

1 INVITATION

Der Chef Der Sicherheitspolizei
und des SD

Geheim

Berlin SW 11, den 29. November 1941
Prinz-Albrecht-Straße 8
Fernsprecher: Ortsverkehr 120040 · Fernbekehr 126421

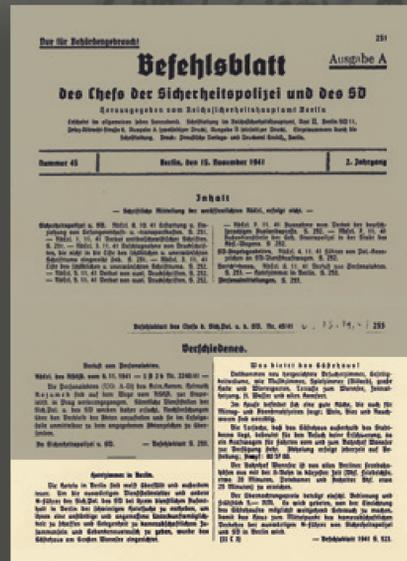
IV B 4 - 3076/41g (1180)
Bitte in der Antwort vorstehendes Geschäftszeichen u. Datum anzugeben

Auswärtiges Amt
D III 709. 9
Personalang.
23. DEZ. 1941

The Head of Security Police
and SD Prinz-Albrecht-Str. 8
IV B 4 - 3076/41g (1180)
Berlin SW 11, 29 November 1941

[Stamp Foreign Office, section D III, received 23
December 1941]

personal



The SS guesthouse at Wannsee was established in 1940 in a villa that had been built for an industrialist in 1914-15. After World War II it became a school recreation center. In the 1960s, Joseph Wulf, a Jewish survivor, tried to establish a research and documentation center in the villa, but he failed to win the support of the Berlin government. Plans for a memorial did not begin until the mid-1980s.

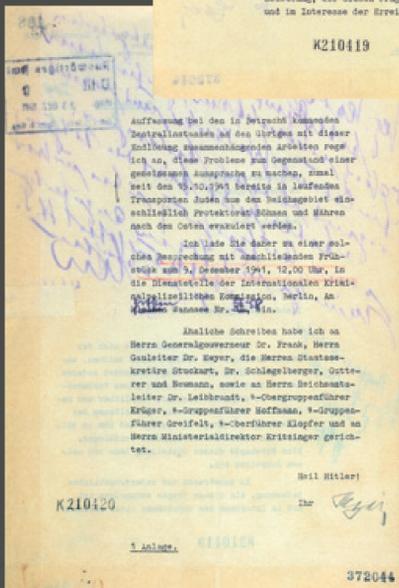
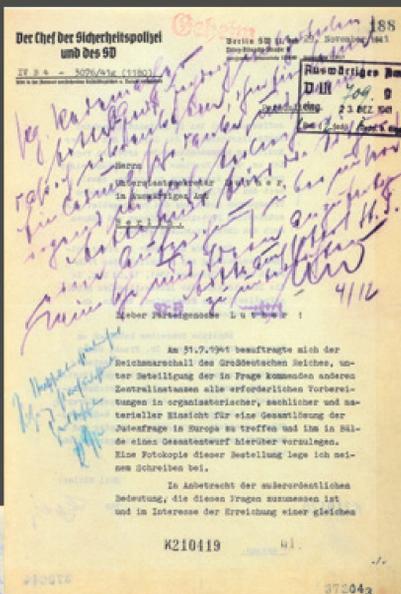
Circular from the Head of the Security Police and the SD, 15 November 1941: „Hotels in Berlin are generally overcrowded and indeed expensive. This guesthouse was set up to spare non-local department heads and other SS leaders of Security Police and SD the difficult task of searching for a hotel when they are in Berlin on business; to provide them with decent and appropriate accommodation; and to give them the opportunity to meet up with comrades and exchange ideas. [...] You are requested to use the guesthouse's facilities as much as possible so that it becomes a central focus for the comradely interaction of non-local SS Heads of Security Police and SD in Berlin.”



On January 20, 1942, a meeting took place at Lake Wannsee in Berlin. The purpose of the 90-minute conference on the “Final Solution of the Jewish Question in Europe” was to organize the deportation and murder of 11 million European Jews. **Reinhard Heydrich**, head of the Reich Security Main Office, was authorized by a directive, signed by Göring on July 31, 1941, to carry out the “Final Solution of the Jewish Question.” He invited 15 officials from the police and SS¹, the administration of the occupied territories in Eastern Europe, the Party chancellery and various ministries. His aim at the meeting was to highlight his leading role in the organization of the genocide and to secure the cooperation of the participants.

The Wannsee Conference signifies the willingness of German state offices to cooperate in the Holocaust. The conference participants became accessories to and perpetrators of the genocide, with several agencies and hundreds of thousands of civil servants and police participating in its execution.

1 The Schutzstaffel, the protection squad, was the elite formation of the Nazi party; it became one of the most powerful organizations in the Third Reich, responsible for persecution and terror throughout Europe.



In his first invitation to a “meeting followed by breakfast” on December 9, 1941, Heydrich stated that he had been authorized by Reich Marshal Hermann Göring to make “all necessary preparations [...] for the total solution of the Jewish question in Europe.” The handwritten notes on the invitation show that the planned meeting had been postponed indefinitely.

Dear Party Comrade L u t h e r !

On 31 July 1941, the Reich Marshal of the Grossdeutsches Reich has commissioned me, together with other pertinent central agencies involved, to carry out all necessary preparations in regard to organizational, practical and material measures requisite for the total solution of the Jewish question in Europe, and to submit to him in the near future a general outline thereof. I am enclosing with my letter a photocopy of this order.

Considering the exceptional importance of these measures, and in order to reach a common agreement on all aspects

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connected with this final solution among the central agencies concerned, I suggest that we make these problems a matter of joint discussion, especially because since 15 October 1941 Jews are already continuously being evacuated from the territory of the Reich, including the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, to the East.

I therefore invite you to attend such a meeting, to be followed by lunch, on 9 December 1941 at noon, at the office of the International Criminal Police Commission, Berlin, Am Kleinen Wannsee No. 16 [handwritten crossed out and corrected to “Am Großen Wannsee No. 56-58”].

I have sent similar letters to Generalgouverneur Dr. Frank, Gauleiter Dr. Meyer, State Secretaries Stuckart, Dr. Schlegelberger, Gutterer and Neumann as well as Reichsamtsleiter Dr. Leibbrandt, SS Obergruppenführer Krüger, SS Gruppenführer Hoffmann, SS Gruppenführer Greifelt, SS Oberführer Klopfer, and Permanent Secretary Kritzingner.

Heil Hitler!
Yours [handwritten signature] Heydrich
1 enclosure [i.e. Göring's authorisation]
Heil Hitler!

Ihr

Handwritten signature of Reinhard Heydrich.

K 210420

2 DISCOVERY OF THE PROTOCOL

Geheime Reichsache!

166

30 Ausfertigungen
16. Ausfertigung

Secret Reich Matter! [red stamp]

30 copies
16th copy

Besprechungsprotokoll.

Protocol of proceedings

In March 1947, the Wannsee Conference protocol was discovered by the team of Robert Kempner, United States prosecutor in the Wilhelmstrasse Trial against leading ministry officials in Nuremberg. Of the original 30 copies, only the 16th has survived. Providing an overview of the extermination plans for all of Europe, it is a central document of the Holocaust.

Adolf Eichmann, responsible for "Jewish Affairs" within Heydrich's Reich Security Main Office, took the minutes of the meeting. He used coded language to summarize the results of the discussion;

the extermination plans are only outlined. Heydrich achieved his goal: the participants did not object to the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question" and were willing to play a role in mass murder under his command. Although the Wannsee Conference was addressed during the Wilhelmstrasse Trial of 1947-1949, it only became widely known in the Eichmann Trial in 1961, when the role of the administration received closer attention. And yet, few perpetrators involved in the administration were brought to trial.

The protocol was discovered in a Foreign Office file marked "Final Solution of the Jewish Question." Undersecretary Martin Luther had represented the Foreign Office at the Wannsee Conference. The "Jewish Affairs Department," run by Franz Rademacher, also fell under Luther's authority. Until summer 1941, Rademacher worked closely with Eichmann on the "Madagascar Plan" involving the mass deportation of Jews to the former French colony.

NAZI JEWISH FILES FOUND

Berlin Papers Confirm Aim to Exterminate People in Europe

BERLIN, Aug. 20 (AP)—Conclusive proof that the extermination of Europe's Jewry was plotted by the Nazi inner circle was discovered in the files of Philip Hoffman, chief of the infamous SS Race and Resettlement Office, American Army authorities reported today.

The files revealed that Reinhard Heydrich, "Hauptmann" of the Nazi party, who was later assassinated in Czechoslovakia, extended invitations in a luncheon on Jan. 20, 1942, to thirteen high Nazi and Reich government officials to discuss "the complete liquidation of the Jewish question."

Attached to the invitations were photostatic copies of a letter from Hermann Goering charging Heydrich with solution of the "question."

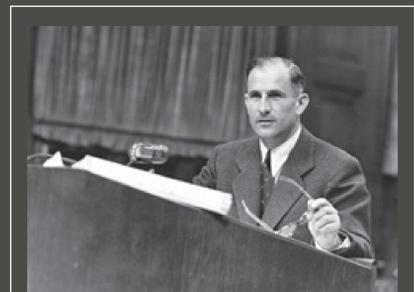
The conference invitation to Otto Hofmann (mistakenly called Philip Hoffman), head of the SS Race and Settlement Main Office, was found in August 1945. Details of the conference were not known at the time of this article.



During the Nuremberg Trials, Briton Betty Nute worked as a translator for the American prosecution team under Robert Kempner. She later evaluated Nazi files in Berlin for the follow-up trials.

I was in my office when Kenneth Duke entered excitedly. Kenneth, who was British, had worked for the British prosecutor on the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials; he later served as the British representative in the Allied Commission, which was inspecting the Foreign Office files stored in the Telefunken building, which is where he came across the protocol of the Wannsee Conference [...] I remember precisely these pink folders with the handwritten label 'Final Solution of the Jewish Question'.

