

THE BLACK BOOK

The Nazi Crime Against the Jewish People

*With more than 100 illustrations
from official sources.*

There is a much-quoted phrase in the book of Job which has long been known to be a mistranslation. Correctly rendered it runs "Oh that mine adversary had prepared a bill of indictment against me!" As the formal accusers of the German people before the bar of the civilized world, it may properly be demanded of the Jews that they prepare such a bill of indictment.

It is easily done. Its preparation needs neither legal skill nor exhaustive and painful research.

In this volume, technical skill and exhaustive research have indeed been used, and the results have merely confirmed what was clear to anyone who did nothing more than live during the dreadful period of the world's history which began with Hitler's advent to power.

The blood of Hitler's victims cries from the ground. The purpose of our bill of indictment is to make the cry articulate.

World Jewish Congress
Jewish Anti-Fascist
Committee, USSR
Vaad Leumi, Palestine
American Committee of
Jewish Writers, Artists,
and Scientists

*The entire manuscript of **The Black Book** was submitted to the juridical authorities of the United Nations War Crimes Commission meeting at Nuremberg, Germany, as evidence of the crimes committed by the Nazis against the Jewish people.*

Terrible are such wars as the present war. Great is the river of blood spilled by the Germans. But today it is not enough to speak of Germany's responsibility; today we must speak of the responsibility of all: of our responsibility for the future of humanity.

Today, everyone is responsible before his conscience, before his son and his mother, before his country and before mankind; responsible with all the power of his heart and his mind to find the answer to the question: What bred racism? How can we prevent the rebirth of nazism, of fascism anywhere, either on this or the other side of the ocean—ever, ever?

Let us remember that fascism will emerge from this war not only with all the bitterness of defeat, but also with the sweet memory of the facility of mass murder.

All of us to whom decency and freedom and the life of mankind are dear, must think of it daily and with great severity.

—"Report from Treblinka"

VASSILI GROSSMAN

TABLE OF ANTI-JEWISH LEGISLATION IN GERMANY—1933-1943

DATE	SOURCE	TITLES OF LAWS, DECREES, AND ORDINANCES	ELIMINATION FROM: CIVIL SERVICE, PROFESSIONS, LABOR SERVICE, ARMY, INDUSTRY & COMMERCE	EXCLUSION FROM: EDUCATION, CULTURAL AND PUBLIC LIFE	TAXATION AND EXPROPRIATION	LAWS AFFECTING CIVIL RIGHTS
1933						
April 7	RGBL., I, p. 175	Law for the Restoration of Professional Civil Service.	Exclusion of "non-Aryan" * civil servants; exceptions for "privileged non-Aryans."	Exclusion of "non-Aryan" teachers; exceptions for "privileged non-Aryans."		
April 7	RGBL., I, p. 188	Law Regarding Admission to Legal Profession.	Exclusion of "non-Aryan" lawyers; exceptions for "privileged non-Aryans."			
April 22	RGBL., I, p. 222	Decree Regarding Physicians' Services with National Health Insurance.	Exclusion of "non-Aryan" physicians from panel practice; exceptions for "privileged non-Aryans."			
April 25	RGBL., I, p. 225	Law against the Overcrowding of German Schools.		Introduction of <i>Numerus Clausus</i> .		
July 14	RGBL., I, p. 480	Law Regarding Revocation of Naturalization and Annulment of German Citizenship.				Basis for revocation of naturalization of Eastern European Jews.
July 26	RGBL., I, pp. 538/39	Decree to Same Law.				
Sept. 22	RGBL., I, p. 661	Law Regarding Establishment of a Reich Chamber of Culture.†		Basis for exclusion of "non-Aryans" from art, music, literature, etc.-		
Sept. 29	RGBL., I, pp. 685 ff	Law Regulating Peasant Holdings.	Exclusion of "non-Aryans" from farm labor and ownership of land.			
Oct. 4	RGBL., I, p. 713	Law Regarding Editors.		Exclusion of "non-Aryans" from journalism.		
1934						
March 23	RGBL., I, p. 213	Law Regarding Expulsion from the Reich.†				Basis for deportation of Eastern European Jews.
1935						
May 21	RGBL., I, p. 609	Defense Law.†	Exclusion of "non-Aryans" from the Wehrmacht.			
June 26	RGBL., I, p. 769	Reich Labor Service Law.†	Exclusion of "non-Aryans" from Labor Service.			
Sept. 15	RGBL., I, p. 1146	Reich Law on Citizenship.				Jews' status changed from citizen to subject.
Sept. 15	RGBL., I, pp. 1146/47	Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honor.				Intermarriage made criminal offense.
Nov. 14	RGBL., I, pp. 1333/34	1st Decree Supplementing Reich Law on Citizenship.	Compulsory retirement of Jewish officials.			
1936		Minor decrees and ordinances supplementing earlier legislation issued during these two years.				
1937						
1938						
March 28	RGBL., I, p. 338	Law on the Legal Status of Jewish Communities.		Jewish communities deprived of status as "bodies of public law."		
April 22	RGBL., I, p. 404	Decree against Aiding in Concealment of Ownership of Jewish Enterprises.			Assistance by non-Jews in concealing Jewish ownership prohibited.	
April 26	RGBL., I, p. 414	Decree Regarding Registration of Jewish Property.			Enforcement of registration of Jewish domestic and foreign property over 5,000 Reichsmark.	
July 6	RGBL., I, p. 823	Law on Industrial Enterprises.†	Exclusion of Jews from industrial enterprises.			
July 23	RGBL., I, p. 922	3rd Notice Regarding Identification Cards.				Special identification cards for Jews.
July 25	RGBL., I, p. 969	4th Decree Supplementing Reich Law on Citizenship.	Cancellation of licenses for Jewish physicians with exceptions for care of Jewish patients.			
Aug. 17	RGBL., I, p. 1044	2nd Decree Supplementing Law Regarding Change of Names.				Compulsory "Jewish" first names.
Sept. 27	RGBL., I, p. 1403	5th Decree Supplementing Reich Law on Citizenship.†	Revocation of admission of Jewish lawyers with exceptions for representation of Jews.			
Nov. 12	RGBL., I, p. 1579	Decree Regarding Atonement Fine for Jews			Imposition of Fine of one billion Reichsmark on all German Jews.	
Nov. 12	RGBL., I, p. 1580	Decree Regarding Elimination of Jews from German Economic Life.	Final elimination of all Jews from German economy.			
Nov. 12	RGBL., I, p. 1581	Decree Regarding Restoration of Jewish Places of Business.			Jews ordered to restore at their own cost all damages caused by pogroms.	
Nov. 15	V. B. Nov. 16, '38	Ordinance Regarding School Attendance of Jewish Children.		Complete exclusion of Jewish children from German schools.		
Nov. 28	RGBL., I, p. 1676	Police Decree Regarding Appearance of Jews in Public.				Jews banned from certain districts; hours of public appearance restricted.
Dec. 3	RGBL., I, pp. 1709 ff	Decree Regarding Utilization of Jewish Property.			Compulsory sale and restricted disposal of Jewish property.	
1939						
Feb. 21	RGBL., I, p. 282	3rd Ordinance Regarding Registration of Jewish Property.			Confiscation of gold and valuables owned by Jews.	
March 4	H. F. Mar. 4, '39	Decree Regarding Employment of Jews.				Introduction of forced labor for Jews.
April 30	RGBL., I, pp. 864 f	Law Regarding Leases with Jews.				Basis for exclusion of Jews from non-Jewish dwellings and establishment of Jewish districts.
July 4	RGBL., I, pp. 1097 ff	10th Decree Supplementing Reich Law on Citizenship.		Establishment of Reich Association of Jews in Germany as sole representative of all Jewish affairs.		
1940						
Feb. 2	J. N., #10	Decree Regarding Emigration Tax for Jews.			Special emigration tax for Jews.	
Feb. 6	J. N., #11	Decree Regarding Clothes Rationing for Jews.				Clothes ration cards withheld from Jews.
1941						
Sept. 1	RGBL., I, p. 347	Police Decree Regarding Identification Badges for Jews.				All Jews over six years of age compelled to wear "Star of David."
Oct. 31	RGBL., I, pp. 681 f	Decree Regarding Employment of Jews.				Stringent regulations covering the employment of Jews.
Nov. 25	RGBL., I, pp. 722 ff	11th Decree Supplementing Reich Law on Citizenship.				Jews residing abroad deprived of status as German subjects.
1942						
Apr. 17	J. N., #16	Ordinance Regarding Identification of Jewish Apartments.†				Compulsory marking of Jewish apartments with "Star of David."
Apr. 17	J. N., #16	Decree Regarding Use of Public Conveyances.				Use of public conveyances prohibited to Jews.
May 15	J. N., #20	"Nuisance" Decree.				Keeping of pets prohibited to Jews.
May 29	J. N., #22	"Nuisance" Decree;†				Use of services of non-Jewish hairdressers prohibited to Jews.
June 19	J. N., #25	Decree.†			Confiscation of electric appliances, typewriters, bicycles owned by Jews.	
Oct. 9	J. N., #41	"Nuisance" Decree.†				Jews forbidden to buy books.
1943						
July 1	RGBL., I, p. 372	13th Decree Supplementing Reich Law on Citizenship.				Jews denied protection of courts and put under police jurisdiction.
AFTER 1943		No further legal material available.				

Abbreviations: RGBL., I — Reichsgesetzblatt, Teil I (Reich Law Gazette, Part I)
V.B. — Voelkischer Beobachter
H.F. — Hamburger Fremdenblatt
J.N. — Juedisches Nachrichtenblatt

* The term "non-Aryan" (as defined in the "Decree Supplementing the Law for the Restoration of Professional Civil Service" of April 11, 1933—RGBL., I, p. 195) is used in all laws from April 7, 1933 to September 15, 1935, when the term "Jew" (as defined in the "1st Decree Supplementing the Reich Law on Citizenship" of November 14, 1935—RGBL., I, p. 1333) was substituted.

†Not contained in Appendix.

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THE BLACK BOOK

THE NAZI CRIME
AGAINST THE JEWISH PEOPLE

PUBLISHED BY
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1946

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The globe is too small to hold both mankind and fascism

ITZIK FEFER

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Indictment

THERE IS A MUCH QUOTED PHRASE IN THE BOOK OF JOB WHICH has long been known to be a mistranslation. Correctly rendered it runs, "Oh that mine adversary had prepared a bill of indictment against me!" As the formal accusers of the German people before the bar of the civilized world, it may properly be demanded of the Jews that they prepare such a bill of indictment. It is easily done. Its preparation needs neither legal skill nor exhaustive and painful research. In this volume, technical skill and exhaustive research have indeed been used, and the results have merely confirmed what was clear to any one who did nothing more than live during the dreadful period of the world's history which began with Hitler's advent to power. The blood of Hitler's victims cries from the ground. The purpose of our bill is to make the cry articulate.

The Jews of Europe lived for centuries in the places they occupied up to 1933. They were there long before the national units of nineteenth-century Europe were created. In Western Europe the Jews were fully integrated parts of the countries to which they owed political allegiance. In those countries, Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, the Scandinavian countries, Germany and Italy, they were with difficulty distinguishable from the non-Jewish members of the community. They spoke the same language, wore the same clothes, participated in the same social customs.

In Eastern Europe there was a sharper distinction. In Czarist Russia the Jews were crowded into a Pale of Settlement. Generally the majority of Jews in Eastern Europe and the Balkans differed in speech, dress and customs from their fellow Russians, Poles, Rumanians or Slavs. Yet even here there was a large element in common between Jews and non-Jews; in the upper income groups Jews and non-Jews met on a common cultural level. In the lower reaches of economic life the difference between the two groups was relatively slight, due to a community of interest based on universal poverty.

Nonetheless, both in Eastern and Western Europe, even where assimilation had made great progress, the Jews formed in general a distinguishable group. In the case of the overwhelming majority, the origin of each individual Jew was a matter of record. For most Jews, it could not have been concealed and for most of them, there was no desire to conceal it. Nor did this separateness in any way qualify a strong patriotic attachment to the political entity of which they were members. In the war of 1914-18, the Jews of all the European countries at war threw themselves wholeheartedly into the conflict, and the war casualties among them were substantially greater than their ratio to the non-Jewish population would have made natural.

Not only did they serve side by side with their fellow Britons, Germans, Frenchmen, Russians in the war, but for generations they had made notable contributions, again usually more than their proportional share to every type of achievement that their respective countries could show. Especially was this the case in Germany. In science, in the arts, in literature, in industry and in political life, German Jews did far more than their share in the total result which made Germany the academic teacher of Europe and America, and the leader in many fields of social organization.

The Jews of Europe, above all of Germany, had thus every right to think themselves secure in the sites which they had occupied for so many centuries and in the civilization which they had so notably helped to create. The crimes for which the Jews of Europe indict the National Socialist Party and the Germans who accepted the Party's leadership, are no greater than they would be if the Jews had been an insignificant and inefficient part of the European population. But in morals, if not in law, these crimes become the more atrocious because the Jews played so real a part in bringing into existence the world which the Nazis conspired to destroy.

The exact statistics will not be available for some time. But it is unlikely that the present estimates will be far wrong. Of seven million Jews who lived in Europe outside the Soviet Union in 1933, or were born between 1933 and 1945, approximately six million have been killed by the Nazis or their satellite governments. Of those that are left, the great majority, except the Russian

Jews, have been ousted from their ancestral homes. Most of them are today classified as "displaced persons," forming a part of Europe's futureless, floating population. Others have been driven to the four corners of the earth where, despite hospitality and kindness, the older among them must remain unadjusted strangers for the rest of their lives. And on nearly all the survivors, the experience of the horrors through which they have gone has left indelible traces on their bodies and minds.

All this the Germans—we must speak of Germans as a whole and not purely of the Nazis—did wantonly and deliberately. When we speak of Hitler's "War against the Jews," we are using a figure of speech. It was a war against unarmed men, against women and children, carried on by an army of many millions of highly expert soldiers using all the destructive techniques of modern military science known at the time. That is not war. That is murder.

Fundamentally, then, the indictment of Nazi-Germans is that they willfully and without provocation, "of their malice aforethought," attempted the murder of a whole people and in pursuance of this design did actually murder millions of individuals. Only the military defeat of the Germans at the hands of the Allied Nations prevented the complete effectuation of their purpose, which was nothing more nor less than annihilation.

It is hard to realize what this means. For modern times and under conditions of civilized living the crime itself is unprecedented. Accounts have reached us from Africa of the complete extermination of one tribe by another more powerful tribe. But this was exceedingly rare and was regarded by native standards as an exceptionally ferocious treatment of a conquered foe. And at all times, the numbers involved were small. The massacre at Henna during the Punic War, the massacre at Glencoe in the eighteenth century have been monuments of infamy in history; yet they affected only a few hundred persons, and could be passed over as temporary outbursts of savagery during military operations.

The plan to exterminate a whole people numbering millions, to do so not as an act of war, but as part of an effort wholly unconnected with war, to wipe out systematically a group of human beings with whom the murderers had been living in close association and from whose association they had derived substantial ad-

vantages—such a plan was unknown in history up to the attempted extermination of the Jews.

The documents here collected pile proof upon proof that this extermination was part of a completely thought-out plan which in accordance with the doctrines so unmistakably stated in *Mein Kampf* took on an especially attractive form for the Nazi mentality by the very reason of its monstrosity. The cries of *Juda Verrecke!* and the song *Wenn das Judenblut vom Messer Spritzt*, would be, on the lips of other peoples, merely the howls of an angry mob. In this case, it is shown to be the mechanically whipped up agitation which translated into mob terms the coldly formulated directives of a large strategy of murder. The Jews were to be removed from German soil, they were to be eliminated. The Jewish people was to be abolished.

To have conceived this monstrous notion would be a damning offense in itself. To have conceived it and taken so many steps toward realizing it, is the first and most overwhelming count in the indictment drawn against the Germans under Nazi leadership.

Crimes, we know, have their degrees. And in most cases these degrees depend upon the means used in committing them. That, at any rate, is the popular, if not the legal view of the matter. Extermination of a group can be carried out in various ways. The most simple and direct is massacre. To sack a city and cut down every man, woman and child found in it is an effective way of ending the group within the city. Nor have the Nazis disdained this crudest of methods of eliminating their victims. Carefully engineered pogroms, like those that took place after the shooting of vom Rath, gave a chance to satisfy the blood-lust of trained human butchers, and to get rid of some thousands of Jews.

The number indicates the limitation on the method of massacre. The inhabitants of a city can be "put to the sword." A population of seven millions scattered over a continent cannot be so simply disposed of. The Nazis had the advantage of technically and scientifically trained experts who in this case as in so many others, showed little disinclination to be harnessed for purposes of inhumanity. There were better ways, they found, of killing men than by cutting their throats. That was too slow.

The evidence of the concentration camps, here painfully put to-

gether, is the substance of an indictment that is based not merely on the fact of murder but on the methods used. Men and women were shipped off in droves like cattle, to be asphyxiated. The horror of these crimes lies not merely in the mass murder itself. It is in the revelation of the minds of those who could plan it.

It was openly declared that these huge gas chambers were devised to expedite what seemed to be too slow a method, the method of massacre by knife or bullet. It is unfortunately all too easy to understand the impulse that creates a pogrom. Those who take part assume the aspect of wild beasts that attack human beings. But the perpetrators of mass murder by gas were directed by men in the robes of scientists. They acted with the imperturbability of men engaged in laboratory experiments. And in fact they did conduct laboratory experiments on their human victims whom they thereby degraded to the rank of an inferior order of life. The Jews were treated not as if they were wolves, but as if they were guinea pigs, to be used and discarded as carrion.

No crime against humanity, formerly known, quite reaches this depth of loathsomeness. To exhibit such contempt of one's fellow men would justify any retaliatory punishment, since it is apparent that no minority can live safely in the company of those who deny them the status of human beings. The cruelties practised on slaves in ancient and modern times did not quite attain this level.

But there were other ways than pogroms and mass asphyxiation to accomplish the criminal purpose of the Nazis. The second method, that of mass asphyxiation in horror camps, had the merit of expeditiousness, but it involved definitely organized action. It seemed cheaper to use a third method and eliminate the Jews by starvation.

Starvation is slow, but once the Jews were concentrated in camps in Eastern Europe, the Nazis in the flush of their early victories assumed that they were in no hurry. Starvation needed no organization and required nothing more than the policing of the camps, which was part of routine government to the Nazis. Starvation was cheap, and its attractive feature to Nazis was it could be watched—with sadistic satisfaction.

The Nazis believed they had time, but the method of starvation would work effectively to carry out the purpose of elimination,

even if, as finally turned out to be the case, the Nazis were driven from power before all their victims died. The relatively few survivors were certain to be so weakened that they could hardly hope to live a normal life again. If they did not ultimately succumb to the years of insufficient food, they became so susceptible to disease that it could reasonably be expected that the post-war conditions would carry on what the camps had begun.

And once again, our indictment can charge, and our documents prove, that this was not merely the casual result of war conditions, but a deliberate policy. The Nazis worked out a schedule of under-feeding for Jews which was certain both to result fatally and to prolong a slow sinking to death. A regime which allows five to seven hundred calories per day to a grown man gives him only half the minimum necessary to support life. The Jews often received less.

It was a refinement of Nazi torture that parents could see their children waste away before their eyes, as well as await their own inevitable doom. Nothing was omitted which would make this third method of elimination work toward the end which was the announced goal of Nazi policy.

The indictment which charges the Germans with deliberate, organized, willful mass murder of hundreds of thousands of their fellow citizens and millions of their fellow men, which charges them with wanton and sadistic cruelty in carrying out these murders, which charges them with the further brutality of planning the slow starvation of these additional thousands whom the process of decimation left alive, does not conclude with these charges. There is the additional fact that the Nazis deliberately organized a system designed to degrade the Jews who could not be murdered or starved, into the position of a pariah group, living a precarious life at the edges of the civic organization of the countries to which they belonged and subject to daily outrage and abuse without legal redress.

The Jews of Germany and the Eastern and Central European states who had helped create the civilization which the Germans boastfully claimed for their own, were deprived of their membership in the community. A series of measures were issued placing them in the lowest of classes. They were to have no access to

normal ways of living, no opportunities of education or training, no freedom of movement in the streets or public places, no property or possessions, except the bare minimum of subsistence. They were required to wear a badge which was treated like a mark of Cain. They had to submit to abuse and vilification in the street and were not to be heard to complain.

The purpose of these regulations was humiliation. It was not even that of forcing the Jews into the less esteemed functions, such as those assigned to the Untouchables of India. The Jews were to have no functions at all, but to live on in the countries the Germans had occupied, as helpless inferiors whose small numbers made successful rebellion impossible and who could not look to outsiders for intervention or help.

All this was consciously directed to lowering the self-respect of the Jews and thereby implanting in them the attitude and morality often found in enslaved and outcast groups and particularly likely to be exhibited in children brought up under those conditions. The attitude toward human beings that exhibited itself in the indiscriminate slaughter and torture could be ascribed to pure ferocity, but to lay systematic plans for degrading a people is an example of an arrogant contempt for fundamental human rights that has, to the credit of humanity, been hitherto unprecedented.

The charge against the Nazis in this respect is not based merely on wrongs inflicted on the Jews. It has been correctly said that the greatest harm of a slave society is that which is done to the masters. The Nazis have attempted to raise up a generation of young people in a social attitude which encourages the disregard of their fellow men. The abominable and lying school books put into the hands of Nazi children are more than sufficient evidence of this, if we did not have even more specific testimony in the formal and accepted theories of Nazi education.

The preposterous racial doctrines which are thus inculcated in the new generation of Germans would merely be another example of nationalist folly, if they were not given a special character and color by the continual reference to the presence of Jews on whom the children of the master race can vent their savagery and do so with impunity. Children need little incitement to attack the weak, and to make it clear to the entire younger generation that they

have no duties toward members of a group declared to be inferior, degrades the aggressors morally even more than it degrades their victims.

In view of all these counts in our indictment which, if charged against individuals, would be capital crimes, it seems an anticlimax to charge the Nazis with those offenses against the Jews which consist in robbing them of their property and driving them from their homes. Yet these too are treated in international law as fundamental wrongs. Confiscation of property and expulsion of people, if these acts have no military purpose, are serious offenses, even if practised by an invading army in conquered territory. The Jews who had so considerably aided the German state—twice in one generation a menace to world peace—were reduced to beggary, and the few who escaped were compelled to live the lives of exiles in distant countries among peoples of alien speech and custom.

This was all part of the Nazi plan. It was, of course, outside their reckoning that some countries like the United States, Palestine, the British Commonwealth and many of the American Republics were willing to receive the exiles and give them the opportunity of a new life under the auspices of liberty and equality. But at best only a few could be so received. After the outbreak of war, large numbers of refugees from Eastern Europe found a haven in the Soviet Union.

It is on the basis of these charges that the Jews arraign the Nazis and the Germans who followed them. The charges can be proved to the hilt. It rests with the civilized world to decide what punishment is to be meted to those convicted of these crimes. Unless punishment is inflicted, unless the social conditions are created which will prevent the recurrence of fascism anywhere, we cannot hope to make life and civilization safe in the new world which we hope to build and which final victory ushers in.

Conspiracy

FORMULA FOR CONQUEST

THE GERMAN FASCISTS PLOTTED THE DESTRUCTION OF THE JEWS as an integral part of their program to enslave the world. From the very outset of their bloody adventure, the Nazis schemed to tear up the roots of German and world Jewry. They began with anti-Semitic street demonstrations; they proceeded to smash the economic and cultural bases of modern Jewish existence, and they rapidly moved to the planned conclusion of their conspiracy—mass murder! Every Nazi thought and deed led inexorably to the gas chambers of Treblinka.

Anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany cannot be understood merely as a spontaneous expression of a people gone mad. Nobody will deny that it was preached and practised with pathological frenzy. The civilized world has witnessed with horror the maniacal fury which gripped unreasoning millions. But the real horror lies in the cold-blooded deliberation with which the fascists set out to murder their victims. This warfare against the Jews was a calculated strategy, a carefully organized plan worked out in minute detail by the Nazis. It was not an incidental feature of German fascism. It was a basic element of Nazi dynamics.

What was the goal foreseen by those who reshaped the ancient weapon of anti-Semitism into its efficient, streamlined twentieth-century form? What purpose lay behind the perverse lies, pornographic slanders, social exclusions, economic boycotts, ghetto segregations and finally mass murders?

The answer as we shall see is many-sided, for anti-Semitism was closely bound up with every aspect of Nazi propaganda and aggression. It was a weapon of world conquest. The ultimate source of every Nazi intrigue is to be found in the German drive for world domination. And the General Staff, the Junkers, the industrialists—the entire National Socialist apparatus—seized upon

anti-Semitism as an indispensable instrument for its achievement.

The Nazis needed to conceal their real purpose, and the anti-Semitic campaign furnished them with a smokescreen. From the outset the fascists accused the Jews of the very crimes they themselves were perpetrating. Thus, for twenty-five years the Nazis accused the Jews of plotting to rule the world. But the world today can see that this fantastic accusation was raised in order to blind humanity to the Nazis' scheme for global conquest. While the Nazis ranted against "the Jewish dream of world supremacy," they taught their own youth to sing, "Today Germany is ours, tomorrow the world." German attacks on the alleged Jewish conspiracy cloaked the most insidious and gigantic conspiracy of all time.

At the same time, anti-Semitism served a useful purpose in the Nazis' racial crusade against "inferior peoples," as a basis for world domination. The Germans asserted that the Jews, being "non-Aryan," were not entitled to the rights and privileges of the stronger and more gifted race. But we know today that in applying their "racial science" to the Jews, the Nazis were actually driving a wedge between the Germans and all other peoples, whether "Aryan" or "non-Aryan." In their racist persecution of the Jews, the fascists introduced a principle which they soon extended to a world scale. The assault on the Jews foreshadowed the attack on the "racially inferior" Poles, the "hybrid" Russians, the "negro" French, the "racially polluted" Americans.

Again, anti-Semitism was a tool of the Nazi policy of divide and conquer. A world-wide propaganda network, with its center in Berlin, attempted to foment agitation against the Jews throughout the world. One purpose of this agitation was to disrupt the unity of nations scheduled for attack by Germany. Another purpose was to focus the attention of these nations on "the Jewish peril" in order to turn their eyes away from the real danger, German aggression. The Nazis regarded anti-Semitism as an efficient technique for deceiving and demoralizing their intended victims.

The war against Jewry and Judaism also served as the spearhead of the Nazi crusade against the Christian religion, diametrically opposed to the new gospel of the Fuehrer and the Fuehrer-State. Beginning with a vituperative attack on the Old Testament, the Nazis soon launched a crusade against the New Testament, "laden with

the filth of Near Eastern Jewish and African life."¹ They started by defiling and burning the synagogues, but before they were through they nearly dominated the churches of Germany and the occupied countries. Anti-Semitism was the strategic weapon for the attack on "Jewish-tainted Christianity."

Anti-Semitism served a definite purpose at every stage in the development of German fascism. It helped bring Hitler to power, and it helped to consolidate his power after 1933.

In order to seize and retain power, the Nazis' first problem was to mobilize mass support for themselves and to destroy all opposition. They therefore created the image of an Enemy, upon whom, like the scapegoat, the blame for all evils and abuses was poured. Then they advanced themselves as the peoples' saviour from this Enemy.

But those actually responsible for the abuses and evils were themselves in the Nazi camp. The political, industrial and military leaders who had pushed the country into the first World War were there. The generals who had lost the war were there. The bankers and the profiteers responsible for the economic ruin of the country after the war were there. The scapegoat they required must be a universal enough figure to bear the blame for all their manifold sins. These requirements seemed to be fulfilled by the Jew.

And the Jew was everywhere; he was represented in every social, cultural, political and economic group in Germany. He could be singled out and made so conspicuous by invective that finally he alone would remain in the public's mind to represent all the evils that these groups had perpetrated.

Anti-Semitism could be used to assuage the war guilt of the German people, who would be glad to learn that it was not they or their leaders who had desired the war, but the Jew. Anti-Semitism could take the sting out of their defeat when they learned that their "invincible army" had been "stabbed in the back" by him. All the ills that were making a political and economic chaos of Germany, brought on by the blunderings of inept politicians and the manipulations of selfish profiteers, could be blamed on the Jew. All these groups would be absolved, and the Jew alone would be the guilty one: the Enemy who must be fought and exterminated.

Now that all enemies had been united into one Enemy, each indi-

The nationalism of all classes was appealed to in demanding a "union of all Germans by the right of self-determination into one great Germany" (point 1). Self-determination was an ideal that Wilson had made popular, but the Nazis did not use the term in the Wilsonian sense, inasmuch as they held the Scandinavians, the Dutch and—at times—even the English to be Germans and their countries a part of Greater Germany.

Of the twenty-five points, seven were aimed at the Jews, either explicitly or implicitly.

They read:

4. Only those who are our countrymen shall be citizens of our State. Only those who are of German blood can be considered our countrymen, regardless of creed. Hence no Jew can be regarded as a fellow countryman.

5. Those who are not citizens of the State must live in Germany as foreigners and must be subject to the law of aliens.

6. The right to choose the government and determine the laws of the State shall be the privilege only of the citizens. We therefore demand that no public office . . . shall be held by any but a citizen of the State.

7. We demand that the State shall undertake to ensure that every citizen has a fair chance of living decently and of earning his livelihood. If it proves impossible to provide food for the whole population, then aliens (non-citizens) must be expelled from the State.

8. Any further immigration of non-Germans must be prevented. We demand that all non-Germans who have come into Germany since August 2, 1914, shall be forced to leave the realm immediately.

23. We demand that legal action be taken against those who propagate what they know to be political lies and disseminate them by means of the Press. In order to make possible the creation of a German Press we demand that:

a. All editors and their assistants on newspapers published in the German language shall be German citizens.

b. Non-Germans shall require the express assent of the State

to publication. They may not publish in the German language.

c. Non-Germans shall be forbidden by law to have any financial interests in, or in any way to influence, German newspapers . . .

24. We demand freedom for all religious creeds in the State, in so far as they do not endanger its existence or offend against the moral or ethical sense of the German race.

In as far as the twenty-five points held out glittering promises to the working and the middle classes they were a sham. The small shopkeepers were not the ones who profited by the seizure of the Jewish-owned department stores; no land was taken from the great landowners and distributed among the peasantry; bankers still acquired income without work, and no profits of large industries were made except by those who had always received them.

But the threats to the Jews contained in the anti-Semitic points—threats aimed at their expulsion from the economic life of Germany—were not only fulfilled, but exceeded.

Once the army, industry and the Junkers had established the Nazis as the salesmen for their program, they swung into action. An efficient propaganda machine for shaping the thoughts and swaying the emotions of the masses was built up. Those who remained dubious about the beauties of National Socialism could be shown that it would butter their bread. Those who still hesitated might be brought into line by threats. Outright terrorism turned the more obdurate ones into exiles or corpses.

The crumbling façade of the Weimar Republic was serving its purpose: it lulled the liberals inside Germany and made friends among the democracies outside. Behind this façade rearmament was going on. The army, limited by the Treaty of Versailles to a mere 100,000 for a term of twelve years, was able to give military training to all young German men through the simple device of making one name and enrollment do for thirty! The great German-controlled cartels spread and penetrated, and by means of patent pools hampered the productive capacities of Germany's potential enemies. The heads of these cartels pumped money into

the Nazi Party against the day when the mask of democracy could be dropped, when something stronger than the Weimar Republic would be needed to impress the world.

Fritz Thyssen, with Krupp, Papen, Stinnes, Siemens, Hugenberg and Schacht, was representative of the industrialists who financed the Nazi Party. This old friend of Hitler's admirer, Ludendorff, tells of his connections with the men behind the Nazi movement in its early days. In his book, *I Paid Hitler*, he says that Ludendorff considered that there was but one hope for the generals and the industrialists, "'and this hope is embodied in the national groups which desire our recovery.' He recommended to me . . . above all the National Socialist Party of Adolf Hitler." Thyssen's donations to the Nazis began soon after he had attended several public meetings organized by Hitler. "It was then that I realized his oratorical gifts and his ability to lead the masses," he states.³ Thyssen made gifts and received promises. "Everything was to be done as I and my friends had proposed," he writes later.⁴ That some of the industrialists, Thyssen included, did not receive all they wanted, was no fault of theirs. What these men wanted was a state of peace that would pave the way for a new war of world conquest. In peace even more than in war there must be no interruption, no remission, no retreat. "The final decision of war is not to be regarded as absolute," Clausewitz wrote in *Vom Kriege* in 1832. "The conquered nation sees it only as a passing phase, to be repaired at a later time by political combination."⁵

The industrialists had their organization. Alfred Hugenberg, one of Germany's richest men and a member of the board of directors of Krupp's, had many years before founded the Pan-German Association. He and the Association had helped to finance World War I, and they were quite ready to gamble their money again in another war for world domination. Hugenberg controlled a chain of newspapers and news services which, with large sums of money, were put at the militarists' service. The Association was able to have its doctrines taught in the universities, and promulgated by scientists and men of letters. It worked actively for naval and colonial expansion. Its influence reached high places and its foreign branches spread the message of pan-Germanism all over the world. Its publicists, philosophers and scientists abroad preached to their

fellow Germans that they, the German people, alone were fitted by nature to rule the world, a doctrine that included traditional Junker anti-Semitism.

The General Staff, too, had its organization—one of terrorism.

When the Treaty of Versailles was signed, the German General Staff had revived the ancient secret order of the *Fehme*, an organization whose purpose was political assassination. Among the victims were such leading figures as Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Kurt Eisner, Matthias Erzberger and Walter Rathenau. Altogether, more than 300 persons of varying degrees of prominence who opposed the General Staff, Junkers and industrialists were done away with by the *Fehme*. By no coincidence Hitler, in his speeches, had forecast the end of many of these people when he vociferously demanded that they be hanged.

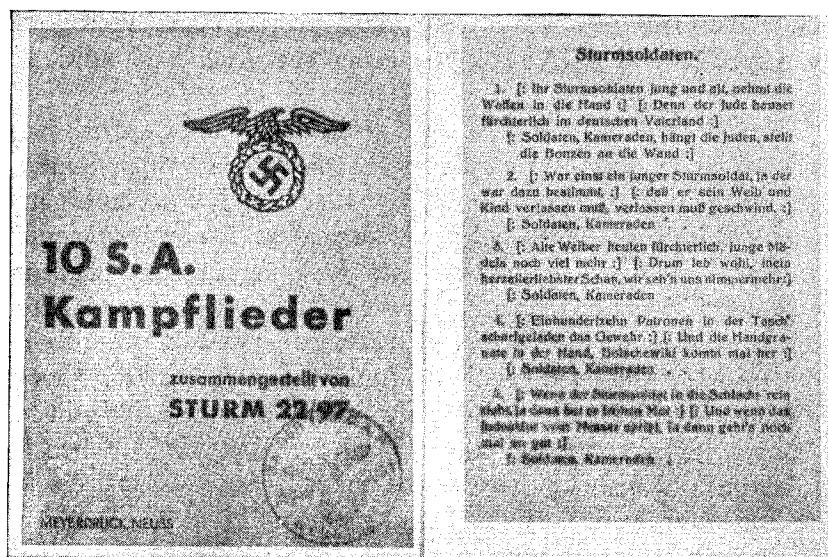
Fehme murders went unpunished. If the culprit were discovered and brought to trial, which was wholly unlikely, no conviction could be secured in the courts. Officers of the Reichswehr could commit murder with impunity as long as their victims were liberals, radicals, Catholics or Jews. The courts refused to interfere with the extermination of those who told the truth about Germany's war guilt, and who endeavored in various ways to thwart the resurgence of militarism.

Munich became the focal point for military and monarchist reaction and terror. After World War I, Bavaria was a center of political unrest and turbulence; it was the scene of a secessionist movement and of the short-lived Communist Republic. The tie with the central government in Berlin was virtually non-existent. Berlin, where ministries rose and fell, was despised and its authority disregarded. The economic situation was rapidly deteriorating. The struggles between the Right and Left were reflected in turbulent meetings and in frequent street brawls.

Munich became the great center of anti-Semitism.

In the streets of Munich, Jews were being attacked, and they were refused police protection.

The Nazi Party, spreading in numbers and power, shrieked its "*Deutschland Erwache!*" and "*Juda Verreck!*" In the streets, the Brown Shirts were singing:



When the storm trooper leaves for the field
Then he is of good cheer, you can tell

When Jewish blood spurts from his knife
Then things go twice as well!

and

So stand the storm columns
Ready for the racial battle.
Not till the Jews bleed,
Not till then will we be freed.

The tension of those days is revealed in this excerpt from the pages of the liberal *Berliner Tageblatt* of November 7, 1923:

... The seed which they have sown, without any opposition from the German national press, is sprouting. Anti-Semitic propaganda has joined forces with the lowest instincts of the gutter mob and has caused scenes which cast into the shade many a happening in Czarist Russia. Not only have Jewish shops been plundered and Jews sought out in their homes, but some of them have had their clothes torn from their backs and have been chased naked through the streets, while a jeering mob ran after them and beat them. Even today we do not get the impression from the reports and

comments in the press of the Right that they understand what sort of an impression *Kultur* scenes of this sort must create at home and abroad . . . Food shortages have been misused by paid agitators to achieve political ends through anti-Semitic propaganda.

Such was the situation in Berlin. The same issue of the *Tageblatt* quotes a letter from Nuremberg:

The agitation against Jews here in Nuremberg is indescribable. Nobody pays visits anymore in the evening: it would be quite impossible for us to go and visit father, even if we were to take the street car. Saturday night, placards were posted on all the kiosks to the effect that Jewish blood must flow. Everyone who does anything toward this end, not only goes unpunished, but is rewarded for his service to the Fatherland. Kahr (Premier of Bavaria) stands for it, and so does the present Police Commissioner. The police have been instructed not to show themselves when attacks are made.

As we shall see, anti-Semitism helped the Nazis to power step by step in Germany. When they attained power, it helped to entrench them more firmly, for there were other than psychological uses for anti-Semitism. There were material uses to which it could be put in a nation where the world depression had resulted in the unemployment of seven million workers. It could provide jobs for a few, and give hope to many. Jewish property was cut up and divided among the faithful to make them all the more faithful. After 1933 anti-Semitism paid off well in spoils and patronage.

THE WORLD PLOT

The Nazis charged that the Jews were plotting to seize world power. On this fantastic premise, "Aryan" mankind was committed to an unremitting struggle for survival against extermination. Germans were to be either victors or victims; lords or slaves, or dead. But citing the "Jewish world plot," the Nazis provided themselves with the excuse and the moral sanction for their mass murders, and indeed demonstrated that it was their duty in ac-

cordance with the "Eternal Will" that they should enslave or exterminate all that was not "Aryan."⁶

In the days when he was Munich's chief rabble-rouser, Hitler said (April 12, 1922), "They (those who fail to heed his warnings) have never yet understood that it is not necessary to be an enemy of the Jew for him to drag you to the scaffold. They do not see that it is quite enough to have a head on your shoulders, and not to be a Jew: that will secure the scaffold for you."⁷ Later in the same speech he says that "there are only two possibilities: either victory of the Aryan, or annihilation of the Aryan and victory of the Jew."⁸

Regarding the latter possibility he writes in *Mein Kampf*: "If the Jew conquers the nations of this world, his crown will become the funeral wreath of humanity, and once again this planet, empty of mankind, will move through the ether as it did millions of years ago."⁹

"What are the Jewish aims?" he asks in a speech made in 1923, and answers himself thus: "To spread their invisible State as a supreme tyranny over all the other States in the whole world."¹⁰

Nazi Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels, in his Nuremberg speech of September 10, 1936, declared that the Jews "aim at destroying the civilized nations of Europe and at founding a Jewish international world regime that would subject all nations to their power."¹¹

Alfred Rosenberg, in his *Myth of the Twentieth Century*, says that the Jew went out "not to conquer like a hero, but to make the world tributary to him."

It is repeated over and over again, in their speeches, in their books and in their press: there is a Jewish plot to overthrow mankind and to rule the world. This is a leitmotif in the thunderous outpourings of Nazi pseudo-science, falsified history and tortured logic.

If there were no "Jewish world plot," it would have had to be invented. But one already had been invented. The Nazis had only to improve on it.

The Nazis had only to make use of the *Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion*, a document with a very curious history, purporting

to be the plan for the establishment of a Jewish world state. The *Protocols* started its history in France during the reign of Napoleon III, as a satirical dialogue in hell between Machiavelli and Montesquieu, directed against the regime by an obscure journalist named Jolly. Jolly's dialogue made no mention of Jews or a Jewish world state, but was a study of the mechanics of power and dictatorship. It was forgotten for several decades. Later it was combined by the Czarist police with a novel called *Biarritz*, written in 1868, by a German named Goedsche, about rabbis who conspired in the Chaldaean language in a cemetery to seize control of the world. In its final form the *Protocols* was published and advanced as an authentic document in Russia in 1903, at the behest of the pogromizing *Okhrana*. In a libel suit brought by the Jews of Switzerland against the leader of the Swiss National Socialists in 1934 for circulating the *Protocols*, the defense was unable to advance the slightest evidence for their authenticity. The Berne court found them a plagiarism of Jolly's work, "ridiculous nonsense" and "improper literature." The Jews of Switzerland won their case.

For the Nazis' purpose the *Protocols* had to be authentic. That they were labeled a forgery by anti-Nazis, was used by Hitler as proof of their genuineness. "They are supposed to be a forgery," the *Frankfurter Zeitung* moans and cries out to the world once a week: the best proof that they are genuine after all,"¹² he argues in *Mein Kampf*. They were not forgeries to Hitler because the then anti-Nazi *Frankfurter Zeitung* said they were: it is an excellent example of his logic.

Like the world plot itself, the method of exploiting it was also lying ready—the old anti-Semitism latent in German thought. But that too had to be given a new slant; it had to be turned from a merely negative attitude of mind into an active force of destruction.

Gottfried Feder, who had been one of Hitler's earliest adherents, and indeed one of his mentors, was commissioned by his Fuehrer soon after the Nazi accession to power to write a series of pamphlets. In 1934, under the title of *Hitler's Official Program*, he explained the necessity for anti-Semitism.

Anti-Semitism is in a sense the emotional foundation of our movement. Every National Socialist is an anti-Semite. But anti-Semitism as hitherto understood was not sufficient. It is purely negative; the anti-Semite recognized the carrier of the national plague germ . . . the anti-Semite does not worry his head about "How?" and "What next?"

National Socialism knows that this greater struggle in history must not stop short at merely negative anti-Semitic demands, which is why the whole political and economic program of National Socialism goes far beyond the theoretical or negative anti-Semitic campaign.

"Negative" anti-Semitism, Feder pointed out, could never cope with a world plot. It was based on confessional differences and its results were unlikely to go beyond discrimination and segregation. It lacked a dynamic; there was no "How," no method to it; no "What next," no program. Twentieth-century Europeans are not very likely to want to slaughter their fellow men because their forms of worship are different. Other reasons must be advanced to arouse them.

So the Nazis took up the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, and all the odds and ends of literary, philosophical and pseudo-scientific anti-Semitism, and created from them the picture of the Enemy as bent on world conquest.

Shortly after the Nazis came into power, the *New York Evening Post*, on August 10, 1933, carried the following story:

Berlin Jews have suffered a revival of their fears recently with the discovery that it is perfectly legal to propagandize in the streets of Berlin for the wholesale murder of all members of the Jewish race . . .

Street hawkers are selling thousands of copies of a booklet named the *International Pest* by the Russian refugee Marianne Obuchow.

The following quotation is taken from page 22: "There are two kinds of anti-Semitism, the higher and the lower. The first is intellectual, human, a palliative.

"There is, however, another anti-Semitism, which means that the Jews are slain by the Gentiles, who have come to the end of their endurance. This anti-Semitism is terrible, but the results are beneficial. It solves the Jewish problem by destroying all Jews."

The White Russian's "two kinds" of anti-Semitism are the same as those noted some ten years before by both Feder and Hitler.

The same answer is made to the following comprehensive list of queries: Who alone is guilty of all the crimes committed against humanity in the last two thousand years? Who has been undermining the authority of the state for the last two thousand years? Who has employed Socialism and Communism to create hatred and disunity in the working classes?

"This line-up of misdemeanors," continues the *Post*, "is followed by Marianne Obuchow's exposition of her main theme, which is the Jewish plot to destroy all other peoples, and it is therefore the duty of Germany to destroy the Jew."

That Jews could be found in diverse and contending political and economic groups, would hardly prove that they were bent on world domination, but merely that they were as much divided as Germany's non-Jewish citizens, and that they too were pursuing their interests as members of a group or a class, or even as isolated individuals. But the Nazis insisted it only looked that way; that underneath appearances of disunity they pursued their goal united, the goal of world domination. Hitler explained how it was done:

The master stroke of the Jew was to claim leadership of the Fourth Estate: he founded the movement of both the Social Democrats and the Communists . . . Amongst the parties of the Right he . . . encouraged the passion for money and unscrupulous methods of trade. And the Jew attacked the parties of the Right through the blood of their members: systematically he bastardized them. More and more Jews have wormed their way into the upper classes: it was from the Jews that the latter took their wives. The result was that in a short time it was precisely the ruling class which became estranged from its own people.

And this fact gave the Jew his opportunity with the parties of the Left. Here he played the part of the demagogue. Two means enabled him to drive away in disgust the whole intelligentsia of the nation from the leadership of the workers. First, his international attitude . . . The second instrument was the Marxist theory . . . The Jew succeeded in isolating the workers from all the nationalist elements. And through the press he was able to so influence the masses that he persuaded those of the Right that

the faults of the Left were the faults of the German workman, and those of the Left that the faults of the Right were the faults of the so-called "bourgeois," and neither side noticed that on both sides the faults were the result of a scheme planned by alien, devilish agitators.

And one can see how wonderfully the stock exchange Jew and the leader of the workers . . . both pursue one common policy and single aim. Moses Kohn on the one hand encourages his association to refuse the workers' demands, while his brother Isaac in the factory incites the masses and shouts, "Look at them! They only want to oppress you! Shake off your fetters!" His brother takes care that the fetters are well and truly forged.¹³

Hitler thus took the division of society into workers and capitalists that existed the world over and laid it to Jewish machinations. He also says concerning the Jew in finance:

And if we ask who is responsible for our misfortune, then we must inquire who profited by our collapse. And the answer to that question is that banks and stock exchanges are more flourishing than ever before . . . Christian capitalism is already as good as destroyed, the international Jewish stock exchange gains in proportion as the other loses ground. It is only the international stock exchange and loan-capital, the so-called supra-state capital, which has profited from the collapse of German finance. International stock exchange capital would be unthinkable, without its founders, the supra-national, because intensely national, Jews.

But the world has since seen that it was German capitalism and cartels under Nazism that became "supra-state," and that it was these very people who profited from Germany's economic collapse.

Hitler's kind words about the unions were equally fraudulent:

"With the help of the union, which could be a blessing to the nation, the Jew actually wrecks the foundations of national economy."¹⁴

What the Nazis really thought of these unions "which could be a blessing to the nation," is revealed by what they did to them. Goebbels in his diary, called *My Part in Germany's Fight*, makes this simple entry for May Day, 1933:

"Tomorrow we shall seize the houses of the Trade Unions."

The trade unions were broken up, and German labor was forced into the strait-jacket—with one hand left free to give the Nazi salute—of Dr. Ley's Labor Front. It was a priceless victory for the Krupps, the Thyssens, the Hugenburgs and the rest of the industrialists. They would not again be hampered by the demands of free labor.

The same fiction of Jewish world domination was used by the Nazis to capture power on a national scale. The Weimar Republic by Hitler's say-so was a Jewish Republic, another aspect of the Jewish plot. Therefore it must be overthrown.

"We were given a Free State which never deserved the name of 'free.' They call it a 'People's State.' But do you think that bankers can form a government which benefits a 'People's State?' No, it is the Jews' paradise."¹⁵ Such statements gave Nazi sympathizers carte blanche for an attack on the Weimar Republic.

The Weimar Republic, Germany's financial debacle, the World War, the loss of the war by Germany and the rise of Communism were all ascribed to the Jews, with the real culprits hiding behind a smokescreen of anti-Semitism. As for Communism and the Soviet Union, they were made another aspect of the Enemy, the Jew, for use not only in Germany but beyond its borders.

National Socialism's greatest bid for world approval and collaboration was made on the grounds of its being the one force that took a militant stand against Communism in general, and Russian Bolshevism in particular. After the Nazis came to power, Paul Joseph Goebbels became even more hysterically eloquent on that theme than Hitler himself had been. Their need for this "Jewish-Bolshevik world plot" was now even more pressing. It had served its purpose well inside Germany; perhaps it could do as much for them outside their borders.

David Lloyd George delivered a speech at Yarmouth on September 22, 1933, in which he implored the British Government not to bully Germany, no matter how bad the excesses of the Nazi regime might be. He feared that the result of such "bullying" would be a Communist revolution in Germany. To judge from Lloyd George's reaction, it was obvious that the Nazis could make

friends and gain support from many sources if they advertised themselves as the implacable foe of that particular devil.

In the House of Commons on November 28, 1934, Lloyd George said that "in a very short time, perhaps a year or two, the Conservative elements in this country will be looking to Germany as the bulwark against Communism in Europe. She is planted right in the center of Europe, and if Germany is seized by the Communists, Europe will follow . . . So let us not be in a hurry to condemn Germany. We shall be welcoming Germany as our friend."¹⁶

Lord Lothian in the House of Lords on May 1, 1935, said: "Germany must be given a position appropriate to a nation which would normally be regarded as the most powerful single state in Europe."¹⁷

And Lord Rothermere wrote in his *Daily Mail* on November 28, 1933, "The sturdy young Nazis of Germany are Europe's guardians against the Communist danger . . . Germany must have elbow room. Once Germany has acquired the additional territory she needs in Western Russia, the problem of the Polish Corridor could be settled without difficulty . . . Germany's need for expansion would be satisfied, and that growing menace . . . would be removed forever."¹⁸

The Nazi's Bolshevik bogey was succeeding; appeasement was born long before Munich.

There is very little difference between these statements and that of Oswald Mosley, leader of the British fascist party, when he stated in the *Sunday Dispatch* on January 13, 1935: "The future of Germany must lie on her Eastern frontier in an empire to which the future sets no limits."

Thus practically from the very day of their accession to power, invoking the threat of "Jewish Communism" had paid international dividends. As their attacks on capitalism grew feebler, their attacks on Communism grew stronger.

Goebbels, echoing Hitler, in a speech delivered at the Nuremberg Party Congress in 1935, and later reprinted as a pamphlet under the title of *Communism with the Mask Off*, says, after asserting that Russia is completely run by Jews, which has resulted in famine and slavery, that:

This account points to a state of affairs which is so terrible and revolting . . . that it must shock the average civilized human being. This gospel of "the emancipation of the proletariat from the yoke of capitalism" is the worst and most brutal kind of capitalism that can be imagined. It has been thought out, set afoot and led under the inspiration of the Mammon worship and materialist thought which is incarnated in international Jewry, scattered through every country of the globe. It is nothing less than a mammoth system for the expropriation and despoiling of the Aryan ruling classes in all nations, and the substitution of the Jewish underworld in their place.

Bolshevism another face of world capitalism!

It must be met with the same ruthless and even brutal means with which it strives to usurp power or hold power in its hands . . . Here there can be no bargaining.

A year later, on the same occasion, Goebbels in a speech which was also reprinted as the pamphlet, *Bolshevism in Theory and Practice*, expounds that:

It (Bolshevism) is nothing but a pathological and criminal kind of madness, devised by Jews who aim at destroying the civilized nations of Europe and at founding a Jewish international world regime that would subject all nations to their power . . .

Jewish Bolshevism is a past master in the manipulation of lies. Decent and truthful people are so stunned by this method that they are incapable of offering inner resistance . . . They speculate on the incapacity of the average truthful person to imagine that it is even possible to lie with such bold and brazen-faced nonchalance.¹⁹

The Nazis used the art of lying as a kind of mass anesthesia. "We won't lie and we won't swindle,"²⁰ Hitler solemnly promised the world as he was about to assume power in 1933. That was their biggest lie. Others followed, presaging the pattern of conquest, from "The German Government wishes to settle all difficult questions . . . by peaceful methods,"²¹ to "I do not wage war against women and children,"²² at the very moment when the Luftwaffe was bombing the open cities of Poland.

THE MASTER RACE

The Nazis proclaimed to the German people that as the master race, the great culture-bearers of history, they must take upon themselves the duty of ruling the world. If they could show the people that they were the natural overlords of the world, predestined by the Eternal Will—the power Hitler so frequently communed with—to rule the “lesser races,” then they would have provided themselves with a moral principle whose fulfillment was world conquest. If the means to that end were ruthless and bestial,



Official Photo from U.S. Office of War Information

LEFT: Nazi poster glorifying the super-man.
RIGHT: Super-man after surrender to American Forces.

CONSPIRACY

they were still sanctioned by their historical imperative. The enslavement or annihilation of all who were not “Aryan” was mandatory.

Ethnology knows of no “Aryan race,” Aryan being a linguistic term. Its Nazi use came from Houston Stewart Chamberlain, a naturalized German, author of *The Foundations of the Twentieth Century*, which expounded the doctrine of “Aryan superiority,” summed up in this creed: “God builds today upon the Germans alone.” Writers like Heinrich von Treitschke, whose *Handbook of the Jewish Problem* was recommended reading for Nazi soldiers at the front in World War II, Friedrich Nietzsche and General Friedrich von Bernhardi, among a host of others in the nineteenth century, had also upheld the master-race idea.

Sanctioning as it did any treatment, however brutal, that might be meted out to “racial inferiors,” the master-race idea would be put into practice through Feder’s recommendation for a “positive” anti-Semitism, an anti-Semitism based not on religious differences but on the incompatibility of “Aryan” blood with “mongrel” blood.

Hitler argues the matter thus:

The folkish view by no means believes in an equality of the races, but recognizes their superior and inferior values, and by this recognition it feels the obligation in accordance with the Eternal Will that dominates this universe to promote the victory of the better and stronger, and to demand the submission of the worse and the weaker.

The most primitive form of association for a common purpose can already be traced at the moment when man forces his supremacy upon the animals, tears them from the freedom of their former life, and builds them into his own life process without troubling himself whether his animal helper consents thereto or not.

Thus there results the subjection of a number of people under the will often of only a few persons, a subjection based simply on the right of the stronger, a right which as we see it in nature, can be regarded as the sole conceivable right because founded on reason.²³

In 1873, a year of financial crisis in Germany, the journalist Wil-

helm Marr published a pamphlet entitled *The Victory of Judaism over Germanism*. Marr accused the Jews of responsibility for the financial debacle and recommended the "racial purification" of the German people. The pamphlet raised a controversy that lasted for years. It attracted the attention of Crown Prince Frederick, who denounced the anti-Semitic agitation as a "shame and a disgrace to the German people." Eminent scholars issued a manifesto denouncing the agitation as a blot on German culture.

But in the Third Reich all voices of protest were stilled. Scientific posts were occupied by sycophants and opportunists, for science must serve the "folkish" state.

Hitler outdid his predecessors. He wrote in *Mein Kampf*: "Without the clearest recognition of the race problem and with it of the Jewish question there will be no rise of the German nation. The race question not only furnishes the key to world history, but also to human culture as a whole." ²⁴

The Nazis' chief popularizer of the doctrine of "Aryan" superiority was Alfred Rosenberg, himself a man without a country, a Baltic Russian whose "racial" strains were somewhat mixed. Rosenberg's *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*, bearing the stamp of official approval, was widely circulated in the Third Reich. The book was studied in all the upper schools in Germany.

According to Rosenberg: "A new mission arises for the future. History and the mission of the future no longer mean the struggle of class against class, the struggle of Church dogma against dogma, but the clash between people and people." ²⁵

It is clear that Rosenberg regards the racial interpretation of history as necessary to Nazi fascism because it is dynamic, expansive, and reaches its goal only when the blond blue-eyed "Aryan" beast has made the whole world his lebensraum.

Rosenberg writes: "Today there is arising a new belief, the myth of blood, the belief that through blood the divine being of man is to be defended; the belief enshrined in the clearest knowledge that Nordic blood represents the mystery which has replaced the old Sacraments." ²⁶

Quite deliberately the Nazis proceeded to rewrite all history to conform to a racist pattern that would prove German superiority.

"It is the task of the folkish State," wrote Hitler in *Mein Kampf*, "to see to it that at last world history is written in which the race question is raised to a predominant position." ²⁷

That the Nazis were utterly indifferent to truth in history was quite openly admitted in their own circles. "We don't care a hoot whether this or something else was the real truth about the pre-history of the German tribes," Rauschning records Himmler as saying in conversation. "Science proceeds from hypotheses that change every year or two. So there's no earthly reason why the Party should not lay down a particular hypothesis as the starting point, *even if it runs counter to current scientific opinion. The one and only thing that matters to us, and the thing that these people are paid for by the State, is to have ideas of history that strengthen our people in their necessary national pride.*"

"In all this troublesome business we are only interested in one thing: to project into the dim and distant past the picture of our nation as we envisage it in the future . . . *Our teaching of German origins has depended for centuries on a falsification. We are entitled to impose one at any time.* Pre-history is the doctrine of the eminence of the Germans at the dawn of history." ²⁸

All Nazi science, all Nazi history, all Nazi education was an indoctrination of the German people that they as a "superior race" were fitted to rule their "inferiors," were indeed obligated by the "Eternal Will that dominates the universe" to rule.

In their application of this theory for their purpose of world conquest, the Nazis used it to identify their prospective victims with those "lesser" peoples whom it was their intent—which they called their mission—to subjugate or to exterminate.

Fascism must overthrow democracy, and to this end the racial interpretation of history gives its sanction. Says Rosenberg, "The contemporary democratic parliamentary system means the domination of those who are inferior, of those who are of the lower races, of money and of Jews, and in the name of 'Humanity' they coined the slogan *Liberty Equality Fraternity*. These pernicious doctrines undermined German character, and thanks to 'Humanity' niggers and Jews could marry into the Nordic race and even hold high office."

"The Nordic race has a right to rule the world," Hitler told Otto Strasser in 1930, "and we must take this right as the guiding star of our foreign policy."

As for France, prospective victim, she has sinned against "race." Rosenberg, in admonition, writes in the *Myth*:

"If France were wise she would set her house in order and rid herself of Jews and Negroes and content herself with a territory proportionate with her population." From this he goes on to say that Germany could permit such a France to live *unhindered*.

"For Germany, however, the French danger means an obligation to subordinate all considerations of sentiment, and to reach out the hand to those who, threatened as much as we are, will not tolerate and bear France's drive toward domination."²⁹

At the same time, Germany's chief lebensraum, according to Nazi doctrine, lay to the East; there were wheat and oil in the Ukraine. This rich country was inhabited by Slavs.

In the *Myth* Rosenberg cried out:

"Racial honor demands territory and enough of it . . . There can be no consideration for worthless Poles, Czechs . . ."³⁰

German racism might at times pretend to be scientific, but Hitler admitted it was merely opportunistic. The Japanese, as members of the Axis, came to enjoy an equal "racial" status with their German allies, yet in 1914, Professor Werner Sombart had described them as "extremely adroit semi-monkeys. It is rather hard to accept them with proper human feelings." Certainly, had there been no Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis, the Nazis would have kept the Japanese well down at the foot of their evolutionary ladder.

In the application of this principle there was no consideration for "inferior races." Millions were to die fighting for their homes, and other millions were to die in gas chambers.

In January of 1940 when the Germans surged over Europe, looting everything from children's shoes to the masterpieces of Da Vinci, Robert Ley, Nazi manpower chief, wrote in *Der Angriff*:

"A lower race needs less room, less clothing, less food and less culture than a higher race. The Germans cannot live under the same conditions as the Poles and Jews."

In other words, Germans can rob Poles, Jews, Russians, French and Czechs of felt boots, of wool blankets, of fur coats; Germans

can deprive them of food so that Germans can eat twice as well, while the lesser breeds conveniently die off from planned starvation; Germans can drive them from the cultural professions, preempt their schoolhouses, universities and scientific institutions for the continued expansion of the master race and the simultaneous destruction of all non-German populations.

THE GOD OF BLOOD AND IRON

If the Christian churches of Germany could not give the Nazi racial theory and its corollary, anti-Semitism, their approval or their blessing, then Christianity itself would have to be overhauled. Its moral objection to anti-Semitism and its traditional obligation to Judaism must be expunged. The Sermon on the Mount does not teach that might makes right. National Socialism does. Such words as these from the New Testament might show up Dr. Rosenberg's outpourings for the shabby cant they were:

And (God) hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed and the bounds of their habitation.

(Acts XVII—26)

The New Testament also says,

Is He the God of the Jews only? Is He not also of the Gentiles? Yes of the Gentiles also:

Seeing it is one God . . .

(Romans III—29)

But the Nazis sought to destroy the beautiful ancient idea of the Universal Fatherhood of God; they could not bear to share their God with the Jews.

And incompatible with their regard for "lesser" peoples and their plans for dealing with them is the Golden Rule:

Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets.

(Matthew VII—12)

Abhorrent to the Roman Catholic Church was the Nazi doctrine of race as the source of man's salvation. In 1934, Rosenberg's *Myth of the Twentieth Century* was placed on the Index. The order stated that,

the book condemns and utterly rejects all the doctrine of the Catholic Church and the very foundation of the Christian religion. It maintains that a new religion, a German Church, must be set up, and it propounds the principle that . . . a new faith is arising, a mythical faith of blood, a faith whereby man believes that blood can best account for the divine nature of man . . . which supersedes and excels the ancient sacraments.

In rejecting the Old Testament on racial grounds, Rosenberg writes:

It is impossible for a genuine German to accept a God of the Jews. As a book of religion the Old Testament must be done away with once and for all. In this way we shall bring to an end the vain effort of the last fifteen hundred years to transform us mentally into Jews—an effort to which we owe, among other things, our present material Jewish domination.

As for the New Testament, Rosenberg announces that “the great personality of Jesus . . . was dragged down and laden with the filth of Near-Eastern Jewish and African life.”³¹

In 1933 Professor Ernst Bergmann of the University of Leipzig published *The Twenty-five Theses of the German Religion*. In this work he says:

The German of today requires a healthy and natural religion which makes him brave, pious and strong in the struggle for People and Fatherland. Such a religion is the German religion.

Christianity is indeed an unhealthy and unnatural religion which is at an end. For it arose 2,000 years ago among sick, exhausted and despairing men who had lost their belief in life.

It is the greatest nonsense that the people of Kant and Goethe should borrow its revelation from the Jews . . . For the Bible is a literary document of an alien religion . . .

There are many pious Germans who today flee from the Chris-

tian Church not only because they have to listen to talk about Zion and Salem, David's son and Abraham's seed, but because they do not find there what they understand by religion. Come then to us, German pastors, with your German feelings, who cannot find your way in this alien Jewish-Christian religion. Come with your whole congregation and help the German religion of the people to build up a German Church.

National Socialist and Christian ethics are irreconcilable contradictions.

Away from Rome and Jerusalem! Back to our native German faith in present-day form!

In this connection efforts were made by various “religious” groups in Germany to give the people a substitute faith for Christianity, such as the Nordic Faith Movement and the New Pagan Movement. A Christian nation that is determined to regress to barbarism must either completely pervert the teachings of Jesus Christ or substitute another religion. The Nazis did both: the Germans could take their choice of the new “positive” Christianity of Reich Bishop Mueller or the old worship of Wotan and Thor.

This incompatibility of the dynamics of Nazism with the teachings of Christ is frankly and lucidly explained by Rosenberg in the following passage from *Heroismus und Weltangst*, published in 1937:

The new Europe will be a continent restored to barbarism . . . Christianity can no longer help us! Its aim is to make us meek and gentle again, so that we will drop the sword as the Romans did long ago. It is our conviction that our European world will be recreated. And this time the foundation for the new Europe will be laid, not by priests and diplomats, but by pirates of destiny . . . The very apotheosis of evil belongs in our era, which no longer permits the domination of dogmas and of men of meek spirit. Now, at last, we may frankly confess that the Gospel has lost all meaning for us.

The Nordic Faith Movement and the New Pagan Movement with their Wagnerian fire ceremonies and Fuehrer worship conformed more to the spirit of National Socialism than Christianity could. The theorists of this movement endowed the Primal Cause

with a hearty approval of German world supremacy and crowned it with Wotan's bull's horns. This was the Nazi divinity.

In adapting Christianity to conform to the spirit of National Socialism, the "German-Christian" Bishop of Bremen produced a Nazified translation of the Gospel of St. John. The following passages make an interesting contrast:

Bishop Weidemann

Then they took green branches, went to meet him and cried: Heil! to him who comes in the name of God. Heil! to thee, thou shalt be our king! Jesus found a wretched ass: he mounted it and thus fulfilled the old prediction of the prophets concerning his royal entry.³²

Authorized Version

Took branches of palm trees and went forth to meet him, and cried, Hosanna: Blessed is the King of Israel that cometh in the name of the Lord.

And Jesus, when he had found a young ass, sat thereon; as it is written,

Fear not, daughter of Sion; behold, thy King cometh, sitting on an ass's colt.

Ludwig Mueller, Reich Bishop of the German Evangelical Church, created in 1933 to oppose the intransigence of the Confessional Church, presented the German people with a new version of the Sermon on the Mount. It will be enough here to quote his paraphrase of "*Blessed are the meek; for they shall inherit the earth.*" Hitler's bishop turns it into, "*Happy is he who is always a good comrade; he will make his way in the world.*"³³

It was apparent what was happening in Germany to the Christian religion; anti-Semitism had put the torch to the synagogues, and the flames were spreading to the churches.

The Nazi Commissioner of Thann stated that "a good Catholic cannot be a good National Socialist. But the officers of the Third Reich must before all things be good Nazis. Therefore, they must choose one or the other, either Jesus Christ or the Fuehrer."

The position of the Roman Catholic Church on anti-Semitism is explained by Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen in his little pamphlet called *Friends*. He says here that "our Christian faith is like a grafted branch that grows out from the roots of the Olive Tree of Israel . . . For a Catholic to be an anti-Semite is to be un-Catholic."

He goes on to say that "Pope Pius XI, commenting on the words in the Canon of the Mass—*Sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae*—said, 'Notice that Abraham is called our Patriarch, our ancestor. Anti-Semitism is incompatible with the thought and the sublime reality expressed in this text. It is a movement in which we Christians can have no part whatsoever . . . Spiritually, we are Semites!'"

The late President Roosevelt warned the world in a speech on October 27, 1941, that,

"It (Nazism) is a plan to abolish all existing religions—Protestant, Catholic, Mohammedan, Hindu, Buddhist and Jewish alike . . . The god of blood and iron will take the place of the God of love and mercy."

SCHOOL FOR SADISTS

In education the problem of the National Socialists was primarily how to *uneducate*; how to break the mold of thousands of years of European culture.

"Man," said Hitler, "is the result of an education which has lasted for hundreds and thousands of years. Today he must be formed anew."³⁴

For the purpose of National Socialism, man must indeed be formed anew. He must be "freed" from thousands of years of religion and philosophy and art. And once he has returned to the state of the ancient savage, his real education must begin. For he is to be a highly trained, efficient savage. He is to be indoctrinated, disciplined, made part of a machine age. The prehistoric savage is to be transformed into an SS guard.

"The whole function of all education is to create a Nazi," Bernhard Rust, Minister of Education, wrote in the *Voelkischer Beobachter* on February 13, 1938. As a natural corollary to this thesis, the Minister of Education warned: "A wide cultural knowledge, a broad education in various phases of learning dulls the senses; a general assortment of information weakens, does not strengthen; too much universal learning tires the mind, paralyzes the will-power and the ability to make decisions."

the American Colony School in Berlin, in his book *Education for Death*.

Dr. Ziemer describes his visit to a reading class in a Berlin school. The boys were learning a poem. It was a dramatic work of eight stanzas relating to the eternal struggle in nature between the weak and the strong. But the strong won out. It began with a lowly fly who pounced on a smaller victim and refused to grant it mercy in spite of its pleas. The stanza ended with the lines:

"Please," begged the victim, "let me go,
 "For I am such a little foe."
 "No," said the victor, "not at all,
 "For I am big and you are small."

So the fly was caught by a spider, the spider by a sparrow, the sparrow by a hawk, the hawk by a fox, the fox by a dog, the dog by a wolf and finally the wolf by a hunter. "In each case," recalls Dr. Ziemer, "the victor refused to grant mercy because he was bigger and stronger. The boys loved it.

The teacher pointed out this moral which I noted, "This struggle is a natural struggle. Life could not go on without it. That is why the Fuehrer could not go on without it. That is why the Fuehrer wants his boys to be strong, so *they can be the aggressors* and the victors, not the victims . . . Germany will be strong, the Fuehrer will make it so strong that it can go out and attack any foe the wide world over."

This is built on the foundation Hitler laid long ago: that people do not understand cooperation and democracy; they understand only relative positions, master and slave, victor and victim.

"The great masses are only a part of nature, and this feeling does not understand the mutual handshake of people who assert that they want various things. What they want is the victory of the stronger and the annihilation or the unconditional surrender of the weaker," continued the teacher."

As an example of racist teaching Dr. Ziemer describes a classroom in Hamburg:

He (the teacher) condemned the racial sins of various countries. France has weakened her nation by mingling with black colonial

troops; Russia had been contaminated with the yellow race; Czechoslovakia had committed adultery with the *Zigeuner*—Gypsies; England with the Jews.

He held up his illustrated teaching material and launched into a discussion of America's racial sins. His tool was a paper-covered pamphlet of sixty-four pages, called *The Jews in the USA* (*Zentralverlag der NSDAP*, Berlin).

This pamphlet is a collection of newspaper photographs of prominent Americans, including President Roosevelt and Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia. The photographs have been considerably retouched in order to give the appearance of caricatured "Semitic" features. A definite effort is made to fake a Jewish origin for President Roosevelt. The pamphlet draws the moral that the United States is anti-Nazi because it is dominated by Jews. The last page is a photo of a ragged beggar sleeping on the street in New York City. This accompanies it: "The USA has thirty-two million workers; of these, thirteen million are unemployed and have nothing to eat and no place to sleep. The more hunger there is in the USA the better chance for Communists—and Jews, who are the cause of it all."

The class responded with the old Party battle-cry, "*Juda Verrecke!*"

Among the most horrifying aspects of Nazi education were the children's books. Nursery rhymes, fables, songs and stories, illustrated with brightly colored pictures, many of them well designed and produced, indoctrinated school children with the required Nazi aspirations and hatreds.

In the story books, Hansel and Gretel are more blond and their eyes bluer than ever; the wicked witches and giants and big bad wolves are Jews.

The *Poisonous Mushroom* by Ernst Hiemer, illustrated by Fips and published by Julius Streicher, is a typical volume. The title story concerns a mother and her little boy who are gathering mushrooms in the forest. The child's mother tells him that some mushrooms are good to eat while others are poisonous. Just as there are good and bad mushrooms, his mother tells the little boy, so there are good and bad men. Then she asks him if he knows who the bad men are.

der große Befried'ger
der Lust eurer Töchter?
Wer sind diese Schächter,
wer sind diese Klugen?
Natürlich die Juden!
Der deutsche Michel ist ja so dumm;
der Schmock ist Trumpf, der Schmock geht um!

Er schmachtet und spendelt,
er dienet und beachtelt:
Bald zionistisch, bald patriotisch,
bald bolschewistisch, bald paneuropisch;
wie er sein Schäfchen scheren kann,
also ist er angetan.
Immer aber bleibt er Jud';
Jud' ist Jud', bleibt ewig Jud'!

Nacht er allein,
tut er beschneiden.
Kommt er zu zweien,
kaum noch zu leiden.
Ist er en gros
brutal und roh.
Stets war er der Schädlingsschwamm,
der Bazill' in unserm Stamm,
der Tuberkel unserer Lunge,
Krebbsgeschwür der deutschen Zunge!
Treibt ihn aus! Werft ihn raus!
Setzt ihn wieder weit vom Haus
in der Wüste Gobi aus!

Who is he stilling the lust of your
daughters?
Who is he committing the endless
slaughter?
Who is so clever—if not the Jew?
The German Michael learns nothing
new—

The verses are taken from *Aus Schwert und Flamme*, a song book
for German children.

"Of course I know, mother!" cries little Franz. "They are the
Jews! Our teacher has often told us about them."

Mother tells little Franz that he is very clever and goes on to
tell him about the different kinds of "poisonous Jews," that "how-
ever they disguise themselves, or however friendly they try to be,
affirming a thousand times their good intentions to us, one must not
believe them . . . For our *Volk* they are poison . . . Just as a single
poisonous mushroom can kill a whole family, so a solitary Jew can
destroy a whole village, a whole city, a whole *Volk*."

The author points the moral:

"German youth must learn to recognize the Jewish poison-

Trash triumphs—scum wins!

A smiling flunkey,
A servile sham,
Talks Zionism,
Then Patriotism,
Then Bolshevism,
Pan-Europeanism.
He always seems to change the
coat
In which profit seems most remote.
But forever he's a Jew,
Jew is Jew—always Jew.

All alone he seems quite fair,
Two of them you cannot bear.
In plurality they're full of bru-
tality.
Always a parasite,
Germ of our tribe,
Tubercle in our lung,
Cancer in our tongue.
Drive him out! Throw him out!
Drive the lout far from home—to
the Gobi desert!

mushroom. They must learn what a danger the Jew is for the Ger-
man *Volk* and for the whole world. They must learn that the
Jewish problem involves the destiny of us all.

"The following tales tell the truth about the Jewish poison-
mushroom. They show the many shapes the Jews assume. They
show the depravity and baseness of the Jewish race. They show the
Jew for what he really is: 'The devil in human form!'"

Though this is a children's book, the author does not hesitate to
make use of revolting sexual suggestions.



Reproduction from a German picture book for adults and children, entitled:
*TRAU KEINEM FUCHS AUF GRÜNER HEID' UND KEINEM JUD'
BEI SEINEM EID* (Ein Bilderbuch fuer Gross und Klein), by Elvira Bauer.

After running through a long catalogue of Jewish "sins," we
come to the last story, about the *Pimpfs*.

The *Pimpfs* of the Hitler *Jungvolk* are talking among them-
selves. One of them describes a National Socialist Party celebra-
tion in Munich: "Before the Fuehrer was carried the Blood-Flag,
which received consecration on November 9, 1923. And in front

of the Blood-Flag marched a man who, in 1923, too, was in the front and the thick of it: Julius Streicher."

Another *Pimpf* says:

"We know him all right. He is the enemy of the Jews. That is why all the Jews hate him."

Erich tells about the meeting:

"He (Streicher) spoke of the Jews and their revolting crimes. He spoke of the great danger the Jews were to the whole world.

"Without a solution of the Jewish question, no salvation for mankind!" he said.

"Yes, my dear friends! I shall always think of that meeting. And I shall never forget the speaking choir which we heard at the end of the gathering:

From the Germany Hitler created
Resounds a cry to the whole world;
Free yourselves from the Jewish hand
And save both *Volk* and Fatherland!

The world awakes in Juda's chains;
Germany alone can save!
Through German thought and German ways
The world will be restored one day."

Let us look at one of these meetings through other eyes:

One of the most unpleasant sights at the Nuremberg Rally was the mushroom growth of street stalls selling anti-Semitic literature. The back of the Party buildings in the city squares was leased for such purposes. . . . Some of the cartoons were physically revolting; it was not the portrayal of filth, but rather the degradation of mentality that would stoop to such horrors, that upset one. A collection of cuttings from *Der Stuermer* or the *Judenkenner* has to be seen to be believed, and one has to go through the list and choose the most innocuous in order to find one that can be reproduced in a book for an English-speaking public . . .

This is the testimony of Stephen H. Roberts, Professor of Modern History at the University of Sydney, in his book, *The House that Hitler Built*.

In creating a Nazi out of a young boy they created a soldier.

The boy must first be taught the new world outlook that will make him eager to become a conqueror. His teachers must hold these convictions in order to impart them to him. Professor Baumler of the University of Berlin, chief director of political education for the Party, writes in a pedagogical monthly, *Weltanschauung und Schule*, for October 1936, that "National Socialism sees in the (teaching) profession the center of gravity of political existence. The new world outlook must in ever greater degree shape the pattern of the future. The final remnants of the politically colorless in the profession will be driven from their most secret hiding places."

In another pedagogical source, *Nationalsozialistische Erziehung*, for October 31, 1936, we read that "the school is the preliminary training ground for the army." How higher education is used to this end is outlined as follows:

Instruction can give the young bearer of race (*Rassentraeger*) something that will later be useful to him as bearer of arms. Logarithms will find their most beautiful adjustment in the science of ballistics. In geography, the World War can come to its own limitless rights. History is full to overflowing with examples of war politics. Chemistry has equal application in the fight for daily bread as for the military struggle with gas. Physics problems can be explained equally well with a motor or a tank. Biological relationships do not only arise from the wanderings of peoples but also from the way states have been forcibly constituted in the past. The teaching of foreign languages is particularly bound up with military-political explanations. In German lessons, the great Moltke can be quoted as well as Grimm.

Dr. Hellmut Stellrecht, senior district Party leader, in his book, *The Military Education of German Youth*, says:

One is not drilled into being a soldier, but one is born and educated to be a soldier. It is important to begin this military education as early as possible and to carry it on systematically until, in actual army service, steel is forged from the iron, strong enough for whatever effort it may be called upon to make . . . Our boys must learn to shoot. They must handle a rifle in as matter-of-fact a manner as they do a pen . . .

Thus, within less than a year of Hitler's accession to power, the level of scholarship in Germany's great universities was not much higher in content than in the old Munich beer hall. Objective science was superseded by a highly emotional indoctrination in subjects calculated to make Germany into a nation of world conquerors.

"What is the purpose of university education?" asked the rector of Frankfort University, Dr. Ernst Kreick; and answered himself, "It is not objective science which is the purpose of our university training, but the heroic science of the soldier, the militant and fighting science."

Reichminister Hans Frank declared,

"The ideas of Adolf Hitler contain the final truths of every possible scientific knowledge . . . The program of the National Socialist Party has consequently become the only basis for scientific investigation."³⁶

Scholarship no longer counted; it hardly could in such an atmosphere. Political orientation and political reliability rather than scholastic excellence determined the final selections of the candidates for the university. This and other barriers and discouragements placed in the path of those seeking higher learning, soon resulted in a marked decrease in the number of university registrations. In 1933, Germany's universities showed a registration of 116,000, which by 1936 had fallen to 77,000.

Not only was the number of students reduced, but hours and semesters were shortened. Semesters were cut by one third—from thirty weeks of class work to twenty—to give the student more time for Party and student organization work. Party work was deemed a laudable excuse for absence from classes, and time given to this was not considered lost.

The students' *Bund*, guided by Baldur von Schirach, Hitler's youth leader, was the most important and pressing side of university life. This organization provided the Nazi university heads and the Nazi government with a Gestapo-like spy system. The German university became a microcosm of Hitler's Third Reich.

Charles Beard, the eminent historian, summed up education in the Third Reich when he said:

No room is left for private opinion, for experimentation, or for the consideration of any question deemed "out of line" by the administration. The declared purpose and program of education is to crush all liberty of instruction and all independent search for truth, and to "incorporate German youth in Home, Folk and State" by the awakening of racial forces and the cultivation of them with political goals constantly in mind.³⁷

For the first time in history, pornography was made an instrument of national education when Julius Streicher became editor of *Der Stuermer* and head of the publishing house, *Stuermer Verlag*. Streicher, governor of Franconia, publicly honored by Hitler, was charged with the task of turning men into swine. Sadism and morbid sexual suggestions were the means. No under-the-counter sales were made of his perversely sensational literature; but rather by advertising and even by edict was it disseminated throughout Germany.

The warped sexuality of *Der Stuermer's* tone was nothing new in Nazi literature; it stems directly out of *Mein Kampf*:

For hours the black-haired Jew-boy, diabolic joy in his face, waits in ambush for the unsuspecting girl whom he defiles with his blood and thus steals her from her people. By every means he tries to ruin the racial foundations of the people to be enslaved. Exactly as he himself systematically demoralizes women and girls, he does not hesitate to pull down the barriers of blood and race for others on a large scale. It was and is the Jews who bring the Negro to the Rhine, always with the same concealed thought and the clear goal of destroying, by the bastardization which would necessarily set in, the white race which they hate, to throw it down from its cultural and political height and in turn to rise personally to the position of master.

For a racially pure people, conscious of its blood, can never be enslaved by the Jew. It will forever only be the master of bastards in this world.³⁸

In August 1935, *Der Stuermer* echoed:

Moreover, the Jew has in his veins a large element of Negro blood; his frizzy hair, his wolf lips, the color of his eyeballs prove

this as effectually as the insatiable sexual greed which hesitates at no crime and finds its supremest triumph in the brutal defilement of women of another race. This bestial lust obsesses even a barely mature Jew-boy.

Der Stuermer claims that the Jewish religion by its laws imposes sexual crimes on its believers, as in the following faked Talmudic quotations:

"A non-Jewess must be regarded exactly as cattle are regarded."

"Every non-Jewess is a whore."

"A non-Jewish girl may be defiled as soon as she is three years and one day old."

Issue after issue spews out filth in the form of faked stories.

Streicher's most infamous achievement was the "Ritual Murder" number of *Der Stuermer* in May 1934, in which the medieval charges of the use of Christian infants' blood for Jewish religious purposes—charges originally brought against the early Christians by the Romans—were made the basis of a pathological wallowing in sadistic fantasies.

That the Church of Rome, speaking through the Bulls of four popes—Innocent IV, Gregory X, Martin V and Paul III—had condemned these accusations was ignored by the Jew-baiter, Streicher. The Nazis' own blood-lust that was to find expression a decade later in the mass murder of children, both Jewish and Gentile, found both stimulation and satisfaction in literature like this.

But in the dark mind of Streicher the ancient libel was proof of a greater "ritual murder:" it expanded into a "ritual mass murder." He raved that the whole German nation was the intended victim. The World War was to have been the means:

"The most frightful ritual murder that the world has ever seen was to be perpetrated; the 'Aryan' world, the flower of mankind, was to be rooted out. This was the will of pan-Jewry, and these were the commands of the Jewish Kabal."

Official sanction—if it were needed in a country where all publicly printed matter must be in accord with the policies of the government—was bestowed on the "Ritual Murder" issue by Dr. Robert Ley, chief of the German Labor Front. In a notice directed to all officials of the Labor Front he says:



Above: *Der Stuermer* cartoon.

Below: ... and this is what the Nazis did to children all over Europe.



Official Photo from the U.S. Office of War Information

"As far as possible this special number is to be placed in the hands of every member of the German Labor Front. Officials are accordingly instructed to see that the widest possible distribution of this particular *Stuermer* special number takes place in the factories, etc."

Thus, Julius Streicher's obscene lies were spread through Germany to poison men's minds, to dull their judgment, pervert their taste, rouse their fears and stir their hatred. Julius Streicher made sadists of men; it was he who completed the work of the schools and universities in creating the overseers, the guards, the torturers and the murderers who so ably performed their jobs at Maidanek, Treblinka and Buchenwald.

BOYCOTT AND POGROM

The eve of the National Socialists' accession to power was a critical moment. For more than ten years the German people had been bludgeoned by Nazi propaganda from the platform, the press and the radio. The Jews had been the focal point of Nazi vituperation; millions upon millions of envenomed words had been poured out to demonstrate that the Jew was the Enemy of all Germans. Jews had not only been traduced, but they had been terrorized; theory had been put into practice.

When the storm troopers swarmed through the streets of Germany's chief cities, beating up Jews and wrecking Jewish property, force and terror were made visible. Millions of non-Jews were intimidated by the ruthlessness and apparent invincibility of the men who wore the swastika and to whom *Juda Verrecke!* was synonymous with *Heil Hitler!*

The life of Germany's Jewish citizens had already grown precarious. Inflammatory speeches, blood-thirsty songs, and the tramp, tramp of the storm troopers' boots shattered men's reason. From social discrimination and economic boycotts to beatings and instigated riots, anti-Semitism mounted in the provinces and in the capital. The streets of Berlin resounded with cries of *Deutschland Erwache! Juda Verrecke! Schlacht die Juden tot!* Shops were raided, cafes wrecked and Jews beaten.

Young and old, man by man, all embrace the *Hakenkreuz* banner.
City-dweller, farmer, worker—all brandish the sword and banner!
For Hitler, for freedom, for work and for bread!
Germany arise!
Death to the Jew!
People to arms! ³⁹

Such were the songs the Nazis and their followers sang. They were given wide circulation in a song book called *Heil Hitler, Dir!* Dietrich Eckhardt, Hitler's crony in the days of the German Workers Party, added his contribution to this collection of pogrom-making songs:

Storm! Storm! Storm!
Ring the bells from tower to tower,
Ring till the sparks fly;
Judas appears to make the Reich his own.
Ring till the bloody ropes grow red,
All around naught but burning and killing.
Ring out the tumult, till the earth shakes
With the thunder of redeeming vengeance.
Woe to those who lie dreaming.
Germany arise! ⁴⁰

The hysteria and show of force were effective. Organized anti-Semitic riots paid off well. On November 6, 1932, the candidates of the National Socialist Party received a total of 11,730,000 votes. On January 30, 1933, they came to power.

Goering's Reichstag fire occurred the night of February 27, 1933. Goering had warned the German people of what he was about to do, substituting the Communists as the instigators instead of himself. Later, in his accusations, he involved the Jews as the wire-pullers of the plot. Hitler put the blame on "Jewish emigres from Eastern Europe." The Nazis, in raising the Communist bogey and drumming up pogroms, convinced 17,200,000 voters in the election of March 5th that only a Fuehrer stood between Germany and the "Jewish-Bolshevik menace."

The rioting, supposed to express the natural indignation of the German people, went on for weeks. The mobbing of Jewish-owned department stores provided an outlet for the jealousy of

small shopkeepers. Jews were dragged from their homes to storm-troop barracks, where they were beaten and tortured.

On March 10th Goering issued an open invitation to a pogrom. He stated that those who attacked Jews and Jewish property would not be interfered with:

"The police are not a defense squad for Jewish stores. Certainly I shall employ the police, and without mercy, wherever German people are hurt, but I refuse to turn the police into a guard for Jewish stores."

Actually the authorities were not interested solely in Jewish "crimes." Most of the persons arrested at the time were non-Jewish liberals, radicals, trade unionists and intellectuals.

Under the cloak of anti-Semitism the opposition was being liquidated.

The civilized world protested against the pogroms, and voices were heard demanding the boycott of German goods. The Nazis' reply was typical: they ordered a boycott of Jewish business to begin on the first of April.

On March 29th posters appeared which read as follows:

Men and women of Germany! The people responsible for this mad crime, this base agitation by atrocity-mongering and boycott, are the Jews in Germany. They have asked the brethren of their race abroad to fight against the German people. They have spread lies and calumnies. That is why the Reich leadership of the movement for German freedom has decided, in defense against these criminal slanders, to place a boycott upon all Jewish shops, department stores, offices, etc., from Saturday, April 1, 1933, 10 A.M. We ask you, German men and women, to fall in with this boycott. Do not buy in Jewish shops and department stores! Do not go to Jewish lawyers! Avoid Jewish physicians! Show the Jews they cannot drag Germany's honor into the mire without being punished for it! Whoever does not comply with this demand proves himself thereby on the side of Germany's enemies!

Hitler had told Rauschning, "My Jews are a valuable hostage." If the world protested against Nazi atrocities, and if as the result of these protests the lives of Germany's Jews were made even more intolerable, then perhaps the protests would be stilled. At least that

was what Goebbels and the others had counted on. Goebbels' *My Part in Germany's Fight*, bears witness to this:

March 26:

We shall only be able to combat the falsehoods abroad if we get at those who have originated them, namely the Jews living in Germany who, up till now, have remained unmolested. So we must proceed to an extensive boycott of Jewish business in Germany. Perhaps the foreign Jews will think better of it, when they see their racial brethren hard pressed.

Party member Streicher is appointed to carry out this measure.

I write a proclamation boycotting the Jews, and a short explanation of it for the press, which already works wonders.

April 1:

The boycott against the horror propaganda has begun rigorously in Berlin and the whole Reich . . . All Jewish shops are closed . . . The public has everywhere observed the decree . . . The boycott is a great moral victory for Germany. We have shown foreign countries that we can call upon the whole nation without any consequent disturbances . . .

April 2:

The effects of the boycott can already be noted. Foreign countries are slowly being brought to their senses . . . We have an intellectual campaign of conquest ahead of us, which must be carried out in Germany itself.

In the end the world will learn to understand us.

On March 21st, Police President Heinrich Himmler, pretending to see more Jewish crimes in the offing, stated:

"As I know the attitude of the people, I am convinced that, when the first shot is fired in Germany, there would result the greatest mass murder and pogrom that the world has ever experienced, and no power of the state, and no police would be able to put a stop to this murder."⁴¹

This was in effect a guarantee of immunity to any would-be assassin.

Julius Streicher, the Nazis' prime Jew-baiter, planned the boycott that was designed to ruin Jewish business and professional

men. Less business and fewer jobs for Jews meant more business and more jobs for Nazis. Though the boycott was officially suspended after one day because Hjalmar Schacht feared it would disrupt the economic life of the country, its purpose was achieved: Germany's Jewish citizens were being eliminated from the economic, professional and cultural life of the country.

"'Jewry must perish,' had been our battle cry for the last fourteen years," said Goebbels in an interview with the *London Sunday Referee* on July 7th. "Let it at last perish."

