about three to four feet high and we were not allowed to go outside this wire boundary. There were twelve guards placed at intervals around the wire. It was the practice of Grese to pick out certain of the Jewish women prisoners and order them to get something from the other side of the wire.

She always worked with interpreters. When the prisoners approached the wire they were challenged by the guard, but as Grese usually picked out non-Germans, they did not understand the order and walked on and were shot. Some even of the prisoners who did understand German and knew it was death to cross the wire, did so because they were too weary and ill to bother. Occasionally a guard would not shoot but would force the prisoner to return to the working party. I myself was called as a witness at an enquiry which was held

by the Political Department on a guard who refused to shoot prisoners which Grese had ordered to cross the wire. At the enquiry I identified the guard, who was handcuffed. In my presence the guard stated that the women were being worked too hard and that Grese was purposely sending them to the wire so that they would be shot. The next day the guard was on duty again and Grese had gone. I next saw her in Belsen in February or March, 1945,

I identify No. 3 on photograph 19 as an S.S. woman who was at Auschwitz during 1943-4. I knew her by the name of Bormann and have now been told that her full name is Juana Bormann. She was the worst hated person in the camp. At first she was in charge of the clothing store and then in charge of labour. She always had with her a large dog which she set on to the prisoners. On one occasion when I was undergoing a minor punishment—it was in the summer of 1944 as near as I can remember—I was kneeling down with my hands in the air and I saw Bormann approach a prisoner, a female, who was going towards the offices. Bormann stopped the woman and took something out of the woman's pocket. She then hit the prisoner with her right hand and then, clasping her by the hair, threw the woman to the ground. Bormann was holding the dog by a strap in her left hand, and when the woman was lying on the ground, she let the dog go and it bit the woman severely. When the dog had finished, the woman was a mass of blood and one of her breasts had been torn severely. A doctor, S.S. Obersturmführer Rodek, came and examined the woman. He was a good doctor and behaved always well. There was no movement from the body and four prisoners were instructed to take the body away on a stretcher to Block 25, which was notorious as the death block; that is the block to which people were taken when they were dying or where they were lodged prior to being taken to the gas chamber.

In 1942, not long after I had been at Auschwitz, Bormann found some cigarettes and photographs in my bed. For this she beat me on the face with her hand and then set the dog on to me. I was bitten in the left arm near the elbow. Bormann walked me to the hospital and I was there for six weeks. I believe Bormann called the dog off only because she was a sadist and enjoyed doing that sort of thing. I received an official beating for having cigarettes when I came out of the hospital. Bormann left Auschwitz in the summer of 1944.

I recognize No. 6 on photograph 22 as an S.S. woman who was at Auschwitz. I knew her by the name of Volkenrath and have now been told that her full name is Elisabeth Volkenrath. She was responsible for selections for the gas chamber at Auschwitz Camp from Block 18, where I lived. I attended

seven selection parades and she and S. S. Rapportfuhrer Tauber between them made all the selections. Volkenrath was not merely acting as a guard—she personally picked out victims for the gas chamber. On one occasion, out of a block containing 1400 prisoners there were only about 300 left after the selections had been made. I left Auschwitz in November, 1944, and next saw Volkenrath at Belsen in February, 1945, when she said to me that Germany had lost the war and we should all be hanged.

I recognize No. 5 on photograph I as an S.S. man who was chief cook at Belsen. I have now been told that his name is Karl Flrazich (Francioh). A week before the English arrived I went to fetch food from the kitchen for my block, and the internees who were queueing for their food started to push, and Flrazich (Francioh), who always stood on the steps at the entrance to the kitchen, shot a girl with his pistol. The girl, who was pregnant, was shot in the arm, and as she belonged to my block, I took her to the hospital. She became unconscious and died whilst I was there. I cannot say why she died as she was only shot in the arm—she was very weak. I know this because a doctor examined her and told me she was dead. My block was next to the kitchen and I saw Francioh shooting repeatedly at the internees, many of whom fell down and were flung on to a heap.