SPIEGEL 7/2002, February 9, 2002



Robert Max Wasilii Kempner (1899-1993) was a German lawyer who later served as assistant United States chief counsel during the Nuremberg Trials. In 1928 Kempner, chief legal advisor to the Prussian Ministry of the Interior, sought to prosecute Adolf Hitler for high treason and to ban the Nazi Party.

The Nazis dismissed Kempner from the ministry, revoked his citizenship and expelled him from Germany in 1935. He moved to the United States in 1939 and became a government advisor. He remained in Germany after the Nuremberg Trials and practiced law.

Oberführer Klopfer

Partei-Kanzlei

Ministerialdirektor Kritzinger

Reichskanzlei

3 THE MEETING

I. An der am 20.1.1942 in Berlin, Am Großen Wannsee Nr. 56/58, stattgefundenen Besprechung über die Endlösung der Judenfrage nahmen teil:

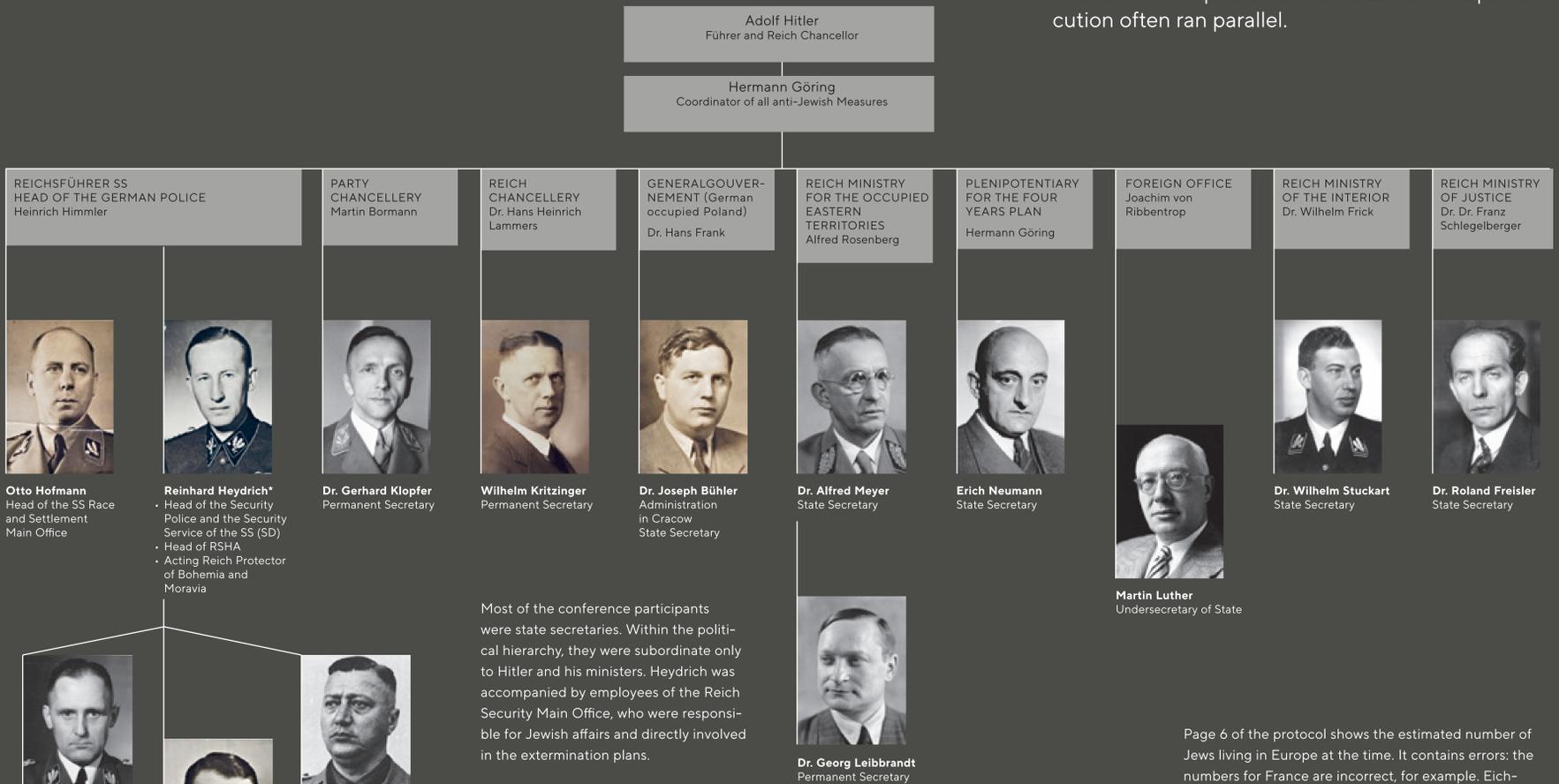
I. The following persons participated in the conference on the final solution of the Jewish question, held on 20 January 1942 in Berlin, Am Grossen Wannsee 56-58:

Heydrich's initially planned conference date, December 9, 1941, had to be changed following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Germany declared war on the United States on December 11, 1941. The decision to murder all the Jews in Europe was probably made during this period. By then, 500,000 Jews had already been murdered by the Einsatzgruppen, the mobile killing squads of the SS and police, in the occupied territories of the Soviet Union.

The "Final Solution of the Jewish Question" was discussed on January 20, 1942. Important ministries and Nazi party offices were to be included in the plans to murder the European Jews. According to the protocol, there was consensus among the participants. Only the issue of Mischlinge (people with both non-Jewish and Jewish grandparents) and mixed marriages required further discussion.

The perpetrators who gathered in Wannsee joined their Nazi convictions, rooted in racial antisemitism, with a sober and objective understanding of their bureaucratic profession to create an effective plan for the genocide of the European Jews.

Since January 1933, Jews had been marginalized and stripped of their rights, facing dispossession and expulsion. As a precursor to their murder, they were marked and deported to ghettos and camps. These different phases of radicalization and persecution often ran parallel.



Most of the conference participants were state secretaries. Within the political hierarchy, they were subordinate only to Hitler and his ministers. Heydrich was accompanied by employees of the Reich Security Main Office, who were responsible for Jewish affairs and directly involved in the extermination plans.

Page 6 of the protocol shows the estimated number of Jews living in Europe at the time. It contains errors; the numbers for France are incorrect, for example. Eichmann compiled the data, placing countries under German control in Category A. Category B contains countries with which negotiations were necessary or where war still had to be won. The perpetrators estimated that a total of 11 million Jews lived in Europe.

Reinhard Heydrich appeared on the cover of Time Magazine on February 23, 1942. The article describes his leading role in eliminating resistance against German occupation in the occupied countries. The persecution and murder of Jews is not mentioned. Photographs showing piles of dead bodies - probably from a ghetto - were published without information on the origin of the pictures.



Land	Zahl
A. Österreich	131.800
Östmark	43.700
Generalgouvernement	2.284.000
Polen	400.000
Protectorat Böhmen und Mähren	74.000
Letland	3.500
Litauen	34.000
Estland	43.000
Dänemark	5.000
Frankreich / Besetztes Gebiet	165.000
Griechenland	700.000
Ungarn	62.000
Italien	160.800
Norwegen	1.500
B. Bulgarien	48.000
England	336.000
Finnland	2.500
Irland	2.500
Italien unbesetzt	56.000
Albanien	200
Kroatien	40.000
Portugal	3.000
Rumänien einschl. Bessarabien	142.000
Schweden	8.000
Schwiz	18.000
Serbien	10.000
Slowakei	88.000
Spanien	6.000
Türkei (europ. Teil)	55.500
Ungarn	742.800
USA	5.000.000
Ukraine	2.994.684
Weissrussland unbesetzt	446.684
Malayisch	446.684
Zusammen: über	11.000.000

*** Reinhard Heydrich**
1904-1942

In 1938, Heydrich became a key figure in the expulsion and extermination of the European Jews. After the annexation of Austria, the Security Service of the SS (SD) under Heydrich organized forced emigration. Following the November Pogrom of 1938, Heydrich had almost 30,000 Jews imprisoned in concentration camps. When the war began, Heydrich ordered the ghettoization of all Jews in German-occupied Poland. Following the invasion of the Soviet Union, he ordered the Einsatzgruppen to execute Communist functionaries and Jews in party and state positions. The Einsatzgruppen soon began the systematic mass murder of the entire Jewish population.

Born in Halle. Son of a composer and conservatoire director. Attended a Catholic grammar school. Joined a paramilitary unit as a messenger at the age of 15. Joined the German navy in 1922. Dishonourably discharged in 1931 for breaking off an engagement. Joined the NSDAP (The Nazi Party, stands for National Socialist German Workers Party) and the SS in 1931. Entrusted by Himmler with the organisation and leadership of the SD in 1932. Head of the Bavarian Political Police in April 1933. Head of the Gestapo Office in Berlin in 1934. Head of the Security Police in 1936. Head of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) in 1939. Died on June 4, 1942, following an assassination attempt by Czech resistance fighters.

4 COOPERATION

Der Beginn der einzelnen größeren Evakuierungsaktionen wird weitgehend von der militärischen Entwicklung abhängig sein. Bezüglich der Behandlung der Endlösung in den von uns besetzten und beeinflussten europäischen Gebieten wurde vorgeschlagen, daß die in Betracht kommenden Sachbearbeiter des Auswärtigen Amtes sich mit dem zuständigen Referenten der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD besprechen.

The onset of the individual major evacuation moves will largely depend on military developments. In regard to the manner in which the final solution will be carried out in those European territories which we now either occupy or influence it has been suggested that the pertinent specialists in the Foreign Office should confer with the appropriate official of the Security Police and the SD.

Reinhard Heydrich's Reich Security Main Office strove to win the cooperation of the institutions and ministries invited to the conference.