Rosenberg was more specific. He said, "On each telegraph pole from Munich to Berlin we must display the head of a prominent Jew."

On December 27, 1935, James G. McDonald, High Commissioner for Refugees Coming from Germany, addressed a letter to the Secretary General of the League of Nations. In it he said:

... the Jewish people are used as the scapegoat for political and partisan purposes. The National Socialists level against them charges of the most outrageous and untenable kind.

The attitude of the German Government is based not only on the theory of the "Nordic Race" supremacy and the desire to eliminate "foreign racial elements" from the life of the country; it rests also on the absolute subordination of the individual to the State . . . The conception "blood, race and soil" propagated with fanatical enthusiasm, menaces not alone the Jews, but all those who remain defiantly loyal to the old ideals of religious and individual freedom.

The year 1935 saw the promulgation of the Nuremberg Laws, designed to protect the purity of "Nordic" blood.

Jewish life and Jewish economic activities were being more and more restricted, but lest the Jews be misled into thinking that such restrictions were all that would happen to them, or loyal Nazis be dismayed by what might appear to be the decreasing ardor of the authorities in their advance toward the often announced goal of freeing Germany of the Jews, the meaning of the new restrictions was explained in the press.

The *Westdeutscher Beobachter* of August 21, 1935, had made the matter clear by saying that, "Germany does not want to indi-

cate that Jews may live in a specified way within the State. There is another course recommended by every German and available to every Jew. It is—'Emigrate! Emigrate!'"

Emigration paid dividends in the forced sale of Jewish property, which was sold for an infinitesimal part of its actual value, in confiscated estates and in flight taxes. The Nazis were the beneficiaries of those whose lives they had made intolerable.

On September 15, 1935, Hitler forecast that more stringent measures of "solving the Jewish problem" were in the offing. "The German Government," he said, "is in this (passing the Nuremberg Laws) controlled by the thought that through a single solution it may be possible still to create a ground on which the German people may find a tolerable relation toward the Jewish people. Should this hope not be fulfilled then the position must be examined afresh . . . Should this attempt fail, (the problem) must be handed over by law to the National Socialist Party for a final solution."⁴²

Obviously a Party that had been committed for fifteen years to the annihilation of Jews was not going to find in restrictive legislation a "ground for tolerable relations toward the Jewish people." Restrictive legislation was but one step toward the death camps. The day for a "final solution" was coming, as the Nazis well knew, and when it came they could recall these words of Hitler and say in effect, "See, we did our best, but the Jews wouldn't cooperate." If disaster overtook the Jews, then, according to Nazi logic, their guilt was proven.

With the Nazis, warnings were synonymous with forecasts.

Julius Streicher announced that the conditions which the Nuremberg Laws were intended to correct could not be changed by mere legislation. Heralding the approach of more ruthless methods of dealing with intermarriage and the danger to "Aryan" racial purity, *Der Stuermer* said in March 1938:

This crime (racial pollution) will continue to exist, precisely as will every other Jewish crime. It will remain because the Jewish race still exists. The crime came into the world with the Jewish race. It will also disappear with the Jewish race. Therefore, for anyone who wants to extirpate the crime of racial disgrace, there is no other recourse but to extirpate the Jewish race.

On March 11th the Nazi columns tramped over the Austrian border, and Austria was forcibly welded to the Third Reich. On September 19th, the appeasers handed Czechoslovakia over to Hitler. The lights were going down in Europe; terrorism was putting them out. *Sieg Heil!* shouted the Nazis' quisling henchmen out of the *Walpurgisnacht. Juden Hinaus!*

On November 3, 1938, *Das Schwarze Korps*, official weekly of the SS, made a statement ominous to those who realized what a truly amazing amount of prescience the Nazis had concerning the plans of their enemies, though—as in the case of the Reichstag fire—they obligingly did nothing to avert the disasters they claimed to foresee. They foresaw them because they planned them.

"The Jews in Germany," said *Das Schwarze Korps*, "are a part of world Jewry. They must share the responsibility for any attacks world Jewry launches upon Germany, and they must answer for any injury world Jewry inflicts or is likely to inflict on us."

The "attack" came in Paris on November 7th, when a Polish-Jewish boy, driven to desperation by the terrors he had witnessed, shot and killed Ernst vom Rath, third secretary in the German Embassy there. In view of the article which had appeared four days previously, it seems likely that Nazi machinations were behind the shooting. They wanted it, got it and used it.

The *Voelkischer Beobachter* promised on November 9th that "the shots in Paris will not remain unavenged."

The full Nazi propaganda machine in its loudest blasts informed the German people that they had been vilely outraged. Once more riots were engineered. Violence shook Germany, Austria and the Sudetenland, uniting them at last against the Enemy. Jewish shops were pillaged and set in flames. Synagogues were burned to the ground. The protection of firemen was given only to adjacent non-Jewish buildings. Jews were assaulted on the streets and dragged from their homes by the SA and the Elite Guards. Some were killed in barracks, and thousands were sent to concentration camps in order, their captors said, to "protect them from the indignation of the people." They were saved for the sadism of the storm troopers.

The *Voelkischer Beobachter* on November 11, 1938, gives us its version of the terror in Berlin: "The outraged people's soul had

found a safety valve. After the anti-Semitic demonstrations of the Berlin populace during the night, which rightly provided a safety valve for their indignation, all Jewish stores were suddenly identified. Empty shop windows, smashed plate glass and display counters are the new identification cards of Jewish shops, which undoubtedly will serve more effectively than the notice 'Jewish Store' . . . Those who pass the shattered windows clench their fists and murmur, 'It served them good and right' . . .

"After the death of vom Rath the German people with complete spontaneousness marched forth in retaliation. It is said that the spontaneous reactions of the German people were carried out by organized bands. How little idea these scribblers have of Germany! The German people is an anti-Semitic people."

The pogroms that had been instigated by the Nazis after the assassination of vom Rath were presented to the world as the "spontaneous expression of the people's indignation." Though thousands had been slaughtered, the Nazi press proclaimed to the world that "not a hair of a Jew's head has been touched."

Goebbels' "spontaneous outbreak of the people's will" was the result of the following instructions,⁴³ issued on the night of November 9, 1938 to all state police offices:

Attention office leaders and their deputies. These instructions must be forwarded to all SS quarters immediately:

1.) Within the shortest time possible action against the Jews will start all over Germany, especially against their synagogues. Interference of any kind will not be tolerated.

2.) Important material in the archives of the synagogues must be confiscated and removed to a safe place.

3.) Between 20,000 and 30,000 Jews within the Reich must be arrested. They are to be chosen from among wealthy Jews. Special instructions pertaining to this phase of the actions will be issued during the night.

(signed) Gestapo 2 Mueller.

An order, signed by the infamous Reinhard Heydrich, read as follows:

Confidential, Blitz. Munich. To all State Police offices, to all Security Units, and all Special Shock Detachments.

Concerning actions against the Jews tonight.

Because of the assassination of a member of the German legation in Paris, vom Rath, demonstrations against the Jews in the Reich, Austria and the Sudeten area are to be expected in the night from November 9 to 10, 1938. To deal with these events the following orders are to be obeyed:

Leaders of the State Police . . . must at once call for a meeting to secure coordinated action of demonstrations.

For such actions only orders are to be issued which do not endanger the life or property of German citizens. Synagogues are to be set on fire only if buildings of German citizens are not endangered by the flames. As many Jews as possible must be arrested. Arrest first only healthy Jews of not too advanced age.

After arrests have been completed, communications are to be established with the nearest concentration camp, and the arrested Jews are to be shipped to those camps at once.

(signed) Heydrich, SS *Gruppenfuehrer*

On November 11th, Heydrich reported to his master Goebbels on the results. The grim score stood at thirty-six killed and thirty-six seriously injured; 191 synagogues set afire, of which seventy-six were utterly demolished; eleven community centers and funeral chapels set afire, and about 20,000 Jews arrested.

Heydrich's report continued:

The total of destroyed Jewish shops and homes cannot yet be determined, but reports till now give the following figures: 815 shops; twenty-nine warehouses; 100 residential houses burned or destroyed.

This gives only a part of the real destruction. Because of haste, reported messages usually confine themselves to general terms such as "numerous" or "most shops destroyed." The above figures will be multiplied many times over.

The murder of Jews went unpunished; the courts acquitted the defendants.

Like the Reichstag fire affair, the vom Rath affair paid off well. It paid off in cash to the sum of 400 million dollars in an "atone-ment fine" levied on the Jews. It paid off in new confiscation of property. Finally, and most important, it gave the Nazis their ex-

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cuse for the complete severance of the Jews from the cultural and economic life of the country, a process that had begun in 1933.

"The hour has come when we shall muzzle you," *Das Schwarze Korps* cried to the Jews on November 17, 1938.

"National Socialism has never left any doubt that it considers absolutely intolerable the presence of any substantial portion of Jewry in any territory reserved for German settlement; it has given proof that it is proceeding in earnest with the removal of the Jews." So threatens the *Voelkischer Beobachter* on the 11th. The earnestness of this intention was soon to be demonstrated to the world.

The step between the elimination of German Jews from the social, cultural and economic life of their country, and their complete annihilation is described with amazing candor and horrifying cynicism in the columns of *Das Schwarze Korps* on November 24th, where it is stated that the Jews will be driven from their homes, segregated and reduced to poverty. This policy, *Das Schwarze Korps* states, will cause them to sink into delinquency, thus giving the Nazis an excuse to treat them as criminals and exterminate them "by fire and sword." The desired result would then be "the factual and final end of Jewry in Germany, its absolute annihilation."

"The factual and final end of Jewry in Germany" began less than a year later with deportations to Poland.

ANTI-SEMITISM FOR EXPORT

In every country where they could influence public opinion, the Nazis spread their poisonous lies about the Jews. They had a very practical purpose. They were not crusading out of sheer fanaticism, for a cherished idea. Their effort to convert the world to anti-Semitism was a deliberate instrument of their policy of conquest, just as it had been an instrument to gain power in Germany.

"Anti-Semitic propaganda in all countries is an almost indispensable medium for the extension of our political campaign," Hitler told Hermann Rauschning.⁴⁴ "You will see how little time we shall need in order to upset the ideas and criteria of the whole world, simply and purely by attacking Judaism."

By "upsetting the ideas and criteria of the whole world," Hitler

meant two things. First, anti-Semitism, organized along Nazi lines, could disrupt the morale of Germany's potential enemies; by inciting riots and pogroms abroad, the Nazis hoped to divide each of the nations whose destruction they were scheming. They shrewdly counted on anti-Semitism as a technique of impairing the national unity of the democratic powers. In attempting to dramatize the Jew as the main, and even the exclusive, issue in American or British life, for example, they sought to becloud the real issue, namely the dire threat of German aggression.

Secondly, the Nazis calculated that a widespread acceptance of their anti-Semitic theories and practices would undermine the morale of any opposition to German fascism. To the extent that Germany's intended victims embraced the philosophy of the Nuremberg Laws, they would assume an attitude of compliance, possibly even of cooperation. Nations imbued with hatred against the Jews as the Enemy would have to look to Germany for world leadership.

In short, anti-Semitic propaganda on a world scale, on which the Nazis lavished much thought, money and energy, was a highly organized device for softening up potential opposition to Germany's real designs. This propaganda, if successful, would be worth many divisions, the fascists felt. "Propaganda and force are never absolute antitheses," wrote Paul Hadamowski, German radio chief, in an article entitled *Propaganda and National Power*. Propaganda was a form of undeclared war.

Thus, especially after 1933, Nazi propaganda, through publications, news letters, films and short-wave radio, flooded the world. So-called social clubs and cultural groups, controlled from Germany, sprang up wherever there was a population of German descent. Contact was established with every likely group. Specially trained experts were sent abroad to fulfill their assignments.

On September 23, 1937, the *New York Herald Tribune* carried a dispatch from Berne which read in part:

Nazi Government methods of spreading anti-Semitism abroad and financing anti-Jewish activities throughout the world were revealed to-night by the arrest here of Boris Toedli, a Swiss citizen, on suspicion of conducting espionage on behalf of Germany.

Police discovered in Toedli's home 300 documents and letters indicating that he and others were in constant touch with the

Third Reich and received funds and instructions for stimulating anti-Jewish propaganda. Police impounded more than 150 of the documents and photographed them for use as evidence in Toedli's trial.

An official receipt was found, signed by Toedli on May 5, 1936, acknowledging money from Germany "covering the case of the *Protocols* trial." This evidently referred to the trial at Berne in the autumn of 1934, in which the Jewish community instituted libel proceedings against Swiss Nazi leaders for distributing the *Protocols of Zion* . . . The court at this trial declared the *Protocols* a forgery.

The seized documents also involved a number of Russians in Paris and Harbin, including Markoff, leader of the anti-Semitic faction of the pre-revolutionary Duma. According to information received there, Markoff recently transferred from Paris to Erfurt, Germany, where he is acting as assistant to Colonel Ulrich Fleischauer's *Weltdienst*, a world-wide anti-Semitic propaganda service.

Toedli, it was shown, acted as Berne representative of the *Weltdienst*, as well as Gauleiter for Berne, and also deputy leader of the Russian *World Fascist Organization*, which has headquarters in Harbin. Although Swiss-born, Toedli lived most of his life in Russia, and the Nazis assertedly brought him from Harbin to Switzerland in order to use his Swiss citizenship to cover up his Nazi activities.

Among Toedli's documents, police unearthed a list of false names under which twenty-six Nazi agents were said to be operating in various countries . . .

The money appeared to have been obtained from Alfred Rosenberg, spiritual leader of the Third Reich, and Dr. Sievert, one of the editors of Adolf Hitler's *Voelkischer Beobachter*, chief organ of the German Nazi Party.

True to form, the Nazis pointed the finger of accusation at the Jews. Just as they had asserted that it was the Jews who were plotting world supremacy, so now they attempted to camouflage their own international propaganda by charging that the Jews were the master propagandists. Goebbels declared: "Its (Jewry's) propaganda is international. It has tremendous funds at its disposal."

But this crude effort to hoodwink the world was belied by the organizations whose aims were identical and who differed only in

method. They bore such names as the *Anti-Jewish World League*, founded by Julius Streicher, the *World Confederation of Anti-Semites*, the *World League Against the Communist International* and the *Aryan Christian Alliance*.

From Erfurt the last-named organization bombarded the editors of the world's press, business men, professionals and legislators with its free news service, printed in six languages; the three principal publications were the German newsletter, called *Welt Dienst*; the French, *Service Mondial*; and the English, *World Service*.

World Service made its purpose clear on its first page:

"These leaflets are intended to be passed from hand to hand among Gentiles . . . *World Service* is not published with a view to profits. Its principal aim is to enlighten ill-informed Gentiles irrespective of the country to which they may belong. These information sheets, which deal with the machinations of the Jewish underworld, form accordingly a necessary part of the intellectual armory of every Gentile."

One appreciative recipient of *World Service* bulletins was Father Charles Coughlin, and more than once quotations from these Nazi sheets appeared in his speeches and in his paper, *Social Justice*, not, however, with acknowledgment of the source.

In a radio address on December 4, 1938, Coughlin attacks the "Jewish International Banking Houses" which, with the usual intellectual backward somersaults of Nazi logic, he is able to equate with Bolshevism.

*Radio Address by Charles Coughlin
December 4, 1938*

If we bear in mind the fact that the Jewish banking house of Kuhn, Loeb and Co., is in touch with the Westphalian-Rhineland Syndicate, German-Jewish house; and with the Brothers Lazare, Jewish house in Paris, and also with the Jewish house of Gunzburg of Petrograd, Tokyo and Paris; if, in addition we mention that all the above-mentioned Jew-

*From World Service, February
15, 1936*

When we bear in mind that the Jewish firm of Kuhn, Loeb and Co., is in contact with the *Rheinisch-Westfaelisches Syndikat*, a Jewish firm in Germany, with Lazare Bros., a Jewish banking house in Paris and also with Gunzburg, a Jewish banking concern in St. Petersburg, Paris and Tokyo, and when we further ascertain that all the above-men-

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ish houses are in close correspondence with the Jewish house of Speyer & Co., of London, New York and Frankfort-on-Main, as well as with Nye Banken Judaeo-Bolshevik establishment at Stockholm, it will be manifest that the Bolshevik movement is in certain measure the expression of a general Jewish movement, and that certain Jewish banking houses are interested in the organization of this movement.

tioned Jewish banking houses are in close relationship with the Jewish banking house of Speyer & Co. in London, New York and Frankfort, and with the Jewish Bolshevik Nye Banken in Stockholm, it appears certain that the present Bolshevik movement is more or less the expression of a general Jewish movement, and that certain Jewish banking houses are active participators in the organization of the movement.

The December 5, 1938, number of *Social Justice* ran an article called *Background of Persecution*, signed by Father Coughlin. Out of the nineteen paragraphs comprising the article, nine are almost verbatim reproductions of the Goebbels pamphlet, *Communism with the Mask Off*.⁴⁵

Father Coughlin

In Germany the Social Democratic League of German Freethinkers had a membership of 600,000. The Communist League of Proletarian Freethinkers numbered close to 160,000 members. Almost without exception, the intellectual leaders—if not the foot and hand leaders—of Marxist atheism in Germany were Jews—not good Jews but bad Jews; not Jews who opposed Communism but Jews who supported it. Among them were Erich Weinert, Felix Abraham and Dr. Levy-Lenz. At regular meetings, held in the presence of a notary public, members were requested to register their declaration of withdrawal from their church for a fee of two

Dr. Goebbels

The Social Democratic League of German Freethinkers alone had a membership of 600,000. The Communist League of Proletarian Freethinkers had close on 160,000 members. Almost without exception, the intellectual leaders of Marxist atheism in Germany were Jews, among them being Erich Weinert, Felix Abraham, Dr. Levy-Lenz and others. At regular meetings, held in the presence of a notary public, members were requested to register their declaration of withdrawal from their church for a fee of two marks. And thus the fight for atheism was carried on. Between 1918 and 1933 the withdrawals from the German Evangelical

Father Coughlin—(continued)
marks. With such bribes the fight for atheism was carried on. And between 1918 and 1933 the withdrawals from the German Evangelical Churches was estimated at close to two and a half million persons in Germany.

And this is what Nazi Germany thought of the man who was doing her work so well in the United States:

The German hero in America for the moment is the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin, because of his radio speech representing National Socialism as a defensive front against Bolshevism. His objection to radio censorship is characterized as the revelation of a typical case of Jewish terrorism of American public opinion.

This quotation is from a *New York Times* dispatch by Otto Tolischus, from Germany, November 27, 1938.

The activities of Nazi agents and propagandists in Brazil may be cited as a fair sample of what went on in South America to create support for Nazi Germany and to weaken her opponents.

Brazil has a German population of 1,200,000 and an Italian population that is twice as large. Until 1937, the Nazi Party flourished openly in Brazil, but the growing tenseness in Europe and the growing disapproval of Nazism by the democracies, led to its dissolution, though in name only. The Party apparatus continued to function through the consulates; the Labor Front carried on as the *League of Active Germans*.

The *Deutsche Hilfswerk* made admiring friends for the Third Reich by providing low-cost medical care and drugs at nominal prices. The *Union of German Farmers* offered not only the assistance of trained agronomists from Germany, but propaganda from the same source.

The SS, the SA, the Hitler Youth and trained glider groups, all under the command of Hans Henning von Cossel, were prepared to act in support of Nazi Germany in case of war. They were to sabotage any war efforts against Germany and, if the situation demanded, precipitate a revolution.

Persons of influence in political and intellectual circles were in-

Dr. Goebbels—(continued)
Churches alone amounted to two and a half million persons in Germany.

vited to be guests of Germany to inspect the wonders of the new Reich. Engineers, artists, writers and military men served the ends of German *Kulturpropaganda*.

World Service supplied the press with its free news handouts, suggesting now and then a slight return from its beneficiaries in the way of an article or essay lauding the Nazi way of life.

Radio Berlin was especially popular with short-wave listeners. Its Portuguese programs were clever, and German *Volksgenossen* in South America were greeted by name and individually addressed in a flattering manner.

Press and radio bombarded Brazilians and German *Volksgenossen* alike with anti-Semitism. As elsewhere, sabotage, espionage and anti-Semitism were inseparable.

Vichy France is a conspicuous example of the success of the Nazi tactic in undermining its victim. The Nazis looked across the Rhine with loathing. They hated Republican France, whose common people took very seriously their *Liberté Égalité Fraternité*. But there was another France that the Nazis found far more congenial, the France that had never reconciled itself to republicanism; the France of the Two Hundred Families, of the old nobility who had intermarried with the rich industrialists, and their henchmen, well placed in Ministries and in the French High Command.

It was of the first, the democratic France, that Rosenberg had written in the *Myth*: "This people, which is constantly becoming more negroid, constitutes, by its tie with the aims of Jewish world domination, a grim danger for the existence of the European white race." But as early as 1933, Hermann Goering had described a representative of the other France in his *Political Testament*: "A few weeks ago I had the opportunity to speak to Pétain. There is a soldier. He is a nobleman and he understands how to respect the honor of Germany. With people like that one can come to an understanding."

The story of this understanding is as sordid as the plan was successful. Otto Abetz, sent to Paris to represent the Nazi Bureau of Foreign Affairs, moved among the leaders of society, industry, the arts and politics. He distributed largesse with calculating lavishness among writers and intellectuals who could communicate to others

their sympathy and admiration for the Third Reich as well as their distrust of England and their hatred of the Soviet Union. Any writer who would recount the glories of the new Germany to the French people in the columns of certain newspapers, that existed for the sole end of delivering France over to foreign masters, could be certain of a pleasant holiday across the Rhine, at no expense to himself. The bought press told its readers that "North Africa is a Jewish colony," and that Roosevelt, who was of "Jewish extraction," wanted "to reestablish Jewish power and deliver the world to Bolshevism."⁴⁶ The Nazis were depicted as the pure and perfect knights in this holy war against Communism and Jewry.

The great French industrial family, the *de Wendels*, were not divided from their German cousins, the *von Wendels*, also great industrialists, by any consideration of their own country's interests. They subsidized the fascist *Croix de Feu*, which managed by riots and demonstrations to throw the country into such panicky apprehension that the Popular Front Government was overthrown, and more friends of Nazi Germany were placed in positions where they could steer French affairs in the direction the Germans desired them to go in. De la Rocque, leader of the *Croix de Feu* and a colonel in the French Army, had cached large stores of gasoline, guns and ammunition, ostensibly to be used against a heralded Communist uprising. These hidden stores proved a blessing to the German invaders of France. As the Wehrmacht advanced into French territory, they found the locations of the munition stores clearly indicated for them by roadside markers.

Anti-Semitic officers like de la Rocque did more than help arm France's enemies. They spread confusion and defeatism among the men under their command, who were not permitted by their commanders to defend their homeland against the enemy.

England had her Nazi "culture-bearers," too: chiefly the *British Union of Fascists*, headed by Oswald Mosley, which conformed in spirit to its German and Italian prototypes and aped their external trappings of shirts, insignia and salutes. Mosley's crowd published the *Fascist Quarterly*, which in 1937 changed its name to the *British Union Quarterly*, perhaps because the invasion of Ethiopia had discredited the term fascist among too many people in Britain. In format it somewhat resembled the staid old British literary and

political reviews; its appearance was respectable and its tone almost high-brow, but above the level-voiced economic and literary critiques—all in accordance with Nazi doctrine—rose the shrill gutter yappings, the unmistakable accents of *Der Stuermer*.

Hitler, in the spring issue of 1935, is described in an editorial as a "man of peace" and "the only honest man," who "... has solved the problem of the Versailles Treaty by openly announcing that Germany intends to reestablish conscription. We shall be told that this means war. In our opinion it means nothing of the sort, ... (but) instead, a filling in of the armament vacuum in the center of Europe."

In another editorial note it is stated that "any sensible Englishman ... will welcome the massive resurrection of Germany. National Socialism has already saved Europe from Communism ... Japan has a legitimate sphere of expansion in China and North Eastern Asia ..."

There are articles by Alfred Rosenberg, speeches by Franco and dissertations on monetary matters by the American traitor and paid agent of Mussolini, Ezra Pound.

The *Stuermer*-like voices of General J. F. C. Fuller and A. K. Chesterton make the pages of the *British Union Quarterly* a true microcosm of Nazi thought. A. K. Chesterton's article, *The Apotheosis of the Jew* stirs echoes of *Mein Kampf*: "(the Jew is) becoming more English than the English or German than the German." The author slanders and drools his rabid vituperation of the Jew, whom he calls "cad" and "the supreme bounder and the eternal parvenu." He ends up his gentlemanly piece with an echo from Berlin: "The day of the great reckoning is at hand."

General Fuller has digested the Ritual Murder number of *Der Stuermer* for he reproduces the forged Talmudic quotation that "a Gentile girl who is three years and one day old can be violated." And he solemnly asserts that it is written in the Talmud that "the property of the Gentiles is ownerless. The Jew may take possession of it by robbery, fraud or theft."

The days of appeasement were the heyday of Mosley and his men, but the end came at last with the attack on Poland.

The flight of Rudolf Hess to make one last plea with Britain to join her "Aryan" kinsmen in an attack on "Jewish" Russia failed,

because English fascists had not done Hitler's work well enough. British common sense had been too much for them.

EXPERIMENT IN RUTHLESSNESS

For years the Nazis had been preparing the German people for the *Drang nach Osten*, that first step toward world conquest in the plans of pan-Germanism. A conquering army would need the wheat of the Ukraine and the oil of the Caucasus to support its advance. Friedrich List, an early nineteenth-century German economist, had written: "Why turn one's eyes to lands overseas, when on our southeastern frontier we find immense stretches of country toward which we could easily direct our surplus population?" He foresaw a great eastern German empire, "bathed on the one hand by the Black Sea, on the other by the Adriatic."⁴⁷ Following the tradition and the purpose of the pan-Germanists, Hitler told his people in 1936 that "if we had at our disposal the incalculable wealth and stores of raw material of the Ural mountains and the unending fertile plains of the Ukraine to be exploited under National Socialist leadership, then we would produce and our German people swim in plenty."⁴⁸

Wheat and oil were tempting, but "right"—according to Nazi doctrine—must also be on their side. This could be accomplished by equating the chief prospective victim, Soviet Russia, with the Enemy, Judah. Early in his career, Hitler had begun to do this. In a speech made in 1922, he said: "While now in Soviet Russia the millions are ruined and are dying, Chicherin—and with him a staff of over 200 Soviet Jews—travels by express train through Europe, visits the cabarets, watches naked dancers perform for his pleasure, lives in the finest hotels, and does himself better than the millions whom once you thought you must fight as 'bourgeois.' The 400 Soviet commissars of Jewish nationality—they do not suffer—the thousands upon thousands of sub-commissars—they do not suffer. No! All the treasures which the 'proletarian' in his madness took from the 'bourgeoisie' in order to fight so-called capitalism—they have all gone into their hands."⁴⁹

Again, the Russian is "the defenseless slave of his Jewish dictator."⁵⁰ There is more than a hint in the statement that . . . "Im-

possible as it is for the Russians to shake off the yoke of the Jews through their own strength, it is equally impossible in the long run for the Jews to maintain the mighty empire."⁵¹

Goebbels warns of a surprise attack from the East, as usual accusing the potential victim of planning precisely what the Nazis themselves will do, a twist that will explain their own aggression on the grounds that the best defense is offense. "The view of the Soviet strategists is that the next war will be begun without any introductory declaration . . . The aggressive character of the Red Army is testified by the aggressive strategy of its leaders." And France, "under orders from Moscow will unleash the dogs of war against Germany."⁵²

"Bolshevism," Goebbels concludes, "must be exterminated if Europe is to regain its normal state of health. Therefore we take the opportunity at this Party Congress to ring the alarm against the world danger."⁵³

And again, "Bolshevism must be eradicated . . . Germany had given the signal for this world struggle. What we do is determined by our duty and our conscience, and the feeling of responsibility toward Germany and toward Europe."⁵⁴

Their duty, conscience and feeling of responsibility had strange results indeed!

Also Hitler had written in *Mein Kampf* that ". . . the international Jew, who today rules Russia absolutely, sees in Germany . . . a State marked for the same destiny."⁵⁵

The "crusade," the "holy war," had been prepared long ago. The "Jewish plot" to rule the world became, when convenient, a "Jewish Bolshevik plot." The gain in making it this was twofold: it united anti-Semites with anti-Communists, both inside Germany and in the countries which were receiving their preliminary psychological bombardment by way of softening them up for the day when the aggressor would begin his march. The Nazis gained themselves twice as many friends and influenced twice as many people in the countries of their enemies-to-be by this tactic.

Again, the old techniques were used, the old accusations were made anew. It was a "conspiracy of Democrats, Jews and Freemasons," who, according to Hitler's words on October 3, 1941, "succeeded . . . in pushing Europe into this war."

"Behind them all (the Allies) stand the driving power of the Jewish Ahasuerus who has been for thousands of years the eternally constant enemy of any human order," he stated on January 1, 1942.

There were plenty of sympathizers left in the Allied camp to hear and echo such words. Some were mere small-time demagogues, blatant and foul-mouthed; others, in high places, spoke softly and reasonably. Both would have preferred to follow Hitler's and Goebbels' bidding to join in the war against Russia rather than fight fascism and continue to live in democracies.

But these tactics to scare the West into a "holy war" against the Soviet Union failed, in spite of the many friends the Third Reich had made abroad, in spite of isolationists and would-be collaborationists. Psychological warfare gave way to armed warfare. Germany moved her tanks against Poland, and appeasement came to an end at last. The world had understood before it was too late what Hitler's real aims were: conquest, not only of the East but of the West and of all the world.

Then Hitler, still in his role of the "man of peace" insisted that not he, but the Jews, had brought about the catastrophe. Now, he proclaimed, it was Germany alone against the "Jewish alliance between Capitalism and Bolshevism that threatens Europe."

"In the German Reichstag on September 1, 1939, I made the prophecy," Hitler reminded the world on January 30, 1942, "that this war will not end the way the Jews imagined: the European-Aryan people will not be exterminated. Instead the result of this war will be the annihilation of Jewry."

The Jew was the Enemy, and all enemies were Jews.

"The Jews were the hidden force," said Hitler to the Reichstag on April 26, 1942, "which drove England into the First World War . . . Since 1939 the Jews have maneuvered the British Empire into its most dangerous crisis. It is the Jews who have driven America into the war against all interest of their country solely from the Jewish capitalistic viewpoint; and President Roosevelt . . . supports intellectual aims whose leading men I need not mention by name; they are Jews, nothing but Jews."

Speeches like these were intended to serve a double purpose: to

explain to the German people and to justify a war of aggression as well as to create distrust and disunity among Germany's enemies.

"There can be no parley with Jewry," said the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*. "The Jew has got to be exterminated so that the nations shall at last have peace."⁵⁶

Julius Streicher, whose old dream was coming true in the extermination camps, joined the chorus:

"The Jews are playing a most detestable game in this war, and they will pay with the extermination of their race in the whole of Europe and elsewhere, too. It is not non-Jewish mankind that faces destruction, but what will be exterminated at the end of this Second World War is all that was ever called Jewry."⁵⁷

The annihilation of Jewry, which had been threatened, promised and prepared for since the birth of the National Socialist Party was becoming a reality at Treblinka, Maidanek and Lvov.

The corpses of innocent millions of men, women and children implicated a whole nation in the Nazis' guilt, as the Nazis themselves had always intended. Fear of the world's vengeance might keep off defeatist thoughts when things did not go too well militarily, and desperation would make better fighters of the German people.

Goebbels had warned the nation in 1941 that "the Jews will never forgive us."

In March of 1942 the *Rheinische Zeitung* repeated the warning, saying, "No German is in a position to escape by saying 'In my heart I was always a democrat and I always hated the Nazis; I was only prevented from demonstrating my true feelings.' In the eye of international Jewry every German will be guilty."

On January 20, 1942, Reinhard Heydrich, infamous as the "Hangman" of Czechoslovakia, invited thirteen high Nazi and government officials to a luncheon party in order to discuss plans for the complete annihilation of the European Jews.⁵⁸ Blitzkrieg tactics had fizzled out, and the war was behind schedule. The "lesser races" must be reduced in order that Germany, sustaining a possible defeat in her present struggle, would be certain of victory in World War III. The "we or they" policy was being invoked.

It reached its full frenzy a year later in the great defeat of Stalingrad, where entire German armies surrendered.

On February 2, 1943, what was left of von Paulus' army finally crossed the Volga, not as conquerors but as prisoners. The Germans had lost their war, and at this crucial time the "master race" theory came to its logical fulfillment in the death factories of Poland. It was simpler for the Nazis to exterminate Jews and Slavs while they were their prisoners than to have to fight them and their offspring a decade or two later on the field of battle.

Three months after the defeat at Stalingrad the *La Plata Post*, the weekly supplement of the *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, published in Buenos Aires in the German language, carried in its issue of May 12, 1943, an interesting story with a Berlin date-line.

The story discussed and quoted from an article written by Joseph Goebbels in *Das Reich*, entitled *The War and the Jews*. In it Goebbels said:

This war is a race war, and if the Axis Powers were to lose it, then there would no longer be any dam which could save the European continent from the Jewish-Bolshevist flood. The present war is a war of the Jewish race against Aryan mankind, and there is but one possible alternative—to avert the danger or to succumb to it.

In the enemy countries, all the agitators are Jews . . . Countless reports coming in from enemy countries enable us to recognize that there, too, anti-Semitism is growing. Surely and logically the prophecy of the Fuehrer is being fulfilled: that if the Jews were successful in unleashing a new World War, then not Aryan mankind would succumb to it, but on the contrary, the Jewish race would be exterminated. This process has significance for world history . . .

As the catastrophe which threatens them is near, the Jews are slowly trying to disappear into the background, but we have some experience in this matter, and we know how to proceed so that they do not reach their goal. They will have to take the responsibility, and it is certain that one of these days, all over the world, they will get the well deserved punishment which they are already receiving in Germany.

Goebbels then discusses the growing anti-Semitism in England

and the United States, and reaches the following conclusion:

"It is our duty to enlighten the world as to the unholy role which the Jews are playing, particularly in provoking and in prolonging this war, until the world begins to awaken. It may be that it will take a very long time, but it is worth the trouble."

Why is Dr. Goebbels so magnanimously warning his enemies of their danger? He would seem to have stepped out of character.

Nazis do not step out of character: they have many faces. They have a face, a mask to wear in case of defeat. Goebbels in this article is adjusting that mask.

The *Neue Zuercher Zeitung* carries the same article on May 9, 1943. Discussing it, it says:

The German press has proceeded to anti-Semitic excesses of unusual intensity . . . This article is the sharpest and most merciless attack against the Jews for a long time. The author directs a merciless challenge of war against Jewry. Just recently authoritative National Socialists have repeatedly announced its destruction. This is to be taken absolutely literally . . . National Socialist officials naturally know that their actions against the Jews will call forth dismay and protests throughout the world. However, they are taking such unfavorable reactions into consideration, because they believe that they are holding a much stronger trump card. They are speculating on anti-Semitic tendencies in neutral and in enemy countries, which in the last analysis, would give a mighty impetus to National Socialist points of view.

One may assume that the success of the campaign of the Katyn incident had encouraged the German press to further blows against enemy morale. The fact that just the Jewish question has been selected is connected with the fact that they believe they are able to note a growing anti-Semitic attitude in England and the United States.

The Katyn incident has been exposed for what it was, a gruesome hoax, in which the bodies of ten thousand Poles, slaughtered in mass murder as members of an "inferior" people, were made to appear the victims of the Russians. It is through no coincidence that the timing of this attack on Allied unity came with the renewal of anti-Semitic ferocity and a bid to Germany's Western enemies to join in the war against the Jews and thus in a war

against Russia, and that they both followed desperately hard on the Russian victory at Stalingrad. Anti-Semitism was an investment worth making, even in defeat.

"The philosophy of our movement will become common to all nations, even to our enemies," said Hitler on February 24, 1943. "State after state, even while they are fighting against us, will be forced more and more to apply National Socialistic doctrines to the conduct of the war which they provoked, and thus the realization of the cursed criminal activity of Jewry will spread to all nations through this war."

International anti-Semitism was to unify even enemies!

Nazi propaganda opened up on the United States long before Pearl Harbor. Lend-Lease had brought on tirades of vituperation against President Roosevelt, whose aid to Germany's enemies was explained by inventing a Jewish origin for him.

In May of 1941 the Ministry of Propaganda issued this instruction to editors and publishers:

"Proper attention is to be given . . . concerning the Jewish origin of Roosevelt. Photographs of him that indicate Jewish features can be used to good advantage in that connection."

Not only was the United States made Jewish or "Jew-controlled" for the benefit of those inside Germany as soon as it became apparent that she was more than likely to throw her economic and armed might against Nazism, but for the benefit of those in the U.S.A. who had already received some inculcation in anti-Semitism through the good offices of the Gerald L. K. Smiths, the William Dudley Pelleys and the Charles Coughlins. Americans were advised from Radio Berlin to impeach their Jewish President and overthrow his Jewish cabinet, which was dragging her into Great Britain's war.

Needless to say, by this time the Nazis had completely "Judaized" Britain, as they had long ago done with the Soviet Union.

On December 7, 1941, the Japanese militarists, convinced by the Nazis that the Red Army was practically destroyed and that little remained to the German invaders but to complete the mopping-up process in the Soviet Union, struck at Pearl Harbor. America was in the war.

On December 8th the troops of Field Marshal Fedor von Bock

began the "strategic withdrawal to winter quarters," and a few days later von Bock was relieved of his command. Germany, losing to one enemy, had inopportunely gained herself another.

Then the strategy of defeat, of divide and conquer, was employed in the full vehemence of desperation.

The war effectively silenced Nazi agents and pro-Nazi voices in the United States, and the audience for short-wave broadcasts was small; but there was one Nazi whose voice could still reach every American, whose words would be printed in every daily paper in the country—Hitler. Speaking in Berlin, he could still cry out to the whole world Germany's innocence, still accuse the Jews of being the real Enemy of all mankind.

On December 11, 1941, he said to the Reichstag:

"We know whose power stands behind Roosevelt. It is the eternal Jew, who believes that the time has come to execute what in Soviet Russia we have come to experience and view with horror. We have become acquainted with the Jewish paradise on earth. Millions of German soldiers have been able to gain personal insight into a country in which these international Jews have destroyed men and property."

He is still the great crusader, the savior of Europe:

"We Germans in this struggle against Russia are serving the interests of the whole continent."

In the speech, addressing those Americans who opposed Roosevelt's economic policies, after pointing out what he, Hitler, has done for Germany, he says:

"Roosevelt has succeeded in undermining American economy, in devaluating the dollar, and in keeping up the figure of unemployment. We know, of course, that the eternal Jew is behind all this . . . Indeed, we all know the intention of the Jews to rule all civilized states in Europe and America."

Every wartime speech, just as every peacetime speech, is interspersed with denunciations of the Jewish-Capitalistic-Bolshevik plot to conquer the world. We might think it so much rignarole and wonder at the credulity of those who employed such nonsense, did we not stop to remind ourselves that this same nonsense brought results. It had helped the Nazis to power in Germany, and it had united the German people behind them; it had delivered

territory and loot into their power without the expense of bloodshed; and it had disintegrated one great country at war with them and demolished its once magnificent army more effectively than bullets and shells could have done. And more—it had removed vast populations from the face of the earth to give place to the advancing hordes of the master race.

The dead have not been counted, nor can they ever be counted. We know that their number reaches into the millions; that the estimate for the number of European Jews who were murdered when the Nazi racial doctrine was put into practice must be placed at around six million. The estimate for non-Jews—peaceful citizens, non-combatants—exceeds this. Such figures numb our minds; when we think in millions we see only a gray mass of nameless, faceless creatures being shoved into oblivion by the forces of abstract evil. We must therefore recall a name here and there, a few words of human anguish and a last clear-cut gesture of defiance. Moreover, we must read the words of the murderers, words that were lies and equivocations and often contradictory, but nevertheless, in their totality, clear and purposeful. The false theories were put into deadly practice.

A report signed by an American commission of eighteen prominent newspaper and magazine editors who investigated the Western European death camps at the request of General Eisenhower reads in part:

“The conclusion is inescapable that the Nazis had a master-plan . . . This we believe is the inexorable consequence of the whole Nazi-German philosophy. By this philosophy, and the cunning and persistence with which it was propagated, the German mind became contaminated and diseased . . . As we witness the collapse of the Nazis’ experiment in ruthlessness and totalitarianism, we are more than ever convinced that there can be no peace on earth until the right of the earth’s people to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is recognized and protected under law.”⁵⁹

The horror that is past—the planned extermination of whole peoples that so nearly succeeded—must never be forgotten, must never occur again. To keep our victory, let us remember Hitler’s words, written after World War I:

*“Any defeat can become the father of a later victory. Any lost war can become the cause of a later rise, every distress the fertilization of human energy, and from every suppression can come the forces of rebirth.”*⁶⁰

Remembering the dead millions of Maidanek, Oswiecim and Treblinka, we, the living, must keep vigilant guard against any later rebirth and rise of earth-conquering madmen.

The Law

All Nazi laws which provided the basis of the Hitler regime or established discrimination on grounds of race, creed, or political opinion shall be abolished. No such discriminations whether legal, administrative or otherwise, shall be tolerated.

Potsdam Declaration,
August 2, 1945.

RECHT IST WAS DEM DEUTSCHEN VOLKE NUETZT (LAW IS THAT which benefits the German nation). This was the principle put into effect immediately in 1933, when Germany's fascist government shattered every tradition of legal theory or practice. Germany changed from a *Rechtsstaat* into a society where legal anarchy reigned supreme. The Law became the handmaid of the Nazi rulers; nothing but the "command of the Fuehrer in whom all political power is vested,"¹ Law became the means to unlawful political ends.

"Legal right is what the Aryan man deems right; legal wrong what he rejects," stated Nazi philosopher Alfred Rosenberg.² The Jews were considered a "legal wrong;" hence they had to be eliminated from the fascist state.

To understand the Nazis' insistence on proceeding according to "legal" principles, even though these principles were but a perversion of everything ever held to be law, it is important to remember that the Germans as a nation had, for centuries, been governed by decree. The German mind was geared to accept whatever was sanctioned by authority.

Life in Germany was governed by rules and regulations. The traditions of liberalism and self-government were underdeveloped. An exaggerated respect for officialdom made the average German not merely accept orders, but crave them. An underpaid civil

service was endowed with immense social status by the simple means of a uniform. The postman, the police officer on his beat, the station-master, having been issued a uniform by their employer, the State, themselves became part of the State, part of the Power that ruled the country. The civilian in his shabby garments envied him whose brass buttons shone a block away. If he could not have a uniform to fit his body, he was willing to accept a strait-jacket for his mind. The infinite number of decrees governing his daily life served to make his mind uniform with that of almost any other German.

The Nazis had long recognized this trait. They utilized it to the full. Putting their hoodlum followers into a Party uniform, they gave them both social and official status. Storm troopers met with little resistance from civilians who, on the whole, were willing to accept orders from anyone in uniform.

With the seizure of power and the dissolution of all former political parties, the *National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei* assumed official character. Party and State became one. Party members occupied every important government position—their actions assumed the force of law. Actions for which no legal precedent existed were legalized *ex post facto* by the one-party Reichstag.

Nazi legislators did not recoil from passing *ex post facto* criminal laws—the first instance in modern criminal jurisprudence of penal laws assuming retroactive force. Nazi courts determined crimes "by analogy" and judged them by the "sound instinct of the people."

As seen in the previous section, the total elimination of the Jews from the social and economic life of the country, and their ultimate destruction, constituted one of the basic aims of the Nazi program. Persecution "by law" was the first step in the Nazi conspiracy, taken to satisfy the Germans' worship of "Law and Order." Long years of propaganda had prepared the ground; Nazism had successfully created the picture of the Enemy and identified him with the Jew. The next step was to fight the Enemy, to outlaw him.

The courts soon complied with the philosophy of the state, declaring that, in relations between "Aryans" and Jews, "the principal purpose of the law and the courts is the protection of the rights of the Aryan against the non-Aryan."³

Hundreds of similar decisions were made in these early years. In November 1935, for instance, the *Landgericht Rostock* declared: "There is a binding law besides the written law. The sources from which this law is derived are the principles and aims of the National Socialist State . . ." ⁴

Germany's Jewish population were the first victims of this "binding law."

Gemeinnutz geht vor Eigenmütz (the common welfare above self-interest) was the pseudo-socialist slogan with which the Nazis tried to win followers for their economic program. As in the legal sphere, where they reverted to anarchy under the camouflage of retroactively passed laws, so in the economic field they initiated a monopoly economy of scarcity under the smokescreen of national "socialism." To understand the full weight of the cynicism of the slogan, we merely have to substitute the welfare of the Party and big business for the common welfare, the interest of any opponent of the regime for self-interest. Party and industry grew rich on the liquidated "interests" of their opponents and competitors.

Promises of social advantage and economic gain brought many to the Party fold. These promises were made good by ousting Jews and anti-fascists from their positions, and by confiscating their property. Expropriation went by the name of *Gleichschaltung* as far as Jewish business was concerned. It meant liquidation, or transfer to "Aryan" ownership. For Jewish employees it meant the loss of their positions.

The London *Economist* of April 22, 1933, states:

Private organizations have also found it advisable to eliminate from leading positions in their offices those persons—Jews and members of the parties of the Left—who are regarded by the Government as undesirable. The *Gleichschaltung* usually consists in the appointment of one or more Nazi commissioners as members of the organization.

From employees in leading positions, this process soon extended down to all Jewish employees and workers. In large concerns, Nazi-controlled cells enforced the dismissal of Jewish employees through intimidation, pressure and sabotage. Small stores were forced into line by means of the boycott, by threats and public

discrimination. Germans were told to buy in German stores only. Shops began to display the sign *Deutsches Geschæft* to show that they had not even one Jewish employee.

Gleichschaltung, also called "Aryanization" by the Nazis, continued as an economic policy until, in 1938, Germany's Jews were finally eliminated by law from every sphere of economic life. It helped the general process of concentration. While all political power was concentrated in the hands of the Party, all economic power became centralized in a few monopolies.

Professor Robert A. Brady, in describing the system, says:

All society, all occupations, all businesses were organized into all-inclusive hierarchies of control, and governed in such a way that

1. all competences were appointed from above and held at the discretion of each superior officer in the hierarchy,
2. all duties and all responsibilities were set from above,
3. each superior authority reserved the right at will to extend control to every phase and facet of the activities of each inferior body or grouping.⁵

All business was organized along political lines. Control was exercised by the Nazi Ministry of Economics, the Four-Year-Plan office under Hermann Goering and local economic authorities. Big business had full representation in all control agencies.

Economic policy was based on the so-called functional principles of the corporate state. Industry, trade, banking, insurance, fuel and power, tourist trade and handicrafts were set up as the seven main corporate units. In addition, transport was organized in six different groups, while the food industry—from farmer to retail grocer—was organized as a separate unit, the *Reichsnaehrstand* (Reich Food Estate). No enterprise could function outside these corporate units. Centralization was complete, monopoly triumphant.

Centralization and control of labor were achieved through the destruction of the trade unions, which were replaced by the *Arbeitsfront* (German Labor Front). The Nazis claimed to be "freeing" German labor from "Marxist" domination. Any group or idea opposed to fascism was labelled "Marxist"—the principle of collective bargaining, strikes and lockouts, trade unions and all anti-fascist groups and parties. The destruction of the trade unions began very

soon after the Nazis' seizure of power. On May 2, 1933 Dr. Robert Ley, heading a "committee of action for the protection of German labor," occupied by force the offices of all the trade unions and imprisoned their most important leaders. Within a few days all trade union organizations were placed under complete Nazi control. On May 10th the Nazis held the first meeting of the German Labor Front.

German workers—Jews and Gentiles alike—were victims of the destruction of free labor. Regimentation of labor and persecution of minorities went hand in hand.

Nazi law outlawed the Jew; Nazi-ophile enterprise grabbed his property. Anti-Semitism was a source of income.

The aim was total annihilation. In Germany it could not be achieved at one stroke, as later in Nazi-occupied countries. Germany's foreign relations and her home economy deserved consideration. Anti-Jewish measures were gradually accelerated; the process of elimination spread over almost a decade. It began with the ousting of Jews from civil service and professions and culminated in their complete elimination from German economic life. It did not stop there. The draft for forced labor followed. The end was deportation and death.

The period of persecution may be divided into the following sections:

- A. April 1933—September 1935
(From the first anti-Jewish laws to the Party Congress in Nuremberg)
- B. September 1935—March 1938
(From the Party Congress in Nuremberg to the annexation of Austria)
- C. March 1938—November 1938
(From the annexation of Austria to the November pogroms)
- D. November 1938—September 1939
(From the November pogroms to the beginning of the war)
- E. The period of the war.

The German text of anti-Jewish laws and decrees, denoted [A],

may be found in the appendix, either in full or in pertinent excerpts. A short summary in English is given for each law. The exact source of laws and decrees not printed in the appendix is given in the reference notes.⁶

FROM APRIL 1933 TO SEPTEMBER 1935

On April 1, 1933, the world was electrified by the anti-Jewish boycott which the Nazis staged in Germany. For days prior to this date, the Nazi press had ranted against Germany's Jewish population. In blaring headlines, the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, Adolf Hitler's own paper, announced:

March 27: "WIR WARNEN DAS JUDENTUM"

March 28: "BOYCOTTIERT DIE JUDEN"

March 31: "SCHLAGT DEN WELTFEIND"

April 1: "DER ABWEHRKAMPF HAT BEGONNEN"

Sixty-six million Germans had begun to wage open war against half a million Jews.

One of the first discriminatory laws, passed on April 7, 1933, was the *Law for the Restoration of Professional Civil Service* [A]. It displaced the provisions of the Constitution of August 11, 1919, which guaranteed to civil servants appointment for life and pensions after ten years' service or at the age of 65, with death benefits for their immediate families.⁷ This as well as other early Nazi laws, was aimed not only at "non-Aryans" but also at other opponents of the Nazi regime, such as Communists and Freemasons. It furnished the basis for their exclusion from civil service, education and the professions.

The term "non-Aryan," which incorporated the racial theory into German law, was defined in the *First Decree Supplementing the Law for the Restoration of Professional Civil Service* [A], issued April 11, 1933. The definition was used in all subsequent laws dealing with Jews, up to September 15, 1935. This decree classified as "non-Aryan": Jews, converted Jews, their children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren (from then on descendants of

converted Jews were "Aryans," since none of their grandparents were Jews), children of "mixed" marriages, even if the children were baptized, and grandchildren of "mixed" marriages. These categories, by which "Aryan" status was arbitrarily derived from the fourth generation, affected a considerably larger number of persons than would have been the case if only 100-per-cent Jews had been involved.

Under the several decrees which supplemented the law on civil service, "non-Aryan" officials were compulsorily retired and their pensions reduced to the barest minimum. "Non-Aryans" were prohibited from joining the Civil Service, and cancellation of all civil service contracts with "non-Aryans" was ordered.⁸

Exemption from these laws was granted to civil servants appointed before August 1, 1914; to persons who had seen front-line service during the war of 1914-18; and to fathers or sons of persons killed in that war.

Officials within the meaning of the law were: civil service employees in Reich, state, municipal and local administrations; social insurance personnel; judges and prosecutors; notaries public;⁹ instructors in schools, colleges and universities;¹⁰ public utilities officials; officers of the defense forces; police officers in the various German states;¹¹ employees of the Reichsbank and the Reich Railroad corporation.¹²

In June 1933, the civil service laws were extended to "Aryan" officials married to persons classified as "non-Aryan."¹³

Simultaneously with the barring of "non-Aryans" from the civil service, "non-Aryan" and Communist attorneys were prevented from practising, by the *Law Regarding Admission to the Legal Profession* [A], issued on April 7, 1933. This law provided for the same exceptions as were applied to civil servants. But they were of little use, since Party pressure prevented "Aryan" clients from consulting "non-Aryan" lawyers.

"Non-Aryans" were excluded from related fields by subsequent laws. Patent lawyers were struck off the rolls.¹⁴ Honorary officials were dismissed.¹⁵ "Non-Aryans" were no longer eligible as jurors.¹⁶ Tax consultants were prohibited from practising.¹⁷

The closing of the medical field came shortly after, on April 22, 1933, with the issuance of the *Decree Regarding Physicians' Serv-*

ices with the National Health Insurance [A]. Although this did not revoke the licenses of "non-Aryan" physicians, its effect was almost identical to revocation. German workers and their families carried compulsory health insurance, and panel practice with the National Health Insurance Service afforded many physicians the major portion of their income. Exclusion from panel practice, which the act imposed, together with the ousting of staff personnel from state and municipal hospitals (through the civil service decrees) deprived most "non-Aryan" physicians of their livelihood. This measure was extended to the dental profession on June 2, 1933, with the passage of the *Decree Regarding the Service of Dentists and Dental Technicians with the National Health Insurance*.¹⁸ The exceptions granted civil servants and lawyers were also applied to physicians and dentists.

Virtual elimination of "non-Aryan" students was the object of the *Law Against the Overcrowding of German Schools and Universities* [A], enacted April 25, 1933. A supplementary decree, of the same date,¹⁹ introduced a *numerus clausus* intended to reduce the proportion of "non-Aryan" students to five per cent by restricting further admissions to one and one-half per cent. Teachers were retired through the provisions of the civil service laws, forbidding them to teach or lecture in any but Jewish educational institutions.²⁰

In other spheres of cultural life, the Nazis established the criterion of "political reliability" in order to keep Nazi culture free from anti-fascist influence. A Reich Chamber of Culture was created,²¹ with branches in music, painting, sculpture, stage, radio and other arts. Membership in the Chamber was a prerequisite for a career in any of these fields. Only those considered "politically reliable" were admitted to membership. This, of course, precluded "non-Aryans."

The *Law Regarding Editors* [A], issued October 4, 1933, barred from journalism "non-Aryans" and those married to "non-Aryans." It completed the purge of the arts and professions and sped the process justifying Goebbels' boast, "The German belongs to us from the cradle to the grave."

The process reached into another field with the *Law Regulating Peasant Holdings* [A], of September 29, 1933. This edict revived the

system of medieval feudalism, and established hereditary land holdings for peasants on a strictly racist basis. The Nazis elevated the peasantry to the *Blutquelle* (source of life) of the German people; thus, persons of Jewish or Negro blood could not qualify as peasants or landowners. "Purity of blood" had to be proved back to the year 1800.

The first attacks upon citizenship occurred during this early period. "Non-Aryans" of German birth were not affected for the first two years of the regime. But the citizenship of naturalized "non-Aryans" became revocable under the *Law Regarding the Revocation of Naturalization and the Annulment of German Citizenship* [A] of July 14th, and its *Supplementary Decree* [A] of July 26, 1933. These provided for forfeiture of citizenship and confiscation of property of those whose naturalization was considered undesirable. Specific mention was made of "Jews from Eastern Europe." In the following year deportation was ordered for many Polish Jews, under the *Law Regarding Expulsion from the Reich*, passed on March 23, 1934.²² This law made an "alien" liable to deportation and defined as an "alien" a person not possessing German citizenship. It was promptly invoked against those "aliens" who had been deprived of their citizenship by the previous decrees.

In this period, two further measures were aimed at Germany's Jews. One excluded "non-Aryans" from the Nazis' Reich Labor Service,²³ euphemistically termed an "honorary duty." But, apart from "honor," the Labor Service provided employment for Nazis, and by the same logic spelled unemployment for Jews. The second law barred "non-Aryans" from military service, reintroduced on a compulsory basis in 1935, and forbade members of the Wehrmacht to marry "non-Aryans." The service of "non-Aryans" in the event of war was made subject to special regulations.²⁴

These were the most important legal measures passed against the Jews prior to September 15, 1935.

Encouraged by this legislation, by court decisions and the boycott of April 1, 1933, local discriminatory measures continued throughout Germany. For local Nazi leaders persecution of the Jews meant a show of power; for "Aryan" business men the boycott was a convenient means of ridding themselves of Jewish competitors, and acquiring new enterprises cheaply.

The boycott was most effective in small communities where Jewish storekeepers could no longer carry on their trade. Many of them left to settle in large cities where Jewish economic activities had not yet been entirely eliminated. Yet even here, the Nazis had ousted the Jews from "big business" as early as 1933. The process of *Gleichschaltung* coincided with the movement of industrial concentration.

This process put capital assets, and therefore national power, in the hands of heavy industry. It also served to fulfill the material promises made to prominent Party members.

The *Frankfurter Zeitung* of June 21, 1936, in an article *Industrielle Besitzverlagerungen* (Shifts in Industrial Ownership), describes the process of concentration and shifts in ownership in German industry since 1933.

This process of "Aryanization" of industrial enterprises increased greatly during the following years. It soon spread to all branches of industry.

Jewish employees were much affected by these measures. Reduced business activity forced Jewish firms to dismiss them. "Aryan" firms dismissed them in the process of *Gleichschaltung*. In the early days, some courts denied employers the right to dismiss their employees "merely because they are non-Aryan."²⁵ But most Jewish employees did not dare to take their claims to court. Dismissals were numerous.

In his letter of resignation as High Commissioner for Refugees Coming from Germany,²⁶ James G. McDonald, on December 27, 1935, pointed out the results and intent of the Nazi policy already evident:

More than the mere hindrance of the business activity of "non-Aryans" is taking place, more than a curtailment of the means of livelihood for the more than sixty per cent of the Jews of Germany engaged therein. The latest reports indicate that nothing less than the complete liquidation of all economic enterprises owned by Jews is the objective of National Socialist policy.

The first direct step to that end was taken at the Party Congress in Nuremberg, on September 15, 1935.

The *First Decree Supplementing the Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honor* [A] prescribed in detail whom a *Mischling* is permitted to marry, and made it a crime for Jews to have extra-marital relations with "Aryans" and "hybrids." Amplifying the provision on the employment of "Aryan" maids, it defined a Jewish household as one headed by or including a Jewish male adult.

The Nuremberg Laws discarded the term "non-Aryan" and divided the population into two categories, Germans and Jews. They thus fulfilled one of the early Nazi demands, incorporated in the Party program of February 5, 1920.³⁰

Following the two supplementary decrees of November 14, 1935, a comparative lull in anti-Jewish legislation ensued. Up to March 1938, only minor pronouncements were made as addenda to previous measures. But, in contrast, economic persecution was accelerated to unprecedented levels. It gave the lie to Hitler's words lauding the Nuremberg Laws as furnishing the only basis for the Jew to live at peace in Germany.³¹

A plan for the liquidation of Jewish businesses in Germany had been drafted by the Party's Economic Information Bureau.³² It called for:

the purchase of Jewish firms by a central corporation and their redistribution among ambitious "Aryan" business men. It is suggested that such business can be obtained cheaply.

In anticipation of the formal promulgation of a decree enforcing the new anti-Jewish laws, various projects for taking over Jewish-owned commercial concerns are being widely discussed. While small Jewish merchants have been facing extermination through local boycotts, the problem of the older firms in larger towns and cities is more formidable.

There are movements to organize the employees of Jewish-owned establishments into holding companies to take over the business. Attempts to restrict the control of Jewish owners also are reported.

The scheme, advanced by the Economic Information Bureau, envisages the creation of intermediary liquidation or a holding bank, because few "Aryan" business men have been able to get sufficient capital to acquire the Jewish houses that are suffering severe losses from the Nazi boycott. Under the proposed plan

the central corporation would lend money for the purchase of Jewish-owned concerns or would buy them itself and offer them on an easy-payment plan to non-Jewish business men.

How successfully this plan worked out with large Jewish-owned businesses was demonstrated in a report, *Der juengste Konzentrationsprozess*, appearing in Germany at a time when all publications were subject to strict Nazi censorship.³³ The report traces exhaustively the development of German combines from 1933 to 1939, by specific branches of industry. Of four causes to which the article attributes the rapid concentration that went on in these years—especially from 1936–39—it lists "Aryanization" as second in importance.

It is evident that although "Aryanization" and concentration were two separate movements, the process of concentration was greatly aided by the elimination of Jewish entrepreneurs. Heavy industry was the true beneficiary.

The report includes a long list of firms which were taken over. Many were Jewish enterprises. In the following we cite a few examples, taken from the article illustrating the role which "Aryanization" played in the process of industrial concentration.

The Mining and Armament Industries, long before 1936, had been dominated by the four mammoth concerns: the Stahlverein, Krupp, Kloeckner and Gutehoffnungshuette. After 1936, Mannesmann, Friedrich Flick, Otto Wolff and Reichswerke Hermann Goering gained influence in these fields. All four of the new concerns had directly benefited from "Aryanization."

In the Chemical Industry, Jewish plants manufacturing soaps and cleansers, paints and varnishes were taken over by middle-sized "Aryan" concerns.

The Paper and Cellulose Industries showed many important transactions during the years 1936–39. The large Hartmann holdings went into "Aryan" hands.

In the Textile and Clothing Industries, the wave of concentration in the years 1936–39 coincided with the process of "Aryanization." Many Jewish enterprises changed owners, many others were merged with existing "Aryan" competitive concerns. Still others were totally liquidated, which meant an automatic increase in business for the remaining "Aryan" establishments. The report

estimates that in 1938 alone, 900 out of 6,500 existing firms in the Clothing Industry were liquidated.

The situation in the Shoe and Leather Industries was similar.

In the Food Industry, Jewish and foreign (especially French) enterprises, particularly mills, were put at the disposal of medium and small "Aryan" concerns.

In the Tobacco Industry, the great majority of Jewish cigar firms in Southern Germany were acquired by "Aryans."

Former employees often took over Jewish firms in the Wholesale and Retail Trade.

In the field of Private Banking, the process of shrinking which had its origin in the inflation of 1921-23, assumed an almost stormy tempo with "Aryanization." The smaller Jewish firms were liquidated almost without exception. Some of the medium-sized private banks met with the same fate.

Germany had become the very personification of aggressive monopoly capitalism. The Nazi hierarchy grew rich on the steadily mounting process of centralized production of war material, which it intended to use for its own profit, even if this process entailed the pauperization of a world.

On August 2, 1945, the *Potsdam Declaration* put a formal end to the dreams of German monopolists—dreams that the Allied forces had already shattered on the battlefield. The Declaration states:

At the earliest practicable date the German economy shall be decentralized for the purpose of eliminating the present excessive concentration of economic power as exemplified in particular by cartels, syndicates, trusts and other monopolistic arrangements.³⁴

The methods used since 1933 to oust Jews from business life were reinforced by other devices, such as demonstrations incited by the press, curtailment, suspension or discontinuance of delivery of raw materials to Jewish enterprises. These methods were most effectively employed against small and medium-sized concerns. Those who persisted were forced out by other means: they were accused of allegedly illegal actions such as violation of tax laws, or they were placed in "protective custody" and detained until ready to yield. Of such cases there is, of course, no documentary proof,

but identical testimony by many refugees from all parts of Germany is incontrovertible.

Local officials assisted in forcing the Jews out of certain trades. In December 1937, for example, licenses were demanded for the establishment of new firms in the clothing trade in Berlin. Jewish applications for such licenses were not to be considered.³⁵

Understandably, such progressive liquidation of Jewish enterprises affected Jewish workers in ever greater degree. Their plight was further increased by two specific factors: the dissolution of Jewish employment agencies and the denial of legal protection.

The *Arbeitsfront* was set up to regiment German labor. Membership was compulsory for all workers. Employers could hire only members of the *Arbeitsfront*. Jews, though forced to belong to the organization and to pay dues, had no claim to employment. The dissolution of Jewish employment agencies was ordered in September 1936, effective as of January 1, 1937. The order, issued by the President of the Reich Institute for Employment and Unemployment Insurance, was based on a labor law of November 5, 1935.³⁶ Under the order, all sectarian employment offices were to cease operations, and only State employment offices were to function. Any worker seeking employment was compelled to secure it through these centralized offices. Jewish workers, too, had to be registered with the newly authorized, exclusive agencies. They were, however, deprived of any employment opportunity, since the worker acceptable to the Nazis "must be of 'Aryan stock' and 'politically satisfactory,' that is to say, non-Jewish, 'non-Marxian' and willing to work on the terms at which labor is offered."³⁷

The denial to the Jews of all redress by law was extended to employer-employee relationships. Overruling the 1933 decision of the *Dortmund Labor Court*,³⁸ the *Supreme Labor Court of the Reich*, in February 1938, held that "the fact that an employee belongs to the Jewish race gives the employer the right to dismiss him or her without notice."³⁹

Taxation also played its nefarious part in the economic persecution of the Jews. Heavy taxes were imposed to obtain huge sums to the National Socialist treasury, and at the same time to pauperize German Jews. The general principles of taxation were given in the

Law Regarding the Adaptation of Taxes, of October 16, 1934,⁴⁰ which stated:

The tax laws must be construed according to National Socialist views. The people's viewpoint, the purpose and the economic effect of the tax laws in connection with the general development have to be taken into consideration.

The foundation of the excessive taxation of Jews was the *Law for a Reich Flight Tax*, of December 8, 1931.⁴¹ This law was changed repeatedly in order to drain the holdings of emigrating Jews. The changes reached the scandalous farce of permitting "seizure without legal formalities of the property of anyone suspected of leaving Germany permanently."⁴²

The *Voelkischer Beobachter* of May 9, 1935 reported that Jewish emigrants had paid taxes of 17,602,000 Reichsmark in 1933-34 and 44,776,000 Reichsmark in 1934-35. In the last three months of 1938 alone, the amount extorted from Jewish emigrants rose to 92,000,000 Reichsmark,⁴³ while the number of emigrants for the entire year of 1938 had decreased by 50 per cent.⁴⁴

By 1938, anti-Jewish inscriptions and pickets were no longer needed. Jewish shops were scarcely to be found, except for a few in the larger cities. And here, the system of spying and denouncing was so highly perfected that few "Aryans" dared enter.

FROM MARCH 1938 TO NOVEMBER 1938

On March 11, 1938 Hitler's armies marched into Austria. There, in a few weeks the Nazis accomplished what it had taken years to achieve in Germany—the exclusion of Jews from public life. Encouraged by this easy success, the Nazis loosed a flood of anti-Jewish laws in the short period from March to November 1938.

The *Law on the Legal Status of Jewish Communities* [A] of March 28, 1938 changed their legal status from that of corporations of public law to private associations. In practical terms this change meant that Jewish communities forfeited their privilege of tax exemption and their right to levy taxes upon their members.

This move had been foreshadowed the previous summer, when the Nazis dissolved Jewish organizations, banned their meetings and confiscated their property.

In June 1938, Jewish schools were deprived of the privilege of tax exemption.⁴⁵

A *Decree Against Aiding in Concealment of Ownership of Jewish Enterprises* [A] was passed on April 22nd. In contrast to legislation based on the Nuremberg Laws, this was the first of a series of anti-Jewish edicts based on Goering's Four Year Plan. It penalized concealing Jewish ownership and dealing as agent for undisclosed Jewish principals.

The first step toward expropriation by law was the *Decree Regarding the Registration of Jewish Property* [A] of April 26th. It ordered the registration of all domestic and foreign holdings of Jews, in excess of 5,000 Reichsmark. The Nazis vigorously denied that their purpose was expropriation,⁴⁶ but later decrees belied their assertions.

The decree on registration of Jewish property was accompanied by an ordinance which required that permission of the authorities be obtained for concluding real estate transactions or opening new enterprises involving Jews.⁴⁷ Further preparing the way for confiscation, the *Third Decree Supplementing the Law on Citizenship*, dated June 14, 1938,⁴⁸ defined as Jewish enterprises all those which were owned or managed by a Jew.

The *Law Concerning the Change of Regulations for Trade and Industrial Enterprises*, of July 6th,⁴⁹ barred Jews from all trade activities without a permanent place of business, and denied them the necessary licenses, depriving thousands of their livelihood.

General identification cards were introduced on July 22nd.⁵⁰ The *Third Notice Regarding Identification Cards* [A], giving detailed regulations for Jews, was published the following day.

Passports for Jews residing in Germany were declared void by a decree of October 5th.⁵¹ Passports were issued for emigration purposes only. They were stamped "J," for *Jude*.

By the *Second Decree Supplementing the Law Regarding the Change of Family Names* [A], proclaimed August 17th, Jews were allowed only certain first names. Those with other given names had to adopt "Israel" or "Sara" in addition to their own.

Decrees Supplementing the Law on Citizenship followed one another in quick succession. The *Fourth* [A] (July 25th) revoked the licenses of Jewish physicians as of September 30th. The *Fifth*



Jewish identification card smuggled out of Germany.

(September 27th) barred Jewish lawyers from practice,⁵² and the *Sixth* (October 31st) extended the restrictions to patent lawyers.⁵³ Jewish nurses and midwives were forbidden to practise.⁵⁴ The proscription of Jewish dentists, pharmacists, and veterinarians came early the following year, with the *Eighth Decree Supplementing the Law on Citizenship*.⁵⁵

Exceptions previously granted were disregarded. The law confined the few remaining lawyers and physicians to the exclusive care of their fellow Jews. They could no longer be called physicians or lawyers, but had to be titled "healers of the sick" (*Krankenbehandler*) or "consultants" (*Rechtsberater*).

These efforts for the economic extinction of the Jews by legal warrant had their counterparts in other channels. Anti-Jewish outbreaks mounted steadily. Repression had reached the stage of open terror. The German people were ready for the November pogroms.

FROM NOVEMBER 1938 TO SEPTEMBER 1939

The Nazis, awaiting an opportune moment for the decisive blow, found it on November 7, 1938, when a Jewish youth named Hershel Grynspan shot and fatally wounded the third secretary of the German Embassy in Paris, Ernst vom Rath.

This was the signal for the launching of violent pogroms throughout Germany, Austria and the Sudetenland. The pogroms in turn served as the prelude to the final wave of legislation that spelled legal and economic annihilation for the Jews.

This last step had been carefully planned beforehand. The admission came from Reich Minister of Economics, Walther Funk, in a speech delivered a few days after the pogrom: ⁵⁶

It is impossible to exclude the Jews from public life and to leave them alone in economic life. The final explosion of popular rage . . . occurred at the very moment when we had almost completed the economic elimination of the Jews. Field Marshal Goering, Commissioner of the Four Year Plan, was the first to tackle this problem. He provided the means for the complete elimination of the Jews from our economic life. By means of Aryanization we had already excluded the Jews entirely from the stock ex-

changes and the banks, and almost entirely from big business and all important industrial undertakings.

Of the registered Jewish property of 7,000 million Marks, about 2,000 million Marks have already been transferred to German possession. Our preparations enable us now to exclude the Jews entirely from German business life, and to transfer what is left of Jewish property to German hands.

Three anti-Jewish decrees based on Goering's Four Year Plan were issued in one day, November 12th. A *Decree Regarding an Atonement Fine for Jewish Subjects* [A] levied a fine of one billion Reichsmark as punishment for "the hostile attitude of Jewry against the German people, not even recoiling from cowardly murder."

A *Decree to Eliminate the Jews from German Economic Life* [A] set January 1, 1939 as the date after which Jews were forbidden to engage in any kind of trade as independent owners, managers, or in executive positions.

A crowning piece of irony was the *Decree Regarding the Restoration of Jewish Places of Business* [A]. In the pogrom many Jewish stores and houses had been wrecked or damaged. The damage had been caused, the decree asserted, "by the wrath of the people regarding the agitation of international Jewry against National Socialist Germany." Jews were ordered to repair the damage at their own expense, and indemnities due them from insurance companies had to be paid to the Reich.

On November 16th, an *Ordinance by the Reich Minister of Education* [A] abolished the *numerus clausus* by ejecting from all German schools the few remaining Jewish students.

A *Police Decree Regarding the Appearance of Jews in Public* [A] of November 28th, authorized officials to "exclude Jews from certain localities and to ban them from appearing in public at certain hours." The Berlin Police President acted promptly. On December 3rd, he issued an *Order* [A] barring Jews from all places of entertainment, education and sport as well as from several prominent streets.

An ordinance, passed on November 24th,⁵⁷ authorized measures for disposal of Jewish properties "in conformity with German economic interests." This was followed on December 3rd by the *De-*

cree Regarding the Utilization of Jewish Property [A], providing for the compulsory sale of Jewish businesses, personal or real property, and compelling Jews to deposit their securities with a recognized bank. The law also limited rights to ownership and disposal of real estate, jewelry and art objects.

These regulations as to valuables were superseded by the *Third Ordinance Supplementing the Decree Regarding the Registration of Jewish Property* [A], of February 21, 1939. This measure compelled Jews to surrender all jewels and precious metals to the public purchasing offices of the Reich.

The Nazis capitalized on the Jews to the extent of making a profit out of those whom they had killed in concentration camps. A letter to the editor of the *London Times*, of October 31, 1939, by members of a tribunal investigating aliens at Richborough Camp, Kent, England,⁵⁸ states:

We heard of cases where the arrest of a father was followed in a few days by the notification that he was ill in prison or in a concentration camp, the locality of which was not specified. A report followed later that he had died. In due course a box purporting to contain his remains was brought to the house with a demand for 500 Marks—"the expense of cremation."

The Second World War was only months away. The Reich was pressing military preparations with ever more feverish speed. The Jews left in Germany were without political rights, civil status, property or occupation. The Nazis had reduced them to the level on which they wished to incorporate them in their war program.

Conscription of Jews for forced labor began with the *Decree of the President of the Reich Employment Service* [A] of March 4, 1939. Jews able to work were to be hired for construction work, soil improvement and the like, in order to free German labor for "important national tasks." Jews were to be segregated from non-Jewish workers.

Several more repressive measures were put into effect before the outbreak of war. A *Notice Regarding Personal Effects of Emigrants* [A] added to the severities of the *Law on Foreign Exchange* of December 12, 1938,⁵⁹ aimed at "flight of capital." The *Law on Leases Entered into with Jews* [A], published April 30, 1939, re-

stricted the relationship of Jews as tenants or landlords to other Jews, and deprived Jews of legal protection against non-Jews.

The last drastic anti-Jewish measure enacted before the war was the *Tenth Decree Supplementing the Law on Citizenship* [A], on July 4, 1939. It created the Reich Association of Jews in Germany, under supervision of the Ministry of the Interior. Membership was compulsory for all German and stateless Jews. Full responsibility for Jewish relief, education and cultural activities fell upon the new organization. Complete segregation of Jewish life had been achieved, and a heavy financial burden imposed on the already pauperized community. Significantly, the main task assigned the Association was the acceleration of Jewish emigration.

By the fall of 1939, thousands of German Jews had been deported and killed. Those left in Germany were completely trapped. How greatly the number of Jews had shrunk during the period of the regime is shown by the German Census of 1939, which for the first time included a census of "Jews by race."

Jews in Greater Germany

(excluding the Memel territory, the Protectorate and the eastern territories)⁶⁰

Jews, according to the 1939 census, comprised 0.42% of the total population. Added were 0.09% half-Jews and 0.05% quarter-Jews.

1939			1933
	Men	Women	
Jews (by race)	330,892	139,833	191,059
Half-Jews	72,738	34,010	38,728
Quarter-Jews	42,811	20,654	22,157

More than seven-tenths of all Jews lived in twelve cities of 500,000 inhabitants and more, in which they represented 1.7% of the population, four times more than the Reich average.

	1939		1933	
	% of Jews living there	% of Jews of total populat'n	% of Jews living there	% of Jews of total populat'n
Cities, less than 10,000 inhabitants	9.2	0.08	13.2	0.24
Cities, over one million inhabitants	55.7	2.31	49.6	4.47

Berlin and Vienna housed more than half the Jews left in "Greater Germany" in 1939. In addition only five other cities had large Jewish communities.

City	Jews	Half-Jews	Quarter-Jews
Vienna	91,480	15,591	6,753
Berlin	82,788	17,820	8,854
Frankfort-Main	14,461	1,879	857
Breslau	11,172	1,727	776
Hamburg	10,131	4,428	3,360
Cologne	8,539	1,507	828
Munich	5,050	1,345	624
Total	223,621	44,297	22,052
% of total number of Jews	67.6	60.9	51.5

The Reich Association of Jews in Germany in its census of October 1, 1939, gives the following age-groups for Jews in Germany and the Sudetenland, excluding Austria:

Age	Men		Women	
	1933	1939	1933	1939
Up to 15	42,000	7,600	40,700	7,400
16-24	29,000	4,200	29,600	5,500
25-39	57,000	9,500	62,700	14,600
40-59	75,400	31,200	82,000	45,400
Over 60	35,300	25,000	46,100	34,700
Total	238,700	77,500	261,100	107,600

THE PERIOD OF THE WAR

We lack complete reports of anti-Jewish legislation since the beginning of the war. Therefore, no final analysis of the developments after 1939 can be undertaken at this time. The legal measures summarized here, varying in importance, offer only a partial presentation.

All laws and decrees concerning Jews were published in the *Juedisches Nachrichtenblatt*, the only paper which the Reich Association of Jews in Germany was permitted to publish after November 1938, under strict Nazi censorship. Anti-Jewish measures which the Nazis considered important were also made public in the official German Law Gazette (*Reichsgesetzblatt*).

A *Decree Regarding Emigration Taxes for Jews* [A], dated February 2, 1940, levied a tax to be paid by emigrating members of the Reich Association of Jews with property of 10,000 Reichsmark or more. The tax ranged from ten to sixty per cent.

According to a *Notice Concerning Clothes Rationing for Jews* [A], issued February 6, 1940 by the Ministry of Economics, Jews were not to receive ration cards for clothing, textiles, shoes or leather for shoe soles. They were to receive a ration card for the purchase of sewing material to the amount of twenty Pfennige (five cents) every three months.

Food rationing was not based on a Reich law but administered by local authorities who discriminated against Jews by invalidating certain of their coupons, restricting them to late shopping hours when supplies were exhausted, or prohibiting the sale of milk, eggs, fruit and meat to them.⁶¹

Beginning September 19, 1941, Jews over six years of age were forced to wear the "Star of David," and were forbidden to leave their districts without written authorization. This order of September 1st appeared in a *Police Decree Regarding Identification Badges for Jews* [A].

By a *Decree on the Employment of Jews*, of October 3, 1941,⁶² the Reich Minister of Labor was authorized to issue regulations for the employment of Jews, to be considered "employment of a special kind." These regulations were embodied in a second *Decree on the Employment of Jews* [A], issued October 31, 1941. Jews

were not to receive any overtime, vacation or sickness pay, family allowances or any other extra compensation. Jews were barred from work or shelter with non-Jewish employees. Working hours were the same for Jewish youths as for adults. Unemployment pay was at a minimum.



Under the *Eleventh Decree Supplementing the Law on Citizenship* [A], dated November 25, 1941, all Jews living abroad lost their status as German subjects. Their property was confiscated.

On April 17, 1942, an *Order on the Use of Public Conveyances* [A] forbade Jews the use of public vehicles without written permission by the police.

Among the nuisance decrees issued at this time, a *Notice on Keeping Pets* [A], on May 15, 1942, forbade Jews to keep dogs, cats or birds. Another forbade Jews to patronize non-Jewish barbers or beauty parlors.⁶³

The last anti-Jewish law obtainable, the *Thirteenth Decree Supplementing the Law on Citizenship* [A], issued July 1, 1943, denied Jews recourse to the courts of law, and placed them under police administration.

In this period "legal" persecution occupied a minor place in Nazi policy and was superseded by the more direct method of mass murder. According to the findings of Allied military authorities, the majority of the German Jews were killed between 1939 and 1942. The Nazis boasted of a Reich that would be *judenrein*—free of Jews—by April 1, 1942. That they did not succeed was due to wartime transportation difficulties.⁶⁴ They very nearly succeeded.

NAZI-DOMINATED EUROPE

The repressive methods developed in Germany set the pattern for those other countries in Europe which the Nazis conquered or which became satellites of the Reich.

German expansion began with the invasion of Austria, March 11, 1938. Immediately, anti-Jewish laws were introduced, accompanied by violence and economic persecution. Through one general act, all Reich laws passed on or after March 13, 1938, became valid for the "province of Austria" (later named *Ostmark*), unless application of such laws was expressly withheld.⁶⁵

These laws were supplemented by a number of new anti-Jewish measures, most of which went into effect simultaneously in Germany and Austria. Directed mainly to the exclusion of Jews from economic life, they completed a process begun in Germany in 1933. In Austria the result of five years' persecution was achieved within the period of a few months. Austria became the model state with respect to the speed with which the elimination of Jews could be accomplished. The formula was generally adopted in all lands overrun by the Nazis. Variations occurred only as to sequence or technicalities dictated by political expediency.

In some countries the entire body of German law was introduced. In others, German laws antedating the occupation were enacted individually. Subsequent German legislation became automatically valid. The effect, however, was the same: the Jews were

eliminated from the political, social and economic life of the invaded countries or the satellite states.

The introduction of extreme anti-Jewish legislation was a gruesome novelty in most European countries; others had adopted an anti-Jewish policy even before they officially became satellites of the Reich. The most prominent example was Rumania, where the Goga government, on January 21, 1938, passed its *Citizenship Revision Law* embodying the racial principles of the Nuremberg Laws. Rumania did not join the Axis until November 23, 1940.

In no country, however, had anti-Jewish measures equalled the Nazis in destructive intent. No official of any other government had declared that it would "go on waging this (anti-Jewish) war until the Jews have been wiped off the face of the earth."⁶⁶

In most countries the first anti-Jewish decrees under Nazi domination were concerned with the ousting of Jews from the civil service, the professional life and cultural activities. In Hungary, with few exceptions, Jews were permitted to do business with Jews only; however, Jews were not barred entirely. Yet here, too, the number of Jews in professional and business life was reduced to a minute percentage of the population as a whole. That is as far as the law went; boycott measures and dismissal of Jewish employees disposed of those not reached by law.

Thus, except for the few who practised among Jews, Jewish professionals all over Europe had to turn elsewhere for a livelihood. They emigrated from their homelands whenever possible, yet many of them were found in the ranks of forced labor. The Nazis made a point of choosing Jewish intellectuals among the first destined for concentration camps or firing squads—the surest way to end their "destructive influence." On the other hand, when the Nazis lacked medical help during their Russian campaign, they sent Jewish doctors from Latvia to the Eastern front to treat German wounded.

The purging of the professions and civil service was followed, and sometimes accompanied, by other measures telescoping the sequence of events in Germany: the Jews were deprived of their civil rights, their freedom of movement, their property; they were excluded from the country's economic life; segregated, compelled to adopt "Jewish" names or to wear the "Star of David;" driven

from their homes and banned from public places. These "legal" measures were supported by coercion after the pattern in Germany proper.

The final step was the herding together of masses of Jews into ghettos or concentration camps. Those not used for forced labor were consigned to annihilation camps.

When the Nazis were at the height of their military power, persecution was most intense. In Serbia, for example, anti-Jewish legislation—introduced immediately after Yugoslavia's capitulation on April 18, 1941—went hand in hand with the mass executions of Jews. The Banat region of Yugoslavia was declared *judenrein* in August 1941, four months after the German invasion.

Though anti-Jewish policy was fundamentally the same throughout Nazi-dominated Europe, the definition of the term "Jew" was not identical in all countries. Austria, Poland, Bohemia-Moravia and Rumania followed the racial principles of the Nuremberg Laws—partly through their own codes, partly through the adoption of the Nazi formulations.

In Slovakia, a law issued April 18, 1939, defined Jews not by race or blood, but by "Israelite faith." Those considered "economically valuable" were exempted from the law's provisions upon payment of a certain fee. But the Slovakian puppet government established Nazi racial criteria through its *Jewish Code* of September 10, 1941, comprising some 130 anti-Jewish edicts.

In Hungary, as a concession to the Church, many exceptions were granted to converted Jews.

The first racial law in the puppet state of Croatia, issued April 30, 1941, exempted as "honorary Aryans" Jews who had rendered special service to the state before April 10, 1941.

Bulgaria introduced racial principles on January 23, 1941 with its *Law for the Protection of the Nation*, but a supplementary decree of February 15, 1941 provided for the exemption of "preferred Jews," including converts, war veterans and those married to non-Jews.

In Norway, where there were but few "racial" Jews, the notorious Quisling government invented the term "spiritual Jew," so as to include Freemasons and other opponents of the regime in its anti-Jewish legislation.

In some countries, centralized Jewish organizations were established, through which the Jews were compelled to administer their own affairs. These organizations were under complete Nazi control. In other countries, special ministries or bureaus were organized to handle "Jewish affairs." In Rumania the "Office for Rumanization and Colonization" administered expropriated Jewish property. The Bulgarian "Commissariat for Jewish Affairs" carried out all anti-Jewish regulations. The "Anti-Jewish Bureau" in the Norwegian Ministry of Propaganda, and the "Institute for Study of Jewish Problems" in Paris served similar purposes.

The pace at which anti-Jewish measures were implemented varied in different countries. In Hungary, despite the use of extra-legal means to supplement legislation, some of the Nazis' anti-Jewish decrees remained a dead letter: here there was no mass extermination, no planned mass starvation; Jews were not confined to ghettos, nor compelled to wear the "Star of David." Yet foreign Jews, especially those from Poland, were deported in masses.

In the occupied Soviet Republic of Estonia most Jews were evacuated before the Nazi invasion.

In Finland, the Nazis succeeded only in part; since there were not more than 2,000 Jews there, it obviously was not important to press for complete enforcement of anti-Jewish legislation.

In their introduction of racial laws the Nazis met with considerable resistance by the people of most countries. Examples are numerous of aid given to Jews and of acts of sabotage against anti-Jewish decrees. But of all occupied countries, the only government not in exile which refused to yield to any Nazi pressure was Denmark, where no anti-Jewish laws were ever passed.

At the other extreme, some of the satellites tried to outdo the Nazis. The puppet government of Slovakia boasted of having issued the most elaborate anti-Jewish laws in Axis Europe; it was the only country to pass an edict for the deportation of all Jews.⁶⁷ Croatia, too, pursued its anti-Jewish program so sedulously that by 1942 practically all its Jews had been deported or interned, and the puppet government could announce that the "Jewish problem" was solved.⁶⁸

Unsurpassed, however, were German excesses in some of the Eastern European countries. The German commander in Serbia is-

sued an order imposing the death penalty on any person sheltering or hiding a Jew; accepting for safekeeping or acquiring from Jews any objects of value, including furniture and money; or failing to register such objects.⁶⁹ A recent comment by an American observer evaluates such punishment:

German law has not only revived the *jus talionis*—the principle of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth—but has surpassed it by exacting penalties in the ratio of ten eyes for one, or punishments wholly without relation to guilt. It has divorced law from morality and mercy.⁷⁰

During the comparatively brief period of German occupation of the western parts of the U.S.S.R., “legal” restrictions imposed on the Jews there varied in different sections. There was no general introduction of anti-Jewish measures, and in most territories “legal” persecution was attended by deportation, confinement to ghettos and extermination.

In many occupied or satellite countries laws were proclaimed concerning forced labor, deportation and decimation of Jews. These measures will be examined in other sections of the book.

Strategy of Decimation

“The aims of Germany’s policy extend as far as her power.”

Gauleiter Greiser of the Warthegau District

WITHIN TEN YEARS, THE JEWS OF NAZI-CONTROLLED EUROPE were systematically purged from the productive life of their communities, exposed to a program of limitless oppression, to become a population of indigents and outcasts living on the frontiers of death.

The extirpation of Jews was rooted deeply in the Nazi body politic. The prospectus for a pan-German state over continental Europe had called for a demographic scheme to depopulate entire subject nations which fell into the stranglehold of Nazi domination.

Hitler had avowed:

We shall have to develop a technique of depopulation. If you ask me what I mean by depopulation, I mean the removal of entire racial units . . . If I can send the flower of the German nation into the hell of war without the smallest pity for the spilling of precious German blood, then surely I have the right to remove millions of an inferior race that breeds like vermin!

The Nazis dug deep into the science of depopulation. Jews were easily the first victims because they were an ethnic and religious minority scattered throughout the urban communities of Europe without a nation boundary or a nation system.

Designated as the “internal enemy,” Jews could be wholly destroyed by a strategy of internal warfare, just as Germany’s “external enemies” had to be wholly destroyed by total warfare.

Nazi-dictated policy carefully directed the disappearance of Jewry on the European continent. From first to last, events occurred with dispatch and the criminality of Nazi logic. Jews were

banished from home and community by Nazi-made law; then banished from the country by the machinery of expulsion. Organized terror, organized propaganda and organized insecurity were the most efficient instruments of coercion. In the initial phases of internecine warfare, a panic mass flight or so-called voluntary emigration was induced so that the fascist state treasury could appropriate to itself the wealth of Jews. Then as "voluntary" emigration ceased to be a source of wealth for the Nazi purse, the mass flight of Jews was curtailed. Instead, a more aggressive plan was launched of mass expulsions of all the Jews of occupied Europe to the wasteland in the East, destined to become the largest human wasteland in the world.

The mass expulsion of Jews was linked with Germany's aggressive ambitions for a new form of imperialism which placed "the living space of Germans" over and above the old aims of territorial expansion. There could be no room in Nazi-controlled Europe for allegedly inferior peoples.

As part of the plan to consolidate their seizure of power in the occupied countries, the Nazis created a system of slave labor, the most punitive instrument of domination of a subjugated people. As late as 1943, the Nazis boasted:

"The number of foreign workers who at present are employed in German factories, plants and shops goes beyond anything that was known before and beyond anything that was planned at the beginning of the war. An army of millions of Europeans of all nationalities has made its entry into the Reich." (*Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, October 3, 1943.)

But the exploitation of Jewish manpower was merely a prolongation of the ultimate Nazi aim to deplete whole sections of Europe's population for generations to come. Jews worked to replenish the material needs of the German war machine; at the same time, the unremitting hard labor imposed upon them served as an effective instrument of decimation.