I knew an S.S. Arbeitsdienstfuhrerin Hasse at Auschwitz. I would describe her as about 28 years of age, about 5 ft. 8 ins. in height, very blond hair (natural), straight, and worn in an upward style, blue eyes, blonde eyebrows, small mouth, round face, healthy complexion, slim build, good even teeth, beautiful, good figure, and very smart in her dress. This woman was in charge of the transport columns which arrived at Auschwitz from time to time. These transport columns consisted of people who were to be exterminated at once and they did not spend any time in the camp. She used to lead the columns to the gas chamber, and where there were babies in arms, she ordered them to be thrown into a hole which was connected to a stove, and they were burnt alive. I was employed in cleaning up the ground near the crematorium and I saw this happen many times. Hasse always wore a pistol, but I never saw her use it—only to threaten people.

(128) DEPOSITION OF DR. ADA BIMKO (Pole, aged 32)

I am aged 32 and am a Jewess of Polish nationality. I am a qualified Doctor of Medicine. I was arrested in August, 1943, because I was a Jewess, and I was taken to Auschwitz. I was transferred to Belsen in November, 1944. I worked as a doctor whilst at Auschwitz. I set out hereafter what I observed myself

with regard to the mass exterminations of prisoners and I will name the persons, each of whom individually selected persons for extermination. I have examined the records of the numbers cremated and I say that the records show that about 4,000,000 persons were cremated at the camp. I say that from my own observation I have no doubt that at least this number were exterminated.

The selections of persons to be exterminated were made in three ways: (1) on arrival, (2) on selection parades held two or three times a week on an average, (3) in hospitals.

For example, I arrived in a batch of 5000 persons. S.S. Doctor Rohde, S.S. woman Drechsler and S.S. man Tauber were waiting at the station. They made a selection at once. First of all, the children and the old people were picked out, then those who looked ill, and after that anyone was picked out until 4500 people had been selected. These went to the gas chamber and were never seen again. In this way died my father, mother, brother, husband and son, aged 6. My sister was not selected then, but she was selected and killed at a later date. I have been present at many other station selections where the same procedure was adopted and the number selected was always a round figure, which might even amount to as many as 10,000 persons on one day.

Persons were also selected for execution from those detained in hospital. I have seen the patients made to run naked past the selectors and those who could not run quickly or looked ill or poorly developed or, in the case of women, were ugly, were picked out by any of the selectors present. There were often as many as 4000 patients in hospital at a time, and I have known as many as 1000 taken from hospital and never less than 500. Indeed, I particularly remember 1st December, 1943, when there were 4124 women patients in hospital. There was an outbreak of typhus and 4000 patients exactly were sent to the gas chamber. The selectors on this occasion were Doctors Tilot, Klein and S.S. man Tauber, and S.S. women Mandel, Drechsler and Brandel.

Selections were also made at roll-calls in the camp as and when desired by the S.S. Usually sick-looking people and old persons were picked out. Sometimes during the winter months the women were compelled to remove all their clothing whilst S.S. selectors walked round the ranks and chose individuals. At other times they had to hold out their hands, and those wearing bandages or having visible wounds were chosen. On other occasions a section of the parade, without any sorting, were detailed for the gas chamber. I herewith name persons who in my presence selected internees for the gas chamber. Each of

the individuals were responsible for sending a large number to the gas chamber:—

S.S. Male Doctors:

- | | | |
|------------|--------------|--------------|
| (1) Rohde. | (2) Tilot. | (3) Klein. |
| (4) Konig. | (5) Mengele. | (6) Mueller. |

S.S. Male Nurses, Assistants to the Doctors:

- | | |
|------------|--------------|
| (7) Heine. | (8) Stibitz. |
|------------|--------------|

Other S.S. Men (not Doctors or Nurses):

- | | |
|---|---|
| (9) Schwartz
(Kommandant). | (10) Kramer
(Kommandant). |
| (11) Hoessler
(Kommandant). | (12) Tauber
(Rapportführer). |
| (13) Emmerich
(Rapportführer) | (14) Schwartz (Hubert)
(Untersturmführer). |
| (15) Perschel (Arbeits-
dientsführer). | |