The Foreign Office had been involved in anti-Jewish policies prior to the conference. Together with other ministry officials, Foreign Office representatives attended a conference on November 12, 1938, where Hermann Göring aimed to centralize the anti-Jewish policy in the German Reich following the November Pogrom. Here the Foreign Office expressed its wish to be included in measures targeting Jews with foreign citizenship and the expulsion of German Jews to foreign countries.

The administrations involved in the exclusion, persecution, and deportation of Jews treated these tasks as a normal part of their work. Their language was objective and business-like. Martin Luther's list of "requests and ideas" for the Wannsee Conference shows that the Foreign Office was not just receiving orders, but actively involved in the deportation process.

Requests and ideas of the Foreign Office in connection with the intended total solution of the Jewish question in Europe

1. Deportation to the East of all Jews residing in the German Reich, inclusive of those who live in Croatia, Slovakia, and Rumania.
2. Deportation of all Jews living in the territories occupied by us who were formerly German citizens but lost their citizenship and are now stateless in accordance with the latest supplementary decree to the Reich Citizenship Law.
3. Deportation of all Serbian Jews.
4. Deportation of the Jews handed over to us by the Hungarian Government.
5. To declare our readiness to the Rumanian, Slovakian, Croatian, Bulgarian, and Hungarian Governments, to deport to the East the Jews living in these countries.
6. To influence the Bulgarian and Hungarian Governments to issue laws concerning Jews similar to the Nuremberg Laws.
7. To exert influence on the rest of the European governments to issue laws concerning Jews.
8. Execution of these measures as hitherto in friendly cooperation with the Gestapo.

These measures were intended to force Jews to emigrate. As the policy against Jews became more severe, culminating in a genocide plan, the Foreign Office did not hesitate to put forth its own ideas and interests. Cooperation between the Foreign Office and Reich Security Main Office on the "Jewish Question" ran smoothly and amicably.

The Reich Ministry of the Interior was responsible for the legislation of the Nuremberg Race Laws. Wilhelm Stuckart, who attended the Wannsee Conference as the ministry's state secretary, had experience working on anti-Jewish legislation. These laws addressed questions of citizenship regarding the deportation of German Jews and the legal and social consequences of equating "Mischlinge" with Jews or with non-Jewish Germans.

lisierung unterziehen würde.

Staatssekretär Dr. Stuckart stellt fest, daß die praktische Durchführung der eben mitgeteilten Lösungsmöglichkeiten zur Bereinigung der Mischehen- und Mischlingsfragen in dieser Form eine unendliche Verwaltungsarbeit mit sich bringen würde. Um zum anderen auf alle Fälle auch den biologischen Tatsachen Rechnung zu tragen, schlug Staatssekretär Dr. Stuckart vor, zur Zwangssterilisierung zu schreiten.

Zur Vereinfachung des Mischehenproblems

State Secretary Dr. Stuckart noted that the actual implementation of the possible solutions regarding mixed marriages and Mischling questions just discussed would, in this form, constitute endless administrative work. And in order to take into account the biological aspects involved as well, State Secretary Dr. Stuckart suggested that forced sterilization be embarked upon.



Dr. Wilhelm Stuckart
1902-1953
Reich Ministry of the Interior
State Secretary

Stuckart, in the Reich Ministry of the Interior Head of Department I (Constitution, Legislation, Administration), contributed to drafting legislation against Jews in the German Reich, most notably the Nuremberg Laws in 1935. In 1940, he contributed to the preparatory measures to deprive Jews of their German citizenship. In 1941, he drafted a proposal calling for Jews inside the German Reich to wear an identifying badge. At the Wannsee Conference, Stuckart proposed compulsory sterilization of all persons of "mixed blood," and a summary judgment for forced dissolutions of "mixed marriages."

Born in Wiesbaden. Son of a railway employee. Raised Christian. Free Corps fighter in 1919. Doctorate in law in 1928. Judge in a lower district court in 1930. Joined the NSDAP in December 1930 and the SA (Stormtroopers) in 1932. Lawyer and legal consultant of the SA in Pomerania from 1932 to March 1933. State Secretary in the Ministry of the Interior in 1935. Joined the SS in 1936. SS Obergruppenführer in 1944. Interned in 1945 as Minister of the Interior in the last German government in Flensburg. Sentenced in the Wilhelmstrasse Trial in 1949 to three years and ten months imprisonment. Classified by a denazification court as a "follower" in 1950. Died in a car accident in 1953.



Martin Luther
1895-1945
Foreign Office
Undersecretary of State

From 1940 to 1945, Luther was head of Department D (Deutschland, i.e. internal affairs) and responsible for liaison with Himmler and the Reich Security Main Office. He was in charge of Section D III ("the Jewish question, race policy, and informing diplomatic offices abroad of important domestic developments"). Through his close cooperation with Adolf Eichmann's office, Luther turned Section D into one of the administrative agencies involved in the "Final Solution." The role of the Foreign Office in the genocide concerned diplomacy regarding deportations from occupied and allied countries. Luther entered the Wannsee Conference with a detailed list of "requests and ideas" from his subordinate Franz Rademacher concerning the implementation of anti-Jewish legislation and deportations in Nazi-dominated Europe.

Born in Berlin. Did not complete secondary school. War volunteer in 1914 and lieutenant in 1918. Worked as a shipping agent for furniture. Joined the NSDAP in March 1932. Head of the NSDAP's Economic Advisory Centre in Berlin in 1933-34. Responsible for relations to the NSDAP within the Foreign Office in 1938. Dismissed in February 1943 after attempting to overthrow Ribbentrop. Imprisoned as a "privileged prisoner in protective custody" at Sachsenhausen concentration camp. Freed by the Red Army in 1945. Died a month later in Berlin.

Staaten, Schwierigkeiten auftauchen werden, und es sich daher empfiehlt, diese Länder vorerst noch zu-

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5 DEFINITION AND STIGMATIZATION

Bei den angegebenen Judentzahlen der verschiedenen ausländischen Staaten handelt es sich jedoch nur um Glaubensjuden, da die Begriffsbestimmungen der Juden nach rassischen Grundsätzen teilweise dort noch fehlen. Die Behandlung des

IV. Im Zuge der Endlösungsvorhaben sollen die Nürnberger Gesetze gewissermaßen die Grundlage bilden, wobei Voraussetzung für die restlose Beseitigung des Problems auch die Lösung der Mischlingen- und Mischlinge

The figures of Jews in the different countries listed here, however, pertain only to those who are of Jewish faith [Glaubensjuden] as definitions of Jews along racial lines are in part still lacking there. [...]

IV. During the implementation of the plan for the final solution its basis, as it were, should be the Nuremberg Laws, whereby the solution of the problem of mixed marriages and mixed blood [Mischlinge] must likewise be a prerequisite for the definitive settlement of the questions.



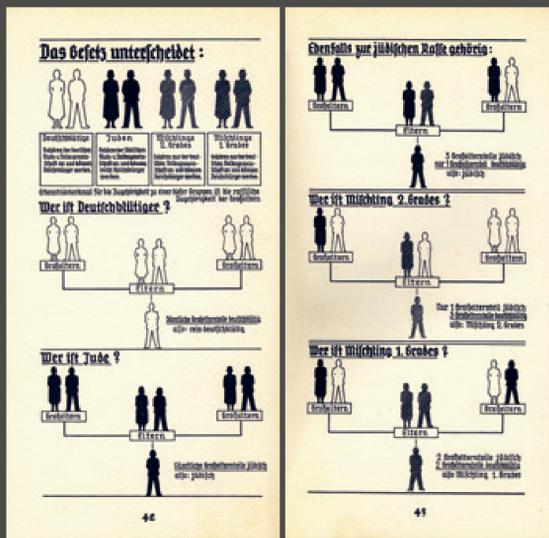
A boy selling armbands in the Radom Ghetto. In November 1939, Jews in German-occupied Poland (Generalgouvernement) had to wear a white armband with a Jewish star. Similar measures were introduced in the German-occupied Soviet Union in summer 1941. Jews in Germany were forced to wear the yellow star in September 1941. Photographs from military propaganda units presented a distorted view of Jewish life that concealed the harsh living conditions, hunger and violence.

The Nuremberg Race Laws (September 1935) provided a legal definition for "Jews" and stipulated to whom further persecution measures applied. They established new categories within the population based on racism and determined who was to be excluded from the "Volksgemeinschaft" (national community).

In Wannsee, the participants discussed at length whether to include "Mischlinge" and Jewish partners of "mixed marriages" in the extermination plan, but no agreement was reached.

After the Jews were defined and marked in public, they became completely isolated from the mainly indifferent or hostile non-Jewish population. This made it easier to "detach" these people from society, first by forced emigration and expulsion, and later by deportation.

Similar legal regulations were introduced in the occupied countries to define and identify Jews; diplomatic channels were used to get friendly or allied states to act accordingly. The anti-Jewish terror often deviated from these legal norms, especially in Eastern Europe. The question of acceptance and feasibility of anti-Jewish measures played little role since in places such as German-occupied Poland and the Soviet Union, entire non-Jewish populations were also deemed inferior.



New population categories were established by the Nuremberg Race Laws of September 15, 1935 and the 1st provision of the Reich Citizenship Law of November 14, 1935: "Volljuden" (full Jews), "Mischlinge" (mixed Jews), "Versippte" (relatives) and "Fremdvölkische" (foreigners) were to be segregated from people with "German or related blood" and excluded from the "Volksgemeinschaft" (national community). A person with three or four Jewish grandparents qualified as a Jew, "1st degree Mischlinge" had two Jewish grandparents and "2nd degree Mischlinge" only one. It was also stipulated which marriages were permitted and which were banned. Someone of "German blood" was forbidden from marrying a Jew or "1st degree Mischling."



In the summer of 1935, many couples regarded as "mixed" were publicly humiliated and marched through the city. Relationships between Jews and non-Jews had not yet been legally banned. In the city of Norden, Christine Neemann and Julius Wolff, who was forced to wear a sign saying "I am a race defiler," were among the humiliated couples. They were both arrested. Julius Wolff succeeded in fleeing Germany. Christine Neemann was arrested several times and suffered her entire life from the consequences of her imprisonment.