The effect during certain years was paradoxical. Sometimes, despite the "racial policy" of a promised Jew-purged Europe, the Nazis found it necessary to "liberate" Jews from the death and hunger ghettos of Eastern Europe to meet the needs of an ambitious war economy.

The strategy of decimating the populations of Europe was incorporated in German food policy. Conquered nations were robbed of foodstuffs to feed German armies and German civilians. A science of "racial feeding" was imposed which placed emphasis upon the fertility and health of Germans at the expense of the more depressed populations.

The Nazis' food policy was based on a caste rationing system of feeding the Germans well, creating malnutrition among her "helpers" (Czechs, Hollanders, etc.), slowly starving her serfs (Poles and Russians) and spreading famine among the Jews.

Ironically, the Nazis made use of the objective and humanitarian researches of the League of Nations, which had distinguished between a "minimum protective diet, malnutrition produced by specific deficiencies, slow starvation caused by the denial of cell-replenishing foods, and finally, actual famine."¹ Constructive science thus was perverted by the German state into an instrument for mass debilitation and death.

EXPULSION

The wholesale removal of European Jewry projected by the Nazis in their rise to power in 1933 was inaugurated in Germany itself with the destruction of Jewish social and economic life, inducing mass emigration. Widespread antipathy toward Jews was fanned at the same time to create apparently spontaneous attacks on them, so that the Nazi authorities could claim to be justified in arrests of Jews for their own protection. By the time war came, Germany's Jews—men, women and children—had been swept in large numbers either out of the country or into confinement within it.

The pretext for removing the Jews derived from the Nazis' demographic scheme for what they termed the repatriation of "racial" Germans. Furthermore, ousting of Jews to such territories as occupied Poland and Nazi-controlled Soviet areas served the interests of the German war economy. Jewish slave labor not only was useful in the construction of fortifications in strategic areas, but also, while serving in range of enemy gunfire and bombardments, made unnecessary the sacrifice of a supposedly higher caste of workers.

In the initial phase of mass uprooting, "no regard was had to

their (the Jews') prospects of earning a livelihood; on the contrary, the transfer was carried out in such a way as to make it impossible for the Jew to reorganize his economic life. His relations not only with non-Jews but also with his own people were severed; and if he succeeded in establishing new connections, they were again broken by a further move. Because of the various methods used to secure the segregation and concentration of the Jews, they were uprooted over and over again and prevented from striking fresh roots anywhere."²

Expansion of Germany's sphere of sovereignty following the outbreak of war in 1939 gave the Nazis new territory into which to banish German Jews, and made possible an extension of the annihilation program to other countries. As each new satellite swung into Germany's orbit and as other nations one by one fell before the Nazi armies, the countries' respective Jewish populations were displaced, expelled across one frontier after another. In the end the survivors were concentrated for the most part in Eastern Poland, awaiting the final blow of mass slaughter.

GERMANY

The Nazis during their first five years in power (1933-38) laid the groundwork for the subsequent out-and-out drive to rid Germany of its Jews. In these early years, "legally" created insecurity and poverty, organized social ostracism and sporadic terror were used to stampede Jewish citizens into flight. The *Staendestaat*³ wielded its power of propaganda and authority to stimulate anti-Jewish acts of provocation. The early phases of the plan took shape largely in outlying German provinces, where widespread attacks forced Jewish residents to quit their homes and crowd into the principal cities of Germany. Emigration also began on a large scale in 1933 and was given new impetus by enactment of the Nuremberg racial laws in 1935. Later emigration was sharply curtailed and finally halted as the Nazis' annihilation program went into full swing.

In the early period, the only road to safety and security was speedy evacuation from home and community. Depredations such as the attacks on Jewish firms in Frankfort-on-Main and Karlsruhe (March 13, 1935), and the storm troop incidents in Cassel,



Black Star Photo

"Jews are not wanted here." Such signs were found all over Germany in 1933. They were "a mild beginning" of the expulsion which came a few years later.

Essen and Mulheim-on-Ruhr, provided strong incentives to local Jews to leave. The consequent decrease in the Jewish population was most marked in districts where anti-Semitic terror was at its worst. Within a few months after the Nazis took power, the number of Jews was reduced in small communities of Upper Bavaria by 31.8 per cent; in the Bremen neighborhood by 31.1 per cent; in Silesia by 35.3 per cent, and in Anhalt by 41.2 per cent. In some small towns of Mecklenburg the Jewish population dropped 45.2 per cent, or to almost half of its original size. Census figures showed that in June 1933, the Jewish population had been lowered on an average of 11.5 per cent in towns of more than 10,000 throughout Germany, and of 17.1 per cent in smaller municipalities.

The devious practice of arresting Jews, ostensibly for their own safety, was begun at the same time. Mass arrests, particularly in the provinces, landed Jews in "protective custody" in detention or internment camps, allegedly to keep them safe from the "excited crowd." One of the first of the internment camps, Oranienburg, was set up as early as 1933.

In 1935 mass arrests and pogroms swept up many of those who

Wir sind judenfrei!

Die Geschehnisse der letzten Wochen hatten zur Folge, daß zahlreiche Gemeinden und Kreise des Reiches nunmehr judenfrei geworden sind. Aus allen Ecken Deutschlands gehen dem Stürmer Briefe von Volksgenossen zu, die ihrer Freude darüber Ausdruck geben, daß nun auch ihre Heimatstadt von der Judenplage befreit worden ist.

Folgende Kreise sind judenfrei geworden:

Aisch
Dingolfing
Eichstätt
Neustadt a. Aisch
Uffenheim-Windheim

Folgende Orte sind judenfrei geworden:

Altenmühl
Baßem (Eifel)
Diegenau (Hann.)
Eger
Hüttenbach bei Lauf
Kleinwallstedt (Main)
Königstein (Taunus)
Landau (Pfalz)
Marienbad

Der Stürmer, December 1938, published a list of small communities throughout Germany which were judenfrei.

had failed to emigrate. Thirty-five persons, the entire Jewish population of Parchim, in Mecklenburg, were arrested August 10, 1935; some escaped to Hagenau and later were jailed with all of Hagenau's own Jewish population. Mass arrests were reported on September 2, 1935, in twelve towns of Baden. In Wiesbaden, on August 24, 1935, "at 9 P.M. in the Schierstein suburb, crowds collected in front of the houses of nine Jewish families. The nine Jewish families were taken into 'protective custody.'" A number of Jews were rounded up and placed in custody in Cologne on July 19, 1935. Other incidents of mass arrests and internments, or of pogroms, occurred during 1935 in nine towns, including the city of Berlin, in the district of Brandenburg; in four towns in East Prussia; in two in the district of Danzig; in four in Pomerania; in six towns and cities in the Rhineland; in five towns in Central Ger-

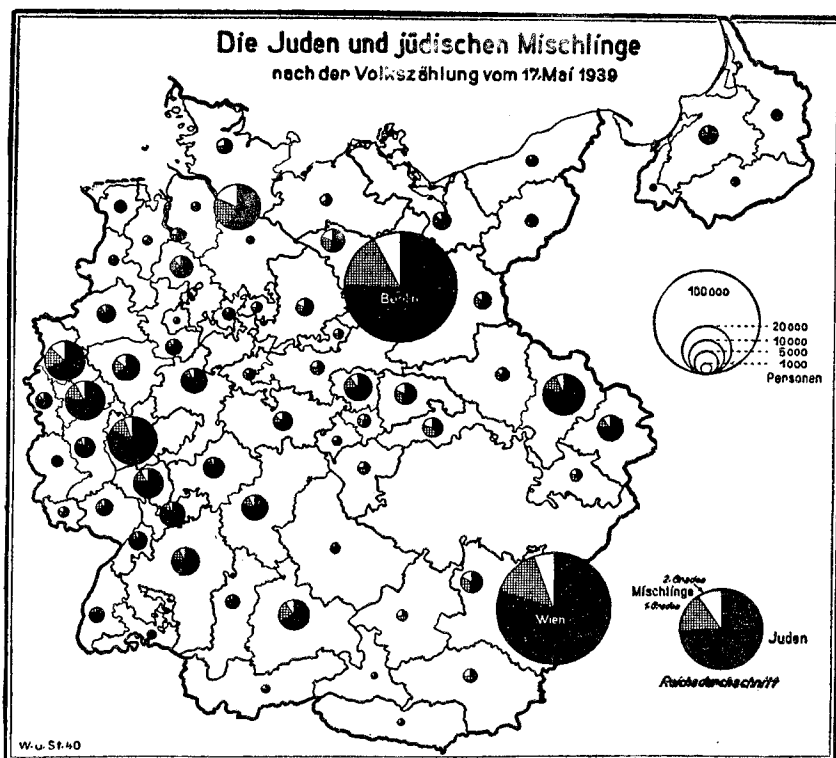
many; in three in Saxony; in three in the Main region; in two in Mecklenburg; in two of the Hansa towns; in two towns in the province of Hanover; in three in Silesia; in two in Hesse; in three in Baden, and in one town in Bavaria.

Villages and districts began to vie with one another in the race to rid their communities of Jews. Franconia could report no violence or arrests of Jews in 1935 because by that time all of its original Jewish population had been eliminated. In Julius Streicher's province, boastful announcements were made, such as that appearing May 26, 1934, in the *Fraenkische Tageszeitung*:

On Thursday at 5 P.M. the swastika flag was hoisted on the property of the last Jew to leave Hersbruck. The Hersbruck district is now definitely purged of Jews. With pride and satisfaction the population takes cognizance of this fact, recognizing that this "spring cleaning" is first and foremost due to district leader Party comrade Sperber, who has emphasized the Jewish danger at thousands of meetings, until the people realized the truth, and the last Jew left the district . . . We are firmly convinced that other districts will soon follow suit, and that the day is not now far off when the whole of Franconia will be rid of Jews, just as that day must dawn when throughout the whole of Germany there will no longer be one single Jew.

Similarly, a month later (June 25, 1934), the *Fraenkischer Kourier* reported that all the Jews of Salzbach had emigrated. In the Magdeburg district, the municipality of Cochstedt also was free of Jews, the journal *Der Mitteldeutsche* announced. Large areas which had been cleared of Jews by 1936 included considerable portions of East Prussia, several regions in Mecklenburg and Pomerania, several in Silesia, sections of Central Germany, a part of the Palatinate and Hesse, and a still more extensive area in Baden.

From crossroads and small towns the trek into the big cities continued, until the Nazis put a stop to it and made overseas emigration the only avenue of escape. *Das Schwarze Korps*, as early as July 1935, under the headline, "Jewish March to Berlin," reported that in the first six months of the year, 20,000 Jews "who desired to hide themselves in Berlin," had arrived there from all over Germany. It demanded that the city close its doors to the "Jewish invasion."⁴



Map from *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, March 1940

NAZI EXPULSION OF JEWS FROM SMALL TOWNS AND RURAL DISTRICTS

By 1939 the Nazis had forced 82.3% of the remaining Jews in Germany into cities with a population of over 100,000. The map includes Jews, half-Jews (*Mischlinge 1. Grades*) and quarter-Jews (*Mischlinge 2. Grades*).

Thus within Germany, all roads to security and safety were barred. Jews were urged to emigrate, a point of view voiced in no uncertain terms by the *Westdeutscher Beobachter* of August 21, 1935:

Germany does not want to indicate that Jews may live in a specified way within the State. There is another course recommended by every German and available to every Jew. It is—"Emigrate! Emigrate!"⁵

The policy of panicking Jews into emigration had begun immediately after the onset of National Socialism in 1933.

There is evidence that roughly 200,000 Jews emigrated from Germany in the period 1933–35. The country in 1933 had a Jewish population of 499,682, according to the *Statistisches Jahrbuch fuer das Deutsche Reich* for that year. Adding the 3,100 Jews from the Saar (census of July 1933), the total number of Jews in Germany was 502,782.⁶ Figures on the subsequent decrease in the Jewish population were confused by Nazi innovations in the classification of Jews, who were placed in a so-called racial, rather than a religious, grouping. Official distinction was made between "Jews" and "non-Aryans," and statements regarding the latter were contradictory. The *Brockhaus* encyclopedia (vol. 21, p. 451) stated that in 1935 Germany had 300,000 persons who were of pure Jewish extraction, but not of Jewish faith, and 750,000 persons who had one or two Jewish grandparents. Dr. Conti, the Reich Health Leader, estimated that there were 1,500,000 "non-Aryans" not of Jewish faith in 1935 while the Jewish *Philo Lexikon* of 1935, published with permission of Nazi authorities, placed that number at between 275,000 and 300,000. Nazi theorists evidently attempted at first to exaggerate Jewish population figures in order to bolster their allegation that German blood had been extensively diluted with Jewish blood. In the end, however, the Nazis lowered their own figures on the 1935 Jewish population of Germany, their estimates varying between 300,000 and 1,500,000. Jewish authorities held that the correct figure was between 150,000 and 300,000.⁷ Accepting 300,000 as the base figure for 1935, and 502,782 as the correct estimate for 1933, the reduction in the German Jewish population in the two intervening years was approximately 200,000.

A second period of emigration began after September 15, 1935, when the Nuremberg racial laws provided a legal instrument for victimizing the Jews of Germany. From 24,000 to 25,000 emigrated annually during 1936 and 1937. Most were assisted by local agencies of the *Hilfsverein* (Jewish emigration body in Germany),⁸ but some were able to leave unaided.

The scope of the Nazis' plan was drastically broadened in 1938 with the introduction of mass expulsions of Jews from Germany to Eastern Europe. An expulsion order was issued to Jews of Polish citizenship on October 28, 1938, by the Dresden Police President.⁹ The text of the order follows in full:

*Text of Deportation Order for Jews of Polish Citizenship, Police
President, Dresden, October 28, 1938*

On the basis of Article 5, paragraph 1, in connection with Articles 1 and 4, paragraph b, of the Police Decree of August 22, 1938, regarding foreigners (*Reichsgesetzblatt* I, p. 1053), I herewith forbid you the further stay in the German Reich.

You are therefore ordered to leave the Reich by October 29, 1938. This order applies—in case you are married—to your consort and children under age.

If you violate this order or return into the territory of the German Reich without permission, you will be punished on the basis of Article 13 of the above-mentioned Law with imprisonment up to one year, or confinement in a concentration camp.

Within two weeks after notification you may protest against this order to the police chief of Dresden. Protest against this order does not delay its effect.

The first victims of the expulsion on a grand scale were some 15,000 or 16,000 Polish Jews living in Germany who were seized in November 1938, packed into freight cars and taken to the Polish border, many of them to the frontier town of Zbonszyn.¹⁰ They were removed to make room for so-called repatriated Germans, the Nazis said.

Forced deportation tended to replace voluntary overseas emigration in 1938, but the Nazis were not quite ready to resort to their planned strategy of wholesale removal and annihilation of Jews. Instead, they continued to encourage emigration, at the same time restricting by law the transfer of capital abroad. The policy had the effect of virtual expropriation of all emigrants' property, and led ultimately to outright confiscation.¹¹ The emigrant, for example, "had to pay a 'flight tax' of 25 per cent, and the remainder of his property was put in blocked accounts which could be used only for payments in Germany. In order to transfer his blocked marks abroad, the refugee had to sell them to the Reich *Golddiskontbank*, which in 1938 paid only 9 to 14 per cent of their value, so that in the end he received only about 8 per cent of the proceeds of the sale of his property."¹²

Emigration became increasingly difficult as transferable property diminished. To force emigration, passports frequently were confiscated, then returned to their owners with orders to leave the country in twenty-four hours under threat of arrest. The individual's necessary arrangements were disregarded; many were compelled to enter illegally into neighboring countries, aggravating the refugee problem, as the Nazis had planned. An account of the obstacles would-be emigrants faced was published in the *London Times*, in the form of a letter dated October 31, 1939, in connection with a probe conducted by the Tribunals at Richborough Camp in Kent, England. The letter stated, in part:

Before passports were returned (they had been confiscated as a preliminary) and leave to depart given, evidence had to be forthcoming of authority to settle in some other country. The following requirements had then to be satisfied:

The passport had to be produced with a "visa." A large number of refugees got over this difficulty by selecting Shanghai as their ultimate destination. As a free port, no visa, in this case, was necessary. The Government exploited this desire and even arranged for, or provided sea transport.

A receipt was required showing that all taxes had been paid, and also a receipt for the due proportion of the fine imposed on Jews after the death of the German Military Attaché in Paris.

An official certificate to the effect that his (the emigrant's) business, if any, had been sold and handed over to an "Aryan."

A receipt for duty paid on clothes and furniture proposed to be taken away. In the later months, this amounted to as much as 100 per cent.

In some cases where passports were not returned, the refugee was compelled to purchase from the Gestapo a Greek passport, and, fortified with this, after other requirements had been satisfied, was allowed to depart. The cost of this fraudulent document was 3,000 marks.

Travel regulations were narrowed in a decree on October 5, 1938, making Jews eligible to receive passports only if they intended to remain abroad permanently or were leaving for the purpose of preparing subsequent permanent emigration. The required stamping of their passports with the letter "J" added difficulties in

their contacts with administrative agencies and civil servants in charge of border traffic.¹³

The strategic change in 1938 toward Jewish emigration was exemplified in the handing over of full responsibility for it to the Gestapo. Representative Jewish agencies like the *Hilfsverein* and *Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland* were helpless. The Gestapo ordered Jewish men and women to go to South American countries; German shipping agencies procured permits, but the permits turned out to be invalid and worthless. Tragic reports reached the outside world of ships loaded with German Jewish emigrants, plying the oceans from harbor to harbor and unable to land their passengers; of mass deportations to nowhere; of temporary barracks built for Jews stranded in Holland and Belgium.

George Rublee, director of the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees,¹⁴ went to Berlin late in 1938 to work out what was known as the "German Plan" to improve the emigration situation. Mr. Rublee was informed by Nazi authorities that Germany's 600,000 persons classified as Jews under the Nuremberg racial laws included 100,000 who had adopted Christianity and 150,000 wage earners between 15 and 45 years old; 250,000 dependents, and 100,000 aged or infirm. The Nazis proposed to organize emigration of the wage earners over a period of from three to five years, to send their families on later, and to retain the old and physically unfit, who would be guaranteed reasonable treatment.¹⁵

The plan never materialized; instead the Nazi plan for decimation of the entire population was blatantly expressed in the official SS weekly, *Das Schwarze Korps*, of November 24, 1938:

The Jews must be driven from our residential districts and segregated where they will be among themselves, having as little contact with Germans as possible. Confined to themselves these parasites will be reduced to poverty . . . And when we then, as we shall have to, compel the affluent Jews to maintain "their poor" associates they will all of them sink into delinquency. Let no one fancy, however, that we shall then stand idly by, merely watching the process. The German people are not in the least inclined to tolerate in their country hundreds of thousands of criminals . . . We would be faced with the hard necessity of exterminating the Jewish underworld in the same way as under our

government of Law and Order, we are wont to exterminate any other criminals, viz., by fire and sword. The result would be the factual and final end of Jewry in Germany, its absolute annihilation.

Donnerstag, 24. November 1938 Blatt 1

Der Zürcher Freitag 159. Jahrgang

Ergänzung Nr. 285

Neue Zürcher Zeitung

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Telefon 27.100, Telefax-Nr. VIII 645

Abonnements auf ein Jahr: 12.00
Halbes Jahr: 6.00
Vierteljahr: 3.00
Einzelhefte: 1.00

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Einzelhefte: 1.00

Die Judenverfolgungen in Deutschland

Ankündigung neuer Maßnahmen

Berlin, 23. Nov. (Tel. unferes O-Rort.) Das „Schwarze Korps“ kündigt heute in einem Leitartikel eine Reihe von neuen antisemitischen Maßnahmen an und als letztes Glied die Ermordung sämtlicher Juden in Deutschland, sofern das Ausland nicht ihren Abtransport und ihre Auswanderung übernimmt. Es wäre völlig berechtigt, diese Drohung als einen bloßen Schreckhauch oder ein nicht ernst gemeintes Mander aufzufassen. Im Laufe der letzten Jahre sind sämtliche Vorschläge des „Schwarzen Korps“ zur Behandlung der Judenfrage, mochten sie im Moment der Veröffentlichung noch so phantastisch erscheinen, Punkt für Punkt verwirklicht worden. Das „Schwarze Korps“ stellt sich auf den Standpunkt, daß auf die Weltmeinung überhaupt keine Rücksicht mehr genommen werden müsse, weil seit dem für Deutschland so erfolgreichen Ausgang der Septemberkriege als Erklärung des Auslands „nicht viel mehr als ein Pappschwert wiegen“.

Die kommende Entwicklung schildert das Organ der Gestapo und der S.S. folgendermaßen: „Die Juden müssen aus unsern Wohnhäusern und Wohnvierteln verjagt und in Straßenzügen oder Häuserblöcke untergebracht werden, wo sie unter sich sind und mit Deutschen so wenig wie möglich in Berührung kommen. Man muß sie fernhalten und ihnen ferner das Recht nehmen, in Deutschland über Haus- und Grundbesitz oder über Anteile an diesem zu verfügen.“ Infolge dieser Abschneidung ihrer Lebensader würden die Juden das ihnen verbleibende Kapital rasch aufzehren und

verarmen. Der letzte Schritt sei dann ihr Absinken in die Kriminalität. Daraus werde Deutschland das Recht ableiten, die Juden mit Feuer und Schwert auszuwischen, ihre restlose Vernichtung durchzuführen. Es sei jetzt Sache der Staaten, die eine „finstere Humanitätsduselei“ pflegen, die Juden in Deutschland vor dem sicheren Untergang zu retten.

In einem weiteren Artikel empfiehlt das „Schwarze Korps“ als vorläufige Maßnahme die *Reinigung* der Juden mit einem gelben Fleck, wie es in Italien im 14. und 15. und in Deutschland im 16. Jahrhundert gehandhabt worden sei. Als beachtenswertes Vorbild wird auch die Bestimmung des Salzburger Konzils vom Jahre 1418 dargestellt, wonach die jüdischen Frauen an ihren Kleibern schallende Glöckchen zu tragen hätten, um sich schon von fern kenntlich zu machen.

The anti-Nazi Swiss daily *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* quotes and attacks *Das Schwarze Korps* of November 24, 1938. (The original article was not available in the U. S.)

Bans on emigration tightened as Germany prepared for war. A *Notice Regarding Personal Effects of Emigrants* was issued on April 17, 1939, further curtailing the amount of property departing Jews could take out of the country. The reference to "Jews" was omitted entirely, but the great majority of emigrants from Germany during these years were, of course, Jews.¹⁶

NOTICE REGARDING PERSONAL EFFECTS OF EMIGRANTS

Jüdisches NACHRICHTENBLATT

Preis 15 Rpf.

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Nummer 33

Dienstag, den 25. April 1939

Jahrgang 1939

Mitnahme von Umzugsgut durch Auswanderer

Runderlaß Nr. 49/39 D. St. — Ue St. vom 17. April 1939.

Umzugsgut im Sinne des § 57 DevG. ist diejenige bewegliche Habe des Auswanderers, die zu seinem Hausrat gehört, seinem persönlichen Gebrauch oder der persönlichen Ausübung seines Berufes oder Gewerbes dient. Für die Mitnahme sonstiger Sachen, die nicht Umzugsgut sind, z. B. Handelswaren und Wertpapiere, gelten nachstehende Bestimmungen nicht.

Unter Aufhebung des RE 38/38 D. St. — Ue St., des AE 11/38 D. St. — Ue St. Ziff. II, und des AE 40/39 D. St. — Ue St. bestimme ich gemäß Abschn. IV Nr. 63 der Richtlinien für die Devisenbewirtschaftung:

I.

Sachliche Behandlung der Anträge.

Es ist zu unterscheiden zwischen Altbesitz, Neubesitz und Sachen, für die ein unbedingtes Mitnahmeverbot besteht.

1. Altbesitz.

Die Mitnahme von Sachen, die dem Auswanderer nachweislich bereits vor dem 1. Januar 1933 gehört haben, kann genehmigt werden, soweit nicht einzelne Gegenstände unter das unbedingte Mitnahmeverbot der Nr. 3 fallen.

2. Neubesitz.

Die Mitnahme von Sachen, die der Auswanderer erst nach dem 31. Dezember 1932 angeschafft hat, ist grundsätzlich nicht zu genehmigen.

Ausnahmen können gemacht werden für:

- Sachen, die Auswanderer im Rahmen des Notwendigen als Ersatz für unbrauchbar gewordene Bekleidungsstücke und Wäsche angeschafft haben (Ersatzstücke).
- Sachen, die der Auswanderer im Rahmen des Notwendigen zum Zwecke der Auswanderung angeschafft hat (Einrichtungs- und Ausrüstungsgegenstände). Die Genehmigung kann von der Leistung einer ersatzlosen Abgabe in Höhe des Anschaffungswertes an die Deutsche Golddiskontbank abhängig gemacht werden. Die Abgabe, die dem Auswanderer durch einen Festsetzungsbescheid der Devisenstelle auferlegt worden ist, darf ohne Genehmigung aus

einem nach § 59 DevG. gesperrten Guthaben oder dem eigenen Auswandererguthaben des Pflichtigen geleistet werden, wenn die Überweisung unmittelbar durch die konfiskierende Bank an die Deutsche Golddiskontbank, Berlin, vorgenommen wird.

3. Unbedingtes Mitnahmeverbot. Die Mitnahmegenehmigung ist zu versagen für:

- Gegenstände aus Gold, Platin oder Silber, sowie für Edelmetalle und Perlen.

Ausnahmen können gemacht werden für:

- aa) die eigenen Trauringe und die verstorbener Ehegatten,
- bb) silberne Armband- und Taschenuhren,
- cc) gebrauchtes Tafelsilber, und zwar je Person 2 viertellige Eßbestecke, bestehend aus Messer, Gabel, Löffel und kleinem Löffel,
- dd) darüber hinaus sonstige Silbersachen bis zum Gewicht von 40 g je Stück bis zu einem Gesamtgewicht von 200 g je Person.

- b) Hochwertige Ausfuhrerzeugnisse, die Neubesitz und zum Wiederverkauf geeignet sind, z. B. Photoapparate, andere optische Geräte, Musikinstrumente u. dgl. Die Mitnahme kann nur ausnahmsweise gegen Leistung einer ersatzlosen Abgabe in Höhe des Anschaffungswertes an die Deutsche Golddiskontbank genehmigt werden, wenn der Auswanderer diese Sachen zur persönlichen Ausübung seines Berufes oder Gewerbes und zur Begründung einer bescheidenen Existenz im Ausland unbedingt benötigt. Nr. 2 b letzter Satz gilt entsprechend.

- c) Sachen, deren Ausfuhr nach der Verordnung über die Ausfuhr von Kunstwerken vom 11. Dezember 1919 (RGBl. I Nr. 236), durch österreichisches Bundesgesetz vom 24. Januar 1923 (RGBl. Nr. 80) oder in den sudetendeutschen Gebieten durch Verordnung vom 11. Januar 1939 (RGBl. I S. 36) untersagt ist. Die Mitnahmegenehmigung ist ferner für sonstige Sachen von besonderer geschichtlicher, künstlerischer oder kultureller Bedeutung zu versagen.

Mass expulsion of Jews became a fixed and open policy of the Nazis by the spring of 1939. A series of news dispatches received by the *Contemporary Jewish Record* in New York during May and June disclosed that: Jews of Magdeburg had been driven from their homes; approximately 1,000 stateless Jews had been ordered to emigrate by July 31st; hundreds of Polish and stateless Berlin Jews, fearing police raids and expulsions, slept in parks; police of Leipzig ordered the expulsion of Polish and stateless Jews by June 20th under threat of one year's imprisonment. All East Prussian Jews, about 11,000 in number, were ordered to leave by June 20th. One hundred fifty Polish Jews of Hanover, including the blind and aged, were driven across the Polish border at Rybriis by the Gestapo and were refused admittance by the Poles.¹⁷

In May 1939, there were 280,000 fewer Jews in Germany than six years earlier. Not all of these had migrated or had been expelled; many had died.¹⁸ Sir Herbert Emerson, one-time High Commissioner for Refugees, estimated that between April 1933 and the outbreak of war, 226,000 Jews had left Germany. As late as November 5, 1939, a *New York Times* dispatch of that date reported some emigration was continuing, notwithstanding serious emigration difficulties.

Meanwhile, a decree was issued July 4, 1939, establishing the Reich Association of Jews as an agency of the Ministry of Interior. The Reich Association's chief functions were to provide the machinery for Jewish relief and emigration. The *New York Times* summarized the situation in the headline of a story dated July 7, 1939: "German Jews Face Crushing Task—One-fourth with Property or Jobs Must Care for All, Pending Emigration—Blocked Funds Only Hope."

New emigration taxes were imposed on February 2, 1940.¹⁹

While overseas emigration became in effect impossible, expulsion of Jews was speeded up. By May 1940, the towns of Stettin, Elbing, Marienburg and Schneidemuehl in East Prussia, and towns in the Rhineland district had ousted all their Jews. Eight hundred Jews expelled from Königsberg died of exposure to extreme cold. Expelled Jews from the Baden and Palatinate provinces, one-fourth of whom were over 60 years old, were shipped to unoccupied France and later confined at Gurs internment camp.²⁰

DECREE REGARDING EMIGRATION TAXES FOR JEWS

Seite 2 / Nr. 10

JUDISCHES NACHRICHTENBLATT

2. Februar 1940

Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland

Auswanderer-Abgabeordnung

Von allen auswandernden Juden aus Deutschland (Altreich und Sudetengau), die Mitglieder der durch die Zehnte Verordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz vom 4. 7. 1939 (Reichsgesetzblatt, Teil I, Seite 1097) errichteten Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland sind wird einheitlich ein außerordentlicher Beitrag als Auswandererabgabe erhoben, der dazu dient, die Mittel für die Erfüllung der Aufgaben der Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland (Auswanderungsförderung, Fürsorge und Schule) aufzubringen. Die Erhebung erfolgt nach Maßgabe folgender Vorschriften:

§ 1

Die Auswandererabgabe wird erhoben von allen Mitgliedern im Falle der Auswanderung, sofern ihr Vermögen vor Vornahme der zulässigen Abzüge den Betrag von RM 10 000 übersteigt.

§ 2

(1) Bemessungsgrundlage ist das bei der letzten Vermögenssteuererklärung festgestellte Gesamtvermögen ohne Abzug der Freibeträge. Alle Vermögensänderungen (Vermehrungen und Verminderungen), die zwischen dem Stichtag der letzten Vermögenssteuererklärung und dem Tage der Festsetzung der Auswandererabgabe eingetreten und die nachgewiesen sind, werden berücksichtigt. Auf Antrag werden auch dann, wenn die Verminderung des Vermögens bei Festsetzung der Auswandererabgabe noch nicht eingetreten ist, diejenigen Beträge abgezogen, die verwandt werden:

- a) für einen im Zusammenhang mit der Auswanderung vorzunehmenden Transfer;
- b) für die Beförderung der auswandernden Personen und ihres Unzuges, soweit die Bezahlung in Reichsmark erfolgt;
- c) zum Lebensunterhalt bis zum Zeitpunkt der Auswanderung;
- d) für etwaige Abgaben an die Deutsche Gold- und Silberbank und noch zu leistende Steuerzahlungen.

(2) Beträge, welche für einen im Zusammenhang mit der Auswanderung vorzunehmenden Transfer verwandt werden, sind nur bis zu einem Gesamtbetrag von RM 100 000 abzugsfähig.

(3) Nicht abzugsfähig sind:

- a) Schenkungen mit Ausnahme von Zuwendungen zum Zwecke der Erfüllung moralischer Unterhaltungsverpflichtungen gegenüber Verwandten und Verschwägerten bis zum vierten Grade, Verlobten oder in Hausgemeinschaft mit dem Auswanderer lebenden Personen;
- b) Aufwendungen für den Lebensunterhalt, soweit sie das bei den finanziellen und sozialen Verhältnissen des Auswanderers angemessene Maß übersteigen.

(4) Bei Mitgliedern, die nicht zur Vermögenssteuer veranlagt sind, ist dasjenige Vermögen der Berechnung der Auswandererabgabe zugrunde zu legen, das bei der letzten Festsetzung des ordentlichen Beitrages für die Reichsvereinigung festgestellt wurde. Auch hier sind die seit dem Stichtag der Vermögensfeststellung eingetretenen Vermögensänderungen in gleicher Weise zu berücksichtigen.

(5) Bei Mitgliedern, bei denen weder eine Vermögenssteuererklärung noch eine Feststellung des Vermögens zwecks Berechnung des ordentlichen Beitrages für die Reichsvereinigung vorliegt, ist das Vermögen nach den Grunddaten der Vermögenssteuererklärung für den Tag der Fest-

setzung der Auswandererabgabe zu berechnen. Auch hier gilt Absatz 1, Satz 3.

§ 3

(1) Die Auswandererabgabe ist auch von Ruhegehalt zu entrichten. Zwecks Berechnung der Auswandererabgabe ist das Ruhegehalt nach den Grundsätzen des Reichsbewertungsgesetzes zu kapitalisieren und dem sonstigen Vermögen hinzuzurechnen.

(2) Von der Erhebung der Auswandererabgabe bei Ruhegehaltsempfängern ist dann abzugehen, wenn und solange der Ehegatte und Kinder nicht mit auswandern und zu deren Gunsten Verfügungen aus dem Konto Versorgungsbezüge seitens des Ruhegehaltsempfängers erfolgen.

(3) Weitere Ausnahmen dürfen nur dann gemacht werden, wenn der auswandernde Ruhegehaltsempfänger Verfügungen aus dem Konto Versorgungsbezüge zugunsten von Personen vornimmt, denen gegenüber die Voraussetzungen des § 2, Abs. 3a vorliegen.

§ 4

(1) Mitglieder, die gemeinschaftlich zur Vermögenssteuer veranlagt sind, werden bei gemeinschaftlicher Auswanderung auch gemeinschaftlich zur Auswandererabgabe veranlagt.

(2) Wenn in einer Veranlagungsgemeinschaft für die Vermögenssteuer nicht alle Mitglieder der Reichsvereinigung angehören, so gilt folgendes:

- a) Soweit die Vermögen nachweisbar vor dem 1. Januar 1939 getrennt geführt worden sind, unterliegt der Auswandererabgabe nur das Vermögen der Reichsvereinigungsmitglieder; jedoch werden die Beträge unentgeltlicher Zuwendungen von seitens der Reichsvereinigungsmitglieder, die nicht der Erfüllung gesetzlicher Unterhaltspflichten dienen, dem Vermögen des zuwendenden Reichsvereinigungsmitgliedes zugerechnet.
- b) In allen übrigen Fällen wird der Teil des festgestellten Vermögens der Berechnung der Auswandererabgabe zugrunde gelegt, der bei seiner Verteilung nach Kopfteilen auf die Mitglieder der Reichsvereinigung entfällt.

(3) Absatz 2 gilt entsprechend, wenn Mitglieder einer Veranlagungsgemeinschaft getrennt auswandern.

§ 5

(1) Die Auswandererabgabe beträgt bei Vermögen:

bis RM 20 000,—	• • • • 10	v. H. des nach
bis RM 50 000,—	• • • • 20	§§ 2, 3 und 4
bis RM 100 000,—	• • • • 30	heranzuziehenden
bis RM 250 000,—	• • • • 40	Gesamt-
bis RM 500 000,—	• • • • 50	vermögens
über RM 500 000,—	• • • • 60	

(2) Der Unterschied des Betrages, der sich bei Anwendung der vorstehenden Sätze ergibt, und des Betrages, der sich ergeben würde, wenn das Vermögen die letztvorhergehende Wertgrenze nicht übersteigen hätte, wird nur insoweit erhoben, als er aus der Hälfte des die Wertgrenze übersteigenden Vermögens gedeckt werden kann.

§ 6

Von den Beträgen, die nach § 2 dieser Beitragsordnung bei der Feststellung des abgabepflichtigen Vermögens abgezogen werden dürfen, weil sie zum Transfer verwendet werden, wird eine Abgabe von 4 % des Betrages erhoben, der nicht zum Transfer für Passage- oder Gepäckkosten dient.

STRATEGY OF DECIMATION

From depositing the Jews haphazardly in neighboring countries, the Nazis began in October 1939 to concentrate expelled Jews in a reservation established for the purpose at Lublin, Poland. Nazi theorist Alfred Rosenberg had proposed Lublin as the ideal means of solving the Jewish problem in an address on February 7, 1939, before foreign diplomats and press representatives.²¹ Deportations to Lublin started in October 1939, and during the first months large numbers of Jews, especially from Vienna, the Protectorate and the old Reich, were sent to the reservation. A wave of epidemics throughout the territory, threatening German troops and civilians, subsequently made a failure of the experiment and impeded the program of mass displacements during 1940.

The *New York Times* reported from Berlin on February 5, 1941, that the Nazis estimated 200,000 Jews were still residing in the old Reich territory, exclusive of Austria and the Bohemian-Moravian Protectorate. The dispatch then quoted a statement made by the Nazi government that, "Germany places no fundamental hindrances in the way of emigration of Jews from the old Reich and Austria to the United States." Several weeks later, however, a report disclosed that within four weeks only Jews of military age impressed into slave labor or in concentration camps would remain in Germany, and the rest would be expelled from the country.²²

In the autumn of 1941, raids were made on the Jewish populations of Berlin, the Rhineland, and Westphalia.²³ The pretexts were always the same, and the procedure—arrest, internment and expulsion—became commonplace. Victims in Berlin were usually herded into two synagogues on Levetzow and Muenchener Streets which had been converted into straw-filled barracks. From these custody centers, they were transported to railway stations in the Berlin suburbs, where relatives were refused permission to bid them farewell; then they were freighted in cattle cars to an unknown destination.

Conscription for forced labor was another method used to bring about mass transfers of Jews, usually through the *Reichsvertretung der Juden*, which would receive an order for a trainload of Jews to be shipped to the East. Families suddenly would receive notices to prepare to leave their homes. In the fall months of 1941 alone, some 20,000 German Jews were deported. The circum-

stances were such that in a single day in October 1941, 280 Berlin Jews committed suicide.²⁴

Germany's Jewish policy from 1939 to 1942 "may be described as a compromise between the extermination of Jews and their utilization in the war economy."²⁵ Of those unable to emigrate, most were expelled to the General Government in German-occupied Poland, a territory reserved for a majority of the ousted populations of Nazi-controlled Europe. After the Lublin experiment had failed in 1939, the Polish city of Lodz was converted into a ghetto town as well as a port of transfer for Jewish deportees. From Lodz, Jews were removed to various other regions in Poland, usually to work on strategic war projects. They labored in the swamps of Pinsk, the Rokitno marshes, or in slave labor camps and ghettos of Polish cities.

The larger German cities, which had been the only havens left to Jews, boasted in 1942 that they were completely *judenrein*. On July 17th, the Nazis announced that one of the oldest Jewish communities, Frankfurt-on-Main, had no more Jews. Most Jews still living in the Reich in October 1942, were concentrated in Berlin, slated for ultimate deportation.

The number of Jews left in Germany by the end of 1942 was estimated at 40,000,²⁶ a figure which continued on a swift downward trend due to mass deportation, suicide and starvation. One hundred twenty thousand Jews had been expelled to the Eastern occupied territories at the close of 1942. The Czech fortress of Terezin (Theresienstadt) in the Protectorate, to which some German Jews were sent from 1942 on, became a port of embarkation to Eastern Europe. It also harbored the aged and infirm, 60,000 of whom were reported living there in 1943.²⁷

The removal of Berlin's last Jews, then comprising 15,000 residents engaged in hard labor, was ordered for March 31, 1943, it was disclosed by the Nazis on January 11, 1943.²⁸ News of the mass extermination of Jews in Eastern Europe was released to the German people for the first time on February 18, 1943, on the Berlin radio. By February 27th, Jewish workers had been withdrawn from essential war industry jobs, for expulsion to Poland. Also scheduled for deportation were Jewish families that had joined the

Christian faith, the *London Jewish Chronicle* reported on June 25, 1943.

By 1945, Berlin, which held most of the remnants of the country's Jewish population, had only an estimated 1,000 to 2,000 Jews, including half-Jews, according to an Associated Press report of February 25, 1945. There also remained 100 Jews in Cologne and 400 Jews in Munich, it was reported the following May 28th.

The Nazis had succeeded in one important phase of their scheme—the final end of Jewry in Germany.

AUSTRIA

Following the *Anschluss* with Austria on March 11, 1938, the Nazi state authority engineered an anti-Jewish campaign which for dispatch and systematic ruthlessness surpassed anything that had occurred in Germany since 1933. "The effect," said Sir John Hope Simpson, "was more catastrophic in Austria, because a process spread over five years in Germany was carried out in a few months in Austria."²⁹ There were 3,741 deaths by suicide during the first year of the *Anschluss*.

In the first weeks of occupation, the elimination of Austria's 180,000 Jews began. Goering publicly announced the plan for a "Jew-purged" Austria at a mass meeting on March 26, 1938, promising that Vienna, with the heaviest concentration of Jews in Austria would be *judenrein* within four years.

Expulsions of Jews from towns in the provinces followed immediately. In the spring of 1938, 400 Jewish families were ousted from their homes in the province of Burgenland; some fled to Vienna, others were driven to Czechoslovakia. One group of fifty-one Jews, guarded by storm troopers, was carried on an old freighter to a breakwater in the Danube River, where they were left without adequate food supplies, warm clothing or identification papers. They were stranded on board the boat for more than four months in a "no-man's land" between Germany, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.³⁰ On July 10, 1938, the Gestapo ordered all of the 600 Jews of Linz to leave the city by the end of September. The order imposed exile, in effect, since almost all Reich communities refused admittance to new Jewish inhabitants.³¹ Most foreign

countries also had been closed against immigration; and even a minimum of resources was refused to those who did manage to emigrate. "The way out for many in Vienna," observed Sir John Hope Simpson, "was not emigration, but suicide."³²

Barriers to emigration did not stem the mass exodus from Austria, which was even more extensive than that from Germany. Austrian Jews were goaded into leaving the country. Most of Austria's Jews were concentrated in Vienna. On March 1, 1939, they were ordered to emigrate within six weeks or face incarceration in Dachau concentration camp.³³ By July 1, 1939, 97,000 Jews had emigrated from Austria, according to Sir Herbert Emerson, High Commissioner for Refugees.³⁴ *Der Deutsche Volkswirt* of February 7, 1941, gave the higher figure of 105,000 as the number of Jewish emigrants from Austria up until the May 1939 census. The Jewish Community of Vienna estimated that 104,000 Jews had left Vienna prior to July 31, 1939.

Expulsions to Poland began in Austria in October 1939. Jews of Vienna were notified that those between 18 and 50 years of age would be removed for "colonization work" in Lublin, Poland, the reservation set aside for Jews from all German-ruled countries. The text of the notice follows:

*Notice for Departure for Lublin Reservation*³⁵

At the request of the authorities, a large shipment of Jews between 18 and 50 years old and physically fit, is to leave for Poland on Wednesday, October 18, 1939, for the purpose of starting colonization work.

You are included in this shipment by the authorities and must therefore report on October 17, 1939, at 6 o'clock in the morning in the Hall of the Jewish Community of Vienna, Seitenstettengasse 4, where you will be given further instructions.

In addition to your identification certificate and travel documents, you must bring along the enclosed questionnaire, carefully and truthfully filled in, as well as your certificates of registration and food ration cards.

Every person drafted may take along clothing and equipment not exceeding 50 kg. (110 lbs.) in weight, and comprising any of the articles enumerated in the attached list. Each person may take along a sum of money not exceeding 300 Reichsmark.

It is of the greatest importance that all participants take along any building tools that may be in their possession, such as axes, saws, planes, hammers, nails, etc. When reporting, they must indicate exactly which of these articles are at their disposal.

Should you not comply with this request of the authorities punctually, you will suffer the consequences.

ATTENTION!!! ATTENTION!!!

Even persons who have already registered must *absolutely* comply with this request. Two photos must be brought along.

Exemption from this departure is permissible only for very cogent reasons. Such reasons are particularly:

- a) Serious illness or complete physical disability.
- b) Proof of a possibility of emigration within a very short time.
- c) If the person in question is employed or has a fixed income. (Pension)

Persons who claim exemption for the above mentioned reasons must produce: for a) a medical certificate or a certificate of incapacity; for b) and c) all documentary evidence.

JEWISH RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY OF VIENNA

Departure for the Lublin reservation meant almost certain death, a fact which the Nazis knew well, and which later events at Lublin confirmed. Following the removal order, two contingents of 4,000 Jews were banished to Lublin, and by November 1939, the deportations had been very nearly concluded.³⁶

In the ensuing three years, Austria's Jewish population declined sharply. So few Jews remained in Austria in early 1943 that Gestapo officials supervising their expulsion were transferred to posts in other countries, the British Broadcasting Company announced on February 15, 1943.

Of Austria's original 180,000 Jews, there remained 55,000 in December 1939, according to the Vienna Jewish Community. One year later the figure had shrunk to 48,000, the *Israelitische Kultus-gemeinde*, central welfare organization, announced through the American Joint Distribution Committee (December 29, 1940). Two-thirds of the 48,000 were women; more than 3,000 were in-

fants or minors. A *New York Times* dispatch of February 5, 1941, gave the figure 50,000 as the number of Jews still resident in Vienna, but later the same month, 10,000 Jews were rounded up for deportation to Poland, of whom the first group of 1,000 left the country at the end of February. The Jewish population dropped to 30,000 in the first months of 1942,³⁷ and the Nazi Commissioner of Vienna, Baldur von Schirach, was able to announce in July of that year that 300,000 rooms had been made available to bombed-out Germans, by reason of the death or deportation of the former Jewish tenants. Jews left in Vienna at the end of 1942 numbered 12,500 to 15,000.³⁸ One report, appearing in the *New York Times* of April 13, 1943, placed the number at only 7,000. By mid-February, as previously mentioned, Gestapo expulsion officials were able to call their job done.

Belatedly the Jewish Agency which had allocated 1,000 Palestine immigration certificates for children was informed by the Jewish Council in Vienna that the permits no longer were needed, since not one Jewish child remained in that city.³⁹ A report from a reliable Austrian source was received by the Bureau of Overseas Intelligence of the U.S. Office of War Information, that by September 1943 hardly any Jews were left in Vienna, and their former quarters were occupied by Nazi Party members.⁴⁰

The Nazi promise that Austria would be *judenrein* within four years was brought to fulfillment as the final events of 1944 proved the virtual annihilation of Austria's Jews.

The Stockholm newspaper, *Dagens Nyheter*, reported on June 20, 1944, that about 1,000 Jews, comprising for the most part men and women over 70 years old and orphan children under 14, were the only survivors to be found in the Jewish Community of Vienna.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Munich Agreement of October 1, 1938, sanctioned the occupation of Czechoslovakia. Czech territories were at once incorporated into the Greater Reich.

The population of the so-called Protectorate of BOHEMIA-MORAVIA was split into two categories of citizens, in a decree issued

STRATEGY OF DECIMATION

by Hitler on March 16, 1939. All former Czechoslovak citizens of German extraction were declared Reich citizens (*Reichsbuerger*), bound by Reich law and under Reich jurisdiction, while Czechs and Jews were made Protectorate nationals (*Staatsangehoerige*), or citizens of lesser degree, subject to legislation of the Reich, the Protector, and the Protectorate Government.⁴¹

Jews became a stateless minority, stripped of all rights to maintain a minimum security and subject to expulsion from their homes, community and country. Consonant with the Reich's anti-Jewish policy elsewhere in Greater Germany, their status was fixed both by legislation of the Reich Protector and by the Czech puppet government. The 122,000 Jews who lived in Bohemia-Moravia at the close of 1938 included some 17,000 recent refugees from the Sudetenland and about 15,000 from Germany and Austria.⁴² This entire population had decreased to 90,247 (43,849 men, 46,398 women) by October 1, 1939, according to a German census in the Protectorate. The figure included 80,319 persons who professed the Jewish religion, the remainder being classified as "racial" Jews.⁴³

The drop of nearly 32,000 Czech Jews within a year was due largely to Nazi-encouraged overseas emigration. A bureau for obligatory Jewish emigration was set up in Prague on July 26, 1939, with a branch in Brno.⁴⁴

Mass expulsions were ordered coincidentally. The Nazis, on July 31, 1939, directed that 70,000, or more than one-half of the Jewish population, be expelled within a year.⁴⁵ Jews in the towns and villages of outlying provinces were told by the Gestapo on August 11, 1939, to evacuate their homes within twelve months and go to Prague. Three days later, a Gestapo order commanded the immediate removal to that city of 1,570 provincial Jews, and in the following week another directive compelled the Jews of Vlasim, Hampolec, Ledec, Pederimer, Cesky Brod and Kamenice to move to Prague within a fortnight.⁴⁶ In August alone, 8,000 Jews were expelled from the provinces to Prague. Ghettos in the meantime were set up in other towns.

The Nazi plan to deport all Jews of Axis-occupied Europe to the Lublin reservation took effect in Bohemia-Moravia on October 18, 1939, resulting in the compulsory removal of about 45,000

Czech Jews in that month and November. The Gestapo demanded that 200 Jews leave the country daily; but they were prevented by the war from emigrating, and were expelled instead to Lublin. A first contingent of 600 Jews left on October 26, 1939. On October 27th the entire Jewish population of Moravska-Ostrava was ousted and ordered deported to the Lublin area, 10,000 of them—men, women and children—arriving there by November 26th.⁴⁷

The meager news which reached the United States disclosed that early in November 1939, 300 Jews of Brno, 1,500 of Prague, and a third group from Moravska-Ostrava had been shipped in cattle trains to Lublin. In Tesin, all able-bodied Jews from 14 to 60 years of age were ordered on November 9th to report to a specified Jewish organization for deportation to Poland.⁴⁸ In a Berlin dispatch to the *New York Times*, dated November 26, 1939, Nazi officials were quoted as saying that when these Jews were finally expelled, they would be the last contingent out of 150,000 Jews (as classified by the Nazis) to be sent from the Protectorate to Poland.⁴⁹

The Nazis claimed that the wholesale transfer of Czech Jews to Lublin was to make room for what they called repatriated German minorities from the Baltic Republics, whom the Nazis did not want in the Reich but preferred to have settled in Bohemia-Moravia. Throughout 1940, Jews were expelled from towns and villages in Bohemia-Moravia to make room for Germans.⁵⁰ In September 1940, the entire Jewish population of Klatovy was removed. In November, Reich Protector von Neurath ordered the evacuation of all Jews from Kromeriz, Hodonin, and Uherske Hradiste within twenty-four hours; all were dispatched to the Government General of Poland. By May 1941, Czech Jews from eighty-three towns and small cities had been expelled.⁵¹ The *New York Times* of February 5, 1941, reported that there were 70,000 Jews still left in the Protectorate, suggesting that approximately 52,000 had emigrated or had been expelled since 1938.

Jews in the larger cities—Prague, Plzen, Brno—began to be routed early in October 1941.⁵² By the end of the month, 48,000 Czech Jews had been selected for deportation. Men between the ages of 16 to 50 were marched off to labor camps; women and children were removed to Terezin. Month after month the disappearance

Wiadomości z Krakowa

Akcja wysiedleńcza ukończona

Szef Dystryktu krakowskiego obwieszczeniem z dnia 15 marca br. podał do wiadomości, że akcja wysiedlania Żydów z Krakowa, została zakończona, gdyż wszystkie wnioski o dalszy pobyt są załatwione.

Wnoszenie jakichkolwiek dalszych podań, dotyczących się wysiedlania Żydów, jest zupełnie bezcelowe, gdyż nie będą one opracowywane i pozostaną bez odpowiedzi.

Kwestie związane z utworzeniem dzielnicy żydowskiej

Z Urzędu Szefa Dystryktu w Krakowie, Placówka Przesiedleńcza, dowiadujemy się co następuje:

W dzielnicy żydowskiej muszą mieszkać bez wyjątku wszyscy Żydzi, którzy otrzymali Kartę Rozpoznawczą. Dotyczy to także Żydów przynależnych do Protektoratu Moraw i Czech, jak też Żydów przynależnych do Państwa Niemieckiego. Żydzi, posiadający inną przynależność państwową, są na razie wyjęci spod obowiązku przeniesienia się do dzielnicy żydowskiej. W tej sprawie zostaną jeszcze wydane odpowiednie zarządzenia.

Jeśli chodzi o małżeństwa mieszane, to żydowski małżonek wzgl. małżonka musi zamieszkać w dzielnicy żydowskiej, podczas gdy druga strona, aryjska, może, lecz nie musi tamże zamieszkać.

Opuszczenie żydowskiej dzielnicy mieszkaniowej umożliwione będzie zasadniczo wszystkim tym Żydom, którzy potrafią udowodnić, że mają regularne zajęcia poza dzielnicą mieszkaniową. Osoby te otrzymają przepustki, które wystawiać będzie Starostwo Miejskie. Co się tyczy systemu ich wydawania, to ukaże się w tym kierunku specjalne dalsze rozporządzenie wykonawcze.

Celem przesiedlenia do dzielnicy żydowskiej mienia przesiedleńczego, znajdującego się obecnie poza obrębem tej dzielnicy, koniecznym jest potwierdzenie żydowskiego Urzędu Kwaterunkowego. Tenże wystawia specjalne zaświadczenie przesiedleńcze, aby odnośne mienie nie uległo konfiskacie.

Jeśli posiadacz Karty Rozpoznawczej nie chce się przesiedlić do dzielnicy żydowskiej, lecz zamierza Kraków opuścić, wówczas winien zastosować się do następującego trybu: odnośna osoba winna udać się do biura Oddziału Policji przy Urzędzie Starosty Miejskiego, na ulicę Franciszkańską, gdzie zamelduje zamierzone opuszczenie Krakowa. Winna ona tamże poprosić o uchylenie ograniczenia pobytu, wystawienie przepustki na wyjazd i o udzielenie zezwolenia na zabranie ze sobą z Krakowa do nowego miejsca osiedlenia mienia ruchomego. Jeśli Urząd Policijny przychyli się do wniosku, i wystawi potrzebne dokumenty, wówczas należy udać się do Urzędu Pracy przy ul. Lubelskiej i złożyć tamże swoją Kartę Rozpoznawczą.

Przedłużanie zezwoleń pobytu (Kart Rozpoznawczych), które odbywa się dotychczas w Urzędzie Pracy przy ul. Lubelskiej, uskutecznić się będzie po 20 marca w dzielnicy żydowskiej, gdzie do tego czasu zostanie utworzoną odpowiednią placówką zameldowania.

Dzieci, które dotychczas były umieszczone na Kartce Rozpoznawczej głowy rodziny, a w międzyczasie osiągnęły lub w najbliższym czasie osiągną czternasty rok życia, otrzymają własną Kartę Rozpoznawczą. W sprawie uregulowania tej kwestii ukaże się w najbliższym czasie specjalne zarządzenie.

W takich wypadkach Karty Rozpoznawcze wydawane będą nadal, tj. także po dniu 15 marca. Zasadniczo jednak akcja wydawania Kart Rozpoznawczych kończy się w tym dniu. Kto do tego terminu nie będzie w posiadaniu wezwania odebrania Karty Rozpoznawczej, musi liczyć się z tym, że zostanie przymusowo wysiedlony mimo że wniósł dodatkowe podanie o wydanie Karty Rozpoznawczej.

W zarządzeniu o utworzeniu dzielnicy żydowskiej zastrzeżono przesiedlenie lokali handlowych i warsztatów przemysłowych do późniejszego terminu. W sprawie tej odeszły już specjalne zarządzenia do Rady Żydowskiej.

Przeprowadzenie i zrealizowanie kwestii związanych z przesiedleniem, należeć będzie do Rady Żydowskiej.

Termin końcowy akcji wysiedleńczej staje się coraz bliższym. Mimo to niewielka ilość osób przeniosła się do nowych mieszkań. Wzrost tego stanu należy szukać w tym, że właściciele mieszkań w przyszłej dzielnicy żydowskiej ociągają się z ich opróżnieniem przed terminem końcowym. Każdy wypadek nieuzasadnionego ociągania się z opróżnieniem mieszkań winien być podany do wiadomości Żydowskiego Biura Mieszaniowego, który wdroży odpowiednie kroki.

Wreszcie wskazuje się na to, że polski tekst rozporządzenia o utworzeniu dzielnicy żydowskiej pokrywa się w niektórych punktach z oryginalnym niemieckim. W wszystkich takich wypadkach jest oczywiście miarodajny wyłącznie tekst niemiecki.

JEWS FROM
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
EXPULSED TO
CRACOW GHETTO

of Jews continued. In the spring of 1942, 6,000 Prague Jews were dispatched to the Pripet Marshes.⁵³

The mass uprooting of Jews from Prague and other cities provoked considerable anxiety among non-Jewish Czechs who feared that they too would soon be deported to occupied Poland. An article, published in the pro-Nazi *Poledni List*,⁵⁴ hinted that non-Jewish Czechs considered the expulsion of Jews as merely a prelude to wholesale displacements of Czechs, especially since the Nazi press had been warning non-Jews that they too would be deported should they be suspected of sympathizing with Jews.

In a survey of the status of Jews in the Protectorate for 1942, the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs in London disclosed:⁵⁵

In June 1942, deportation to Poland began on a large scale. The Gestapo was instructed to prepare contingents of a thousand Jews every Monday and Thursday. Those slated to leave were given a day or two notice. The Nazi records of Jewish registration were out of date, and it often happened that call-up cards were addressed to persons who had died years before, had left the country or had already been deported. In such cases, the daily quota of a thousand was made up of people simply picked up from the streets, or dragged from their beds at night.

The Gestapo took delight in so selecting the deportees that families were split, wives separated from their husbands, and even small children from their mothers. Those left at home were never allowed to bid farewell to their relatives or friends. But sometimes, on early summer mornings, their Czech friends could watch those gloomy processions of the outlawed marching to the railway station and passing for the last time through the streets of Prague.

Out of 90,000 Jews living in Czechoslovakia in 1939, only an estimated 10,000 to 15,000 were left at the end of 1942.⁵⁶ The Geneva office of the World Jewish Congress reported that during that year approximately fourteen per cent of the Jewish population had died.⁵⁷ Large contingents of Jews were deported to Poland in September 1942; later, in December, 5,000 more were on transports leaving Prague for Poland. Many Czechs were among the 50,000 Jews, who also included Germans and Austrians, interned at Terezin, the largest ghetto concentration camp in Bohemia-Moravia.

Forty thousand of these were said to be between 65 and 80 years old.⁵⁸ The ranks were further swollen with the arrival of all Jewish residents of Votice and Milevsko, who were sent to Terezin on August 29, 1942. The prison town was so overcrowded by September that a new concentration camp had to be opened near Tabor.⁵⁹

The Nazi overseas news service, *Transocean*, announced on March 1, 1943, that up until the preceding January 7th, seventy-seven per cent of the Jews in the Protectorate had been deported. Expulsions continued in March: all Jews were removed from the city of Tabor and from most of Southern Bohemia, including Jindrichuv Hradec.⁶⁰

The goal of the Nazis, who had ordered that the Czech Protectorate be made *judenrein* by the end of March 1943, was in sight.⁶¹ The "final and factual end of Jewry" in Czechoslovakia was implied in a *New York Post* dispatch dated January 23, 1944, which reported that 77,000 Jews of the Protectorate died in camps or had been deported to Polish ghettos, where they had disappeared.

After the Tiso puppet state of SLOVAKIA was officially recognized by the German government in March 1939, it launched a program of Jewish persecution more devastating than in any of the other satellite countries of Europe. The Jewish population had already been reduced in November 1938 from more than 135,000 to about 115,000 by Hungary's seizure of Slovakian territory following the Munich Agreement.⁶²

The most intensive anti-Jewish measures in Europe were introduced on March 15, 1939, only a day after Slovakia declared her so-called independence. The measures were swiftly put into effect through the political machine of the *Hlinka Guard*, an efficient instrument of terror which worked in close collaboration with the *Freiwillige Schutzstaffel*, or Elite Guard of the German minority, to suppress all democratic movements and direct the liquidation of the Jewish Community of Slovakia. The strategy of eliminating Jews followed the familiar Nazi pattern: arrests, internments and expulsions.

Early in July 1939, the Slovakian puppet government an-

nounced that the country would be purged of its Jews within three years.⁶³ The exodus had started before the vassal state was created, 20,384 Jews having emigrated from Slovakia since October 1938.⁶⁴ Expulsions began first in the country districts, where the towns of Trenčín, Kremnica, Sereď, and Novo Mesto were "free of Jews" by July 20th. An order of the Gestapo to the Jewish Community Emigration Office a week later demanded the voluntary emigration of 30,000 Jews before 1940 and of 70,000 in 1940. Arrests of 2,500 Jews for deportation to Poland and Hungary were reported in the following November.⁶⁵

Early in 1940, a Central Jewish Office, under authority of the fascist Tiso regime, was set up to speed expulsions of Jews from Slovakia,⁶⁶ and further removal orders were issued to Jews in the towns and villages that summer. In June, in the town of Presov, the Nazi military command ordered 5,000 Jews to leave the community within three days.⁶⁷ The *Berliner Boersenzeitung* on November 29, 1940, reported that Premier Vojtech Tuka cut short the planned expulsion of Jews from several cities and revealed that they would be herded into concentration camps instead.

The Nazi-controlled *Grenzbote* disclosed in August 1941 that the Jews of Bratislava were being evicted from their homes without the usual thirty days' notice. Some were taken to a ghetto within the city but the majority were moved by fall to ghettos in Sereď and Novaky. Jews were evacuated from the towns of Novo Mesto, Ziliny, Liptovsky Svätý, Mikulas and about twenty smaller towns and were crowded into concentration areas.⁶⁸

Expulsions of Jews were commonplace in Slovakia in 1942. During the week of March 13, 1942, thousands of Slovak Jews who had been held in ten ghetto towns near the Polish frontier were deported to Nazi-held Galicia under an arrangement between Nazi authorities in Poland and the Slovak government. *Gardista*, official organ of the *Hlinka Guard*, announced an order on March 7th by Minister of Interior, Sano Mach, forbidding all Jews in Slovakia to leave the quarters they then occupied until the Slovakian government had completed the transfer of its 90,000 Jews to ghetto towns in the East. Anti-Jewish riots followed announcement of the order.⁶⁹ On May 15, 1942, the Slovak puppet parliament passed a bill on expatriation and deportation affecting all Slovak Jews,⁷⁰

and three days later the Minister of Interior announced that 45,000 were to be removed to Galicia by the end of that month.⁷¹



Headlines in the *Donauzeitung* "solve the Jewish question."

One thousand Jews were removed to Poland daily during June 1942. On June 29th, in a special broadcast from Bratislava, Sano Mach was able to announce that 45,000 Jews, half of the Jewish population of Slovakia, had been expelled as planned. The remaining 45,000 were to go by the end of September.⁷² Most of the eastward-bound deportees were jammed into cattle cars and taken to camps in the towns of Lukow, Miedzyrzec, Podlaska and Chelmino in occupied Poland.⁷³

Slovakia was the only country in Nazi-occupied Europe where the expulsion of Jews was regulated by law. According to the *Constitutional Act* of June 15, 1942, persons of Jewish origin were liable to expulsion with the following exceptions: (1) those who,

before March 14, 1939, were not of the Jewish faith, or who before that date had married a non-Jew; (2) those individually exempted from the application of the law by the President; (3) physicians, veterinary surgeons, chemists and engineers, some of whom, however, were not necessarily exempted.⁷⁴

So-called collecting-stations were established for displaced persons in October 1942. Jews eliminated from public life were shipped to the centers where they were redistributed, some to one of five labor camps in Slovakia, others to Polish concentration camps.⁷⁵

By the end of 1942, only 19,000 Slovak Jews were left in the country, according to Sano Mach, and 3,500 of these were in labor camps.⁷⁶ Approximately 76,000 had been expelled. A special committee was set up at this time to expedite the liquidation of those remaining.⁷⁷

The Minister of Interior speaking over the Bratislava radio on February 8, 1943, again demanded "All Jews must go." Any still in Slovakia would be deported to Poland in the next two months, he promised the Slovak Nazis, who had been clamoring for complete eradication of Jews.

Deportation continued throughout 1943, and on January 14, 1944, the following towns were reported "Jew-free": Banska Bystrica, Bardijov, Kezmarok, Nitra, Presov and Trnava.⁷⁸ But the persistent clamor of the Nazis for a completely *judenrein* Slovakia had failed to bring the desired results. A new wave of persecutions began in November 1944, following the occupation of Slovakia by the Wehrmacht. The 5,000 Jews allegedly left in Bratislava were ordered to report by November 20th for deportation, presumably to concentration camps in the East.⁷⁹

HOLLAND

Holland at the time of the invasion on May 10, 1940, had approximately 120,000 Jews and another 60,000 persons of partly Jewish origin.⁸⁰ The Displaced Persons Executive of the United States Forces, European Theater, Frankfurt-on-Main, stated August 3, 1945, that of Holland's 120,000 Jews 110,000 had been deported.

Oppressive anti-Jewish measures during 1940 and 1941 of the Nazi military command were counteracted by Dutch resistance—

sabotage, public demonstrations and other acts of sympathy—which impeded the drive to uproot the Jewish community. As Nazi control tightened over the Dutch population, however, Jews were subjected to the relentless procedure which was part of the avowed policy of effacing all Jewry from Continental Europe. Mass arrests were conducted during the first year of occupation, but these were largely of German refugees who were said to have entered Holland illegally. On August 15, 1940, a London *Times* correspondent reported that following the registration of all refugees, those who had left Germany illegally were shipped back by the Nazis. A prediction later borne out was made on February 15, 1942, in the *Voice of Netherlands*, a weekly newspaper published by the Dutch Government-in-Exile in London, that all Holland's Jews eventually would be deported by Nazi authorities.

The first step—the evacuation of Jews from towns and villages in the provinces—was taken in the spring of 1942. Removed to Amsterdam, they were confined in three large ghettos.⁸¹ The April 29 issue of *De Misthoorn*, Dutch Nazi weekly, announced the forced evacuation of all Jews from the town of Weesp, and in May an *Aneta* dispatch disclosed that all Jews from a number of northern towns had been ordered to the ghettos of Amsterdam.⁸² Removal of all Holland's Jews between the ages of 18 and 40 was ordered in July 1942. Notwithstanding public demonstrations in protest, the country's Jewish population was seriously affected. The expulsion of 60,000 Jews to the ghettos of Amsterdam began at a rate of about 600 a day.⁸³

The next phase of the annihilation scheme was forecast July 6th, in Goering's newspaper, the *Essener National Zeitung*, which predicted "complete evacuation" of Jews from Holland to Nazi-occupied eastern territories. The paper suggested that the anti-Jewish regulations which had been issued in the first week of July were merely a prelude to the transfer of all Dutch Jews to the East. Two days later, a Nazi radio commentator in Amsterdam announced that all of Holland's Jews would be deported to Nazi-occupied territories in Eastern Europe. The announcer added:

It will be sad not to see any longer the familiar faces of our Jewish friends, but after all they are citizens of the world and will settle down somewhere else just as well.⁸⁴

The task of "solving the Jewish problem" in Holland by deporting Jews in contingents was entrusted to the SS, Nazi Elite Guard, according to a broadcast on July 15th, by the Nazi-controlled Hilversum radio. The announcement further stated:

In Holland it was against the law to insult any definite group of the population. This law made the fight for the liberation of the Teutonic man almost impossible. All the obstacles we found in our path when we were marching toward the natural way of living were of Jewish origin. It is the task of the SS to solve the Jewish question. That this task is being accomplished successfully is proved by the latest developments.

Mass deportations commenced on July 23, 1942. The official quota was set at 17,000 removals a month, with a totally "Jew-purged" Holland promised by June 1, 1943. The July 29 issue of the *Storm Weekblad der Nederlandsche SS*, organ of the Elite Guard in Holland published in Amsterdam, boasted that "in the future, transports of Jews will move East at such speed that Holland will be *judenrein* by June 1, 1943." The *Netherlands News Digest* reported in August that of 80,000 indigenous Jews and 20,000 refugee German Jews living in Amsterdam, about 10,000 had been deported. The Amsterdam Jewish Council at this time was forced by the Gestapo to issue a special warning against attempts to evade deportation for slave labor in Eastern Europe. Dutch Jews who received expulsion orders were warned to be ready at once, or to face incarceration in the Nazi concentration camp at Mauthausen, where Jews were used as guinea-pigs for poison gas experiments.⁸⁵

Entire families with children were shipped out of the country during October 1942.⁸⁶ In mid-October, 12,000 Dutch Jews were transported to Poland from the Westerbork concentration camp in the northern provinces of Drente, according to an *Aneta* (Official Netherlands and Netherlands East Indies News Agency) dispatch.⁸⁷ Nine thousand more were expelled in December 1942.⁸⁸ The British Ministry of Economic Warfare estimated on December 17, 1942, that of the half million Jews removed to Poland from Nazi-occupied Europe, Holland's quota had reached 40,000 to 45,000.⁸⁹

The mouthpiece of the Dutch Nazi Party, *Volk en Vaderland*, asserted early in February 1943:

NOT A SINGLE JEW WILL ESCAPE DEPORTATION TO
POLAND BY GERMAN OCCUPATION AUTHORITIES.⁹⁰

The compulsory outpouring of Jews from towns and villages continued uninterrupted. A typical order was issued February 16, 1943, by Reich Commissar General for Public Safety, Rauter, forbidding Jews to reside in, or enter the northern towns of Heemstede, Bloemendaal, Aerdenhout, Haarlem and Voorschoten. They were required to abandon their homes and proceed to Amsterdam, there to apply to the city's Billeting Bureau for Jews to be assigned quarters in the ghetto.⁹¹ A report in the March 13 issue of the *Bruesseler Zeitung* disclosed that all Jews in eight of the eleven provinces of occupied Holland were ordered to leave for the German concentration camp at Vught. The order appeared in the *Deutsche Zeitung in den Niederlanden* on April 4, 1943.⁹²

The last cattle train of Jews left Amsterdam for Poland in June 1943. In three years, 80,000 Dutch Jews had been dislodged from their homes and communities, driven into Amsterdam's ghettos, rounded up there and transported to the Vught and Westerbork camps and then shipped to Poland in freight cars. The human freight was loaded in consignments of sixty persons to a car; they ranged from infants of only six weeks to persons 90 years old.⁹³

When no further deportations could be organized because victims were no longer available, the Jewish Council of Holland with all its personnel followed the others to the same unknown destination. They were among the last 5,000 starting on the journey to Westerbork camp on the night of September 28, 1943.⁹⁴

BELGIUM

A defeated Belgium was compelled to give way to the Nazi strategy of organized terror late in May 1940. Entire communities and population groups were uprooted; Belgian laborers were recruited to work for the Reich, and schemes were advanced to form colonies of Belgians in the Ukraine.

As in other Nazi-conquered countries, mass deportations began

with Jews. Belgium's Jewish population at the outbreak of war numbered 110,000, of whom 80,000 were Belgian citizens and 30,000 refugees from German-occupied Europe. Between 20,000 and 25,000 escaped to England and France before July 31, 1940,⁹⁵ leaving 85,000 Jews who eventually were rounded up or removed to Germany and to the East under the most precipitate and ruthless conditions.

Expulsions began with foreign-born Jews. Later Belgian as well as foreign-born Jews were deported to Poland and the Ukraine.⁹⁶

On the day of the Nazi invasion, 5,000 German refugees were arrested as enemy aliens and deported to internment camps in France. German women refugees who had fled from Belgium were arrested in France in June 1940, and sent to the infamous concentration camps at St. Cyprien, Gurs and Rivesaltes. A number of them were shipped to forced labor camps in Algeria and Morocco.⁹⁷ Others were expelled from Antwerp to the Hasselt district in Northern Belgium.⁹⁸

A panic wave of emigration followed, but Nazi authorities countered with a ban on all Jewish emigration, the forerunner of the mass expulsion of Jews to the East. "The last Jew must be driven out of Flanders and the Walloons," became the familiar utterance of the Nazis and Quislings in Belgium.⁹⁹

A Nazi military decree of November 25, 1941, ordered Jews of Polish origin to prepare for deportation to Poland, and that winter the first trainloads left. One contingent of eighty-three families set out from Antwerp for Eastern Europe on December 5th.¹⁰⁰ The deportees were forced by Nazi occupation authorities to surrender their property and funds to a central Jewish body, *Association des Juifs en Belgique*, it was disclosed by the Belgian Information Center in New York in January 1942.¹⁰¹ Confiscated property ostensibly was to be converted into funds to finance the deportation program. Large-scale expulsions followed in February. On March 25, 1942, the Belgian Government-in-Exile reported that 10,000 Jews had arrived in Lodz to work as slave laborers in textile factories making uniforms for the German army.

Man-hunts in which as many as 2,000 Jews were rounded up in one night were organized in the summer. Jews accused of evading enlistment in labor gangs as required in two ordinances issued

March 11th and May 8th, were caught in the Nazi net and ordered deported.¹⁰² Most of them were sent to Malines and other deportation assembly points; from Malines they were rerouted to Calais and other French coastal points to work on fortifications. Women between 16 and 50 years old were taken to the coal mines in Silesia. During October alone 5,500 Antwerp Jews were deported to the East.¹⁰³ Approximately 25,000, or almost half of the foreign-born Jews of Belgium had been expelled, it was reported in the Rexist organ, *Le Pays Reel*, October 25th.¹⁰⁴ The raids continued through the winter. The Belgian News Agency on November 17th reported the arrest in Brussels of 2,000 Jewish men, women and children who were seized in their homes and forcibly thrust into trucks bound for an unknown destination.

The rate of expulsions of Jews and non-Jews "exceeds 20,000 per month," George Theunis, Belgian Ambassador to the United States, declared on January 14, 1943; this despite the fact, reported by the Nazi *Bruesseler Zeitung* of February 8th, that many Jews were aided by the population in evading deportation.

The country as a whole was virtually cleared of its Jewish population. The *New York Times* of June 14, 1943, reported that the Germans had removed 52,000 Belgian Jews to concentration camps in Germany, Poland and occupied Russia. By September 1944, more than half of the 110,000 Jews who had lived in Belgium prior to German rule had been expelled, enslaved or shipped to the death chambers of Eastern Europe.

LUXEMBOURG

Of a pre-war Jewish community of 3,500, only seventy remained when the Allied armies liberated the Duchy of Luxembourg. It was estimated that some 830 had been deported while the remainder had fled to other countries, many of them to France.¹⁰⁵

The Germans began their expulsion of Luxembourg Jews shortly after the occupation in 1940. A Gestapo order submitted to Dr. Serebrinio, Chief Rabbi of the Jewish Community, on September 19, 1940, required all Jews to leave the country within two weeks. Thirty dollars and sixty pounds of personal luggage was all each could take. Some of those who remained in the Duchy were

rounded up, herded into freight trains and expelled at the Portuguese border. Others were deported to the Lodz slave labor factories and eventually killed, along with Jews of other nationalities who had been sent to the slaughter camps of Poland.¹⁰⁶

FRANCE

Many of Europe's Jews, fortunate enough to escape Nazi enslavement in their own countries, flocked to France for refuge, but with the fall of that country, they were trapped along with France's own citizenry. Of the estimated 340,000 Jews in France at the close of 1940, more than half were of foreign birth, and it was against them the Nazi conquerors and puppet French authorities first struck. About 25,000 of the fugitives had arrived from Belgium and Holland only a few days before the invasion; thousands of others had come to France earlier from Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. As the Nazi armies anchored in Northern France, Jews of all nationalities fled before them with thousands of non-Jews.¹⁰⁷ The so-called free zone in the South had 195,000 Jews (145,000 French nationals, 20,000 East European Jewish immigrants and 30,000 German refugees).¹⁰⁸

Escape to unoccupied France did not delay capture; in fact, the first round-ups of Jews anywhere in France were conducted by the Vichy government. It inaugurated the country's Jew-clearance program with an order on July 7, 1940, for the internment of all Austrian and German Jews in the Vichy-ruled zone. A group of 9,000 Jews, expelled from Baden and the Palatinate, arrived in unoccupied France in November 1940, only to be incarcerated at once by the Vichy government. Within the first year of Pétain's regime, an estimated 25,000 Jews had been interned in the so-called free zone.

The Germans made their first mass arrests of Jews in occupied France on March 13, 1941, when residents of northern coastal districts were seized and sent to two camps in the *départements* of Yonne and Aube. Two weeks later, 5,000 Paris Jews, consisting mostly of persons from Czechoslovakia, Poland and Austria, were interned near Orléans, and 6,000 more Jews were arrested in mass

raids in August. In the occupied zone, there were 148,000 Jews, two-thirds of whom were French nationals.¹⁰⁹

In accord with Nazi custom, the mass arrests in the occupied area had been prefaced by severe restrictions on the community and business life of the Jews. The regulations subsequently were imposed in Southern France as well, following its collapse. Jews were ordered to register with the authorities and were obliged to wear the "Yellow Star," distinguishing them as Jews; they were forbidden to enter cafes, restaurants, cinemas and theaters, or to use public telephone booths.

The next step followed inevitably: mass expulsions. A spectacular raid in Paris began on July 16, 1942, and continued the next day, netting 20,000 Jews described as aliens, who were to be deported, according to an Associated Press report based on a German radio broadcast. Survivors of the Drancy concentration camp near Paris, where the majority of exiles were brought before their expulsion, later told a *New York Herald Tribune* correspondent (September 17, 1944) that the victims of those mid-summer raids numbered 40,000 men, women and children. The Paris police had conducted earlier, less drastic mass arrests, but the Gestapo was in charge beginning in July. News from underground patriots that Pierre Laval, Vichy chief, had agreed to surrender to Germany "all Jews of so-called foreign origin" in occupied France and 10,000 from the unoccupied area, was published in the *New York Times* August 6, 1942, credited to the Associated Press. The account also told of mass arrests in Lyons, and of deportation plans for 3,600 Jews in three Vichy-controlled concentration camps, and for 1,000 others in Paris, Perpignan and Marseilles.

The first transport left for Poland on August 4, 1942. Deportation trains from internment camps at Drancy, Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande bore the inscription: "Material for the German Army" (*Wehrmachtsgut*). That the first complement of 28,000 Parisian Jews would be out of the country and on the way to Poland or Nazi-occupied Russia by August 16th, was announced by the Swiss newspaper, *Schaffhausener Arbeiterzeitung*, on August 12th. On August 18th, a contingent of 4,000 left France for the coal mines of Silesia.¹¹⁰ Large numbers taken in mass arrests filled the concentration camps of Gurs, Les Milles and Rivesaltes in the un-



L'Émanicipation Nationale of June 13, 1942, Nazi-inspired French paper edited by Jacques Doriot, reports that 80,000 Paris Jews are wearing the "Star of David."

STRATEGY OF DECIMATION

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occupied zone. On September 6, 1942, 15,000 from these three camps were deported. The same day another group of 500 children including two-year-olds was removed from Ose, a Jewish health center, and deported to the East.¹¹¹

The Nazi military occupation of Southern France on November 11, 1942, resulted in a continuous, nationwide man-hunt for Jews. Within six days, 6,000 new captives in the South had been brought to the camps of Gurs, Noe and Nexon and to two others in the *département* of Haute-Vienne, all then German-administered, as reported in the *New York Times* the following January 26th. Thousands of Jewish prisoners were destined for work on the Trans-Sahara railway in North Africa under harrowing conditions; the *London Jewish Chronicle* on January 22, 1943, cited an announcement by the Imperial Council in North Africa that 13,000 alien Jews, of whom 978 had died, had been taken there from France.

Whether to the Sahara or to the prison camps of Eastern Poland, the route of the French exiles led to obscurity. Those who were shipped to North Africa were prohibited from communicating even with relief agencies. The larger number, sent eastward, lost all contact. Children who were deported were separated from parents and never heard of again, not even a record of their identities remaining. (*New York Herald Tribune*, September 17, 1944.)

Under the circumstances attempts at escape were inevitable. There were enough escapes for the Nazis to bar Jews from entire sections of France near the Spanish border; the *Stockholm Aftonbladet* reported the first order to this effect on May 2, 1943. The New York publication, *Pour La Victoire*, on June 26th listed fourteen southern *départements* of France in which Jews were not permitted. Up until then some few escaped prisoners had been getting over the Spanish and Swiss borders.

The deportations had mounted to 50,000, Louis Darquier de Pellepoix, Vichy Commissioner for Jewish Affairs, announced on January 12, 1943. In Paris alone, which was said to have a pre-war Jewish population of 200,000, only 80,000 remained in January 1945, of whom half had returned since the liberation, according to the *New York Times* of January 11, 1945.

The Displaced Persons Executive of the United States Forces,

refugees of a total Norwegian population of 2,900,000. Several hundred of them escaped to Sweden,¹¹² but more than a thousand were expelled to the death camps of Poland and Upper Silesia.¹¹³

Norwegian resistance to Nazi authority blocked immediate depredations against Jews. On February 5, 1942, however, Vidkun Quisling, then Nazi puppet Minister President of Norway, abrogated all rights of Jews to citizenship, an act which provided the *Hirdmen* (Quisling storm troopers) with the legal weapon for their subsequent drive of anti-Semitic terror. *Hirdmannen*, official organ of the *Hird*, demanded a "definite solution of the Jewish problem."¹¹⁴

The Nazi plan to expel all Norway's Jews to Poland and Upper Silesia did not take effect, however, until the alleged murder of a frontier police officer by patriots in October 1942 precipitated action. Arrests of Jewish males over 16 in the district of Trondheim and in Oslo followed.¹¹⁵ The October 27 issue of the *New York Times*, reporting one among many incidents, carried the following headline:

EXTIRPATION OF JEWS EXPECTED IN NORWAY.

The correspondent wrote, in part,

Because of the murder . . . twenty-eight Norwegian Jews were taken as hostages. The authorities threatened Norwegian Jews with deportation to Eastern Europe, and it is generally believed that today's murder will be the signal for mass deportation and probably the killing of Norwegian Jews . . .

Most Jews arrested were interned at Bredtvedt concentration camp or sent to a special camp at Sem, near Toensberg.¹¹⁶ Internees at another concentration camp, at Berg, were said to have been given the choice of deportation to Poland, or hard labor at outposts in the frozen regions of the Arctic.¹¹⁷

In the cold dawn of November 6, 1942, more than 1,000 Oslo Jews, chiefly women, children, invalids and old people, were dragged from their beds at 4 A.M., driven down to the Oslo docks, and packed into two German freighters, the "Donau" and the "Monte Rosa." They were crammed aboard along with 500 men

who had been brought in cattle trucks from the concentration camp at Toensberg. The *New York Times* account, in the December 8, 1942 issue, described their plight "aboard a hell ship carrying them from Oslo to Germany . . ." Their subsequent arrival at a Baltic port was reported, and the Swedish press later stated that they had been put to work in the Upper Silesian coal mines.¹¹⁸

The forced exodus drained Norway of more than half its Jews by January 1943. A few weeks later one of the last boatloads of Jews was shipped from Oslo, according to an Associated Press account from Stockholm appearing in the *New York Sun* of February 26, 1943. The 120 Jewish outcasts said to be aboard had spent the two preceding months in a concentration camp at Grini; their fate in Germany was not reported.

The count of Jews in Norway at last dropped to fifty, all that was left of the original 3,400.¹¹⁹

DENMARK

In August 1943, three years after the invasion, the Germans imposed total military rule over Denmark, at the same time setting in motion the process of rounding up Jews for deportation. The country had between 6,000 and 6,500 Jews, and 1,500 or 2,000 additional fugitives from Germany.¹²⁰ A number of them were arrested on August 29th and transferred to the Horseroed camp, north of Copenhagen. Others managed to escape to Sweden, whose government had opened its frontiers to Danish Jews.¹²¹

The Danish people balked the Nazis whenever possible, giving wholehearted support to their Jewish fellow citizens. Danish resistance to Nazi military authority provoked Hitler to issue an ultimatum to all Danes which included the threat that Jews would not be tolerated in Denmark.¹²²

A dramatic mass round-up of the majority of Danish Jews, concentrated in Copenhagen, was to have been conducted by 3,000 Gestapo men aided by the SS on the night of October 1, 1943, the eve of the Jewish New Year.¹²³ News of the deliberately timed raid in Copenhagen had leaked out, and 7,000 Jews, with the help of Danish fishermen and policemen, eluded the Gestapo and sailed

across the Oeresund Sound in small boats to Sweden. Not all those who tried to escape succeeded. Some were caught; some were drowned; some were machine-gunned.¹²⁴ Those who were captured were taken to the suburbs of Hellerup where other Danish patriots fought to liberate them. Amidst violent clashes, a number of Jews were dragged by the SS men to three deportation vessels. Two of the ships were reported sabotaged, but one was said to have sailed with 1,600 Jews,¹²⁵ of whom 600 subsequently arrived in the concentration camp at Terezin.¹²⁶

By 1944, there were virtually no Jews left in Denmark. But, as in no other country, the great majority of Denmark's Jews escaped to freedom due to the gallantry of Danish patriots.

HUNGARY

Hungary, satellite of Nazi Germany, undertook the obliteration of its Jews even before the Nazi occupation in 1944. The country from 1938 to 1941 had acquired new territories, and with it a new population, including a considerable number of Jews. Moreover, large groups of Jews had sought refuge there from Germany, Austria, Poland and Rumania,¹²⁷ so that by 1941 Hungary had one of the largest Jewish populations in Europe, numbering between 800,000 and 1,000,000 persons, and ranking third after the U.S.S.R. and Poland, respectively.¹²⁸

The process of eliminating Jews from productive life was begun in 1938 with the introduction of a law by Premier Imredy which reduced the number of Jews permitted to engage in commerce and industry. Coincidentally with this and other measures calculated to kill the economic life of the Jews, Hungary in 1941 imitated the Nazi pattern of expelling all Hungarian Jews of Polish descent. More than 22,000 Jews who could not produce proof of their Hungarian citizenship were deported to Galicia, where they were trapped by bands under German command. Twelve thousand were executed by machine guns, while the remainder were released, only to be returned by the Hungarian Army Command to Hungarian concentration camps.¹²⁹

The effect of the extensive anti-Jewish legislation in Hungary was revealed by statistics on Jews for 1942: the birth rate declined

seventy-three per cent, the death rate rose more than fifty-seven per cent.¹³⁰

Approximately 300,000 Jews had been shipped to concentration camps, when the Nazis invaded Hungary on March 20, 1944.¹³¹ In the "merciless war" declared after the occupation, the Minister of Interior of the new puppet cabinet, Andor Jaros, staked his "position on the liquidation of the Jewish elements and of the Socialists."¹³²

The expulsion of all Jews from towns of less than 10,000 population to larger cities was authorized a month later. Sixty thousand Jews living in Pest County were removed to twenty-two ghettos. The city of Szeged established a ghetto surrounded by a wall two meters high.¹³³ One hundred fifty thousand Jews in the eastern provinces were expelled from the country. Most of these deportees were shipped to Oswiecim and Treblinka, notorious human slaughter-houses in Poland.¹³⁴

Estimates of the number of Jews expelled from Hungary by July 1944 to the death camps of Poland varied from a conservative 250,000 to 400,000. Almost half of Hungary's Jewish population had been liquidated. A *New York Times* headline, dated December 29, 1944, read:

JEWS' DEATH MARCH IN HUNGARY BARED
Tens of Thousands Perished. Segregation of Jews
in Ghetto. Select Those Fit for Hard Labor.

GREECE

With the collapse of the governmental power in Greece in 1941, the Germans ruthlessly repressed and attacked Jews there as elsewhere in Nazi-controlled Europe. A pre-war Greek-Jewish population of 90,000 was almost entirely removed from the country to other German-ruled territories by 1943.

Immediately after the occupation, the Gestapo began raiding Jewish homes in Salonika and Athens and shipping the residents to a concentration camp at Levadia for deportation. Convoys of Salonika Jews, who had been confined in five ghettos early in 1942, rolled out during March, April and May.

Approximately 15,000 Jews had been expelled from Greece by

June 1942, but mass deportation was not made "legal" by the Nazis until July 11th, when German authorities ordered registration of Salonika's Jewish men from 18 to 45, the usual order preceding expulsions. Seven thousand of those in the best physical condition were deported to forced labor camps in Bulgaria;¹³⁵ 8,000 others were shipped to labor camps in the Macedonian mountains.¹³⁶

Expulsions of Greek Jews to Poland followed. More than 13,000 were brought to Poland before March 1943. Large groups escaped, 3,000 to Athens and as many more to the Dodecanese Islands, where they lived in hiding, without means of existence. Another contingent of 5,000 Greek Jews who had been removed to Lvov in cattle cars were retransported to another, unknown destination in Poland. Deportees from Thrace and Macedonia were taken to the Treblinka death camp in Poland, a *New York Times* dispatch disclosed in June 1943.

Only 5,000 of Salonika's former 54,000 Jews were left in April 1943. There was none left in Bulgarian-held Western Thrace and Eastern Macedonia in February 1944, and the Island of Corfu was *judenrein* several months later.

In all of Greece there remained only 8,000 Jews, according to the *New York Times* of November 29, 1944. Under the headline:

LESS THAN TEN PER CENT OF GREEK JEWS LEFT

the account read: "The Chief Rabbi and President of the Jewish Community in Greece said today that of the 90,000 Jews in Greece before the war, only 8,000 remained. All the rest have been sent to Poland for forced labor, have died through persecution or were shot. Athens lost approximately twelve per cent of its Jewish population, but other towns lost as much as eighty per cent. In Crete and Rhodes not a single Jew is left."