Women S.S.:

- | | |
|--|-------------------------|
| (16) Mandel (Camp Leader of Women's Camp). | |
| (17) Drechsler (Oberaufseherin). | |
| (18) Brandel (Aufseherin). | (19) Kuck (Aufseherin). |
| (20) Hasse (Aufseherin — who also performed duties as
Rapportführerin). | |

Whilst at Auschwitz I saw S.S. male nurses Heine and Stibitz inject petrol into women patients. All five of these died within three to ten minutes. Though I have not seen operations on women done for experimental purposes, I have been informed that such operations were carried out. Thus, experiments were made with regard to sterilization and artificial impregnation. I myself spoke to a woman who said she had been fertilized in this way.

In August 1943, I saw S.S. man Tauber knock down a girl who arrived late at roll-call, beat her and kick her and stand on her stomach for ten minutes until she died.

On the day before the British troops arrived at Belsen I saw Karl Flrazich [Francioh], who was a cook, shoot a man internee dead for stealing vegetables.

(128) FURTHER DEPOSITION OF ADA BIMKO

In the Birkenau section of Auschwitz Camp there were five brick buildings. These five buildings were similar in appear-

ance and different from all the other buildings in the camp. They were commonly known by all the prisoners in the camp as crematoria. When selections were held I saw the condemned persons driven to these buildings in lorries. I did not see the persons actually enter the buildings as it was not possible to get sufficiently close to do so. Both men and women were in the parties taken to these buildings. Usually the condemned women were ordered to undress and leave their clothes behind in Block 25, and sometimes they undressed at the gas chamber. Occasionally they were allowed to take blankets with them to the gas chamber, but this was all according to the S.S. man in charge. Hospital blankets were used for this purpose. The crematorium and gas chambers were in an area of the camp known as Brzezinki.

One day in August, 1944, I was able to visit one of these buildings. The visit was pre-arranged with an S.S. Unterscharführer (name unknown), who belonged to the medical staff and who agreed to show me around. I met him near the building. We agreed to say that our visit was in order to fetch blankets if anyone stopped us. The S.S. man took me in a door of the building and inside we met a Polish prisoner named Josef Goldberg. I know this man's name because he comes from my home town. He was employed in this building. I do not know his present whereabouts. The door through which we entered the building led into what appeared to be an undressing room. There were hooks on the wall and the S.S. man told me it was an undressing room. This was on the ground floor. From this room there was another door. We walked through this door which led us into another room which had the appearance of a shower-bath room. I noticed that there were five or six rows of spray fittings in the roof, with about twenty sprays to each row. The floor, walls and ceiling were made of concrete. The room was about 48 ft. square and 10 ft. high. One thing that I noticed was there were no drains, so that if water came through the sprays it could not drain away. The floor being on the same level as other rooms this would mean that water would flood right through the building. The S.S. man told me that this room was the gas chamber.

Walking through the gas chamber room we went through another door which led into a passage pointing directly ahead. It was rather dark in there at the time and I could not see the far end of the passage. There were two rails leading from the door of the gas chamber down the passage and on these two rails was a flat-topped wagon. The S.S. man told me that the wagon was used to take the dead bodies from the gas chamber to the crematorium at the other end of the passage.

We then walked back through the gas chamber and undress-

ing room to the door where I had entered the building. Near this door were some stairs. We went up these stairs and came to a room above the gas chamber. Across this room were two pipes, each about three inches thick. I did not notice whether there were any branch pipes leading from them. The S.S. man told me that the pipes, which were in the floor, were connected to the spray fittings in the gas chamber below. In a corner of the room were two large cylinders, but I did not notice whether these cylinders were connected to the pipes. The S.S. man told me that the cylinders contained the gas which passed through the pipes into the gas chambers. I then left the room.