Amsterdam, 1943. The German authorities ordered all Jews in the occupied countries to be marked. After the legal definition was introduced, public identification and stigmatization caused Jews additional humiliation.



Halina Nelken was born in 1923. During the war, she was forced into the Cracow ghetto where she wrote a diary. She survived eight concentration camps, among them Auschwitz-Birkenau and Ravensbrück. Her diary was published after the war.

One of the girls in our group, Anka, said she is ashamed, that she is never going to wear this armband, that she does not look Jewish. I also do not look Jewish, for according to the German definition in their newspaper "Stürmer", racially pure Jews have scraggly black hair, long, hooked noses, and flat feet. There is nothing black about me except – in [her brother] Felek's opinion – my character, but even if this were true, character doesn't show on the surface, so to the eye I'm not in the least like a Jew. However, I'll probably wear the armband. If everyone has to, everyone must.

Halina Nelken, And Yet, I Am Here! Amherst, 1999

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6 EXCLUSION

Der Chef der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD gab sodann einen kurzen Rückblick über den bisher geführten Kampf gegen diesen Gegner. Die wesentlichsten Momente bilden

- a/ die Zurückdrängung der Juden aus den einzelnen Lebensgebieten des deutschen Volkes,
- b/ die Zurückdrängung der Juden aus dem Lebensraum des deutschen Volkes.

The Head of the Security Police and the SD then gave a brief review of the struggle conducted up to now against this foe. The most important elements are:

- a) Forcing the Jews out of the various spheres of life of the German people
- b) Forcing the Jews out of the German people's living space.

The exclusion of Jews from society and their expropriation began soon after the Nazi seizure of power in January 1933. The first boycott of Jewish-owned shops took place on April 1, 1933. The Civil Service Law (April 7, 1933) – the first law to include an “Aryan paragraph” – caused Jewish civil servants to lose their jobs. More than a thousand other laws and decrees followed. The exclusionary measures were accompanied by propaganda and defamatory public events: marking Jewish-owned shops, public humiliation and intimidation, expelling Jews from their workplace and public life. Public acts of violence and murder occurred, for example during the pogrom on November 9, 1938.

These measures aimed to separate Jews from non-Jewish society and make their lives unbearable. Waves of public antisemitic actions frequently merged into phases of normality, suggesting to victims that the situation was difficult, but not hopeless. To the perpetrators, however, these were merely further steps towards a complete expulsion of Jews.

On November 10, 1938, after the November Pogrom, Jewish men in Baden-Baden were marched from police headquarters to the synagogue. They were forced to read from “Mein Kampf” and sing a Nazi song before the synagogue was set on fire. Many participants and spectators watched and photographed the Baden-Baden pogrom. The Jewish men's humiliation is underscored by the fact that none of them is wearing a hat, an important symbol of middle-class existence. The men were subsequently deported to the Dachau concentration camp. After the pogrom, 30,000 Jewish men throughout Germany were sent to concentration camps.

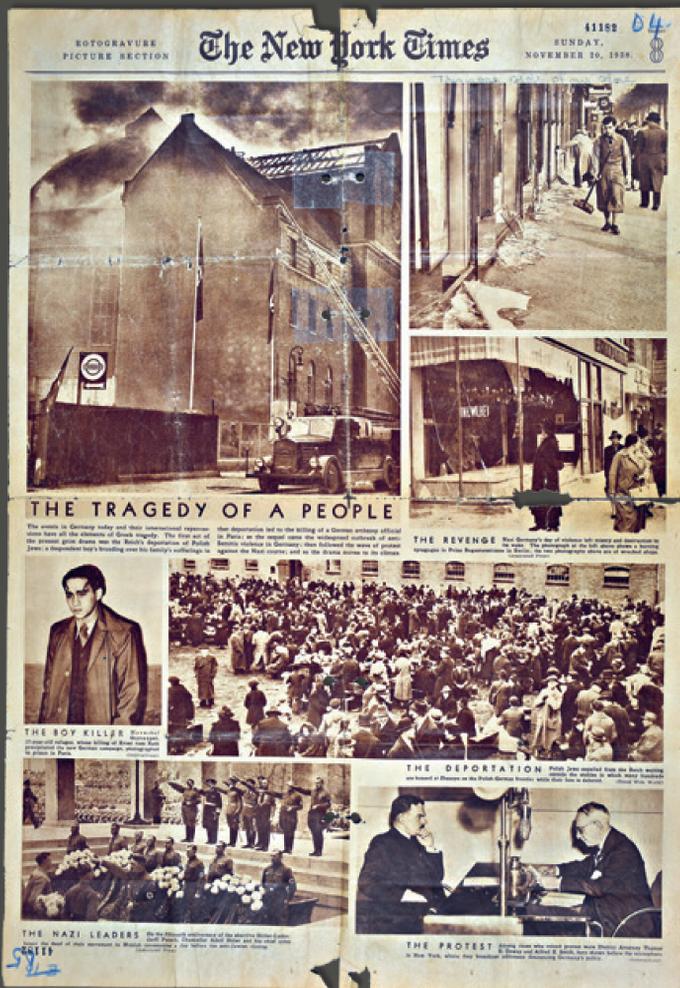


The exclusion of Jews from society extended to all areas of life. At the Wannsee lido in May 1938 a sign reads, “No Jews Allowed.” The other visitors do not appear to be concerned by this. Many anti-Jewish measures were popular among parts of the population. The exclusion of Jews became a visible and accepted part of everyday life.

With each day of the Nazi regime, the abyss between us and our fellow citizens grew larger. Friends whom we had loved for years did not know us anymore. They suddenly saw that we were different from themselves. Of course we were different, since we were bearing the stigma of Nazi haters, since we were hunted like deer. Through the prominent position of my husband we were in constant danger. Often we were warned to stay away from home. We were no longer safe, wherever we went.

Marta Appel, née Insel, was the wife of Rabbi Ernst Appel of Dortmund. They escaped with their two daughters to the Netherlands in 1937 and later reached the United States.

Monika Richarz (ed.), Jewish Life in Germany, Bloomington, 1991



The November Pogrom received international attention. The New York Times mentions the events leading up to the pogrom – the deportation of Polish Jews in Germany to the Polish border and Hershel Grynszpan's subsequent protest, in which he attacked a German diplomat in Paris. This provided Nazi leaders with an occasion to unleash violence.

Das Aufgabenziel war, auf legale Weise den deutschen Lebensraum von Juden zu säubern.

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7 EMIGRATION AND EXPULSION

Das Aufgabenziel war, auf legale Weise den deutschen Lebensraum von Juden zu säubern.

Über die Nachteile, die eine solche Auswanderungsforcierung mit sich brachte, waren sich alle Stellen im klaren. Sie mußten jedoch angesichts des Fehlens anderer Lösungsmöglichkeiten vorerst in Kauf genommen werden.

The aim of this task was to purge German living space of Jews by legal means.

The disadvantages of such forced emigration methods were evident at all agencies concerned. Yet in absence of other feasible solutions they had to put up with them for the time being.

After a while, the handling of emigration was not merely a German problem but one that also affected the relevant authorities of the countries of destination.

Emigration and escape became more important as persecution measures and isolation intensified. The exclusion from society and loss of rights caused many Jews to fall into poverty. Numerous taxes and the freezing of Jewish bank accounts made it harder for Jews to pay for their travel and find a country that would take them in.

Many countries were unwilling to accept refugees. Visa quotas were not increased and an international refugee conference held in Evian in July 1938 did not achieve any positive change.

Over time, the state agencies in the German Reich, and in Austria after 1938, created an administrative apparatus to regulate the expulsion of Jews as they saw fit: After meeting all administrative requirements, Jews were left destitute, leaving Germany with only a ticket for travel and an entry permit to a foreign land.

Despite these obstacles, the majority of German and Austrian Jews succeeded in emigrating. As war and occupation began, the number of Jews under German control rose. For most, escape and exile were no longer realistic options.

The bystanders, the Aryans here, and people abroad can probably not understand at all why we are still here. They don't know that it does not at all depend on us, but rather that unfortunately we simply do not get admission to any other country. There are no more visas for the United States. My husband has made one last attempt and asked our relatives in America by wire for the entry visas for Cuba. That is the only possibility that still exists. [...] Every emigrant is allowed to take along only two small suitcases, and from the German border on one must pay in gold marks or dollars. That determines the size of our luggage. Only the most necessary things can be taken along. We will have to part with our whole household. [...] Furniture – that's nothing to get excited about. The main thing is that we get out of Germany alive.

Elisabeth Freund, born in 1898, studied political and economic science. In 1922 she married Rudolf Freund. In 1938, the couple sent their two daughters abroad to safety with the "Kindertransport." They were able to immigrate to Cuba in October 1941. In 1944 the family reunited in the United States.

Monika Richarz (ed.), Jewish Life in Germany, Bloomington, 1991



At the initiative of United States president Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Evian Conference was convened in July 1938 in response to the increasing numbers of Jewish refugees from Europe. "No nation would be expected or asked to receive a greater number of emigrants than is permitted by its existing legislation," Roosevelt announced, but he hoped that some of the countries attending would commit to accepting more refugees. The Australian delegation official summed up his government's view: "As we have no real racial problem, we are not desirous of importing one by encouraging any scheme of large-scale foreign migration..." The caricature of the conference is an apt depiction of the results.