YUGOSLAVIA

When the Nazi armies marched into Yugoslavia on April 6, 1941, the country had a Jewish population of 80,000 citizens and 6,000 refugees. By February 1943, the number had fallen to 1,000.¹³⁷ Jews were either exterminated or deported to Poland, or to the Plzen district in the Protectorate.¹³⁸

UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

1344 CONNECTICUT AVENUE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

31 MAY 1945

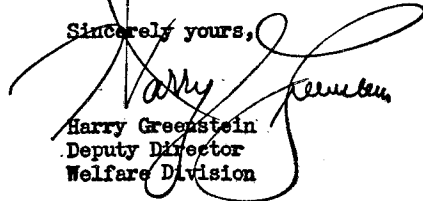
American Committee of
Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists, Inc.
119 West 57th Street
New York 19, New York

Answering your letter of 25 May, the pre-war Jewish population in Greece was approximately 90,000. My understanding is that there are not more than, perhaps, 9,000 Jews left alive in Greece at the present time.

As an indication of some of the things that happened, Salonica, which formerly had a Jewish population of 54,000, has only 500 Jews left. In Yanina which, prior to the war, had 1,800 Jews, only 30 have survived the Nazi persecutions.

During my stay in Greece, I did not hear anything of forced labor for the Jews there. Actually, the Nazis were so intent on either deporting or exterminating Jews that those who survived fled to the hills and mountains. The planned or considered policy of the Nazis was to exterminate or deport every Jew that they could get their hands on, and to make Jews live as unbearably as they possibly could. I was told that the first thing the Nazis did was to confiscate all Jewish property and then, without warning, they went to the homes of the Jews, crowded them into open trucks and took them to concentration camps in Poland. Nothing has been heard from them since and how many of them are alive is unknown.

Sincerely yours,


Harry Greenstein
Deputy Director
Welfare Division

The so-called Protectorate of Serbia and the region of Banat were credited by the *Berliner Boersenzeitung* with being "the first areas in Southeastern Europe completely *judenrein*." ¹³⁹

Steadily mounting resistance against the Nazis after the occupation of Serbia reacted on Jews, who were subject to reprisals both as Jews and as Yugoslav patriots. Mass executions, rather than wholesale expulsions to forced labor or death camps, were resorted to in the program to rid Serbia of its 20,000 Jews. Nevertheless, some Jews from the Banat region were removed to a slave labor camp at Tasmajdan, and by August 20, 1941, the Banat no longer had any Jewish residents.

All except 250 of the men in Belgrade's Jewish communities had been ousted in 1941. Women and children were removed to Tasmajdan camp. From there the children were shipped to an unnamed locality; girls and younger women were loaded into three railway cars, presumably bound for Poland. Others uprooted from their homes were confined in the Zemun camp near Belgrade, where, in July 1942, 7,000 women and children under 18 years old were being held. Jewish men who had been rounded up were removed to the East for forced labor. Not one Jew remained in Belgrade in the summer of 1942. ¹⁴⁰

Croatia, with 30,000 Jews ¹⁴¹—an even larger population than that of Serbia—was no less thorough in disposing of them. Ante Pavelich, dictator of the puppet state of Croatia, promised in August 1941 that the Jews in his district would soon be liquidated. There were 4,000 of the original 18,000 Jews in Zagreb at the time, and these were to go to work in labor camps, Pavelich said. ¹⁴²

Less than a year later, in May 1942, Croatia had only 6,000 Jews left, it was announced in the Nazi-controlled *Grenzboten* (Bratislava). About 3,000 had succeeded in escaping to Italy or Italian-controlled Yugoslav territory.

All Jews under 65 were deported and interned before August 1942. The aging members of a few scattered Jewish communities remained during the first half of 1943. In Osijek, one of the few Jewish communities left in Croatia, whatever elements were left, including foreign Jews and those who had become Christians, were ordered to report to the police or be interned, the *Hrvatski List* re-

ported on February 11, 1943, and further orders were published on March 5th in the *Nova Hrvatska*.

The Nazi puppet government had wiped out Croatian Jews, as planned.

A CASE HISTORY

(as told by an eyewitness) ¹⁴³

Czernowitz was occupied by the Germans and Rumanians during the very first days of the war. Most of the Jewish population remained in Czernowitz. There was no time to evacuate. Only a small percentage managed to escape. But even so some of them fell into the hands of the fascist murderers as they raced along the roads of Bukovina.

The Germans took the center of the city for themselves. They broke into Jewish homes with the cry: "*Juden heraus!*" To the Rumanians they left the suburbs. The Germans did everything according to plan. The Rumanians acted without a plan, but were no less barbaric and bestial.

After the first three days of mass murder, the annihilation program was continued in a different form. Now they shot one out of every ten. These terroristic acts, we were told, were the first revenge "payment" for the enthusiastic greeting which we had given the Red Army in 1940.

Soon after, all administrative powers were taken over by the Rumanians. The infamous Bessarabian and Bukovina police and *Sigurantz* (Rumanian SS) reappeared to teach us the meaning of the "New Order."

The famous Czernowitz cemetery was soon enlarged. The graves of 800 victims were added to it. But many of the murdered still lay about the streets, amidst piles of broken furniture, glass and a thick layer of pillow feathers. Children wandered through the streets, lost and crying. Old people stumbled about aimlessly, seeking their near and dear ones who had disappeared.

Officially the Germans ceased to interfere directly in the administrative affairs of the city, but they supplied the Rumanian officials with an index of all Jews.

Forced labor laws were introduced. The first forced labor con-

tingent consisted of Jewish intellectuals: lawyers, doctors, engineers. They were made to clear the streets of the dead.

Concentration camps were organized immediately. The first were set up in the Bessarabian villages of Yedinetz, Sekuran and in the Bukovina village of Sadegura.

Early in October 1941, a decree was passed evicting the entire Jewish population from their homes within twenty-four hours. Several side streets, surrounded by a wooden fence, were established as the official ghetto. The 62,000 Jews who remained in Czernowitz at the time were crowded into a few alleys. In some cases, the result was that fifty people lived in one room. A twenty-four-hour time limit was set to prevent the Jews from removing their possessions from their houses or the merchandise from their stores. We were forbidden to use any sort of vehicle. We could take only what we could carry on our backs. The greatest difficulty, however, was to find a roof over one's head, a nook for the old, the sick and the children. The first day there were twelve suicides: the second, seventy-two fell ill with typhus; the third day, a decree was passed to turn over to the government all valuables, gold, silver and currency. The fourth day we heard that the exile to Transdnistria was about to begin. The news of the exile came so suddenly, there was no time to escape.

The clock struck twelve. The first transport was beginning to move. In the lead were the wagons filled with the baggage of the old and sick who could not carry their belongings. Following them came long columns of men and women, old and young, nursing infants in their mothers' arms, cripples. Each one with a pack on his back and a basket of food in his hand. Everyone walked in silence as if to his own funeral. The procession of the doomed went on for hours.

The Boyaner Rabbis with their families were in these transports. They put on their best holiday clothes, their satin coats, white socks and silk hats. They held their heads high, and walked slowly and with dignity.

On October 17, 1941, the order came to stop all evacuations. Bucharest had decided to divide the Jews of Czernowitz into two categories: those who were dangerous to the "New Order," and those who were not. The former were to be exiled to Transdnies-

tria, the latter were to remain in the ghetto. However, the number of those remaining was not to exceed 15,000. Among them were specialists, doctors and engineers, of whom there was a great scarcity. A new registration process was set into motion to determine the abilities of each one.

Bessarabien judenfrei

Neue rumänische Angaben

Bukarest, 31. Juli

Nach den Feststellungen der in Kischinew erscheinenden Zeitung „Basarabia“ ist Bessarabien jetzt judenfrei. Diese Tatsache, so schreibt das Blatt, sei um so bemerkenswerter, als noch vor knapp 10 Jahren die Wirtschaft Bessarabiens folgendes Bild gezeigt habe, das sich seither noch bedeutend verschlimmert hatte: In der Textilindustrie Bessarabiens waren viermal soviel Juden als Rumänen tätig, und zwar rund 28 000 Juden gegenüber rund 7 000 Rumänen. Neunmal mehr Juden als Rumänen hatten das Handelsleben in der Hand: 77 000 Juden und nur 8 500 Rumänen. Auch die Banken waren zu drei Viertel jüdisch durchsetzt. Von 7 084 Angestellten waren 5 221 Juden. Der Lebensmittelhandel wurde von 11 739 Juden betrieben, während nur 5 149 Rumänen in diesem Erwerbszweig zu finden waren. „Außerdem“, so schreibt das Blatt, „müsse noch die Tatsache festgehalten werden, daß in allen diesen Unternehmungen die führenden Posten ausschließlich in der Hand der Juden waren, während die Rumänen in untergeordneten Stellungen gehalten worden seien. Erst wenn man diese Zahlen aufmerksam lese, könne man sich über die Bedeutung des großen Wiederaufbauwerkes Antonescus volle Rechenschaft geben.“

On July 31, 1942, the Nazi-controlled *Krakauer Zeitung* reported that Bessarabia was judenfrei.

Of the 62,000 Jews whom the Rumanians found in Czernowitz, 40,000 were evacuated into the ravaged region between the Dniester and the Bug.

The road led to Mohilev-Podolsk. From there, the exiled were scattered over the entire region. From the very moment we entered the freight cars, every step of the way was merely another move in the brutal game of death.

We arrived at Merkulesht (a Bessarabian Jewish colony) during

the night, late in October 1941. The train stopped some distance from the station, in the open field. We were greeted by a view of endless mud, so characteristic of the Bessarabian autumn days. A wet, raw autumn wind blew in from the fields.

A civilian official entered the train. He poked his muddy spike into our chests. His first order rang out sharp and curt: "No one must have more than 250 lei on him. The rest of the money and all other valuables must be handed over to the government. This must be done by morning. You shall answer for the execution of this order with your lives. Do you hear, *Zhides?*"

In the morning, the cars were opened. We unloaded, putting our luggage and bundles on the wet, muddy earth. There we saw torn shirts, lamps, pots, stockings, shoes. Staring at the remains of the convoys which had preceded us, we also saw corpses in the mud. Instinctively, we gathered about these *k'doshim* (holy victims). "Your end will be the same," shouted the official.

After a few moments, we were ordered to continue our journey on foot. The police drove us mercilessly. We began to throw off some of our bundles, the knapsacks, satchels, blankets and even the bags and baskets of food. After a four-hour run, we arrived in Merkulesht.

When we stopped we saw the whole picture of ruin and horror. Broken window-panes, doors torn off the hinges, emptied stores, torn shutters, all of which told without words of the horrible pogrom which had taken place.

We were quartered in the area designated as the Merkulesht Ghetto. It was surrounded by a wire fence.

Completely exhausted, we could not sleep. From all sides horror, ruin and death stared at us. In the houses, in the cellars, in the attics, in the sheds, in the courtyards, behind fences, in ditches—there lay the bodies of murdered Jews. As we entered the houses the stench was so strong, it was impossible to breathe. The first thing we did was to lift up the dead, and carry them to a nearby synagogue.

On opening the chest upon which I had been sleeping, I found the dead body of a child. Possibly the parents had placed it there, wishing to hide it. Climbing the ladder which led to the attic, I saw three bodies hanging from the beams.

A group of us was mobilized to collect and pack up the cast-off and lost things left by previous convoys. All of this was collected in warehouses full of goods which had been taken from Jews. After they had taken all our possessions from us came the final theft, a command to give up all documents of citizenship: passports, certificates of all kinds, diplomas, honor cards, photographs, government papers and any kind of document bearing a government seal, even postage stamps. All of this was demanded under the threat of shooting. The documents were piled up; the Rumanian captain said: "Mice, rats, crows, gypsies, vagabonds and Jews do not need any documents."

One young man asked whether he had to give up any personal photographs. The answer was: "Yes! Yes! Every trace of civilization must disappear, for where you go there is no culture and no civilization!"

The next morning, we were sent across the Dniester to Yampol.

The sky hung over our heads like a tattered sack. The rain fell in a steady drizzle. We were driven without a moment's rest for twenty-four hours. The distance from Merkulesht to the Dniester is not so great, but we were led in a roundabout way to kill off the old, the sick and the children. Three times, the city of Soroko, which is on the banks of the Dniester, appeared and disappeared through the cliffs. Once within sight of Soroko, a peasant woman approached us, holding her nose. When she came close, she apologized, saying she was holding her nose to shut out the horrible stench from the dead lying about the streets of Soroko.

We arrived in the village Sekoyen. Here we were to cross the Dniester over the pontoon bridge into Yampol. Women and children were ordered to cross in a ferry-boat, the men in rowboats tied to the ferry. Guards with truncheons drove us mercilessly into the boats. The main sport was to tip over as many boats as possible, cast the men into the river, and as they tried to save themselves in the rough waves, to shoot at their heads as they bobbed up in the water.

In Yampol, we were taken to a collective farm on the outskirts of the city. We met several thousand exiles, remnants of departed convoys. During our stay, two more convoys arrived. The courtyard, the houses, the cellars and the attics were filled with people.

We slept in our clothes, which had not been changed in days, and which had become part of our bodies. Dozens of people died daily from hunger, thirst, blood poisoning and heavy colds. The first cases of typhus appeared. Due to the horrible congestion, the dead remained among the living for days on end.

Our faces changed. We looked wild, we had a queer metallic stare. Our faces were greasy from dried perspiration mixed with dirt.

In Yampol, we met the remnants of the Bessarabian exiles for the first time. "Leftovers" of convoys that had gone on without them. They presented a picture of utter wretchedness. Their eyes reflected the ashes of the burned Bessarabian villages and the blood of the massacred.

For a real picture of the Rumanian cruelties in Transdnistria, where 250,000 Jews were annihilated, it is not enough to describe the special death camps, the largest of which was in Pechora, in the former famous Voroshilov Sanatorium. Nor is it enough to tell of the camp in Tulchin, from which no one returned alive; the camp under the rule of the infamous Petekau, who asked each night for two Jewish virgins. It is not enough to mention those camps where the Rumanians used to bring groups of Jews to the Germans, so that the latter could amuse themselves in target practice. It is not enough to tell about the numberless Jewish orphans lying about in ditches and garbage heaps, summer and winter, without anyone to care for them, growing up like wild weeds, without any contact with older people, eventually forgetting even the human tongue, and emitting strange sounds like the baa-ing of goats.

Before me I see Isidor Grober, aged 34, who was born and raised in the Bukovina village of Obervikov, in the Suchev area. In 1940, when North Bukovina became part of the Soviet Union, he settled in Czernowitz, where he worked as an electro-radio mechanic. He was happy there. He initiated a plan for the reorganization of the radio system. The plan was accepted in Kiev, and he received a reward for it. Then war broke out. He was exiled from Czernowitz—to Transdnistria. In the freight cars and in the convoys on foot, he was appointed head man, due to his sturdy physique and

his fine appearance. After weeks of aimless wandering, he arrived in Bershad with his wife. Later they reached Shargorod.

During the terrible typhus plague which occurred there, he became crippled. Due to constant festering, both of his legs began to rot and fall off, piece by piece. Not even the most elementary medicinal necessities were available. Ravaged by disease, hunger, cold, dirt, sores and lice after a year of illness, Grober was reduced to a third of a man.

Today he gets about on a little wheeled platform, constructed of sacks and boards, and his rag-covered knee stumps stare at you as he begs for a crust of bread.

A third of a human being—the only survivor of his entire family. The others were murdered in his Bukovina village. A third of a man—a symbol of those left in the ghettos.

SLAVE LABOR

"Who, in the future, is to do the heavy and dirty work which every national community based on labor will always need? . . . The solution consists in our condemning alien European stock, Poles, Czechs, Jews, Italians, who live under us, or find their way to us, to these slave occupations."

PROFESSOR ERNST HAASE,

*Director of the Statistical Department of Leipzig,
member of the Reichstag.*

As a part of the elaborate Nazi program for imperial domination, a coercive labor policy was practised throughout Axis-controlled Europe. At point of bayonet and threat of concentration camps, 165,000,000 Europeans were prohibited from working in a free labor market. The policy was based on the principle of blood hierarchy, of a master race holding in subordination an economic caste of inferiors. Axis workers and those coming from the Reich's vassal allies with which Germany had labor agreements were ranked first: Italians, Spaniards, Hungarians, Bulgarians and Rumanians. Then followed in descending order "Nordic" workers—

Netherlanders, Danes and Norwegians; Western European peoples—French and Belgians; Ostlanders—Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians—and Czechs, Serbs and Croats; then Poles and Russians.¹⁴⁴

Jewish slave laborers of whatever nationality were placed at the bottom level of the hierarchy, a method which bore the stamp of deliberate calculation on the part of the governmental power. Objectives included not only the employment of manpower for the German war machine on a sub-marginal or starvation plane, and the gradual destruction of an entire population, but also the “education” of other peoples and nations of slave workers who might threaten resistance. The fate of the Jew as the lowest of blood inferiors, drained of his labor power and doomed to speedy extinction, would be a warning to other “entire racial units” whose “depopulation” Hitler had promised.¹⁴⁵

The Nazis’ slave system, as it applied to Jews, was unlike other slave systems in past societies; it was not based on the conception of a slave as a valuable chattel, to be kept alive and whole. Instead Jewish conscript labor under the Nazis was worked to the point of debilitation, was kept on the verge of starvation, was barred by the separation of families from the basic human right of reproduction.

The system which took root in Germany in 1933 with the expulsion of Jews from jobs, flowered later with mass deportation of conscript workers from all Nazi-ruled territory, and reached full maturity in the ghettos and camps of Poland and the U.S.S.R.

Entire Jewish communities were uprooted and their members scattered to distant places, where they were formed, together with other thousands of displaced workers, into great labor armies. The routes they traveled crisscrossed the face of Europe. Jammed into cattle cars, they were deployed during the early war years from Germany to France and Poland, from Czechoslovakia to Germany and Poland, and subsequently from all of occupied Western Europe to Poland. Poland became the warehouse of Nazi slave labor. As the war progressed, the forced mass migrations moved eastward to the Baltic countries and the Soviet frontier, and at the last some conscript groups were transported back into Germany and Austria to offset the Nazis’ critical manpower shortage.

From a dependent on the community, subject to the terroriza-

tion with which the Nazis at first tried to force large-scale emigration, the individual Jew sank to the level of a state-owned commodity. His person and his productivity became the property of the Nazis, who could and often did rent him out, to the financial profit of the respective overseers, an abuse which speedily culminated in the greed-driven practice of selling Jewish slaves in the open market.

The uses of the slave worker were manifold during the greatly shortened span of his life. His tasks, regardless of training or suitability, were menial and harsh. As the tempo of the war machine was accelerated, production quotas in mines, factories, road and bridge construction projects and agricultural centers were increased. Slave workers, their numbers daily reduced by famine, illness and brutal treatment were strained to the utmost of their strength, while beyond them loomed the human scrap-heap—the extermination camp.

Terms of servitude varied in different parts of Nazi-controlled Europe, but as the system developed, slave laborers, at one time drafted for two-year periods, finally became subject to conscription for life. Age limits also were not always the same, but the span tended to broaden until boys, 12 years old, men up to 70 and women up to 55 were eventually herded into the labor camps. Registration of all Jews and acceptance of assignment were compulsory. Without homes, living under heavy SS and police guard in the mass squalor of barracks or of ghetto communities—until these too were liquidated—the workers lost contact with their families, and, in fact, with all of the outside world. The token pay they received varied in kind, but all forms of compensation were alike in that they were below the basic requirement for maintenance of life over any extended period of time. Some workers received one mark a day, some were given food rations, some scrip, or government bonds purportedly redeemable after the war. The diet in labor camps consisted for the most part of a little watery soup and a bread substitute. Regulations governing conditions of work for others were null and void as concerned Jews; for laws were enacted specifically denying them the protection of safety rules in industry, the payment of wages during sick leaves or vacations or for overtime work, the privilege of owning any tools and the

right to live or work where they chose. Slave labor for Jews held to the avowed principle stated by a spokesman of Nazi pseudo-science back in 1931:

"The idea that slavery, once abolished, should never again be introduced, is a symptom of the hopeless confusion which reigns in modern thought."¹⁴⁶

GERMANY

As early as 1933, with the accession of Hitler to power, a well-organized and efficient plan to bring about the institution of forced labor was set in motion in Germany. The process of closing the free labor market to Jews was more gradual, but no less thorough than in the countries which came under Germany's rule. Discrimination against the free labor of Jews was ordered and directed, while made to appear spontaneous. Big business dismissed Jews summarily, and as the doors of offices and factories were closed to them, Jewish employees were thrown on the labor market in increasing numbers. When they complained, as in the case of Rudolph Karstadt A.G., large Berlin department store, the court ruled:

It was an indisputable fact that members of the Jewish race in Germany are today no longer citizens with full status and with equal rights, as formerly they were—at any rate, in economic life and in law. The circumstance of the recognized full status of the plaintiff formed the basis and the condition for the agreement concluded with the plaintiff. Only a citizen of full status can render in full the services which, in accordance with the agreement concluded with the plaintiff, the defendants require and to which they have a right . . .¹⁴⁷

The press buttressed the court's opinion with such headlines as:

MEMBERSHIP IN THE JEWISH RACE IS A LEGAL GROUND FOR
DISMISSAL.¹⁴⁸

During 1934 and 1935, the courts continued to defend the ousting of Jews from their jobs, while the National Socialist press reiterated demands for more dismissals. The *Dortmunder General Anzeiger* of January 13, 1934, commented:

It is more than odd that in a large shop—which has been *gleichgeschaltet*—the public should still have to put up with being served by actual Jews. Every German housewife must refuse very firmly to be placed in this situation . . .

Arbeitsdienst, or labor service, became a law on June 26, 1935, but for Germany's "Aryan" population alone. The effect of excluding Jews from its provisions was to lower their status to a labor caste denied the protection of any law. Only three months later the elimination of a free labor market for Jews became a *fait accompli* when the Nazi Party Congress of Nuremberg proclaimed the Reich Law on Citizenship, now one of the commonly known Nuremberg racial laws. The full meaning of the racial laws as they affected employment was shown in a dispatch to the *New York Times* of December 14, 1935:

The President of the Labor Office in Nuremberg sent copies of the racial laws to all labor exchanges in the country with orders to observe them in letter and spirit, which means that Jews can no longer count on getting jobs through these exchanges, which control the labor market.

Unemployed Jews were thrown on the bounty of Jewish relief organizations or had to rely on the slight chance of employment in such few Jewish business firms as had not yet been liquidated.

The systematized expulsion from jobs, consolidated by legal measures, had a cumulative effect on the lives and security of German Jews. Great numbers of them throughout the Reich were forced to migrate from small towns and villages to the larger cities, only to form pockets of unemployed in urban Jewish communities. During this period, 1933 to 1938, overseas emigration was actively encouraged, and organized terror, as described in previous sections, was applied to induce Jews to leave.

The success of anti-Semitic measures promulgated in Austria after the *Anschluss* on March 11, 1938, convinced Nazi leaders that it was safe to proceed more rapidly in Germany. At the onset of war the *corpus vile* status of Jewish labor was altered. Germany, in a fever of military preparations, looked to her reservoir of unemployed Jews. Emigration was halted, and forced labor for Jews

was introduced in the interest of the German war economy. At first, Jews were drafted for work only in the localities in which they lived. Unemployed Jews were conscripted for public works projects, frequently without pay; only the destitute received a slight remuneration.¹⁴⁹ On October 15, 1938, the German universal labor service edict (*Notdienstverordnung*) authorized the drafting of all inhabitants from 15 to 70 for "tasks of special state concern." But in a special decree for Jews, published November 1, 1938,¹⁵⁰ just prior to the vom Rath murder, a small measure of public aid was granted to unemployed Jews who were unable to obtain adequate assistance from Jewish agencies. In return, the recipients had to perform so-called duty work or unskilled labor on road building, swamp drainage and other state projects. Jewish labor service camps soon were established; separate barracks were erected near Berlin for Jews working on road gangs under SS supervision. In this way a large number of Jews who had been dislodged from their professions were mobilized into unskilled, forced labor, releasing "Aryan" workers for other tasks.¹⁵¹

The assassination of Ernst vom Rath, third secretary of the German Embassy in Paris, on November 7, 1938, unleashed a new fury of organized anti-Semitic hostilities and pogroms, followed by mass arrests and deportations. The renewed onslaught culminated in a series of anti-Jewish decrees and a speeding-up of the campaign to degrade Jewish labor. A compulsory labor ordinance, the first measure to "legalize" forced labor in Germany, appeared on March 4, 1939, in the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* in the form of a statement from the President of the Reich Employment Service:

It is not in the interest of the state to leave the working power of employable unemployed Jews unutilized and perhaps even to have to support them from public funds without receiving any return service. An effort must be made to employ all unemployed and employable Jews as soon as possible and to combine therewith the release of German workers for urgent and important state political projects.

The employment of Jews shall take place in fields of enterprises of building construction, soil amelioration, etc., separately from others ("Aryan" workers). I therefore request you immediately to influence public and private enterprises in your district

to provide such work. It is assured that contractors and their enterprises will not suffer disadvantages by the employment of Jews.

The Nazis now had a "legal" precedent for segregating Jewish workers and assigning them to hard labor. In the following May, Dr. Ley's Labor Front started registration of all Jews, males from 18 to 55, and females from 20 to 45, for service in labor battalions.¹⁵² An estimated 20,000 Jews, including 700 women, had been impressed by July 1st, and later in the month the Gestapo ordered the Jewish communities of Berlin, Hamburg, Cologne and other cities to supply specified quotas.¹⁵³ The character of work in these battalions had nothing in common with that of the *Arbeitsdienst* of the "Aryan" population. It was the heaviest labor, under enfeebling and servile conditions.¹⁵⁴

Until the fall of 1939, forced labor had not completely disrupted the segregated life of the Jews. Workers generally were assigned to their own localities, cleaning gutters, shoveling snow and building roads.

On the eve of war, however, the Nazis inaugurated for the Jews the system of forced mass displacement which subsequently was to extend to all the peoples of occupied Europe. Jewish conscripts were made subject to compulsory removal to any territory in Axis Europe. Large numbers of German Jews were rounded up by Gestapo and SS men early in September 1939, and transported for work on fortifications along the French and Polish frontiers.¹⁵⁵ Jews alone with enslaved Polish nationals were thrust into labor brigades in bombed areas or behind the German lines.

There still remained a sizable Jewish population in the principal cities, and among the workers some had not yet been ousted from indispensable jobs in war industries. Of Berlin's 95,000 Jews in December 1939, 20,000 continued to work as conscript laborers in war enterprises, chiefly in building and transport trades and war factories.

The Nazis, after a year at war, were well on their way toward total subjugation of the Jews. Nearly all able-bodied German Jewish males, numbering 40,000 out of the remaining 160,000 Jews in the country, had been conscripted by October 1940, according to an official statement by Nazi authorities.¹⁵⁶ Information reached

the United States Government on February 19, 1941, that within four weeks from that date the Jews left in Germany would be laborers of military age and inmates of concentration camps.¹⁵⁷ The age limit was extended in this period (February 1941) to 65 for men and 55 for women.¹⁵⁸ In some cities, Frankfurt for example, decrees were issued closing Jewish schools for boys over 12 years old and ordering the pupils to work in factories.¹⁵⁹

Then in October 1941 came a special code of regulations, published by the German Ministry of Labor, which merely gave "legal" sanction to already existing practice. Jews were expressly excluded from protection of labor safety regulations, and instead were given special so-called safety rules.¹⁶⁰

The impact of the code was quickly felt by the Jews, only a small number of whom were exempt, by special permission, from compulsory removal out of the country as conscript labor. Thousands were rounded up all over Germany during October 1941, and were removed to undisclosed destinations. They were among the first of experimental transports of large labor groups to territories outside the German Reich. It was grimly stated that they were not to be sent to concentration camps or to be imprisoned, but were to be used for "purposes helpful to the war economy."¹⁶¹

Whatever the stated purposes, the results are apparent, although exact statistics may not be available for years to come. Germany had half a million Jewish citizens in 1933. The highest estimate of those remaining in 1943 and 1944 was 50,000, while some authorities put the figure as low as 5,000. The condition of these remnants, whether 5,000 or 50,000, is known. They labored for the Nazi war effort in segregated groups on their jobs or in work camps, under conditions which seriously affected their health and efficiency. They worked long hours, under threat of severe punishment for the slightest infraction, for pitifully low returns, on smaller food rations than other workers, foreign workers included. As soon as their manpower ceased to be useful to the Reich, they were fated to swift extinction in extermination camps in keeping with the avowed Nazi policy of liquidating all Jews.¹⁶²

Decree Regarding the Employment of Jews October 31, 1941¹⁶²

Nr. 124 — Tag der Ausgabe: 4. November 1941

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Verordnung zur Durchführung der Verordnung über die Beschäftigung von Juden. Vom 31. Oktober 1941.

Auf Grund des § 2 der Verordnung des Reichsausschusses für den Vierjahresplan über die Beschäftigung von Juden vom 3. Oktober 1941 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 675) wird im Einvernehmen mit dem Leiter der Partei-Kanzlei und dem Reichsminister des Innern verordnet:

Abchnitt I

Arbeitsrechtliche Bestimmungen

§ 1

Der Jude kann als Ausländer nicht Mitglied einer deutschen Betriebsgemeinschaft sein, die sich auf dem Grundlag der gegenseitigen Freizügigkeit aller im Betrieb Beschäftigten aufbaut.

§ 2

(1) Jüdische Beschäftigte haben Anspruch auf Vergütung nur für die tatsächlich geleistete Arbeit.

(2) Die Fortzahlung des Arbeitsverdienstes ohne Arbeitsleistung ist unzulässig.

(3) Unberührt bleiben die Bestimmungen über die Fortzahlung des Lohnes bei Arbeitsausfall infolge unzulässiger Witterung.

(4) Ein Anspruch auf Fortzahlung des Gehalts in Krankheitsfällen oder auf Zuschusszahlungen zum Krankengeld besteht nicht.

(5) Besteht ein Anspruch auf Urlaub oder Familienheimfahrt, so beschränkt er sich auf die Gewährung

von unbezahlter Freizeit; ein Verzicht auf den Anspruch ist zulässig. Der Anspruch von Jugendlichen richtet sich nach den für Erwachsene geltenden Bestimmungen.

§ 3

Jüdische Beschäftigte haben keinen Anspruch auf Zuschüsse zum Lohn oder Gehalt für Arbeit, die an Sonn- oder Feiertagen geleistet wird oder über die regelmäßige Arbeitszeit hinausgeht.

§ 4

(1) Familien- oder Kinderzulagen dürfen jüdischen Beschäftigten nicht gewährt werden.

(2) Das gleiche gilt für Geburten- oder Heiratsbeihilfen, für Sterbegelder oder ähnliche Zuwendungen anlässlich des Todes des Beschäftigten.

(3) Die Gewährung von Weihnachtsgeldern, von Abschlussprämien, Jubiläumsgeldern, Treuegeld, eines dreizehnten Monatsgehalts, Werstattungen sowie ähnlicher einmaliger Zuwendungen aus besonderen Anlässen an jüdische Beschäftigte ist unzulässig.

§ 5

Die Gewährung von tariflichen oder betrieblichen Leistungen aus Anlass der Arbeitsruhe (Wochenlohn) ist unzulässig.

§ 6

Vereinbarungen über Altersversorgung neben den gesetzlichen Vorschriften dürfen mit jüdischen Beschäftigten nicht getroffen werden.

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Reichsgesetzblatt, Jahrgang 1941, Teil I

Abchnitt II

Arbeitszeitsatz

§ 11

(1) Juden haben die ihnen von den Arbeitsinspektoren angewiesenen Beschäftigungen anzunehmen.

(2) Die Verordnung über die Beschäftigung des Arbeitsplatzwechsels vom 1. September 1939 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 1085) gilt entsprechend.

§ 12

(1) Jüdische Beschäftigte dürfen nur gruppenweise zur Arbeit eingesetzt werden; das Landesarbeitsamt kann Ausnahmen zulassen.

(2) Jüdische Beschäftigte sind von den übrigen Beschäftigten getrennt zu halten. Werden jüdische Beschäftigte außerhalb des Betriebs gruppenweise eingesetzt, so sind sie in getrennten Unterkünften unterzubringen.

§ 13

Juden dürfen nicht als Lehrlinge oder Auszubildende vermittelt oder beschäftigt werden.

Abchnitt III

Arbeitschutz

§ 14

Für jüdische Beschäftigte im Alter von 11 bis 18 Jahren gelten an Stelle des Gesetzes über Kinderarbeit und die Arbeitszeit der Jugendlichen (Jugendbeschäftigungsgesetz) vom 30. April 1938 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 437) die Arbeitszeitverordnung vom 30. April 1938 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 437) und die sonstigen für Erwachsene geltenden Vorschriften über die Arbeitszeit. Der Dritte Abschnitt der Arbeitszeitverordnung findet fernerhin auch auf männliche jüdische Beschäftigte unter 18 Jahren Anwendung.

§ 15

Auf erwachsene jüdische Beschäftigte findet die Verordnung über den Arbeitschutz vom 12. Dezember 1939 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 2403) keine Anwendung.

§ 16

Das Gewerbeaufsichtsamt kann besondere Bestimmungen über den Beschäftigungsschutz von Juden abweichend von den geltenden Vorschriften über den Arbeitschutz erlassen.

Abchnitt IV

Arbeitslosenhilfe

§ 17

Die Arbeitslosenhilfe für Juden beschränkt sich auf das zum Lebensunterhalt unerlässlich Notwendige.

Berlin, den 31. Oktober 1941.

AUSTRIA

No time was wasted in launching an intensive anti-Semitic campaign in Austria following the *Anschluss*. Patterned after the German system, but developing with greater rapidity, the nullification of a free labor market for Jews was accomplished almost immediately. It was preceded by organized terrorism and the enactment of ruthless anti-Jewish laws. All Austrian Jews lost their means of earning a livelihood and many, regardless of age or fitness, were put to work cleaning barracks and latrines.¹⁶⁴ Discharged workers and all other unemployed Jews soon were compelled to do menial labor at the risk of losing state aid.¹⁶⁵



International News Photo

SS men look on as Jews scrub Vienna streets.

Within six months an unprecedented system of mass deportations was initiated, in accord with the Nazi ethnic policy of a "Jew-purged" Greater Germany. Train-loads of Jews were transported to Eastern Poland and Upper Austria, only able-bodied

male deportees being segregated in labor battalions and sent to work camps. By the end of 1938 the only Jews left in Austria were concentrated in ghetto communities in Vienna, subject to arrest and deportation at a moment's notice. They constituted a newly created class of indigents, completely dependent on the Vienna Jewish Community. The able-bodied men among them were routed out in October 1939, under a "removal order" (*Uebersiedlungsaktion*), and were taken to occupied Poland for compulsory work.¹⁶⁶ There remained of Austria's 180,000 Jews, all of whom had been brought to Vienna, only 55,000, in December 1939, a number which shrank in the succeeding three years to 12,000.

Forced labor for Jews was general in 1942. Young men and women were recruited for hard labor in a paper mill near Linz, where they worked under strict supervision, usually for eight-month terms. Other Jews in a labor camp near Vienna were put to work at arduous tasks such as breaking stones, building roads or repairing railroad rights of way. They labored under the command of SS *Standarte* 89 and were paid three marks every ten days. At another camp, a former Rothschild estate which had been taken over by the SS and converted into barracks, Jews were compelled to do the most menial work, such as cleaning or repairing stables or laying roads.¹⁶⁷

Less than five years after the annexation of Austria, the Nazis had succeeded in disposing of Austria's Jewish population. According to a radio announcement by the British Broadcasting Corporation in February 1943, Gestapo officials supervising the expulsion of Austrian Jews had been transferred to Berlin and Amsterdam, because almost no Jews were left in Austria. This achievement was just short of the goal set by Goering in a speech on March 26, 1938, demanding that Vienna be *judenrein* within four years.

As the tide of war turned against the Axis, and a desperate manpower shortage began to slow the German war machine, the Nazis belatedly brought back some forces of Jewish conscript labor from Eastern Europe to Austria and Germany. The U.S. Office of War Information reported on December 6, 1944,¹⁶⁸ that a train loaded with 880 Jewish deportees, bound from Poland for Austrian Nazi camps, had been intercepted by Austrian partisans and the workers liberated.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Germany's bloodless *Putsch* at Munich in March 1938 facilitated political and territorial expansion into Czechoslovakia. With the incorporation of Bohemia-Moravia in March 1939, and the creation of the vassal state of Slovakia, a gigantic reservoir of manpower, particularly skilled industrial labor power, was made available for the German war machine. Germany lost no time in setting up the apparatus of police authority needed to destroy the democracy of free labor.

Czech laborers in BOHEMIA-MORAVIA were drafted for forced labor in the Reich, not only because of their usefulness as experienced workers in munitions factories, mines and smelting works, but also because their removal "completed the program for the dismemberment of the Czechoslovak nation and people." In Hitler's words: "Bohemia and Moravia have for a thousand years belonged to the living space of the German people."¹⁶⁹ Various invidious forms of pressure at first were used to persuade the Czechs to emigrate voluntarily. Many gave in to the Nazis' threat: WORK FOR GERMANY OR STARVE. Others found leaving the country and working for Germany preferable to being beaten with rubber truncheons. At any rate, their dubious freedom of choice came to an end on November 25, 1939, when the Reich Ministry of Interior decreed that all inhabitants from 15 to 70 years old be subject to draft under the German universal labor service edict (*Notdienstverordnung*), which was extended to apply throughout occupied Czech territory.¹⁷⁰ German Gestapo and SS advance guards, having arrived shortly before, were on hand to assist the Protectorate police authority in enforcing the measure.

Jews, along with other Czech citizens, were subject to labor service under the edict, but, in addition, especially severe kinds of compulsory labor were instituted for Jewish males from 18 to 60 years old, who were recruited for labor camp brigades whenever the Germans demanded it.¹⁷¹ The anti-Jewish campaign had been well under way since April 1939. Numerous arrests and drafts of Jewish labor were reported soon after the occupation, and Jewish refugees from Austria and Germany were rounded up for forced

labor in Karlove Vary and other Sudeten areas. Jewish engineers, chemists and physicians of Prague who had applied earlier for Gestapo emigration permits, were drafted instead in May 1939, for service in the Reich.¹⁷² Other large groups of Czech Jews were removed to Eastern Europe to make room for Nazi-classified German minorities from the Baltic States.¹⁷³ Some were taken to the Lublin reservation; those of greater physical strength were deported as compulsory laborers to rebuild destroyed towns.¹⁷⁴

From 1939 to 1941, the Nazi authorities, in the name of *Reichsprotector* Konstantin von Neurath, issued a host of oppressive laws which vitiated the life and security of Jews in Czechoslovakia. The labor service was reinforced by a Protectorate law of January 23, 1941, which imposed compulsory labor on inhabitants between 18 and 50. All Jewish males had to register with the Jewish Labor Center. Notices published in the Prague press instructed those who had not yet been examined for labor service to report immediately to local Jewish community headquarters for medical examination and assignment to labor projects.¹⁷⁵ The Prague paper, *Der Neue Tag*, disclosed in October 1941,¹⁷⁶ that the first Jewish forced labor detachment in the Protectorate was formed at Moravská-Ostrava. Known as the "Jewish Penal Column," because its ranks were filled by former inmates of Nazi concentration camps, it became a labor gang of street cleaners and garbage collectors.

A campaign of aggression and speedy extirpation of Jews was begun in September 1941, when Reinhard Heydrich, former first lieutenant to Heinrich Himmler, became the new *Reichsprotector* of Czechoslovakia, replacing von Neurath. The German authority, moving steadily toward a completely "Jew-purged" Czechoslovakia, apparently was dissatisfied with von Neurath's anti-Jewish measures, stringent as they were. By early October, the total expulsion of Jews from the larger cities—Prague, Plzen and Brno—was under way.¹⁷⁷ In December 1941, 7,000 young Jews were sent to Terezin for forced labor.¹⁷⁸

At the same time that Heydrich organized wholesale expulsions of Czech Jews to prison labor camps, he placed an emigration ban on all Jews, enforcing it particularly in the cases of men between 18 and 46, whose labor was urgently needed in the Protectorate. The ban was announced in the Nazi-controlled newspaper, *Vest-*

nik on July 10, 1942, in an article headed "*Das Juedische Arbeitslager in Bad Vyhne*." It seemed to run counter to the Nazi policy of "purge the Jews," but in effect it promoted their eventual liquidation in Czechoslovakia. In emulation of the Reich's policy, Heydrich's formula was: Welcome Jewish labor, but annihilate the Jew!

A decree of February 6, 1942, providing for the allocation of Jews in "closed settlements" caused thousands more to be concentrated in the medieval prison fortress town of Terezin.¹⁷⁹ Terezin was both a forced labor and ghetto concentration camp under Gestapo supervision, and a port of deportation for Jews to Eastern Europe.

Heydrich's assassination in May 1942 at the hands of Czech patriots instigated an even more ruthless policy of "slave labor to death" for Jews. The Gestapo intensified its activities in seizing Jews for deportation to Terezin and points east.

In August 1942, 12,000 Jews, including women and girls, were separated from their families and sent to Moravska and Karvinna for forced labor in the coal mines. They were compelled to work twelve hours daily for fifteen per cent of the wages earned by other miners; they received these wages in a form of scrip, partly in food and partly in government bonds supposedly redeemable after the war.

An estimated 50,000 to 60,000 Jews had been compulsorily removed from the provinces and large cities of Czechoslovakia and confined¹⁸⁰ by December 1942. In February 1943, the *New York Times* reported that the majority of 10,000 inmates of Terezin had been deported to Poland.¹⁸¹

According to an account of an eyewitness, who frequently traveled to Prague and Dresden by way of Terezin, the barracks at the Terezin Ghetto as recently as January 1944 were surrounded by machine-gun towers. At night, the camp was flooded by searchlights to prevent escape. The movement of transports continued from Terezin, including one shipment of 6,800 Czech Jews who were sent to the coal mines at Birkenau in Upper Silesia.

The puppet regime of SLOVAKIA, a devout adherent to National Socialist aims and specifically to the Reich's anti-Jewish policy,

quickly "solved the Jewish problem." Shortly after it seceded from Czechoslovakia on March 15, 1939, the puppet state organized a movement in Germany's interests to provide yearly from 50,000 to 60,000 workers for the Reich. A large percentage of Slovakia's rural population was deported to German farm areas; as a result, a shortage of labor began to be felt in Slovakia itself.¹⁸²

An unremitting exploitation of Jewish labor then ensued, instigated by the collaborationist Tiso government. As early as May 1939, Jews were reported at forced labor in forest brigades, road gangs and particularly as hired hands on farms. A decree of June 27th subjected Jews to assignment to forced labor battalions;¹⁸³ another in September ordered Jewish officers and soldiers transferred from the army to labor detachments.¹⁸⁴ A third decree, also issued in September, stipulated that all Jews between the ages of 16 and 55 were to be drafted for forced labor and sent to special camps.¹⁸⁵ Still another edict, on January 18, 1940, imposed compulsory labor upon "Jews and gypsies" and shortly after, terms of labor service were fixed by decree at two months, twice annually.¹⁸⁶ The rapid succession of labor decrees substantiated the Slovak boast of "having the most elaborate anti-Jewish laws in Axis Europe."

In Slovakia, the only country where the expulsion of Jews was expressly regulated by law, forced labor was the lesser evil. Jews assigned to labor service were supplied food, clothing and shelter by the Labor Ministry. Men capable of paying their own maintenance had their work term reduced, a form of tribute for the privilege of being a slave. The Union of Jewish Communities had to assume expenses in connection with the construction of labor camps, which were under the supervision of the *Hlinka Guard*, a Slovak counterpart of the Nazi *Schutzstaffel*. The systematic application of all forced labor legislation was entrusted to the Central Jewish Office, a bureau created in 1940 as part of the Central Economic Office. Though organized ostensibly to represent Jewish interests, it actually served as a law-enforcing agency and clearing house for forced labor detachments and deportations.¹⁸⁷

A new order in the spring of 1941 demanded that all unmarried Jews report to Gestapo headquarters by May 1st for assignment to forced labor camps. Later in the summer Jewish doctors working in special Jewish camps were transferred to Slovakian hospitals and

nursing homes where wounded German soldiers were arriving by the thousands.¹⁸⁸

As Slovakia's industrial labor problem became acute in 1942, the Slovak Minister of Interior, on March 19th, projected the conscription of all able-bodied Jews, including married men without children, for "healthful work."¹⁸⁹

In a statement made by the chief of the Central Economic Office published in the *Donauzeitung*, May 21, 1942, Jews were to be transported to prepare camps, supervised by their own administrators, police and courts, and they were to be assigned to work in factories, mostly as tailors and carpenters.



In an article, dated Pressburg, March 27, 1942, the Nazi-controlled *Donauzeitung* reports on Slovakia's contribution to the German food problem. The last paragraph, referring to slave labor, reads:

"In addition to Jews and gypsies, who must perform forced labor under threat of severe punishment, other asocial elements, notorious scoundrels, drunkards and persons endangering public health and morale are employed."

The majority of Slovak Jews were either in concentration camps, or in labor camps awaiting deportation. An estimated 56,000 were in forced labor camps at Kobyszew, Lukow and Oswiecim, all in Poland.¹⁹⁰

In 1943, with the German military machine clamoring for more Slovakian labor, new labor decrees were imposed on Jews, foreshadowing their eventual liquidation at the hands of the Wehr-

macht in 1944. A Bratislava radio broadcast announced on March 30, 1943, that a two-year period of compulsory labor had been decreed for those Jews still in Slovakia. Placed in special labor battalions, they were assigned to serve as auxiliaries to military units.

Only 18,000 of Slovakia's pre-war Jewish population of 100,000 remained in 1943, and of these 3,700 were interned in the state's five forced labor camps, it was officially stated by Sano Mach, Slovak Minister of Interior.¹⁹¹ A group of 3,000 other Jews had been shipped to the Tatra mountains to build homes for Nazi children evacuated from bombed cities in the Reich.¹⁹² A press campaign by extremist Nazi Slovaks, urging the eradication of Jews in Slovakia, paved the way for more intensive anti-Jewish measures. Whatever Jews remained were obliged to register with the police again during the first week of February 1944, presumably as a prelude to a new wave of internments. Many who had been considered indispensable were reported to have been dismissed from their jobs and sent to Jewish labor camps.

After its occupation of Slovakia the Wehrmacht, in November 1944, administered the "*coup de grâce*" to the surviving Jewish population. Those still left in Bratislava were sent abroad, presumably to concentration camps.¹⁹³

HOLLAND

By Nazi command, Holland was turned into a veritable forced labor camp in March 1941, when all Dutch workmen lost their status as free wage earners by an order mobilizing them into compulsory labor for the Reich. A subsidiary measure for "Jews and criminals" was introduced two months later barring Jews from the so-called privileges of the above decree.¹⁹⁴ Instead, Jews were made outcasts, whose manpower was used for the purpose of feeding the Nazi war machine with goods, which they turned out at a speed beyond human endurance. Twelve hundred Dutch Jews were sent to work in the salt and sulphur mines near Mauthausen concentration camp in Upper Austria shortly after this decree was issued. Seven hundred and forty perished because there was no protection against the poisonous vapors.¹⁹⁵ Other Jews were sent to work on coastal fortifications, to the forced labor camp at Westerbork, and

many were sent to Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne and Munich, where they were herded into factories, segregated from other workers, from their families, laboring under the most enfeebling conditions. Able-bodied Jews between the ages of 18 and 40 were expelled to the slave labor factories of Eastern Europe. Those over 40 were generally used for forced labor in Holland and Germany.¹⁹⁶ The rationale of this labor policy was explained on August 5, 1943, when the Nazi-controlled Hilversum radio announced: "Jews will be compelled to rebuild what was destroyed in Europe at their orders." Two days later, further commands were issued by Fritz Sauckel, general controller of the Labor Front, in a special edition of the *Joodsche Weekblad*. All Jews who did not immediately obey the orders to go to work in Germany or elsewhere in Nazi-occupied Europe, were to be arrested and sent to the Mauthausen mines in Austria or to the penal colony established for Jews on the Island of Ameland, north of Groningen.¹⁹⁷

As the pressure of Nazi warfare impinged upon German labor needs, Dutch Jews with special skills were detoured from forced labor camps in the east to relieve the acute shortage of highly skilled labor in the Reich. The Amsterdam Jewish Council was compelled again by the Gestapo to publish a special announcement in the *Joodsche Weekblad* warning Jews to appear for work in the Reich in two days, or to face the alternative of slave labor in the salt and sulphur mines in Upper Austria.

Further orders for Jewish workers were issued in the *Joodsche Weekblad* during the months of September and October 1942.¹⁹⁸ At this time, a number of young Jews between 18 and 40 were removed for slave labor to the devastated area of occupied Russia, while the Nazis continued to deport others to the Reich.¹⁹⁹

Arthur Seyss-Inquart, Nazi commissioner for Holland, told a correspondent of the Nazi overseas news agency *Transocean* on March 6, 1943, that one-half of Holland's Jews had been conscripted for work in the labor camps of Nazi-occupied Europe.

One hundred and fifty thousand of pre-war Holland's 180,000 Jews had been "completely wiped out" by 1944 as part of the Nazi plan to liquidate 5,000,000 persons in the occupied countries so that more room would be available to Germans. By September 1945, except for a number of Jews who were said to be in hiding, all of

the Jewish population in the Netherlands had either been deported for slave labor, imprisoned in concentration camps or executed.²⁰⁰

BELGIUM

Free labor for Jews was non-existent in Belgium by 1941 shortly after a series of decrees had imposed segregation, and plans for mass expulsions had been made. Lebensraum for Jews was restricted to the cities of Brussels, Antwerp, Liège and Charleroi in early 1941, a measure which the Nazis imposed as a means of facilitating raids on Jews for forced labor. All the unemployed Jews in the Brussels area, who constituted most of the male Jewish population, were subsequently rounded up by the Gestapo and removed to labor camps in the Brussels vicinity where they worked at river, ditch and canal drainage and on other flood-control enterprises. Tervuren, in the Duisburg marshes, was such a labor camp, set up by the Nazis in the fall of 1941.²⁰¹ Adult males at this camp served a so-called probationary term for six weeks and if found by their overseers to have "an honest desire to work," were theoretically eligible for release and outside work. Those who failed to meet the test worked at the camp indefinitely. Releases were infrequent.²⁰²

Freedom of movement for Jews was curtailed by military order in January 1942. Labor ordinances appeared subsequently, on March 11th and on May 8th, which referred to the so-called working conditions to be imposed on Jews. No holidays with pay would be allowed, no pay during illness, no overtime for night work or Sunday work, no special compensation of any sort. Dismissals could be arranged without notice. Jews would have to accept any work which was allotted to them by the labor offices. Work allocated to them in nearly all cases was in mines or on roads where they worked in "chain-gangs." Jewish women were given the most unpleasant and degrading duties in the factories and camps. The ordinances stipulated too that Jews must be isolated from other workers and cannot serve as apprentices to any trade. On the pretext of attachment to labor battalions, men and women were dispatched to Poland. As early as March 1942, 10,000 Belgian Jews were reported to be at the Lodz textile factories.²⁰³ Later in August 1942, all Jewish foreign workers were conscripted

for work in Germany and in German-ruled countries. *Free Belgian News*, quoting from a communique issued by the occupation authorities in Belgium, reported that 35,000 such foreign workers had been removed to Germany for forced labor.²⁰⁴ Conscription of Jewish manpower for forced labor in German-ruled territories continued in 1943. Belgian Jews were reported in Nazi coastal zones, building fortifications in France working from 4:30 A.M. to 6:00 P.M.; walking seven miles to work; sleeping on straw in barracks, 140 men to a barracks.²⁰⁵

Those Jews in Belgium who were not impressed at hard labor in German labor corps were deported to the ghetto work barracks or decimation camps of Eastern Europe.

FRANCE

The unrelenting system built up by the Third Reich for the exploitation of other countries' manpower was inaugurated in France at the end of 1940 with the aid of French collaborationists. The machinery of coercion was applied to all French workers; for the Jews of France it was an instrument of terror and brutality, hunger and exhaustion.

Along with the Nazi-instigated Jew-clearance propaganda, labor camps were erected in a large number of provinces in both the occupied and unoccupied zones. Conscription began with those Jews who had been expelled from Austria, Germany, Czechoslovakia and other German-ruled countries. In the spring of 1941, 5,000 persons between 18 and 40 were seized in Gestapo raids and sent to the labor camps at Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande near Orléans. At the close of 1941, all aliens who had entered France since 1936 were threatened with incarceration in forced labor camps. In December, the Joint Distribution Committee in New York reported that 3,000 Jewish aliens had been conscripted.²⁰⁶

Acting upon Hitler's request, the French government in Vichy, in August 1942, promised to conscript most of its alien Jews for forced labor outside of France. The *New York Times* carried the following headline on August 27, 1942:

VICHY SEIZES JEWS

Those Who Entered France Since 1936 to Be Sent
to Work in Germany

The campaign of impressing alien Jews into hard labor continued unabated throughout 1942. Able-bodied workers were hunted down and shipped to labor camps. Transports of Jews from these labor camps were re-routed to Eastern Europe and for work on the trans-Sahara railway.

On September 15, 1943, French Jews as well as foreign-born Jews were being expelled to Germany, ostensibly for labor service, the *Neue Zuercher Zeitung* disclosed.

A new forced labor regulation was issued for Jews who had come to France since 1933. According to a report published in the *Neue Zuercher Zeitung* on January 8, 1943, the Vichy Ministry of Interior had circulated an order to all the prefects of the former unoccupied zone prescribing obligatory assignment to camps for unmarried foreigners between 18 and 55 who had come to France since 1933.

Exceptions were made for non-Jewish foreigners employed in firms working for Axis war requirements or engaged in indispensable employment as well as for Jews who had been drafted into the army. The order demanded that the assignment of the above categories of foreigners to labor camps be completed by March 1st. Local authorities were forbidden to place Jews and non-Jews in the same camps. Special camps for Jews had to be created instead. January 5th was the date set for foreign Jews in the formerly unoccupied zone to have their identity cards stamped with the letter "J" or the word "Jew." The Commissariat for Jewish Affairs had already delegated extended powers to prefects to supervise the application of all anti-Semitic measures.

By 1944, most able-bodied Jews left in France were conscripted for labor. Marcel Déat, Minister of Labor in Laval's Vichy cabinet, announced in the pro-Nazi *L'Oeuvre* on May 1, 1944, that all the Jews of France would be impressed at hard labor in stone quarry enterprises, mines and canal drainage works.

POLAND

Nazi-controlled Poland, the port of liquidation of all Jews shipped and carted from the occupied countries of Europe, became a gigantic arsenal of slave labor for the Reich. Labor battalions, labor

camps, penal colonies and entire ghettos were converted into vast slave labor markets for mass production, which was a necessary part of the Nazi strategy of using slave labor as an instrument for physical destruction.

The most destructive aspect of the Reich's labor policy was reserved for the people of the Gouvernement-General in Eastern Poland, within whose frontiers were concentrated all Polish Jews: Jews deported from the Reich, the Protectorate and the occupied countries of Western Europe, and so-called "non-Aryan" Poles who were deemed racially unfit for colonization in the incorporated Polish territory.²⁰⁷

Decrees fixing the policy for forced labor of Jews and Poles were promulgated in Poland at the very beginning of the occupation in 1939, just after the September campaign. The first decree published in the official Gazette of the Gouvernement-General on October 26, 1939, obliged all inhabitants of that territory between the ages of 18 and 60 to perform public labor—farm work, road building and public works projects—under the direction of the Gouvernement-General, Department of Labor.²⁰⁸

On the same day (October 26, 1939), another decree, specifically affecting Jews, demanded a form of labor (*Zwangsarbeit*) which was manifestly more severe than the labor duty (*Arbeitspflicht*) required of the Poles.

With this decree for Jews, the Poles were to be comforted with the fiction that, despite their defeat, they were a notch higher in the "racial" ladder. The second decree held a special threat in that it placed Jewish forced labor under the supervision of the supreme commander of the black-uniformed Elite Guard (*Schutzstaffel*) and State Police of occupied Poland, thereby virtually condemning all Jews to penal labor.

A *Judenrat*, or Jewish Community Council, theoretically elected by the Jewish populace, but actually appointed by the police authority, was established by decree of the Gouverneur-General on November 28, 1939. The chief task of the *Judenrat* was to supply Jews for labor detachments. Weeks before, cordons of SS men and soldiers with machine guns had invaded Jewish districts and indiscriminately rounded up Jews of all ages to clean air raid wreck-

age. A German correspondent, Emil Strodthoff, commented in the November 28 issue of the *Voelkischer Beobachter*:

"It gives us particular pleasure to use our dear friends of Abraham's seed for carrying straw and setting up camps . . . We simply went through the streets collecting them, and whoever, despite friendly requests, thought he had no time, was soon taught better. During a war there is no time to waste, and there are, thank God, plenty of ways of dealing with recalcitrant Jews."

A second order on December 12, 1939, more stringent than the first, fixed the period for forced labor at two years for boys of 14 to men of 60. The term could be prolonged if the SS considered that the "educational purpose" of forced labor had not been attained.²⁰⁹

*Second Order Supplementing the Order of October 26, 1939
Concerning the Introduction of Forced Labor for the Jewish
Population of the Gouvernement-General, December 12, 1939.*

By virtue of the order of October 26, 1939, subsection 2 of Section 1, concerning the introduction of forced labor for the Jewish population of the Gouvernement-General, I hereby order:

Section 1. All Jewish inhabitants of the territory of the Gouvernement-General from 14 to 60 years of age shall be subject to forced labor. The duration of this forced labor shall amount normally to two years; it shall be lengthened if the educational purpose of such forced labor should not be attained within that period.

Section 2. For the utilization of their full working capacity, those subject to forced labor shall be put to work in labor camps. Those not fully capable of work shall be assigned to activities corresponding to their capacities.

Section 3. The regulations for registration of those subject to forced labor shall be applied for the present to male Jews from 12 to 60 years of age. These shall be required, upon public summons by the burgomasters, to report to their appropriate Jewish Councils, for entry on the registration roll. The burgomaster, along with the Jewish Councils, shall be responsible for complete and correct registration.

Section 4. Induction into labor shall follow upon special summons from the German authorities.

Section 5. After being entered on the registration roll, Jews who are summoned to forced labor shall appear punctually on the appointed hour at the designated place of assembly. They shall bring with them provisions for two days, and two clean blankets. Craftsmen, especially owners of shops, shall deliver their entire equipment at the place of assembly. Handicraft tools and accessories of those subject to forced labor shall, after induction, be at the disposal of the forced labor service.

Section 6. (1) Effective immediately, all Jews subject to forced labor shall be forbidden to sell, pawn, or otherwise dispose of professional craftsman's equipment, including tools and accessories at present in their possession, without the written consent of their appropriate county or city chief. Further, any removal or concealment of this equipment shall be forbidden.

Section 7. Ten years at hard labor shall be the penalty for (a) Jews who fail to appear promptly for registration, fail to tell the whole truth about themselves, pretend disability, or otherwise attempt to escape service; (b) members of the Jewish Council who fail to register Jews properly or who help a Jew to escape service; and (c) any person who impedes the execution of this program or buys or accepts tools from Jews subject to service.

Section 10. (1) This implementing order shall become effective immediately.

Cracow, December 12, 1939.

[signed] Krueger, Chief SS Group Leader
Chief Director of SS and Police in the Gouvernement-
General for the Occupied Polish Territories

The cynical reference to "educational purpose" in the decree revealed the punitive character of forced labor; obviously, forced labor had nothing to do with education, but the latter provided an excuse for enslaving large groups of the Jewish population. Succeeding regulations included an order of December 21, 1940, depriving Jews of labor cards,²¹⁰ and one issued March 17, 1941, by the district transfer office in Warsaw prescribing special working certificates for Jews in labor camps.²¹¹

The decrees were enforced variously throughout the Gouvernement-General. Sometimes entire ghetto towns were converted into

forced labor camps. In other instances Jews became the property of an overseer.

Several classes of Jewish laborers came to be recognized, among them a class of so-called privileged laborers, artisans who worked in overcrowded barracks twelve hours a day turning out goods for the German army.²¹² When in the summer of 1941, the Reich suffered an acute shortage of skilled labor, manufacturers were urged to place orders with Jewish artisan cooperatives operating in the Warsaw Ghetto. The *Berliner Boersenzeitung*, reporting this in August 1941,²¹³ disclosed that a special office had been established by the Nazi command in Warsaw solely for the purpose of advising German manufacturers how to place orders with cooperatives and institutions in the Jewish ghetto. The newspaper quoted a circular letter, sent by this office to German manufacturers, which pointed out that "forty per cent of the half-million Jewish population are skilled artisans, tailors, leather-workers, tilers and joiners."

"These and other Jewish artisans in the ghetto turn out to be good handicraftsmen and can be used, within limits, to remedy the labor shortage," the newspaper article continued. "German manufacturers in districts where there is a shortage of labor are advised to utilize this reserve of qualified workers." The paper suggested that placing orders with the Warsaw Ghetto cooperatives would not only alleviate the shortage in qualified labor but would also reduce the number of "non-productive consumers." A number of the Jewish artisans were used for German orders as an experiment, and their work turned out to be quite satisfactory, the paper observed.

Jews of the Lodz Ghetto also were compelled to work for the German war industry, under a barter system. "Food will be sent into the Ghetto of Lodz only in exchange for manufactured products," the *Koelnische Zeitung* announced in February 1941.²¹⁴ On the following August 15th, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* reported:

"Approximately 200,000 Jews are congested in a ghetto segregated from the rest of the city . . . where they produce various articles in textile factories. Seven thousand Jews are employed as tailors, 5,000 as shoemakers and 1,000 as carpenters. Many others are employed in road construction. The *Judenrat* assembles the manufactured products and exchanges them for food for the ghetto."

Commodities produced in the ghettos were strictly controlled by the Nazi authorities, and, in most cases, were taken either for military use or for civilian distribution. The German system of clearing and barter was applied to all trade between the ghetto and the outside world, and the controls were such that the value of goods produced in the ghettos was never permitted to exceed the cost of allotted rations. If production increased, food prices and special taxes were adjusted accordingly by the Nazis. As a result, the ghetto found it impossible to improve its economic position. The resulting tendency of the workers to slow down was counteracted by the Nazis' practice of impressing all workers not fully employed into forced labor gangs.²¹⁵

Despite their rank as "privileged laborers," the Jews in ghetto workshops were no more secure than others; their tenure, and the continued existence of the workshops themselves was contingent on the good will of local Gestapo or SS men. The following account by a man who labored in the municipal workshop of the Bochnia Ghetto until August 1943, is illuminating:²¹⁶

The Slave Labor Workshop of the Bochnia Ghetto

I lived in Bielsko until a few days before the war, when I moved to Lodz with all my family. Immediately after the Germans entered Lodz, dreadful persecutions of the Jews began. The town was annexed as part of the Reich; expulsions began, and I resolved to move to Cracow.

During that winter of 1940 Cracow was still quiet. The SS confined themselves to looting Jewish property. The Jewish streets were closed off for two days, and whatever the Jews did not succeed in hiding was stolen. Once a German burst into my home and took away the chairs which struck his fancy.

Then began a "voluntary expulsion," as it was called. I again moved with all my family, consisting of my wife and four children, and we arrived in Bochnia, where I remained until the liquidation of the ghetto. The Bochnia Ghetto with its workshops was one of the last Jewish centers to remain in existence in Poland.

A young fellow of about 30, named Salo Greiber, was the initiator of the workshops. His idea was that the Jewish municipal administration, headed by the mayor (Petermann), should

establish workshops to employ Jews who were otherwise marked for expulsion. The German mayor, in the first year alone, received about 1,500,000 zlotys as his private profit. The Jews were satisfied since they were saved from forced labor and also earned six to seven zlotys per day. The workers also had special privileges with regard to food. The most important thing, however, was that, thanks to their work, their lives were in no danger.

The municipal workshops, in August 1942, employed 1,700 Jewish workers. There was a permanent conflict between the Gestapo and German economic officials in respect to the workshops. The mayor of Bochnia, the district governor at Cracow and the chairman of the economic department of the Gouvernement-General were full of praise for the work of the Jewish slave workers, from which they frequently benefited.

The Gestapo was opposed to the enterprise. They did not wish to have so large a number of productive Jews. Finally the Gestapo got the upper hand. Even the best of Jewish experts were sent to Belzec for extermination.

On Sunday, August 25, 1942, the first mass expulsion was carried out. A few days earlier, the workshops had been visited by the manager of the textiles commercial company of the Gouvernement-General who gave fresh orders and promised that although mass expulsions of Jews were taking place, Bochnia would not suffer.

German firms supplied raw materials. Every week we handed over a truckload full of uniforms for the army. In addition to the tailoring department there were a few other sections, such as underwear, shoemaking, brushes, locksmiths, box-makers, carpentry, handkerchiefs, toys, motor cars and electrical apparatus. We also established two additional sections in the neighboring ghettos, at Wieliczka (700 workers) and Wisznica (800 workers). Each worker had the requisite papers, which every one of them watched over as if it were a "magic charm insuring life." Suddenly the extermination commando of the Gestapo appeared from Cracow, and the dreadful expulsion began while we were actually executing the large orders we had received.

I can remember the names of a few of the Gestapo men at Cracow. The highest in rank was Bechert. His assistant was Heinrich; Kunde dealt with Jewish matters; Gruber was one of the assistants. Immediately after the visit of the extermination commission, the storm troopers, the German gendarmerie and the

Ukrainian auxiliary police appeared. Gestapo leaders entered the workshops and announced that only 600 workers had the right to remain there, out of 1,200. When the manager, Salo Greiber, tried to say something, the Gestapo commandant pulled his shirt off and asked him where his *tzitzis* (ritual fringes) were. On the same day, Greiber once again asked for help from the German economic bureau in Cracow. The Gestapo overheard his telephone conversation and arrested him.

It is hard to describe what happened on that day. Nobody thought of flight or concealment, since they all believed that the workshops would save them. The German authorities did all they could to deceive the Jews. A week before the expulsion, 1,500 Jews of Wisznica had been brought to Bochnia. At first this frightened us. But the following day the district governor at Cracow ordered bread to be distributed to the refugees and measures to be taken for housing them. This was a message of life for us. People kissed one another in the streets with joy. Yet a few days later all the Wisznica refugees were caught and taken away to a collective camp.

The expulsion continued from Sunday to Tuesday. I managed to hide my family in a *bunder*, which was the name we gave to hiding places, in cellars or anywhere else, as long as they had a secret entrance. The expulsion was accompanied by cruel murders. Whole streets in the ghetto were emptied. Many sick and old people were shot on the spot during the search. Religious Jews waited for the murderers wearing their prayer shawls and phylacteries.

On Tuesday, the last day of the expulsion, Rabbi Halberstamm was murdered. The Gestapo took the Rabbi out into the courtyard, where they shot and killed him. He had been exempted from expulsion the day before. At the cry of the Rabbi, his wife burst into the courtyard; she was also shot. But their little granddaughter hid under the bed and was saved. About 700 Jews were murdered; 5,500 men, women and children were sent by train to Belzec. The final transport also included nearly all the members of the *Judemrat*, Samuel Feder, Gutfreund, Gedalie Richter, Yehiel Weinberg, Isaac Greiber, Jacobowitz and others.

The Gestapo apparently left only about 300 families, but the next day it was found that about another 400 Jews had succeeded in hiding in the town. The day after, an order was published by the German labor director that Jews who remained were to ap-

pear at the workshops. Two days later fire in the workshops destroyed the greater part of the machines and raw materials. This filled the Jews of Bochnia with fear.

Meanwhile Jews from the vicinity swarmed to Bochnia, for it was supposed that a place that had been cleared of Jews was no longer in danger. The Germans knew that Jews who were in hiding used to wander from place to place. When they saw a Jew running away they used to say, "Let the Jew run away—he'll fall into our hands eventually!"

Schomburg, the head of the Gestapo at Bochnia, published a notice that Jews who had concealed themselves, or had arrived in Bochnia from other places, were entitled to live in the town. Meanwhile the workshops were reopened. The territorial council resolved to sell the enterprise for 1,000,000 zlotys, as if it were their private property. The Gestapo announced that the Jews were "no longer in existence," and that all their property belonged to the German government. A certain German named Wagner, from Munich, director of the *Zentrale fuer Handwerkslieferungen*, purchased the workshops together with their Jewish slave workers. Wagner was a storm trooper.

Bochnia once again began to be regarded by the Jews as a safe place. They came out of their hiding places in villages and forests and swarmed into the town. The number of workers at the workshops increased once again until it reached 3,000. Wagner himself employed 1,900 workers. In addition, Mueller, an *Obersturmfuehrer* of the SS and director of a labor camp, arrived in Bochnia and also opened workshops which provided employment for more than 1,000 Jewish workers. These workshops secured the existence of the Bochnia Ghetto for another year.

On December 5, 1942, a new law made compulsory laborers the property of the SS. Anybody who wished to use Jewish labor power had to pay the SS five zlotys per man and four zlotys per woman. The law also divided the Jewish slaves into categories in accordance with their capabilities.

The storm trooper Wagner, who had accumulated a fortune, thanks to the Jews who worked for nothing, paid the Gestapo a daily sum of nearly 30,000 zlotys for his workers. Wagner also established workshops in Tarnow (1,350 workers), and in Cracow in the Optima chocolate factory building (1,500 workers).

By this time, the Bochnia Ghetto no longer existed officially. The community of Jews was now known as a "labor camp." It became

necessary to conceal the children, for whom there was no place in a labor camp. The Jews did all they could to produce a gigantic amount of high quality goods, but to no avail.

A few Jews, including myself, escaped to Hungary at the end of August. On September 1, 1943, just after my flight, the final liquidation of the Bochnia Ghetto began. The Germans left 250 of 5,000 Jews they found there.

Tel Aviv, September 24, 1944.

(Signed) B. P.

Jews working in labor battalions ranked even lower.²¹⁷ For them, there were no so-called privileges.

In a dispatch to the Nazi newspaper, *Ostdeutscher Beobachter*, reporting on labor conditions in Eastern Galicia, correspondent Ludwig Miesser observed:

The elderly Jews of Lvov clean streets, clean and polish street cars and buses, remove the debris of shattered buildings and do other forms of compulsory labor. The young and physically stronger Jews are taken every morning from the ghettos and are led by Jewish and Ukrainian guards to do forced labor in factories and on the roads, and to repair bridges and highways. The Jews are required to bring their own tools such as spades, hammers and other paraphernalia . . .²¹⁸

Most of the men in these battalions ultimately were shipped to labor camps which differed little from concentration camps. Up until the summer of 1941, at least eighty-five Jewish labor camps were known to exist in the Gouvernement-General. Of the thirty-five camps the location of which was known, two-thirds were on the eastern frontier.²¹⁹ In January 1941, 10,000 Jews were said to be working in forced labor gangs along the Bug and Vistula Rivers between Warsaw and Lublin.²²⁰ Notes from the pages of Mary Berg, a young refugee from Warsaw, refer to Jewish men who had been rounded up en masse and sent to labor camps "whence no one returns. The Germans now chiefly send people to the region of the Bug River, where they use them to build fortifications near the Soviet border . . ." ²²¹

In the spring of 1941, the German authorities had recruited for

labor battalions men between 12 and 40 years of age, who eventually were sent to labor camps at Josefow, Tyszowka, Biala Podlaska and Milejow; and also to the quarries near Opatow.²²² *Gazeta Zydowska*, Nazi-controlled Jewish news bulletin, reported that 25,000 Jews were engaged in compulsory construction work in the Warsaw district.²²³

Almost all of the Jews of Poland had been conscripted for hard labor by April 1941, according to an article in the April 20 issue of the *Voelkischer Beobachter*. The article cited Sosnowiec, the majority of whose 127,000 inhabitants were Jews, and Bedzin, one-half of whose 55,000 inhabitants were Jews. Of these, it reported the total number in forced labor camps was approximately 100,000.

The Jewish community councils in a large number of cities were forced to maintain the upkeep of men working in labor gangs and labor camps. On November 22, 1940, *Gazeta Zydowska* disclosed that the Jewish Council of the small community of Radoszkowice had assumed the task of feeding 200 laborers sent to the Lublin district. The same newspaper announced that the council in Dzialoszyce furnished a pound of bread daily to 460 Jewish laborers employed on a reclamation project.²²⁴ "In Chmielnik-Kielce, when the Jewish Council was forced to announce conscription of labor for the quarries exploited by the German Oemmler corporation, it tried to bolster the spirits of the men by promising them a daily meal which would include bread."²²⁵

The Jewish community councils supported conscripted workers largely out of a fund collected from those Jews who were physically incapable of performing forced labor, and who were deferred if they paid a special tax to their Jewish community organization. This was especially rewarding to the Reich purse: For in this way, the Nazi authority in the Gouvernement-General had imposed a system of forced labor paid for by the Jewish councils, an additional measure in keeping with the Reich plan for the complete impoverishment of Jews:

And when we then, as we shall have to, compel the affluent Jews to maintain their "poor" associates, they will all of them sink into delinquency . . .

Das Schwarze Korps, November 24, 1938

Centralizacja pomocy dla przebywających na obozach pracy

Wyjazd delegacji do Plaszowa.

W celu scentralizowania pomocy dla zatrudnionych na obozach pracy, utworzono specjalną placówkę, która będzie się zajmować przydziałem żywności i odzieży oraz zbieraniem danych ośnośnie potrzeb poszczególnych obozów, za pośrednictwem delegatów, znajdujących się w Belżcu, Józefowie i Białej Podlaskiej.

Do obozów pracy w Belżcu, Cieszanowie, Plaszowie i Lipsku wyjechała delegacja z Warszawy,

która zabrala ze sobą odzież, bieliznę, medykamenty i fundusze na dożywienie. W skład delegacji wchodzi jeden z urzędników Batalionu Pracy, którego zadaniem będzie pozyskiwać przez czas dłuższy w Plaszowie, by dostarczyć tam bezpośrednią opiekę nad przebywającą w tym obozie grupą 700 warszawiaków. 3 lekarzy wyjechało do obozów pracy: 2 do Chełmna oraz 1 do Zamościa.

Kronika Warszawska

Obowiązek stawienia się do pracy przymusowej Za uchylenie się od obowiązku grozi ciężka kara.

W związku z powołaniem Żydów do Obozów Pracy przeprowadzonym przez Urząd Pracy w Warszawie dyrektor rządowy Hoffmann podał do wiadomości obywateli, że w myśl § 7 drugiego rozporządzenia wykonawczego wyzszego dowódcy SS i Policji z dnia 12 grudnia 1939, wydanego do rozporządzenia o wprowadzeniu przymusu pracy dla ludności żydowskiej w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie z dnia 26 października 1939, każdy Żyd, który nie zjawi się w miejscu zbornym, wzgl. ustaliu-

osoby, które przeprowadzenie pracy przymusowej z premedytacją, utrudniają, nawiązują do wykroczeń przeciw temu rozporządzeniu, wykonawczemu albo w takich pomagają ukarani zostaną ciężkim wzięciem do lat 10. Wzywa się więc wszystkich powołanych Żydów, aby w wyznaczonych dniach zjawili się punktualnie w miejscach zbiórki, gdyż w przeciwnym wypadku zostaną pociągnięci do odpowiedzialności przed sądem specjalnym (Sondergericht).

uchylił się od przymusu pracy, grozi mu śmierć.

1. JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN GOUVERNEMENT-GENERAL FORCED TO FEED, CLOTHE JEWISH SLAVE WORKERS.
2. WARSAW JEWS TO REGISTER FOR FORCED LABOR.

From the Nazi-censored *Gazeta Żydowska*, October 7, 1940.

With the increasing impoverishment of Jews in Poland, it was difficult to maintain conscripted workers. Mounting demands for fulfillment of impossible labor quotas created hardships for Jewish workers whose health was seriously affected. "In the tubercular sanatorium center at Otwock, for example, 4,000 persons were required to register early in 1941 although only a handful were capable of manual work. As a result, the few able-bodied men of Otwock were expected to perform the labor of the entire quota of 4,000 workers."²²⁶

Forced labor camps were way-stations to gas chambers. Gouverneur-General Frank subjected all Jews of the Western Ukraine to compulsory labor in the fall of 1941.²²⁷ Early in 1942, a chain of labor camps was set up near Lvov, Tarnopol and Stanislawow. Conditions in 1942 in the Lvov camp on Janovska Street, to which thousands of Jews were brought from the whole of Galicia were revealed in the following eyewitness account:²²⁸

The following was the order of the day at the camp: Early in the morning a parade was held. The Jews lined up before those appointed over them; and the latter gave a report to the SS men. Then began the "morning gymnastics." Those who had no strength or were sick were taken beyond the barbed wire fence, and the rat-tat-tat of a machine gun could be heard. After the "gymnastics," work began. It consisted of shifting gravestones from the Jewish cemetery, to be used in making gravel for road-paving.

There were twenty barracks in the camp. Each contained bunks arranged in five tiers, full of filthy straw. The food consisted of watery soup once a day, and a piece of ersatz bread in the morning. Apart from the trained SS, the camp contained SS "apprentices" who were taught the necessary knowledge and skill, and later were dispersed to camps all over Galicia. One SS man, Kolenko, used to enjoy pressing his victims to death between boards or in a barrel. Rokita used to shoot them in the back. Schoenber, aged 23, used to make his victim stand up; then he would hit him with a rubber club until the man lost his senses. Afterwards Schoenber would revive him, only to begin all over again.

In March 1942, Katzman issued the following order:

1. All Jews, male and female, are to be sent to the East.
2. Each person expelled is entitled to take with him 25 kg. of clothes and food.
3. The *Judenrat* is required to submit a list of Jews who are not engaged in any work, and to fix the day of their expulsion in consultation with the German authorities.

For a long time the direction in which the persons expelled were sent was not known; but finally railway workers related that 15 kms. from Rava-Russka the people were removed from the wagons and ordered to take off their clothes and go to the Belzec forests in order to bathe; but nobody returned from the bath. The Germans surrounded Belzec with complete secrecy.

In August, forty-five per cent of the Jews in Lvov were murdered. Those going to work in the mornings were compelled to hold their cards with the proper seals over their heads all the way to the workshops. If anybody's hands weakened he was in dire peril. The SS men were drunk, and there was a danger that they would snatch the cards from his hands and fling the people into one of the railway trucks going to Belzec.

This was the manner of expulsion: a large number of Jews were herded on a railway platform. They were ordered to strip and stand naked under the August sun until evening. Trains set out only in the dark. The naked people tried to jump out of the carriages to save their lives; but this was not easy because the German guards shot at any shape or shadow that resembled a human being.

The tracks from Lvov to Rava-Russka were littered with dead bodies. The peasants of neighboring villages stood and wept. Sometimes they hid the lucky ones who succeeded in escaping; they gave them clothes and food and transferred them to more distant places. That month meticulous searches were carried out throughout Lvov, and the Germans began a strong anti-Jewish campaign in the press. Katzman announced that anybody who hid a Jew was risking his own life.

Transports of Jews were brought to the Lvov railway station from Tarnopol, Sambor and Brzeziny, and human freight was taken to Belzec. In addition, trains passed through Lvov containing Jews from Brussels, Amsterdam and Paris; these were sent to the same extermination center.

At the end of September a German was murdered in Lvov. As punishment and revenge, ten notables of the town were hanged the next day, headed by Dr. Landesberg, chairman of the Jewish Community of Lvov. In August, 50,000 Jews were taken out of Lvov and carried off to Belzec.

In November 1942, Jews working in German undertakings had to wear not only the "Jewish badge" but also a white patch with the letter W (Wehrmacht) or R (*Ruestung*, i.e., armament). On November 12, the Gestapo men gathered at the gate of the ghetto, armed with rifles. All those not wearing the white patch were taken away to die. The inspection lasted for two days, and the number of people killed during it amounted to 12,000. In December the ghetto was cordoned off. Gestapo guards were placed at the gates. Exit from the ghetto was permitted only during the morning hours.

At the end of December, concentration of Jews at their places of work began. Each firm received a special block of buildings in which to segregate its Jewish workers. Jews who did not work and had escaped the previous examinations were relentlessly persecuted. A special ghetto, a "ghetto within the ghetto" was es-

tablished for them in the Kleparow Street. In January 1943, a terrible slaughter was carried out there; it began on the 5th of the month. The workers were permitted to proceed as usual, while the rest were remorselessly hunted down.

Nazi law during 1942 eliminated the two-year work period for forced labor in Poland and German-occupied Soviet territory. It was now limitless. All labor camps and ghetto factories in the East became the destination of forcibly transported Jewish populations both from Poland and from Western and Central Europe. Large-scale transfers from the Warsaw Ghetto were reported. On July 22, 1942, the Jewish Council of Warsaw received an order to prepare 6,000 persons to be sent away daily. Many of the deportees were shipped to labor camps on the Russian front, others to work in the marshes of Pinsk, or to the ghettos of the Baltic Republics, Byelorussia and the Ukraine. Large numbers of Jews from Western Europe were transported to Lodz to work in the textile mills.²²⁹ The Institute of Jewish Affairs in New York cited an advertisement that appeared in the *Litzmannstaedter Zeitung*, Nazi newspaper published in Lodz, quoting the German mayor of a nearby town:

Have at my disposal 250 qualified Jewish tailors, furriers and hatters. Accept orders for army as well as private enterprises.²³⁰

In 1942, as the pressure of the Nazi war machine increased and the need for manpower grew, transports of Jewish slave laborers from the eastern territories rolled into parts of Austria, Upper Silesia and into Germany proper. Polish Jews were transferred to various parts of Germany in July, a fact disclosed by the Nazi-controlled *Krakauer Zeitung*,²³¹ the first newspaper to mention transfers of Polish Jews for work in the Reich. The policy of such transfers was in sharp conflict with the ideology of a "Jew-purged" Germany. There were further instances of transfers of Polish, French and Belgian Jews to the coal mines of Upper Silesia, and trainloads of Polish Jews carted to camps in Austria.

But for most Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe, the common fate was expulsion to the eastern territories, into the vast slave labor reserves destined to become extermination camps.

A CASE HISTORY

(as reported by Vassili Grossman, Soviet war correspondent)²³²

To the east of Warsaw, along the western Bug are stretches of sand and marshes, dense pine forests. The place is wild and dreary, villages are few. The traveler avoids the narrow sandy roads where the wheel sinks to the axle in the deep sand.

Here, on the Siedlce railroad branch there is a small, desolate station—Treblinka. It lies sixty kilometers from Warsaw, not far from the Malkinia Station, where the railroads from Warsaw, Bialystok, Siedlce, Lomza cross.

The sandpit is four kilometers from the station. It is on a barren plot, surrounded by a pine forest. The soil is poor, the peasants do not till it.

Treblinka had two camps:

Camp No. 1—the labor or penal camp—was near the sandpit, not far from the outskirts of the forest. This was a camp like hundreds and thousands in the occupied eastern lands. It was founded in 1941. Here we find the traits of the German character distorted in the dreadful mirror of the Hitler regime, just as the thoughts and feelings of a patient, experienced by him before his illness, are mirrored in his delirium in a hideous and distorted manner. Thus, a madman in his state of insanity, distorts the logic of actions and plans of a normal man.

People were sent to the labor camp for a limited period—not a very long one—four-five-six months. The Germans sent to this camp Poles who violated the laws of the Gouverneur-General. These violations, as a rule, were insignificant; for real violations immediate death, not camp imprisonment, was inflicted. Squealing; gossip; a chance word dropped in the street, non-delivery of the goods demanded of them, refusal to give a German a wagon or a horse, the arrogance of a young woman who rejected the advances of an SS man, the merest suspicion of sabotage—all this brought to the penal camp hundreds and thousands of Polish workers, peasants, intellectuals, men and girls, old people and adolescents, mothers of families. In all, fifty thousand persons passed through this camp. Jews were brought there only if they happened to be skilled

workers—bakers, shoemakers, wood-workers, masons, tailors. The camp had all kinds of shops, among them a substantial furniture shop, which supplied the headquarters of the German army with armchairs, tables and chairs.

Camp No. 1 existed from the autumn of 1941 until July 23, 1944. It had not been completely liquidated when the prisoners began to hear the dull thud of Soviet artillery . . .

In the morning of July 23rd, the guards and the SS men, having imbibed schnapps to give them courage, embarked upon the liquidation of the camp. Toward evening all prisoners had been killed and buried. A Warsaw carpenter, Max Levitt, succeeded in saving himself. Wounded, he lay under the bodies of his comrades. When darkness descended he crept away into the forest. He said that while he was lying in the ditch, he heard a group of thirty boys, before their execution, sing "My Land, My Own;" he heard one of the boys shout "The Red Army will avenge us;" he heard Leib, the leader of the boys and a favorite of the camp, say: "Mr. guardsman, you did not aim right, do it again, do it again."

Now the details about the German rule in this labor camp can be told. Dozens of witnesses, Polish men and women, who fled in time or were released from Camp No. 1, tell in great detail in their depositions about the laws of the camp.

We know about the work in the sandpit; we know that those who did not do their quota of work were thrown from cliffs; we know of the food rations which consisted of 170-200 grams of bread and one liter of slop, called soup; we know of deaths from starvation; of those who were swollen from hunger and were carried out on wheelbarrows beyond the wire enclosure and shot; we know of the wild orgies of the Germans; of their raping girls and shooting them; we know that they threw people off six-meter towers; that drunken hordes at night took from the barracks ten to fifteen prisoners and slowly demonstrated on them their methods of putting people to death: shooting at their hearts, their napes, eyes, mouths, temples. We know the names of the SS men of this camp; we know their characters, their idiosyncrasies; we know the chief of the camp, the Dutch-German van Eipen, the insatiable murderer and debaucher, the lover of good horses and of

fast riding; we know stolid young Stumpfe, who was seized with uncontrollable fits of laughter whenever he killed one of the prisoners, or whenever an execution was performed in his presence. He was nicknamed "the laughing death." The last one to hear his laughter was Max Levitt. It was on July 23rd, when on Stumpfe's command the guardsmen shot the boys.

We know the one-eyed German from Odessa, Svidersky, who was nicknamed "The master of the hammer," he who was considered the unsurpassed master of the "cold" killing. In a few minutes he killed with his hammer fifteen children ranging in age from 8 to 13. They had been judged unfit for work. We know the thin SS man Preif, who looked like a gypsy. He was morose and uncommunicative. He would dispel his melancholy by sitting at the camp rubbish pit, watching for the prisoners who came there surreptitiously to look for potato peels. He would force them to open their mouths and then shoot into their open mouths.

We know the names of the professional killers, Schwartz and Ledek, who amused themselves by shooting at prisoners who were returning from work, and thus killed twenty, thirty, forty men daily.

Distorted brains, hearts and souls; distorted words, actions, habits. The order in the camp, the documentation of assassinations, the love of gruesome jokes remind one of the jokes of drunken brawlers, of German students; the group singing of sentimental songs amidst pools of blood; the speeches, which they continually delivered to the doomed prisoners; the sermonizing, the virtuous effusions, neatly printed on little sheets of paper—all these were monsters evolved from the embryo of traditional German chauvinism, arrogance, self-love, self-assurance, pedantic care for their own little nest, and the cold indifference to the fate of all living. The vices and the crimes of these people were born of the vices of the German state and national character.

It would seem that there was nothing more dreadful in the world than this camp. But those who lived here knew there was something more dreadful, a hundredfold more dreadful than their camp. Within three kilometers of the labor camp, the Germans began to build, in May 1942, a Jewish camp, a camp execution block.

STARVATION

"Malnutrition is better than machine guns."

Field Marshal Gerd von Rundstedt

In the wake of Germany's conquests, the Nazi military-economic machine raided the larders of Europe. Stockpiles of food—the rich granaries of Poland, Yugoslavia, the strategic grain surpluses stored in Czechoslovakia's reserves, Holland's and Denmark's livestock and dairy products—even the meager food resources of Greece and Italy—were systematically pillaged. Germany ate while her subject peoples starved.

A lower race needs less room, less clothing, less food . . . than a higher race. The German cannot live in the same fashion as the Pole and the Jew . . . More bread, more clothes, more living room . . . these our race must have or it dies.

The Nazi theory of race, as advocated by Minister of Labor, Robert Ley, in *Der Angriff* early in 1940,²³³ supported the Nazi policy of plunder.

Every instrument of pillage was used—military, political and racial—and the plan was executed in the name of a totalitarian food program. A "science of feeding" carefully devised by the German state, stunted entire nations of peoples and went far toward exterminating Jews.

Food became a major weapon in the Nazi drive to dominate Europe. The subject nations were fed in accordance with the "racial" politics of hunger. A stratified state organization was established, placing the self-styled German masters (*Reichsdeutsche*) above German minorities (*Volksdeutsche*)²³⁴ who helped the nation; the allegedly inferior population of landless serfs (Poles and Russians) either worked for Germany or starved; Jews, an outcast people marked for annihilation, were fed rations for death.

GERMANY

For Jews the Nazi stratagem of scientific feeding began in Germany with a decree issued on April 21, 1933,²³⁵ prohibiting the

ritual slaughter of animals, a measure which affected the diet of Germany's orthodox Jews.

The Reich followed this in September 1933 with a law²³⁶ which excluded Jews from farming. Based on Nazi theories of "blood and soil," it provided that "only a person of German or cognate blood can be a peasant." Thus Jews who formerly worked the land could no longer depend upon their own produce for food.