With reference to the gas chamber there were also hooks on the walls in this room. The S.S. man told me that they were there to hang towels on as condemned prisoners were led to believe that it was a shower room, and were given towels to deceive them.

(129) DEPOSITION OF ESTERA GUTERMAN (Pole, aged 42)

I first saw Helena Kopper in Block 27 at Belsen Camp, where Kopper was assistant Blockälteste. I was in Block 27 myself. I later moved with Kopper and other prisoners to another block, the number of which I cannot remember, and later to Block 224. At the second block we went to, Kopper was Blockälteste and she also held this position in Block 224. For a few days shortly before the British troops arrived Kopper was Lager policewoman.

One day in February, 1945, I attended an Appell of which Kopper was in charge. It was cold and there was snow on the ground. The Appell lasted about two hours that day. After about an hour on this Appell I felt very cold and moved my position slightly. Kopper then came up to me and beat me across the head and body with a leather strap she was carrying. The beating was very painful and made me cry. After the beating Kopper made me kneel in the snow for about an hour. Whilst I was kneeling down an S.S. woman, whom I identify as No. 5 on photograph 22, and whose name I have been told is Herta Ehlert, came up and spoke to Kopper. She said to Kopper, "It is enough," and Kopper replied, "No, she must stay there, she did not stand straight." I had to carry on kneeling. At another Appell in February, 1945, of which Kopper was in charge, there was a Polish woman named Fischer, aged about 40 years, standing on parade without any shoes. She stood in her stockings. There was snow on the ground and the weather was damp and cold. Kopper came up to the woman Fischer and said, "Why are you not working? You should be with the working party." Fischer replied, "I have no shoes." The Appell was at 8 a.m. and working parties had gone out at

7 a.m. Kopper, without saying any more, then beat Fischer with a leather belt, again and again, across the head and other parts of the body. Fischer fell to the ground crying, and Kopper then made her kneel in the snow for about an hour until the Appell was finished. I was on this Appell and saw all that happened. When Fischer returned to her block, No. 224, she was ill and had to lie down. She remained ill from then onwards until about three weeks later, when she died. I was present when she died and I saw her body carried out of the block by other women prisoners. She had received no medical attention.

I have seen Kopper beat other women prisoners with a wooden stick or a leather belt every day at Belsen. She beat them on the head and all parts of the body for trifling offences and often for nothing at all. As she walked through the block she would beat women prisoners without reason. On a number of occasions I have seen Kopper beat other women prisoners until they were unconscious, and many of her victims had to be taken to hospital for treatment.

(130) DEPOSITION OF HELEN HAMMERMASCH
(Pole, aged 25)

I am aged 25 years and a Polish Jew. When the Germans entered Poland I escaped to Hungary, but was arrested by the Hungarian Police about the end of September, 1939, and was taken back to Poland and handed over to the Germans. I was then placed in a Ghetto at Stanislaw, and, after two weeks, escaped and joined my parents at Limburger Kreis, where I stayed until the spring of 1942. After surviving a purge of Jews in the spring of 1942, when some 30,000 to 40,000 were killed, including my father, mother and five sisters, I again got to Hungary, but was arrested there. Eventually I was sent to Auschwitz in May, 1943, and transferred to Belsen in February, 1945.

At Auschwitz I worked in the leather store and also had to attend a number of selections for the gas chamber. I name the following as being responsible for sending many thousands there:

Kramer, Mengele, König, Tauber, and of the women, Drechsler, Mandel and Hasee.

The leather store in which I worked was controlled by Unterscharführer Otto Graff. His description is, about 27 years old, 5 ft. 8 in. to 10 in. in height, slim build, dark brown wavy hair, grey eyes, good teeth and thin face.

During afternoons Graff worked in one of the crematoria. He used to boast over his work there, saying how he enjoyed naked bodies put in the crematorium—especially women's

bodies. He also spoke of working on the gas chamber. He often told the women in the leather store that they would go to the gas chamber in due course. He was fond of beating women with a stick and throwing them across the store . . .