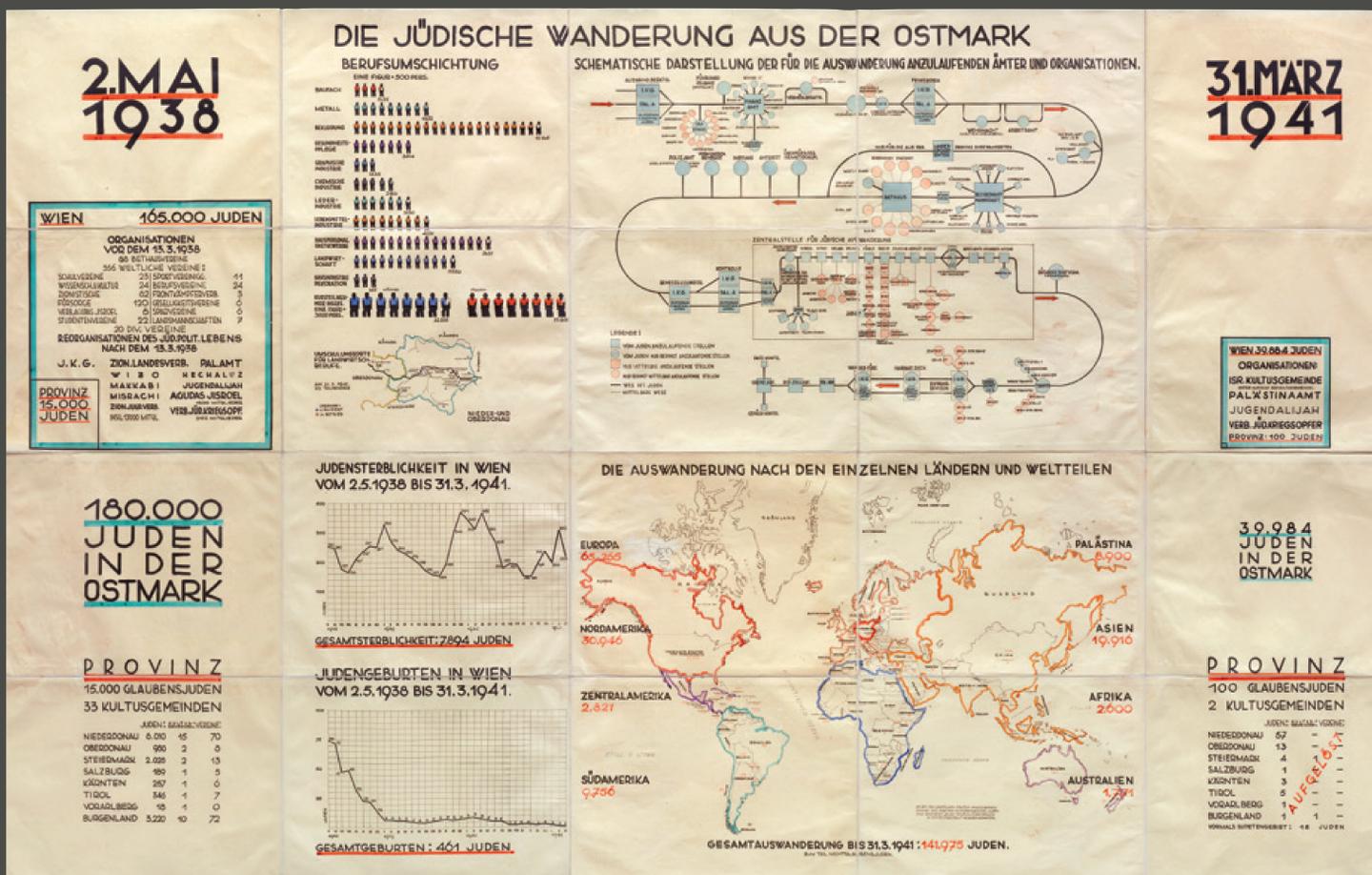


Diagram of the expulsion of Jews from Austria
This compilation of charts and diagrams illustrates the calculated and centrally planned expulsion policy. In Vienna, policy was strongly influenced by Adolf Eichmann's "Central Agency for Jewish Immigration." The diagram captures the important role of this and other agencies. The expulsion was accompanied by the systematic plundering of Jews' wealth and property through the collection of fees and taxes.

Letters from Cecile Robinski to her son Herbert. Herbert Robinski and his brother Artur immigrated to South Africa and Sambia (then North Rhodesia) in 1936 and 1937. Their parents, family and friends also tried to emigrate, but most of them failed. The desperate efforts of the Robinski brothers to help their family were unsuccessful. Their parents, Cecile and David Robinski, were deported to Riga in 1942. Their sisters Edith und Hildegard Robinski were deported to Auschwitz-Birkenau in 1943. They were all murdered.

Berlin, 28.11.1938. My dear boy! We have received your dear lines of the 16.11. on the 26.11. and I can inform you that we are all, thank God, well, and I have not experienced anything bad. It would be very desirable if we would also succeed in emigrating as soon as possible and you [...] must try to submit an application on our behalf. Since dear father is above the age of 60, an application for him can probably not be made together with that of his wife. For young people it is probably easier to get into Rhodesia, and Artur must try to do his utmost for Siegfried. I have written a letter to Artur 3 days ago. [...] Horst is in Dachau, if only the boy could manage to emigrate. The only question is: where. Little Jochim of the Urbanskis is going to Holland as many children can be accommodated there.

Berlin, 1.7.1939. My dear Herbi! [...] First of all, I want to tell you about myself, as you will by now be curious to know how far the necessary papers have progressed. So far, everything went smoothly and we have got them together within one week. Health certificate, certificate of good conduct, testimonial of character and certificate of pecunity. Next week the papers go to the translator and Edith has connections there. We still have to have photographs taken and in barely 8 days the papers can be sent to Pretoria, after first submitting them to the consulate. We have also settled our capital levy [...]. Now we must wait for the decision.

Steven L. Robins, Letters of Stone. From Nazi Germany to South Africa, Cape Town, 2016

gensloser Juden verwandt wurde.

8 EXPROPRIATION

Die Finanzierung der Auswanderung erfolgte durch die Juden bzw. jüdisch-politischen Organisationen selbst. Um den Verbleib der verproletarisierten Juden zu vermeiden, wurde nach dem Grundgesetz verfahren, daß die vermögenden Juden die Abwanderung der vermögenslosen Juden zu finanzieren haben; hier wurde, je nach Vermögen gestaffelt, eine entsprechende Umlage bzw. Auswandererabgabe vorgeschrieben, die zur Bestreitung der finanziellen

Emigration was financed by the Jews themselves or, as the case may be, the Jewish political organizations. In order to make sure that the proletarianized Jews would not stay behind, it was determined that affluent Jews had to finance the emigration of Jews without means. Based on assessments of assets, an appropriate apportioned fee or an emigration tax was imposed on the former in order to pay for all financial obligations impecunious Jews had incurred in the course of their emigration.

Destroying Jewish economic life was central to the persecution policy. Jews lost their jobs in the public administration and were banned from many professions. Pressure on Jewish merchants and businesses intensified. In 1938 a decree was introduced requiring Jews to sell their property to non-Jews ("Aryanization"). Emigrants faced many decrees and regulations, leaving them destitute when they left the country.

After the 1938 November Pogrom, Göring imposed a special tax on German Jews, cynically called an "atonement tax." Insurance premiums of Jews were confiscated.

As part of the deportation process, the state robbed the Jews of their remaining property. Furniture was transferred to German agencies; material vital to the war effort was confiscated. Entire households, including clothing and everyday objects, were sold at public auctions. In the occupied territories, the property of victims was sold and distributed locally or transported to Germany. These measures created popular support for the deportations. Germans and other Europeans who bought stolen Jewish property at bargain prices profited from the theft and became accomplices to the Nazi regime.

Nr.	Objekt	Käufer	Preis
16	1 Stoffrest	Seipen Hemmerden	10,00
17	1 Schirm	Schiffer "	8,00
18	1 kl. Lederkoffer	Wingerath "	15,00
19	1 alter Koffer	Hilger Kapellen	5,00
20	1 Hut	Koch Hemmerden	1,00
21	"	Brdmann "	1,00
22	"	Schiffer "	1,00
23	"	Nerheim "	1,00
24	"	Oberfeld Wv.	1,00
25	"	Janssen Aldh.	1,00
26	"	Koch Hemmerden	1,00
27	1 Oberhemd	Lufen "	5,00
28	1 Oberhemd	Pührers Aldh.	5,00
29	1 Oberhemd	Ritz Hemmerden	5,00
30	1 Oberhemd	Zimmermann Bedburdyk	5,00
31	"	Stange Grev.	5,00
32	1 Ob "	Schätzler Aldh.	5,00
33	1 paar alte Kleider	Simons Hemmerden	10,00
34	1 Steppdecke	Lenzen "	40,00
35	Schmutzige Wäsche	Schätz "	7,00
36	1 Unterrock	Köhnen "	5,00
37	1 Oberhemd	Hansen "	5,00
38	2 Bettvorleger	Eser Wallrath	5,00
39	Alte Kleider und Krawatten	Zimmermann Hemmerden	10,00
40	4 Schürzen	Donn "	5,00
41	1 Kinderhose und Flicklappen	Oberpink "	5,00
42	1 def. Anzug 1 Schirm	Witke Okhoven	5,00
43	1 mal Spitze	Schenkel Hemmerden	7,00
44	2 Handtaschen	Klaasen "	5,00
45	1 mal 2 m Inlett	Froitzheim "	5,00
46	1 Nachtschlampe	"	5,00
47	1 "	"	5,00
48	1 eltr. Bügelisen	Koch "	5,00
49	1 Fleischmaschine	Grunderrath "	10,00
50	1 Heilmaschine	Deppen "	5,00
51	1 Kasten s. Besteck	Eser Walrath Hemmerden	10,00
52	1 Fahrrad	Köhnen "	15,00
53	1 Wanne	Köhnen "	15,00
54	3 Kuchenteller	Jukowski Neuenhausen	5,00
55	6 Teller	Jansen Aldenhoven	1,50
56	6 Teller	Froitzheim Wv.	2,00
57	6 Dessertteller	Schätz Hemmerden	2,00
58	6 "	Froitzheim "	2,00
59	7 Einkochgläser	Donne "	2,00
60	7 "	Hilger "	2,00
61	7 "	Klage "	2,00
62	7 "	Schmacher "	2,00
63	7 "	Budde Disseldorf	2,00
64	7 "	Höker Bedburdyk	2,00
65	7 "	Breuer "	2,00
66	7 Einmachgläser	Sekwitslaufs "	1,00
67	7 "	Jandars "	1,00
68	10 "	Beerens Kolthausen	2,00
69	6 Weingläser	Blensfeld Hemmerden	4,00
70	1 Schüssel 12 Teller (Glas)	Winter "	6,00
71	1 Karaffe und 7 Gläser	"	1,50
72	Wäschschüsseln	Düchen "	1,50
73	Kleinschürz	Filmen "	1,50
74	5 Flaschen 1 Kristallvase	Steins Holzheim	1,00

In February 1942, the property of three deported families (Winter, Theisebach and Schmitt) from Hemmerden was publicly sold in their former homes. The list documents the auctioned items, names and places of residence of the buyers. Many were neighbors. The sales price was also registered: several hats sold for 1 Mark each (no. 20-25), dirty laundry sold for 7 Mark (no. 35) and clothes pins for 0.5 Mark (no. 72).