Both decrees, ostensibly mild, but in effect limiting the Jews' food supply, were publicized by press and radio throughout Germany. It was not until 1935, following the announcement of the Nuremberg Laws, that food restrictions became drastic. A new series of *Verbote* was introduced in villages and municipalities throughout the Reich, similar in pattern and conforming to Germany's well organized racial feeding plans. In the village of Usingen (Hesse), "Aryans" were forbidden to do business with Jews, even to sell them foodstuffs, and the Jews had to seek food in neighboring villages. In Tilsit, the town council prohibited bakers from selling bread to Jews. In Halle on the Saale, Jews were permitted to buy bread only between noon and 12:30 P.M. Shop doors in small towns of Prussia, Hesse and many other districts displayed the same notices: "No Jews Served!"²³⁷ From 1936 to 1938, bans on shopping and on the sale of bread and other foods to Jews spread from town to town; and finally reached the larger cities in June 1939. The Jews of Hamburg, Munich and Vienna were barred from buying butter and eggs.²³⁸

After September 1939, Germany's wartime food rationing contributed to the deliberate starvation and was used to spread hunger among the Jews. Quantities of food stuffs from the subject countries, including Nazi satellites, were earmarked for Germany under the rationing system. A scheme of graduated rations was introduced favoring Germans over other nationalities, and collaborationists and "those who work for Germany" above the rest of the non-German population.²³⁹

The Nazis' avowed goal of starving "a lower race" was apparent from the start in the limitations placed on Jews. They still had food cards like others late in 1939, although this privilege had been threatened when *Der Angriff*, Goebbels' widely read newspaper, campaigned in October of that year to deprive Jews of ration

cards.²⁴⁰ However, devices of other kinds were used to cut off the Jews' allotments. The "Jewish hour," obliging Jews to shop for food only at specified hours, was instituted in most Reich cities. Ration cards, delivered to non-Jewish consumers, were held up for Jews until the last day scheduled for registration, when the Jews had to call for them in person. Packages of edibles sent to Jews from relatives in the United States were confiscated.²⁴¹ Jews in Dachau concentration camp received "only half of the quantities allowed to 'Aryan' prisoners," the British chargé d'affaires in Berlin reported.²⁴²

Berlin Jews were told in January 1940, that they could purchase food only between noon and 2:00 P.M.²⁴³ Ration coupons for 125 grams of meat and all vegetables were invalidated for Jews from January 15th to February 11th, the *New York Times* reported from Berlin on January 14th.

Measures depriving Jews of basic foods were largely local decrees; but the sale to Jews of milk, fish, poultry, peas, barley, rice and canned milk had been prohibited throughout Germany by January 31, 1940, a *New York Times* dispatch from Paris disclosed on that date. In Leipzig, which still had a substantial Jewish population in 1940, only three stores were open to Jews and then only from noon to 12:30 P.M.²⁴⁴

In Berlin, the city council issued a new order on April 5, 1940, compelling Jews to do all their shopping for food between noon and 12:30 P.M. Later this was shifted to 4 o'clock and in August of the same year to 5:00 P.M., an hour at which stocks were depleted.²⁴⁵ The confiscation of all ration cards held by Jews was urged at this time by district leader Grobe, addressing Party officials at Cologne.²⁴⁶ Another spokesman, *Oberregierungsrat* Hans Kuppers, a Nazi jurist, answering a query about rationing for Jews, said:

The German people is in no way interested in fostering the multiplication of the Jewish people.²⁴⁷

This point of view was sharply indicated when foods were denied to sick Jews. On November 24, 1941, the *Dresdener Neueste Nachrichten* announced that Jewish diabetics had been barred from obtaining requisite special foods.

The executive ordinance of March 26, 1942, compelling Jews throughout Germany to affix the yellow "Star of David" to their doors, affected more than 150,000 Jews who still remained. One result was that grocers who formerly might have dared to sell prohibited foods to Jewish housewives no longer could take the risk. Coffee, cocoa, tobacco, flour, white bread, pastry and sweets, all were forbidden to Jews in 1942.²⁴⁸ "The German people come before all other peoples for food," Reich Minister Goering declared in March 1942.²⁴⁹ What this meant to Jews was indicated later when Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry for Agriculture and Food, Herbert Backe, recommended that Jews be annihilated as a "food conservation measure."²⁵⁰

Racial discrimination in feeding persisted, and starvation began to take its toll at the end of 1942. Approximately 40,000 Jews, all conscript laborers or inmates of concentration camps, remained in the country. The *Basler National Zeitung* in September²⁵¹ quoted a Hungarian visitor to Berlin as saying:

The Jews of Berlin are very pale. Their faces are waxen as if already wearing a death mask.

A report from the Swedish Israel Mission, non-Jewish organization in Sweden for aiding Jewish victims of German persecution, was published in the *New York Times* of April 13, 1943:

The Jews still in Berlin are vagabonds who have to get along without ration cards and without a fixed place of residence. They hide out with whoever dares to shelter them and feed them a bite to eat . . .

By 1943 the following basic foods were explicitly banned to Jews:

All poultry, fish, game, milk, fresh vegetables, dried legumes, flour, white bread, rice, fruits, sweets, coffee and tea and their substitutes.

Boris Shub observes in his report, *Starvation Over Europe*:

A diet without the above foods furnished Jews with only a minute fraction of the nutrients necessary to sustain life. This is

starvation for with so little protein and no known source of fat, the body must feed on its own tissues and cells until it is destroyed.²⁵²

AUSTRIA

Racial discrimination in feeding began in Austria immediately after the *Anschluss*. Patterned after Nazi Germany and enforced by the same food control authority, the system affected the Jewish population which by 1941 was concentrated in Vienna.

Jews of Vienna were informed by notices in the press on January 5, 1940, that:

Gauleiter Buerckel has directed that in all retail establishments of Vienna produce may be sold to Jews only during fixed hours. Hours during which Jews are permitted to shop are set as follows until further notice:

A. In food stores . . . between 11:00 A.M. and 1:00 P.M., in the second district (Leopoldstadt) and in the twentieth district (Brigittenau) also between 4:00 and 5:00 P.M. It is forbidden to deliver foodstuffs to Jews in their homes.²⁵³

Shopping hours in Vienna were cut down for Jews in 1941 to an hour or two during the late afternoon when only a very meager food supply was available.²⁵⁴ Word was received from Geneva on November 16th, that little food of any kind was to be available to Jews in Vienna for the forthcoming two weeks under a local Nazi order deliberately withdrawing their right to secure food for that fortnight. The order cancelled all Jewish ration cards and provided that no new ones could be issued for the two-week period. Jewish soup kitchens, drastically affected, were unable to supply food to thousands of Jews who were being fed there daily by the Jewish community. This first reported attempt at outright mass starvation of Jews in Western Europe occurred in Vienna in November 1941.²⁵⁵

Vienna Jews, in January 1942, were not permitted to buy coffee, cocoa, fruits, vegetables, honey, oils and milk, according to reports from Lisbon. If shops had stock, Jews were allowed to buy one-half kilo of potatoes a week, eighteen grams of butter, 400 grams of mutton. The bread supply for Jews was still adequate.²⁵⁶

By 1943, however, all the basic foods explicitly banned to Jews in Germany were likewise prohibited to the few remaining Jews of Austria.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Nazi system of organized pillage was introduced in Czechoslovakia shortly after the invasion. The country, two years previously, had amassed a grain reserve of close to 750,000 tons. Soon after Nazi occupation, the Czechs were forced to turn over their grain surplus without receiving any cash for it and later other foodstuffs also were removed. Fats for the most part, especially butter, were bought up at low prices on a large scale not only by the German authorities but also by individual occupying troops and German civilian officials. The larders of Czechoslovakia were emptied of basic food supplies, laying the groundwork for the slow starvation of the subject Czech people.²⁵⁷

In BOHEMIA-MORAVIA withholding of food in accord with the Nazi system began in 1939, almost as soon as Czech independence ended. A reign of terror fostered by storm troopers, SS and local fascists created a large group of Jewish indigents who were wholly dependent on the Jewish communities for support and particularly for food. But in Prague even such support failed in April 1939, when the community of Prague, lacking funds, had to close all free soup kitchens. A month later, a decree was issued barring all Jews from public relief and in July, the Salvation Army discontinued sheltering and feeding needy Jews.²⁵⁸

Food rationing for all Czechs was enforced on September 29, 1939.

*Weekly Food Rations*²⁵⁹

BREAD

Ordinary rations	62	oz.
For heavy workers	111	oz.
For very heavy workers	156	oz.

MEAT (or meat products)

Ordinary rations	14	oz.
For heavy workers	28	oz.
For very heavy workers	35	oz.

SUGAR

	10	oz.
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FATS (all kinds, including edible oils)

Ordinary rations	6	oz.
Occasionally butter available	1	oz.
For heavy workers	13 ½	oz.
For very heavy workers	25 ½	oz.
COFFEE (substitutes only)	4 ½	oz.
MILK (fat content reduced to 2.3 per cent)		
Slightly less than	¼	pint
Children and nursing mothers		
slightly less than	1	pint daily
OATMEAL	1 ½	oz.
TEA	¼	oz.

A series of special police ordinances barred Jews from even these meager rations. They were given yellow food cards with which purchases could be made only at special food stores.²⁶⁰ In the same month *Der Neue Tag*, Nazi-controlled newspaper of Prague, disclosed the issuance of a government decree compelling Jews on forced labor to pay for their own food and shelter.²⁶¹ The protests of Czech patriots caused the Nazis temporarily to close down the special food stores for Jews in October 1939. Later, in November, in the towns of Brno, Budejovice and Plzen, Jews were prevented from buying food altogether and forbidden to leave their homes for three weeks.²⁶²

A decree issued by Reich Protector von Neurath on January 25, 1940, eliminated all Jews from economic life by law. At the same time, police ordinances denied Jews access to market places except at the end of the day when food supplies were depleted. A Prague police decree of September 12, 1940, forbade Jews to purchase foods at market places on marketing days.²⁶³ Meantime, the Nazis had cut down the allotments of many foods for the Czech population as a whole. On March 13, 1940, the weekly sugar ration, fixed originally at 14 oz. per person per week, was reduced to 10 ½ oz., a significant figure in view of the fact that Czechoslovakia had been the largest sugar exporting country in Continental Europe. Weekly meat rations also dropped from 20 ½ oz. to 14 oz. per person.²⁶⁴

Reductions in food rations per person were doubly disastrous

for Jews who already were subject to every conceivable restriction, short of actual confiscation of food cards.

An article headed "*Neue Einkaufszeiten fuer Juden*," published in the February 7, 1941 issue of the Nazi-censored *Juedisches Nachrichtenblatt* stated that Prague Jews were given ration cards, but could buy food only between 3:00 and 5:00 P.M. by order of the police.²⁶⁵ Similar orders were issued soon after by the Brno police and published in the March 14, August 12, November 14 and November 28 issues of the same newspaper.

Further police ordinances, published in Prague newspapers in August 1941, forbade Jews under penalty of fine or imprisonment to shop at food markets. At the same time, the food control authorities cancelled the Jews' cheese rations although such rations were still available to the general population.²⁶⁶

After Heydrich became the new protector of Bohemia-Moravia, on September 25, 1941, Jews were cut off from all unrationed and semi-rationed foods. An order of the Nazi puppet Minister of Agriculture on October 23, 1941, declared:

Any delivery to Jews, either free of charge or for payment, of fruit of any kind, fresh, dried or otherwise preserved, including nuts, of marmalade, jams, cheese, sweets, fish and fish products of any kind, including canned fish, is forbidden. This prohibition applies with equal force to cultivators, producers, processors, manufacturers and consumers.

Supplementary orders prohibited the sale or gift to Jews of vegetables, fruit juices and syrups of every kind. When onions, garlic, oranges and tangerines were added to the general ration list, Jews received none.²⁶⁷

There was no meat on Jewish tables when a Nazi ordinance, published on January 23, 1942, in the *Juedisches Nachrichtenblatt*, invalidated meat ration coupons held by Jews on fictitious grounds of conforming with the Jewish religious ban on pork. No other meats could be purchased instead.

Unrationed foods began to be distributed in Bohemia-Moravia in return for consumer tickets on May 28, 1942, in accordance with an order of the Minister of Agriculture and Forests. But the order read "Jews receive no consumer tickets."²⁶⁸

Deliveries of fruits, fresh, dried or canned; of vegetables, mushrooms, nuts, wines, fruit juices, syrups, spirits, poultry and game were halted to Jews by decree of the Protectorate Minister of Agriculture, Hruby, in December 1942. The decree, published December 12th, was addressed to farmers, producers, manufacturers, dealers and consumers. Whether the blacklisted foods and beverages were paid for or donated did not matter. The ministry reserved the further right, the decree declared, to prohibit or restrict the sale to Jews of even such foodstuffs as were still obtainable on food rationing cards.²⁶⁹

Abgabe bestimmter Waren an Juden verboten.
Prag. Durch eine Kundmachung des Ministers für Land- und Forstwirtschaft vom 2. Dezember 1942 ist jede entgeltliche oder unentgeltliche Abgabe von Obst, Gemüse, und Pilzen aller Art und jeder Herkunft, in frischem, getrocknetem oder sonst konserviertem Zustand, einschließlich Trockenfrüchte und Nüsse, Weine, Obstsaften und -sirupe sowie Spirituosen, ferner von Marmelade, Jams, Käse, Süßwaren, Fischen und Fischerzeugnissen sowie von Geflügel und Wildbret, auch im konservierten Zustand, an Juden verboten worden. Weiter wird bestimmt, daß auch der Bezug kartengebundener Lebensmittel für Juden eingeschränkt werden kann. Uebertretungen der Kundmachung werden bestraft.

The Nazi-controlled daily *Der Neue Tag*, Prague, on December 12, 1942, prints a long list of foods which may not be sold to Jews.

Rationing violations mounted during 1942; numerous cases of death sentences by Heydrich were reported. *Der Neue Tag* of January 17, 1943 told of the execution of Julius Bondy, a Jewish trader, for the alleged illegal slaughter of meat. Later, on February 15th, Radio Prague announced that two Czechs had been executed for selling ration cards to Jews.

Jews surviving in Bohemia-Moravia in February 1943, were forced to relinquish their ration cards under an order published in the official gazette of the Protectorate in Prague. The order made it impossible for them to purchase any essential food, in keeping with the Nazis' reported command that the Protectorate be made *judenrein* by the end of March of that year.

Vast numbers of Jews by the end of 1943 had been expelled to Terezin. The few Jews remaining in Czechoslovakia, most of them

in Prague, had to stay alive on pitiful leavings of bread, potatoes and margarine.



Ration card issued to Czechoslovak Jews.

In emulation of German strategy, the puppet government of SLOVAKIA soon after its “independence day,” on March 4, 1939, enacted measures calculated to starve the Jews. First, discriminatory action was undertaken against them to lower them to a class of indigents. Then Jewish farms were confiscated by decree, curtailing a potential source of food supply.²⁷⁰ Special food ration cards for Jews were distributed. Slovaks who offered food to needy Jews were persecuted; one practice was to shave the hair of women who tried to get food into Jewish concentration camps.²⁷¹

Jewish purchase hours in food stores, at first limited by local police ordinances, later were restricted by a series of ministerial

decrees.²⁷² On July 19, 1941, the Slovak Minister of Interior forbade Jews to appear in markets before 10 o'clock in the morning or to buy from peasants selling their wares outside regular market stalls in the early morning hours.²⁷³

As the ranks of Jewish indigents filled with those cast out from homes, jobs and businesses, the Jewish soup kitchens were increasingly burdened. Meals served in the kitchens in Bratislava aggregated to 32,000 during the first four months of 1941, the Nazi-controlled *Vestník* reported. By July, the number of meals had risen to 50,000 and fifteen per cent of the Bratislavan Jews had been fed there.²⁷⁴

Among further bans was an edict of November 15, 1941, published in *Uradne Noviny*, prohibiting Christians from selling food to Jews during certain hours or from purchasing food on their behalf at those hours.

A government decree issued on September 9, 1941, containing the so-called *Jewish Code* provided the legal means for the final destruction of Jewish life. It was reinforced by a constitutional law passed by the totalitarian Slovak parliament in May 1942, requiring the expatriation and deportation of all Jews. Those who had been converted to Christianity and baptized before March 14, 1939, *Mischlinge* and some others described as “economically valuable” were allowed to stay in Slovakia.

Those who stayed were concentrated in Bratislava. For these Jews a local ordinance was issued which provided that if a family retained the ration card of a deported member, all in the household would lose their ration cards.²⁷⁵

By December 1942, those between the ages of 16 and 60 among the 20,000 Jews said to be left in Slovakia were ordered to register for service in forced labor camps in Sereď, Novaky and Vyhne. Meanwhile, reports leaked through of further persecutions of Slovaks who sold food to the Jews still in Bratislava. *Slovak*, pro-Nazi newspaper in Bratislava, reported that Katherine Backstuber, fish dealer, had been sentenced to one month imprisonment and 10,000 kronen fine on the charge of secretly selling fish to twenty-one Jews. Each Jew was fined 1,000 kronen and sentenced to one day in jail.²⁷⁶

Jews were not allowed to purchase fish, poultry, cheese, fruit,

vegetables or jam or any other essential food, in 1943.²⁷⁷ Slovakia, in May of that year, had 5,000 persons of Jewish faith and 11,000 Christians of Jewish origin, according to the official *Vestník*. Without sustenance, the end of Slovakian Jews was only a question of time.

POLAND

In September 1939, the Germans entered Poland, and the stated Nazi policy to wipe out the Jewish population of Europe became a dark page of history.

Gauleiter Forster, speaking in Bydgoszcz on November 26, 1939, said:

Appointed by the Fuehrer to this post and in the full enjoyment of his confidence, I am charged with ensuring the final triumph of Germany's cause in these regions . . . It will be our highest and most honorable task to do whatever lies in our power so that in a few years everything that can in any way be reminiscent of Poland shall have disappeared. This applies most particularly to the racial cleansing of this country . . .

"Racial cleansing" began immediately with more than 300,000 Jews, or about half of the Jewish population from the German-incorporated provinces, expelled to the Gouvernement-General,²⁷⁸ a Nazi-designated territory reserved for Jews and for all other unwanted peoples. It had had its own pre-war Jewish population, estimated at 1,401,000 on August 1, 1939. Approximately 1,701,000 Jews were expelled from towns and villages throughout the annexed territories and from the large cities of the Gouvernement-General, and were herded into walled ghettos from which no one could leave on penalty of death. All escape valves were blocked. That the Jews were destined to die from lack of food was indicated in a statement by the Nazi governor of the Warsaw district:

We will destroy this tribe. They will disappear due to hunger and misery.²⁷⁹

Measures depriving Jews of the most elementary nourishment were put into effect. On October 26, 1939, an ordinance restricted the practice of ritual slaughter or *shechitah*. Since the great majority

of religious Jews, dependent entirely upon ritually prepared meat, were to be found in Eastern Europe, this decree had far more serious implications in Poland than its counterpart had had in Germany.²⁸⁰

The right to purchase white bread was denied to Jews in November. Food purchases were being policed by Nazi SS men who had been placed in all Jewish stores. In the cities of Warsaw and Cracow, bread rations were cut again in March, and each Jew was allotted a weekly ration of one pound of bread.²⁸¹ The food shortage was so acute by April 1940, according to an official report carried by the *Polish Telegraphic Agency*, that Nazi authorities were trying to interfere with the orderly distribution of relief by inciting the Poles to riot against the Jews.²⁸²

A dispatch to the *New York Morning Journal* on May 13, 1940, revealed that flour rations for Jews were banned throughout Nazi-occupied Poland and that in the towns of Pabjanice and Zgierz, purchase of all foodstuffs was forbidden to Jews. In the same month, the 500,000 Jews of Warsaw were deprived of meat, macaroni and egg rations.

Famine in the district of Lublin, a large Nazi-made wasteland, set aside by Alfred Rosenberg as a "Jewish state" or reservation, was officially reported in the latter part of 1939. On July 23, 1940, the Nazi-controlled *Krakauer Zeitung* described the majority of the 50,000 persons herded into Lublin as destitute and starving, the only available means of livelihood—and that strictly limited—being the sale of water.

Forced laborers received rations inadequate for subsistence. Jews working in the stone quarries of Zagnansk near Kielce at one time were allowed two pounds of bread daily and were promised soup. But in a letter published by the *Gazeta Zydowska* on August 8, 1940, one of the workers remarked: "If only there were this soup."²⁸³

In some of the large cities of the Gouvernement-General the cut in Jewish rations reached the sub-marginal or slow-starvation level. In Warsaw, the Nazi-sponsored *Gazeta Zydowska* reported on September 17, 1940, that Jews were receiving slightly more than one and a half pounds of bread per week as compared to the Polish bread ration of about three pounds per week. Moreover, the pur-

chase of other foods was made difficult by an order compelling Jews to shop in special food stores. There were fifteen districts in Warsaw at the time, with a Jewish population of up to 6,000 each, where no food stores at all were open to Jews. In that city, those who had not as yet been expelled to the ghetto were made to wait an indefinite period before obtaining new ration cards.²⁸⁴

Non-Jewish food stores in the city of Sosnowiec, during the same period, were ordered by the local food office not to honor Jewish ration cards. Jews could only buy in shops displaying the sign: "*Verkauf nur an Juden.*" In Cracow, a city with a Jewish population of about 50,000 at the time, the number of stores permitted to sell food to Jews was limited to twenty-eight.²⁸⁵

In the summer of 1940, German food trucks appeared, and bread and soup were distributed among the starving non-Jewish population. Warsaw was obliged to pay a million zlotys for this relief. The soup was made with rice stolen from the stores of Jewish dealers; yet the Jews were rigorously excluded from the crowds receiving the food. They were thrust out of lines waiting in front of bakeries and other provision stores.²⁸⁶

The Jews of Poland, who had been removed in October 1940 from villages and towns and even from some of the larger cities to the Gouvernement-General were incarcerated in thirteen ghettos, the largest being the Warsaw Ghetto, and in forty-two ghetto towns. During this period there were approximately 400,000 Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto; 150,000 in Lodz; 60,000 in Lublin (enlarged to several hundred thousand by the end of 1940); 20,000 in Cracow. Ghettos also were created in Lvov, Vilna, Kaunas, Riga, Minsk, Kiev, Odessa and other cities in the Ukraine and White Russia.²⁸⁷

Their concentration in ghetto towns under conditions of arrest or their actual imprisonment within walled ghettos made the Jews the only people in Europe whose lives depended entirely upon the rations they received. They had to rely on German transfer offices, the sole channel through which food produce reached them.²⁸⁸

The Warsaw Ghetto with a population of 433,000 since November 15, 1939, was not "legally" established by German ordinance until October 16, 1940.²⁸⁹ It was completely closed, sur-

Wiadomości z Krakowa

W sprawie otwierania sklepów w święta

Obwieszczenie Gminy Żydowskiej w sprawie otwierania w święta sklepów, zaopatrujących ludność w artykuły pierwszej potrzeby odnosi się także do wszystkich dni święta Sukkoth.

Zaopatrzenie w węgiel na opał domowy

Kraków. — Stadthauptmann wydał obwieszczenie w sprawie zaopatrzenia w węgiel na opał domowy, w którym m. in. czytamy:

Celem zapewnienia równomiernego i prawidłowego rozdziału węgla zarządzam, co następuje: Zaopatrzenie ludności nieniemieckiej w węgiel na opał domowy reguluje się przez wprowadzenie karty poboru węgla. Dla ludności aryjskiej wydaje się zielone, dla Żydów niebieskie karty węglowe. Drobnym handlarzom węgla, wyznaczonym w poszczególnych obwodach miasta, przydziela się oznaczone ulice, celem zaopatrzenia gospodarstw domowych w węgiel. Wykaz dotyczących rozdzielców węgla ogłasza się na tablicach urzędowych w Ratuszu i Miejskich Urzędach Obwodowych.

Zasadniczo uwzględnia się najwyżej dwa paleniska dla każdego gospodarstwa domowego. Podnajemcy otrzymują kartę poboru w razie posiadania odrębnego paleniska jedynie wówczas, kiedy najemca poświadczy, że między nim a podnajemcami nie zachodzi żadna wspólnota mieszkaniowa.

Karty węglowe wydają Miejskie Urzędy Obwodowe i ich Ekspozytury w dniach od 9 do 15 października 1940 r. w godzinach od 8 do 12 oraz od 14,30 do 17,30 za potwierdzeniem odbioru ze strony gospodarstw domowych — w kolejności ogłoszonej na tablicach urzędowych powyższych Urzędów.

Racje i terminy wydawania węgla będą każdorazowo ogłaszane.]

O kartach aprowizacyjnych.

Karty aprowizacyjne dla ludności nieniemieckiej (aryjskiej i Żydzi) wydawane są w odpowiednich Urzędach obwodowych Zarządu Miejskiego z początkiem każdego miesiąca.

Koszta przesiedlenia

Akcję przesiedlenia kontynuowano także we wrześniu. Pomimo wydatnego zmniejszenia się liczby odjeżdżających, to jednak przez wyjazd ży-

dowskich rodzin poszły w obieg znaczne kwoty. Do dnia dzisiejszego z kasy Wydziału Przesiedleńczego wypłacono nie mniej, jak 700 000 zł. Przy tym należy pamiętać, iż tylko część przesiedleńców korzystała z pomocy Gminy Żydowskiej.

1. JEWS NOT ALLOWED TO SHOP FOR EIGHT DAYS.
2. SPECIAL COAL RATION CARDS FOR JEWS.

From the Nazi-censored *Gazeta Żydowska*, October 14, 1940.

rounded by a brick wall, and the right of entry and exit was restricted to the holders of special passes, issued by German authorities. Those who ventured out of the ghetto without such a pass became liable to a long term at hard labor under an order announced in the *Gazeta Żydowska*:

January 24, 1941

PENALTIES FOR LEAVING THE JEWISH DISTRICT

On January 21, this year, the order regarding the boundaries of the Jewish residence area in Warsaw appeared in the press,

also the penal provisions of the regulations concerning the stay of Jews outside these boundaries. These regulations are as follows:

Jews who stay outside the boundaries of the Jewish residence area without permission of the proper administrative authorities shall be punished by a fine up to 1,000 zlotys or, in case of inability to pay the fine, by imprisonment up to three months. Persons who have aided Jews in violating the above regulation will also be punished. Persons who know of the stay of a Jew outside the boundaries of the Jewish residence area, or who learn of it and do not report it at once shall be punished.

Jews who violate the above regulations may be sentenced to long-term hard labor.

This order goes into effect on the day of the announcement.

Food rations for inhabitants of the ghetto were reduced in 1940 from the pre-war one and a half pounds of bread weekly to a pound of bread per person with almost nothing else.²⁹⁰ As a result, prices in the ghetto were on an average ten times higher than outside.²⁹¹

Later in 1940, Jews in all ghettos of the Gouvernement-General were each allotted just over two ounces of bread daily. This allotment was published as a regulation in the newspaper *Gazeta Zydowska*.²⁹²

Despite the precarious food situation, the impoverished Jewish communities were expected to share with the inmates of the forced labor camps all rations allocated by Nazi officials to the ghettos.

The *Gazeta Zydowska* announced on October 14, 1940, that the relief committee organized by the Warsaw Jewish Council was sending food as well as medical supplies and clothing to Jewish labor camps in Belzec, Pleszew, Dzikow, Cieszanow, Tomaszow, Hrubieszow, Ossowa, Witkow, Zamosc, Bialobrzeg, Tyszowce, Biala-Podlaska, Ortel, Ksiczecy, Terespol, Checiny, Dorczusk, Siedlce, Sawina, Ruda-Opalenica and Jozefow on the Vistula.²⁹³

Hunger in the Warsaw Ghetto during this period is recalled in the diary of a 13-year-old boy:²⁹⁴

On November 15, 1939, the Germans put the Jews in the ghetto and surrounded it with high walls. Food became much more expensive, so my brother and I used to steal into the "Aryan" quar-

ter in order to buy potatoes and bread and earn enough for ourselves and our parents. The crossing of the walls was very dangerous, because the Germans used to shoot every boy who fell into their hands. In spite of this my brother and I were compelled to slip out, because there was nothing to eat at home, and my father was unable to work since all the men were always being kidnapped for slave labor. And so we preferred to risk our lives as long as we did not perish of starvation. That is the way we lived for a few weeks.

Afterwards a policeman caught my brother and took all the goods away from him. That meant that we had nothing left to live on; so we went back to the army quarter, to Marszalkowska Street in order to earn a few groschen. Unfortunately, I was stopped at the shop in the Marszalkowska Street by two gendarmes who threatened to kill me, because I was a Jew. But at last they took me to *Kommissariat* No. 11 at No. 13 Poznanska Street. I was kept there for forty-eight hours, and then they liberated me and ordered me to return to the ghetto.

On the way I collected three zlotys and bread, and came home. A few days later, I went out again and went to the municipal market at Koszikowa Street. Once again I was caught by an SS officer who brought me to *Kommissariat* No. 11. Here they beat me over the head in a dreadful way with a rubber stick and ordered a Polish policeman to take me to a German gendarmerie station so that they should kill me. Luckily for me there was a good gendarme there. He merely hit me over the head a few times and ordered me to escape into the ghetto. When I got home, I learned that my brother already had been held for three days at the *Kommissariat* on a charge of sneaking into the "Aryan" quarter and that his feet were frozen. I went in a *ricksha* (the little carts pulled by men which were used as vehicles in the ghetto) and brought my brother home. He had to stay in bed a few weeks, and after he was cured, we began to steal out again into the "Aryan" quarter in order to earn enough for food.

That was how we lived until July 1942 . . .

Potatoes, an important item in the diminishing diet, were doled out to Jews in a number of Polish cities, not including Warsaw, at the rate of about 4.4 lbs. per week in 1940 and early in 1941. The yearly allotment amounted to 200 lbs. for Jews in the towns of Sosnowiec, Bedzin, Chmielnik-Kielce, Sedziszow-Kielce; 400

pounds yearly in the towns of Konskie and Radoszkowice.²⁹⁵ No eggs or fruit juices and no soap were available to Jews, it was announced in an order appearing in the *Gazeta Żydowska* of February 3, 1941.

Str. 4

GAZETA ŻYDOWSKA

Z miast i miasteczek

Sprawozdanie z działalności Rady Starszych w Koziennicach

Jak w innych miastach Dystryktu Radomskiego, także i w Koziennicach została zorganizowana Rada Starszych Ludności Żydowskiej w październiku 1939 r. Zasięg pracy Rady Starszych we wszystkich dziedzinach życia jest bardzo wielki. Dla scharakteryzowania tej wielkiej pracy dla ludności żydowskiej, przytoczymy niżej niektóre dane z działalności koziennickiej Rady od początku jej istnienia.

OPIEKA SPOŁECZNA.

Rada Gminy podjęła szeroko zakrojoną akcję pomocy dla biednej ludności żydowskiej. Utworzono kuchnię dla biednych, wydając bezpłatnie około 1000 obiadów dziennie, rozdawano odzież. Dzięki poparciu „Jointu” i „Centosu”, pożyteczną pracę tę można było kontynuować przez szereg miesięcy, aż do świąt wielkanocnych, na które rozdano biednym macę oraz zapomogi w gotówce. Od tego czasu z powodu braku funduszy kuchnię zamknięto, ograniczając się do małych zapomóg pieniężnych i środków żywnościowych wydawanych biednym Żydom. Obecnie z nastaniem zimy Rada Starszych znów pomyślała o szerszej pomocy dla biednych Żydów i właśnie dnia 1 grudnia 1940 r. na nowo otworzono Kuchnię ludową, wydając początkowo około 700 obiadów dziennie, za miesięczną opłatą 10 groszy za obiad. Napływ biednych jest jednak tak wielki, że zachodzi potrzeba podwojenia liczby wydawanych obiadów. Niestety środki finansowe Rady są tak nikłe, że zachodzi obawa, czy Rada nadal będzie w stanie tę konieczną pomoc dla biednych kontynuować. Rada liczy także obecnie na pomoc zewnętrzną ze strony „Jointu” i innych organizacji.

AMBULATORIUM DLA BIEDNYCH CHORYCH

Od początku istnienia Rady Starszych zorganizowano Ambulatorium dla biednych chorych pod kierownictwem miejscowego lekarza żydowskiego.

Dzięki finansowemu poparciu Towarzystwa „TOZ” oraz ich rodziny i otoczenia, zaopatrując ich w środki opatrunkowe także z „TOZ-u”, Ambulatorium niesie pomoc biednym Żydom, a w szczególności robotnikom żydowskim zatrudnionym przy pracach przymusowych.

Dział Sanitarny przy Ambulatorium ma pieczę nad stanem sanitarnym i higienicznym ludności żydowskiej miasta. W czasie wypadków zachorowań Żydów na choroby zakaźne, Dział Sanitarny dołożył wszelkich starań, by zapobiec epidemii. W tym celu

utworzono izolatorium, gdzie umieszczono chorych, oraz ich rodziny i otoczenia, zaopatrując ich w środki żywnościowe i niezbędną opiekę lekarską. Ponadto przeprowadzono szczepienie przeciwko durowi brzusznemu i odwziewanie całej ludności żydowskiej miasta.

Ostatnio zorganizowano też przy Ambulatorium „Kolo Pomocy Biednym Chorym”, które pracuje b. sprawnie i zasługuje na uznanie. Praca „Kola” polega na tym, że z drobnych datków tygodniowych, zbieranych przez członkinie „Kola”, wspiera się biednych chorych różnymi produktami. Analogicznie wspiera się także biedne dzieci żydowskie.

PRACA PRZYMUSOWA.

Rada Starszych od początku swego istnienia zajmuje się przydzielaniem robotników żydowskich do prac Władzom. Latem roku bieżącego wysłano około 500 robotników żydowskich do pracy przy odwołaniu Niziny Koziennicko-Gniewosowskiej. Praca ta była płatna. Biednym rodzinom robotniczym Rada Starszych udzieliła pomocy w postaci zapomóg pieniężnych, chleba i produktów żywnościowych. Kierownictwo tych prac melioracyjnych wyraziło się z gorącym uznaniem o jakości i zasięgu pracy młodych Żydów. Mimo zimy prace zostały nadal kontynuowane. Także na inne placówki Rada przydziela w dalszym ciągu robotników żydowskich.

DZIAŁ APROWIZACYJNY.

Rada Starszych rozdziela ludności żydowskiej od czasu do czasu chleba, kaszę, sól i ostatnio także mydło.

Jak dalece rozgałęzioną jest praca Rady Starszych ilustruje fakt, że sprawy połączone z Pocztą, Urzędem Podatkowym oraz Kasą Komunalną, załatwiane zostają wyłącznie za pośrednictwem Rady Starszych.

Ostatnio dla usprawnienia szeroko rozgałęzionej pracy utworzono przy Radzie Starszych następujące referaty: 1) referat ogólny, obejmujący sekretariat, rachunkowość itp.; 2) referat pracy przymusowej; 3) ref. finansowo-gospodarczy; 4) ref. aprowizacyjny; 5) ref. opieki społecznej; 6) ref. leczniczo-sanitarny; 7) ref. szkolny i 8) ref. mieszkaniowy.

Despite this hunger ration, the Gestapo raided the catacombs of the Lublin Ghetto in the latter part of 1940, claiming to have discovered hidden stores of potatoes. Photographs of the raid were released throughout the world in an attempt to demonstrate that the Jews were well supplied with food.²⁹⁶ The potatoes had been “planted” there by the Germans.

That rations allowed to Jews and non-Jewish Poles in Poland were “inadequate to maintain life” was reported by the Inter-Allied Information Committee in London, which cited official figures for 1941. Instead of the daily 2,400 calories necessary for subsistence, the food rations allowed to Poles did not contain more than 680 calories daily and those to Jews no more than 400.²⁹⁷

Hunger was chronic throughout the Gouvernement-General. Jews, desperate from lack of nourishment, continued to pay with their lives for attempting to smuggle food into the ghettos. In the Warsaw Ghetto, Jewish masons working at forced labor purposely left loose bricks in the walls so that food might be sneaked through into the ghettos. Several sewer pipes had not been sealed off, and through these openings they managed to smuggle in small bags of flour, cereal and other foodstuffs.²⁹⁸

The Nazis, determined to abolish the practice, issued an order on February 21, 1941, forbidding Jews to buy or even accept gifts of food from outside the ghetto. Transgression now meant deportation to compulsory labor camps.

Gazeta Żydowska

February 25, 1941

Order Prohibiting Sales to Jews Beyond the Limits of the Jewish District of Warsaw

The Acting District Chief for the city of Warsaw, referring to the respective regulations, orders as follows:

1. It is forbidden to sell any type of food to Jews outside the boundaries of the Jewish residential district in Warsaw, or to give or cede goods in any other manner.
2. In every instance, both parties shall be considered guilty, the one who gives the goods and the one who receives them.
3. A person guilty of violating this order shall be punished by a

JEWISH SOUP KITCHENS IN KOZIENICE CLOSED FOR LACK OF FUNDS

Impoverished Jewish community must provide food, clothes and ambulances for indigent Jews, especially Jewish slave labor.

From the Nazi-censored *Gazeta Żydowska*, December 31, 1940.

fine up to 1,000 zlotys; in case of inability to pay, by imprisonment for a period up to three months, unless other penal regulations prescribe higher penalties.

4. Young people between the ages of 14 and 21 years may be punished by being assigned to compulsory labor.
5. In cases of violations perpetrated by juveniles below the ages of 14 years, the persons charged with their care will be punished.
6. This order goes into effect on the day of its publication.

In the meantime, ghetto larders continued to dwindle.

... in the vegetable wagons one sees only dirty turnips and old carrots from last year. Next to them are wagons full of stinking fish—tiny little fish in a state of decay. A pound of them costs one zloty. These fish now constitute the most important article of food in the ghetto. It is the only one the Germans allow to be sold freely ...²⁹⁹

Giver Gunerson, a Swedish journalist who visited Warsaw early in 1941, reported to his newspaper, *Dagens Nyheter*:³⁰⁰

Hunger in the ghetto is frightful. The inhabitants seem to be living corpses ...

An account published by the U.S. Office of War Information described starvation in Warsaw during the same period:³⁰¹

Bread is about the only thing the Poles can count upon eating; they have been permitted less than five slices a day. This winter there may be no bread for the Poles in Warsaw. Forty per cent sawdust, the bread is dark and indigestible. Many families are subsisting on a thin potato soup without meat and containing a few cabbage leaves and beets. Food cards theoretically entitle the Poles each week to slightly more than three ounces of meat (the equivalent in the United States, say, of one thin chop), each month to three and a half ounces of marmalade and one egg. They rarely receive these. Meat, when sold, is malodorous and mostly bone. No provision is made on the food cards for butter, cheese and green vegetables. Adults may not receive milk, an adult being anybody older than six months.

Death from starvation was common in the ghetto, rations being

little over half those allotted to Poles outside the ghetto. Furthermore, ghetto rations were the first to be reduced ...

The Nazis published ordinance after ordinance cancelling rations of foods. By June 1941, the Warsaw Ghetto received 67 tons of potatoes, or only 1.4 pounds a week per capita.³⁰² On September 1, 1941, the *Gazeta Zydowska* published a Nazi ordinance cancelling the small bacon and lard rations allotted to Jews registered with public institutions "because of the Jewish ban on eating pork." Death became the penalty for smuggling, according to a decree issued to the inhabitants of the entire Gouvernement-General area of Poland.³⁰³

Grim notices appeared in the Nazi-controlled press listing Jews who had been executed for alleged smuggling. In November 1941, the *Krakauer Zeitung* published the names of eight Jews, six women and two men, who were put to death for leaving the Warsaw Ghetto in search of food.³⁰⁴

A Polish scholar, Dr. Witold Majewski, who had twice been thrown into prison by the Gestapo in Eastern Galicia, but who finally managed to escape, wrote his impressions of the Warsaw Ghetto in 1941 for *Gazeta Polska*, Polish refugee publication in Palestine:³⁰⁵

I was in the ghetto three times. I had permission to visit it as a physician. The entrance into the ghetto is under the control of German and Polish police; the interior is supervised by Jewish police. The Warsaw street cars stop sixty or seventy meters from the gates of the ghetto. When they pass the streets of the ghetto, the cars dash through them so swiftly that no one is able to jump off. Typhus and other epidemics rage in the ghetto.

Children under 3 years of age and adults over 45 may not receive medical attention. Jews receive half the food which the Poles receive. The Poles receive 100 grams of bread daily, the Jews receive 100 grams by ration cards every other day. Sometimes *kasha* (buckwheat) is given out, but not regularly—it's all very arbitrary. The children in the ghetto are worse off. Sometimes a bottle of milk is pushed through the sewer pipes near the ghetto walls. Food is smuggled through the walls in many different ways. *In the face of death by hunger, the Jews risk their lives to obtain a morsel of bread.*



British Official Photograph

AFTER YEARS OF RATIONS FOR DEATH

The *Warschauer Zeitung* in January 1942, listed fifteen Jews shot by the Gestapo for escaping from the ghetto in hope of finding bread.

Increasingly drastic reductions in official rations for the ghettos of Poland included a drop in sugar rations to about 1.2 ounces per week. Bread rations in the Warsaw Ghetto were lowered at the end of 1941 to twenty ounces per week and this ration was reduced to a pound of bread per week the following summer.³⁰⁶

Sometimes even these officially allocated hunger rations were not to be had. *Poland Fights* of August 15, 1941, published a letter which read:

The Jews are entitled to six pounds of bread monthly, just a little over three ounces a day. But the right to buy this small quantity of bread means nothing in reality, for we are never able to obtain it. For the past two months we have not seen a loaf of bread. No other food is available. We are actually starving. A two-pound loaf of bread costs 30 zlotys (\$1.20) on the black market, whereas the official bread—which we cannot obtain—costs only ten cents for a two-pound loaf.

Boris Shub, writing of the period between November 1940 and September 1941, estimated that the weekly rations for Jews comprised at best a pound of black bread, two ounces of ersatz jam or marmalade, an ounce of sugar, and perhaps a few potatoes. Notices in *Gazeta Żydowska* for that period concerning the allotments of food rations to Jews in various localities of Poland support this estimate. Only bread or flour, sugar, potatoes, marmalade, coffee substitutes made of barley, and occasionally barley itself and a few vegetables were available. No meats, fats, milk or cheese were mentioned.

By 1942, rations in some ghettos were actually suspended for periods of varying duration. In Lodz, the Germans announced that between January 27th and February 2, 1942, no food would be sold to Jews.³⁰⁷ In Warsaw,

during April 1942, the daily mortality of Jews because of starvation and disease amounted to 500-600. Children moved about in the ghetto streets like shadows, bodies lay in the streets without even attracting attention, for the residents were already used to

Herbert Backe

Staatssekretär im Reichsministerium für Ernährung
und Landwirtschaft

Gesetzgebung

auf dem Gebiet der

Ernährungswirtschaft

Erlaß des RMfEuL

Betrifft: Lebensmittelversorgung der Juden

Vom 18. September 1942 — II B 1-3530 —

An die Landesregierungen (Landesernährungsämter)
die Preußischen Oberpräsidenten (Provinzial-
ernährungsämter)
ohne die nicht nach Oberschlesien eingegliederten
Ostgebiete
nachrichtlich an die Regierungspräsidenten und
entsprechenden Behörden

Es hat sich als notwendig herausgestellt, die Lebensmittelversorgung
der Juden neu zu regeln. Unter Aufhebung aller bisherigen einschlägi-
gen Bestimmungen wird folgendes angeordnet:

2. Rationssätze

Juden erhalten von der 42. Zuteilungsperiode (19. Oktober 1942) ab
folgende Lebensmittel nicht mehr: Fleisch, Fleischwaren, Eier, Weizen-
erzeugnisse (Kuchen, Weißbrot, Weizenkleingebäck, Weizenmehl usw.),
Vollmilch, entrahmte Frischmilch.

Excerpt of a decree concerning food rationing for Jews, of September 18, 1942, applying to Germany and the incorporated territories.

Under-Secretary of State in the Reich Ministry for Food and Agriculture,
Herbert Backe.

Collection of Laws Relating to Food Policy.

The excerpt reads: "Rations: During the 42nd rationing period (starting October 19, 1942) Jews will no longer receive the following food products: meat, meat products, eggs, wheat products (cake, white bread, cookies, wheat flour, etc.), milk, skimmed milk. . . ."

such sights. The Germans supplied the Jews with scanty rations, such as twenty grams of bread per day, a little jam; this drove the Jews to purchase food on the black market. Food was smuggled into the ghetto from the "Aryan" quarter by Poles and Jews. At that time a single loaf of bread cost 20-25 zlotys. The value of an American dollar was then 60-100 zlotys.

The Jews used to receive special food cards. Each card entitled the holder to two kilos of bread a month, one kilo of sugar, 500 grams of honey, an occasional egg and very little meat. But nobody could ever get the things listed on the cards. All that was available was black bread and half a kilo of sugar. The Jews were compelled to purchase their food on the black market, where the prices were as follows: one kilo sugar—50 zlotys; one kilo butter—100-150 zlotys; one egg—7 zlotys; one kilo horsemeat—35 zlotys; one kilo bread—17-20 zlotys. Each dollar was worth 90-100 zlotys on the black market. It was impossible to obtain new clothes. Those who possessed spare clothes used to sell them and obtain food in exchange.

In winter 1942, infectious diseases like typhoid spread through the town. Dead bodies lay in the streets, and nobody paid any attention. The Jewish community endeavored to bury the bodies as quickly as possible, but it sometimes happened that they had to be left for six to seven days on account of lack of space in the cemetery.

The Jewish community organized kitchens for its poor, and special kitchens and shelters for Jews from the provincial towns who had been brought to Warsaw.³⁰⁸

In the Ukrainian town of Lvov, only slave laborers were allowed the "privilege" of surviving under conditions of slow, agonizing starvation:

Employed Jews received 100 grams of bread per day. But even these starvation rations were not free of charge. The employers would sell them to their Jewish workers at black market prices.

Our work provided not even the most essential necessities of life. To keep alive, we began to sell our property. Daily, the number of Jews decreased. Those who remained alive, sold the property of those who had died. Anyone who yesterday perhaps was heir to his brother's possessions, might today himself leave a legacy to his relatives. But even these legacies came to an end. And

food became more and more expensive, especially for us, as we were not permitted to set foot in any store outside the ghetto.

... During the spring of 1942, many of us died of hunger. The streets were full of beggars. People, swollen with hunger, dragged themselves from door to door. Their number far exceeded the number of those who had any food to give them.

In all the occupied lands, the Germans feasted on butter, milk and meat. The local population was issued food cards. The monthly ration for Poles or Ukrainians was four kilos of bread, 300 grams of sugar, 400 grams of cereal and 100 grams of meat. Jews received two kilos and 200 grams of cereal—nothing else. Hunger ran amok. Disease spread. Typhus epidemics raged everywhere. No medicaments were available. The only help given us by the Germans was to shoot the sick.

In the morning, the workers had to leave the ghetto by eight o'clock. All day long, the ghetto was empty. No one, except the street cleaners, were seen in the streets—to remain in the ghetto meant to be arrested. That is why even the sick hurried to work.

At 5:00 P.M. the workers returned. Everyone tried to smuggle some food into the ghetto. SS men stood at the gate inspecting all bundles and baskets. Carrying kerosene, coal, oil or liquor meant immediate death.³⁰⁹

Smuggling was the only means left for survival. Heretofore, the penalty for secretly bringing in food had been meted out individually; now punishment was imposed collectively. Excerpts from the minutes of the Shavel *Judenrat* record the horror of this penalty.

After the Soviet Army had defeated the Germans, a Red Army Division in Shavel discovered a zinc-covered box, which had been built into a wall. When the box was opened, nine notebooks were found in it. The notebooks contained the minutes kept by the *Judenrat* (Jewish Council) of Shavel, during the years 1941–44, and the secretary's diary.

Here we give certain important excerpts of the minutes:³¹⁰

May 9, 1942: We have just received the report about the twenty-seven who were arrested. Tomorrow at ten in the morning, they will be taken out of prison and flogged publicly in the ghetto. The men will get fifteen lashes and the women ten. This will be the penalty for those who attempted to bring some crusts of bread or a few potatoes into the ghetto. The text reads:

"Notice! By order of the Regional Commissar, we inform you of the following: Sunday, the 9th of May, all those who were arrested on the 4th, will be released. They will all be flogged publicly at No. 1 Gelguda Street, at 10 A.M. in the presence of occupation authorities. The inhabitants of the ghetto are herewith ordered to witness the punishment."

May 10, 1942: Orders were carried out. Yesterday, at 10 A.M., the representatives of the occupation forces drove up to the prison, ordered all Jews to be taken out under police escort, to the Kavkaz Ghetto. There, they were taken into the garden, where Jewish militia were waiting. Ordered to lie down four at a time, they were then given ten lashes each with a rubber truncheon. By order of the Nazi authorities, the May 9th floggings had to be carried out by the Jews themselves.

May 13, 1942: Today, our representatives, M. Leibovich and A. Katz, went to regional headquarters and were told that the newly arrested Jews would be released on Sunday, the 23rd, at 11 A.M., that they too would be brought to the Kavkaz Ghetto and publicly flogged in the Gelguda Garden. We were ordered to prepare a bench or plank, upon which the prisoners were to lie down, since this time, the Nazis added, the prisoners would be "properly beaten," because the commandant himself intended to be there. Our representatives begged to see the commandant, hoping perhaps to lessen the degree of punishment. He received them. Addressing them in a loud voice, so that all the members of his staff could hear him, he said that the *Schweinehund* who dare to smuggle food into the ghetto must be severely punished. To the remarks of one of our representatives that the prisoners had but a crust of bread or a few potatoes, the commandant answered that if they weren't careful, these "criminals would land in a worse place."

Verordnung! By order of the Regional Commissar, you are informed of the following: On Sunday, the 23rd, at 11 A.M., all those who were arrested on the 15th, for attempting to bring food products into the ghetto will be released and will, in Gelguda Garden No. 2, Kavkaz Ghetto, receive corporal punishment. The surrounding population is ordered to witness the punishment. Shavel, May 22, 1942.

May 14, 1942: Today, at 10 A.M., ten more prisoners were brought to the Kavkaz Ghetto and ordered to stand at the gate. Together with another policeman, the infamous Belkshtim, commander of the ghetto guards, escorted them. The prisoners waited at the gate for an hour and a quarter. Waving a lead-tipped truncheon, Belkshtim yelled: "You will get it—you smugglers and Bolsheviks." From time to time he would approach the Jewish militia, mocking at them: "If it goes well with the Germans, you might be allowed to remain alive; but if it goes ill with them, you will be the first to be killed off. I and my friends will be the ones to do it, because if you got out of the ghetto, you would surely do the same to me."

At 11:15 a car drew up. In it were Shriver, Lipker, Braun and another Latvian fascist. When they rode into the ghetto, Belkshtim and the policemen led the prisoners into the Gelguda Garden No. 2. There, in an open space, was a table. All around it stood the inhabitants of the Kavkaz Ghetto, who had been driven into the garden by force. The fascists stood in the middle of the garden. Then execution of the order began. During the flogging, our representative, A. Katz, was forced to address the people, warning them that a definite ration existed for us—100 grams for working Jews; that we must not bring any additional food into the ghetto, because a similar occurrence would lead to even severer consequences.

The prisoners were led over to the table, forced to lie down upon it; those who had coats, were told to remove them. The Jewish militia were forced to beat them with rubber truncheons, giving each one fifteen lashes. (However, they had removed the weights from the tips of the truncheons, so that the knots at the end were empty . . .)

Belkshtim was not satisfied. Several times, he went up to the prisoner who had just received his full dose of strokes, and with his lead-tipped truncheon, beat his victim several times, with all the strength he could muster. After the punishment, the people left in silence.

August 31, 1942: The meeting of our representatives took place August 31, 1942, at 12:00 noon, together with representatives from the ghetto. Present were: A. Heller, H. Rubinstein, Sh. Burgin, A. Abramson, A. Kalfenitzki, A. Berelovich, B. Abramovich, F. Weitz, D. Getz, M. Rubinstein, I. Minar, M. Miel, A. Zeigarnick, A. Slezing, Ch. Cherniavski, A. Getz, A. Gutman,

Ch. Zhilinski, K. Udvin, A. Genz, A. Mordell, Ch. L. Sheskin, Sh. Katz, Dr. Burstein, Dr. Diektorovich, Dr. Kamber; chairman—M. Leibovich; secretary—A. Katz.

The communication from the city officials regarding the order of the Security Police was taken up.

The chairman, M. Leibovich, and A. Katz, member of our committee, informed those present that today, at 11:00 A.M., the head of the Security Police, Herr Mack, received them informing them that the penalty for the ghetto inhabitants, for not submitting to official orders to cease smuggling food products into the ghetto shall be that by tomorrow, Tuesday, September 1, 1942, at 12:00 noon, the Jewish Committee must hand over fifty Jews to the prison authorities. They must further hand over a list in triplicate, containing their names, the names of their families, occupation, age. The entire ghetto was to be held responsible for the execution of this order.

Knowing what it meant to turn over fifty Jews to the prison authorities, our representatives reported that they had refused to single out fifty and that the committee itself had volunteered to place themselves in the hands of the Nazi authorities at the specified time. The commissar replied that he was interested in only one thing, namely, that at the appointed time fifty Jews be handed over. Who the Jews were to be, did not interest him. Everyone's head was bowed deep in thought. We anticipated the dreadful day of judgment. We decided to appeal to the regional commissar.

At 6:00 P.M. the meeting was continued. The chairman informed us that the head of the labor department handed an appeal to the regional commissar. However, the commissar was in a very bad mood. He refused to discuss the matter. "We are not Jews and we do not bargain," he said. "Our orders must be carried out to the letter."

The chairman asked all present to express their opinions, bearing in mind the responsibility which each one of us bore for the ghetto as a whole. With choked voices, with heads bent low, each one of those present gave his opinion. Hours passed in this somber mood. Nobody knew how to escape this new threat.

There was no electricity. The tragic meeting was held by the light of a flickering candle.

The time approached when our meeting would have to come to an end. At noon the threat would have to be met. It was unani-

mously decided that all those present were to give themselves up to the Nazi authorities, to take any punishment intended for the fifty Jews demanded by the officials. The clock moved forward. It was 7 o'clock in the morning. We must hurry to the city; we must make a last attempt to set aside this decree. It was agreed that every one present was to act as one man. The meeting was adjourned. *Am Yisroel Chai*, we said—the People of Israel lives!

Everyone in the room remained, watch in hand, counting the seconds, the minutes, the hours. We felt as though we were all standing at the bedside of a dying man.

Our committee again appealed to Dr. Guenther, head of the labor department. He promised to do all in his power, but advised all delegates to be at the commissar's office in the Security Police building and wait there for the final word.

An hour before the specified time, our delegates, M. Leibovich and A. Katz, waited in the corridor of the Security Police. The commandant ordered them to wait. They waited for over an hour. Their hearts pounded. The walls themselves were witness to their pain and suffering. The Nazi staff seemed to be in holiday spirit. In their dress uniforms, fully armed, they were ready for the celebration which was about to begin.

All of a sudden the commissar entered: The physical punishment had been changed into a fine of 20,000 Reichsmark. The Nazis' greed for money had overcome their lust for blood. There was always time to kill Jews later.

The death rate in the Warsaw Ghetto by August 1941 was reported as approximately ten times the pre-war Jewish death rate in Warsaw. During the winter of 1941–42 it rose thirteen per cent, and during the first quarter of 1942 increased still further. Scores of corpses were found in the streets of the ghetto every day. But despite the appalling death rate, the official ghetto population of 433,000 was maintained at this figure during 1942 by the importation of Jews from Germany and the occupied countries as well as from other parts of Poland.³¹¹

Before the war, the death rate among the Jews of Poland was lower than that of other Polish nationals. Deaths due to starvation and disease, however, had raised the rate to a level sixteen times higher by 1942, the Inter-Allied Information Committee in London reported.

More direct methods of annihilation were instituted in March 1942. Himmler, after a stay in Warsaw, issued an order that one half of the Polish Jews were to be killed in the course of a year. Deportations of the Jewish population from the ghetto were begun on August 17th. At first, six to seven thousand people were removed daily; later the figure rose to about ten thousand. Smaller ghettos were emptied in the same way. In the meantime, a special "*Vernichtungskommando*" (extermination squad) had been organized and trained in murder in Germany.³¹²

Although Jewish dead piled up in the streets of the Warsaw Ghetto, there were still 120,000 to receive ration cards for the month of September 1942. Only 40,000 ration cards were distributed a month after. The latter figure is corroborated by the German Employment Office (*Arbeitsamt*), which cited 40,000 as the number of skilled workmen to be allowed to remain in a part of the ghetto, confined to barracks and employed in German war production.

The Warsaw Ghetto finally was eliminated in 1943. German machinery for mass slaughter continued to operate in other ghettos in Central Poland—in the towns of Falenica, Rembertow, Nowy Dwor, Kaluszyn and Minsk Mazowiecki.³¹³ In 1943, the Ghetto of Lodz—temporarily spared because of its concentration of textile slave laborers—was put on a starvation diet. An eye-witness commented on conditions in the Lodz Ghetto during this period:³¹⁴

Many of the residents of the Lodz Ghetto envied the Jews of Warsaw. The latter had at least drained the cup of poison to the dregs; but the Lodz Jews had to drink it drop by drop, and to watch the sufferings of their brethren with their own eyes.

The tragedy of starvation during 1943 in the Minsk Ghetto is recalled by a former resident:³¹⁵

The ghetto streets were deserted. People were afraid to leave their homes. But this did not help. Executioner Ribbe and his gang found them in their homes. If they found a small piece of German bread they executed people for it; a little pat of butter for a sick child—they shot them. Hundreds of people were shot by these beasts, Ribbe, Mikhelson, Bunge and Scherner.

Jewish children, driven by hunger, sneaked into the Russian

section and begged for bread. At night they usually gathered at the railroad bridge, awaited there the workers' columns in order to return with them to the ghetto. In February, a raid on Jewish children was instituted. They were caught in the Russian section, placed in trucks, brought to the Jewish cemetery and shot there. Fifteen Jewish children, hungry and tortured, met death at the hands of the fascist executioners.

Jews surviving in Poland were forbidden to eat all meats, poultry, fish, eggs, milk, vegetables, white flour, wheat bread, fruits and fruit juices.

Throughout 1943 and 1944, all rations allocated to Jews in the ghettos of the Gouvernement-General were official rations for death.

CHARTS OF STARVATION IN NAZI-OCCUPIED EUROPE

POTATO RATIONS, AUTUMN 1943 ^B**(POUNDS PER WEEK PER NORMAL CONSUMER) ^A****GERMANY****BELGIUM****BOHEMIA-MORAVIA****CZECHOSLOVAKIA****SLOVAKIA****DENMARK****NOT RATIONED****FRANCE****HUNGARY****GERMAN OCCUPIED
SOVIET-BALTIC
REPUBLICS****NETHERLANDS****NORWAY****POLAND
GOVT. GEN'L****CROATIA
YUGOSLAVIA
SERBIA****NO FIGURE AVAILABLE****JEWS "**

Each symbol represents one pound of potatoes

PICTOGRAPH CORPORATION

BREAD RATIONS, AUTUMN 1943 ^c

(POUNDS PER WEEK PER NORMAL CONSUMER)

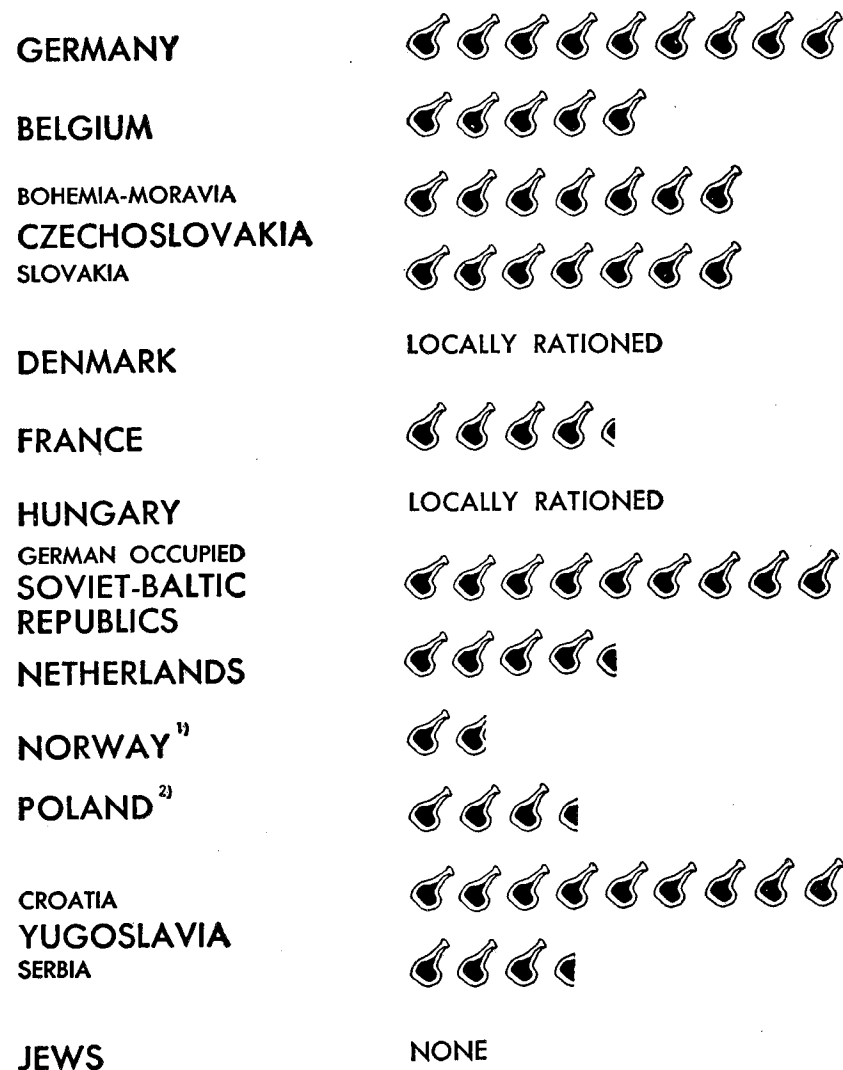


Each symbol represents one pound of bread

PICTOGRAPH CORPORATION

MEAT RATIONS, 1943-1944 ^d

(OUNCES PER WEEK PER NORMAL CONSUMER)



Each symbol represents one ounce of meat

PICTOGRAPH CORPORATION

SUGAR RATIONS, 1943-1944 ^E

(OUNCES PER WEEK PER NORMAL CONSUMER)



Each symbol represents one ounce of sugar

PICTOGRAPH CORPORATION

FAT RATIONS, 1943-1944 ^F

(OUNCES PER WEEK PER NORMAL CONSUMER)

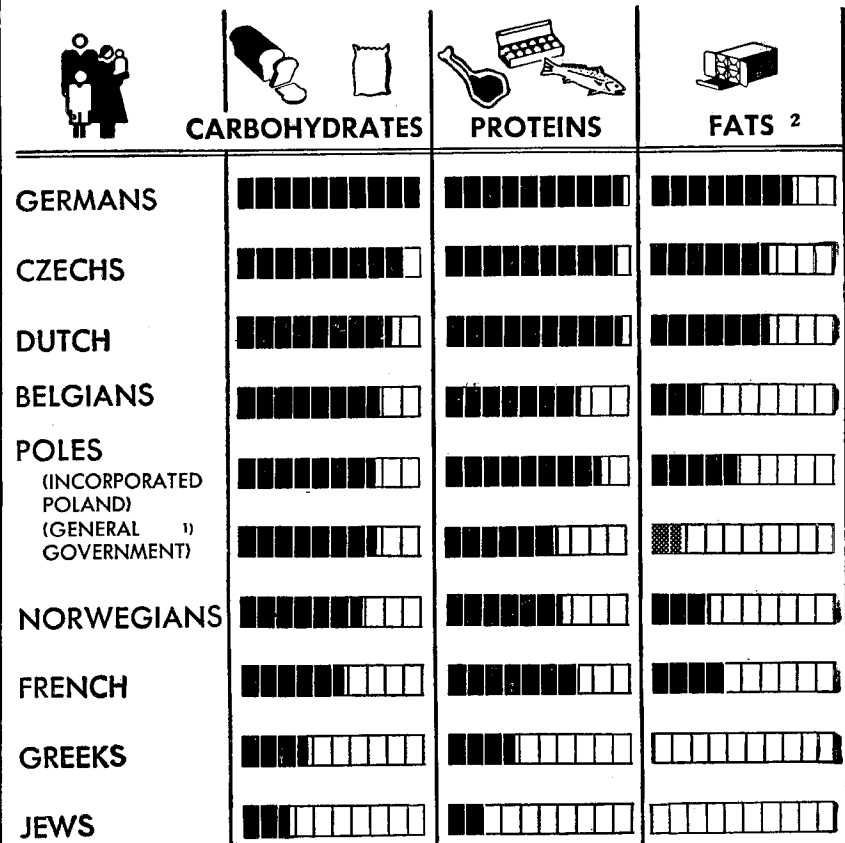


Each symbol represents one ounce of fat

PICTOGRAPH CORPORATION

COMPOSITION OF FOOD FOR A TYPICAL FAMILY, 1943 ⁶

PERCENTAGE OF BASIC FOOD STUFFS ALLOTTED



Each section represents 10% of food stuffs required for an adequate diet

PICTOGRAPH CORPORATION

Annihilation

"... but more horrifying than all of them are those who will revive the devilish powers of the old Teutonic paganism... Christianity has somewhat modified that brutal German desire for destruction, but once the Cross is broken—as it will be—the savagery of the old barbarians, the insane fury of those run amok, will come into its own again... they will destroy the Gothic spires... for their philosophy precedes their deeds as lightning precedes thunder. And when it comes, this German thunder, the eagles will drop dead from the skies, and the lions will slink into their caves..."

HEINRICH HEINE:

Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland
Paris, 1834.

NINETY-NINE YEARS LATER HEINE'S PROPHECY WAS TO COME TRUE; they destroyed the domes and the cathedrals, the temples and the synagogues; they destroyed life, they lived by destruction; they made a wasteland of the world. Savagery and insanity ruled supreme.

The barbaric plan to destroy entire populations was initiated in 1933. By the time of Germany's unconditional surrender in May 1945, the Nazis had murdered millions the world over. Among their victims were six million European Jews. Civilized man finds it well-nigh impossible to grasp the enormity of this crime.

Every detail contributing to the horror of the twelve years which nearly destroyed a civilization is terrifying enough to command our full attention. To know the crime in its entirety, however, we have to see the picture as a whole. As citizens of our own

countries, as citizens of the world, as Jews and as Gentiles we must know the crime and the criminal lest we fail to recognize them at some future time.

The plot began with anti-Semitic cartoons. The plot ended with the gas chamber of Treblinka. As the German war machine engulfed Europe, the crime of calculated destruction spread across the continent, westward to France and the Low Countries, north to Scandinavia, eastward through Poland and Central Europe to Soviet Russia. The geographic immensity of the blitzkrieg had its counterpart in the scope and intensity of human persecution.

The victims were of all classes, all strata of society, all professions, all races and religions. No possible threat to Nazism must be allowed to remain. All opposition to Hitler and his doctrines was dangerous. In the event of a German victory it would remain a continual menace; in the event of a German defeat it would rise to aid the liberators. Intellectual and political leaders were the first to go. The winter of 1941-42, marked as it was by the Soviet Union's successful offensive and the consequent German withdrawal, presented to the Germans the thought of possible defeat. German victory was not assured. Further retreats were possible. In this extremity the earlier method of exterminating entire populations proved too slow and cumbersome.

Retzlav, one of the accused at the War Crimes Trial conducted at Kharkov,¹ testified that at this time "wholesale executions by hanging and shooting appeared to the German command to be too slow and troublesome a means of fulfilling the tasks set the punitive organizations; it was therefore deemed necessary to devise simpler methods of exterminating the population; and it must be said that these methods were found."

The result of the German High Command's impatience was the use in March 1942 of the gas wagon and the gas chamber.

The wholesale deportations begun throughout Europe in 1942, confirm this supposition that the extermination of "undesirables" at one stroke had become the new German policy. Gas vans, gas chambers and lethal injections as methods of mass slaughter were already in use. But it seems that the decision to accelerate the process of elimination received its sanction in the late summer of 1942.

Herbert Backe, Under-Secretary of State in the Reich Ministry

for Food and Agriculture, had submitted plans to Hitler on grounds of economic necessity: the annihilation of over four million Jews was to ease the extremely tight food situation. Backe's plan apparently met with opposition on the part of Dr. Frank, Gouverneur-General of the occupied territories in Poland, who declared that the shortage of labor in the Gouvernement-General necessitated the use of many Jews in the eastern territories. Dr. Frank's profit from the back-breaking labors of the Jews was considerable. However, he was over-ruled. Hitler signed the order.² Europe's Jews were sentenced to death.

If the Russian winter offensive of 1941-42 presented for the first time to the German High Command the thought of possible defeat, the winter offensive of 1942-43 left little doubt as to the final outcome of the war. The Russian victory at Stalingrad marked the turning-point. The subsequent retreat across Russian and Polish territory toward the German frontier affected the methods used in the death camps. Previously the Germans had paid little attention to the evidence they might have left as proof of their crimes. But when faced with certain defeat, it occurred to them that they might be made to pay for the atrocities they had perpetrated.

Ilya Ehrenburg writes: "In 1943 they began to dig up bodies and burn them."³

Crematoriums were built onto the gas chambers. Huge human pyres were set up in nearby woods. Jews, Russians, anti-fascists of all European nationalities and religions were burned, many alive; none was to give testimony to the rapidly approaching Red Army.

At the death camp of Maidanek, the first crematorium was opened in March 1943.

"Prominent guests were present at the inauguration . . . the program consisted of the gassing and burning of 8,000 Cracow Jews. The guests, both officers and civilians, were extremely satisfied with the results, and the special peephole fitted into the door was in constant use. They were lavish in their praise of this newly erected installation."⁴

So many victims had previously been disposed of by burial that special measures were now taken to exhume and burn the bodies.

To widen their (the camp commandants') experience in methods of exterminating people, burning bodies and covering up crimes, the Germans created in the Janowski camp, Lvov, a special school for "skilled cadres." To this school came camp commandants from Lublin, Warsaw, Cracow and other towns. The chief of *Sonderkommando* No. 1,005, Scherlak, taught commandants how to exhume bodies from the earth, how to stack them up, sift the ashes, crush the bones, fill the pits and camouflage them by planting trees and shrubbery.⁵

However, the rapid advance of Red Army troops, culminating in the capture of the enemy capital of Berlin interrupted the German policy of completely destroying the evidence; much remained in the wake of the German army—bone-crushers, huge piles of human bone ash and the crematories themselves.

From Struthof in Alsace to Oswiecim in Poland, the German concentration camps were much alike. Set in a completely uninhabited locality, where the surrounding countryside would afford little possibility of shelter in the event of escape, the camps were guarded by machine guns, mounted on watch-towers. Electrically charged barbed-wire fences surrounded the vast, sprawling acres of the camp, and more often than not a water-filled moat added a further hazard to escape. Sometimes mines were placed in surrounding fields.

Inside the barbed-wire fence, the camps were divided into two distinct parts: the luxurious quarters of the SS and the camp officials presenting a horrifying contrast to the squalor of the prisoners' compound. U.S. Army Signal Corps pictures, taken when various camps were liberated by Allied arms, show immaculately tended paths, flanked by lawns and flower-beds, with rustic benches for the use of officials or visitors. But nothing could camouflage the dreariness of the exercise yards or the picture of brutality conjured up by courtyards with whipping posts and pillories.

In some ways, each concentration camp resembled a company town, with its own electrical plant, laundry, sewage system, water main, warehouses, kitchens, bakery, workshops and hospitals. Vast numbers of personnel were necessary to keep it running. German

concentration camps were no makeshift compounds where political prisoners and prisoners of war were herded together under the supervision of the smallest possible staff spared from the immense personnel needed for the conduct of the war. They were methodically organized communities of torture and death. Neither time, effort nor expense was spared—only the prisoners were expendable.

Work carried on in the camps fell into three main categories: work for the German army or war machine, for home consumption and for the maintenance of the camp community; work necessary to carry out the policy of extermination, and work without any purpose beyond the exhaustion and ultimate death of the "worker."

Usually, those who had performed the necessary labor involved in the mass destruction of one group, were themselves the next to be marked for extermination.

Types of torture used by the Germans throughout their occupation of Western Europe, Poland and Russia are summed up by the Supreme Allied Headquarters' Psychological Warfare section in a thirteen-volume report of German atrocities in France:

There is a shocking catalogue of German torture methods: putting people's hands in boiling water until the skin and finger nails came off like gloves; stamping on a man's foot for ten minutes with a special steel boot and repeating the process for two weeks; pressing a hot poker into the hands; hanging persons by their hands behind their backs until their shoulders were out of joint, then gashing the soles of their feet and making the victims walk on salt; pulling teeth and cutting and twisting off the ears; running electric current through the victims' bodies and other fiendish devices too horrible to describe. These tortures and other brutalities, the list of which is too long to include, were used by the German occupation forces . . .⁶

So carefully worked out was the Nazi program of destruction of undesirable ethnic and national groups that their minutely detailed plan included the elimination of children who might present a future threat to German imperialism. Those who were undesirable racially were exterminated, those whose nationality had not marked them for death the Nazis tried to win over to their ideology.

The U.S. Office of War Information made public a speech delivered by Heinrich Himmler⁷ to high German officers on October 14, 1943, in which he advocated a policy of stealing Eastern European children from their parents.

"Either we win over good blood that we can use for ourselves and give it a place in our people or—gentlemen, you may call this cruel, but nature is cruel—we destroy this blood. But we cannot answer for it to our sons and ancestors if we leave this blood on the other side, thus letting our enemies gain able leaders and able commanders. It would be cowardly for the present generation to shirk this decision."

Many commandants of concentration camps actually singled out children for particular cruelty. The commandant of the Janowski camp in Lvov, *Obersturmfuehrer* Wilhaus especially enjoyed this form of sport. He was in the habit of standing on the balcony of the camp office and taking pot-shots at the prisoners working below to amuse his wife and nine-year-old daughter. Sometimes Wilhaus would order someone to throw three- or four-year-old children into the air while he shot at them. His daughter would clap her hands and cry: "Do it again, Papa, do it again." And he would go on shooting.⁸

The statement of the Extraordinary Soviet State Committee after the investigations of the Oswiecim camp⁹ contains a section dealing with the treatment given children and the testimony of some of them after they were set free by the Red Army:

Sami Mudianov, aged 15, said: "We were forced to work in groups of fifteen or twenty, hauling carts of all kinds of freight, but mostly dead bodies, which we brought to a special wing where they were piled up for cremation. We worked from four in the morning until night. At the end of October 1944, the Germans who inspected our work ordered us to be punished because the wing was not clean enough. One hundred and fifty of us were lined up in the street and taken to a swimming pool. They made us strip and poured cold water on us and then led us back naked. Many of the children got sick after that."

Andreas Larinciakos, a nine-year-old boy from Cles, Hungary, testified: "When we were taken to Wing No. 22 in the camp, we

were beaten by German women under whose charge we were. They beat us with sticks.

"While I was in the camp, Doctor Mengele took my blood many times. In November 1944, all the children were transferred to Camp A, the gypsy camp. When they counted us, one was found missing, so Branded, manageress of the women's camp and her assistant, Mendel, drove us out into the street at one in the morning and made us stand there in the frost until noon the next day."

Children born in the camp were taken from their mothers and put to death by the SS. Pregnant women among new arrivals were immediately sent to a special barracks, where premature birth was induced. Women who resisted were sent to the gas chamber.

Sofya Isakovna Flax, an ex-prisoner from Cracow, testified: "Many of the women who arrived in August 1944 had children aged between five and twelve. All of them, together with their mothers, were sent to the crematoriums. I was in the seventh month of my pregnancy. SS Dr. Koenig, who examined me, sent me to barracks V-3, Birkenau. There were sixty-five women there in a similar condition. Three days later I was given an injection in the hip to induce premature birth. The injections were given four days in succession. On the fifth day I gave birth, and my child was taken away."

Among the prisoners released from Oswiecim and examined by physicians were 180 children, including fifty-two aged eight, and 128 between the ages of eight and fifteen. All of them arrived in the second half of 1944, which means that they had spent from three to six months in the camp. The medical examination established that seventy-two of 180 were suffering from lung and glandular tuberculosis, forty-nine from alimentary dystrophy, thirty-one from frostbite.

Medical experimentation by the Nazis on prisoners in the concentration camps was practised throughout occupied Europe. However, evidence collected after the German retreat shows that in Poland and Russia the scale of experimentation was unsurpassed in its horror and magnitude.

The Soviet Extraordinary State Committee in its report on the crimes committed by the Germans in the Oswiecim death camp

states that the Nazis had displayed "monstrous inventiveness" in the medical experiments practised on living persons in the name of science.

Surgical operations were performed at the caprice of Nazi doctors to practise operation technique. Koenig, a young German doctor, selected prisoners with inflammatory processes in the extremities and practised amputation. The German doctors Tillo and Fischer assembled large numbers of prisoners, and with no cause whatever performed hernia operations on them. At the slightest complaint of a stomach pain, Enders, head doctor of the hospital, practised operating on ulcer of the stomach.

Experiments on women were conducted in the hospital wards of the Oswiecim camp. Up to 400 women prisoners were confined in the tenth wing of the camp where experiments were carried out on sterilization by X-ray and subsequent removal of ovaries; on transplanting cancer to the cervix of the uterus; on forced childbirth and on testing substances for roentgenography of the uterus.

Experiments on producing skin injuries with kerosene, various salts, pastes and powders were performed on prisoners by Dr. Emil Koschub.

Wholesale experiments were performed in castrating men with the purpose of studying the possibility of sterilization by X-ray. Not infrequently the operations consisted in removing one or both testicles for study after the person had been X-rayed.

All these facts were confirmed by ex-prisoners of the camp.

Between 1941 and 1944, on orders from Enders, chief German doctor, prisoners in the camp hospital were put to death by injections of phenol into the heart. The first injections were made by the doctor, later ones by orderlies.

German doctors played a leading role in selecting prisoners for gassing and cremation. The weak, sick and disabled were dispatched to the gas chambers.

In addition to experimentation undertaken in the name of medical science, the Germans admitted to a policy of ridding themselves of all whom they considered unworthy to live. In 1941, they set up a special institute in Kiev where persons "unworthy to live" were murdered to further the cause of Nazi science. An account of what occurred in this "annihilation institute" was

given to a United Press correspondent when Dr. Gustav Wilhelm Schuebbe, head of the institute, was captured in Germany by U.S. First Army troops in April 1945.¹⁰

Dr. Schuebbe stated that during the nine months he worked at the institute in Kiev, from 110,000 to 140,000 persons had been put to death. Those "unworthy to live" included epileptics, schizophrenics, Jews, members of foreign races and gypsies. Victims were killed by injections of EMM which, Dr. Schuebbe said, was a preparation of morphium tartrate.

"Of course we, the circle of German physicians," he said, "were aware of the importance of this job. I still maintain the following: that just as one prunes a tree by removing old, undesirable branches in the spring, so for its own interest, a certain hygienical supervision of the body of a people is necessary from time to time. This also includes sterilization."

The victims of "hygienical supervision" must be reckoned in many hundreds of thousands; the victims of Nazi theory and science are reckoned in millions.

Hitler, and Hitler's Germany have been defeated. But in 1945 there is no rejoicing for world Jewry. Two-thirds of Europe's pre-war Jewish population have been wiped out. The blood of six million men, women and children cries out for justice. There can be no victory for anti-fascists, Jews and non-Jews alike, unless justice be done for crimes that cannot be forgotten.

WESTERN EUROPE

GERMANY

"Only he who is hard enough, he who knows the joys of cruelty, can be historically effective today . . . The bases of my program are blood and fire . . . I hate all that is spirit and humanity."

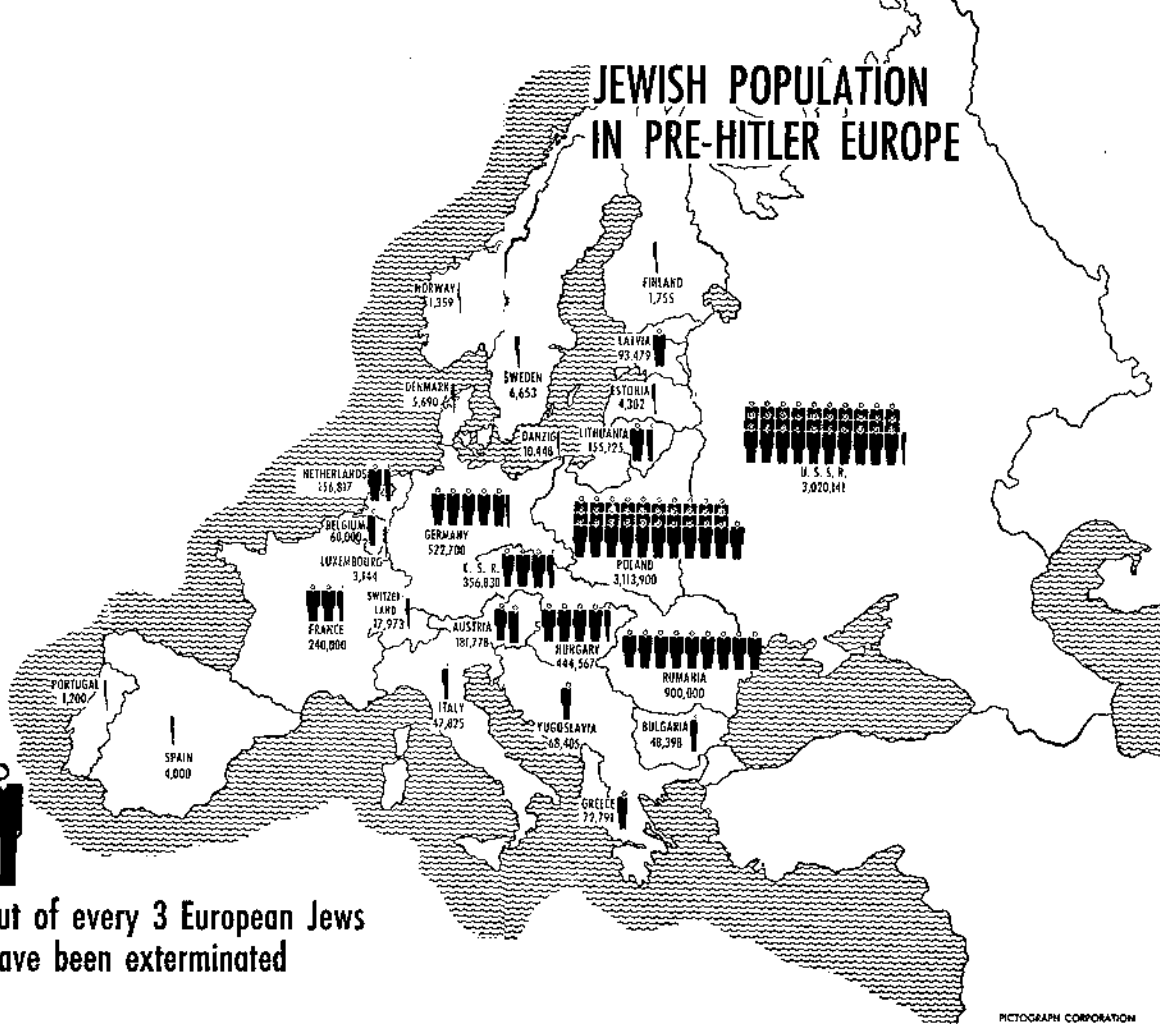
ADOLF HITLER, Berlin, 1937

The story of Germany's extermination factories was made known to a shocked world when Allied troops, toward the end of the war, stumbled on the gas chambers of Oswiecim and the incinerators of Buchenwald. Incredulous officials and representatives of

JEWISH POPULATION IN PRE-HITLER EUROPE



2 out of every 3 European Jews
have been exterminated



press and radio, who went to see for themselves, confirmed the findings of the soldiers. Murder had been mechanized. The same speed and efficiency as used in modern production of automobiles had been applied to the disposal of human life, and even of the evidence that it had ever existed. What survivors and records remain have verified the fact that the Germans planned to eradicate whole peoples, beginning with the Jews.

Official representatives of the American and British governments and Allied newspapermen made an inspection tour of several death camps, at the suggestion of General Dwight D. Eisenhower, Supreme Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Forces in Europe. Their reports were testimony to a phase of Nazi horror which Germany had been at pains to conceal.

*Buchenwald*¹¹

The Buchenwald concentration camp near Weimar, first of the large camps to be entered by Allied Armies, was among those closely scrutinized by American Congressional Representatives, the British Parliamentary Delegation, and the press of both countries. From a special committee of prisoners at Buchenwald the investigators received detailed information, well documented and borne out partly by their own observations and partly by Nazi records.

From a recent population of 82,000 prisoners, the officials found, the number of inmates had been cut to the 20,000 persons found in the camp when it was liberated on April 10, 1945. The camp had been in continuous operation ever since its establishment in the early days of the Nazi regime. Starvation, brutality and slaughter had been deliberately carried out over a long period, but had been accelerated as the war proceeded.

The observers were told by the special committee of prisoners that before the crematories were built in Buchenwald, inmates no longer useful as workers were sent to die in the gas chambers of Oswiecim. Jewish women who were pregnant came under the heading of useless workers, and also were transferred to asphyxiation cells.

ANNIHILATION

Earlier, during the Gestapo pogroms of May and June 1938, the death rate at Buchenwald was ten per cent, the committee said. In November 1938, following the assassination of Ernst vom Rath, 12,500 Jews were brought here. Among subsequent arrivals at the camp were 2,500 elderly Jewish men and women who came in September 1939, from old people's homes in Vienna. The next month another 2,900 arrived.

The first Poles, a contingent of more than 1,000, were confined in Buchenwald in August 1940, the committee reported. Eleven of them were shot and killed on the first day. After five months, only 300 remained. In February 1941, 400 Dutch Jews were brought to the camp but were transferred to the Mauthausen camp in Austria, where they were said to have been killed.

A group of 104 prisoners in the summer of 1941 were given experimental injections of *evipannatrium* and died as a result, the camp committee reported.¹²

An official report by U.S. Army officers, including Brig. Gen. Eric F. Wood, Lt. Col. Chas. H. Ott and CWO S. M. Dye, was submitted to the Army after their inspection of Buchenwald on April 16, 1945.¹³

They found that the surviving population of the camp comprised the following:

French	2,900
Polish	3,800
Hungarian	1,240
Yugoslav	570
Russian	4,380
Dutch	324 (sic)
Belgian	622
Austrian	550
Italian	242
Czech	2,105
German	1,800
Dutch	260 (sic)
Anti-Franco Spanish and miscellaneous	1,207
	<hr/>
	20,000

The official report described the function of the camp as that of an "extermination factory." It continued:

Mere death was not enough for anti-Nazis. Means of extermination included starvation, complicated by hard work, abuse, beatings and tortures, incredibly crowded sleeping quarters and sickness (for instance, typhus rampant in camp and many inmates tubercular). By these means, tens of thousands of the best leadership personnel of Europe (including German democrats and anti-Nazis) have been exterminated. . . . The recent death rate was about 200 a day. Fifty-seven hundred had died or been killed in February, 5,900 in March, and about 2,000 in the first ten days of April.

The camp consisted of the Little Camp, the Regular Barracks, the Hospital, the Medical Experimentation Building, the Body Disposal Plant and an Ammunition Factory immediately adjacent to the buildings of the camp, according to the official report. In the Little Camp prisoners slept on triple-decked shelves, each shelf about twelve inches by twelve feet, with sixteen persons on the three levels, the clearance height between them being a little over two feet. New prisoners were initiated by spending at least six weeks here before graduating to the Regular Barracks. Prisoners were expected to lose forty per cent in weight during the initiation period. Rations were lower than in the rest of the camp and the death rate higher.

Only a little more space was allotted each prisoner in the Regular Barracks. The rooms, approximately twenty-three by forty-two feet wide and ten feet high, contained thirty-eight triple-deck sections of cots with three cots in each section. Some double cots were used by five persons, single cots by two persons. Prisoners were allotted one blanket for every two persons.

No medicines were available in the Hospital, and therefore no therapy was possible. The patients lay on the floor, shoulder to shoulder, and the daily death rate was five to twenty per cent.

The Medical Experiment Building and the Body Disposal Plant were described in the official report as follows:

Block 41 was used for medical experiments and vivisections with prisoners as "guinea pigs." Medical scientists came from Berlin

periodically to reinforce the experimental staff. In particular, new toxins and anti-toxins were tried out on prisoners. Few . . . who entered this experimental building, ever emerged alive.

In one laboratory where captured scientists were forced to work on fellow prisoners, shelves were filled with bottles containing human organs. One bottle held a human head, cut lengthwise to show a section of the inside. A dozen death masks, skulls and shrunk heads were in another room. Their inscriptions read: "Polish Jew, age 38" and "Aryan from Breslau, married to Jewess, age 52" . . .

Hundreds died in the experimental hospital, according to the report. Operations were performed on the stomachs of prisoners in order to devise new surgical procedures. Testimony on the hospital, not contained in the report, but published in the *New York Times*, was given by a captain of the Medical Corps, U.S. Army, who wrote: "The laboratories of this experimental hospital were beautifully equipped . . . (with) the finest instruments, refrigerators, flasks, culture media, all spotlessly clean. German scientists were able to study the progress of diseases induced in victims by means of injections. At least 100 to 200 human guinea pigs succumbed monthly under this experimentation and were dispatched to the crematory ovens."¹⁴

Referring to the Body Disposal Plant, the Army officials reported that the design of this installation was a striking example of "German industrial efficiency." It had a maximum disposal capacity of about 400 bodies per ten-hour day. All bodies were reduced to bone-ash, thus destroying all "evidence."