On one occasion during the summer of 1944 I saw him beat a Polish girl named Marilla Dombroska (aged 19). He beat her across the head with an iron rod and smashed her skull. The girl died on the spot and was taken to the crematorium.

I have seen Kramer, when selections were made, kick children towards the vehicle taking them to the gas chamber.

On one occasion Hoessler (photo. 9-1) caught six women stealing explosive powder. He had them all hanged in the camp and was present at the hanging himself. I and some others had to watch the hanging, and Hoessler warned us that we would meet the same fate for such offenses.

About the end of March or beginning of April, whilst at Belsen, a young Russian woman was caught after escaping from the camp. She was brought back and I saw her beaten with sticks and kicked by Kramer, Weingartner (photo. 12-1), Kasainitzky (photo. 12-3), Volkenrath (photo. 22-6) and Ehlert (photo. 22-5). The woman was screaming in Russian and I do not know whether she died.

I saw Marta Linke (photo. 25-5) beat a naked woman in the bathhouse with a rubber stick.

I have handed to C.S.M. J. Liddle of the C.M.P. (Special Investigation Section) a bottle marked "Glukose" (produced) which I found soon after the British troops arrived, in a closed German medical box, which contained other medical stores, in No. 1 Camp Women's Hospital. It appeared to contain petrol. I believe the contents were used for injections. A nurse told me at Auschwitz that Klein kept "Glukose" bottles and referred to them as "Corpus Delicti."

(131) DEPOSITION OF SOPHIA LITWINSKA (Pole, aged 28)

At Auschwitz, on 24th December, 1942, I was paraded in company with about 19,000 other prisoners, all of them women. Present on parade were Doctors Mengele and König and Rapportführer Tauber. I was one of the 3000 prisoners picked out of the 19,000 by the doctors and taken to our huts, where we were stripped naked by other prisoners and our clothes taken away. We were then taken by tipper-type lorries to the gas chamber chute. They were large lorries, about eight in all and about 300 persons on each lorry. On arrival at the gas chamber the lorry tipped up and we slid down the chute through some doors into a large room. The room had showers all round, towels and soap and large numbers of benches. There were also small windows high up near the roof. Many

were injured coming down the chute and lay where they fell. Those of us who could sit down on the benches provided and immediately afterwards the doors of the room were closed. My eyes then began to water, I started coughing and had a pain in my chest and throat. Some of the other people fell down and others coughed and foamed at the mouth. After being in the room for about two minutes the door was opened and an S.S. man came in wearing a respirator. He called my name and then pulled me out of the room and quickly shut the door again. When I got outside I saw S.S. man Franz Hoessler, whom I identify as No. 1 on photograph 9. He took me to hospital where I stayed for about six weeks, receiving special treatment from Dr. Mengele. For the first few days I was at the hospital I found it impossible to eat anything without vomiting. I can only think that I was taken out of the gas chamber because I had an Aryan husband and therefore was in a different category from the other prisoners, who were all Jews. I now suffer from a weak heart and had two attacks since being at Belsen. I do not know the names of any persons who went into the gas chamber with me.

After recovering I worked in the kitchen at Auschwitz and while there I often had to undress other people who had been selected for the gas chamber. I left Auschwitz in November, 1944, and went to Breslau, where I stayed for three months, working in a munitions factory. After leaving there I went to various places, working in similar factories until I came to Belsen in March, 1945.

Whilst at Belsen I saw Herta Ehlert, whom I identify as No. 5 on photograph 22, shoot a woman dead outside the cookhouse. I do not know the woman's name, but she had apparently stolen one potato from outside the cookhouse. I am quite sure the woman was killed as I later saw the woman's body dragged away by two other prisoners. This occurred about two days before the English came, which was 15th April, 1945.

I was told that there were altogether seven gas chambers at Auschwitz, each with a crematorium attached.