Marianne Winter was the only member of her family to survive the deportations. She returned to her hometown in Hemmerden in summer 1945. Her experiences are typical of those of the few survivors who returned. Bureaucratic procedures and agency delays slowed down the return or compensation of her property. Many cases dragged on for several years.

After three years in the concentration camp, I finally arrived in Hemmerden in August 1945 to find our house completely occupied [...] The mayor demanded that all Jewish property be reported. A few people had already come forth to the mayor and these reports had been compiled in a list. Using this list I began my search, I was looking for the people who had come forth and I went to see the things that had previously belonged to Jews. In many cases I was given a very uncordial welcome – to put it mildly. Using the list from the mayor, I found three bedroom furnishings, that of my parents and the ones used by my sister Herta and I. I was then informed that all the furniture and belongings had been auctioned by the Revenue Office.

Wolfgang Drensen (ed.), *Betrifft „Aktion 3“*. Deutsche verwerten jüdische Nachbarn, Berlin, 1998



The 11th decree of the Reich Citizenship Law went into effect on November 25, 1941. It allowed the state to strip deported and exiled Jews of their German citizenship and seize their property – cash, bank accounts, securities, valuables and real estate. The Reich became the legal heir of Jews who had left. The revenue offices settled unpaid bills, for electricity and rent for example, and other claims. A precise legal framework was created to suggest that those involved in seizing Jewish property were acting under the law.



A store in Paris, marked as Jewish, announced that, as of November 1, 1940, the management and staff would be Catholic and French. In the occupied territories, Jewish businesses were also taken over by non-Jewish owners ("aryanized"). This economic collaboration made a part of the population in occupied Europe accomplices to the Nazi regime.

The company "Stamm and Bassermann formerly Gummi Weil" produced rubber products. Following a takeover, many companies advertised that the business had been "aryanized" and promoted the quality of the products that had made a name for themselves under the previous Jewish owners. Having suffered ongoing exclusion and denied of their rights for many years, Jewish business owners and merchants were compelled to sell far below the market value. Additionally, the state confiscated a large portion of sales proceeds.



eine entsprechende Umlage bzw. vorgeschrieben, die zur Bestreitung der finanziellen Obliegenheiten im Zuge der Abwanderung vermögensloser Juden verwandt wurde.

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9 GHETTOIZATION

Die evakuierten Juden werden zunächst Zug um Zug in sogenannte Durchgangsghettos verbracht, um von dort aus weiter nach dem Osten transportiert zu werden.

The evacuated Jews will first be taken, group after group, to so-called transit ghettos from where they will be transported further to the East.

Ghettos, euphemistically referred to as "residential districts for Jews," were established in all of the occupied territories in Eastern Europe. The Jewish residents of towns and surrounding areas were forced to resettle in these ghettos after the non-Jewish population had been relocated. Left to vegetate in confined spaces without sufficient food, many died of starvation and illness. The ghetto residents had to perform forced labor for the war industry and for private German companies.

In September 1939, Heydrich ordered western Polish Jews to be placed in ghettos. In October 1941, he ordered Czech Jews to be concentrated in Theresienstadt. Elsewhere, ghettos were established on the initiative of the local occupying authority. The ghettos were often cynically justified as prevention measures against the spread of epidemics or as military security.

Once the systematic mass murder began, the ghettos were gradually closed and the inhabitants were murdered. A few ghettos that were vital to the war effort were converted into concentration camps.



Those in ghettos felt desperate; hunger and death were omnipresent. This situation was exploited by the German occupiers, who used bread and marmalade as a lure to get people to "volunteer" for further deportation. The people did not know that these transports were headed for the death camps.

This propaganda photo, part of a series taken by the Germans to promote a positive image of the ghetto, shows straw overshoes being produced for the Wehrmacht in the Łódź ghetto. Jews were forced to work for the Wehrmacht, state-owned factories and private industry. The seemingly inexhaustible availability of Jewish labor rendered each individual expendable. Tolerable working conditions were – according to the logic of the Nazis – not necessary. Hundreds of thousands died from the inhuman living and working conditions. Death in the ghettos and through forced labor bore similarities to the concept of "extermination through work," the labor program in the concentration camps, whose final aim was the prisoner's death. And yet, the chance of survival for those who were forced to work was higher than for those who were not.



A Jewish policeman with his family in the Łódź ghetto. Initially, the establishment of ghettos seemed to be a return to historical methods of social exclusion. Administration of the ghetto – including ghetto police, postal services and fire brigades – fell to German-appointed Jewish councils. This allotted the Jewish ghetto inhabitants a degree of protection from the German occupiers. The perpetrators, however, exploited the Jewish councils' rational approach to maintaining the ghettos and improving living conditions in order to implement their own irrational plans for the Holocaust.



A special class of beggars consists of those who beg after nine o'clock at night. You stand at your window, and suddenly see new faces, beggars you haven't seen all day. They walk out right into the middle of the street, begging for bread. Most of them are children. In the surrounding silence of night, the cries of the hungry beggar children are terribly insistent, and however hard your heart, eventually you have to throw a piece of bread down to them – or else leave the house. [...] It's a common thing for beggar children like these to die on the sidewalk at night. I was told about one such horrible scene that took place in front of 24 Muranowska Street where a six-year-old beggar boy lay gasping all night, too weak to roll over for the piece of bread that had been thrown down to him from the balcony.

Notes from Emanuel Ringelblum in August 1941 about life inside the Warsaw ghetto. The Polish Jewish historian Emanuel Ringelblum established the Oneg Shabbat group that collected documents about Jewish life under German occupation in Warsaw from September 1939 until January 1943. Ringelblum and his family were murdered by the Germans in March 1944.

Jacob Sloan (ed.), Notes from the Warsaw Ghetto, New York, 1958

Bedřich Fritta's drawing shows a theater in the Theresienstadt ghetto where cultural events were both a distraction and a form of intellectual resistance. Self-assertion under the extreme living conditions in the camps and ghettos was existential. Theater and concerts, initially held in secret, provided a means of self-expression. Painting and drawing were also a kind of self-assertion. Bedřich Fritta depicted life in the ghetto in many of his drawings. He also illustrated a children's book for his son Tommy on his 3rd birthday. Fritta was murdered in Auschwitz-Birkenau in November 1944. His son survived.



eine entsprechende Umlage bzw. Auswandererabgabe vorgeschrieben, die zur Bestreitung der finanziellen Obliegenheiten im Zuge der Abwanderung vermögensloser Juden verwandt wurde.

10 DEPORTATION

III.

Anstelle der Auswanderung ist nunmehr als weitere Lösungsmöglichkeit nach entsprechender vorheriger Genehmigung durch den Führer die Evakuierung der Juden nach dem Osten getreten.

Diese Aktionen sind jedoch lediglich als Ausweichmöglichkeiten anzusprechen, doch

III. As a further possible solution, and with the appropriate prior authorization by the Führer, emigration has now been replaced by evacuation of the Jews to the East.

However, these operations should be regarded only as provisional options, though in view of the coming final solution of the Jewish question they are already supplying practical experience of vital importance.



Deportations usually took place in broad daylight, as in Eisenach on May 9, 1942. Deportees were only allowed to take a limited amount of luggage with them. Before departure, prohibited items, such as jewelry and money, but also knives and saws, were confiscated. The non-Jewish population often watched closely as the people walked to the train station and waited on the platforms.



Adolf Eichmann
1906–1962
SS Reich Security Main Office (RSHA)
Head of Department IV B4: Jewish Affairs

Eichmann played a leading role in the extermination of the European Jews. In October 1934 he joined the SS Security Service in Berlin and was involved in expelling German Jews. Following the annexation of Austria and the German occupation of Bohemia and Moravia, Eichmann headed the "Central Offices for Jewish Emigration" in Vienna and Prague from 1938 to 1939. From December 1939, he headed Section IV D 4 ("Emigration and Evacuation") of the Reich Security Main Office. In March 1941, he became Head of Department IV B4: "Jewish Affairs." Eichmann compiled the Wannsee Conference protocol. From October 1941 to 1944, his office coordinated the deportations. In Budapest, he was responsible for the forced transport of over 437,000 Jews, mainly to Auschwitz-Birkenau from March 1944 onwards.

Born in Solingen. Son of a bookkeeper. Completed high school. Salesman and travel agent in Vienna from 1925 to 1933. Joined the NSDAP and SS in April 1932. Moved to Germany in August 1933. Arrested for posing as an airforce private in May 1945, but escaped. Employed under a false name as a forestry worker near Celle. Fled to Argentina in 1950. Lived in Buenos Aires under the name Ricardo Klement. Kidnapped by Israeli Intelligence Service in May 1960. Tried and sentenced to death in Jerusalem in 1961. Executed on the night of May 31, 1962.

Beginning in autumn 1941, the Jewish populations in the territories controlled by Germany and in most of the states allied with the German Reich were deported.

In spring 1942, the deportation of nearly 1.85 million Polish Jews in the Generalgouvernement began to the death camps of Bełżec, Sobibór and Treblinka.