The method of collecting bodies was as follows: Roll call was held every evening, outdoors, outside the dormitory buildings. Internees were required to strip and bring to roll call the naked bodies of all comrades who had died during the previous twenty-four hours. After roll call a motor truck drove around the camp, picked up the bodies and was driven into the front yard of the incinerator plant to await the next day's operation. But this was not the only source of bodies. Emaciated prisoners who had been around long enough, who committed infractions of discipline, or who knew too much, or who refused to be broken in mind, were arbitrarily condemned to death.

Harold Denny, who visited Buchenwald as a correspondent of the *New York Times*, described the death house:

It is a neat brick building. To enter it you walk through a courtyard where stand the gibbets on which a dozen men could be hanged at once. Facing the multiple gibbet was a rustic settee and table where the prisoners said the SS boys could sit at ease over their wine and enjoy the hangings.

At the side of the death house is a stairway leading into a basement. This basement is paved with concrete sloping toward drains and equipped with hoses. Beside the stairway, a chute led down into this basement on the outside. Prisoners told me, and the equipment fitted their accounts, that it was the practice of the SS executioners to bring truckloads of Jews into the courtyard and drop them one by one down the chute. At the bottom one SS guard slipped a noose around the victim's neck while his companion brained the victim with a club. Then they dragged his body across the floor to a large, electrically operated elevator. Calculated, mechanized murder.

When the elevator was filled, its cargo was hoisted to the floor above, where stand six neat coal-burning furnaces for cremating them. Three bodies could be put in each at one time. In these furnaces today are partly burned bodies of their last victims.

On the wall overlooking this horrible chamber is some neatly painted German doggerel that literally translated means:

"No vile worms shall feed on my body. The pure flames shall devour it. I always loved the warmth and light. So burn me and don't bury me."¹⁵

The official U.S. Army report revealed that during a ten-day period in March 1945, when coal was lacking for the incinerator, 1,800 bodies were stacked up in piles in the camp.

To the annoyance of the SS this overcrowded the yard with undisposed "evidence," and a spell of warm weather created a sanitary problem. Moreover, burial was a good deal more troublesome than incineration, and was out of the customary routine. But something had to be done. So a truck detachment and a fatigue detail of internees were organized. The bodies were loaded in the trucks and hauled out of camp. The fatigue detail dug one huge burial pit, threw the bodies into it filling it, except for one

end, and covered the bodies. Then the SS shot all the members of the fatigue detail, threw their bodies into the vacant end and covered them up.

Shortly afterwards, a new supply of coal having been received, the process of incineration was resumed. This process was so abruptly interrupted by the arrival of U.S. forces in the area that the SS had no time to "tidy up" so that the cycle of operation could be plainly examined. The previous day's quota of upwards of 120 corpses of prisoners who had died in camp were parked in a truck in the front yard. The incinerator furnace grates had not yet been cleared of unconsumed hipbone joints and parts of skulls. In addition, about forty inmates had died since U.S. arrival, in spite of prompt medical and ration attention. American surgeons stated that the adult corpses weighed only sixty to eighty pounds, having in practically all cases lost fifty to sixty per cent of their normal weight and also having shrunken in height.

The final horror for those who toured the extermination camp was the sight of tattooed human flesh used as souvenirs or lamp shades. The official U.S. Army report confirmed an account in *Stars and Stripes*¹⁶ on April 20, 1945.

This story is true in every respect. The wife of one of the SS officers started the fad: that any prisoner who happened to have extensive tattooing of any sort on his body was brought to her; that, if she found the tattooing satisfactory, the prisoner was killed and skinned; that the skin with the tattooing was then tanned and made into souvenirs such as lamp shades, wall pictures, book ends, etc.; that about forty examples of this artistry were found in SS offices and quarters in the camp.

The report later received additional confirmation from newspapermen, government missions and army representatives.

The combined report of the eighteen American editors and publishers who inspected Buchenwald reads in part:

The conclusion is inescapable that the Nazis had a master plan for their political prison camps. That plan was based upon a policy of calculated and organized brutality. The evidence we have seen . . . is convincing proof that brutality was the basic Nazi system and method . . . By reason of the tortures most of

the Jews in prison camps had already been destroyed. After the Jews, the most cruelly treated victims were the Russians and the Poles . . . This we believe is the inexorable consequence of the whole Nazi-German philosophy . . . For these crimes the German people cannot be allowed to escape their share of the responsibility.¹⁷

The American Congressional observers, reporting to members of both Houses, solemnly accused the German government of "organized crime against civilians and humanity" in a "diabolic and calculated program of planned torture and extermination."¹⁸

Joseph Pulitzer, editor of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, who admittedly had started out as a skeptic, came away from Buchenwald convinced that earlier descriptions of the camp had been "less than the whole truth. They have been understatements." Writing in the *New York Herald Tribune* of April 30, 1945, Pulitzer asserted that the Germans were only incidentally interested in the ammunition these workers at Buchenwald produced. "Their real interest was in killing them off . . . If the reader is still skeptical, let him look at the photographs and when he does, let him remember that they picture only small parts of the mosaic of the Nazi policy of deliberate mass extermination."

All the accounts, official and unofficial, emphasized that the German people could not have been unaware of conditions in the concentration camp at Buchenwald and that the entire German people should be held responsible for the crimes there and in other camps. Representative Leonard Hall, a member of the Congressional Committee, declared: "We must take the attitude that all Nazi war criminals must be tracked down as we track down American criminals in this country. We must place no credence in statements from Germans that they did not know what was going on under Hitler."¹⁹

In camp after camp were found the same policy, the same machinery to carry it out, the same attempted obliteration of the evidence. Such was the last-minute panic of destruction at Buchenwald as American spearheads approached, that if they had been one hour later, only a few witnesses would have been left alive to fill out the history, still far from complete, of the Nazi death camps.



Official Photo from U.S. Office of War Information

PROFIT FROM THE DEAD

Dachau

The concentration camp in the Bavarian market town of Dachau had long been a center of Nazi terrorism, but until spearheads of the American Seventh Army entered the camp, the scope of the brutality practised there was barely guessed. Thirty-two thousand persons of many nationalities were set free when the Americans marched in on April 29, 1945. Within the electrically charged wire fence, it was learned, tens of thousands had died during the twelve years of the camp's existence. Used mainly as a camp for political prisoners, Dachau had housed a number of outstanding European political figures, some of whom were removed by the retreating Germans and eventually liberated elsewhere.

American soldiers and subsequently officials and newspaper representatives told of the cramped barracks surrounded by charged wire and a fifteen-foot moat, of the regularly spaced machine-gun towers, of the bullet-studded pillories and scarred whipping

posts, the gas chambers and crematories. In contrast, they observed luxurious quarters for the SS and administrative staff.

Observers reported finding huge stacks of clothing which had been cast off in the crematory by prisoners about to die. Nearby they read the sign, prominently displayed: "CLEANLINESS IS A SPECIAL OBLIGATION HERE. THEREFORE DON'T FORGET TO WASH YOUR HANDS." They told of coming across a pile of corpses measuring about five feet high and twenty feet wide; the naked, emaciated bodies were stacked up like cordwood. In the hospital adjoining the main compound, laboratories had been set aside for medical experimentation, on behalf of the Wehrmacht and the Luftwaffe.

An account of the scientific murders committed in the Dachau hospital was written by Victor Bernstein of the newspaper *PM* of New York. He described experiments by the "kindly" Dr. Kurt Schilling, who was asked by Himmler to develop a type of serum for the kind of malaria the Wehrmacht would be expected to meet in North Africa. Dr. Schilling settled down in Dachau and went to the camp laboratories daily. In all he is said to have inoculated 2,000 inmates. Some were inoculated five or six times. When he found what he thought was a favorable response, he built up the fever in his victims to the highest pitch and maintained it for as long as he could.

Bernstein wrote further that blood coagulation tests were made and many techniques apparently used, although he found conclusive evidence only of one.

The victims were fed certain drugs in pill form, designed to increase the tendency of the blood to coagulate. Some of the victims died from what amounts to apoplectic stroke as clots formed in the heart or brain. Those who survived were then slashed across the wrists and other quick-bleeding parts of the body, and the amount of blood lost before coagulation set in was carefully studied in connection with the varying pill doses which the victims had been given. Those left in an obviously dying condition either from loss of blood or from an overdose of the drug were brought to the floor of the crematorium, and there actual battle wounds were inflicted upon them—legs were shot off, heads bashed in by shrapnel, or abdominal wounds inflicted . . . in any

case disposal of the shattered bodies was easy, with the door of the crematory ovens yawning a few feet away.

The reporter wrote that he also found evidence of experiments to test resistance to heat and cold, and air pressure experiments in which the victims were placed in an iron box and the pressure within raised or lowered as desired. "Often the victim would start pulling his hair out in an attempt to relieve the pressure in his head," a witness told him. Blood-poisoning tests, castration, vivisection experiments, all were carried out in the laboratories at Dachau, according to the evidence.²⁰

Decomposed bodies were found in various parts of the camp. On a railroad siding, cars were filled with the dead. Sid Olsen, of *Time* magazine wrote:²¹ "Most of them were naked. On their bony, emaciated backs and rumps were whip marks. Most of the cars were open-top cars like American coal cars. I walked along . . . and counted thirty-nine of them . . . The smell was very heavy. I cannot estimate with any reasonable accuracy the number of dead we saw here, but I counted bodies in two cars and there were fifty-three in one and sixty-four in another." Evidently victims of starvation and suffocation, the prisoners had died as the train stood idle, waiting to move to a different camp. Nearby were the bullet-ridden remains of others who had apparently tried in vain to escape.

Survivors, themselves weakened almost beyond help, told the Americans that about 9,000 had died during the last three months and 14,000 during the preceding winter.

Father Peter van Gastel of Eindhoven, Holland, a liberated prisoner, said in talking to a New York correspondent, that there had been twenty-four nationalities in Dachau. "Today there are 1,100 priests and theologians," he was quoted as saying. "More than 2,000 have passed through this camp alone. More than 1,000 died. In addition to Catholics, there are thirty-four Protestant, eighteen Orthodox, four Old Catholic and three other sects. There are no rabbis left alive."²²

Many prisoners had been massacred in a last-minute frenzy by the guards as the U.S. Seventh Army approached. Army officials found an order that had been issued by Gestapo Chief Himmler:



British Official Photo

SLAVE WORKERS LIBERATED FROM NAZI CONCENTRATION CAMP

"No prisoners shall be allowed to fall into the hands of the enemy alive." Fortunately, the order was not completely carried out, although the Germans marched away over 7,000 prisoners as the liberators drew nearer to Dachau.

On December 13, 1945 death by hanging was decreed by a U.S. military court for thirty-six members of the Dachau concentration camp staff, including the camp commandant, Martin Weiss. Brigadier General John M. Lenz, who presided over the court, before announcing the sentences, declared:

The evidence has convinced the court beyond doubt that the Dachau concentration camp subjected its inmates to killings, beatings, tortures, indignities and starvation to an extent that necessitates the indictment of every one high or low who had anything to do with the conduct of the camp.

In the view of this court, when a sovereign state lifts itself above the reasonably recognized and constituted international laws or is willing to transcend the recognized customs of humane, decent treatment of persons, then the individuals effecting such policies must be held responsible for their part in such violations.²³

Scattered incidents of attacks on the Jews in Germany indicated even before the Nazis gained full control that already their annihilation program was being formulated. Two years before Hitler's victory, the London *Times* reported on September 14, 1931, that Nazi storm trooper detachments inflicted beatings on Berlin Jews during their *Rosh Hashanah* celebrations. The newspaper correspondent commented that the attacks appeared to be organized and in no sense spontaneous.

From the day the Nazi regime was established, in March 1933, the terror grew in intensity. The Stockholm newspaper *Socialdemokraten* of April 11, 1933 quoted the Berlin Police President as saying that 230 persons had been killed in Berlin between February 27th, the day of the Reichstag fire and March 25th. The Swedish account was promptly and unconvincingly denied on April 12th by the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*.

Pogroms engineered by the Nazis in Berlin and other outrages against Jewish citizens of Chemnitz and Worms were reported in the *Manchester Guardian* of March 26, 1933. The same newspaper

on July 21, 1933, published the story of mass arrests in Nuremberg. That city, the newspaper's correspondent wrote, "was the scene of an extraordinary roundup of Jews. Between 200 and 300, mostly business men and shopkeepers, were arrested by the Nazis and paraded through the streets. The Jews were then taken to the Baerenschanz barracks. No further news was received of them."

It was during this period of the so-called "cold pogrom" that concentration camps such as Dachau, Buchenwald, Oranienburg-Sachsenhausen and Esterwegen came into existence.

The *Special Camp Regulations*, in effect at Esterwegen concentration camp in August 1934, held a threat of what was to come. Prisoners were told in the regulations that they would be eligible for discharge after they had "fundamentally changed their inner attitude in favor of the National Socialist German *Volkgemeinschaft*." They were to be "shot without warning on leaving barracks at night." They were to salute and obey SS men, their superiors, to remove their caps "in presence of SS leaders from storm leader upwards," and to wear their hair "radically shorn."

The regulations included a list of penalties, ranging from "three days heavy arrest for taking a second helping without permission of the company leader," or for "sending out extra-soiled laundry" ²⁴ to "death by hanging as mutineers." The definition of "mutineers" was given as "those who engage in political discussion, collect, receive or tell to outside visitors true or untrue reports about the concentration camp and its institutions, for the purpose of hostile atrocity propaganda."

Under the punishment regulations, a prisoner could receive five days of "heavy arrest" for having an improper hair cut or for "lying or sitting on a bed during the day without permission." Forty-two days of heavy arrest or continuous solitary confinement was the sentence for "holding up to contempt symbols of the National Socialist State," fourteen days arrest and twenty-five blows before and after the arrest for making "derogatory remarks about National Socialist leaders."

"Continuous solitary confinement" was the penalty for: "Trying to bribe an SS man or guard; starting a political conversation with a guard or SS man . . . making derogatory remarks about the SS, SA, the National Socialist state, its leaders and its institu-

tions. No release for such persons." To be executed, in addition to "mutineers," were prisoners accused of "sabotage by fire or water. If negligence, solitary confinement. In cases of doubt, sabotage will be assumed." ²⁵

Methods of applying regulations in concentration camps were described in an account by a prisoner at Buchenwald who was arrested during a round-up in Berlin in June 1938. He testified:

"Camp Orders: this is no prison or place of correction; here there are other methods. Any attempt at escape is stopped by the 1,000 volt charged wire. Every sentry is to use his rifle without warning if anyone moves in his direction. Every bullet costs twelve Pfennige, and that is just what a Jew is worth to them, neither more nor less."

The prisoner told of a "middle-aged man who received an affectionate letter from his wife. He was an educated man of a sensitive type and unable always to maintain the degree of self-control and outward hardness which is demanded. He moaned as he read; for this he was tied up to a tree and left there for fourteen hours. He became unconscious. Two guards passed: 'Aha! he is already dead!' They untied him and threw his body on the ground. Then they jumped on his body and stamped on him in their heavy boots. He moved slightly, 'Aha! he is *not* quite dead!' " The next time he saw the man "his breast and face were a mass of clotted blood, his eyes swollen and purple."

The Buchenwald camp held 10,000 prisoners, about half of them Jews. The SS men employed in the camp were mostly very young, from 17 to 20 years old, and had been specially trained for their jobs. They were already cruel and hardened. ²⁶

On November 7, 1938, the shooting of Ernst vom Rath, third Secretary of the German Embassy in Paris, provided the Nazis with an excuse for new anti-Jewish excesses, which they tried to make appear "spontaneous." British Consul General Smallhouse reported from Frankfort-on-Main on December 14, 1938:

While the German government has somewhat half-heartedly put it about that the action against the Jews, the burning of synagogues, the smashing of shops and private residences, the assaults and looting were the work of the populace, incensed by the death

of Herr vom Rath, it will be difficult to disclaim responsibility for the systematic treatment on a large scale by SS and regular police of the persons arrested.²⁷

Dr. Adolf Kober, Chief Rabbi of Cologne, who saw the violence in that city on November 10, 1938, concluded that "Germany was carefully organized to start the extermination of its Jews." His belief later was confirmed by admissions of Nazi spokesmen.²⁸

Dr. Kober wrote:

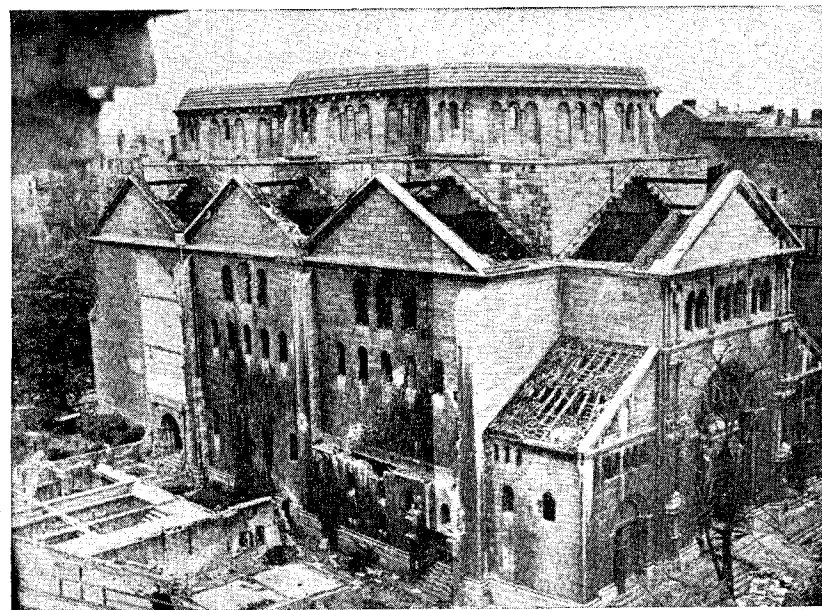
... For days the Jewish community in Cologne had been feeling the approach of impending doom—days of waiting for word about one man lying near death in a Paris hospital ... We feel an atmosphere heavy with depression. Then, it happens! The death of Ernst vom Rath is announced on the evening of November 9, 1938.

That night the Jews of Cologne slept fitfully, half-conscious of the tramp of marching columns; wondering and worrying what the morning would bring. The answer came for me with the insistent ring of the telephone at 6 A.M. I was roused with a cry the Jews of the world will remember forever! "The synagogue on Roonstrasse is on fire! ..."

In the full light of day—that day of November 10, 1938—we saw the horrible beginnings of the most despicable of infamies. All over Germany, Jewish stores were demolished and pillaged and private homes wantonly and sadistically destroyed. The terror increased with the arrest of Jewish men. Torn from their homes and loved ones, they were sent to suffer in the concentration camp at Dachau, near Munich.

The pogroms and pillaging of Jewish stores and homes and the sending of Jewish men to concentration camps is proof enough that all of Germany was carefully organized to start the extermination of its Jews by the executors of the famous Nazi timetable. Many Jews lost their lives in brutal fashion. Many more were sent off to concentration camps only to return to their families in the form of ashes.²⁹

Franklin D. Roosevelt, commenting on these November days in Germany, said: "I could scarcely believe that such things could occur in a twentieth-century civilization."



Black Star Photo

BERLIN SYNAGOGUE, TESTIMONY TO NAZI VANDALISM

The systematic annihilation of the Jewish people began in Germany but was extended to each country falling under Nazi control.

The Joint Declaration of the United Nations, issued in London and Washington on December 17, 1942, stated:³⁰

The attention of the Belgian, Czech, Greek, Yugoslav, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norwegian, Polish, Soviet Russian, United Kingdom and United States Governments and of the French National Committee has been drawn to numerous reports from Europe that the German authorities ... are now carrying into effect Hitler's oft-repeated intention to exterminate the Jewish people of Europe ...

From all the occupied countries Jews are being transported in conditions of appalling horror and brutality to Eastern Europe. In Poland, which has been made the principal Nazi slaughter-house, the ghettos established by the German invader are being systematically emptied of all Jews except a few highly skilled workers required for war industries. None of those taken away are ever heard from again. The able-bodied are slowly worked to

death in labor camps. The infirm are left to die of exposure and starvation or are deliberately massacred in mass executions. The number of victims of these bloody cruelties is reckoned in many hundreds of thousands of entirely innocent men, women and children.

BELGIUM

In October 1940, five months after the German occupation of Belgium, the country had the first anti-Jewish decree enacted. In the spring of 1942 the Germans began their total routing of the Jewish population. By October of that year, any wearer of the "Star of David" was in danger of being arrested and interned in the Dossin barracks at Malines, to await deportation.

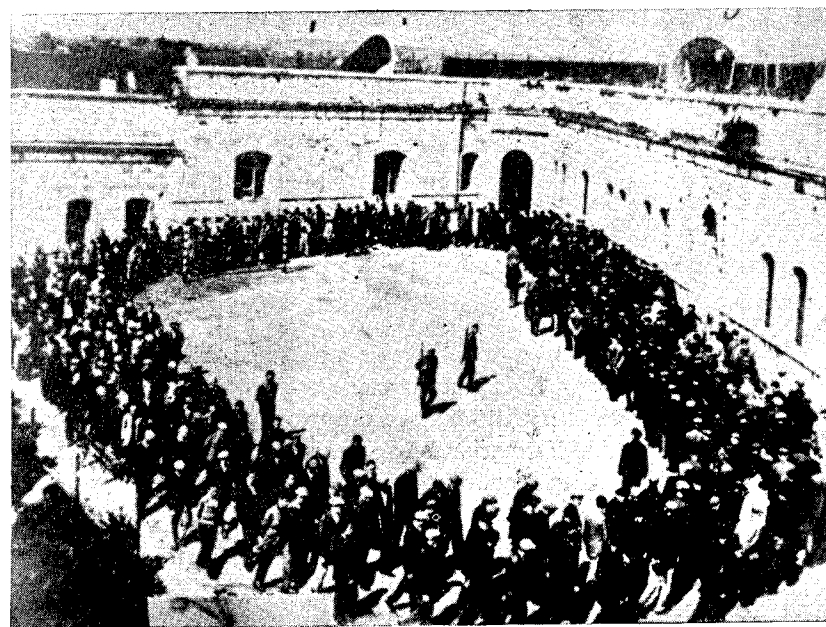
The fortresses, converted into camps, held many of the Jews of Belgium, while those not incarcerated were used as slave laborers.

Prisoners in Breendonck, the country's chief concentration camp, were divided into Jews and non-Jews, those of one section being forbidden to work or associate with those of the other. Thousands of victims were imprisoned and killed by the Gestapo within the walls of the fortress where conditions duplicated those in German concentration camps.

Lieutenant General Sir Douglas Brownrigg, former Adjutant General to the British Field Forces, described the camp in a report:³¹ "I saw the dark cells, the execution ground . . . the instruments of torture. I examined the marks on the wall and ceiling of that gruesome inner room where pulleys used to hang. Those were pulleys by which men and women were suspended by their wrists for flogging by SS torturers, and I touched with my own hands sharp-edged wedges of wood onto which the hanging sufferers were dropped just to add a final touch of sadistic refinement to this form of torture. It is difficult to make a normal person believe that such abnormalities could exist today in so-called civilized Europe. I almost wonder whether I should not have been a little skeptical, had I not seen things for myself."

Another account of Breendonck was broadcast by Matthew Halton of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation:³²

Before being shot or hanged, each man and woman had to build their own coffins. The bodies were taken into Brussels for cre-



BELGIAN CONCENTRATION CAMP

mation. Before the victims were murdered, their clothes were taken away from them and these clothes, many of them still stained with blood, were carefully ticketed and put away on shelves in a depot . . . Only the Germans could be as obscenely systematic as that.

I went into the first torture chamber. It was a large cell where men were tied to the wall and shot at with wooden bullets to try to make them talk. Then there is the main torture chamber; there is a table brown with blood stains . . . Each strand of the whip (used to flog prisoners chained to the wall) had a steel pellet at the end. The walls were covered with bloodstains and tiny dents made by the iron pellets.

After being flogged, if he had not talked, the prisoner's hands were tied behind his back and attached to a windlass in the ceiling. There he was raised from the floor by his wrists, and he hung there until his arm bones were wrenched out of his shoulder sockets.

In the same room, Halton reported, the burning of prisoners'

bare flesh took place. "One man, after having his back burned, was sent outside to work with 600 pounds of wood tied to his bare back. In the cement floor of that room a tunnel has been dug to carry away the blood."

Paul M. G. Levy, professor at the *Institute des Hautes Etudes* in Brussels and head of the Belgian Radio News Service before his country was invaded, gave a written statement to the press in London on November 30, 1943, shortly after his escape from Breendonck.

A great deal has been published about the Nazi concentration camps. Many of the statements made were hardly credible, and before the war, very often, I refused to believe them. What I have since seen and experienced for myself during a year's detention at Breendonck, however, surpasses anything that I had previously read, and now my credulity is of another kind: I feel as if I had had a frightful nightmare and wonder how my mind could ever have imagined such horrors.

Breendonck is more horrible than Dachau and Buchenwald were before the war. Men who were once prisoners in German concentration camps, afterwards emigrated from Germany, and were arrested again in Belgium, have confirmed this to me more than once. It is due principally to the following reasons:

The Breendonck camp (from the German point of view)

1. is situated on enemy territory;
2. received for the most part enemy nationals;
3. exists while military operations (not always victorious) are in progress elsewhere;
4. is directed by SS men whose minds are never at rest, since their lives are in danger every time they leave the camp.

More than 200 persons were killed each month at Breendonck, according to Frank Fisher, who reported for the United Press on the camp a year later.³³ His guide, who told him of the deaths, led Fisher through the torture chambers, the whipping rooms, the burning room, the hanging room. "One cell," the correspondent wrote, "contained nothing but an air pump with a vent outside. In the wall was a hole through which the Germans forced gas. If the victim was strong enough he could pump in fresh air and keep himself alive for a while. The weak died quickly."

When the Allied Armies liberated Nazi-occupied Belgium, in some regions less than one per cent of the original Jewish population was found still living.³⁴

HOLLAND

After the occupation of the Netherlands, May 10, 1940, the Nazis followed their usual course in eliminating the Jews. Economic and social discrimination and persecution, mass arrests, deportations and finally death were imposed in characteristic sequence.

Mrs. Alfred B. Spanjaard, a Dutch woman whose son was an American, originally interned in the Dutch concentration camp of Westerbork and later in Bergen-Belsen (Germany), was freed and reached the United States in April 1945. She described the earlier period of the anti-Jewish campaign:³⁵

"The NSB (*National Socialistische Beweging*), Dutch Nazi group, were eager pupils of their Nazi masters. In February 1941, they began breaking into Jewish homes. The first day they took about 200 Jewish men, locked them into two synagogues, and set the buildings on fire. That was only the beginning . . . After a public attack on NSB members, the hoodlums complained to the German officials, who ordered the arrest of 3,000 Jewish youths between seventeen and twenty-one as a reprisal. We heard the boys were to be sent to Mauthausen, Austria, one of the most feared punishment camps in Europe. Three weeks after the boys were rounded up, their parents got identical letters telling them that their sons had been 'killed trying to escape.'"

Early in 1942, the Dutch Government-in-Exile reported that prisoners from Holland sent to Mauthausen were forced to work in sulphur mines where the deadly fumes killed 740 of some 1,200 young men within four months of their arrest.³⁶

Other Dutch nationals, Jews among them, died in Mauthausen after poison gas experiments in which they were used as human guinea pigs.

A young Dutchman who had escaped after having been forced to take part in the tests, said³⁷ he had been arrested by the Germans in the summer of 1942 and sent to the concentration camp at Mauthausen. A few days after his arrival he and a score of his

fellow victims were bundled into a closed van which, after a three-hour trip, was halted in the yard of a large factory building set in a solitary location.

The building contained a number of laboratories and gas chambers. The prisoners had been brought there to be subjected to gas experiments. Each of the gas chambers was as large as an ordinary big living room and had three windowless concrete walls while the fourth wall of thick glass faced a passage where chemists and physiologists could gather to observe what happened inside. With twenty-seven other men, he said, he was forced to undergo three experiments in one of the chambers into which they were driven naked.

The first experiment lasted fifteen minutes and the prisoners were allowed to wear gas masks. After two minutes in the gas chamber, they felt an intense prickling of the skin, followed by a glowing sensation. When the prisoners left the chamber, their temperature was taken, and blood was drawn from their veins, after which they received a shower bath in a strong chlorine solution. The victims did not experience any harmful effects as a result of this experiment.

Three weeks later, the men again were forced to enter the gas chamber, unclothed but with gas masks. Again they experienced the glowing sensation, this time followed by a feeling of intense cold. When they left the chamber after fifteen minutes, doctors did not examine their blood, but they again got a chlorine bath. Ten of the men after three days developed a severe skin irritation covering the entire body and accompanied by bad sores.

The sufferers from the skin ailment were fortunate, for they were not exposed to the third test which the man reporting the incident had to undergo a week later with fourteen others—this time without gas masks.

The final ordeal lasted for half an hour. Grills in the floor which, in previous tests, had been covered with iron plates, were opened. After a few minutes, the victims retched and became dizzy. All gradually lost their sense of balance, and fell down across one another. They were only faintly conscious of what happened around them.

After the completion of the test, laboratory assistants, wearing

anti-gas suits, rubber gloves and shoes, and gas masks carried the victims outside. Blood spurted from the prisoners' mouths, ears and nostrils. X-ray photographs were taken of their stomachs and lungs after they had bathed in the decontamination chamber. The vomiting and tendency to dizziness lasted four days, during which the victims were forced to resume heavy labor in the camp. The Dutch prisoner who later escaped said that he heard from guards that forty young Jews of Amsterdam a few days later had been exposed to the same tests in quick succession, and that they had all died as a consequence.

Within the Netherlands itself a large proportion of the country's Jews were concentrated in the camps of Vught, Westerbork, Barneveld and Ellekom. Vught, the most notorious of these, was described late in 1944 by James MacDonald of the *New York Times*,³⁸ who wrote: "In one corner of the prison section there are deep pits sprinkled with lime. In the early days of the camp, the bodies of internees who had died of starvation or had been shot out of hand or beaten to death were thrown into these pits and burned. The camp was steadily enlarged and 'improved.'"

Begun in 1941, it was finally completed in 1942, MacDonald said. It had a modern crematory, with "two big ovens that still reek with death. On a plot of grass facing the crematory, there is a rough gallows where some of the prisoners were hanged. A victim was made to stand on two small wooden blocks while the noose was fastened around his neck. Then the blocks were removed, and the victim dangled, his feet almost touching the ground, as he died slowly of strangulation."

The *Times* reporter described two punishment cells, without light, heat or ventilation. Even the doors were airtight. From the official camp record, MacDonald learned how the camp commandant, after a disturbance had been caused by two women, decided to teach all of them a lesson. "The two culprits, together with ninety-two other women chosen at random, were marched off to the airtight concrete cells," the reporter wrote. "Sixty-seven were bundled into one, which, I saw, measured about eighteen by nineteen feet—so small that the women were squeezed together standing. The twenty-seven others were similarly packed into the smaller cell. The doors were firmly secured and the women left for forty-

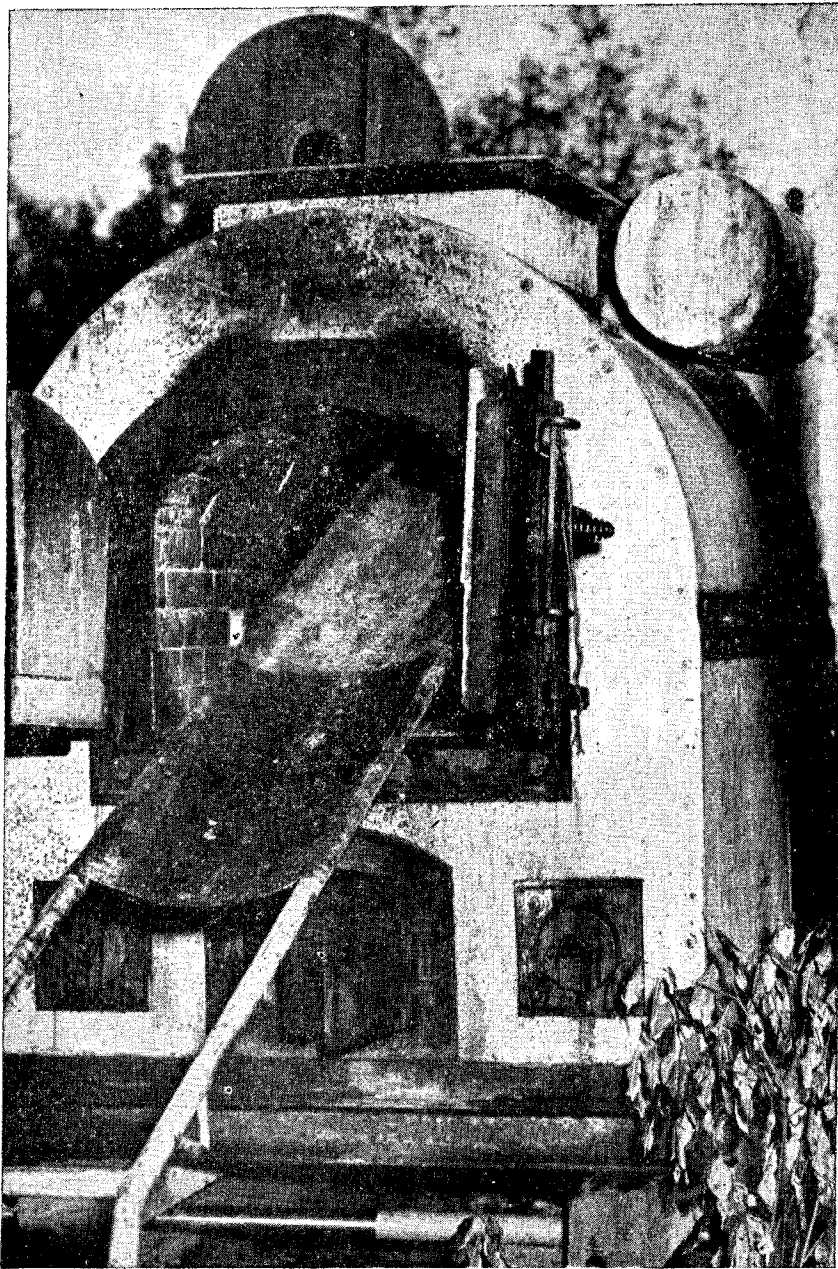
eight hours. Twenty-three women died of suffocation, and one who survived was a raving maniac."

The report in the *New York Times* continued: "All Jews who could possibly be rounded up in Holland were brought to this camp. Accusations were trumped up against them. It was said that they had received forbidden messages from the outside world, committed theft from fellow prisoners or plotted to escape from this escape-proof camp, which, in addition to the barbed wire, was guarded by vicious dogs. Sometimes the dogs were turned loose on the Jews, but more often the Jews were shot and their bodies burned. Violation of young Jewish women by prison wardens was a common occurrence."

Arnold van Dias, *Aneta* war correspondent, wrote in the *Knickerbocker Weekly*,³⁹ November 6, 1944, that the Nazis had murdered a total of 13,000 at the Vught camp which once housed 35,000 internees. During the first few months of the camp's existence, van Dias asserted, an average of thirty persons died daily. From June 1944 until the beginning of September 1944, when the Germans evacuated the camp, 3,000 persons were shot, 800 during the last two weeks. *Ons Volk*, Dutch underground newspaper, reported that the 17,000 Jews who survived at Vught in 1943 and 1944, were transported to Germany in cattle trucks without food.

Jewish children of the Netherlands were treated as inhumanly as their parents. Quoting Radio Orange, official Netherlands broadcasting station in London, *Aneta* reported on August 21, 1944: "The Germans have slain a number of Jewish children in Holland by inoculating them with poison." The broadcast said that the Germans had rounded up a number of Jewish children living with non-Jewish families in Holland "for purposes of registration." Then the children were returned to their homes where they died shortly afterwards, because they had been inoculated with poison gas by German doctors.

Peter Matijs Smedts, a Dutch national, who survived two and a half years of Nazi imprisonment and was returned to Holland in June 1945, wrote to his American wife of "the room of the dead" he had occupied in Amsterdam. His letter, dated June 26, 1945, follows, in part:



Canadian Army Photo from U.S. Office of War Information

CREMATION FURNACE AT VUGHT CONCENTRATION CAMP

Many people lived in my room. Now it is called the room of the dead, with reason. J.S. lived there. Caught by the Germans, never heard of again; E.B. caught, condemned to death and executed; I, caught, condemned, not pardoned, but execution deferred, supposed to be dead; F.M., who made my radio transmitter, caught when he tried to cross the German lines, drowned. F.K., brother of the girl to whom I owe my life, chief of an underground organization, caught, killed two days later at Vught with S.; K., who killed the chief of the Dutch SS, jumped out of the window when caught by the Gestapo; D., condemned, executed. All those people lived in this small room.

I feel a bit sad today. I have been writing letters to women whose husbands died in German prisons. It is a disagreeable business, especially after having seen the joy of my family and almost everybody in the village when I returned. And it is everywhere like that. When Piet returned he had told stories about his five weeks with the Gestapo, and after that nobody believed that I had been able to stand two years and six months of this treatment. I read some of the letters Maria and Bertha wrote to friends in Amsterdam, despairing letters. Now I must tell these women what happened, and I simply cannot, because the death of most of them is so terrible that I still shudder when I think about it. Major T. died slowly from hunger, went mad, was in delirium a week so that I feared every time I had to return to the cell. Can you say such things to their wives?

FRANCE

The surrender of France in 1940 was the signal not only in Northern France, but in the Vichy-controlled southern zone as well for widespread raids on the Jewish population. Alien Jews, then French Jews, were arrested and packed into the camps of Drancy, Pithiviers, Beaune-la-Rolande, in the north; Gurs, Les Milles, Rivesaltes, in the south.

Resistance to the Germans increased as their campaign grew in intensity. Sabotage and attacks on occupation troops were countered with the execution of hostages, in reprisal. An official Nazi order, issued in December 1941,⁴⁰ laid down the penalties for assaults on German soldiers. The reprisal measures included a fine of 1,000,000,000 francs imposed on the Jews inhabiting the occupied

territory; deportations to the east, and immediate execution of one hundred hostages.

Reprisal was merely one of many pretexts to which the Nazis resorted in carrying out their annihilation program. Destruction could have been the only purpose served in the cruel murder of thirty-five Jewish refugees, old men and women, in the little town of St. Aymand, as reported in the French newspaper, *France au Combat*.⁴¹ They had come from Alsace-Lorraine and had been living quietly in St. Aymand in Central France. Nazis and Vichy militiamen rounded them up, carried them off in trucks to Savigny-en-Septaine, and there threw them, alive, into three wells. Medical examination of the bodies, after the Germans had been driven from the area, showed that the men and women had been crushed to death by rocks which filled the wells to the top. *France au Combat* gave the names of eight of the dead.

The slaughter of French Jews was carried out for the most part after their deportation to Germany's death camps in Eastern Europe, although France had its counterpart of Lublin in the Natzweiler camp at Struthof, Alsace. The drive extended throughout the country after Germany's total occupation of France in November 1942. Large-scale arrests were introduced in the north before that, with the swift and bloody raids on Paris Jews in midsummer of 1942. Estimates of the number caught in the dragnet on the first night—July 16th—ran as high as 60,000; the lowest was 20,000. All accounts agreed that babies, old men and women and the sick were swept up with the rest.

The underground paper, *Libération*, on August 25, 1942, was moved to cry out: "Jews? These are men, these are women! Help them!" The same paper recorded several eyewitness stories, among them: "(It) was a veritable Night of St. Bartholomew. The French police wagons raced through the streets and routed 27,000 men, women and children from their homes. The SS chief of the occupied zone directed the entire operation. Everyone was deposited at the Velodrome d'Hiver. Women with children under two were allowed to keep them, the others no doubt being sent to houses of correction. The babies, women and men were shut up the next day in loaded wagons where there was but one pail for the use of the occupants. No food was provided. The services of the *Ravitaille-*

"Pour atteindre le contingent, prendre les vieillards jusqu'à 62 ans"

La chasse à l'homme

On était encore sous le coup des horreurs de Paris... Cette vaste manne dans la nuit du 16 juillet, ces dix mille Juifs parqués au Vel d'Hiv, ces enfants séparés des mères et privés de leurs noms pour qu'on ne les connaisse plus, ces femmes se jetant par la fenêtre, ces bébés mourant de scarlatine et de rougeole, ces malades levés de leurs lits d'hôpital et jetés dans les sacs, ces scènes de folie, cette terreur bestiale à laquelle une police française honteuse devait prêter son concours.

Nous avions vu des rescapés du Vel d'Hiv. Une jeune fille de vingt ans, échappée de l'enfer infernal, grâce à la complicité d'un brave homme nous disait :

— Tout ce qu'on vous a raconté, je l'ai vu. Le Velodrome était plein à craquer d'une foule qui pleurait, qui hurlait. J'ai vu des femmes s'ouvrir les veines pour se tuer, j'ai vu des mères, comme folles, tenter d'étrangler leurs bébés, j'ai vu les brancardiers de la Croix-Rouge courir sans cesse vers des gens qui tombaient évanouis. ON NOUS LAISSAIT SANS MANGER. SOUS PRÉTEXTE QUE NOUS AURIONS PU EMPORTER DES VIVRES QUAND ON NOUS A ARRÊTÉS. J'ai vu des vieillards malades agoniser. Ah ! Monsieur, je ne peux pas vous dire... A Paris !..

Le 26 août, cela commençait dans la zone dite libre, dans la zone Pétain-Laval. Voici le texte officiel du télégramme envoyé de Vichy, le 23 août, à tous les préfets :

Le chef du gouvernement tient à ce que les mesures de rassemblement des israélites soient exécutées avec le minimum de sévérité et de rapidité. Ne tolérer aucune passivité de la part des fonctionnaires chargés des opérations.

Admirer à présent la « précaution » suggérée par cette autre dépêche officielle :

Il est recommandé d'effectuer ces opérations de rassemblement au petit jour, de préférence à l'heure du matin.

Et enfin cette « attention » : jours par dépêche :

Pour les veilles de prélever un seul hygiène.

Avant le rassemblement, au milieu de la nuit, les policiers, les gendarmes, les bandes, les gardiens des citoyens partaient.

La chasse à l'homme, la glorieuse bataille d'hommes sans défense, de femmes, de vieux et de petites enfants.

Les policiers disent : — On ne peut pas en parler sans rougir.

Ce fut immonde. Dans les hôtels, dans les garnis de Lyon, de Marseille, de Toulouse, de Nice, de Montélimar, de Grenoble, jusque dans de petits villages perdus, les cars arrivaient.

— Laissez-les ! Il faut partir. — Ou ! criaient les pauvres gens.

Silence des policiers. Et les hurllements, les pleurs, les cris : « Au secours ! » réveillaient les voisins, les Français stupéfaits, puis révoltés.

A Nice, on leur a dit : — Rassemblez-vous, on fera le tri, le « criblage », à Sathonay, près de Lyon.

Il faut reprendre son tessou de verre et elle cria :

— Pas chez Allemands... Pas chez Allemands...

Elle est à l'hôpital d'Aix. Dans un hôtel de Lyon, on vient chercher un jeune homme. Embarras de la police. Le père est aveugle. L'hôtelier déclare :

— Qu'est-ce que je vais faire, moi, avec cet aveugle sur les bras ? L'aveugle dit :

— Si on prend le petit, prenez-moi aussi.

Les policiers auraient pu lui la perle et le fils.

Il ont pris les deux. Si on veut pour rendre service à la Car, il faut le dire.

Cette honte, dans la lacheté des l'ation française.

volte et son cœur. On osera des trahisons, on en saute par centaines. Un père est envoyé en résidence forcée parce qu'il n'a pas voulu livrer 120 enfants juifs à Vichy et aux Boches. Son cardinal le couvre. A Vichy et à Montauban d'ailleurs, on se tait. Les principes ont à raison.

Parce que c'est ça, le nazisme. Et l'on murmure :

— Mais comment la France, une décaisée, accepte-t-elle...

Comment ? Parce que c'est ça l'honneur et la dignité de Vichy.

TRAHISON

III. — La Préparation

Chadler, au début de la guerre, avait demandé à Pétain d'accepter le poste de vice-président du conseil et de l'aider à constituer le gouvernement d'Union Nationale dont la France avait besoin pour faire face au péril.

Mais Pétain, quand il a été nommé ambassadeur de France à Madrid, a vu dans cette nomination une rentrée dans l'actualité politique. Il a conçu de vastes ambitions.

Il a donc lutté dans l'ombre de Daladier, parce qu'il se réservait. Et, au début de 1940, il livre sa parole à son conseiller d'ambassade, M. Gasselin : « Moi, dis-je, si j'arrive au pouvoir en France, je prendrai les deux seuls hommes d'Etat actuels, M. Laval et M. Marquet ».

Ainsi, ce vieillard pense : arriver au pouvoir... Et quand il y pense, son imagination redonne à l'âme des défaillances les plus atroces. Son propos est pleinement révélateur : pour Pétain, l'idée du pouvoir, de son pouvoir, est liée à celle de la défaite.

Il croit, en effet, à cette défaite. Il y croit en vieillard insensible, et ainsi, qui n'a pas confiance en son pays. Il y croit aussi par tempérament, en capitulaire livide, et comme il y croyait déjà, dans la guerre précédente, lorsqu'il a vu les victoires allemandes du printemps de 1918, il conjurait les gouvernements alliés de demander l'armistice.

Cas il pense avoir une mission vis-à-vis de la France : « Je servirai la défaite pour nous débarrasser au moins de la République ». (La formule est de Weygand). Et il est « de bonne foi » dans cette conviction ! La même monstrueuse bonté l'a fait dans le passé. Il a déjà de Baraine un trait par ambition politique...

Pétain a-t-il, dès le début de la guerre, été un traître ? C'est un débat qui a été tenu par le cagoulard Albert qui, depuis des années, fait son conseiller intime et dont il se fait le confident.

son ministre de la Justice, en juin 1940, le font supposer. A partir de mars 40, en tout cas, il suit une ligne précise. C'est que la date prévue dans les milieux militaires pour l'offensive allemande approche. Il conviendrait de sortir de la retraite, et c'est à peine s'il s'en cache. Il va voir Dr. Monod (encore un défilé) le 30 mars, et celui-ci raconte cette visite dans son livre « Ci-Devant » dans les termes suivants : « Le Maréchal hésite à repartir pour Madrid : il envisage une vie en partie double : 15 jours à St-Sébastien, 15 jours à Paris ». Et il rapporte cette parole de Pétain : « Ils auront besoin de moi dans la seconde quinzaine de mai ! » (Il s'agit du gouvernement...)

Un autre témoignage est vraiment stupéfiant.

Dans l'hypothèse où se place Pétain, l'armée aura été battue. Ce n'est pas elle qui s'opposera jamais à un armistice qui, en amenant Pétain au pouvoir, éviterait aux grands chefs et à l'Etat-Major de rendre des comptes et permettrait de rejeter sur les civils toutes les responsabilités.

Mais la flûte ? une flûte ténue, invulnérable ? Que risque de faire la flûte ? Il faut d'abord de s'entendre avec Darian.

Pétain s'y décide. Le 5 mai 1940, cinq jours avant l'offensive allemande et alors qu'il ne fait pas encore partie du gouvernement et n'est qu'ambassadeur de France en Espagne, il prend contact avec Darian et a avec lui l'extraordinaire conversation que celui-ci a rapportée dans un interview publié par « l'Orion » le 29 mai 1941 : « Il faudra nous tenir écartés contre épaule. Puis je compter sur vous ? » demande Pétain à l'ambassadeur. Et celui-ci ajoute innocemment : « J'avoue que je ne sais pas, ce jour-là, toute la portée de la demande ».

En réalité, personne, « ce jour-là », n'a su la portée de la demande.

(A suivre).

ANNIHILATION

ment Français were put into action and managed to procure a minimum amount of nourishment. Epidemics of suicides... heart-rending scenes."

Another observer, according to *Libération*, said that on that night children were separated from their mothers and deprived of their name-tags so that no one knew who they were. There were women throwing themselves out of windows. Hospital patients, including boys and girls seriously ill of scarlet fever and measles, were taken from their beds and shoved into police cars.

A twenty-year-old girl, who escaped from the Velodrome d'Hiver was quoted in the newspaper as saying: "All that you have heard about, I have seen. The Velodrome was filled to bursting point with a crowd of people shrieking and screaming. I saw women who slashed their veins to kill themselves; I saw mothers, crazed, offering their children to strangers; I saw the stretcher bearers of the Red Cross, running ceaselessly toward those falling unconscious to the ground. We were left without food, under the pretext that we could have brought along food when we were arrested. I saw old people, agonizingly ill. Ah, *Monsieur*... I cannot tell you... in Paris!"

Those taken to the Velodrome found that no preparation had been made for their sleeping, eating or sanitary needs. Soon after, about 10,000, mostly women with children, were sent on to the camps of Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande, and from there to the east.

A Polish refugee, Abe Furmanski, who lived through the period of Nazi rule, told his story later in Oswego, New York, where he had found a haven. Mr. Furmanski said, in a deposition:

The Jews were encircled and placed in the infamous and terrible concentration camp of Drancy, near Paris. Drancy is a special chapter in the history of the Jews; almost everyone who went to Drancy was killed or shipped to Poland. In one day, they took 6,500 Jews. For the first ninety days, everyone who went there was isolated. There was little or no food to eat. Children, men, women, nursing babies—all of them were imprisoned. Then they were shipped to Poland. Every day, hundreds were captured in various regions.

People began to flee across to "the free zone." Unfortunately,

Libération, August 25, 1942.

the larger portion of them were captured, even there. In Paris, a Jewish organization, a secret one, helped send as many Jews as possible to unoccupied France. Many of the people in the secret organization paid with their lives.

In the concentration camp at Gurs, in the neighborhood of the Spanish border, 30,000 to 40,000 Jews were killed. The De Gaullist groups helped many to escape to Spain and Switzerland with false documents, papers, money, everything.

On November 11, 1942, the whole of France was occupied by German troops. Now the Jews were without any protection. There was terrible panic among them.

They were poisoned in the camps. In trucks which were meant to hold twenty people, the Germans placed a hundred. Quicklime was placed on the floor about ten inches deep. The doors were sealed hermetically. These people had to pass their water—that would start the lime cooking. Gas and fumes came up and choked them to death. Bodies were thrown into special crematories on the border between Germany and Poland and burned there. The Germans said it was the most economical method. Their motto was, "Kill Russians with bullets—Jews with gas."⁴²

The concentration camps in France ranged in methods of cruelty from the slow starvation at the Royallieu camp near Compiègne, to the torture chambers and modern crematory at Struthof, in Alsace.

François Mauriac, writing in the January 10, 1945, number of *Figaro*, reviewed a book about Royallieu by Jean Jacques Bernard, who had been imprisoned there. Mauriac wrote,

Here is a witness who never raises his voice, who simply tells what he has seen . . . A camp without forced labor, without torture chamber, without poison gas, without a crematory; a camp harmless in appearance . . . a rest camp, if one may say so. The executioner did not show himself. He directed everything from Paris. His directives were simple. He let his victims alone; it was merely a matter of allowing them to die, little by little, of hunger. They received scarcely anything to eat; soup, a little margarine. No packages from the outside were permitted.

At Royallieu minds burst into activity, wavered and finally died. The once enthusiastic listeners grew drowsy. They dozed off from weakness; this was already the sleep of death. Soon there

were only fleshless bodies, crushed by physical misery of which one dares not speak, defenseless against vermin, covered with wounds which did not heal.

The inmates committed no crime but to belong to the Jewish race. The Nazis slay them and at the same time consider them guinea pigs and try experiments on them. They find it interesting to assemble, in a sealed test tube, Frenchmen who are passionately French and Jews without a country.

Quicker and more violent death was administered at the Natzweiler camp at Struthof, named by Jacques Fano *l'Usine de la Mort*—the Factory of Death.⁴³ Fano wrote in the French newspaper, *Le Parisien Libéré*:

The Natzweiler camp was much better organized than Schirmeck [another Alsace camp—Ed.]. Neat rows of barracks had been built on terraces on the mountainside; the gravel paths were carefully raked. Built to house 1,500 prisoners, German records showed that 7,500 persons had been held there. Five prisoners had to sleep on bunks only large enough for two. Political prisoners worked in the stone quarries owned by *Gauleiter* Wagner, German governor of Alsace, who grew rich from this slave labor. Most of the prisoners who were undernourished and brutally treated died within six months. Their deaths were attributed to "heart failure."

Cremation of one corpse required fifteen minutes. The ashes were used to fertilize flowers and vegetables in the gardens of the commanding officer. In a storehouse, shelf after shelf was filled with cinerary urns, priced at 60 and 120 marks apiece. According to a special regulation, the remains of German political prisoners could be sent back to their families.

Lists of names of the SS executioners had been kept by the Germans. According to these records, the killers received a bonus for each execution; a drink of schnapps, a half pound of sausage and six cigarets. Political prisoners too sick to work were used as human guinea pigs. Women were brought to this camp only for purposes of scientific experiment. They were lodged in special barracks and their stay in Natzweiler never lasted longer than a fortnight.

One day thirty women who had been deliberately blinded were led into the camp. They were given treatment which lasted two

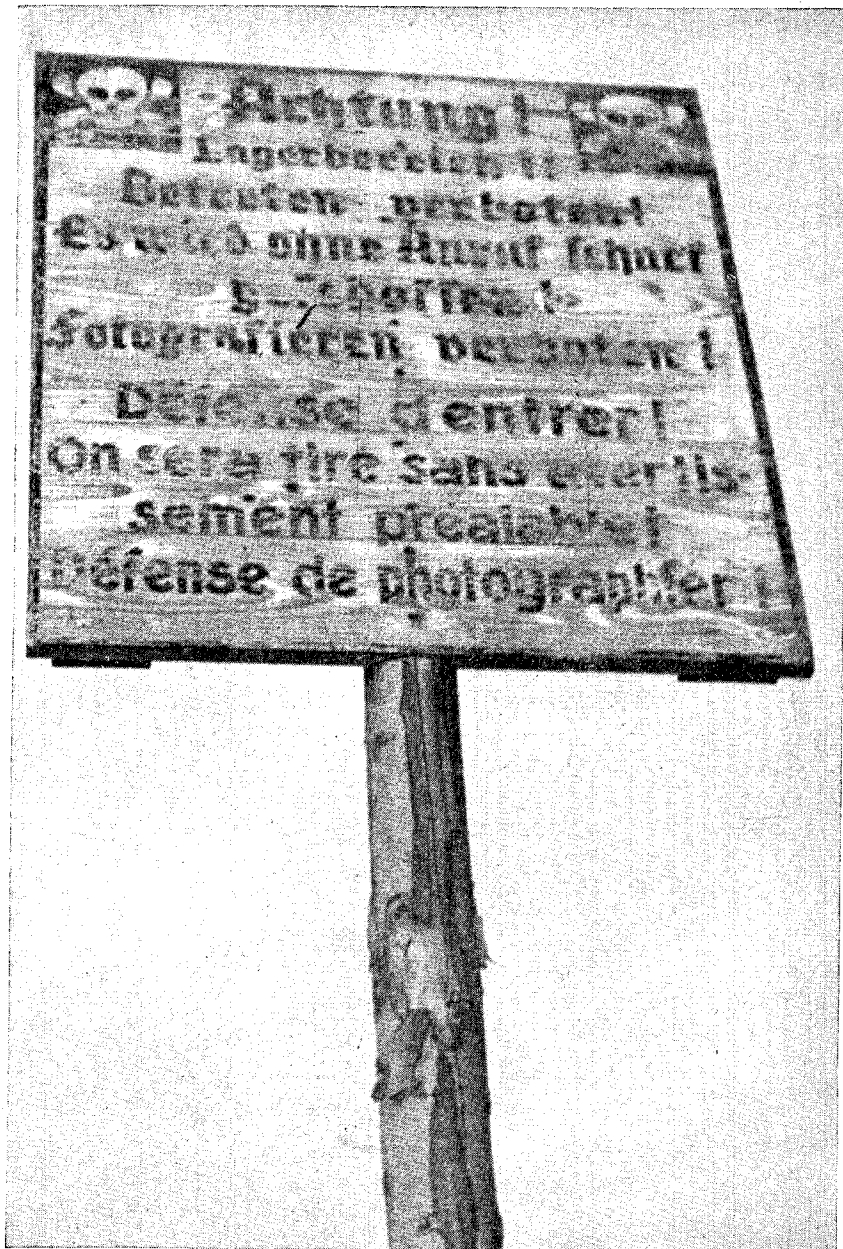
weeks. Several went mad from pain. Others recovered perfect sight. However, after the completion of the experiments all were executed and their bodies burned.

Fano wrote of the arrival at another time of eighty-four healthy young women who were brought to the camp in the morning, fed and rested during the day, and at night removed to a nearby farm. The story of their death was told to the writer by an old Alsatian, who served as his guide when he visited the farm. Fano quoted him as saying:

The SS ordered me to come to the camp with my horse and wagon as their horse had broken down. In the twilight I could see women lined up before a shed. Thirty of them were ordered to undress and enter the shed. The women waiting outside were terrified; some tried to escape. They were lucky, for the SS immediately shot them down. The others were overpowered and bound. Little by little the screamings from the shed died down, and thirty corpses were brought out. The first experiment had lasted an hour; it was followed by a second, then a third. Finally a doctor in a white coat came out and said, "That's enough for tonight." Then, pointing to the corpses, he said, "You can burn those. I won't need them any more."

Fano wrote that the identities of the doctors who conducted these experiments were known; and the entire German medical faculty of Strasbourg University was implicated, he said. Reliable witnesses told the writer that SS trucks loaded with bodies frequently came down the mountain, but no one knew where they were sent.

Evidence obtained by the French secret police confirmed reports of the atrocities at Struthof and named one of the leaders among the doctors. An official statement by the French Press and Information Service in New York revealed:⁴⁴ "It has been proved that for two years, Professor Hirt and his assistants used the political prisoners of the Natzweiler camp for all types of experiments. They inoculated hundreds of men and women with the deadly germs of typhus, cholera, bubonic plague and leprosy. They vivisected human beings and experimented on them with various kinds of poison gas.



U.S. Army Signal Corps Photo from U.S. Office of War Information

STRUTHOF CONCENTRATION CAMP. GERMAN SIGN READS: ANY TRESPASSER WILL BE SHOT WITHOUT WARNING! TAKING OF PHOTOGRAPHS PROHIBITED!

Unterteilung in Altersstufen

der im Konzentrationslager Natzweiler

einsetzenden Häftlinge nach dem Stande vom 31. Oktober 1944

männliche Häftlinge

Häftlingsart	insgesamt	-20	20-30	30-40	40-50	50-60	60-70	70-80	über 80
Schutzhäftlinge arisch	11867	1587	4878	3472	1765	146	19	-	-
Bibelforscher	5	-	1	-	3	1	-	-	-
Homosexuelle	13	-	1	6	4	2	-	-	-
aus der Wehrmacht	18	-	14	4	-	-	-	-	-
Geistliche	7	-	-	3	3	1	-	-	-
Rotspanier	6	-	1	3	2	-	-	-	-
Ausl. Zivilarbeiter	1988	444	953	437	152	1	1	-	-
Juden	3720	508	1258	1334	565	49	6	-	-
Asoziale	211	39	68	52	41	8	3	-	-
Berufsverbrecher	342	7	127	103	83	17	2	-	-
Sich.-Verw.	28	2	9	14	3	-	-	-	-
Zigeuner	74	3	21	55	14	1	-	-	-
Kriegsgefangene	207	5	105	97	9	1	-	-	-
Gesamtstärke	18486	2595	7436	5550	2644	227	34	-	-

U.S. Army Signal Corps Photo from U.S. Office of War Information

STRUTHOF CONCENTRATION CAMP. GERMAN LEDGER SUB-DIVIDING PRISONERS BY AGE GROUP AND "TYPE OF CRIME"

ANNIHILATION

"Each time the German medical faculty of Strasbourg needed corpses for its anatomy classes, Professor Hirt called on the Natzweiler executioners."

A German embalmer who was captured in the Strasbourg Hospital, where eighty-six dissected corpses were found at the time, testified against Hirt. He said he had been Hirt's assistant in 1943. "One day I had prepared a head for him," the informer said. "I had worked long and carefully, and I am one of the best embalmers in Germany. Well, do you know what the professor did with it? He gave it to the commander of the Natzweiler camp, who used it as a paper-weight."

Tortures at Struthof were of various kinds, according to the Ministry of Information in Paris (March 19, 1945):

The torturers used the most diabolic inventions to bring about the death of their victims. In January 1943, 100 Russians and Poles were suspected of plotting an armed break-out . . . Their guards hung them from the ceiling by their hands which were tied behind their backs, while SS men struck and beat them with whips. About thirty Russians and Poles were thus tortured while their barrack companions were unable to intervene. During four weeks these unfortunates continued to have their hands tied behind their backs by chains which cut into the flesh. Then came a day, when, in the presence of the entire camp, they were hanged.

The French officials reported further that "corpses which were found were slashed and cut, slightly or deeply, according to the curiosity of the doctors who experimented with their scalpels."

Milton Bracker, *New York Times* correspondent, wrote in that paper on January 1, 1945:

There would seem to be every official backing to the characterization of the Struthof camp as the Lublin of Alsace. Between April 1941 and November 1944, between 60,000 and 80,000 women and men were herded behind electric fences. At least 15,000 were killed, of whom most ended in the crematories . . . Other records show that one to twelve persons were killed every night for "attempting to escape," despite the formidable obstacle

of the electric fence. One list was marked "death from natural causes." It listed 126 names for August 1944, fifty-six for the first five days of September, and seventy-five and sixty-three respectively on two other separate September entries.

The recounting of German crimes against the French people, with the Jews of France most numerous on the casualty list, required thirteen volumes, it was found by the Psychological Warfare Section of Supreme Allied Headquarters.⁴⁵ After exhaustive investigation, made public May 3, 1945, the voluminous record showed how close the Germans had been to success in their annihilation program, when cut short by defeat.

MINISTÈRE DE L'INFORMATION

19 mars 1946.

Direction des Informations
27, rue du Mont-Thabor, Paris (4^e)

ARTICLES ET DOCUMENTS

Nouvelle Série. — N° 49

Le camp du Struthof

Sous le titre : « Avec la 1^{re} Armée française. — La vérité sur le camp du Struthof ? », la Gazette de Lausanne (10 et 12/3) publie les deux correspondances suivantes de P. Calame.

I

Toute la presse s'est déjà occupée de l'horrible tragédie du Struthof. Des journalistes ont visité les baraques qui s'étagent sur les dernières pentes du Domont; des personnages officiels, civils et militaires, des délégués de la Croix-Rouge ont pénétré dans ce lieu sinistre entouré d'une double barrière de fils de fer barbelés électrifiés et que dominent des miradors munis de projecteurs dont les puissants rayons éclairaient de nuit les moindres replis de terrain où pouvaient se terrer des fagitts, des paysans, des ouvriers, des soldats ont rôdé dans les forêts de sapins qui s'arrêtaient net et de tous les côtés aux abords du camp pour surprendre le mystère

Sur les flancs du Domont, dans la région de Schirmeck, de Rothau, de Natzwiller, à une heure et quart d'auto de Strasbourg, parmi les grès rouges et les sapins verts, les Allemands ont eu l'idée, dès avril 1941, d'installer un camp de prisonniers. Pourquoi là plutôt qu'ailleurs ? Simplement parce qu'il était possible d'exploiter du grès rouge recherché pour divers bâtiments officiels de Nuremberg. Dès lors, l'ingénieur civil Kraeger ouvrit une carrière où, dès juin 1941, le Gauleiter Buchner envoya 150 prisonniers allemands et russes. Ce sont ces hommes qui construisirent la célèbre chambre à gaz dont nous parlons plus loin et la route qui, taillée à flanc de coteau comme une de nos routes alpêtres, conduit par de nombreux méandres au sommet de la calotte dénudée du Domont. Au fur et à mesure que par cette large voie on s'élève vers le sommet de cette montagne des Vosges, on découvre de vastes horizons au delà d'autres sommets et on jouit d'un paysage de toute beauté. On découvre aussi, tout d'un coup, 15 baraques étagées sur des terrasses auxquelles on accède par de spacieux escaliers de pierre. Chaque baraque contient 250 à 280 lits superposés à trois étages. En réalité, chaque lit recevait 2 à 3 per

DOCUMENT ON THE STRUTHOF CAMP ISSUED BY THE FRENCH
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION

CENTRAL AND SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Oppression and violence against the Jews and the Czech people as a whole marked the first years of Czechoslovakia's dismemberment by the Nazis. Mass-scale removal and extirpation of the Jews reached a peak in Bohemia-Moravia with the appointment of Reinhard Heydrich as protector—in Slovakia when the puppet state "legalized" the Jews' so-called expatriation.

As soon as Heydrich stepped into office on September 21, 1941, a state of martial law was declared in the Protectorate. It amounted to a reign of terror. Czech Jews and non-Jews accused of obstructing Nazi policies were executed, the Jews by hanging, presumably a more humiliating death than shooting, which was reserved for others. There were about 1,500 executions in sixty-two days—from September 28th to November 30th; the names of 324 of the dead were published, and among them fifty-two were Jewish. After Heydrich's assassination, the removal of Czechs was speeded up. Supposed implication in his murder and even suspected sympathy for the act were the pretexts.

In the state of Slovakia, a parliamentary bill for the deportation of Slovak Jews, enacted May 15, 1942, gave new stimulus to an anti-Jewish campaign which had been under way from the beginning of Slovakia's so-called independence.

By 1943, the majority of Czech and Slovak Jews had been confined in concentration camps, and many were on their way to the extermination factories of Nazi-occupied Poland.

The most notorious concentration camp in the Protectorate was Terezin, a medieval fortress town, transformed into a ghetto by a decree of the Nazis on February 6, 1942. It was a transit depot for Jews on their way to the east, and also was used extensively for the confinement of elderly Jewish men and women. On February 25, 1943, the *New York Times* estimated that 10,000 Czech Jews were then in the Terezin Ghetto.

The people of Terezin lived in constant fear of the transports which left periodically for the annihilation camps in the east. Quoting the National Liberation Radio Station, *Narodni Osvobo-*

BARTOŇ Josef, born 7.11.1910, Prague, executed 30.5.1942, for harbouring persons not registered with the police and for approving the attack on Heydrich and calling for assistance for the assassins.

BARTOŠ František, aged 59, Olomouc-Hodolany, executed 21.6.1942, for keeping in contact with enemies of the Reich.

BARTOŠ Václav, fruiterer, Rousínovice, hanged 17.10.1941, during Heydrich's reign of terror.

BARTOŠEK Otto, aged 34, Domažlice (People's Court), executed 21.4.1943, for high treasonable activities and favouring the enemy, keeping stores of arms.

BARTUNĚK Emanuel, butcher, Prague, hanged 11.10.1941, during Heydrich's reign of terror.

BASS Walter, "Jew," Prague, hanged 22.11.1941, during Heydrich's reign of terror.

BAUER-KULKA (no other particulars given), executed 31.1.1940, official announcement Czech Press, 31.1.1940: "The Jew Bauer, together with Kulka both subjects of the Protectorate, committed acts of sabotage and created a secret munitions dump in preparation for acts of high treason. The Military Court has condemned both to death. Two others have been sentenced to imprisonment. The sentences are being carried out to-day at Brünn, where the condemned men will be shot."

BAUER Antonín, butcher, Činhost, hanged 4.10.1941, during Heydrich's reign of terror.

BAUER František, aged 46, Tábor, executed 2.11.1942 (People's Court), for Communistic and highly treasonable activities.

BAUEROVÁ née **Košatová Marie**, born 1910, Prague, executed 28.4.1944 (Special Court of the German Landgericht, Prague), for harbouring with Michl Max in their flat two Jews who were wanted by the Gestapo for illegal political activities and supporting them with food and necessities.

BAUER Václav, aged 24, Prague, executed 29.10.1943 (Special Court of the German Landgericht, Prague), for helping persons who were not registered with the police.

BAUM Miloš, active member of the Association of the Czechoslovak Jews, "Sokol," Prague, hanged 4.10.1941, during Heydrich's reign of terror.

BAUM Zdeněk, "Jew," Prague, hanged 2.10.1941, during Heydrich's reign of terror.

BAUMGARTEN Margareta, "Jewess," born 22.10.1910, Prague, executed 30.5.1942, for harbouring persons not registered with the police and for helping keeping the contact with the enemies of the Reich, and for approving the attack on Heydrich.

PART OF THE LIST OF ANTI-FASCISTS KILLED AFTER HEYDRICH'S ASSASSINATION, PUBLISHED BY THE CZECHOSLOVAK MINISTRY OF INFORMATION IN LONDON.

zeni, the Czechoslovak Government Press Bureau in New York charged that . . . "the murder of tens of thousands of Czechoslovak citizens of the Jewish faith belonged to the most horrible crimes of the Hitlerites and *Hachists* (native fascist clique). Nine transports of 2,000 to 3,000 men, women and children each were sent from Terezin to Oswiecim, Poland, where they were exterminated. Over 25,000 Czechoslovak citizens, including many non-Jews, were killed in the Oswiecim camp . . ."

Jews from Czechoslovakia also were sent to Maidanek, Nazi extermination camp near Lublin, Poland. Vlasta Borek, Moscow correspondent of the Czech Press Bureau, cabled an account of his visit to Maidanek, where he found evidence that more than 8,000 Czechoslovak citizens had been among those who perished in the gas chambers and furnaces. The correspondent identified the nationality of the victims not only by passports which were found there, but also by piles of clothing marked *Tscheche* and stocks of shoes, photos and toilet articles of Czech origin.⁴⁶

The Nazi jailers at Terezin made the most of the terror with which inhabitants regarded the transports to eastern extermination centers. Klaus Mann, son of Thomas Mann, wrote in the Mediterranean edition of *Stars and Stripes* of a relative, the former Mrs. Heinrich Mann, who had spent considerable time in Terezin.⁴⁷ When the Army newspaper correspondent met her, following the liberation, he scarcely recognized the partially paralyzed, white-haired, emaciated woman.

Her face too was affected by a nervous stroke. One side of it appeared twisted, frozen as though in a grimace of constant agony. I asked her the cause and was told: "Oh, that was years ago, right after my arrest. They separated me from my child, you know. I didn't have any idea where she was, so I asked one of the guards in jail. He grinned and then said to me, 'Why, don't you hear her scream? They're just taking her away, on a transport. That's why she's yelling.'"

"So I tried all night long to hear my daughter's voice. I couldn't hear it, though. Naturally not. She hadn't been screaming at all, but was fast asleep in another cell. The guard knew that, of course. He just wanted to get me worried."

"He got me worried, all right, I kept listening to all the noises."

There are so many different noises in a big prison at night—you would not believe how many of them there are. But I know, for I listened to all of them. I heard people screaming and wondered if it was *her* voice. It was a long night. In the morning, I couldn't move my right arm and my right leg any more and my face was all twisted."

Daniel T. Brigham of the *New York Times* spent two days and nights in Terezin after the liberation and wrote:⁴⁸

Its occupants, less than five weeks ago, were saved from extermination by a last-minute frustration of the German plans. Russian armor, in a phenomenal drive southwestward as it by-passed Dresden, surrounded the camp called Theresienstadt by the Germans. Today only bullet scars on some buildings and a few frightened faces remain to bear witness to the horrors that all expected to undergo.

The exact official figures of the population inside the camp are still a closely guarded Russian military secret. Unofficial estimates by those who should know, including the camp commandant, place the number in the neighborhood of 30,000. These are being repatriated in batches of 1,000 several times a day.

A tour around the town—before the Germans took over, Terezin was a health resort—brings out one surprise. There is only one door by which one enters the camp; during the German occupation the only exit was into the pitiful little cemetery standing well back behind the old fort. And in the middle of the ghetto to the south stands a monument to mechanized transport; a line of box cars standing incongruously high on their wheels waiting for a re-loading that never came—3,000 Jewish designates for the crematories in Oswiecim, Poland.

They never left: a Russian pursuit plane swooped on a locomotive as it was standing at the gate waiting for the engineer to couple up the train. Its burned-out woodwork and shattered boiler still lie there, and the cars stand on rusted rails rotting under the hot sun.

When I first saw that train, I jumped into one of the box cars "just to see what it was like." In the brief moment I was inside I saw why people died—and though possibly their death was merciful, I cannot help wondering whether the crematorium might not have been a less horrible fate.



"Receipt" Nazis gave Jews as they robbed them of their last pennies in Terezin.

As the war drew to its close, Germany's financial situation suffered. For foreign exchange she was willing to compromise on her avowed policy of total extermination. For American dollars the Nazis agreed to permit 2,400 Jews to leave Terezin for Switzerland.

The following letter from a woman who was accidentally included in the transport was received in New York in June 1945.⁴⁹

Les Avants, Switzerland

April 9, 1945

Well, now I am alive and safe. How simple this sounds, just one little line.

I received your last letter in 1941. This is the one letter I had with me when I was picked up. I saved it for three years in the concentration camp.

After the Heydrich affair, when all intellectuals were shot, I escaped as by a miracle. In Prague, everybody is convinced that I am dead.

In 1941/2, although I was in charge of the studio [the writer is a producer of documentary films—Ed.], I was paid the wages of the lowest category of unskilled labor . . . I sold the piano and all our furniture; I gave lessons. On Sundays I went digging in the garden; at that time Jews were not permitted to eat vegetables, fruit or meat; we were not allowed to keep any pets; the little dog you gave me, I had to give to a friend. I rented the apartment and lived in the kitchen with mother. It was no life, but still we existed.

I tried to figure out why I had to suffer like this. I have always tried to be a decent human being. There was no answer to it. Once I wrote to you, asking you to think of me every night at ten o'clock, and I would do the same. This letter nearly cost my life. SA came to find the secret shortwave-transmitter in my apartment. They searched the house and garden; they watched me day and night.

Radios and telephones had been taken from us by that time. This was sheer hell. One investigation, one hearing after another. I didn't think I could go on.

I lived at Zbraslav [near Prague—Ed.] at that time. I had to walk in icy cold at night from Z. to Prague, and walk back the following night, just to buy a little food. It was forbidden to sell food to Jews then. Often I was followed, walking along the railroad tracks. We were not allowed to use either trains, buses or streetcars. Many nights they had raids in the streets—then it became a matter of life and death.

Then I was denounced. They said you were in America doing anti-Nazi work, and that I was an American agent. I was arrested. At this time people were shot or hanged without a hearing. However, for some reason I had a hearing; I was calm, even though they threatened me with the death penalty. This calm saved me.

I was sent to a concentration camp under an SS convoy. I wasn't allowed to go home to say goodbye to mother. I had no luggage, nothing beyond the clothes I was wearing. I was taken somewhere—not knowing where. Mother was picked up two hours later, and sent after me—to Terezin.

Others had managed to bring luggage, personal effects and cash. They had friends in Prague who would send them food packages. Turkey, Sweden and Switzerland were sending food packages. But mother and I, for three whole years, never received a package, not even a single postcard. We were hungry from the first day on. They treated me especially badly, because I was married to you who lived in an Allied country.

The epidemics started. Two to three hundred people died daily from typhus. While they were dying, lice, fleas and bedbugs finished them off. We slept in open attics at thirty degrees below. We slept on bare boards, with no straw.

The bread was mouldy, the potatoes frozen and worm-eaten. Many died of hunger. All the time, transports left (for Poland) spelling death and crucifixion. Not to be in a transport was a desperate fight for survival, and although our life in Terezin was not really life at all, it was the only thing left to us. Transports meant gas chambers. We went on hoping, not knowing for what. Death in Terezin lost its glory. It was grotesque, horrifying dying. We referred to it merely as "ex." Today you might be here, and tomorrow nothing but a handful of ashes. My father died just that way. He was ill, without care, and I had no food with which to bribe the doctors or nurses. All mother's relatives, too, are gone.

Mother lived through this. Often I gave her my own rations. I worked like a dog for a bit of food, for the smallest piece of bread. A loaf of bread in Terezin cost 700 crowns. People smuggled food and money into the ghetto, but the Nazis discovered it after a while, and none of the "smugglers" is now alive. Mr. Lavecky died this way, because a non-Jewish friend was sending him cigarets from Prague. He was tortured to death. The penalty for smoking, reading newspapers, eating meat, vegetables or fruit, or being in possession of money was the Little *Festung*—which meant death.

The Nazis sold Red Cross blanks in Terezin in the black market at the rate of 1,000 crowns a blank. I wanted to write you, but I had no money. I saved my bread ration for an entire month,

and sold it for 1,000 crowns, exchanging it for a Red Cross blank. I sent this letter through the Red Cross, but there was no answer. It may never have left Terezin. One word from the world outside would have meant everything.

Mother broke her arm, due to a softening of the bones. For five months she wore it in a sling. She had one illness after another. She lost sixty-six pounds. She grew old—a bent skeleton, wearing her wrinkled skin like a loose coat. Her skin became gray. When she washed I had to turn away; horror choked me. Is this my mother?

We slept in bunks, arranged in three tiers. Two to three hundred were crowded into a room that had formerly housed thirty. At night mother would pull the blanket away from me, or ask for a small slice of dry bread. She was hungry. Do you know what it means when your 70-year-old mother has nothing to eat? And I would cut her a tiny piece from our three-day ration; I always had to fight with her not to eat the entire ration at once.

At this time, there was an epidemic of boils. We were all suffering from deficiencies. The epidemic was horrifying. The doctors were like butchers—when I first watched them operate, I fainted. But I was waiting in line myself; my turn came. They started cutting me; it lasted for one hour and a half. The doctor told me I wouldn't live through this.

For three weeks I had a temperature of 105, but I saw everything more clearly, my own defects and those of others. It was very painful. For five more months I was laid up in bed—motionless. A living corpse. I did not want to die; I prayed.

Afterwards the skin wouldn't heal. Live flesh grew out of the wounds. We were completely without vitamins. I thought I would lose my mind. They cut the flesh off with scissors—but it didn't help. There was no blood in my veins. Finally they gave me ether. I dreamt I was being crushed into powder by a steam-roller; I dissolved into nothingness. Then I heard a bell ring. It was all over. I heard voices.

When they carried me on a stretcher from the ambulance to the barracks, a little snow-covered branch brushed my forehead. The sky was full of stars. For a moment life seemed beautiful.

After months I started to work again. First on the land—for German war production. Then Himmler himself ordered a documentary film to be made of Terezin. Several of us were told to prepare scripts. They chose my script. Eleven SS men, fresh from

the front, were detailed to work on this film. I was told to report for work. I was ordered to produce the film. Nobody else had ever worked on film production. I managed to smuggle many shots out of Terezin. They are now in the War Archives in Prague. I was forced to edit the film in the commandant's office behind locked doors. It was more than twenty-five reels [1 reel—1,000 feet—Ed.]. Much of it I had in Terezin. I hope it will be safe there. I couldn't take any of it with me—not even my notes. The penalty would have been death.

Later I was sent back to farm work. We worked from 4:00 A.M. to 3:00 P.M. I was the foreman of a small group. At 4:00 P.M. we had lunch; after that two hours of *Zusatzarbeit* (overtime). After that we waited in line for soup. Then back to the freezing barracks, with a lot of weeping and hysterical women . . . bickering, shouting, hungry.

Terezin was like an iceberg. A piece broke off every day. We had a population of 60,000, and the Nazis wanted to reduce it to 10,000. Transports left daily . . . my mother was to go in one of them. How was it possible to save her? I volunteered for work as a porter in the station, to be able to see her at the last moment. Without food or sleep, I spent five days and nights trying to see the heads of the Jewish community. But what could they do? Their own mothers were in the transport. They all sent me away.

I carried mother's belongings to the train—everything we had. I shall never see her again, I thought. They are all going to die. Nazi commandant Rahm walked along the platform. He was in charge of the ghetto. I stood at attention. I asked him for a favor. Would he let mother stay here? He looked at me; sweat poured down my face. He looked at my hands, covered with calluses, at my worn-out overalls. "Did you always work?" he asked. I said, yes. He asked others. They all said I worked hard. "Your mother will stay," he said. I couldn't believe it. I had saved her. We walked back to the barracks, like drunkards.

But new transports were leaving daily. The camp soon was without young men or women. The rest of us worked like slaves. We were slaves. We women did hardest men's work. We pulled carts and wagons. We were brick-layers.

Christmas 1944. Three years of Terezin. How much longer? I try to tell myself this is the best. In 1939 I dreamt the war would last six years. Capitulation must come. Maybe in the summer.

Oswiecim—gas-chambers; people were sent there naked; when

will they do the same in Terezin? In January 1945, more people are called up for transports. Again mother is among them. I am at work at 4:00 A.M. People whisper something about the transport going to Switzerland. Once more they call death by a different name! Or could it be true? I know I've got to get away from the camp. I cannot stand it any longer. I report for the transport *freiwillig*. But they won't accept me. Maybe, the transport really is going to Switzerland. I try to see people; I am chased from pillar to post; I have to get out. I try to see the commandant. His orders are not to admit anyone. Five times I try. He threatens to send me to the *Festung* if I come once again. But I go once again. At last, to get rid of me, he said, "Go."

It is 1:00 A.M. I have no papers. Everybody else is in a frenzy. At last, I receive a number. Nobody knows whether the number is valid. They laugh at me for trying to get onto this transport. Nobody believes in its existence any more.

At 3 A.M. I have finished packing. But I can't take much. Good-bye to my Masaryk—the book I have been hiding all these years; good-bye to my bunk, to the barracks, good-bye to the rats, the lice, the roaches, the filth; good-bye to the latrines, to infectious diseases; good-bye to the human ghosts whose eyes are dead without a tomorrow. I am leaving all this behind; this is my legacy to the monster of Terezin. I am going into the nowhere. Good-bye.

I left all my poor belongings to one of the unfortunates who stayed behind. At six in the morning, mother and I walked to the station. I am told that persons with numbers as high as mine will not be able to board the train. Everybody up to No. 1,200 received food for the journey. I have been cheated. But I must go. Mother is boarding the train. Her number is 680.

At this moment, a voice shouts: "Where is No. 812? Where is No. 812?" The commandant is furious. No. 812 is not here. Maybe No. 812 was scared to go; maybe No. 812 has disappeared. At Terezin we were only numbers. The next moment I had made my decision. It is a wild gamble. I turn over the label which we wore around our necks like cattle. I write 812 on the other side. I walk through the control gate, rushing down the platform. I try to explain that I have lost my number, but that I am 812. But I am frightened. Maybe the genuine 812 will show up any second. What if they send me back?

For hours the train remains in the station. I am frightened. How shall I ever get out?

At last, we are moving.

Passing one of the barracks, we see some women wave at us. This last wave of their poor tortured hands will cost them dearly. They interrupted their work without permission. But they wave at us, and through us at freedom.

The SA is in charge of the train. We travel further and further. Still, none of us knows whither. At least we are going away from Terezin.

We pass the ruins of destroyed cities. Air raid alarm. Bombs fall near-by. Shall we reach our destination?

At Friedrichshafen, hands wave at us again. Working hands. Are they Russian or Czech? We call to them *nazdar*, and back comes the answer *nazdar*. They are friends!

We reach Konstanz on the German-Swiss border. We have to stay on the train overnight. The next morning we reach Kreuzlingen. "Oh, mother, we are across the border. Is it true, are we safe?"

People hand us apples through the windows. We see Swiss soldiers. I am holding a little red apple in my hands; I kiss it. It is the first I have seen in four years. What a miracle, the apple-blossom, the apple—and for me to eat! I shall not forget February 7, 1945.

YUGOSLAVIA

The capitulation of the Royal Yugoslav Army to Germany on April 18, 1941, exposed Yugoslavia's 80,000 Jews to the Nazi executioners. More than half of the Jewish population was settled in the cities of Belgrade, Zagreb and Sarajevo and of these only about 5,000 are known to have survived, some only to be wiped out in Italian-occupied districts to which they fled. Serbia's 20,000 Jews were killed except for about 2,500 who made their way to Greece and Bulgaria, where they were hunted down later. Approximately 2,000 other Yugoslav Jews were able to join the Partisan troops, and others were hidden safely by patriots. There remained after the war approximately 1,000 Jews in Yugoslavia.

Even before they were herded into death camps, Jews by the hundreds died in mass executions which began soon after the occupation. Whole communities were wiped out.

Regulations issued by the headquarters of the 125th German In-

In one corner of the camp in Jasenovac they built special ovens. The victims, half dead from fear and starvation, were led to the ovens where their life ended in horrible torture. The Gestapo used white-hot irons to burn noses, ears and hands. They also slashed them with knives and pulled their nails from their fingers. They tore out their hair. When the victim would fall unconscious they would shoot him and dump him into the ditch.

In the spring of 1943, when there was a danger of flood from the river Sava, all the prisoners were used to build dams. Exhausted old men and children collapsed under the heavy labor and were simply beaten to death by the guards. Their bodies, together with the earth-dirt were used for dams. Several thousand victims were buried in this manner.

Section C had a special place in camp Jasenovac. Hundreds of persons at a time were taken for execution from that section.

Food given to the prisoners could not be called food. Daily rations consisted of two to three potatoes thrown into a watery mess called soup. Sometimes the peasants from the neighboring villages came and secretly gave a little bread to the prisoners. The packages sent by relatives to the prisoners were taken by the Germans themselves.

No one could afford to be ill in Jasenovac, because illness was a cause for immediate liquidation, usually by a hammer blow on the head or a bullet. Doctors and medication did not exist in the camp.

In the fall of 1943 this death camp was liquidated. The prisoners who were still there were executed. The barbed wire was taken away and the ground planted with corn.

RUMANIA

The eradication of Rumania's 850,000 Jews was greatly accelerated when that country joined the Axis on November 23, 1940. Thousands lost their lives in the succeeding few months, in pogroms and isolated murders. But the full force of the blow against the Jewish population was not felt until the summer of 1941, when Nazis combined with native fascist groups in an annihilation campaign among the most barbarous in Nazi-controlled Europe.

The Jews were driven from their homes, buffeted from state to state, expelled from one border to another. If they were not killed

on the way, their forced wanderings brought them to death in German-ruled concentration camps.

From statements of survivors, war prisoners and witnesses in trials of Rumanian war criminals after the country's liberation, the story has been pieced together.

A Rumanian prisoner of war, Lieutenant Romulus Imberush, described the "merciless robbery and tortures."⁵¹

The Jews were annihilated by various means: on scaffolds, with bayonets, with bullets. Women and young girls were raped in the presence of mothers, husbands and children, and then killed. Those who survived were gathered in tens of thousands and sent to camps. On the way they died in thousands from hunger, thirst and utter exhaustion. That's what happened on the outskirts of Czernowitz, Beltz, Kishinev, Benderi, Belgrade and Akkerman . . . In Odessa thousands of Jews were subjected to tortures, robbery, and exiled to camps on the shores of the river Bug. People went on foot, in the rain, slept in the open field, naked, hungry, exhausted. Crazed by sorrow and suffering, the women still held in their arms their little children, dead of hunger and cold.

Another prisoner of war, the German Karl Bangel, soldier of the 44th Regiment, 11th Infantry Division, said⁵² that in Bessarabia, "the Rumanian soldiers drove all Jews from the cities and villages. They drove them along the roads. Old people and women were dropping, they could not go on. They shouted at them: 'Die.' Antonescu issued an order by which residents who offered aid to the Jews who dropped down on the road, were to be shot on the spot. When the German command learned along what road the Rumanians were driving the Jews, an SS detachment was sent out immediately to shoot them all. I saw it myself more than once."

The flight of one family was described by a 17-year-old girl, Gedalia Schneider, after her escape to Palestine on July 17, 1944:⁵³

Some 800 Jewish families used to live in our village (Ploesti, Bessarabia). At the beginning of the Russo-German war in 1941, the front line was only twenty kilometers away from our village. The place was repeatedly bombed, and there were many casualties. A week later the Germans entered the village.

We fled to Dombroveni village, sixty kilometers away. Three days later the Germans entered Dombroveni, and set the village on fire; they began to loot. The Jews who tried to put out the fire were shot on the spot. During a single night 280 Jews were murdered.

We fled back to Ploesti the following morning, but were caught by Rumanians, who beat us cruelly.

Our group numbered fifty people, including fifteen children. We were robbed of everything we had. When my mother broke into tears, a Rumanian officer put the barrel of his pistol into her mouth. In this way we were led about for ten days without food. Many died on the way. Then we were taken into an empty room and left there for three days without food.

At last we were brought back to Ploesti. Our house was empty; everything had been stolen. There were still 1,500 Jews left in the village.

Three days later all the Jews were driven to the camp at Limbani-Nova. There were 2,500 Jews in the camp including people from the neighboring villages. Conditions were bad. We received no food. For *bakshish* the Rumanian officer permitted people to leave the camp for a few hours. Thus the artisans among us could earn a few pence, and the food they bought had to suffice for all.

We slept on the bare earth and in the open. Heavy autumn rains turned the soil into mud. The sick were put into the only stable in the place. Of course, they were given no medicines. Two hundred and ten people in the camp died of illness and hunger.