April, 1945, a girl whom I know Broche, Christian name, came into the kitchen whilst I was there, to bring back some empty tins. She did not try to steal anything and for no apparent reason Flrazich shot her in the chest and she died in the kitchen. I myself saw the shooting and the girl die. Other prisoners, friends of the girl, later took her to the big pit which acted as a communal grave. The same day, whilst I was in the kitchen, I saw him shoot two girls with his revolver as they went past the kitchen. One was hit in the arm and the other

in the leg. The two girls, whose names I do not know, were taken to the hospital for treatment.

(134) DEPOSITION OF DORA SZAFRAN (Pole, aged 22)

On 25th June, 1943, I went to Auschwitz and witnessed several selections for the gas chamber there. I estimate that while I was there about a million people were sent to the gas chamber. The S.S. people on this selection were as follows:—

Juana Bormann (photo. 19-3), Dr. Mengele, Elisabeth Volkernarth (photo. 22-6), S. S. Unterscharführer Tauber, S.S. Dr. König, and S.S. Dr. Schwartz.

I saw Juana Bormann beat several girls with a rubber stick, because they hung about talking, until they were unconscious.

I saw people being sent to the gas chamber. I lived in a block opposite the gas chamber and could see from my window people going into the building. There was a tall chimney and I could see flames coming out. I heard screams come from inside the building and never saw these people come out. I had a clear view, since the only thing that was in between my block and the gas chamber was an electric fence about 15 ft. away from my window.

At Auschwitz I and others had to stand naked in the square while Dr. Klein (photo. 9-5), Kramer and Tauber made the selection. The strongest of us were taken to do more work and the weaker ones were taken away and we never saw them again.

I came to Belsen about 18th January, 1945. On the day that the English arrived, about three hours before the actual occupation, I saw Kramer, Nikolas Jenner (photo. 24-4) and Karl Flrazich [Francioh] (photo. 1-5) shoot with Schmaisser guns at a group of prisoners. They fired through the kitchen window for no reason, and I can say that they killed about 22 people . . .

Twenty-two people . . . Thus do the millions reckoned by Eichmann in his report to his chiefs break down into humanly meaningful components: random clubbings and shootings; injections of gasoline; hangings; the tearing of flesh by murderous dogs; starvation, sickness, suicide—and with it all the endless “parades” to the gas chambers and the crematoria. The guilt of every half-mad guard, testified to by the hell-haunted survivors of Belsen, of Auschwitz and the rest, is Eichmann’s guilt.

chapter six



Epilogue

If you have read this book carefully, you now know what Adolf Eichmann did and why he was hunted to the ends of the earth by the Israeli security police.

Further, you know that what he did not and could not have done alone. The state machinery of the Third Reich was behind him in his every move. Man's history on earth is a record of atrocity and murder—but never before, in any age or time, were atrocity and murder engineered on such a vast scale, the deliberately waged policy of a national government. Eichmann was the Nazis' master bureaucrat, the man who worked things out on paper, who said to others, "You go here, you go there, you do this and that—" And it was done.

But he was responsible for his actions. He volunteered his services and he was an avid prosecutor of the way he had chosen. So the guilt for this human blood is his—and the thousands upon thousands who acted under his orders and who helped him in one way or another. The guilt goes back to the first foam-lipped rantings of the demagogue Streicher, whose paper Eichmann may have read as a young man, or whose speeches Eichmann and his friends may have applauded. The guilt goes back to the beginnings of the infamous era of Nazi ascendance in Germany, the almost laughable excesses of speech and rhetoric, the growing hymns of hate, the first thug crimes in the street. The guilt culminates in the horrible human annihilation machine administered by Adolf Eichmann.

The "Jewish problem" is what the Nazis called it. The evidence appears to indicate that most of them really believed this was the problem and that it required a "solution." But the question then arises, why throughout the entire history of its perpetration was there an attempt to be secretive? Throughout the pages of this book, running through it like a *leitmotif*, is

the theme of secrecy: in the twenties during the first gang vandalism against German Jews, Party members were told not to wear their uniforms during their forays; in the thirties German diplomatic reports stressed the policy of propaganda—making it appear as if the persecution of the Jews was in accordance with or in response to a world-wide sentiment; when the *Einsatz* groups moved in behind the advancing *Wehrmacht* on the Eastern front their first move was to organize the murder of Jews in the name and under the cover of local populations; Nazi orders dealing with Jewish policy were labeled “top secret;” “extermination” camps were built in high security locations and their function was officially secret; Eichmann himself was careful never to sign orders without a countersign, and there is indication that he usually attempted to efface himself and his achievements from the record.