Following negotiations with the Slovakian and the French authorities, the deportation of Jews in these countries began to Auschwitz-Birkenau in March 1942. The Netherlands, Belgium, Croatia, Norway, the Bulgaria-occupied territories of Thrace and Macedonia, and Greece followed. Deportations from Italy began in September 1943. The Danish Jews who had not succeeded in fleeing to Sweden were sent to Theresienstadt in autumn 1943. The final phase of deportations started after Hungary was occupied in March 1944. More than 430,000 Jews were deported in 56 transports to Auschwitz-Birkenau.

Adolf Eichmann was in charge of planning and organizing the deportations. Railway authorities provided the trains and managed logistics. Municipalities and townships were responsible for registering the victims and extinguishing all signs of their existence in society. Financial offices liquidated the possessions left behind. The deportations were thus a fundamental element of the crimes, characterized by bureaucratic preparation and administrative processing.

NAZIS SEEK TO RID EUROPE OF ALL JEWS

Mass Transportation to Polish Zone Continues Unabated

BERLIN, Oct. 27 (AP)—Complete elimination of Jews from European life now appears to be fixed German policy.

Several times each week transports now start eastward with Jews from the Rhineland and Westphalia, Berlin, Prague or Vienna. The deportees receive several days' warning that they must give up their apartments. Thereafter at any hour of the day or night they may expect the Gestapo or regular police to call for them. Their homes, with all inventory, are sealed and declared State property. According to Jewish sources, some refugees are obliged to leave behind wedding rings, watches, fountain pens and shaving outfits. Most Jews are said to take 100 marks with them. Some said that ninety of these marks were required for transportation costs so that they would arrive at their destinations with only ten marks. So far as can be learned the uprooted Jews are classified as "criminals," "undesirable social elements," and "owners of catastrophe apartments." The latter means apartments suitable for Aryan refugees from cities subject to bombings.

The first and second types are sent to the Government General [unannexed area of Poland], chiefly to Litzmannstadt, although some also are being banished to Riga, occupied capital of Latvia, and Minsk, in occupied Russia. Many suicides are spoken of in Jewish circles.

The systematic deportation of Jews from the German Reich to the ghettos in the East began on October 17, 1941 and was reported in the New York Times on October 28, 1941. The article describes in detail the preparations for deportation and accurately names the destination of the trains. At that time German Jews were still being held in ghettos. The previous residents, local Jews, were shot by the police and SS to make room for new arrivals.

M. B., a member of "Wolnosc," the Polish resistance organization, lived on the "Aryan" side and passed through the Warsaw ghetto on the way to work.

Friday, July 24, 1942

Today I saw a procession of deportees at Grzybowskiplatz on their way to the loading site. There were around 3,000 people: men, women and children. They walked in rows of three, according to typical German rules. Jewish militia carrying sticks and SS men armed with guns and whips guarded them on both sides. Almost all the Jews had a small bundle or package. They carried their ID, work card and documents — their last hope for salvation. An old man stumbled. He fell out of line and grabbed a wall for support. A German hit him on the head and back with a stick. The old man fell backwards. The German pulled out his revolver, shot him and moved on without glancing around. This happened just a few feet in front of me. I had to move into a building entrance and lean against a wall.

Gerhard Schoenberger (ed.), Wir haben es gesehen. Augenzeugenberichte über die Judenverfolgung im Dritten Reich, Hamburg, 1962.



Deportation from the Łódź ghetto in February 1944. People were deported to the East from all over Europe, from Greece and Southeast Europe all the way to Norway, from France and Western Europe, from Central and Eastern Europe. Deportations also took place from the towns and cities located near the extermination camps in German-occupied Poland. The people were often sent to ghettos and camps first; later a second deportation brought them to the extermination camps.

haben; hier wurde, eine entsprechende Umlage bzw. Auswandererabgabe vorgeschrieben, die zur Bestreitung der finanziellen Obliegenheiten im Zuge der Abwanderung vermögensloser Juden verwandt wurde.

11 MURDER

Der allfällig endlich verbleibende Restbestand wird, da es sich bei diesem zweifellos um den widerstandsfähigsten Teil handelt, entsprechend behandelt werden müssen, da dieser, eine natürliche Auslese darstellend, bei Freilassung als Keimzelle eines neuen jüdischen Aufbaues anzusprechen ist.

Those who ultimately should possibly get by will have to be given suitable treatment because they unquestionably represent the most resistant segments and therefore constitute a natural elite that, if allowed to let go free, would turn into germ cells of renewed Jewish revival.



Dr. Rudolf Lange
1910-1945
Commander of the Security Police and Security Service of the SS (SD) in the General District Latvia

When Heydrich ordered the formation of Einsatzgruppen to murder Jews in the Soviet Union, Lange joined the staff of Einsatzgruppe A. He also led "Special Command 2" in the Baltic region, which by December 1941 had murdered roughly 60,000 Jews from Latvia and other countries. Lange personally ordered mass shootings on the outskirts of Riga. Of the participants at the Wannsee Conference he was the "experienced practitioner" of mass executions.

Born in Weisswasser. Son of a railway construction supervisor. Studied law. Joined the Gestapo in 1933. Doctorate of law from the University of Jena. Joined the Berlin Gestapo Office in 1936. Joined the NSDAP and SS in 1937. Worked for the Gestapo in Vienna in 1938 and in Stuttgart in 1939. Headed the Gestapo in Weimar and Erfurt in 1940. Deputy head of the Berlin Gestapo in September 1940. Commander of the Security Police and the SD in Latvia in December 1941. Commander in Chief of the Security Police and the SD in Warthegau in January 1945. Committed suicide in Poznań in February 1945.



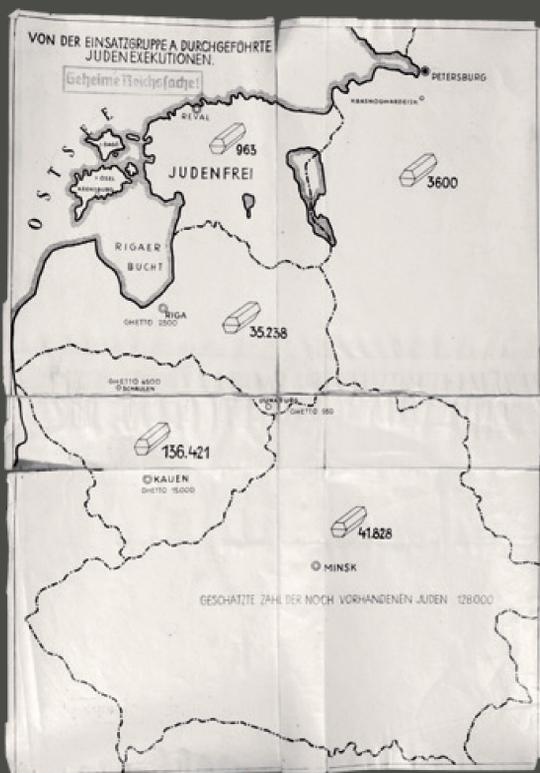
Einsatzgruppe D conducting murder by shooting in Dubossary on September 14, 1941. Such executions were carried out by Einsatzgruppen, troops of the Higher SS and Police Leaders, local collaborators, police and Wehrmacht units. Up to two million people fell victim to the "Holocaust by bullets": Jews, Sinti and Roma, political officers of the Red Army, people with disabilities, children from orphanages, partisans and innocent bystanders.

They began shooting. I heard groans, cursing and shots, and realized that I had not been hit. But Walerij... my head was spinning. Then they hit each body to check whether anyone was still alive. Twice I was struck terribly. I stayed silent. Then they began to undress the dead. I was wearing a shabby skirt. They tore it off my body. Commander Krause called the policemen together and they all left. I crawled over to Walerij. He was cold. I kissed him and said farewell. What else could I do? I stood up and left. I thought they would kill me. Why should I, of all people, be alive? I walked the entire night. My hands were frozen. I no longer have fingers. But I reached the partisans.

Testimony of the teacher Fanja Simkin, undated. Walerij was her young son. There was resistance against the German occupation in all the occupied territories. Several partisan groups in Eastern Europe helped people survive who had escaped a massacre or fled to the forests.

Gerhard Schoenberger (ed.), *Wir haben es gesehen. Augenzeugenberichte über die Judenverfolgung im Dritten Reich*, Hamburg, 1962.

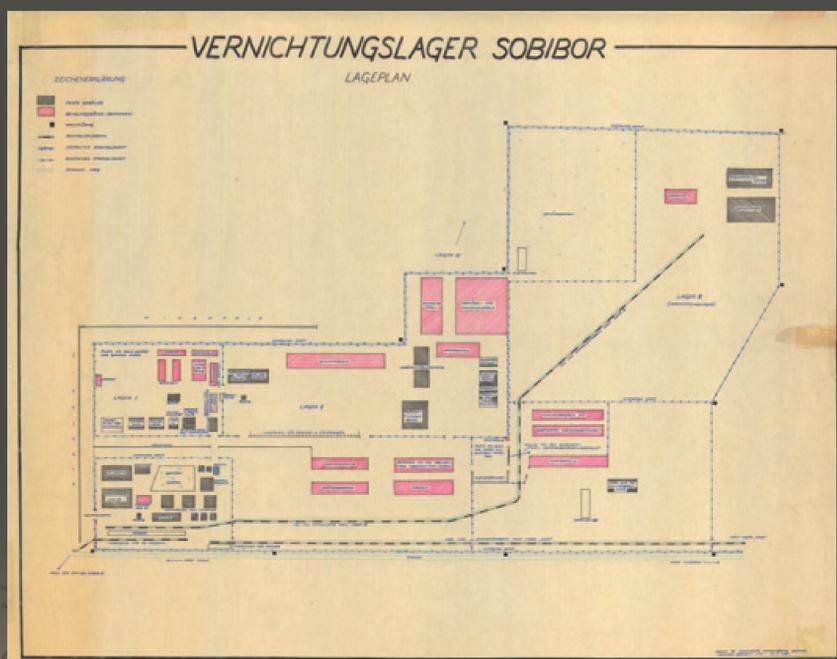
Map attached to a report by Dr. Franz Walter Stahlecker, head of Einsatzgruppe A, on the operations of his unit from October 16, 1941 to January 31, 1942. The Einsatzgruppen, four mobile killing units that murdered Jews in the German occupied Soviet Union, were under the authority of Reinhard Heydrich. They sent him their work reports with detailed descriptions of the murder operations. The locations and time periods of the killings were marked on maps.