After three and a half months we were driven to the village of Markuleshti. Eighty people died on the way. Jews from three other camps were concentrated in the ghetto there. Altogether we were about 10,000 people. When we arrived there we found the bones of thousands of people near the sewage drains. The local Jews had already been murdered. The Rumanians used to drag us to work and beat us.

A fortnight later we were expelled to Transdnistria, without any warning. We waded through mud for three days and nights and many fell down, including a large number of children.

When we reached the forest near Kremens village, several thousand Jews were flung into pits. The Rumanians did not even permit us to bury them.

At the banks of the river Dniester we were released. I did not

find my family and arrived alone in Yampol. After ten months, I was informed by a friend from my hometown that my parents and my sisters had died of hunger and sickness in Balinowka village, and many other Jews, too.

The slaughtering of Rumania's Jews was admitted by defendants in the Rumanian war criminals' trials⁵⁴ during May 1945, but each tried to place the blame on the other. None denied, for example, that 26,000 civilians had been murdered in Odessa. One accused war criminal, Trestorianu, testified that he had received an order in code from Antonescu to murder 200 city dwellers for every officer, and 100 for every soldier killed in an explosion that had occurred at the Rumanian command in Odessa. The man on trial claimed, however, that he had withheld the order, but that it had been executed by another officer on his own initiative.

The massacre of Jews in the Czernowitz Ghetto was charged against General Koletescu, former governor of Northern Bukovina, but he claimed that he had not taken a leading part in it.

Evidence in the trial of these and other Rumanian war criminals showed that 16,000 Jews had been shot or burned alive in three days in camp Bohganiwka; that surviving prisoners in concentration camps were systematically robbed; that partisans were hanged in the Bershad factory and all inmates of the prison in Bershad were murdered.

Testimony was given to the killing of 72,000 Jews in four camps. A former camp commander, Murjescu, said that he had merely taken disciplinary measures, but the prosecutor showed that the measures referred to were starving, beating and solitary confinement, which caused the death of hundreds of prisoners. Another concentration camp official admitted depriving prisoners of their winter clothing, causing the death of 8,000 to 10,000 inmates.

From 150 to 200 people a day had died of hunger and cold in the same camp, it was admitted.

A prosecution witness describing the Odessa massacre of October 23-25, 1941, testified:

Crowds of people were led out of prison, among them many women, children and old men. Our company had to lead these people to the place of execution. Deep ditches were dug

near the barracks. Many people were shot to death in those ditches; then the barracks were covered with benzine and set afire. Before starting the fires, Delyanu decided to carry out grenade throwing practice. Grenades were hurled through the windows of the barracks. Hundreds of people died in the resulting explosions. Then the barracks were burned. The burning bodies, hurled from the windows, served as targets for the murderers who surrounded the barracks. It was a horrible sight. I could not bear it and escaped to an empty barracks.

Seven persons, including a woman, were hanged at the gates of the prison, according to another witness to the same scene. The German spectators shot at the struggling women, children and old men, and then photographed the dreadful scene.

The trial disclosed that prisoners in one camp, Vapniarka, went without water for weeks at a time. Hundreds of people stood in line for hours for a few drops of water. Their food consisted of soup and bread in which sand had been mixed with the flour.

The bodies of 8,000 Jews who had been shot in Bershad, were piled in heaps at the outskirts of the city to be dragged away by dogs.

An assistant camp official, Podwea Boby, according to testimony by a prosecution witness, "would distribute bread only to those who performed the job of gravediggers. On the day of the mass murders of prisoners, I saw naked women and children ordered to fall on their knees and shot. One young child whose mother had been killed was lured by an officer with a piece of bread and shot when he was near enough to grab it."

POLAND AND THE SOVIET UNION

For centuries Poland and Western Russia had been the great population center of European Jewry. Before the war Poland had a Jewish population of over three million; while most of Soviet Russia's Jewish citizens were to be found in the Ukraine, White Russia, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania and Bessarabia. Demography dictated the sites for mass extermination.

The master-race theory, however, decreed the annihilation not

only of Jews. Slavs—Poles and Russians—must give Lebensraum to German settlers from the west. Their vast numbers must be reduced. As a present and future threat to German fascism they must be removed. Defeated or undefeated, they were dangerous. Their undiminished millions would stand squarely in the way of a third attempt at world conquest.

The selection of Poland as the great extermination center of Europe was advantageous to the Nazis for another important reason. Isolated from the rest of Europe it was well out of sight of the western world. Few reports trickled out. The rest of the world were not to learn the full potential of Nazi criminality. It might alienate too many collaborationists, outrage too many sympathizers. To the very end the Nazis endeavored to maintain the fiction of deportation to the east as an undertaking in colonization. The victims themselves were not to know the terrible truth until the very moment they entered the "bath-houses" of the deportation centers and realized that they were lethal gas chambers.

While Poland was selected as a place where Jews could inconspicuously die from starvation, disease and overwork, and as an area where death factories could dispose of Jews and members of other "inferior races" on a wholesale basis and in the shortest possible time, it was also used by the Germans as a labor pool from which supplementary slave labor could be drawn for use in German war industry and agriculture.

The successful Russian winter offensive of 1941-42 which forced the German "strategic withdrawal to winter quarters" before Moscow and decided the outcome in the eastern theater of war, was the signal for fiercer massacres. Increased brutality toward the civilian populations by the Germans retreating across Soviet territory appears to have been in accord with a definite policy of depopulation. After Stalingrad, in February 1943, Nazi barbarism reached its all-time high. With final defeat staring it in the face, Nazism drowned the east in a sea of blood.

The monstrosity of German crimes in eastern Poland and the Soviet Union is of such a nature and on so vast a scale that it cannot be adequately covered in this volume. A second volume on the destruction of entire populations—Jewish and non-Jewish—in the eastern part of Europe and in the Soviet Union is in preparation.

LVOV

*Murder of the Intellectuals*⁵⁵

After breaking into the city of Lvov on June 30, 1941, the German invaders proclaimed the Lvov region to be the "District of Galicia." The so-called "New Order" consisted of unbridled looting, violence, tortures and mass executions.

The murder of Soviet citizens was committed, not incidentally by bandit groups of German officers and soldiers but deliberately by German army formations, police and SS; it was done according to a plan previously drawn up by the German government. A special apparatus was set up for the mass annihilation of Soviet people.

The German invaders murdered some 700,000 Soviet citizens—men, women and children—as well as citizens of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Holland, Great Britain and the United States of America brought to Lvov from concentration camps in Germany.

Before Lvov was taken, lists of prominent intellectuals were in the hands of the Gestapo. As soon as the town was captured, wholesale arrests and shootings began.

Professor F. V. Groer of the Lvov Medical Institute, who escaped death, made the following statement to the Commission:

When I was arrested on July 3, 1941, at midnight, and led into a truck, Professors Grek, Boy-Zeleuski and others were already there. We were taken to the Bourse Abrahamowiczi house. As they led us down the corridor, the Gestapo men taunted us, pushed us along with their rifle butts, pulled our hair and struck us on the head . . . Later I saw five professors being led out of the dormitory of the Bourse Abrahamowiczi. Four of them carried the bloody corpse of the son of Ruff, the famous surgeon, who had been killed by the Germans during cross-examination. The whole group was taken under guard to Cadet Hill. Fifteen or twenty minutes later I heard a rifle volley from the direction in which the professors had been taken.

The Germans subjected the arrested scientists to the most outrageous torments and humiliations before shooting them. B. G.

Holtman, resident of Lvov, told the special commission that in July 1941 he had seen SS troops "lead twenty persons, including four professors and several lawyers and doctors, into the yard of house No. 8 on Artishevesky Street. I knew one of them by name, Kreps, doctor of law. There were also five or six women in the group. The SS forced them to wash the stairs in seven sections of a four-story building with their lips and tongues. After all the stairs had been washed, these people were forced to collect garbage with their lips . . . and carry it to one section of the yard . . ."

The fascist invaders took care to conceal the slaughter of intellectuals. To repeated inquiries from relatives and friends about the fate of these scientists, the Germans replied they "knew nothing."

By order of Reichsminister Himmler, in the autumn of 1943, the Gestapo burned the bodies of the professors who had been shot. Mandel and Korn, ex-prisoners at the Janowski camp, who helped to dig up the bodies, made the following statement:

On the night of October 5, 1943, a pit was opened up between Cadet and Vuletsky Streets by order of a Gestapo man, and by the flare of searchlights we removed thirty-six corpses. We burned all these corpses. While removing the bodies from the pit, we found documents with the names of Professor Ostrowski, Professor Staszek, doctor of physico-mathematical sciences, and Professor Casimir Bartel of the Polytechnic Institute.

The investigation established that, during the first few months of the occupation, the Germans arrested and murdered in Lvov more than seventy prominent men of science, engineering and the arts.

*Mass Annihilation*⁵⁵

Dr. Wechter, the German governor of the "District of Galicia," and SS Major General Katzman set up a so-called forced labor camp on Janowska Street, Lvov, in November 1941. It was surrounded by a brick wall and barbed wire. Here the Germans confined both civilians and war prisoners. The prisoners were starved, compelled to do work for which they were not fit, brutally beaten. The daily food ration consisted of two glasses of "black coffee"

made of sawdust, 100 grams of bread mixed with sawdust and a bowl of soup made of potato peelings. The prisoners died by the thousands from hunger, typhus, dysentery and executions.

SS *Hauptsturmfuehrer* Gebauer established in the Janowski camp a brutal system of exterminating people. After his transfer to another position, it was "perfected" by camp commandants SS *Obersturmfuehrer* Gustav Wilhaus and SS *Hauptsturmfuehrer* Franz Warzok.

"I myself saw SS *Hauptsturmfuehrer* Fritz Gebauer strangle women and children," Asch, a former prisoner in this camp, told the Commission. "And in the winter he stood the men in barrels of cold water. The victims were bound hand and foot and left in the barrels to freeze to death."

SS *Hauptsturmfuehrer* Franz Warzok had a weakness for hanging prisoners by the feet. *Obersturmfuehrer* Rokita personally slit open abdomens. Gaine, chief of the investigation department of the Janowski camp, dug into the bodies of his victims with sticks or pieces of iron, tore off women's nails with pliers, stripped them and hanged them by the hair, swinging their bodies and shooting at the "moving target."

Inmates of the camp were murdered without any reason, sometimes for a bet. Wepke, a Gestapo commissar, laid a wager with other camp executioners that he could chop a boy in half with one blow of an axe. When the others refused to take him on, he caught a ten-year-old boy in the street, forced him to kneel down, bent his head in his hands, took aim, adjusted the boy's head and slit his body open in one blow. The Nazis congratulated Wepke heartily and shook hands with him.

In 1943, on Hitler's birthday, *Obersturmfuehrer* Wilhaus, commandant of the Janowski camp, counted off fifty-four inmates and shot them himself. Hitler was fifty-four that day.

The camp had a hospital. On the 1st and 15th of every month the German executioners Brambauer and Birman made the rounds of the hospital and shot all patients who had been there for more than two weeks. Between six and ten persons were shot each time.

The Germans carried out the torture and execution of their victims to music. For this purpose they organized a special orchestra made up of the prisoners themselves. Professor Striks and

the famous conductor Mund were forced to lead the orchestra. The Germans ordered the composers among the camp inmates to write a piece of music which they called the "Death Tango." Shortly before the camp was liquidated, the Germans shot all the members of the orchestra.

The fascists shot more than 200,000 peaceful Soviet people in the Janowski camp. Mantel, ex-inmate of this camp, testified: "During the two months of my stay in the camp the Germans killed about 60,000 prisoners, including 8,000 children."

The main site of the mass shootings in the Janowski camp was a ravine half a kilometer from the camp, which the prisoners called the "Valley of Death."

On the territory of the Janowski camp, the Commission found three pits with the bodies of Soviet citizens who had been shot in the second half of July 1944. Departing from their usual procedure, the Nazis had not searched the clothing of the dead. In the pockets of the victims the Commission found documents by which the identity of those killed could be established.

Having investigated the "Valley of Death" at the Janowski camp and studied the testimony of witnesses, the medico-legal commission of experts established:

1. Civilians were slaughtered wholesale in the Janowski camp.
2. The massacres were effected mainly by the typical German method of shooting in the back of the head. Some of the victims were killed by shooting in the parietal region of the skull.
3. On lots adjoining the Janowski camp the Germans buried and subsequently burned bodies on a mass scale.
4. In the ravine the soil was found to be impregnated to a considerable depth by liquids and fats which gave off a stench of decomposing and burned flesh.
5. The nature of the ashes found, which contained small bits of bones, and the brittleness of the larger bones, show that the bodies were burned at high temperature. The ashes remaining after the burning of bodies were buried at various spots on the camp grounds up to two meters deep. Fifty-nine such spots have been found. Moreover, almost everywhere on the territory of the camp ashes containing bones have been found on the surface of the soil.

In view of the fact that the total area covered by the ashes and bones, both buried and scattered on the surface, amounts to two kilometers, the commission of experts is of the opinion that over 200,000 Soviet citizens were killed in the Janowski camp.

The Ghetto ⁵⁵

In September 1941 a ghetto, which the Germans called *Judenlager*, was organized in Lvov on instructions from Major General Katzman of the SS. The ghetto was situated on the outskirts of the city. Its territory was surrounded by barbed wire. No one was allowed to leave the ghetto, and the Jews were taken to and from work under armed escort. This camp contained 136,000 persons.

Ida Vasseaux, a French subject, directress of a special home for old and incapacitated Frenchmen which existed in Lvov long before the war, states in her written deposition:

... As soon as the German authorities came, we knew there would be killings. No more than two or three days had passed, when we heard Tommy-gun fire, and we knew that Jews were being shot. I had an opportunity to visit the ghetto. Conditions there were frightful. Fifteen to twenty people lived in one room without water or electricity. Prices were fearful, and unfortunates were doomed to starvation. Once a week the Gestapo came and took some to Belzec. The condemned were taken away dressed only in shirts. The German bandits took away their clothes and shipped the loot to Germany by the carload. Little children were condemned to a horrible death. They were turned over to the Hitler Youth, who used them as live targets during rifle practice.

During the period of the existence of the ghetto, from September 7, 1941, to June 6, 1943, the Germans murdered more than 130,000 persons. Some of them were shot in the ghetto itself, others in the Janowski camp, while the rest were sent to Belzec.

Concealing the Evidence ⁵⁵

In view of the successful offensive of the Red Army and the panicky retreat of the German fascist troops, the Nazi government and the high command decided to hide the monstrous slaughter

ANNIHILATION

of the civilian population, Soviet prisoners of war and citizens of France, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Holland, Belgium, the United States of America and Great Britain, who were inmates of German concentration camps in the Lvov region.

By order of Reichsminister Himmler and Major General Katzman of the SS, special measures were taken, in the month of June 1943, to dig up and burn the bodies of Soviet war prisoners and citizens of foreign countries.

In Lvov the Germans formed a special *Sonderkommando* No. 1005 consisting of 126 men. The chief of this *Kommando* was *Hauptsturmbannfuehrer* Scherliak, his assistant, *Hauptsturmbannfuehrer* Rauch. The function of the *Sonderkommando* was to dig up the bodies of civilians and war prisoners killed by the Germans and burn them. *Sicherheitsdienst Scharfuehrer* Rauch and *Sicherheitsdienst Oberwachtmeister* Kapick were in charge of this job.

The bodies removed from the pits were placed on special sites in piles of from 1,200 to 1,600 each. Tar and benzine were poured on the bodies. They were set afire. The ashes and remnants of bones were run through sieves for the purpose of collecting any gold objects. Witnesses Velichker, Hamaides and others state in their testimony that during the five months of their work in the "death brigade" the Germans collected, and sent to Germany, 110 kilograms of gold.

The ashes were scattered over the fields or buried; the larger bones were laid aside and ground in a bone-crusher. The Germans did not have time to destroy the bone-crusher; it stands on the territory of the former Janowski camp as material evidence of the crimes committed by the fascist executioners.

L. A. Velichker, former inmate of the Janowski camp, testified: "I worked in the 'death brigade' from June 6, 1943, to November 20, 1943. During this time the brigade burned more than 310,000 corpses; 170,000 of them in the sand ditch of the Janowski camp, and more than 140,000 in Lisenitski Forest. This number includes corpses dug up from graves, as well as those which were not buried but burned immediately after shooting. On November 20, 1943, our brigade ran away. Only a few of us escaped, the rest were killed. The Germans organized another brigade who con-

tinued the burning of the bodies. I do not know how many bodies were burned after my escape, but I know that the burning of bodies continued until January 1944."

Witness D. S. Manusevich, who also worked in the "death brigade," testified as follows: "After burning the corpses in a ravine near the Janowski camp, we were driven to Lisenitski Forest to dig up forty-five pits filled with the bodies of citizens who had been shot previously. The style of clothing, insignia, buttons, medals and orders identified them as Red Army men, and as French and Belgian prisoners of war; also among them were the bodies of civilians."

A commission of medico-legal experts, headed by Prof. M. I. Avdyev, established: "The symmetrical position of the young trees on the surface of the sites where the pits and ashes were found, indicates that they were planted for the purpose of camouflage. The German fascist authorities did everything in their power to hide the traces of their crimes. The choice of the site, protected from view on nearly all sides by hills and trees, helped the Germans to work in secret. The natural conditions of the terrain enabled the executioners to perpetrate their frightful deeds in deep secrecy."

The commission established that the graves in Lisenitski Forest were disguised in exactly the same manner as were the graves of the Polish officers killed by the Germans in the Katyn woods.

*Death Underground*⁵⁶

A young Jew from Lvov succeeded in escaping from Poland and reached Malmoe on July 1, 1944. He relates the following:

The destruction of Polish Jewry was carried out in three stages: 1) Concentration of Jews in ghettos. 2) Transfer of Jews from ghettos in provincial towns to ghettos in large towns. 3) Systematic expulsion of Jews from ghettos to crematoriums. In May 1942, trains filled with Jews from all parts of Poland began to pass through Rava Russka. Each train contained about 1,000 Jews. These trains arrived day and night. The windows were covered with wire netting; Gestapo men stood ready on the roofs of the

trains with machine guns at their sides. Hundreds of hands were thrust out through the wire-covered windows. One and the same cry burst from their lips: "Water, bring us water!"

Most of them came from Western Poland and did not have the slightest idea where they were being taken. The Germans ordered them to take clothes and valuables, promising that this was only a transfer to another district where they would start a new life. A few Poles went to Belzec to investigate the matter. The former Russian-German frontier had been near Belzec. The Russians had built extensive underground fortifications there. After their withdrawal these fortifications fell into German hands.

Consignments of Jews began to arrive at Belzec in March 1942. The trains entered the underground area at a certain point. Each train carried about 10,000 Jews. An hour later an empty train left at another point. This was the regular procedure at Belzec.

The news of what happened spread rapidly throughout the district. Sometimes young Jews succeeded in jumping out of the death trains. If they were not shot by the guards, they might reach Rava Russka, the town closest to Belzec. But their number was very small.

The Belzec camp is built underground. It is an electric crematorium. There are two halls in the underground buildings. People were taken out of the railway cars into the first hall. Then they were led naked to the second hall. Here the floor resembled an enormous plate. When the crowd of men stood on it, the floor sank deep into a pool of water. The moment the men sank up to their necks, a powerful electric current of millions of volts was passed through, killing them all at once. The floor rose again, and a second electric current was passed through the bodies, burning them until nothing was left of the victims save a few ashes.

*... but a Crust of Bread*⁵⁷

Low, dark cells without benches or bunks; dampness, odors of decay; a small barred window through which the sun enters—this was the Jewish prison on Lentzko Street in Lvov. SS guards surround it on all sides.

My brother and I were arrested on a false charge of having

hidden firearms. German sentries pulled off my brother's boots and took his watch. Beaten and bruised, we were pushed into a cell.

Herr Engels often visited the prison. We would be led into the yard, and he would beat us till we bled. He loved to poke fun at his victim, promising to spare his life and set him free. No sooner did he perceive the slightest ray of hope on the face of the victim, than he would end his life with a bullet in the stomach.

The imprisoned Jews would remain in the cell until a new batch of prisoners arrived. Then the "older" inmates would be packed into trucks and taken to Pyaskovo Gura. Here they were shot. When our turn came, the Germans separated the young and healthy and took them to a concentration camp. Engels sold us to his pal Wilhaus, who was in charge of the camp.

During the autumn of 1941, Nazi Gouverneur-General Frank set up forced labor and concentration camps for Jews in the Western Ukraine. By 1942, a network of concentration camps covered the area around Lvov, Tarnopol and Stanislawow. The worst was the concentration camp in Lvov, on Janowska Street. It was known as "Janowska." The camp was surrounded by barbed wire.

Roll call came at dawn. All inmates stood at attention. The morning "exercises" followed. They were conducted by SS men. After a while the sadists took those who could no longer stand up, out of line to the other side of a barbed-wire fence. Then came the crackling of machine guns. Those who remained alive were marched off to work.

Work consisted mainly of demolishing memorial slabs from Jewish cemeteries, breaking them up into small pieces for road mending.

Two roads led into the camp. One road—to the barracks and the kitchen. The second—to the "death square." One- and two-story booths surrounded the camp. Here the *Askars* (Ukrainian fascist police) were stationed.

The unfamiliar sweetish odor which pervaded the camp was puzzling. But later we discovered that it came from two sources: the corpses and the lead of machine guns.

The camp had twenty barracks. Each one of them had bunks built in five tiers. Dirty straw covered them. In back of the bar-

racks was the kitchen. Our daily ration was watery soup and a small slice of ersatz bread.

On the first day of my arrival I received a yellow badge and was sent to the barracks of the new arrivals. The first roll call is associated in my memory with the death of 200 young people. We stood in columns ready to leave for work. Some SS men arrived. They separated one group from the rest of us. In the evening, these young people were not to be found. They had met their death in Pyaskovo Gura.

The camp was run by the very cream of the SS. A number of apprentices among them were taught the "art" of SS work. By the time they left they had gained ample experience to carry on their work in the various other camps of Galicia. Thus, the SS man Kolenko "graduated" from the camp on Janowska Street and went to Grudek Yagelonski. SS man Rokito went to Tarnopol. Here they organized torture camps on the Janowska model. It also worked the other way round. Whenever an SS man excelled in murder technique, he was taken to Lvov, to the Janowski camp, in order to give his technique a better chance for "expression."

The Janowski camp was a playground for young SS men. "Extra-curricular" entertainment was organized on Sundays. Three to four hundred men would be ordered to run without stopping. SS men, standing on both sides, would trip them up. Whoever fell down was immediately taken to the death square.

Another form of amusement was an order to carry building materials from one place to another. Worn out from the terrific grind of the week's work, we would drag loads weighing up to 150 kilograms. Whoever fell received a bullet in the head.

More than anything did we fear the drunken orgies of the SS. They would break into our barracks and beat us to death; they would pierce our bodies with picks, split our heads with heavy hammers, choke us.

Each SS man had his own "passion." Gebauer would suffocate his victim in a barrel, or between two boards. Kolenko would string his victim up by the feet. Rokito would shoot into the skull. Schanback, a 23-year-old, one Sunday, tied a prisoner to a pole and beat him with a rubber truncheon. When his victim fainted

from pain, Schanback revived him—gave him some food and water, and a minute later, continued his orgy of torture. The rest of us were ordered to watch this scene.

Toward evening, Schanback got tired and told us to disperse. He placed a sentry beside the dying victim. In the morning we saw a gruesome sight: a bloody pole, with hunks of human flesh tied to it. That was all that was left of the murdered man.

By the time systematic liquidation began, only a handful of Jews remained in the camp. The majority were led out to Pyaskovo Gura, where graves were already waiting. The mass murders were executed with speed. Many were buried alive. Some tried to creep out of their graves—pushing away the earth with which they had been covered. At that moment the Nazis poured kerosene over them and burned them. Those still trying to escape were shot.

The camp followed a regular pattern: SS tortured the young and healthy so that after the strength had been sucked out of them, they could be shot as “unnecessary elements.”

The prisoner is a slave in the fullest sense of the term. He is beaten and tortured in order that he should cease to think. His torturers seek to rob him of all energy, all human dignity, all will to live. Finally he thinks only of a crust of bread.

*Testimony of a Priest*⁵⁸

DEPOSITION BY
FATHER JOHANNES SIEBERG,
CHAPLAIN OF THE ROMAN-CATH-
OLIC CHURCH,
PRISONER OF WAR,
MEDICAL WORKER, 11TH CO., 207TH
REG., 97TH DIV.

After the occupation of Poland in 1939 and of the Ukraine in 1942, the Germans issued an order to eliminate all Jews there. My comrades told me that, when they went through the Ukraine in 1941, the Germans shot the Jewish population and the families of commissars in Lvov and other cities. Those who were doomed

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to extermination, had to dig their own graves. The living placed the bodies of the dead in these graves. One group of the doomed was replaced by another in an endless stream.

KLOOGA

*Last Minute Rage*⁵⁹

Foreign correspondents were shown today the scene of the German execution and cremation of an estimated 3,000 Jews, Lithuanians, Poles, Estonians and Russians on September 19, 1944—an act that demonstrated most conclusively that the Germans are in full-scale retreat and are capable of cold-blooded slaughter even when it will serve little, if any military purpose.

Here at the Nazis' Klooga labor camp, built originally to house the last survivors of the Vilna Ghetto, I have seen and counted recognizable parts of 438 complete and partly burned bodies of men, women and children, including one child who could not have been more than three months old, but whose skull had been shattered by a bullet and who lay on the arm of her dead mother in cold, bleak country in the midst of a pine forest.

I have seen three huge funeral pyres built of pine logs by prisoners whose captors then shot them and burned their bodies. Near these piles, now almost completely reduced to ashes, I counted recognizable parts of at least 215 bodies, and an unknown number of other skeletons had been reduced to bone ash by a hot fire made by burning pine logs and bodies soaked in gasoline. In a field nearby, leading to a river, were the bodies of a dozen other persons who had tried to escape but were cut down by bullets.

I have seen the charred remnants of a barracks building into whose eight rooms the Germans crowded an estimated 700 persons, who were to be shot. The barracks then was set afire and destroyed, cremating the bodies that remained inside. Alongside this building there was a row of at least 150 bodies, some of which obviously had been shot down while attempting to escape from the building.

In the central part of the camp itself there was one other ghastly scene. In a courtyard I counted the bodies of sixty-four persons, including men, women and children, and it was there that I saw

the body of a baby, dressed in a red sweater, white woollen panties and a blue shirt.

These were the bodies of persons who had been machine-gunned to death inside one of the central barracks, but which the Germans, in their anxiety to flee before the approaching Red Army, did not have time to burn. The bodies had been removed to the courtyard by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission which investigated this latest of a long series of crimes committed by Germany against the inhabitants of the Soviet Union and other parts of occupied Europe.

Inside this unburned barracks the sight was equally revolting. When we entered the central sleeping-room with its many unpainted white pine bunks, we walked across the floor still wet with blood, into which feathers from ripped mattresses had settled. In the center of the room were piled five bodies, including one of a 10 or 12-year-old boy, all of whom had been killed by a machine gun. We were told the bodies in the courtyard had lain in just such piles until removed by the investigating Commission.

Of the estimated 3,000 or more persons in the camp—a total that included more than 1,500 Vilna Jews, 800 Soviet prisoners of war and civilians from the Leningrad region and 700 Estonian political prisoners—we were told that only eighty-five persons had survived and we had an opportunity to talk with more than a dozen of these survivors. They told us the camp's inhabitants included 600 women and eighty-four children of whom forty women and three children survived.

What we saw here was no organized production-line death camp such as we had seen in August at Maidanek, Poland.

The evidence here plainly points to the fact that there were several hundred persons whom the Germans killed simply because they could not evacuate them in advance of the swiftly approaching Red Army.

The survivors told us the camp was built in September 1943. They worked long hours on a daily menu that consisted of ersatz coffee for breakfast, a plate of poor soup for lunch, and 330 grams of black bread and twenty-five grams of poor margarine for dinner.

We were told that 800 Russians and 700 Estonians who were

killed at the camp had been brought there by Elite Guard troops in big trucks only on the final day.

Here in his own words is the story of the experiences of Lazre Olejski, 31, a Vilna lawyer, a tall, black-haired man with a receding forehead, who appeared before us in his dirty gray wool one-piece uniform, under which he wore a blue turtle-necked sweater:

"When the Germans came to Vilna there were 70,000 Jews. During the first six weeks special squads of German officers would enter the homes of Jews during the night and thousands of persons 'disappeared,' so by the time the regular ghetto was established and all Jews were required to live in it, there were only about 35,000 Jews left.

"On September 24, 1943, we were told to pack our things to leave the ghetto. We were told we would not be killed, but that we were being moved elsewhere. We went to the Vilna railway station. There the men were separated from the women, and I do not know what happened to my wife and my mother. My father and I came to the camp here where both of us worked as carpenters.

"On January 21, 1944, my father, who was 58, died as a result of hard labor and beatings, and on January 25th his body was cremated."

Olejski paused and picked up a small paper box, which he said contained the ashes of his father. These he had gathered from the bonfire on which the body was cremated, despite strict German orders forbidding prisoners under pain of death to gather the ashes of their relatives.

"In September the head of the camp picked 300 of the strongest men—I was not among them—and directed them to go to the woods and gather some pine logs. About this time SS trucks arrived with 800 Soviet prisoners of war and 700 Estonians. They were led in the same direction as the place where the 300 prisoners from the camp were gathering wood.

"About midday, after our regular work, when we were getting our noon meal, we heard specific instructions given for feeding the men who were in the woods. But about 2:30 P.M. we heard shots in the woods. Soon after this the Germans picked another 100 men to go to the woods, including me.

"I slipped away and hid behind some women until I got a chance to sneak into a barracks attic where I hid beneath a great pile of mattresses, remaining without food or water for thirty-six hours. When I at last came out the Germans were gone."

VILNA

*Portrait of a Killer: Schweigenburg*⁶⁰

He was one of your "handsome" German officers. Until 1939 he had been a gendarme in Berlin. Later he went through the Party school in Nuremberg. He was tall, elegant, with a delicate, girlish complexion. He never looked you in the eye when he spoke. He gave orders that he was to be addressed as "Father." It seemed to please his fancy.

Once, when he heard a Jewish woman groaning at her work, he handed her a gold brooch. A moment before he had taken this same brooch from the body of a dead woman.

I saw Schweigenburg on *Rosh Hashbanah*, in 1941. With his adjutants, Weiss and Herring, he had come to make a tour of inspection of the ghetto. He demanded that the sick and aged be turned over to him, to be sent to the death camp.

While they were being taken away, Herring and Weiss stood beside him, listening to his brusque orders. The Jews were dragged out from garrets and cellars. The old, the sick, the half-dead, they were dragged out by arms or legs, like slaughtered cattle, and thrown into the waiting truck. Schweigenburg never deigned to even look at them. He stood motionless, as though made of stone. On his breast glittered a medal in the shape of a sword.

I watched while they dragged out the parents of some of my friends. There was the mother of Benzie Michtem, a painter of the young Vilna group. There was A. I. Grodzenky, editor of the *Evening Courier*. Two ruffians had him by the arms. His wooden leg trailed behind him. Before they got him into the truck the false leg fell off. Then for the first time Schweigenburg lifted his head and spoke. It was to order Herring to throw the leg into the truck, after Grodzenky.

ANNIHILATION

*Portrait of a Killer: Maurer*⁶¹

Maurer, the supervisor of Jewish affairs under Vilna District Commissioner Heingst, was about 24 years old. He had been educated among the *Hitlerjugend* in Nuremberg. His father was a hangman in a distant German province.

By rank he was an officer, and his job was to maintain order among the Jews.

Maurer enjoyed making sport of "his" Jews. He would appear unexpectedly at the entrance of the ghetto and inspect everyone returning from work. If he found food on anyone, he would take him off to prison himself. Sometimes he would inspect the identification patches on the Jews' clothes. If the patch was loose he had the person arrested. When he found money, or even flowers being smuggled into the ghetto, he ordered the offender beaten.

Once he met a group of Jews, had them searched and discovered on one of them a kilo of flour. By his order all twenty of them were arrested, and he personally went to oversee their execution at Ponary. When they lay dead he went up to count the bodies to make sure that all twenty had been disposed of. Instead of twenty, he counted twenty-one.

"Damnation!" he shouted, "you've shot one Jew by mistake!"

*The Colored Slips*⁶²

As soon as the Germans entered Vilna they dragged off the Jews for various types of work and only released them late at night. Slips were distributed to the laborers to insure against their being arrested on the streets and taken away. These slips carried a photograph of the bearer. They were considered the most desirable type of certificate; there were others that had no photograph.

WHITE

Afterwards they began to issue white slips, certified by the Labor Office in Vilna. These were good only for a specified time; the holder couldn't be shot before the expiration date. Jews without these white slips were killed. Later, entire groups of workers, even those possessing slips, were taken away to the death camp at

Ponary. These slips simply became a way of gathering the Jews into groups to make their capture easier.

YELLOW

Then instructions came from Himmler that the Vilna Ghetto was to be made a permanent institution—so the people were told. The German Labor Office issued 3,000 yellow slips for 3,000 skilled Jewish workers. This fortunate group also had the right to register the names of their families. The Germans let the Jews believe that these yellow slips were priceless, a sort of life insurance.

Counterfeit yellow slips appeared. Additional names were written down as belonging to members of families of the fortunate holders. Girls who possessed them got married in the ghetto; the yellow slip became the bride's dowry. These slips found their way into the language. "You are as dear to me as my yellow slip," a mother would say to her child.

When the holder of a yellow slip went to work he was required to leave a copy of it with his wife. Otherwise, she was in danger of being shipped off to the death camp at Ponary by the inspector.

On October 24, 1941, a mass slaughter began in the ghetto. The victims were those who had no yellow slips. Those who did have them were ordered to go with their families to the square outside the Labor Office and wait there until the slaughter was over.

The affair of the yellow slips accounted for 8,000 victims.

PINK

The mockery of the colored slips went on. Those whose names were registered, as well as every Jew without a yellow slip, now had to secure a pink slip, a *Schutzschein*, as it was called. This paper was good only inside the ghetto. Now began a wild scramble for pink slips. The Labor Office in the city issued the slips to the Labor Office in the ghetto. The slips were divided into two categories: family certificates and *Schutz* certificates. The first were issued to the families of the holders of yellow slips; the *Schutz* slips were issued to the children of those unable to work.

On December 21, 1941, there was a raid in the ghetto aimed at those not holding pink slips. The raid lasted three days. About a thousand Jews were seized in cellars and attics and taken away in motor trucks to be slaughtered.

BLUE AND GREEN

When the business with the pink slips had run its course, the affair of the blue slips began. Some of the holders of the pink slips were now required to get blue ones, without which it was impossible to get leave for work—those who did not work did not stay alive. With hardly an interval, green slips were also issued, and by now the inhabitants of the ghetto were bewildered beyond hope, not knowing which slips were better, the blue or the green.

But all of these colors eventually claimed their victims.

*The Quality of Mercy: German*⁶³

While working at Vivulska 18, I had an opportunity to learn about the German hospital there. The yard of the hospital was directly opposite the fence that marked the ghetto boundary, and I could see the patients walking about in it. I could hear Rumanian, Hungarian, Spanish and Finnish. There were no Germans among them.

I saw the crippled and the blind. I could overhear their conversation. Some would stroll over to the fence, talk with the Jews and ask for news. The patients were well treated and were given good food. Sometimes they were photographed, and Sparket, the secretary of the Vilna Nazi Party, would give them pep talks. The patients frequently wrote letters, telling their friends and relatives how well they fared under the Germans. Rumanian, Hungarian, Italian and Finnish journalists often visited here. In the *Vilna Zeitung* I read an article by one of them. The writer could hardly find words warm enough to praise the care the Germans gave the wounded. "When I return home," he said, "I shall tell my people of the humanity of the Germans."

What puzzled me was that after every visit by a group of journalists the hospital yard would empty. What had become of the crippled and the blind?

Opposite the hospital was the Jewish labor camp, Kailim. Once I spent a night there. Around midnight I heard the sound of a motor. To us Jews every unusual noise held the threat of danger. I ran to the window in fright. My friend Belkind, who had lived in the camp for more than a year, showed no sign of fright.

"It's not for us," he said. "They've come to take the patients to the death camp at Ponary. Didn't you know?" he asked. "After they have taken good care of them, fed them well and brought the journalists to visit them, Weiss comes with his truck, packs the blind and the one-legged inside, and an hour later he returns with the truck empty. They tell the patients that they are going to evacuate them to a safe place, in case of an air attack."

There was a bright moon that night, and I could see the cripples being led into the truck. An hour later I saw the truck return empty. The driver got out and carried some crutches back into the hospital.

KAUNAS

*The Mass Graves*⁶⁴

Of the forty thousand Jews who were living in Kaunas on June 22, 1941, when the Germans entered, only eight or nine thousand managed to flee with the Red Army. In Gestapo documents the city of Kaunas was listed as *drittes Lager im Ausland*. Not only Kaunas Jews met their death in the mass graves near the forts; here the Nazis carried out the wholesale execution of thousands of Jews who had been driven there from the Lithuanian provinces, from Berlin, Vienna, France and Holland.

Kaunas was turned into one of the most monstrous Jewish mass graves in Eastern Europe.

The first pogrom began on June 25th or 26th in the suburb of Slobodsk, densely populated by Jews. The Nazi thugs burst into the apartments; using their rifle butts, they smashed in the heads of women and old men. Infants were bayoneted. More than 600 Jewish men, women and children were butchered on Arbarski, Paverski, Vilyuski and Iragalski Streets. The Germans drove the Jews from their homes, assembled them in courtyards and cellars and shot them down with pistol and machine-gun fire. From the top floors the Nazi beasts hurled old people, women and infants into the streets.

On the roads surrounding Kaunas, a frenzied hunt began for the thousands of Jews who had failed to escape to the east and who were consequently compelled to return to Kaunas.

One day in the latter part of June, many Jews were driven to the banks of the river Vili, not far from the Slobodsk bridge. The Germans forced them to dig their own graves with their bare hands. Hundreds of Jews, seized in the center as well as in the old part of the city, were herded into the Letukisa garage on the Vitautasak Avenue opposite the Catholic cemetery. Here the German cannibals perpetrated their bloody orgies. To the sound of accordion music they advanced upon their helpless victims. With pincers, they tore their sexual organs from their bodies, cut out their tongues, chopped off their legs and gouged out their eyes. Fire hoses were forced into the mouths of many, and they were pumped full of water. After this hellish torture more than 500 Jews were either shot or nailed to boards.

On July 12, 1941, the Nazis decreed that all Jews should move to the ghetto before August 15th. Columns of Jews were being driven there daily. It so happened that a woman with an infant in her arms in one of the columns fell down in a faint, and the column was forced to halt. As a punishment for this "crime" a few rounds of gun-fire were discharged into the column.

A few weeks went by, and the space allotted to the ghetto was decreased. Frequently five or six families were huddled together in a tiny room.

Wholesale raids began. The Nazis searched for money and valuables. Gangs burst into apartments and took everything of any value: money, silver, gold, dresses, shoes, underwear, bed-linen, furniture, musical instruments. The lootings were accompanied by bestial tortures and shootings. The Nazis stripped women of all their clothing and lashed their bare bodies mercilessly.

Plundering the Jewish population down to their last thread, the Nazis at the same time systematically decimated the ghetto inhabitants. A series of bloody actions began, led by the murderer Jordan, Kramer's subordinate, "consultant on Jewish affairs." On August 15th, Jordan gave the ghetto council 5,000 white identification cards to be distributed amongst the workers. On August 17th detachments of German troops roped off the ghetto. The entire Jewish population of 28,000 were transported to Union Square in Slobodsk. Those possessing white cards were placed on one side, all the rest on the other. All those lacking white cards

were piled into buses and sent off to the 9th Fort. The entire scene was recorded by German newsreel operators.

Suddenly a German motorcycle came tearing along. The driver brought orders to stay the executions. All the Jews were again taken back to the ghetto. This was the dress rehearsal for the annihilation of all the Kaunas Jews.

On September 27th of that year the Germans roped off the Belonski and Iragalski Streets. They said the Jews there had shot at Dozlovsky, German commandant of the ghetto. All the Jews from the roped-off streets were driven to Union Square. About 1,000 were put into buses and sent to the 9th Fort. There a large pit—dug in the shape of a terrace—had already been prepared. The Nazis ordered everybody to strip.

On October 28th, the entire Jewish population was driven to the ghetto square between Vornerski and Demokratischeski Streets. Raupe, the Gestapo butcher, divided the Jews in two parts, separating children from parents, sisters from brothers, husbands from wives.

One group of 10,000 persons was taken to the 9th Fort where a pit one and a half meters deep, three meters wide and 100-120 meters long had already been prepared. All 10,000 were driven to the pit, while machine-gun fire was directed upon them from all sides. When the bodies were in the grave only some were dead; thousands were lightly wounded or had altogether escaped the bullets. But they too were buried.

It was protracted agony for those of us who remained in the ghetto. All men between the ages of 15 to 60 years and all women from 16 to 48 were put to forced labor—without pay. The torture they were forced to undergo defies description. One group worked in a munition plant on Kestutisa Street. Drunken SS troopers would place bottles on heads and use them for target practice. They forced the people to crawl on the floors for hours on end. Anyone who dared lift his head was shot instantly.

The greatest suffering was undergone by those working at the airdrome. The distance to the airdrome and back was sixteen kilometers. People were forced to take that road on the run. For the slightest pause they were killed on the spot.

Any contact with the Lithuanians provoked the most ferocious

wrath on the part of the Germans. Disregarding anti-Semitic badgering and cruel penalties, the Lithuanians did their best to help Jews escape from the ghetto. They supplied them with food and assisted them in every possible way. Despite all barriers, Jews and Lithuanians managed to meet in the city, and the latter welcomed them warmly and gladly.

When the German police discovered these "crimes," the Jews were hanged, while the Lithuanians were exiled to Germany—all their goods and chattels confiscated.

In November and December 1941 about 15,000 Jews from Berlin, Frankfurt-on-Main, Hamburg, Dusseldorf, Prague and other West-European cities were brought to Kaunas for the alleged purpose of settling them in Lithuania. These people had a few personal belongings, but the Kaunas Gestapo soon stripped them of everything. They took them out into the streets, at thirty degrees below zero and forced them to strip to the skin. Then they shot them.

January and February 1942 saw the arrival of new groups of Jews from Vienna and Czechoslovakia. Most of them were of the professional class: doctors, engineers and lawyers.

On the way to the pit the doomed people fell upon the German cut-throats and disarmed them with their bare hands. The weapons were now turned upon the Germans, whose losses were heavy.

February 1943 brought about a new stage in the liquidation of the Jewish population of Kaunas and all the ghettos in the Baltic Republics. Sensing that their game would soon be up, the murderers from the Kaunas Gestapo determined to cover up the traces of their crimes. At the end of October and the beginning of November 1943 the Nazis built a fence around the 9th Fort and for the length of two kilometers pasted announcements forbidding loitering under threat of death.

On November 1st the Germans began to open the mass graves at the 9th Fort. War prisoners and ghetto Jews were brought in to do the work. To prevent them from fleeing, the Germans chained them to each other. Between November 1st and December 25th, six mass graves were opened. Each was 100-120 meters long, two meters wide and one and a half meters deep. Twelve thousand bodies of men, women and children were removed from these open

graves, piled in heaps of 300, doused with a combustible liquid and set afire. A special machine crumbled the remains of this autodafe into small particles, and the ashes were mixed together with the earth. Some of the corpses had rags hanging to them, but most of them were stark naked. The position of the bodies indicated that the people had been driven into the graves in groups, forced to lie down and shot in that position. Many of the bodies were absolutely free of wounds, showing that people had been buried alive.

RIGA

*The Well*⁶⁵

DEPOSITION BY
ERIC PFALTSGRAF,
PRISONER OF WAR,
OBER-CORPORAL, 328TH INF. REG.,
227TH GRENADE DIV.

In the following I shall quote accounts of the associates and soldiers of the SS guards, accounts I heard in the field hospital in Sologubovki, in May 1942, and in Riga. Schuman, Ober-Sergeant of SS troops, who served in an SS battalion and took part in the invasion of Russia relates the following:

He, Schuman, had entered Russian territory on June 22, 1941. At the very beginning of the campaign the officers ordered them to treat the civilian inhabitants with the greatest ruthlessness, and not to show any sign of pity. "The more merciless you are," the officers said, "the sooner will the Russians grovel at our feet." Immediately after the invasion, Schuman witnessed fearful sights. Any village which dared to fire a gun was immediately surrounded by tanks and set on fire. The fleeing, panic-stricken people were driven into a huddle and machine-gunned, despite the fact that there were women and children amongst them.

The treatment of the Jews was particularly revolting. When the latter were seized they were shockingly beaten and then hanged. Officers ordered Jewish girls to be brought before them. These girls were forced to dance in the nude before the officers;

they were usually violated and then brutally slaughtered. Schuman was present when Jewish girls had their clothes torn off their backs and were drowned in a well.

*Death in the Forests*⁶⁶

Wehrmacht Field Marshals von Model and Schoerner and eighty-six other Germans were named responsible for the death of 577,000 persons in concentration camps in Latvia and the deportation of 175,000 others as slave labor, in a report by a Soviet investigating committee.

The committee reported that the Germans had methodically destroyed factories, public utilities, libraries, museums, hospitals and homes, had ransacked libraries and art galleries and slain many Latvian intellectuals. At least 170,000 civilians, including women and children, were slaughtered in mass extermination camps near Riga, it was charged.

"In the central prison in Riga," said the report, "they murdered more than 2,000 children whom they had taken away from parents, and in Salsspils camp they killed more than 3,000 children." In this camp the commission said it found nine grave-pits covering an area of more than 3,600 square yards, and had established that the Germans tortured to death more than 56,000 civilians there.

"In the first and second psychiatric hospitals they killed all the mentally diseased," the report said, citing three instances in which German SS men removed a total of more than 2,450 mental defectives from the hospitals in 1942 and shot all of them on the outskirts of Riga. A hospital doctor testified he was instructed to note on the sick lists simply, "Evacuated by SS."

"The Germans also killed residents of Riga and its suburbs in Bikernek, Dreilin and Rumbul Forests," the report continued. "In Bikernek Forest, located on the outskirts of Riga, the Nazis shot 46,500 civilians."

One witness testified he counted forty-one buses in one morning in a two-day movement of doomed persons just before Easter 1942. On Easter Sunday he said many residents went to the forest and saw a big open pit filled with slain women and children.

"The bodies of the women and children bore traces of torture,"

he said. "Many had bruised faces and heads. Some had hands or fingers cut off, eyes gouged out, stomachs ripped open."

The committee reported investigators at the forest found fifty-five graves with a total area of more than 30,000 square yards.

The report also charged massacres in these places: Dreilin Forest near Riga, more than 130,000 civilians and prisoners of war shot; Rumbul Forest, 38,000 civilians slain; Dvinsk, daily shootings of hundreds of Soviet citizens kept in prisons and camps, including more than 43,000 at one point on the territory of Zolotaya Gorka; district of Rezhitsa, 15,000 civilians, including more than 2,000 children and the entire population of the village of Avdriny, destroyed allegedly for helping the Red Army.

A witness was quoted on the shooting of the Jews, saying:

"People with little children, old men and women, poured out into the streets where they were lined up. Some were dispatched in buses, but most of the people were driven on foot. In endless columns the Jews plodded along the streets. The exodus lasted from 5:00 P.M. Saturday all through the night and ended on Sunday evening.

"The streets were covered with ice, and people fell and were shot on the spot. The streets of the ghetto became red with blood. Children and their mothers were shot mercilessly.

"As people traveled their last road, the road to death, the German beasts snatched small children from their mothers' hands, seized them by the feet and killed them by dashing them against poles and fences."

The New Europe ⁶⁷

DEPOSITION BY
WERNER MUEHLPOLTNER,
PRISONER OF WAR,
CORP. 2ND BAT.,
182ND RES. REG., 1ST AIR FLEET

The most gloomy page in Hitler's fight for a "New Europe" is the fate of the Jews. They are being annihilated by the millions. After a Russian city is conquered, the Jews with their families are

driven out of the city and are forced to dig their own graves. The SS men shoot them like cattle. The manner of these shootings is as follows: in groups of ten, Jews dig their graves. After that they are shot in the neck. The next group of ten Jews cover the bodies with earth, and then they meet with the same fate.

. . . In Riga few Jews remained alive.

SHAVEL

Murder of the Yet Unborn ⁶⁸

On March 24, 1943, the Shavel *Judenrat* met to discuss the problem that was in the most literal sense of the words one of life and death. On the order of business was: *How to avoid childbirth in the ghetto.*

The following account is taken from the minutes of that meeting:

M. Leibovich, in opening the meeting said:

"We turn again to the question of childbirth. The law forbidding childbirth is strictly enforced in all the ghettos. Recently, in Kovno, there was a case of childbirth, and the whole family was shot. Yet, in our ghetto, we take this matter too lightly. Several cases of pregnancy have already occurred against which no preventive methods have been employed."

Dr. Blecher asked whether it was possible to force a pregnant woman to submit to an abortion. He also asked for statistics on the number of pregnant women in the ghetto.

Dr. L. answered:

"Since the 15th of August last year there have been three births; at present there are about twenty pregnant women, most of whom are in the early months. One is in the eighth month. Only two of these women have agreed to undergo an abortion: one is having her third abortion and may well become sterile."

Dr. F. said that all the women must be convinced of the necessity of an abortion.

It was proposed by Dr. Burshstein that all physicians and midwives be forbidden to assist during childbirth.

M. L. said, "We must not permit this propaganda against child-

birth to come out into the open." He suggested that all the pregnant women be called into the clinic and be warned of the danger which threatened them, in the presence of doctors and representatives of the *Judenrat*.

Dr. L. asked how it would be possible to perform an abortion on a woman in her eighth month. "We must take the feelings of motherhood into account. We certainly won't be able to influence this woman. And if we can induce a premature birth, what will we do with the child? Such an operation cannot be performed at home; and if it were done in a clinic, the child could not possibly remain there. So if the child is born alive, shall we then put it to death? I could not undertake such a thing with a clear conscience."

Dr. Blecher admitted that such a thing would be impossible; that no doctor could take upon himself the responsibility of putting a child to death, since such an act is murder.

Dr. F. suggested, "Perhaps we can let the child be born and then turn it over to a Gentile," to which Dr. L. replied, "We dare not let the child be born, since we shall have to report it. We have been asked three times already, whether there have been any births in the ghetto. We have answered each time that there have not been any." B.K. added: "If it were up to the family alone, we would leave it to them to face the responsibility of bringing their child into the world. But as it is, the entire ghetto is exposed to danger. It might result in the most horrible consequences! We must use every means to prevent these births."

A.K. said: "The abortions must be performed only by doctors, who must convince the women to go through with it. If words won't convince them, then the matter will have to be turned over to an administrator, who, if necessary, will employ sanctions against the pregnant woman's family: deprive them of food cards, transfer their working members to worse jobs, deprive them of medical assistance, of fire-wood. If that doesn't work, then the woman must be called in and given an ultimatum—either an abortion or the committee will have to inform the security police. As to the woman in the eighth month, her child must not be born, for if the child is born and is alive, it will merely encourage the others.

"During all of these dealings, not a single member of the committee should be present, but only the parties concerned. No one

must know that any member of the committee knows of any pregnancy cases in the ghetto."

"At first, only the doctors will know of the cases," said Dr. B. "Later, however, when sanctions will be employed, it will become obvious that the committee knows about it. As to the woman in the eighth month, it should be treated as a case in which the mother's life is endangered, in which event it is imperative that the child be put to death."

Dr. L. said, "I cannot do it!"

Dr. F: "A premature birth can be induced at the clinic, and another doctor could assist in it. Putting the child to death can be done by a nurse with an injection, but the nurse herself need not know what is in the needle."

A.K., summing up, said, "A premature birth must be induced at once, because every day brings the danger closer. In every case we will employ all means to influence the mothers to go through with an abortion—through talks, sanctions, ultimatums and even threats to inform the security police."

The methods were approved, and it was decided to inform the entire medical staff of these decisions. As to the woman in the eighth month, it was decided to induce a premature birth immediately.

We now know that all these tragic arguments were futile.

MINSK

*Gas Vans*⁶⁹

DEPOSITION BY
BRUNO SCHNEIDER,
PRISONER OF WAR,
PRIVATE, 8TH CO.,
167TH INF. REG.,
86TH INF. DIV.

My statement contains nothing that I heard or that I was told. It is based on actual fact.

In February 1943, I was in a military hospital in Minsk. At the beginning of my stay there, I learned of the terrible cruelties and murders which had taken place in the city, especially among the

Jewish population, where some of the SS troops had been quartered. These troops were especially assigned to this work.

I heard about the commander of the Gaussner division of the SS. At first, it was difficult for me to believe the truth of these awful reports. But I had occasion to see the nightmarish deeds with my own eyes.

In back of the hospital, not far from the station, stood several large trucks for transporting furniture. A large number of Russian citizens were thrust into them. There were probably eighty to one hundred persons. I saw how children, women, men and even old men and women were pushed in.

An Ober-Sergeant of the SS closed the vans, and they moved off.

I followed the movement of one truck, and what I saw fills me with horror to this very day. Not far from the station there was a gigantic grave, almost unnoticeable in the snow-covered distances. The machine stopped and unloaded its contents. Where previously I had seen living people, young and old, crowded into the vans, I now saw a mountain of corpses. I felt as though I would faint and silently swore that I would never again fight or work for this monstrous regime.

*Dance of Death*⁷⁰

The special Government Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes at Minsk states that in a ghetto camp in the southern part of the town the Germans kept about 100,000 Jews. The towns of Brudver, Bucho, Nesterovits, and others reported that Camp Commandant Rieder and his assistants Gattenbach and Bitzke maltreated the prisoners and murdered them without reason. They used to set dogs at them, stab them with daggers, shoot them and burn them alive. Gattenbach used to compel the prisoners to sing songs and dance. He would murder them while they were dancing. The witness Bashka stated that every day he saw how the Germans, headed by Camp Commandant Rieder, used to murder peaceful citizens in the Shashkovka Forest. The bodies of those murdered were burned in an oven. The witness used to hear the weeping and moans of those taken away to die.

*One Who Escaped*⁷¹

I was born in Mozyr in 1916. I am a draftsman. From the year 1933 I worked in Minsk as an engineer-dispatcher.

On June 25, 1941, I left burning Minsk and took the Moscow highway. It was full of refugees. I walked about thirty kilometers, stayed over-night and began moving again the next morning. Fascist planes bombed us and shot at us with machine guns. There were many victims; old men, women and children. I hid in the bushes. At night, the bombing ceased. I came out onto the road, waved my hand, shouted: "Comrades, take me with you." An automobile stopped. I opened the door. "Comrades!" In answer I heard, "*Russe, weg!*"

For four days I wandered in the woods without bread, without water. On the fifth day I came to the village of Skuraty. There were many refugees there. The Germans came and took them to Minsk. Near the city they built an ambush and held all the men in it.

It was impossible to recognize Minsk: burned corpses everywhere. On the walls pasted orders: "All men between the ages of 16 and 65 must appear immediately at the commandant's office. Those who do not come will be shot."

Men were put into a camp. It was near the Starozhevski cemetery. Here people were kept for twelve hours without bread or water. When a barrel of water was brought, the people rushed to it, and the Germans shot. The camp was moved to the river Svisloch, but it was forbidden to get water from the river. The Jews were separated from the others. Several were used for target practice. I saw how my co-worker, Bernstein, was tied to a pole and shot.

Seventy-five thousand Minsk Jews were registered. They were placed in tiny one-story houses on three streets. Each little room had to do for five families. People slept standing up.

I was in the ghetto for three weeks. On August 6th I crawled through the wire and went along by-roads toward Mozyr.

Mozyr looked as though it had been abandoned by all. There were no Germans in the city. Some old people told me that my relatives had been evacuated. I went to our house. It had been pil-

laged and ransacked. Of the Jewish population of the city there remained the sick, the aged and women with children.

Our neighbor, auntie Gasha, took me into her house.

On September 8th, wandering through the deserted streets, I suddenly noticed German soldiers in masked robes. They were shooting through the windows. They were a punitive detachment. On that day, they killed the old shoemaker, Makyavski, who had just come from Pinsk; a Byelorussian family, who had lived on Pushkin Street; another family on Pyatnitsky; the elderly Lakhman with his wife, and many others. The body of the old Lakhman was dragged by dogs along Novostroyeni Street.

Auntie Gasha said to me, "Go away. There is a bad woman in the house. She says 'Wait, when the Germans come, I will tell them that you have a Jew with you.'" I went to grandmother Goldie Vobrovskaya. She was 73 years old. She lived at the very edge of town.

On September 9th I went to Sayeta Street where many Jews lived. In each apartment there were corpses: old men, children and women with their stomachs torn out.

I saw the old man Malkin. He had been unable to leave Mozyr because his legs were paralyzed. He lay on the floor with his head bashed in.

In the alley Romashev-Rov a young German carried a year-old child on his bayonet. The baby was still crying weakly. But the German sang. He was so enthusiastic that he didn't even notice me.

I returned to grandmother Goldie. I sat on the porch and thought, how can I find my way to the front. It was 6 or 7 in the evening. Suddenly I saw that they were leading Jews down Novostroyeni Street. Several of the Jews carried shovels and at first I thought they were being led to work. They were led to a mountain slope, they were forced to climb up. The older men fell down. With bayonets they were pushed up. Then I heard the machine gun rattle.

A half hour later the Germans came back from the mountain. They were singing.

Goldie Vobrovskaya prayed. Just before evening the Germans came. They asked me, "Are there any Jews here?" I answered that I didn't know because I wasn't from this town. At that moment

they saw Goldie. They threw themselves on her and began to beat her with rifle butts. I ran away and hid in the corn. I waited for them.

But they went away. I decided to try to get through to the front. In the village Kozenka I met a plumber who had left Mozyr. I had seen him in Vobrovskaya's apartment. He told me that Goldie had been stabbed with bayonets and her body thrown near the cemetery.

In this village there lived a Jewish school teacher. Her husband was a Byelorussian. I went to see her. She was a young and very beautiful woman. She had three children, the oldest was six and the youngest couldn't even walk. I proposed that she go away with me. She answered, "Where could I go with three little ones?" When I had spent the night in the next village, I learned that a punitive detachment had come to Kozenka, had killed the teacher and her children.

I saw more. I saw the Orsha Ghetto. It was even worse than in Minsk. Old people crawled among the corpses. Young girls, covered with blood, swollen with hunger, asked, "When will they come for us?" Death would have been a deliverance. I saw the Orsha camp for war prisoners. The fascists beat the prisoners with boots, rifle butts and whips. I saw the camp in Smolensk. I saw Germans who strangled people, adding up, "One Jew, two Jews . . ."

In Pochinok I saw how they hanged Russians. I saw Germans who laughed as they robbed and murdered. I went eastward. I got to Orel. I saw partisans, saw the struggles of the Soviet people against the invaders. I saw kindness and treachery, leaflets, bombs and the Gestapo. And then I saw a miracle: on the 5th of August, 1943, I saw the Red Star on the hat of a Red Army man.

I must take revenge. I must live and work. I cannot forget Mozyr; the face of old Goldie, the scattered corpses. And the groans of those on the mountain who were buried alive. I hear them every night.

TATARSK

*The Pits*⁷²

When our unit broke into Tatarsk, an old farming community in the Mogilev district, many of the homes were still blazing like bonfires. The smoke ate into our eyes and choked our throats. Just before retreat the German fascist bandits had set fire to the village. Through the smoke and fire our units pursued the enemy, driving him ever farther west.

In Tatarsk we were held up awaiting further orders. The first person we met was A. Magidov, a local resident, who had just returned from the forest where he had hidden from the Germans. He told us of the bloody massacres organized by the Nazi butchers in Tatarsk. In a few minutes other Tatarsk inhabitants came up. Everyone added to the frightful picture of fascist villainy.

Of the entire Jewish population in Tatarsk not one person remained alive. The Germans had slaughtered 600 old people, women and children.

We stood beside two large pits filled to the brim with bodies of innocent victims.

We learned the frightful details of wholesale murder from the local inhabitants. Here is what Ivan Kozak said: "Our Jewish community *kolkhoz* Trudovik was prosperous. The Jewish people worked diligently and successfully. We all lived like one family. We were building a new, happy life. There was plenty of everything for everybody. Our community had two Jewish schools, a Russian school, a flour-mill, a hospital, a synagogue, a church, a club. . . . But see what the Germans have done! They have crippled and destroyed us."

Alexander Magidov told us: "At first the Germans seized seventy-five Jews, drove them to a pit near the hospital, placed them in a row and mowed them down with machine-gun fire. The next time about 200 Jews were driven outside the *kolkhoz* courtyard. These unfortunates were beaten to death with iron rods. Not corpses, but pieces of bloody flesh were thrown into the pit. The Germans, like mad dogs, hunted down every Jew.

"With my own eyes," continued Magidov, "I saw Germans kill

Jewish children. One cold rainy day the children were dragged out of their homes, their clothes torn off their bodies and chased around the settlement. The Germans flogged their naked bodies with rubber knouts. At the hospital a fearful scene took place: a German held a child by its feet, shouted: 'One!' a second German struck the child on the head with an iron rod. Covered with blood, the child was thrown into the pit. No one knew whether he was alive or dead. Most of the children drew their last breath on the damp earth, saturated with their own blood."

Vera Ivashkina told us: "When the German gangsters butchered little Jewish children in our street, we were beside ourselves with grief. The cries and screams of the children hurt us like a sharp knife. It was more than we could bear; one of our neighbors, a Russian woman, went insane."

And here is what Ivan Chernishev had to say: "A great misfortune befell Zlata Khazanova, a neighbor of mine. For hours on end the German thugs defiled the bodies of her two daughters. A river of blood flowed from their home while pieces of flesh were being torn from the still breathing bodies of old Zlata and her children. They died deaths of excruciating torture."

The Russians did all they could to save their Jewish neighbors. Klimov, one of the local citizens, managed to hide a Jewish woman in his home. Someone informed the Germans against him. He was called to the commandant's office and ordered to surrender the Jewish woman. Upon his refusal he was tortured to death. Klimov perished, but the Jewish woman was not given up to the Germans.

Strong, 70-year-old Gavril Alexandrovich Ratushek from the Sloboda settlement, ran into Tatarsk and, risking his life, gathered up four small boys. They all hid in a shed. Trembling, the boys begged: "Granddaddy, don't leave us, don't leave us!" The old man quieted them: "I'd sooner die than leave you." At night-fall he led them out of the settlement toward his home in another village. On the highway they were stopped by a German patrol.

"What have you got there, you old swine?"

"They are my grandsons, we're on our way home," answered the old man.

The German beasts guessed, however, that they were Jewish children. All were brought into a hut. The old man began to cross

himself, swearing to God that these were his grandchildren. He fell to his knees before the Nazi assassins and pleaded with them:

"Spare the children, for God's sake! Kill me if you want to, but let the children go." The children were blackjacked to death. Old Ratushek was beaten until half dead and thrown down a damp cellar. During the night local inhabitants rescued him, brought him back to consciousness, and took him to his home. The formerly strong, healthy old man is now hardly able to crawl.

We, the undersigned, Major M. D. Rabinovich, E. Braim, A. Magidov, E. E. Kazov, J. Chernishev, S. K. Girev, E. K. Petrenko, citizens of the village of Tatarsk in the province of Smolensk, have drawn up the following indictment: Six hundred Jews lived in the village of Tatarsk at the outbreak of the war. Since 1930 they had been associated with the Jewish *kolkhoz* Trudovik. Their honest labor earned them abundant wealth. Everyone of them possessed his own cattle, fowl, wheat and other products. They had two Jewish schools, a Russian school, a synagogue, two chapels, a hospital. When the German invaders entered the village they looted all homes, but first of all, the Jewish homes. They organized unheard-of massacres among the Jewish population. They violated and tortured all girls and young women in front of their parents.

They gathered seventy-five Jews, placed them by an anti-tank trench and machine-gunned them down to the last man. The second time a punitive detachment rounded up some twenty or thirty persons, beat them to death with iron rods and threw them into a pit. Their particular bestiality was reserved for the children, whom they seized, blackjacked, and, dead or half-dead, threw into the pits.

In this fashion the fascist cut-throats destroyed the entire Jewish population of the village of Tatarsk.

The mutilated bodies of the old Jews, women and children, amongst them small infants, lay in the pit behind the *kolkhoz* courtyard. We testify to the above with this present indictment.

In the village of Tatarsk.
September 30, 1943.

BOBRUISK

*The Common Grave*⁷³

DEPOSITION BY
MAX BRUN,
PRISONER OF WAR,
PRIVATE, 10TH CO.,
532ND INF. REG.,
383RD INF DIV.

. . . In May 1942, in Bobruisk, I saw the bodies of murdered Jewish men and women in a common grave. Hands, feet, also heads protruded from this grave, which was shallow and carelessly covered. Dogs dragged the bodies out and gnawed the bones. According to the civilian population, this common grave in Bobruisk contains 800 Jewish bodies.

*The Dead Are Speaking*⁷⁴

I found this letter in the town of Byten, Baranovichi region. It was written, before her execution, by Zlata Visyatskaya, and her twelve-year-old daughter Unita—to their husband and father. About 1,800 Jews of Byten were killed by Germans.

(Signed) Major Vladimir Demodov

July 31, 1942

To my dear Moshkele:

On July 25th a terrible slaughter took place here, as in all other cities. A mass murder. Only 350 persons remained; 850 perished. Like pups they were thrown into cesspools; live children were thrown into ditches. I shall not write much. I think that someone may survive accidentally, and that he will tell of our tortures and of our bloody end. So far we have succeeded in saving ourselves. But for how long? We await death daily, and we mourn our dear ones. Moshkele, no one is left of your people. But I envy them. I am finishing, it is impossible to write, and I cannot convey our suffering. Be well. The only thing that you can do for us is to wreak vengeance upon our murderers. We cry out to you: Avenge! I kiss you all. I am saying good-bye to you before our death. Dear father! I am saying good-bye to you before my

death. We are so anxious to live, but all is lost—we are not allowed! I am so afraid of this death, because little children are thrown into graves alive. Good-bye forever. I kiss you.

Unita.

KRASNY

*A Woman's Story*⁷⁵

Before the war I lived in Minsk. On June 24, 1941, I saw my husband off to the front. I walked out of the town with my eight-year-old child, heading east. I decided to go to my birthplace—the city of Krasny to get to my father and brothers. In Krasny the Germans caught up with me, on July 13th.

On July 25th a notice was posted ordering a meeting of all residents of the town. At the meeting the Germans said that anybody may move into the houses of Jews. The Germans also announced that the Jews must obey all orders of German soldiers.

They began to raid apartments, to undress people, to beat them with sticks and whips.

On August 8th, SS men invaded my house. They grabbed my brother, Boris Semenovich Glushkin. He was 38 years old. They began to beat him; then they threw him out on the street, tormented him and finally threw him into a cellar. The next morning they posted notices: "All inhabitants are invited to the public execution of a sheeny." My brother was brought out, he had an inscription on his chest saying that he was to be executed. He was undressed, tied to the tail of a horse and dragged off. When the moment of execution came, he was already half dead.

The next night at 2 o'clock they knocked on the door again. The commandant entered and demanded the wife of the executed Jew. She wept, being shaken by the dreadful death of her husband; the three children wept. She was taken away. We thought that she would be killed, but the Germans acted more beastly than that; they raped her right here in the yard.

On August 27th a special detachment arrived. The Jews were driven together and were told to bring all of their belongings immediately and turn them over to the Germans. Then they were moved to the ghetto. The Germans fenced a plot of land in with

barbed wire and hung up a sign—"Ghetto, Entrance forbidden." All Jews, even children, had to wear six-pointed stars made of yellow cloth on their chests and on their backs.

In February one night the SS men dashed into the barracks. Their choice was an eighteen-year-old girl, Etta Kuznetsova. She was ordered to take her skirt off. She refused. She was beaten for some time. Her mother, fearing that they would kill her, whispered: "Do not resist." She undressed. Then she was placed on a chair, spot-lighted with a flashlight, tortured and assaulted. It is difficult to describe it all.

The fortunate ones escaped to the forest. But what is to be done with the old people, with the women and children, with the sick ones? Comrades informed me that a punitive detachment had arrived. We decided to try our luck. A half hour before the town was surrounded I left.

The town was surrounded. All Jews were driven into the square. My father was the first to go. He was 74 years old. He carried his two-year-old grandson in his arms. The wife of my elder brother, whom the Germans had killed in August, Eugenia Glushkina, took along her two children aged twelve and seven. The third, who was a one-year-old infant, she left behind in his cradle, thinking that perhaps the beasts would spare him. But after the shooting, the Germans returned to the ghetto to pick up the rags. They saw little Alek in his cradle. One German dragged the child out into the street and smashed his head against the ice. The chief of the detachment ordered the body of the infant cut into pieces and given to his dogs.

I joined the guerrillas. It was hard for me with a child. But at that time the solidarity, the comradeship, the humaneness made up for all hardships. Long trips on foot, frequent guard duty. I was their contact. Twice I encountered the punitive units. My child was prepared for all eventualities. I said to him: "If I am caught, if I am beaten and pricked with pins, if I cry or shriek, you must keep quiet." The eight-year-old boy did not complain, he conducted himself well with the Germans. He was a true pupil of the Partisans.

For two years we fought, and then the day came when I saw the Red Army . . .

SMOLENSK

*A Night at the Cemetery*⁷⁶

This happened in the town of Shamovo, Roslavl district, Smolensk region. On February 2, 1942, the commandant of Matislavl, Lieutenant Krause, announced to the police: "All Jews who live in Shamovo must be destroyed." There were about 500 of them, old people, women with children. Several girls tried to escape, but the policemen shot them.

People were taken to the cemetery in groups of ten. There they were shot. Among the doomed there were two Simkin sisters. The younger, Raissa, a student of the Leningrad Pedagogic Institute, was one of the first to die. Fania, a teacher, tells about it:

"This was early in the evening, on February 2nd. My sister and I kissed good-bye, we knew we were going to our death. I had a son, Valerie. He was nine months old. I wanted to leave him home, hoping that someone would take him and rear him, but my sister said: 'Don't do it. He will perish anyway. Let him at least die with you.' I wrapped him in a blanket. He felt warm.

"My sister was the first to be taken out. We heard screams, shots. Then it was quiet. We were in the second batch. We were taken to the cemetery. Children were picked up by their hair or collars like kittens and shot in the head. The entire cemetery shrieked. My little boy was torn out of my arms. He rolled out on the snow. He was cold, and he was in pain. He screamed. Then I fell from a blow. They began to shoot. I heard moans, curses, shooting, and I realized that they had not gotten me. But Valerie . . . my head was reeling. Then they struck every corpse—they were checking up as to whether anyone was still alive. Twice I received terrible blows. I kept quiet. Then they began to take the clothes off the killed people. I was wearing a shabby skirt; they tore it off. Krause called the policemen, and everybody went away. I dragged myself over to Valerie. He was cold. I kissed him, said good-bye to him. What could I do? I got up and walked away. I thought that I would be killed. Why should I live?

"I walked all night. My hands froze. Now I have no fingers. But I reached the partisans."

ANNIHILATION

*Twenty-six Months*⁷⁷

Many Jews lived on the collective farm in the town of Monastyrshchina, Smolensk region. In November 1941 the Germans exterminated all the Jews—1,008 souls. They were shot with automatics; children were buried alive. When the policeman Dudin was asked in court whether he actually threw live children into graves, he answered: "I did not *throw* them, I *placed* them there."

The children of mixed marriages were also killed. The teacher, Lubov Aleksandrovna Dubovitskaya—by nationality a Russian—was married to a Jew. She was arrested and tortured. Her children, aged seven, four, and one, were executed. Dubovitskaya was twenty-seven years old. Now, as a result of all the suffering, she looks like an old woman.

Monastyrshchina was burned down, only the stoves remained. Here is the story of the house where an employee of the Civil Registry Bureau, Isaak Rosenberg, lived. He was married to a Russian woman, a native of the Zhiryatin district, Orel region. Natalya Emelianovna Rosenberg had two small children. They survived. The mother succeeded in convincing the executioner that the children were of her first husband.

Natalya Emelianovna hid her husband in a pit under the stove. He spent over two years there. He sat doubled up; he could neither lie down, nor straighten up. When he occasionally came to the surface at night he was unable to straighten out. The children were not told that their father was hiding underground. Once, the four-year-old girl, peeping through the hole, saw his big black eyes. She shrieked out in horror: "Mother, who is there?" Natalya Emelianovna answered calmly: "I have noticed it some time ago, it is a very large rat."

On scraps of newspapers, which the Germans issued, Isaak Rosenberg entered daily with a manganese solution the events of his underground life, and also the stories of his wife about the "New Order" in Monastyrshchina. Frequently water filled the hole. A cough was choking Rosenberg, but he dared not cough.

This was a good house and the Germans liked it. Then Natalya Emelianovna took the roof apart at night. The water came into the

house. In the winter it was cold, but it prevented the Germans from confiscating her house.

Natalya Emelianovna took sick with typhus. She was taken to the hospital. A neighbor took care of the children. At night Rosenberg came out to the surface and ate the glue off the wallpaper. He lived like that for two weeks. And Natalya Emelianovna, while lying in the hospital, tormented herself with the thought that she might in her delirium tell about her husband.

In September 1943, detachments of the Red Army came close to the town. Monastyrshchina is a road junction. The Germans offered stiff resistance. Natalya Emelianovna took the children, and with the other residents fled to the forest. She returned when the Red Army men entered the town. She saw the stove, the ashes still smoking—the house had burned down. Isaak Rosenberg had died of suffocation. He sat underground for twenty-six months and died two days before the liberation of Monastyrshchina by Soviet detachments.

GRODNO

*Out of Forty-five Thousand Fifteen Survived*⁷⁸

Now they sit before me, the lucky ones, survivors of the Grodno Ghetto. They are emaciated and exhausted. Their hair is prematurely gray. Before I begin to tell their stories, I should like to give their names so that their distant relatives may learn the bitter truth about the ghetto but also take comfort in the fact that their lives were saved.

Dr. Blumstein, 58 years old, graduate of Leipzig University, his son Nathaniel, 23 years old, and his wife, Esphera.

The family of the locksmith Trachenberg: Mier, Haya and their seventeen-year-old-son, Lyeve.

The printer Moishe Schapiro, 40 years old. His wife and two children were killed in the ghetto.

Haya and Leon Epstein, both teachers.

Gottlieb Vinitski, 50 years old, his wife and son, Elias.

Bookkeeper Aba Tarlovski with his daughter Rachel, 17 years old. His wife and son were killed in the ghetto.

Hyam Zelikovsky, 23 years old. His parents and family, eight of them, were killed in the ghetto.

The Grodno Ghetto was situated in the center of the city, in the district of Zamkov Street. On November 1, 1941, the entire Jewish population of the city, altogether 22,000 people, were herded into the ghetto, walled in by electrically charged barbed wire. Their living space per person was 1.5 square meters. Hunger, disease and overcrowding brought about a staggering death rate. Besides there were executions.

Unterscharfuehrer Kurt Wiso, in charge of the ghetto, loved to have a good time. When he was drunk, he would come to the ghetto with his friends and organize a "hunt" for Jewish girls and boys.

The second ghetto was set up in the Kelbasin settlement, two or three kilometers from Grodno. In the autumn of 1941, a camp for Russian war prisoners was set up here. Of 30,000 prisoners, 7,000 were alive in the spring of 1942. *Unterscharfuehrer* Karl Rintsler, head of the camp, destroyed the lives of 23,000 Russian soldiers and officers. In the spring of 1942, the remaining 7,000 prisoners were sent to Lublin, to the "death factory."

Then, 25,000 Jews from twenty-three villages and settlements of the Grodno district were herded into the Kelbasin camp. The mortality rate in this ghetto was stupendous. The absence of water, heat and food mowed down hundreds of people daily. The head of the ghetto, Karl Rintsler, forced the prisoners to eat excrement, to clean a huge square with toothbrushes, to clear away snow with teaspoons. Failure to carry out any of these orders meant death.

When thirty to forty people died during the first day in the ghetto, Rintsler shouted during the morning roll call: "What? Only forty people dead? That won't do at all. We must have five hundred a day."

After two months the Kelbasin Ghetto became vacant. Its 15,000 remaining Jews were driven to Lublin, where 10,000 of them were killed.

Then the residents of the Grodno Ghetto were herded into the camp. Up to December 1942, there were no mass pogroms. The butchers limited their victims to those who died of hunger, cold, disease and beatings. Karl Rintsler was inexhaustible with his "in-

ventions." When, in the morning, relatives bore the bodies of the dead from the barracks, he forced them to throw the dead on the ground, to stand around the bodies and sing and dance. The beautiful Elena Presnkaya, 20-year-old daughter of a tailor, ran away. She was caught, brought back to the ghetto and hanged. Rintsler stood by and photographed the scene.

In December 1942, the mass shootings began. At night, 3,000 Jews were herded into a synagogue. The best known and respected among them was the lawyer Isaac Gozhansky, who led the rest. On his head they placed a dunce cap made of tin plate with bells on it. A violinist was placed next to him, and they were forced to sing and dance along their way to death.

The Grodno Ghetto was liquidated, and Kurt Wiso, its former chief, transferred to the Kelbasin Ghetto. There he executed fifteen to twenty people daily. Shooting to him was just a whim. He shot at the first Jew or Jewess whom he happened to see.

From December 8, 1942, almost daily, groups of a thousand and more Jews were sent to the camp in Treblinka (eighty kilometers from Belostok).

By March 12, 1943, 2,000 people were left in the Kelbasin Ghetto. Then the Gestapo carried out raids, searching for those who had gone insane from desperation. In the cellars and attics they searched for them, and in the cesspools as well. When they found them, they killed them on the spot.

A few families, whose names I gave at the beginning, managed to hide. Polish and White-Russian families sheltered them and kept them hidden for a year and four months. On July 16, 1944, the Red Army liberated the city. During the time of the occupation, 45,000 Jews from Grodno and the Grodno districts were killed.

ROGACHEV-JASHICHI

*Coup de Grâce*⁷⁹

DEPOSITION BY
WALTER WIRT,
PRISONER OF WAR,
PRIVATE, 11TH CO.,
575TH INF. REG.

We had a formula—"Come to the local commandant's." This was said to everyone whose face the Germans did not like. The Jews were just grabbed and shot.

... Hans Eksner was a criminal in the past. He not only liked to kill his victims, he also liked to torture them. In the city of Rogachev he was appointed chief of the command for local Jews. Eksner tormented his victims to his heart's content. When they went to work—I saw this myself—he beat them with the butt of the carbine, and sometimes with a club. When they collapsed, he continued beating them. I do not know what he did with them at work, but I doubt that many could stand his bestial treatment. During the executions in the village of Jashichi, Eksner often tortured his victims before killing them. Once I saw how he killed them: first he would shoot through one arm of his victim, then through the other, then through the spine, and only when the bloody body fell to the ground, would he end the torture by shooting through the head.

PINSK

*No Unusual Incidents*⁸⁰

EXCERPTS FROM THE "FIGHTING ACTIVITIES"
OF THE 310TH GERMAN POLICE BATTALION
(AFTERWARDS THE 3RD BATTALION OF THE
15TH POLICE REGIMENT)

... October 23, 1942, in Kamenets-Zhirovetzka, the 11th company shot twenty-one Jews.

... October 25, 1942, in Chernyakhov, four Jews from Brest killed.

... October 29, 1942, the 10th company was directed to Pinsk in order to take part in the operations for the annihilation of Jews.

... October 31, 1942, Kobrin, the 9th company appeared in Samara (twenty-four kilometers from Mokran) for the extermination in Pinsk. A Jewess from Mikoyanovka trying to get away from the execution site was seized by a guard and shot.

... November 1, 1942, Kobrin, the 9th company completed the task of the annihilation of the Jews in Samara. Eighty people were executed. The 10th company continued the annihilation of Jews in Pinsk. The 3rd platoon of the 11th company arrested two Jews who had tried to run away, and executed them.

... November 2, 1942, the 10th company succeeded in completing the job of annihilating the Jews of Pinsk without any unusual incidents and returned to the base.

*Liquidating a Ghetto*⁸¹

This text of a German order was found in the district of Rossosh, among staff papers of the 15th German Police Regiment:

On October 28, 1942, at regimental headquarters in Pinsk, it was decided that two battalions, the 2nd battalion of the 15th police regiment, and the 2nd cavalry division, undertake the task of encirclement, while at the same time the 10th company of the 15th police regiment and the 11th company of the 11th police regiment, minus two platoons, began the process of combing out the ghetto. The 11th company of the 11th police regiment, minus one platoon, which had been freed from the combing-out process for the evening, was appointed to guard the gathering-place and the transfer to the place of execution, four kilometers from Pinsk. Mounted guards were used. This measure gloriously justified itself when 150 Jews, attempting to escape, were caught.

The encirclement was set for 4:30 A.M., and it turned out that, thanks to the work of the scout leaders and the strict observance of the secret, the encirclement was carried out completely and in the shortest possible time, and the Jews were not able to get away. The combing out of the ghetto was to have begun at 6 o'clock but because of the darkness it was delayed for half an hour. The Jews, realizing what was happening, began to collect on the streets willingly, for the most part, in answer to the roll call. With the aid of two sergeants it was possible during the first hour to collect several thousand persons at the designated spot. The first combing out was finished at 5:00 P.M. without incident. On the first day about ten thousand persons were executed. In the evening the company was alerted in the soldiers' club.

On October 30, 1942, the ghetto was combed for the second time, on the 31st for the third time and on the 1st of November for the fourth time. Approximately fifteen thousand Jews were brought to the gathering place. Sick Jews and children that had been left at home were executed right in the ghetto. About 1,200 Jews were killed in the ghetto.

With one exception, there were no incidents. On the basis of the fact that those Jews who showed where they had hidden their gold were promised the right of remaining alive, one Jew appeared and announced that he had hidden a great deal of gold. A sergeant went with him, but as the Jew continued to procrastinate and wanted to have the sergeant go up to the attic with him, the sergeant took him back to the gathering place. Here the Jew was ordered to sit on the ground with the others. Suddenly, he threw himself on a squadron rider, grabbed his rifle and stick and began to beat the rider. Thanks only to the alertness of the company soldiers, this attack was halted. Because the use of firearms was forbidden, in the ensuing struggle the Jew was struck by an axe on the head, fell down and was left dying.

On the 1st of November at 5:00 P.M. the company was assigned to an outside encirclement and the second mounted detachment was assigned to its quarters. There were no special incidents.

ORDER:

1. All those regiments assigned to the combing-out process must

carry axes, hatchets and other such instruments, because all doors are usually locked, and it is necessary to force them open.

2. Even when there are no visible exits from the attic, it is still possible that there may be people there. Therefore, all attics must be minutely searched.

3. Even when there are no basements, a number of people can collect in small cellars. It is necessary to open these places by force or to use bloodhounds (in Pinsk a dog named Asta was particularly excellent for such work) or throw in hand grenades, which will bring the Jews out immediately.

4. It is necessary to use hard instruments to probe all around the houses, because many people are hidden in well-concealed places.

5. It is recommended that you urge youngsters to disclose hiding places and promise them their lives for so doing.

(Signed) Zauer.

Captain of the Police Guards and Commander of the Company

ROVNO

*The Liquidation of the Ghetto*⁸²

When the Germans entered Rovno, they ordered all Jews out of the center of the city and confined them to a ghetto, which was created out of two areas: Krassny and Kavkazki. The removal from the center of the city was carried out in several minutes. The Germans dynamited the Central Jewish Street, the First of May Street and all of the surrounding streets, before the inhabitants had a chance to leave their dwellings. Under the rubble of bricks and beams many were buried alive.

This winter, the end came also to the handful of Jews who were still left in the ghetto. The two regions of poverty, Krassny and Kavkazki, were blown up with dynamite. Only a handful of Jews succeeded in escaping to the town of Kostopol. Today, there isn't a single Jew left in Rovno. The ghetto has been liquidated.

*The Boast*⁸³

DEPOSITION BY
GEORG AUTERHOF,
PRISONER OF WAR,
INTERPRETER OF THE
GERMAN HIGH COMMAND IN STALINGRAD

... In Poltava the S.D. (*Schutz-Dienst*) under the leadership of the SS shot all the Jews of the city and the suburbs.

In Voroshilovgrad an order was issued to make an exact listing of all Jews for the purpose of extermination.

Going through Rovno, I was told by the chief of the *Schutz-Dienst*, *Ober-Sturmabfuhrer* of the SS, that he had killed the entire Jewish population of Rovno in one day—in all about 23,500 persons. He bragged about it to his neighbor, a German officer. He was very much pleased with his feat.

UKRAINE

*The Tragedy of Khmelnik*⁸⁴

On July 16th, the Germans entered the city of Khmelnik, which had a Jewish population of over ten thousand. Immediately shouts were heard—"Jud kaput! Jud kaput!" The Jews hid in cellars. Shooting started. The sky grew red, lighted by fire.

July 19, 1941, a Jewish Council of four men was formed. Jews had no right to shop at the market for anything but potatoes and beans; they could work only at menial jobs. Jews could not refuse any heavy work. A refusal was punishable by death. Jews had no right to appear on the streets after 6 o'clock in the evening, no right to go into the village. As of July 21, 1941, all Jews—men, women, and children over five years of age—had to wear white arm bands, with a blue "Star of David."

An order was issued for the collection of oats for the horses of the German military; for the surrender of plates, spoons, forks, and soap. Within twenty-four hours the Jewish population was to bring in all phonographs, records, sewing machines and bicycles.

There was no work to be done, and yet daily Jews were tortured and driven to work like slaves. Jews were afraid to appear in the street. Doors were locked, children stayed home, there was nothing to eat. A Jew caught at the market place received twenty-five to fifty lashes. Peasants were not to speak to Jews, because Jews were "Bolsheviks, Communists, the greatest enemies of peasants." If a peasant was caught entering the home of a Jew, he received twenty-five to fifty lashes. A Jew was to be called "sheeny," and a "sheeny" is not human. On the main streets announcements were posted that Jews, Poles and Russians are the enemies of the Ukrainians. The work was very hard; carrying stones, chopping wood, digging gardens, cleaning latrines. Tanks had to be refilled with water. The Nazis deliberately left faucets open, so that while from one side water was being poured in, from the other side it poured out.

On August 12, 1941, the field Gestapo appeared in the city. The administration ordered that Jews gather all their spades and axes and register with the police. By 4 o'clock in the afternoon they had collected 365 men and two women. On the main street, where the Lenin monument stood, the beards of old men were cut off, and the young were forced to eat the hair. The Jews were beaten and forced to hold hands, dance and sing the Internationale. Thus they were tortured for two hours. Then they were driven to the district council, where boards with protruding nails were prepared. They were chased into a glass warehouse and ordered to dance barefooted on the broken glass and on the board with the nails, forced to stand facing the wall and to eat salt.

On January 9, 1942, a new order was posted: "All peasants were to paint crosses on their doors; all Jews were to move to the old town. At 1 o'clock in the morning the old town was surrounded. Guards were placed on all streets, and at 6 o'clock in the morning the pogrom began.

Most of the people were still asleep; they were not permitted to dress. Old and sick people were shot on the spot. Barefoot, unclad people, some with one shoe, some in rubbers on bare feet, some wrapped in blankets, and some only in a shirt, were driven to the square between the church and the Ugrimov bridge. The frost reached 40 degrees. Many, who attempted to run away were shot.

When the square was full of people, the *Gebiets Kommissar* ordered that the lists of specialists be read. They were let alone. The rest were driven into the pine forest, which was three kilometers away from the town. Pits had already been prepared. People lost one another. The Germans killed the mother of a four-year-old child, and he walked alone to the pit.

At the pit the people were placed in rows, they were forced to strip and to strip their children, and to stand like that for fifteen to twenty minutes in a 40-degree frost. The children cried: "Mother, why do you undress me, it is so cold in the street?" . . .

Two German women stood near the pit and threw live little children into it.

Every fifteen to twenty minutes wagons carried the clothes of the killed people away to a warehouse.

Thus, on January 9, 1942, on bloody Friday, 6,800 Jews were killed. They lie buried in two pits.

*Buried Alive*⁸⁵

Entering a new Ukrainian village or a city newly liberated by the Soviet armies, we knew in advance that we would not find any Jews left.

In villages and settlements of the Zhitomir and Vinnitsa regions as everywhere else I hear and see the same thing: a nightmarish mass extermination of tens of thousands of perfectly innocent Jewish families—old men and women, youths, girls, nursing infants.

The town of Baranovka, Zhitomir region: before the war about 6,000 persons lived there. Half of them were Jews. Now not one Jew remains alive.

Gradually and methodically, in groups and singly, up to January 5, 1942, the Nazis brutally murdered all Jews in Baranovka. The fascist police conducted a yard-by-yard raid for the purpose of catching all Jews who had succeeded in hiding temporarily at peasants' homes. By the 6th of January, 1942, the police had caught 594 persons. They were driven under guard to the outskirts of the town, to the place of execution, 500 meters along the Novgorod-Volynsk highway. Children up to the age of twelve were brought to the execution place in wagons, naked and unshod. The air shook

from the wails of the children. I met one man who was witness to the executions. He had once been a stevedore of the Baranovka co-operative. He told me that he saw many Jewish children thrown into the ditches and buried alive. In the town of Lubar, Zhitomir region, we were shown graves of Jews murdered in the Peshchana field. At the order of the chief of the Zhitomir Gestapo, children up to the age of twelve were not shot, but were thrown into ditches and buried alive. For several days the earth trembled above the infants. Their blood seeped up to the surface.