But in the last analysis the question is not one of fervent belief or cynical conspiracy. The Nazi movement could accommodate a Streicher and a Hoess as well as a Kaltenbrunner. The point is that with or without conscience six million human beings were tortured and killed.

Hitler and what Hitler did came out of a particular time, a particular place and particular circumstances. He was not a mystical force which was inevitable: he was part of history, and history is what men make it. The combination of events which resulted in Hitler and the crimes he committed with the aid of men like Adolf Eichmann does not seem to be very close to what is happening in Germany or any other country today. The issue of National Socialism or fascism is for the moment a dead issue. When people read something in the newspaper and turn to you and mutter, “The Germans are starting all over again,” you are not required to believe them.

Then what is the point of resurrecting these events and recalling what happened to Jewish people under Hitler? Do we want simply to wallow in other people’s misery? The business of innocence and guilt, even in crimes as monstrous as these, cannot occupy us eternally; we cannot look back forever; we do not necessarily forgive and forget, but we must get on with whatever we are doing——

The point is that these things happen, and that they are a record of what men can do to each other. You look at the most recent picture of Adolf Eichmann’s face and you study it to find the brutality, the inhuman quality. You may even imagine that you see it. But what you see is only the face of a tired middle-aged man, a weary commuter from factory to home in Buenos Aires. You see only the face of a human being. That is the horror.

Today you will often hear it said that the world is heading

for peace and justice because that is essentially what all men yearn for. That is a nice thought, but I wonder if it would survive a reading of a record such as this. Men have darker yearnings than peace and justice, and sometimes they are driven to fulfill them. The good life is something that does not come about because all men want it, and will do what they can to attain it. It comes out of a struggle with men who may want other things, and it never really arrives. But if you keep in mind what men can do and have done when driven by the dark recesses of their nature, you are not likely to underestimate the difficulty of attaining peace and justice for the world.

Bibliography

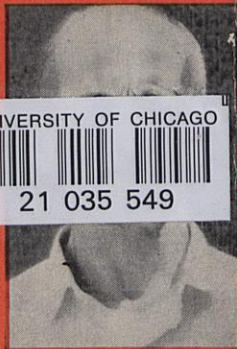
Serious students of this infamous period of history will be interested in the following sources of information: *The Trial of the German War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal*, 42 volumes (Nuremberg, 1947-49); *Trials of Major War Criminals before the Nuremberg Military Tribunals*, 18 volumes (Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949-52); *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, 10 volumes (Washington, U.S. State Department, 1946-48); *War Crimes Trials*, 6 volumes, edited by David Maxwell Fyfe (London, William Hodge & Co., Ltd., 1948-52); *The Black Book: The Nazi Crime Against the Jewish People*, compiled by the Jewish Black Book Committee (New York, Duell, Sloan & Pearce Inc., 1946); *The Black Book of Poland*, compiled by the Polish Ministry of Information (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1942); *The Black Book of Polish Jewry: An Account of the Martyrdom of Polish Jewry under the Nazi Occupation*, edited by Jacob Apenszlak (New York, Roy Publishers, 1943).

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Eichmann in 1943



Eichmann in 1960



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"I do not care if I die, for 5,000,000 Jews will have jumped into the grave ahead of me," boasted ADOLF EICHMANN shortly before the defeat of Germany. Now this former Nazi colonel is to be tried in Israel, charged with the responsibility for the murder of 6,000,000 Jews.

Witness the guilt of this infamous war criminal. Read the explosive evidence of people who knew him as a man...and people who knew him as a murderer.

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