Eye witness report on the murder of Jews and Roma (Gypsies) in the gas-van station in Chełmno nad Nerem from January 5-19, 1942, provided by "Szlamek." "Szlamek," Szlama Ber Winer, born on September 23, 1911 in Izbica Kujawska, escaped from Chełmno on January 19, 1942. When he reached the Warsaw ghetto in February 1942, he told others about Chełmno. This was the first account of gasings in Chełmno. He was murdered in Bełżec on April 11 or 12, 1942.

After two hours the first van with Gypsies arrived [...] A gas-van usually stopped about 100 meters (328 feet) from the mass grave, but twice it stopped about 20 meters (65 feet) from the grave. As the 'pit-workers' told us, in the driver's cabin there was a special apparatus with buttons, linked with the inside of the vehicle by two pipes. There were always the same two drivers. They used to press one of the buttons and get out of the cabin. Soon after, the sound of anguished screams, desperate sobs and banging at the door came from inside of the van. They lasted about 15 minutes. Then, the driver returned to the cabin, switched on a flashlight and looked inside the van through a window to check if all the victims were dead. Later he moved the van closer to the grave – about six meters (20 feet) away from the grave.

Lucja Pawlicka-Nowak (ed.), *Chełmno witnesses speak*, Konin, 2004



Map from the Sobibór extermination camp, produced by the International Tracing Service in Bad Arolsen/Germany, February 13, 1950.

Construction of the Bełżec, Sobibór and Treblinka camps as extermination sites had been underway since December 1941. These camps were run by the experienced staff of the "euthanasia operation," during which tens of thousands of patients from psychiatric hospitals and nursing homes were murdered in the German Reich.

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12 THE AFTERMATH



Secretaries making copies of the Nuremberg Trial verdicts, October 2, 1946. Twenty-two leading Nazis stood trial here from November 20, 1945 to October 1, 1946. The trial ended with three acquittals, seven prison terms including life sentences, and 12 death sentences. In the Nuremberg follow-up trials held before the American National Military Tribunal from December 1946 to April 1949, 24 of the 177 defendants received death sentences. Only 13 were carried out. Twenty-five defendants were acquitted and 118 received prison sentences, some for life. All the defendants of the follow-up trials were pardoned by 1958.



Wilhelm Stuckart with his defense attorneys in Nuremberg, 1948. In numerous trials, the defendants claimed not to have known about, and not to have participated in the crimes they were being accused of. During questioning, participants of the Wannsee Conference did the same. Their defense strategy was to feign no knowledge that the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question" had referred to murder. This strategy proved successful for Stuckart, who was out of prison by April 1949.

Only a few of the Wannsee Conference participants were brought to trial after 1945. About a third of the 15 participants did not survive the war, or died shortly thereafter: Reinhard Heydrich died in June 1942 after an assassination attempt by Czech resistance fighters. **Martin Luther** died after his release from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, where he had been held following an unsuccessful coup against his supervisor, Foreign Minister Ribbentrop.

Alfred Meyer committed suicide in spring 1945; **Roland Freisler** and **Heinrich Müller** died in Berlin in the final months of the war; **Rudolf Lange** died in the battle of Poznań in early 1945.

Another third of the participants died during the political purges and court trials held after the war: **Friedrich Wilhelm Kritzinger** and **Erich Neumann** died shortly after they were released from Allied internment. **Eberhard Schöngarth**, **Josef Bühler** and **Adolf Eichmann** were sentenced to death for other crimes and executed. **Otto Hofmann** received a 25-year prison sentence and was later pardoned.

Several of the conference guests integrated into postwar society without difficulty: **Wilhelm Stuckart** entered regional politics again, but died in a car crash in 1953. **Otto Hofmann**, **Georg Leibbrandt** and **Gerhard Klopfer** lived in the Federal Republic of Germany well into the 1980s and worked in the private sector.

In an obituary in 1987, the family of conference participant Gerhard Klopfer claimed that he had been a "great help to everyone under his influence." This caused a public scandal. Although Klopfer was indicted as a major offender (Category I) in the de-Nazification process in 1948, in March 1949 he was sentenced as a lesser offender (Category III). Klopfer became a lawyer in his hometown of Ulm in the mid-1950s. A preliminary investigation for accessory to murder was closed inconclusively in 1962.



Dr. Gerhard Klopfer
1905–1987
Party Chancellery
Permanent Secretary

Klopfer participated in the Wannsee Conference because the Party Chancellery was central to the Nazi government. He was a most influential and best-informed bureaucrat, responsible for questions relating to "race and national character", economic policy, cooperation with the Reich Security Main Office, and basic matters relating to occupation policy. In 1938, as Ministerial Secretary, he worked on the expropriation of Jewish enterprises. In November 1942, as State Secretary he further restricted the rights of Jews living in "mixed marriages."

Born in Schreibersdorf (Silesia), son of a farmer. Study of law and economics. In 1927, he obtained his doctor of law degree. In 1931, district court judge in Duesseldorf. Joined the Nazi party and their paramilitary branch Sturmabteilung (SA) in April 1933. Consultant at the Prussian Ministry of Agriculture in 1933, at the Gestapo Office in 1934. In April 1935, he joined the staff of Rudolf Hess, the "Führer's Deputy", and the SS in a senior position. After Hess's office was replaced by the office of Party Chancellery, its head Martin Bormann, Hitler's private secretary, derived immense power by controlling access to the Führer. Klopfer as Bormann's deputy benefited from this powerful position. Fled Berlin in April 1945 and was subsequently interned. After he was released from prison in 1949, he was sentenced a "lesser offender" by a denazification tribunal. Tax adviser in 1952, lawyer in 1956. Prosecution into his participation in the Wannsee Conference was discontinued in 1962.

An important consequence of the Holocaust was that international norms were established to criminalize and punish atrocities such as genocide and crimes against humanity. The United Nations established the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide as a judicial instrument to prosecute mass murder. The Nuremberg Trials set a precedent upon which today's International Court of Justice in The Hague is based. The United Nations also created ad hoc tribunals to prosecute crimes committed in the Yugoslav wars and the genocides in Rwanda, Liberia, Sierra Leone and elsewhere.



Joseph Wulf (right) and Nahum Goldman from the World Jewish Congress in front of the fireplace in the Wannsee villa, 1966. Wulf, a survivor of Auschwitz-Birkenau, failed in his efforts to establish a documentation and research center on National Socialism and its consequences in the mid-sixties. He took his own life in 1974. Beforehand he sent a disheartened letter to his son on August 2, 1974:

I have published 18 books here about the Third Reich, but they have had no impact. You can publish books for the Germans until you are blue in the face; there may be the most democratic government in Bonn, but the mass murderers wander about freely, have their little houses and grow flowers.

13 LEARNING AND TEACHING



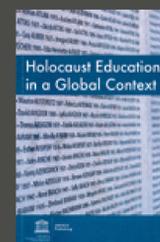
Nazi crimes and the Second World War are documented in memorial sites and museums throughout the world. In Europe, historical sites explain and record this history, commemorate the victims and tell their stories at the places where crimes occurred. Some present the history of the perpetrators, describing their actions and providing information about the political and social structures and psychological traits that made their crimes possible.

The House of the Wannsee Conference Memorial and Educational Site, established on the 50th anniversary of the Wannsee Conference in 1992, was the first Holocaust memorial site in Germany to address both the role of the perpetrators and the complicity of German society. The memorial offers educational programs to diverse audiences, providing information about different perpetrator groups, addressing the role of administrative bureaucracies and showing the consequences for the persecuted people.



United Nations information officers held a week-long educational program on the Holocaust at the House of the Wannsee Conference in 2008, as part of a joint project with "The Holocaust and the United Nations Outreach Programme." This New York based initiative organizes educational activities and produces educational materials, including publications and exhibitions, in all six official languages of the United Nations. It is currently active in 50 countries.

The history of National Socialism and the genocide of European Jews has received broad international attention. New approaches and methods are being developed to meet contemporary demands. "The Holocaust and the United Nations Outreach Programme" and UNESCO explore learning and teaching about the Holocaust as a way to address human rights violations and better understand the world we live in today.



UNESCO publication on different ways of learning and teaching about the Holocaust, 2014. International interest in Holocaust education has grown in recent years. Parts of the world that were not directly involved in the events have also begun to recognize the history of the Holocaust as an effective means to teach about mass violence.

Such teachings can promote human rights and civic duty, testifying to the emergence of this pivotal historical event as a universal frame of reference. International organizations like UNESCO have responded to this growing interest by publishing resource books and teaching materials.

Established in 1998, the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research (ITF), today's International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), with members from more than 30 countries, is a demonstration of the globalization of education on the Holocaust.

Since its opening in 1992, the educational department of the House of the Wannsee Conference has developed programs for adults, students and school groups. These programs address the participants' personal background and specific interests. Programs exist for various professionals, such as teachers, the military, police, judiciary, firemen, tax inspectors, ministry employees and international diplomats.



The mayor of Berlin, Eberhard Diepgen, during the opening ceremony. The Memorial and Educational Site opened on January 20, 1992, the 50th anniversary of the Wannsee Conference. The opening was attended by politicians and public figures. This shows how remembrance of National Socialist crimes and its victims had gained in importance in German society. The institution had a comprehensive educational mission from the very beginning. Gerhard Schoenberner, the founding director, who decades earlier had been one of the few people demanding that the past be addressed, expressed this clearly:

The exhibition is part of the German grieving process. But it should not overwhelm the visitor; on the contrary, it should activate him to use his sense of reason, [...] to deepen his understanding and to comprehend his responsibility. The education program has to assist these pursuits.

Gerhard Schoenberner, *Nachlese, Texte zu Politik und Kultur*, Hamburg, 2016