*The End of the Jewish Community of Priluki*⁸⁶

My husband, my older daughter and I were evacuated from Priluki, in the Chernigov region. My sister remained in the city. We first went to the Urals and then to Buzuluk, in the Chkalov region. We heard nothing from my sister and her family.

Recently, a young fellow of eighteen came to our house. He was thin, dressed in tatters; and in a feeble voice he said, "Good morning, auntie, do you recognize me?"

Something seemed to burst in my heart. The voice was familiar but it was impossible to recognize in this emaciated lad my healthy, cheerful nephew. When I asked him where his mother and little sister were he only made a gesture trying hard to keep back the tears which choked him. Several hours later, when he had more or less gained control over his emotions, he told me what the fascists had done to the several hundred Jews who had remained in Priluki.

During the first few days the Germans were busy "requisitioning." First they plundered all the stores, warehouses and other establishments. They even took away the benches and tables. Then they went from house to house and took everything from the people—down to the last spool of thread. The murderers split the skull of one old woman merely because she burst into tears when they took her little padded jacket and a pair of woolen stockings.

Shortly after, the Germans herded the whole Jewish population, from the ages of 13 to 65, in the pavilion on the market place. There they were told that everyone would be conscripted for forced labor. The Germans put citizen Czernyavsky, former chief bookkeeper of the State Bank, in charge of the Jews.

The Jewish inhabitants of Priluki were driven to work before daybreak. The work was very hard: digging, crushing stones, carting lumber, chopping trees. The Germans harnessed old Jews to their wagons. They would load the wagons with stones and earth, and race the human horses. The food ration given out by the Germans consisted of 200 grams of bread a day.

During the month of March, the Germans harnessed my nephew and six others to a wagon. They ordered them to go to the woods for lumber. The mud was so deep it came up to their waists. By the time they reached their destination it was pitch dark. At dawn they loaded the wagon with logs; staggering under the weight of their load, they dragged it back. They were still far from the city when they heard dreadful cries. They left the wagon and ran, and saw a terrible sight: The Germans had herded the whole Jewish population into the large wooden pavilion in the center of the market place, poured kerosene over the pavilion and set it afire. The pavilion burned for almost two hours. The cries became weaker and weaker until they ceased altogether. All that remained of the Jewish community of Priluki, which consisted of some few thousand souls, was a mound of ashes.

My nephew and six comrades fled from Priluki that very night. They wandered over the steppes through woods for eighteen days. Two came down with spotted typhus and had to be left in an abandoned hut in the woods. Three went off to a village to beg for food and never returned. My nephew and his comrade, a tailor by the name of Pekarsky, wandered on. One morning my nephew could not find Pekarsky in the ditch beside him where they had slept. Pekarsky hung from a nearby tree. Was it hunger? Or was it the dreadful memory of the burning pavilion in which his wife and children had died?

Several days ago my nephew bid us good-bye. He had joined the Red Army. Before his departure he said to us: "Woe unto those Germans who fall into my hands . . ."

*Fascist Atrocities in Berdichev*⁸⁷

Day after day, planes flew over the city and dropped tons of bombs. When the Germans captured the city, all the inhabitants from

Great Zhitomir Street, from Glinishtis, Shtaynovsky and Little Zhitomir Streets (these all are streets around the factory) were driven to the huge vats and ditches, which were filled with poisonous tanning chemicals. German soldiers ordered them into the ditches, shot at them from a distance.

In the "Old City" (a large area in Berdichev), the Germans ordered all men to come to the big synagogue, with the "*tallith* and *tfilen*" (prayer cloth and phylacteries) and to "pray to God to forgive them for the sins which they had committed against the Germans." The fascists locked the doors and set fire to the synagogue.

The fascists then drove more than a hundred women to the city's water-mill, on the banks of the Gnilopyat river. They ordered them to undress and to swim across: whoever reached the other bank, they said, would remain alive. Most of the women were drowned at once. Those who reached the opposite shore were forced to swim back. Thus they were driven from shore to shore, until everyone of them drowned.

*The Bloody Joke*⁸⁸

By the time the fascists entered Berdichev there was practically no city left. *Shochet* Aaron Mozer lived on Peliponsk Street, not far from the slaughter-house. Several fascists broke into his home, turned everything upside down, packed up what they found and sent it off to Germany. An officer and two soldiers remained. They decided to have a little fun with their helpless victims. The officer took out the *shochet's chalef* (the knife with which the *shochet* performs the slaughter ritual) and beckoned to old Aaron:

"What is this?" he asked. The Jew told him.

"So—you are a murderer!" the officer exclaimed. "In that case, I should very much like to see how you perform your duties."

The soldiers brought in three little children from some neighboring houses, and the officer ordered the unfortunate man to "slaughter" them. The *shochet* still thought that this was only a joke. But the officer slapped him in the face and commanded him to do as he was told—quickly, without any excuses.

The *shochet's* wife and daughter-in-law started to plead with the

officer to let the old man be. Then the officer ordered that the *shochet* should "slaughter" them too.

The *chalef* dropped out of the old man's hand and he fell in a dead faint. In great anger, the German officer sprang over to the old Jew and slashed at his face with the *chalef*.

In the morning, Leah Bameeches, the *shochet's* daughter-in-law, half-crazed with sorrow, ran through the burning streets screaming for help. The *shochet* and his wife lay dead in a pool of blood.

*A Boy from Berdichev*⁸⁹

I am called Mitya Ostapchuk. But I am Chaim Roitman. I am from Berdichev. I am now thirteen years old. The Germans killed my father, my mother. I had a younger brother, Broya. A German killed him before my eyes.

I stood at the edge of the pit. A German came over to me. I pointed to the ground, "Look—a little watch!" There, on the ground was a shining piece of glass. The German went to pick it up, and I ran. He ran after me and shot. My cap was riddled with bullets. I ran and ran, and then I fell. I do not remember what happened next.

I was picked up by an old man, Gerasim Prokofievich Ostapchuk. He said to me: "You are now Mitya, my son." He had seven children of his own, I became the eighth.

Once the Germans came, drunk and noisy; they noticed that I was dark. They asked Gerasim Prokofievich: "Whose is he?" He answered: "Mine." They cursed and said he was lying. And he answered calmly: "He is of my first wife. She was a gypsy."

When Berdichev was liberated, I went into town. I located my elder brother Yasha. Yasha is big, he is sixteen years old, he is fighting. When the Germans were leaving, Yasha found the scoundrel who had killed our mother. He shot him.

KIEV

*Gas Vans and Pyres*⁹⁰

Kiev authorities assert today that the Germans had machine-gunned from 50,000 to 80,000 of Kiev's Jewish men, women and children in late September 1941. Two years later—when Kiev's re-

capture by the Red Army seemed imminent—they forced Russian prisoners of war to burn all the bodies, completely destroying all evidence of the crime.

Before the war, Kiev had a Jewish population of more than 100,000 in a total population of more than a million persons. Among the estimated 70,000 total population of Kiev today, there are said to be very few Jews.

This is the story as we heard it. Mr. Aloschin, who was the correspondents' guide on our first day in Kiev, took us out to Babi Yar and told us how on September 28, 1941—nine days after the German army took Kiev—all Jews in the city were ordered to report to the Lukyanovka district, bringing with them their most valuable possessions. Mr. Aloschin said the Jews went, expecting that they were to be evacuated. Instead, they were met by German troops, who ordered them into the ravine, where they were directed to give up their valuables. Part of their clothing also was removed. Then, according to the city architect, they were placed on a platform, machine-gunned and thrown into the ravine.

Mr. Aloschin said that war prisoners were required to bury the bodies. Some of the victims were only wounded, but were buried anyway. The job of shooting and burying the Jews took several days.

Mr. Aloschin said the story had been told to him by a German architect, who boasted of the deed. But when Kiev's recapture by the Red Army became imminent, the Germans decided to remove evidence of their crimes because of the lessons learned when the Russians discovered the Stalingrad and Kharkov atrocities. They ordered the bodies burned.

Correspondents requested Soviet authorities to provide them with eyewitnesses to some of the crimes charged against the Germans.

The principal witness was Vilkis, an Odessa-born Jew who before the war was a freight loader in Kiev. He was a prisoner in the German concentration camp just across the road from Babi Yar, and he told how on August 14, 1943, all prisoners were lined up and 100 selected by the German authorities for an undisclosed task.

Vilkis said these prisoners were taken under heavy guard across the road to Babi Yar. These prisoners were shackled together and told to remove their shoes and hats and strip themselves to the waist.

Then, Vilgis said, they were put under the command of SS troops headed by a major general and told to start digging in the ravine. Digging continued for several days, without uncovering anything. Then, Vilgis continued, a German officer who had participated in the original shooting came to the scene and told the commanding officers that they were digging in the wrong place. He directed new digging operations at another place in the ravine, and soon they began uncovering bodies.

Vilkis said that as the work of uncovering the bodies continued, other prisoners were sent to a near-by Jewish cemetery, where marble grave markers were removed and brought to Babi Yar, where they formed crude stoves. The prisoners then carried the bodies of Jewish men, women and children and laid them on the marble foundations. More than 100 bodies comprised each layer. On each layer the prisoners were forced to place wood, and then another layer of bodies. Then the first stove was filled, gasoline was poured and a fire started, but it did not burn well because of lack of draft.

Vilkis said the Germans sent another group of prisoners back to the cemetery, where the iron railing around the graves was removed to make grates. In the second attempt, the bodies were placed farther apart, and the burning was successful.

Each pyre took two nights and one day to burn.

The work of destroying the bodies continued from August 19th to September 28th.

Vilkis estimated he had carried 5,000 to 6,000 bodies with his own hands, and showed correspondents how he had injured his arm on a hook while carrying one body from the grave to a pyre.

While the work of burning was in progress, the Germans brought new victims, who were partisans or other oppositionists, to the crematory in death vans. They had been asphyxiated. They too were burned.

During the burning, prisoners who became sick or went mad

were executed by the Germans in the presence of the other prisoners. He said that every day three to five prisoners were shot.

When the work of burning the corpses was completed, the prisoners were told to build new stoves, and they knew that the Germans intended to kill them and burn their bodies so that there would be no witnesses to the atrocity.

*The Clean-Up*⁹¹

DEPOSITION BY
ERIC PFALTSGRAF,
PRISONER OF WAR,
OBER-CORPORAL, 328TH INF. REG.,
227TH GRENADIER DIV.

... In the Uman, Kirovograd and Kiev districts the treatment accorded the Jews was enough to make one's hair stand on end. *Ober-Sergeant* Schuman in Kiev described how the SS troops personally butchered Russians and Jews. The troopers called this a clean-up or pay-off. Schuman's battalion was ordered to clear the Kiev outskirts of rebels and partisans, and thousands of partisans, Jews and other "criminals" were put to death. He related that his unit was ordered to attend the mass shooting of these people and he was therefore witness to a terrifying sight. About 5,000 people of both sexes and all ages were forced to dig their graves and kneel before them. When they were machine-gunned they toppled over into the pit. Another column approached the grave, they in turn were mowed down. A third group was compelled to scatter earth on the graves and then dig their own. In these groups were many women and children who begged for mercy, but their cries fell on deaf ears.

When this method of annihilation became too tedious the officers hit upon another one. Great masses of people were driven to a crater which had been previously mined. When they were all there the explosion was set off in such a manner that the flying clods of earth buried the people beneath them. After this, for some minutes straight, the strip of ground was heavily fired upon by machine guns.

*The Massacre*⁹²

Nine days before the murderers entered Kiev, my wife and my three little children were evacuated to Bryansk. My brothers and sisters and I remained in the city, because our father was sick in bed. On September 17th, when the Germans were already near the city, my old father, still deathly sick, got out of bed. On foot we started out for Dornitza. We found hundreds of Jewish families who had not managed to evacuate. Two days later, the Germans reached Dornitza. All the Jews still there were herded together in a field, surrounded by barbed wire. With us were many prisoners of war, mortally wounded Red Army men and peaceful civilians.

The next morning, September 20th, every single Jew was led out of the camp, stripped of all clothing and ordered to dig his own grave. The murderers shot the naked people with machine guns. Among those killed was my 72-year-old father.

The heavens split with the wails of the mothers and the cries of the children, who were thrown into their graves alive. Many lost their minds.

Two comrades and I decided to escape. On the night of the 26th, we crept under the barbed wire and made a dash for it. The fascist sentries opened fire on us and killed my two comrades. I was miraculously spared and finally got to Kiev.

A good friend of mine, a Russian, lived on Yochovna Street. He received me warmly, clothed me, fed me and told me what was happening in the city: "Kreshchatik is in ruins. Only one tower remains—the former Duma! The fascists have blown Nikolayevna and Proreznaya Streets to rubbles. After the partisans blew up the Hotel Continental, where many Germans perished, the Nazis erected scaffolds in all the streets. Hundreds of people were hanged daily, both young and old. The stores are empty. The population is dying of starvation."

At the end of September, the Germans issued an order direct from the *Kommandatur*: "Within three days, all the Jews of the city must gather at the Jewish cemetery." Those three days were a nightmare in Kiev—old folk, women, children, invalids from hospitals trudged their last road, from the city to the cemetery.

My brother Leib walked in this dreadful funeral procession with his wife Riva, the twins in her arms, and her blind father, Chaim Shapiro. Many Russian and Ukrainian neighbors and friends went along with the Jews. At the cemetery, the Jews were forced to undress. Fifty-six thousand Jews were slaughtered. Those who did not die instantly were buried alive. For three days, the shooting could be heard. The deep ravine was full.

On September 30th, a new order was issued: "Whoever conceals a Jew will be shot. Whoever gives up a Jew will receive 100 marks." I later learned that many Russians and Ukrainians had saved Jewish children.

It became dangerous to remain in Kiev. Early in October, I left. Not far from Kiev, a German patrol stopped me. "You are a partisan!" he yelled and took me to the *Kommandatur*. They sent me back to Kiev, to the concentration camp on Kirilov Street.

During the first days in the Kirilovka concentration camp they gave us practically nothing to eat. I had the great fortune to find two potatoes on which I lived for eight days. One hundred and fifty to two hundred people died daily from hunger and thirst. On the ninth day we were fed. The ration consisted of 100 grams of bread and half a liter of muddy soup. Hunger tortured us. Our swollen tongues were covered with a hard white film. We labored from dawn to dark. The Germans would lead us past lakes and springs. Whoever tried to bend over for a mouthful of water was shot on the spot.

On the tenth day we were driven to the Lukyanovka ravine. We stood there—panic-stricken. From beneath the freshly strewn earth streamed rivers of blood, the blood of 56,000 murdered Jews. It cried out to us from beneath the earth. My hair turned gray that morning.

"Cover the accursed Jewish blood!" the officer ordered.

Several days later, they took us to the Golosayev woods. The woods were brightly lit up with huge bonfires. We saw sumptuously set tables. At the tables sat officers in parade uniforms. Near the bonfires were many small children trembling with fear. There were Ukrainian and Russian children among them. I heard one German officer explain to the soldiers how the game was to be

played: From a distance of twelve meters, they were to toss the children in such a manner that their heads would strike the trunk of the tree. For every cracked skull they would receive a glass of schnapps.

This gruesome pastime lasted for several hours. The woods were filled with the cries of the children.

"Now there isn't a Jew left in all of Kiev!" the German officers yelled, as they tossed the children into the ditch. "We will do the same all over the world. We will annihilate all the Jews."

*Letter from a Red Army Man*⁹³

Save this letter. This is all that remains of Ekaterinopol—my letter, ruins, graves of fellow townsmen and the little girl, Sonya. The place where you and I grew up, studied, loved—it is all grass now, and the ones we loved are under ground.

Ekaterinopol is no more. The Germans obliterated it. Only the little girl, Sonya, remains.

When I came to our town—on May 9, 1944—I could not find our house. Just a bare spot . . . I walked among the ruins, looked for people. No one met me, no one shook my hand, no one congratulated me on the victory.

Then I met Sonya Diamant. She is now fifteen years old. She survived by a miracle. She told me of the tragedy of Ekaterinopol.

The SS men arrived. Searches, looting, pogroms ensued. All Jews were driven into special camps. In Avenigorodka there was a camp for those unfit for work. Old people, sick people, women with infants, and children up to fourteen years of age.

Those who could work were sent to a camp near the station.

On September 6, 1941 the first batch was shot in Ekaterinopol: Communists, the collective farm administrators, many Jews.

All those who were in the Avenigorodka camp were killed in April 1942. The 80-year-old Chana Lerner was killed because she was too old, and the one-month-old infant Manya Aininberg because he was too young.

Do you remember the old barber, Azril Pritsman? He was seventy-six years old. Before he died he shouted, "Shoot me! My sons will avenge me!" His five sons are at the front. And old Golikov! He was eighty years old. He was wounded, bleeding; he cried, "Shoot some more! You will not finish me with one bullet!"

Twenty-eight relatives of Golikov's are at the front—sons, grandsons, nephews.

Abrasha Vitrigon was badly wounded in battle. He dragged himself hundreds of kilometers, reached Ekaterinopol. He was killed here.

Collective farmer, Mendel Inger, met the enemy proudly. He was seventy years old. He did not wish to speak to them. He was shot the first day.

I saw their graves, and it seemed to me that the ground spoke, "Avenge us!" I promised that I would avenge them. Twice in my lifetime I took the oath of allegiance to my people. The first time when I received my rank, and the second time at the graves in Ekaterinopol.

Today I received the second medal. The third will be for Ekaterinopol. Please send a copy of this letter to Bluma Pyatigot-skaya—I can write no more. . . .

Abram Granovsky.

DNIEPROPETROVSK

*Those Who Stayed*⁹⁴

It is difficult to establish exactly what percentage of the Jewish population of Dniepropetrovsk succeeded in leaving the city during the summer of 1941, before the German occupation. The Jewish community council later estimated that between thirty-five and forty thousand Jews remained.

The Germans entered Dniepropetrovsk on August 25, 1941.

M. Indiks, an employee of the Industrial Cooperative, states: "The day after the German occupation I went to my office. I met our chairwoman. 'You can't imagine what is happening!' she said. 'This morning they murdered an entire family, neighbors of mine. They raped their 17-year-old daughter and killed her. There she lies. You can go and see for yourself.'"

Dr. Rahel Isakovna Leikin relates:

"On September 2nd Soviet airplanes bombed several objectives in the city we took over. Suddenly a woman ran up and cried, 'The SS have murdered Monin.' Monin was the *shamos* of the little synagogue.

"On *Rosh Hashanah*, the Nazis found a hand grenade in an attic where some Jews were praying. Naturally, they had planted it there. But everything served as an excuse to murder Jews.

"On September 20th, all Jews were ordered to wear the *Mogen David*. Whoever appeared without a badge was whipped."

Sophia Vladimirovna Leikin, an artist, relates:

"They harnessed a Jewish shoemaker to a wagon and made him carry water from the park to the mountains all day. If he begged to rest for a moment he was whipped. One night they shot him in the park and buried him there.

"One morning when it was still dark, someone knocked gently on the door. We opened—it was Moishe Kopilenko, the tin-smith, a good friend. He was covered with mud and blood. He looked as if he had come back from the other world. 'Were you there?' he asked us, 'when they shot the Jews?' 'Which Jews?' 'Those who went to the Prospect. Thousands lie there—women and children . . .'"

A number of people fled from the execution square. Sophia Vladimirovna Leikin told us:

"In front of the department store were old folks, women and children. We saw few young men. They were at the front, like my own husband. My mother and my two children were with me.

"It was impossible to get out of the line. We were marched off. I carried Mitya, three and a half years old, in my arms. He cried continuously. It poured. We knew then where they would take us. The Jewish cemetery was on the right. We were ordered to stop and wait. Mother took Mitya in her arms, cuddling him under her fur coat. I said to Vova, the older one: 'You have read Mayne Reid? Remember—as soon as they start shooting, fall flat on your face. When it gets dark, escape.'

"A fat German counted people. He counted up to fifty and turned them over to someone else. It was my turn. I backed away from him. Suddenly I saw a crack in the fence, a narrow crack but I managed to squeeze through. Before me was a wide courtyard. Two village boys were loading hay. 'Hide me,' I said to them, and they showed me the path."

The shooting lasted from 6 o'clock in the morning late into the night.

On March 28, 1942, a city census was taken. Out of 30-40,000 Jews in Dniepropetrovsk in 1941, 700 remained.

KHARKOV

*The Tractor Plant*⁹⁵

DEPOSITION BY
ALFRED HELMUTH,
PRISONER OF WAR,
PRIVATE, 128TH REG.,
23RD TANK DIV.

This happened in April 1942. I was a witness to the execution by shooting of thirteen thousand Jews in Kharkov. They were gathered in the yard of the tractor plant and shot by machine guns. Among them were women and nursing infants.

*An Order and Its Results*⁹⁶

This small order has impressed itself forever on the hearts of the entire world in letters of blood.

It appeared on the walls of buildings early in the morning. People read each word with horror and silently walked away.

"Within a two-day period, before December 15, 1941, I order all Jews to move from the city into barracks, to the territory of the 10th district, back of the tractor plant. Jews found outside this territory will be shot."

People were seized with terror. They cried out in despair, they clutched the first thing that came to hand: women pressed their children to their breasts. Everyone understood: they were being driven to horror, to torture, to death.

Old people, women, children went in streams; they went into the frost and blizzard, dragging along bundles, sleds; falling from exhaustion and fear. In desolate alleys, in empty lots German soldiers fell upon them, beat them, undressed them. Their things were taken away from them, and the naked, bleeding people were driven on with guns. At the roadside we saw bodies of old people

and children. The snow turned brown with blood. With clenched teeth, the people went on.

They found the barracks with windows broken and stoves dismantled. People were huddled together on the cold earthen floor, exhausted by the eighteen-kilometer march.

That is how the "new life" began for fifteen thousand of the driven people.

People were allowed out of the barracks between nine in the morning and three in the afternoon. There was only one lavatory for a thousand persons. At three o'clock the doors were shut. People were obliged to excrete inside the barracks.

There was no place to prepare food—we ate whatever we had brought from home. The Germans issued no food.

Little children were dying. They looked emaciated; they begged for bread in thin, weak voices. The mothers appealed to the officers, but loud laughter was their only answer. The commandant promised to help the children. He fulfilled his promise very soon. In the dim lantern light the Gestapo searched out the children and smeared their lips with some kind of liquid. Shortly after, the barracks resounded with dreadful cries. The children were in agony, threw themselves on the earthen floor. In the morning mountains of children's bodies were loaded onto wagons.

Late one night, cars drove up to the barracks. Several persons crawled over to the windows, trying to peer through the darkness. Someone was screeching a song; someone else was screaming ceaselessly. Suddenly, those in the barracks knew: the insane were being brought here.

In January the German command ordered all prisoners to be sent to work. The old and the sick were to be taken in cars, the young to go on foot. Children were segregated into separate groups. Where they were being sent, no one knew.

The hour of departure approached. No cars arrived. Instead, a new detachment of armed soldiers brought grenades and machine guns.

At last the people were ordered out. In one of the barracks lay a nine-year-old child with paralyzed hands and feet. Reeling from hunger the mother in her despair addressed the officer:

"Leave him here. You see for yourself."

The woman cried. The officer pulled out his gun and shot the boy before the mother's eyes.

The butchery began.

All adults were mowed down with machine guns; the youngsters were killed with hand grenades.

The German command annihilated fifteen thousand Jews—residents of Kharkov and nearby villages.

*The Ravine*⁹⁷

DEPOSITION BY
MAX BRUN,
PRISONER OF WAR,
PRIVATE, 10TH CO.,
532ND INF. REG.,
383RD INF. DIV.

On June 22, 1942, in a conversation with one of the guards of the SS troops in Orel, I learned of the meaningless and brutal murders of Jewish men, women and children. One of the SS guards present had accompanied transports of Jews to the outskirts of the city after the occupation of Kharkov. There these Jews were driven into a ravine and shot with automatics. In all about 30,000 men, women, children, women with infants in their arms, were exterminated by the SS.

*Zhitomir, Belaya-Tserkov*⁹⁸

DEPOSITION BY
ALBERT BARTEL,
PRISONER OF WAR,
CORP., 6TH DOM.,
357TH REG., 1ST DIV.

On August 19, 1942, by order of the SS commandant in the city of Zhitomir, 237 Jews were killed. They were taken by truck to the outskirts of the city, driven onto a marshy meadow and shot by SS guards.

We spent one month resting in Belaya-Tserkov. Our officers made small raids on the neighboring settlements in order to "improve the food supply." On November 14, 1941, Lieutenant Haas returned with some meat. When questioned by the officers, who were interested in knowing how he managed to meet with such success, he calmly answered in his Breslau dialect: "The damned people did not want to give it up, I had to kill them first."

PERVOMAISK

*Laughter*⁹⁹

DEPOSITION BY
HUBERT MEYER,
PRISONER OF WAR,
PRIVATE, 401ST REG.,
170TH INF. DIV.

In September 1941 I was in the city of Pervomaisk. The Germans ordered all Jews of the city and suburbs to come with all their belongings and food for shipment to the camp. The Jews were taken to the anti-tank ditches at the outskirts of the city and shot with machine guns. The German officers stood there and laughed.

The chief of the German police in Pervomaisk stated that thirty-six thousand Jews had been shot in this city.

*Lida, Rzhev, Beolostok*¹⁰⁰

DEPOSITION BY
FRANZ WESKALNIES,
PRISONER OF WAR,
CORP., 8TH CO.,
336TH INF. REG.,
161ST INF. DIV.

After the occupation of Lida, my commander, Lieutenant Ziegrist, took six Jews, made them get down on their knees on a platform which they had to sweep, took a whip, and in the presence of the

adjutant of the regiment, Lieutenant Rode, beat the kneeling people. Then he ordered them taken out and shot.

Our unit came to the city of Rzhev on March 25, 1942. Here we learned that 900 Jews had been shot and burned. Not believing these stories, we decided to verify them. Although surrounded by SS guards we managed to see the spot where the bodies lay. The Jews had first been driven to a public granary and shot. Then the bodies of men, women and children were thrown into a heap; kerosene was poured over them, and they were set afire.

The regiment "Great Germany" shed the blood of the population of Beolostok. Soldiers raided houses and apartments in which Jewish families lived.

The Jewish families were driven into the town synagogue. Children, women, adolescents, old people were treated alike regardless of sex or age. The SS regiment "Great Germany" set the synagogue on fire. Under the ruins thousands of bodies are buried.

PYATIGORSK

*Electrocution*¹⁰¹

DEPOSITION BY
ARTHUR SCHRANTZ,
PRISONER OF WAR,
SGT.-MAJOR, RADIO OPERATOR,
TRANSPORTATION SQUADRON,
4TH AIR CORPS

A comrade from the Pyatigorsk airdrome told me of another case. The previous summer he had often been visited by a Russian girl who tended the local goats. One day she burst in crying that she had just seen all the Pyatigorsk Jews and their children driven outside the city.

They were forced to stand in a row and with bare hands grasp a barbed wire. Electric current was passed through the wire and all the Jews were instantly killed.

I arrived in Rostov in August 1942, two weeks after that city was occupied by the Germans. I lived in an apartment with a

Russian family and an old Jewish woman who was ill and could not leave her bed. One day two SS troopers and their interpreter appeared and asked whether there were any Jews in the apartment. They ordered the old woman to go to the commandant's office at once. She replied that she was too ill to be moved but would go in a few days when she hoped to be feeling better. One of the SS troopers said: "That won't be at all necessary." Lifting the old woman with her mattress, they dragged her below and placed her on a truck. She never returned.

SOBIBUR

*The Button Factory*¹⁰²

I wondered whether I should write about Sobibur. The German crimes are all so very much alike. But at Sobibur there isn't a trace of crime. The Germans blew up the brick buildings, burned down the hutments, filled in the ditches and planted the territory with pine saplings.

It wasn't stones that survived in Sobibur, however, but living people. They spent many months in the "death camp" and escaped during the uprising of the doomed. They are the witnesses.

If the world knows Lublin, let it also know Sobibur. Let the world know that in various places the Germans used similar methods to massacre millions of unarmed, defenseless people.

It is my duty to write about Sobibur; the Day of Judgment is drawing near. The victors are inclined to be magnanimous, but magnanimity should not be smugness.

I read in a foreign newspaper that the SS can be cured by being shown touching or interesting movies. That is smugness which I call indifference to sorrow, to blood, to mankind. I want to tell you about Sobibur because the very idea of showing movies to child-murderers is intolerable.

In Poland, the Western Ukraine, Byelorussia and Lithuania the Germans built dozens of annihilation camps.

The victims were distributed according to a well thought-out plan. Certain categories of doomed people were allotted to each camp. Maidanek near Lublin was a universal "death factory."

Political prisoners from all countries were massacred there—Poles, Jews, as well as Russian prisoners of war.

At Bolshoi Trostyanets, near Minsk, Soviet war prisoners and Jews from Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Germany were killed.

At Balashi, near Rava Russka, Poles, Frenchmen and Jews from the Western Ukraine and France were killed. At Ponary, near Vilna, Jews and Poles were massacred.

The death camp at Treblanek was built for the annihilation of Soviet war prisoners and prisoners from the Warsaw Ghetto. Russian war prisoners and Italian soldiers who did not want to fight for Hitler were killed at Borok, near Chelmno. Sobibur was built for Soviet war prisoners and Jews from various countries such as Holland, France, Poland, Belgium and Denmark.

The Sobibur death factory was opened on May 15, 1942. The German name for it was "button factory," and they told the people from the various countries that they were going to make buttons.

The death factory occupied a large area encircled with barbed wire. The wire was camouflaged with branches of trees.

The death factory consisted of three camps. Camp No. 1 contained a number of workshops, such as tailor and shoemaker shops, a cabinetmaker's shop and a forge. Camp No. 1 was commanded by *Oberscharfuehrer* Frenzel, whose home is Berlin. About 100 prisoners worked in this camp.

Camp No. 2 contained warehouses and shops. Clothing taken from prisoners was sorted and packed for dispatch to Germany. It was commanded by *Oberscharfuehrer* Michel. One hundred and sixty men and eighty women worked in this camp.

There was communication between these two camps, but the prisoners who worked in them were not admitted into Camp No. 3. Camp No. 3 was commanded by *Oberscharfuehrers* Hetzinger and Greishuth. This camp was a huge brick building without windows.

We have before us a girl from Holland, Selma Weinberg. She was born in a quiet little town, Zwolle. Now she is twenty-one years old.

"In 1942 I was at the Westerbork camp with my family. There were 8,000 people there, and every Tuesday 1,000 were taken away to Poland. They always went away calmly, because post-cards from Wlodoen sent by those who had been taken away previously sounded reassuring. The cards were printed and I learned later that before they died, people were compelled to sign them.

"I fled from Westerbork and was hidden, but my parents were sent to Poland. Then a German agent betrayed me. For two months I was kept in prison in Amsterdam and then sent to the Vught camp. In March 1943, we were taken to Poland. Many hoped to meet their relatives there.

"Before we left, the sick were treated by Dutch nurses. When we passed through Germany, German nurses went through the coaches, handing out medicines to the sick. Who would have thought that we were being led to slaughter?

"I arrived at Sobibur on April 9, 1943. In the yard of Camp No. 2 men were ordered to undress. They were immediately taken to Camp No. 3.

"A German officer selected twenty-eight girls for work in Camp No. 2. I was among them.

"I stayed at Sobibur for five months, sorting the clothing of those who had been murdered."

The prisoners working in Camp No. 3 were known as "the bathhouse gang." Work there went on unceasingly; they were killing thousands of people daily.

The "bathhouse" was a windowless brick building. *Oberscharfuehrer* Hetzinger was always stationed before its iron doors. People were sent into the "bathhouse" in parties of 700-800.

Gas was filtered into the "bathhouse" through a hose. The Germans watched the process of asphyxiation through a tiny window. At a signal the supply of gas was cut off, the floor of the "bathhouse" opened, and the bodies dropped below. The prisoners working underground had to load the bodies and cart them away.

Before Stalingrad the Germans didn't fear any evidence. They just buried the bodies. In 1943 they began to dig up the bodies and burn them. A party of 150 prisoners worked at the ovens.

The peasants of the Sobibur district say that a ghastly, greasy, black smoke hung over the land day and night as the Germans were burning the bodies.

Some Germans were dissatisfied with the monotony of the executions. They thought up a number of tortures. *Scharfuehrer* Neuman, the camp's political instructor, used to walk among the condemned before they were gassed, making speeches to everyone. SS-man Olf stroked the heads of naked children, gave them sweets and lisped: "Eat it and grow bigger," and then roared with laughter. One German set his watch dogs on girls, while another tested his strength by crushing children's heads. For a bet, butcher Gomersky, a boxer from Berlin, would chop through a man's arm or leg at one blow.

While men and women were being asphyxiated in Camp No. 3, others in Camp No. 1 loaded their footwear, dresses and shirts onto railway wagons. German women in Dresden, Wiesbaden and Stettin were pleased at the new supplies. Things of little value, documents and photographs, were burned; the commandant of Sobibur was more careful than the commandant at Maidanek.

Despite all the precautions, some prisoners escaped from the death camp.

In August 1943 some 600 Soviet war prisoners were brought to Sobibur. The Germans put eighty of them to work in Camps 1 and 3, and gassed the rest. Among the prisoners was the political instructor Sasha, of Rostov. He planned a mass escape and began to select his people. The revolt was planned for October 14th. In Camp No. 1, tailors and shoemakers arranged fittings for the Germans.

At 5:00 P.M., the appointed time, the prisoner electrician cut off the current. The lights went out. When the *Oberscharfuehrer* came into the shoemaker shop he was killed with a hatchet. Klatt, one of the guards, was also killed there. Another German was killed by the tailor.

In Camp No. 2, *Unterscharfuehrer* Wolf was killed in a shop and his body hidden under some clothing. Wolf's brother was killed in the same shop.

"I killed *Unterscharfuehrer* Beckmann in the office," said Hein-

rich Engel, a lad from Lodz. "He was going to shoot me, but he was too late."

The insurrectionists killed sixteen of their jailers. They got hold of tommy-guns and began to shoot at the sentries in the towers. Four hundred persons succeeded in reaching the forest. The Germans organized a man-hunt, and many were killed. Fifty, however, survived. They will be the accusers and witnesses at the Sobibur trial.

CHELMNO

Where One Million Three Hundred Thousand Died ¹³³

The Polish Provisional Government investigating the recently uncovered murder factory estimated today that approximately 1,300,000 people were tortured and put to death in the Nazi death camp at Chelmno, near Kolo in Poznan province, between 1940 and 1945. Among the victims were 1,135,000 Jews from all parts of Europe; in addition there were 10,000 Poles, 10,000 Russians, 30,000 Czechoslovaks, 30,000 Rumanians, 10,000 Hungarians, 30,000 Frenchmen, 10,000 Greeks, 15,000 Dutchmen and Belgians, 15,000 gypsies and 3,000 "insane" Germans.

The Chelmno camp was set up in late November 1940, when units of the Gestapo swept into town, burned the priests' home and a number of other public buildings and spread terror among the population. A local mansion was taken over by the Germans and turned into a reception center for future victims. The first group to arrive, 700 Jews from Kolo, came on December 9, 1940. They were taken to the reception center, forced to undress and then driven with whips into hermetically sealed trucks equipped to pump gas fumes into the van. The victims were taken to a near-by wood, where the bodies were removed and buried in shallow graves.

After December 10, 1940, new groups arrived at Chelmno daily. On some days there were as many as twenty thousand.

Many of the prisoners were forced to send postcards to their relatives, telling them that they were in Munich or Leipzig, that

they were getting along fine, and that the food was excellent. The Germans felt that families getting such news would be grateful to the invaders, and thus more willing to sign up for "volunteer" labor in Germany.

The Nazis built special warehouses to store clothing and other valuables. The loot was later sent to Germany. Major Bothmann, the Chelmno commandant was assisted by Lieutenant Otto Land and later Plate Puzecinek; Bohm was in charge of transportation; Bristing was in charge of collecting the looted gold and valuables; the crematoria foremen were Runge and Kletschmer; the financial administration was controlled by Neufeld, while a German named Langmeister was the camp "physician." The Nazis organized special workers' brigades to make powder out of human bones; the powder was taken to the village of Zawada, on the Warta river near Kolo, where it was used in building walls.

When the Red Army reached the camp, they found the bodies of sixteen murdered Jews lying at the entrance to the camp reception center. These last victims are now buried in a common grave near the church in Chelmno. As the Red Army approached, the Nazis made frantic efforts to speed up their mass murders; according to eyewitnesses, the smoke and smell of burning bodies hung like a pall over the countryside. As the Russians drew near the Nazis fled. They dynamited the camp area and blew up the crematories.

One of those who described the Chelmno camp to Provisional Government authorities was Szymon Srebrnk, fifteen, of Lodz. "All during my stay at the death factory," Srebrnk testified, "I worked with shackles on my legs. It was my duty to remove gold fillings from the teeth of the dead, to strip rings from their fingers. I was forced to pile up wood and help burn the bodies. I was forced to pulverize human bones.

"Just before the Red Army came I was sentenced to die. With my face down, I lay on the ground, awaiting my turn. Scared to death, I was trembling all over. I shook so that the bullet meant for me passed through my upper palate and came out near my nose."

LUBLIN

*The Department Store*¹⁰⁴

In Chopin Street—what grim irony that Poland's foremost composer should be mixed up with this—in an unfinished five-story building of the Lublin Action Catholique, is one of the world's largest department stores.

The departments are labeled, *Herrenschube*, *Damenschube*, *Krawatten*, and dozens of others.

In one room thousands of safety razors are piled up, next to them are thousands of penknives, in another room are mountains of darning and knitting wool and thousands of reels of cotton yarn.

Next one comes to a gallery of women's frocks, dresses, costumes and blouses, and there is even a toy department with teddy bears, pink celluloid dolls, marbles, domino sets, ladders and jigsaw puzzles. A little farther along are school children's notebooks, penholders and erasers.

The Chopin Street warehouse was part of that gigantic industry—the Maidanek extermination camp.

In the camp itself I saw an enormous wooden barracks piled almost to the ceiling with footwear: Russian Army boots, tiny children's shoes, women's smart bedroom slippers, but mainly ordinary boots and shoes, most of them badly worn out.

In that place alone, there were 85,000 pairs of shoes and boots. In the Chopin Street warehouse there is now only a fraction of the actual output of Maidanek camp. In 1944, eighteen railway carloads of "consumers' goods" were sent from there to Germany. All these objects are possessions of people who were systematically murdered at the Maidanek extermination camp.

The mixed Russo-Polish commission inquiring into Maidanek atrocities estimates fully 1,500,000 people—men, women and children—were exterminated there.

It was further estimated that about one-half of the victims of Maidanek were Jews, a large proportion from Germany, Austria and Western Europe. The other half were Polish civilians, Russian war prisoners, and an almost endless variety of people from



From U.S. Office of War Information

SORTING THE BELONGINGS OF THE MURDERED

all of Europe. Among the passports the Germans had no time to destroy were French, Dutch, Italian, Czech, Greek, Norwegian.

Austrian and German Jews, and especially the well-to-do, were told they could settle peacefully in Poland. They took their children and all their possessions with them. They then were taken into Maidanek, invited to undress and wash, and driven into a gas chamber.

Even after one has spent a couple of days at Maidanek, seen pits filled with thousands of corpses, seen the crematorium and the adjoining house of the director, *Obersturmfuehrer* Mussfeld, even after one has seen all this, one finds it hard to realize the gigantic monstrosity of this camp.

One cannot help thinking in terms of individuals—the child who owned an American-made Mickey Mouse, now in the Chopin Street warehouse; or the German-Jewish composer Ernst Weil, whose manuscript for Violin Sonata, Opus 15, is in the junk department in the Chopin Street “store.”

I saw some SS men captured by the Russians. They seemed like ordinary persons until they began to talk.

When a question was put to them, “You killed Frenchmen?” “*Jawohl!*” “Belgians?” “*Jawohl!*” It was the same snappy “*Jawohl!*” every time. “Children too?” Again it was the same “*Jawohl!*”

Then somebody asked one of them, “Have you any children?” Whereupon he said proudly, “I have five children.” Obviously he was completely unaware of any connection between the two questions.

Maidanek ¹⁰⁵

The hangmen set up a huge death factory at Maidanek in Lublin. They named it *Vernichtungslager*. Germans who had served in this camp and were taken prisoner testified before the Commission. SS *Rottenfuehrer* Theodor Scholen stated: “This camp was called the extermination camp—*Vernichtungslager*—because a tremendous number of people were exterminated there.”

Heinz Stalbe, a member of the *Kampfpolizei*, stated: “The main purpose of this camp was to exterminate the greatest possible number of people, and for this reason it was named the *Vernichtungslager*.”

The Maidanek camp, located a mile and a quarter from the town of Lublin, covered 675 acres. Its construction began at the close of 1940. By the beginning of 1943 six sections of this camp were complete. There were twenty-four barracks in each section, 144 barracks in all, each housing up to 300 persons and more. The camp was fenced off with two rows of barbed wire. In addition all six sections were divided within the camp by a system of barbed wire fences with a separate guard-room at the entrance to every section.

All the barbed-wire fences were charged with high tension current. The whole territory of the camp was studded with tall towers on which sentries with machine guns were permanently stationed. The camp was heavily guarded by SS troops. In addition there were 200 Alsatian dogs, as well as auxiliary *Kampfpolizei* formed of criminal elements.

Twenty-five to forty thousand prisoners could be housed in the camp at a time. At some periods up to 45,000 prisoners were confined there. The camp population was not stable. Incoming contingents were systematically destroyed, and new transports of prisoners arrived to take their place. Thus, for most persons sent there, the camp was only a temporary stage on the road to death. In the camp were prisoners of war from the former Polish Army captured as far back as 1939, Soviet prisoners of war, citizens of Poland, France, Belgium, Italy, Holland, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Yugoslavia, Denmark, Norway and other countries.

This was ascertained through:

(a) The large quantity of passports and other identification papers found on the territory of the camp belonging to citizens of various European countries who perished in the camp.

(b) The book with records of those who died in the so-called camp hospital, but who had in fact been exterminated.

(c) By the testimony of numerous witnesses—former inmates of the camp and German war prisoners who had served previously in the camp.

There were many women, children and old people among the prisoners. Sometimes whole families were confined there. The children were of various ages, including babies. Thus the camp was a place for the mass extermination of various European nationalities.

The regime in the extermination camp was subordinated to the main task; mass extermination. The prisoners dragged out a hungry existence. The standard ration per prisoner was coffee made of burned turnips once a day, soup of grass twice a day, and from 180 to 270 grams of bread made of a mixture of sawdust and chestnut flour, which resulted in complete exhaustion, widespread tuberculosis and other diseases.

For the smallest offense prisoners were deprived even of this scanty food for several days, which was tantamount to death from starvation.

A former inmate of the camp, the Czech Tomasek, informed the Commission that people were always hungry to the point of starvation. There was a state of general exhaustion among the prisoners,

to which many succumbed. The prisoners ate carrion, cats and dogs. Most of them were either walking skeletons covered with skin or unnaturally obese as a result of edema and swelling caused by hunger.

A former inmate of the camp, prisoner of war Corporal Reznik of the Polish Army, stated: "The war prisoners were given hardly any food at all. They reached a state of extreme exhaustion, were swollen and often unable to speak. Many of them died."

The working day began at four in the morning, with the roll call at which all had to be present, whether well or ill; those who had died during the night were carried out by their neighbors for a check-up. If a prisoner did not respond at roll call he was put on the list of the dead and then finished off with clubs.

At six in the morning the prisoners were led out to work. The work was exceptionally hard and exhausting. It was accompanied by severe beatings, outrages and murders. Prisoners' squads which returned at 11 o'clock for the so-called dinner brought along the maimed and the bodies of those who had been killed.

At evening roll call the SS trooper on duty read out a list of prisoners who had worked "poorly," and these were lashed, clubbed or flogged on a special bench. The number of strokes ranged from twenty-five upwards. Often people were flogged to death. An assistant professor of Warsaw University, Zelent, who had been confined in the camp, stated: "I knew a lawyer called Nosek, from Radom, who was given 100 strokes; he died three days later."

A former Polish inmate of the camp, Tadeusz Budzin, a Master of Chemistry, stated: "A large group of professors, doctors, engineers and other specialists—1,200 persons in all—brought from Greece, were assigned by the Germans to work beyond their strength, carrying heavy stones. Those of the scientists who became exhausted and collapsed under the strain were beaten to death by SS troopers. By a combined system of starvation, exhausting labor, beatings and murders this entire group of Greek scientists was destroyed within five weeks."

The SS torturers drowned their victims in the filthy water which flowed in the small ditch from the bathhouse: the victims' heads were submerged and held down by an SS trooper's boot until death came. Another favorite method of the SS was to sus-

pend prisoners by their hands tied at the back. The Frenchman du Corantin, who experienced this punishment, stated that a prisoner thus suspended quickly lost consciousness, after which suspension was stopped; when he regained consciousness he was suspended again—this was repeated many times.

For the least offense, especially on suspicion of an attempt to escape, the camp inmates were hanged by the German fiends. In the center of every section there stood a pole with an arm fastened to it at a height of about six feet.

"I saw from my barracks," stated one witness, Domashev, former camp inmate and Soviet war prisoner, "people hanged on the pole in the center of the section."

Near the laundry in the space between the first and second sections there was a special shed with beams near the ceiling on which people were hanged in groups.

The women in the camp were subject to the same system. Particular cruelty was displayed by the women SS troops: chief wardress Erich and wardresses Braunstein, Anni Devid, Weber, Knoblic, Ellert and Redli. The Commission ascertained many facts relating to absolutely unparalleled atrocities perpetrated by the women executioners in the camp.

Heinz Stalbe, of the German *Kampfpolizei*, stated at a plenary session of the Commission that he himself saw the director of the crematorium, *Oberscharfuehrer* Mussfeld, tie a Polish woman hand and foot and throw her alive into the furnace. Witnesses Jelinski and Oleh, who worked in the camp, also tell of the burning of living people in the crematorium furnaces.

"They took a baby from its mother's breast and killed it before her eyes by smashing it against the barracks wall," said witness Atrokhov.

"I myself," said witness Edward Baran, "saw babies taken from their mothers and killed before their eyes: they would take a baby by one foot and step on the other, and so tear the baby apart."

One of the methods of exterminating huge masses of people considered undesirable by Nazi Germany was by large-scale shootings, widely practised in the Lublin extermination camp. The sanguinary history of this camp begins with the mass shootings of



U.S. Army Signal Corps Photo from U.S. Office of War Information

OVENS WHERE THE VICTIMS WERE BURNED, OFTEN ALIVE

Soviet war prisoners, organized by SS troopers in November-December 1941. Of over 2,000 Soviet war prisoners only eighty were left. Between January and April 1942, more Soviet war prisoners were brought to the camp and shot.

The Polish witness Jan Nedzialek, who worked in the camp as a hired truck driver, testified: "The Germans killed about 5,000 Russian war prisoners in the winter of 1942 in the following manner: they were driven in trucks from the barracks to the pits at the former stone quarry and shot there."

War prisoners from the former Polish Army, taken prisoner as far back as 1939 and kept in various camps in Germany, were brought to the extermination camp in Maidanek. The witness Reznik testified: "In January 1941 about 4,000 of us Jewish war prisoners were put on trains and sent east.

"... We were brought to Lublin, detained there, and turned over to SS troopers. In September or October 1942 we were sent to the Maidanek camp. All of us knew that Maidanek meant

death." Of this party of 4,000 war prisoners only a few individuals remained alive.

During the shootings the Germans installed powerful loudspeakers nearby and broadcast lively music all day long. This procedure became common talk among the people of Lublin.

Hermann Vogel, an SS trooper who worked in the camp, stated: "Eighty-four hundred persons were taken on one day from Lublin camp and shot. I know this figure exactly, because the next day an official report on the extermination of 8,400 persons was presented to the clothing storehouse where I worked, as we had to write off their clothing."

Stanislawski, a Polish prisoner, who worked in the camp office, testified about the shooting on November 3, 1943: "The Germans called this shooting a 'special measure,' and a report under this title was sent to Berlin. The report said bluntly: 'The difference between the number of prisoners confined in the camp in the morning and in the evening is the result of a special annihilation of 18,000 persons.'"

Kanunnikov, a Soviet war prisoner, was an eyewitness to the shooting of forty women with little children in the first half of July 1943. Early in the morning the bodies of those who had been shot were brought to the crematorium to be burned. The witness Gangoi testified: "I vividly remember another instance, which I personally witnessed and today confirm absolutely:

"In the latter half of May 1943, SS troopers brought in two tractor-drawn open trucks and one truck containing the stark naked bodies of Polish children. The bodies of these children were stacked up in the forest and burned."

Witness Krassowskaya reported to the Commission the shooting of 300 women brought from Greece in April 1943.

The Board of Medico-Legal Experts, presided over by Professor Szilling-Singaliewicz, a professor of forensic medicine of Lublin Catholic University, established:

"During the examination of 467 bodies and 266 skulls, traces of bullet wounds were found in 342 cases, indicating that shooting of the prisoners by firing, chiefly at the back of the head at close range from a firearm of 0.9 calibre, was widely practised in the camp."

One of the methods most widely used for the mass extermination of people in Maidanek camp was asphyxiation by gas. A board of technico-legal and chemical experts—presided over by the architect-engineer of the town of Lublin, Kelles-Krause, established that cells built on the territory of the camp had been used chiefly for the mass extermination of human beings.

There were six such cells. Some had been used for killing people with S.O. gas, others for killing with the poisonous chemical substance called cyclone. On the camp territory they discovered 535 drums of cyclone-B₂ preparation and several steel cylinders containing carbon monoxide.

On the basis of the precise calculation the experts ascertained: "Technical and chemical analysis of the gas cells in Maidanek concentration camp fully confirms that all these cells, especially cells No. 1, 2, 3 and 4, were destined and used for the large-scale, systematic extermination of people by poisoning with general poison gases such as hydrocyanic acid (the cyclone preparation) and carbon monoxide."

When all the cells equipped for poisoning were in action simultaneously, it was possible to kill 1,914 people at a time.

The witness Stanislawski stated: "In March 1943, 300 Poles were murdered in a gas cell. On June 20, 1943, 3,500 people were stripped of their clothes in the first section and were driven naked to the bathhouse and thence to the gas cell, where they were asphyxiated; on October 14, 1943, 270 people were murdered in the same way."

The eyewitness Jan Wolski, a former inmate of the camp, gave the following testimony concerning mass poisoning by gas: "In October 1942 a great number of women and children were brought to camp. Those in good health were picked out for work, while the rest were asphyxiated in a gas cell.

German SS men who had served in the camp then gave evidence. SS *Rottenfuehrer* Haensche stated that on September 15, 1942, 350 people, including women and children, were killed in a gas cell. SS *Oberscharfuehrer* Ternes told the Commission about the asphyxiation of 500 people, including many women and children, in the gas cells on October 16, 1943.

The selection of people for asphyxiation was done systematically

by the German camp doctors Blanke and Rindfleisch. The same Ternes stated: "On the evening of October 21, 1943, camp doctor SS *Untersturmfuehrer* Rindfleisch told me that on that day 300 children of three to ten years of age had been asphyxiated with the cyclone preparation."

Bodies were regularly removed from the gas cells to be burned in the crematorium on bonfires. The bodies were transported on trucks or in special platforms hauled by tractors. Many eyewitnesses gave evidence on this point.

The Polish-Soviet Extraordinary Commission has ascertained that at Lublin, besides the gas cells, the Germans used a specially equipped truck, a so-called murder van. Two witnesses, a former soldier of the Polish Army, Stettiner, and a Soviet prisoner of war, Atrokhov, described this machine in which the Germans asphyxiated their victims with exhaust gases from the engine.

Thus the testimony of numerous eyewitnesses, given before the medico-legal, technical and chemical experts, establishes that in the course of nearly three years the Nazi hangmen in Maidanek camp systematically asphyxiated with gas hundreds of thousands of absolutely guiltless persons, including old people, women and children.

At the Maidanek camp the Germans first buried the bodies of the people they shot or tortured to death. Subsequently, especially in 1943 and 1944, they began to burn the bodies, and exhumed the bodies of those who had been buried. In 1942 the Germans started building a huge new crematorium with five furnaces, which they completed in the autumn of 1943. These furnaces burned continuously. The temperature in them could be raised to 1,500 degrees centigrade. So as to be able to place more bodies in each furnace, the Germans dismembered the bodies, hacking off the extremities.

The technical experts who examined the structure of the furnaces came to the following conclusion. "Four bodies with hacked-off extremities could be placed in one furnace at a time. It took fifteen minutes to burn four bodies, and so with all furnaces working round the clock it was possible to burn 1,920 bodies in twenty-four hours. Taking into account the great quantities of bones discovered

all over the camp, the committee of experts believes that bones were taken out of the furnaces before they could be completely consumed, and that therefore, in fact, many more than 1,920 bodies were burned in twenty-four hours."

In order to conceal the gigantic scale of their mass extermination, the Nazi fiends buried the ashes in pits and ditches, scattered them over the large territory of the camp vegetable plots, mixed the ashes with manure and used them as fertilizer. On the territory of the extermination camp the Commission discovered over 1,350 cubic meters of compost consisting of manure, ashes of burned bodies and small human bones. The Nazis resorted to grinding small bones in a special "mill." This mill and its design have been described in detail by witness Stettiner, a Diesel mechanic whom the Germans forced to work there.

The former military commander of the town of Lublin, Lieutenant General Hilmar Moser, testified: "In the spring of the current year an immense number of bodies were exhumed and burned in specially erected furnaces evidently in order to cover up traces of the crimes perpetrated on Hitler's order. Gigantic furnaces were built of brick and iron and formed a crematorium with a large capacity. The stench of corpses often penetrated the town, at least its eastern part."

The Commission established that over 600,000 bodies had been burned in the crematorium furnaces alone, over 300,000 on gigantic bonfires in Krempek Forest, over 80,000 in two old furnaces and not less than 400,000 in the camp itself near the crematorium.

In order to cover up the traces of their crimes the Germans exterminated those of the camp inmates who had worked in the gas cells and crematories.

The Polish-Soviet Extraordinary Commission established that in the four years' existence of the Maidanek camp the Nazi hangmen, on direct orders of their criminal government, exterminated by mass shootings and mass murder in gas cells about 1,500,000 persons—Soviet war prisoners, war prisoners from the former Polish Army, persons of various nationalities: Poles, French, Italians, Belgians, Dutch, Czechs, Serbs, Greeks, Croats and a huge number of Jews.

The Polish-Soviet Extraordinary Commission has established that

the main responsibility for these crimes is borne by the Nazi government, the hangman Himmler and his SS and SD henchmen in the territory of Lublin province.

The main executors of these atrocities were: *Obergruppenfuehrer* Globotschnik, leader of SS and SD in Lublin; ex-governor of Lublin province, Wendler; leader of SS and SD in Lublin, *Sturmbannfuehrer* Dominnik; chief of war prisoners' camps in Poland, *Sturmbannfuehrer* Liski; camp chiefs *Standartenfuehrer* Koch and *Obersturmfuehrer* Kegel; assistant camp commandant *Hauptsturmfuehrer* Meltzer; *Hauptsturmfuehrer* Kloppemann; *Obersturmfuehrer* Tumann; *Oberscharfuehrer* Mussfeld; *Oberscharfuehrer* Kostial; camp doctors *Hauptscharfuehrer* Erich Gruen, *Hauptscharfuehrer* Rindfleisch, *Hauptsturmfuehrer* Blanke; chief of the crematorium *Untersturmfuehrer* Wende, and all other persons who are guilty of exterminating guiltless people.

OSWIECIM 106

On April 13, 1942, our group of one thousand men was loaded into railroad cars at the assembly camp of Sereď. 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 a 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-tension wires. Between the two rows of posts, at intervals of 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 the gravel pit at the end of July 1942.

I was then detailed for work at the *Deutsche Aufrestungswerke* where we had to paint skis. The proscribed 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 a 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 rail-

road 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.

BIRKENAU¹⁰⁷

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 *Birkenwald*.

At the end of February 1943 a new crematorium and gassing plant were inaugurated at Birkenau. The gassing and burning of the bodies in the Birch Forest were discontinued. The whole job was taken over by the four specially built crematoria. The large ditch was filled in, the ground leveled, the ashes used as fertilizer at the farm labor camp of Hermense. Today it is almost impossible to find traces of the dreadful mass murder which took place here.

In 1943 there were four crematoria in operation at Birkenau, two large ones and two smaller ones. The larger ones consisted of three parts: (a) the furnace room; (b) the large hall; and (c) the gas chamber. A huge chimney rose from the furnace room, serving nine separate furnaces, each of which had four openings. Each opening could take three normal corpses at one time; after an hour and a half the bodies were completely burned. This corresponded to a daily capacity of about 2,000 bodies.

Next to the furnace room was a large reception hall, ar-

ranged so as to give the impression of an antechamber in a bathing establishment. It held 2,000 people. A door led down into the very long and narrow gas chamber. The walls of this chamber were also camouflaged with simulated entries to shower rooms in order to mislead the victims. The roof was fitted with three traps which could be hermetically closed from the outside. A track from the gas chamber led into the furnace room.

The gassing took place like this: the victims were brought into the hall where they were told to undress. To complete the fiction that they were going to bathe, each person received a towel and a small piece of soap. Then they were crowded into the gas chamber in such numbers that there was only standing room. SS men with gas masks climbed onto the roof, opened the traps, spreading a powder out of tin cans labeled "Cyklon—for use against vermin," which was manufactured by a Hamburg concern. It is presumed that this is a cyanide mixture of some sort which at certain temperatures turns into gas. After three minutes everyone in the chamber was dead. No one is known to have survived this ordeal. The chamber was opened, aired, and a special squad would cart the bodies on flat trucks to the furnace rooms where the burning took place.

The other two crematories worked on nearly the same principle, but at half the capacity.

The total capacity of the four plants at Birkenau amounted to about 6,000 dead daily.

Only Jews were gassed; non-Jews were shot. Before the crematoria were put into service, the shooting took place in the Birch Forest, and the bodies were burned there. Later, however, executions took place in the large hall of one of the crematoria which has been provided with a special installation for this purpose.

At times malaria and typhus took such toll among the prisoners that the "selections" were temporarily suspended. "Contaminated" Jews were ordered to present themselves, and in spite of our repeated warnings many of them did. They were all killed by intracardiac phenol injections administered by a lance corporal of the medical corps.

In the meantime, ceaseless convoys of Jews arrived. They were all dispatched to the gas chambers.

The flow of convoys ceased abruptly at the end of July 1943. There was a short breathing space. The crematoria were thoroughly cleaned, the installations repaired. They were ready for further use. On August 3rd, the killing machines went into action once more.

*Careful Estimate of the Number of Jews Gassed in Birkenau
between April 1942 and April 1944 (according to
Countries of Origin)*

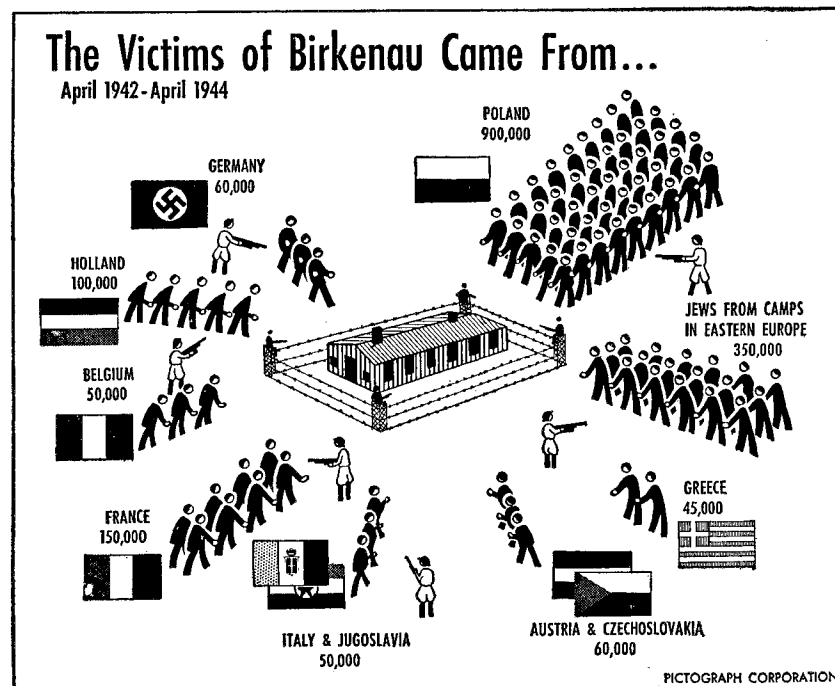
Poland	approximately	900,000
Holland	"	100,000
Greece	"	45,000
France	"	150,000
Belgium	"	50,000
Germany	"	60,000
Yugoslavia, Italy, Norway	"	50,000
Lithuania	"	50,000
Bohemia, Moravia, Austria	"	30,000
Slovakia	"	30,000
Various foreign Jews concentrated in Poland	"	300,000
	"	<u>1,765,000</u>

Four million Jews—about two-thirds of the six million who perished in Europe at the hands of the Nazis—were murdered at Oswiecim and its subsidiary camps.

During the Lueneburg trial at which war criminals Josef Kramer and forty-four SS men and women were prosecuted for conspiracy to commit mass murder, the chief prosecutor, Colonel T. M. Backhouse, produced as witness Dr. Ada Bimko, 30-year-old Polish physician who had been at Oswiecim until her transfer to Belsen, where she was liberated. She testified that records kept by the special group of prisoners assigned to the Oswiecim death house numbered 4,000,000 Jews killed.¹⁰⁸

Twelve of the forty-five accused at the Lueneburg trial were charged with the crime of mass murders at Oswiecim, among them the SS guard Irma Grese, notorious as the worst of the women

guards. When asked by the prosecutor whether she recognized any of the accused, Dr. Bimko walked the length of the dock where the prisoners sat, their faces highlighted by the glare of floodlights. First she picked out Kramer as the commandant of the Birkenau camp at Oswiecim, a camp infamous as the biggest and worst of the mass murder factories operated by the Nazis. Pointing out others



by name, Dr. Bimko finally stopped in front of Juana Bormann, Nazi woman guard. "I had not recognized her—but now that I look at her, I see her in my mind at Oswiecim, accompanied always by a great dog . . . Many of the camp inmates were bitten by dogs . . ."

With the familiar Nazi barefaced denials of guilt, Kramer and the forty-four other criminals all pleaded innocent. Kramer insisted that he knew nothing of mass murders at Oswiecim. "All I can say to all this is it is untrue from beginning to end."

As Colonel Backhouse stated, Kramer and every guard at Oswiecim was guilty of deliberate mass murder.¹⁰⁹

On December 14, 1945 Josef Kramer, camp commandant of Oswiecim and later head of the murder camp at Bergen-Belsen, was hanged after trial by a British military court. Ten of his subordinates were hanged with him, among them Irma Grese and Juana Bormann.

REPORT FROM TREBLINKA ¹¹⁰

All that is written below was compiled from the stories of living witnesses, from depositions of people who worked in Treblinka from the first day of its existence until August 2, 1943, when the doomed prisoners revolted, set the camp on fire and fled into the forest. The depositions of the arrested German guards confirmed every word of the witnesses and supplemented it in many ways. I saw these people myself; I spoke to them at great length, their written testimony is before me, on my desk—and all of these numerous depositions, which come from various sources, coincide in every detail, ending with the tale of the technology of killing victims and of the installation of a conveyor belt execution block.

Thrift, neatness, accuracy, pedantic cleanliness—all of these are not bad traits in many Germans. When applied to agriculture and industry they bear fruit. Hitlerism applied these traits to its crime against humanity, and the Reich's SS conducted itself in the Polish labor camp as though its business was growing cauliflower or potatoes.

The Germans began to build a Jewish camp, a camp execution block, in May 1942. The area of the camp was divided into even squares; the barracks were constructed with a ruler; the paths were lined with birches and covered with sand. Concrete pools were built for domestic water fowl; pools with steps for washing clothes; service rooms for the German personnel, such as a model bakery, a barbershop, a garage, a gasoline pump, warehouses. The Lublin camp at Maidanek and the dozens of labor camps in eastern Poland where the Gestapo and the SS intended to settle down seriously and permanently have all been built on the same order—with little gardens, drinking fountains, concrete roads. The planning of these camps reflected the German love for schedules and charts worked

out to the minutest detail. The construction proceeded at a rapid pace with over 1,000 workers.

At this camp nothing was designed for living—everything was designed for death. The existence of this camp—according to Himmler's plans—was to be a deep secret, not one man was to leave it alive. If anyone came even within one kilometer of the camp, even if en route elsewhere, he would be shot without warning. German airplanes were not allowed to fly over this region. Victims, brought here on a special railway branch, did not know until the last moment what awaited them. The guards who accompanied the shipments of victims were not even permitted to enter the outer enclosure of the camp.

On arrival of the trains the SS guards of the camp took charge of the prisoners. The shipment, which usually consisted of sixty railway cars, was divided into three parts outside the camp, and the locomotive regularly delivered about twenty cars to the camp platform. The locomotive pushed the cars from the rear and stopped at the wire fence. Thus, neither the engineer, nor the stoker crossed the camp limits. When the cars were unloaded the officer of the SS troops would whistle for the next twenty cars, which stood within 200 meters. When all sixty cars were unloaded, the commander of the camp would telephone the station and order a new shipment to proceed into the camp. The unloaded cars would ride on a branch track to the sandpit, where they would be loaded with sand and proceed from there to the Treblinka station.

Shipments with victims came here from all four corners of the earth—from west and east, from north and south; shipments from Warsaw, Mendzyzhetz, Chenstokhov, Siedlce, Radom, Lomza, Bialystok, Grodno and from many other cities of Byelorussia, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Bulgaria, Bessarabia.

Shipments proceeded to Treblinka during a period of thirteen months. Each shipment had sixty railroad cars, and on each car the figures inscribed were 150-180-200. This indicated the number of people in the car. Railroad employees have secretly kept count of these shipments. A peasant of the village Vulka (the nearest inhabited place), the sixty-year-old Kazimir Skarzhinsky, told me that there were days when six trainloads passed Vulka on the Siedlce branch alone, and there was hardly a day during these

thirteen months when no shipments passed the village. And the Siedlce branch was only one of four railroads which supplied Treblinka. The railroad repairman, Lucian Zukov, who was forced by the Germans to work on this branch, said that during the time he worked there, from June 15, 1942 to August 1943, the branch carried from one to three trains daily to Treblinka. Each train had sixty cars, and each car held not less than 150 persons.

We have gathered dozens of such depositions. Even if we cut in half all figures given by witnesses concerning the movement of shipments to Treblinka, still the total number of human beings brought there during the period of thirteen months would reach nearly three million. But we shall return to this figure later.

The execution camp proper, with the outer enclosure, occupied a very small area—600 x 780 square meters. If one doubted for a moment the fate of the millions of people brought here, if one for one moment presumed that the Germans did not kill them immediately, then the question arises: where are these people—these multitudes who amounted to the population of a small country or a large European metropolis? For thirteen months—396 days—the trains left Treblinka laden with sand or empty; not one person who arrived at the camp ever left it.

Who were the people taken in trainloads to Treblinka? Mainly Jews, also Poles and gypsies. By the spring of 1942 the entire Jewish population of Poland, Germany, the Eastern regions of Byelorussia, had been driven into ghettos. In these ghettos—Warsaw, Radom, Chenstokhov, Lublin, Bialystok, Grodno and many other smaller ghettos, were gathered millions of Jews—workers, physicians, professors, architects, engineers, teachers, artists, other professionals—all with their families, wives, daughters, sons, mothers, fathers. In the Warsaw Ghetto alone there were over half a million persons.

In July, the first trainloads left Warsaw and Chenstokhov for Treblinka. People were told that they were going to the Ukraine to work on farms. They were permitted to take along twenty kilograms of luggage and food. In many cases the Germans forced their victims to buy railroad tickets to the Ober-Maidan station. That was the German code name for Treblinka.

Trains from France, Bulgaria, Austria, etc., came to Treblinka.

On these trains no one had ever heard of Treblinka, and everyone believed until the last moment that he was being sent to work. Furthermore, the Germans had described to them in glowing colors the comfort and beauty of the new life which awaited the immigrants. Some trainloads contained people who were certain that they were being taken to neutral countries; and they paid huge sums of money to German officials for exit visas and foreign passports. All trains came without special guards, with just the usual service staff. These trains had sleeping-cars and dining-cars. The passengers took along heavy trunks and suitcases, and large food supplies. The children alighted at stations and asked when they would arrive at Ober-Maidan.

As a final bluff to the people arriving from Europe, the railroad-siding at the death camp was equipped as a passenger station. On the platform, at which the current twenty cars were being unloaded, stood a station structure with a cashier's booth, a baggage room, a restaurant. Everywhere there were arrows with inscriptions: "Trains for Bialystok," "For Baranovichi," "For Volkovysk." On their arrival, an orchestra played; all the musicians were well dressed. A man in the uniform of a railroad employee took tickets from the passengers and let them out on the square. Three to four thousand people, laden with sacks and suitcases, supporting the old and the sick, came out. Mothers held their young children in their arms; older children clung to their parents.

The people began to notice rapidly the disquieting trifles—the swept ground on which there were dropped objects: a little bundle of clothing, open suitcases, shaving brushes, enamel saucepans. How did they get here? And why does the railroad track end immediately after the station platform? Where is the road to Bialystok, Siedlce, Warsaw, Volkovysk? And why do the new guards grin so strangely at the men who are straightening their ties, at the neatly dressed old women, at the boys in sailor jackets, at the thin girls who had somehow managed to retain a neat appearance on the trip, and at the young mothers who are lovingly adjusting the blankets around their babies?

About 20,000 persons passed through Treblinka daily. Those days when only six or seven thousand came out of the station were considered empty days. Four to five times a day the square

was filled with people. And thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands questioned with frightened eyes; all these young and old faces, the dark and blond girls, the hump-backed and round-shouldered, the bald old men, the shy youngsters—all of them poured out in a single stream.

An SS corporal loudly and clearly suggests to the newcomers that they leave their belongings on the square and go to the baths; that they take with them their documents, valuables and only small packages containing soap, towels, etc. Many questions arise in the minds of the newcomers: Should they take along their underwear? May they untie their bundles? Perhaps their belongings will get mixed up or lost on the square . . . But some strange power compels them to move on rapidly, silently, without questioning, without looking back, toward the entrance to the six-meter wire wall, camouflaged by branches. They pass anti-tank equipment; they pass a high barbed-wire fence; they pass a three-meter-deep anti-tank ditch. They step over thin steel wire strewn over the ground—the feet of the running people get caught in it, as the feet of a fly get caught in a cobweb; and then they pass the high barbed-wire wall.

On the square near the station two hundred workers with sky-blue kerchiefs (“the sky group”) silently, quickly and deftly untie the bundles, open the trunks and suitcases and unstrap duffle bags. They scatter over the ground the carefully packed spools of thread, children’s shorts, shirts, bed sheets, jumpers, razor sets, bundles of letters, photographs, bottles of perfume, mirrors, nightcaps, valenki (quilted frost-boots), stockings, laces, pajamas, packages of butter, coffee, cans of cocoa, prayer-robos, candle-sticks, books, zwieback, violins, children’s blocks.

One must be an expert to be able to sort in a few minutes all these thousands of objects, to evaluate them—to select those which are to be sent to Germany and those (the old and mended things) which are to be thrown into a bonfire. Woe to the worker who makes the mistake of placing an old fiber suitcase with the leather ones selected for shipment to Germany; or to the one who throws into the pile of old mended socks a pair of Paris stockings still bearing the label of the factory. Such a worker errs only once.

While the people prepared for their baths, the work over their

belongings came to an end: valuables were taken to the warehouses, and letters, photographs of infants, of brothers, brides, yellowed wedding announcements—all of these thousands of valuable objects, so dear to their owners and so worthless to the Treblinka bosses, were gathered into heaps and thrown into huge pits in which were already hundreds of thousands of such letters, postcards, visiting cards, pieces of paper with children’s scribbles and their first attempts at drawing with colored crayons. Then the square was swept superficially, and it was ready to receive the next batch of doomed people.

If the prisoners learned where they were being taken, they revolted. The peasant Skrzheminsky saw prisoners of two trains break doors and head for the forest. All of the escaped prisoners were killed by automatics. Four children with them were also killed. The peasant woman Mariana Kobus related incidents of fighting with guards. Once, while she was working in the field, she saw thirty persons killed while they were dashing from the train and heading for the forest.

The second phase of the treatment of newcomers consisted of the suppression of their will by constant, brief and rapid orders. These orders were given in that renowned tone of voice of which the German army is so proud. The letter “r” is at one and the same time blurred and pronounced hard, making it sound like a whip.

Achtung! resounded over the mob, and in the leaden silence the voice of the *Scharfuehrer* emitted the words repeated several times a day over a period of many months:

“Men remain here, women and children undress in the barracks on the left.”

And here, according to eyewitnesses, began horrible scenes. Maternal and filial intuition makes people aware that they are seeing one another for the last time. Handshaking, kisses, blessings, tears, brief words into which people put all their love, tenderness, despair . . . The SS psychiatrists of death know that all of these sentiments can be extinguished, cut off instantaneously. The psychiatrists of death know all those simple laws which prevail in all abattoirs of the world—the laws which the beasts in Treblinka applied to human beings. This is one of the most terrible moments—the

separation of daughters from fathers, of mothers from sons, grandmothers from grandsons, husbands from wives.

And again the square resounded with the word:—*Achtung!*—*Achtung!* It is at such a moment that the peoples' minds must be confused again; they must again be filled with hope, with rules of death given out as if they were rules of life. And the same voice shot out each word distinctly:

"Women and children are to take their shoes off at the entrance to the barracks. The stockings are to be put into the shoes. The children's socks are to be placed in the sandals, in the little shoes and slippers. Be neat."

And then again:

"When going to the baths, take along your valuables, documents, money, a towel and soap . . . We repeat . . ."

Inside of the women's barracks there was a barber shop. The naked women were given hair cuts, and the wigs were taken from the old women. This death hair cut—according to the testimony of the barbers—convinced the women that they were being taken to the baths. Young girls felt their heads and asked: "Over here it is not straight, please cut it a little more!" Usually, after the hair cutting, the women became calmer, though some of the younger ones wept for their beautiful hair.

Why were the women given hair cuts? In order to fool them? Oh, no, this hair was needed in Germany. It was raw material . . . I have asked many people what Germany did with this mass of hair taken off the heads of living corpses. All witnesses told me that the great masses of black, golden and blonde hair, of curls and braids, were disinfected, pressed in bags and sent to Germany. One written testimony states that the army and navy used it for stuffing mattresses, for technical equipment and for weaving submarine cables.

From the first morning train, a contingent of about 150 to 300 men were picked for their physical strength, and they were ordered to bury the dead. Usually they were killed the next day.

The men had to undress very rapidly and neatly. The sorting of things was entrusted to the second work command, "the red" one, distinguished from those working "on the transport" by red armbands. The clothes considered worthy of being shipped to Ger-

many were immediately sent to the warehouse. All metal or cloth insignia were carefully ripped off. The rest of the clothing was burnt and buried in pits.

And then a new procedure began. The naked people were taken to the cashier's booth and told to turn over their documents and valuables. And once more, a dreadful, hypnotizing voice shouted:

"*Achtung! Achtung!* . . . Concealing valuables is punishable by death. *Achtung!*"

In a little booth, knocked together out of boards, sat the *Scharfuhrer*. Near him stood SS men and guards. Near the booth there were wooden cases into which valuables were thrown—one for paper money, the second for coins, and the third for watches, rings, earrings and pins with precious stones and bracelets.

Here at the cashier's booth things came to a head—here ended the torture through lies, which kept people under the hypnosis of ignorance, in a fever which tossed them in a few minutes from hope to despair, from visions of life to visions of death. This torture through lies was one of the attributes of the conveyor execution block—it helped the SS men in their work. At the last stage of the process of robbing living corpses, the Germans drastically changed their manner of treating their victims.

In order to expedite its functions, this last stage of the conveyor execution block called for a new principle, and therefore the word *Achtung* was substituted by the hissing *Schneller, schneller, schneller!*

The experience of the last few years has shown that a naked man loses his power of resistance, ceases fighting against fate; with the shedding of his clothes he loses the instinct of self-preservation, accepts fate as inevitable.

The road from the cashier's booth to the place of execution took six to seven minutes. The people, driven by blows and deafened by noise, came to the third square and stopped there for a moment, completely stunned.

Before them stood a beautiful stone structure, trimmed with wood, built in the style of an ancient temple. Five wide concrete steps led to a low, but wide, massive, beautifully ornamented door. At the entrance, there were flowers and potted plants. But chaos reigned all around—everywhere one saw hills of freshly raked

earth. A huge excavator with steel clamps ejected tons of yellow sandy soil, and the dust it raised stood between the earth and the sun. The roar of the colossal machine digging huge pits . . . graves . . . from morning until night was intermingled with the dreadful barking of dozens of German sheepdogs. Along both sides of the death-house ran narrow-gauge tracks, on which men brought up self-dumping cars.

The tales of the Treblinka living corpses, who retained until the last moment not the semblance of man, but his soul, shake one to the very depths of one's being, deprive one of sleep and rest. The story of the women who tried to save their sons by offering great but hopeless sacrifices; of the young mothers who hid—buried in blankets and covered with their bodies—their nursing infants. No one knows or ever will know the names of these mothers. Stories were told of little, ten-year-old girls, who with divine wisdom consoled their weeping parents; of the little boy, who at the entrance to the gas-house shouted: "Mother, do not cry, the Russians will avenge us!" No one knows or ever will know the names of these children. Tales were told of the dozens of doomed people who tried to fight single-handed against swarms of SS men armed with automatics and hand grenades, and who died on their feet with their breasts riddled with dozens of bullets. Tales were told of a young man who plunged a knife into an SS officer; of a youth brought here from the rebellious Warsaw Ghetto, who by some miracle succeeded in concealing from the Germans a hand grenade and who threw it, when he was already naked, into the mob of executioners. Tales were told of an all-night battle between a contingent of doomed men and a detachment of guards and SS men. Until dawn, shots roared and grenades exploded, and when the sun rose the square was covered with the bodies of the dead fighters, and near each one lay his ammunition—a club, torn out of the fence, a knife, a razor. As long as our planet lasts, no one will find out the names of these fighters. Tales were told of a tall young girl, who, while walking along "the road without return," snatched a carbine from the hands of the guard, and fought against dozens of SS men who opened up a barrage of fire against her. Two beasts fell in this battle, and a third one returned to Treblinka with one arm only.

The inhabitants of Vulka village, which is the nearest to Treblinka, relate that at times the shrieks of the women who were being murdered were so terrible, that the entire population ran in panic into the distant forest so that they would not hear these piercing shrieks, which penetrated the very logs of the huts, the sky and the earth.

Sudden silence ensued when the doors of the chambers shut until the shrieks of the women could be heard once more when a new contingent was brought into the gas-house. This was repeated two, three, four and sometimes five times a day. One must remember that the Treblinka execution block was not a plain execution block. It was a conveyor block organized on the lines of a large, modern industrial enterprise.

Seven hundred men worked on a death combine for five weeks. At the height of construction, a foreman arrived with a crew from Germany to do the assembling. During full production, the ten chambers at one time destroyed an average of 4,500 persons at the same time. Even during average days, the chambers of the Treblinka hell were loaded two or three times a day, and there were days when they were loaded five times. Estimating conservatively, we can calculate that with two loadings per day of the new chambers only, during one day about 10,000 persons were killed in Treblinka, and during one month about 300,000. Treblinka worked daily for a period of thirteen months, so even if we deduct ninety days for repairs or for non-delivery of shipments, there are ten full months of work left. Even if an average of 300,000 per month was handled, then during a period of ten months, Treblinka must have destroyed three million persons.

The killing in the chamber took ten to twenty-five minutes. At first, when the new chambers were put to work, and the executioner could not regulate the gas production and was merely experimenting with the doses of the various poison gases, the victims were subjected to dreadful tortures, as they continued living for two to three hours. During the first days the suction equipment worked poorly, and then the tortures of the unfortunates lasted from eight to ten hours.

Various methods were used in killing. One was by inhalation of waste gases from the motors of heavy tanks which supplied motive

power for the Treblinka station. This waste gas contains two to three per cent of carbon monoxide which binds the hemoglobin of the blood into one solid combination called carboxihemoglobin. This carboxihemoglobin is a much more durable conglutination than oxihemoglobin which is formed through contact, in the olveoli of the lungs, of the blood with oxygen of the air. Within fifteen minutes the hemoglobin in the human blood combines with the carbon monoxide, and then the victim breathes into emptiness. Oxygen ceases to enter his body and symptoms of oxygen deficiency appear: the heart begins to work furiously and drives the blood into the lungs, but the blood poisoned by carbon monoxide fails to extract oxygen from the air. The breathing becomes raucous, and a feeling of dreadful suffocation follows. Consciousness dims, and the victim perishes as if strangled.

The second Treblinka method, and the most widespread one, consisted of pumping all the air out from the chambers with large special pumps. By this method death ensued from approximately the same causes as from poisoning with carbon monoxide: man was deprived of oxygen.

And, finally, the third method, less widespread, was killing by steam, based also on deprivation of oxygen: the steam drove air out of the chamber. Many kinds of poison gases were used too, but these were only for experiments. The industrial methods of mass killing were those mentioned above.

Thus, the entire function of the Treblinka conveyor-belt was systematically to take away from man all that which for centuries had been his sacred right. First liberty was taken from man, then his home, then his country, and then he was carted away to a nameless wasteland. Then, on the station platform, they took away from him his belongings, letters, photographs of his dear ones; and then, inside the camp fence, they took away his mother, wife and child. Then they took away from the naked man his documents and tossed them into the fire: thus man's name was taken away. He was driven into a corridor with a low ceiling and deprived of the sky, the stars, the wind, the sun.

The bodies were loaded onto carts and brought to the huge gravepits. There they were placed in rows close to one another. The pit remained uncovered, it waited. And at this time, when the

unloading had just begun in the gas chambers, the *Scharfuehrer*, who was working on the transport, received a curt message by telephone. The *Scharfuehrer* whistled as a signal to the engineer, and twenty new carloads slowly rolled over to the platform, where the dummy station Ober-Maidan stood. A new batch of three to four thousand persons, carrying suitcases, bundles, food packages, came out on the station platform. Mothers carried infants in their arms, older children clung to their parents, looking around carefully. Something alarming and dreadful seemed to be on this square, trodden down by millions of feet. And why is it that directly beyond the station platform the railroad tracks end, the grass is yellow, and a three-meter wire fence is stretched . . . ?

The reception of the new arrivals was so calculated that the doomed people would enter upon "the road without return" at the exact moment when the last bodies from the gas chambers were taken to the pits.

And then, after a short interval, there was again the whistle of the *Scharfuehrer*, and again twenty car-loads emerged from the forest and slowly rolled up to the platform. Again thousands of people with suitcases, bundles, food packages came out on the square and looked around in fear. There is something alarming, dreadful on this square, trodden down by millions of feet . . .

Toward the end of the spring of 1943, Himmler arrived in Treblinka, accompanied by a group of important Gestapo officials. The largest factory of the Himmler Corporation was in Treblinka. The airplane of the Reich Fuehrer of the SS left the same day. On leaving Treblinka, Himmler issued an order to the commandant of the camp which confused the *Hauptsturmfuehrer* Baron von Pfein, his assistant Korol and Captain Franz. That order was to burn immediately the buried bodies, to carry out of the camp the ashes and dross, and scatter them over the fields and along the roads. The earth already held millions of bodies, so the problem was complicated and difficult. Furthermore, an order was issued that all newly gassed bodies were not to be buried but were to be burned immediately. What was the reason for Himmler's inspection trip and his personal categorical order, which was considered so significant? There was only one reason—the Stalingrad victory of the Red Army.

At first the work of cremating the bodies did not go well at all—the bodies did not want to burn. True, it was noticed that women's bodies burned better . . . Much gasoline and oil was used for igniting them, but that was too costly and the effect was negligible. They seemed to have arrived at an impasse. But a solution was found. An SS man, a thick-set man of about fifty, an expert, a master, arrived from Germany. What experts the Hitler regime bred—experts on killing little children, on strangling, on building gas chambers, on scientifically organizing the destruction of great cities in one day! And also an expert was found for digging up and cremating millions of human bodies.

Under his guidance the construction of furnaces began. These were a special kind of furnace, since neither the Lublin nor any other crematorium in the world would be able to cremate in so short a time such a gigantic quantity of bodies. The work of cremating bodies was done by 600 prisoners, whose number exceeded the number of workers engaged in the blast and open-hearth furnace shops of any huge metallurgical plant. This monstrous shop worked ceaselessly day and night for eight months, but it could not complete the work of cremating millions of buried bodies. It is true that new contingents kept arriving all the time, which also overtaxed the furnaces.

It is terribly hard to read about this. Please, reader, believe me, that it is no less difficult for me to write about it. Perhaps someone will ask: "Then why write, why recall all this?" It is the duty of a writer to tell the horrible truth, it is the civil obligation of the reader to know it. He, who turns away, who shuts his eyes and passes by, offends the memory of those who perished. We knew of the ponderous German humor, and have never valued it highly. But could any living being on earth picture the SS humor of Treblinka, the SS entertainment, the SS jokes. They arranged football contests of the doomed people; they forced them to play "catch ball;" arranged a chorus of the doomed, dances of the doomed.

At this point we must emphasize that these killings were not just mechanical executions of another's will. All witnesses have noticed a trait common to them all: a love for theoretical discourse, for philosophizing. They all had a common weakness—delivering

speeches before the doomed people, bragging to them; explaining to them the great meaning and significance for the future of mankind of what happened at Treblinka. They were all profoundly and sincerely convinced of the righteousness and the necessity of their work. They explained in great detail the superiority of their race over all others; they delivered tirades on the German blood, German character, the mission of the Germans. Their faith was depicted in the books of Hitler and Rosenberg and in the pamphlets and articles of Goebbels.

The summer of 1943 was an exceptionally hot one in these parts. There was no rain, no wind during many weeks. The work of cremating bodies was in full swing. For half a year the furnaces had been burning day and night, and not even half the bodies had been burned.

Prisoners who were working on the cremation of the bodies could not stand the horrible mental and bodily tortures; daily fifteen to twenty of them committed suicide. Many sought death by deliberately violating the rules of discipline.

"It was a luxury to receive a bullet in one's body," said a Kossuv lad, who fled the camp. People told us that it was much more agonizing to be sent to Treblinka for life than for death.

In the "Treblinka Song," which the 800 workers engaged in the cremation of bodies were compelled to sing, there are words calling the prisoners to humility and obedience; for this they were promised "a little, little happiness, which flashes for one, one little moment."

It is strange, but the Treblinka inferno really had one happy day. The Germans erred—it was not humility and obedience that gave this day to the doomed of Treblinka. It was the madness of the brave that gave birth to such a day. The prisoners evolved a plan for a revolt. They were all doomed to death, each day was fraught with suffering and torture. Not one of these witnesses of the horrible crimes would be spared by the Germans—the gas chamber awaited them all—and they were all sent there after a few days of work to have their places taken by new arrivals. Merely a handful of people lived longer than a few hours, a few days. If they lived for a few weeks or a few months, it was because they were qualified foremen, carpenters, masons, who served the Germans—bakers,

tailors, barbers. They were the ones who formed the committee of revolt. Of course, only those doomed to death, only people who were imbued with a desire to inflict vengeance, with a feeling of all-absorbing hate, could concoct such a mad plan for revolt. They did not want to flee before destroying Treblinka. And they destroyed it.

Arms began to appear in the workers' barracks: axes, knives, clubs. At what price, at what insane risk each axe, each knife was gotten! What astonishing patience, slyness and deftness were needed to conceal all this from the searchers and to put it away in the barracks. A store of gasoline was gotten together for the purpose of pouring it over the buildings and setting the camp on fire. How was this gasoline accumulated and concealed as if it had evaporated? It called for superhuman effort, for straining all of one's mind and will; it called for terrific daring. At last a passage was dug to the German barrack-arsenal. And here, daring helped the people, the god of courage stood behind them. Twenty hand grenades, a machine gun, carbines, pistols were carried out of the arsenal. All this disappeared in the caches excavated by the plotters. The participants of the plot separated into groups of five. The immense, complex plan of revolt was worked out to the last detail. Each group of five had its exact assignment. And each mathematically exact assignment was madness, sheer madness. Some were entrusted with storming the towers, others were guarding the machine guns. The latter had to attack the guards at the passages between the camp squares. Some had to attack the armored machines. Some to cut the telephone wires, some were to fall upon the buildings, and some had to make openings in the barbed wire. Some to build bridges over the anti-tank pits. Some had to pour gasoline over the camp buildings and set them on fire. They wanted to destroy all that could be destroyed.

The revolt was set for August 2nd. A pistol shot was the signal for it. A new blaze mounted to the sky. Not the heavy greasy smoke, not the flame of burning bodies, but a bright, sultry, stormy flame of conflagration. A barrage of shots was heard, and the machine guns on the towers seized by the rebels fired. Explosions of hand grenades roared. The air shook with the noise of battle. Buildings

ANNIHILATION

collapsed. On the day of the 2nd of August, the blood of the SS men ran over the Treblinka earth.

And here an old story repeated itself. The creatures who had been behaving like representatives of a superior race, the creatures who dragged the Warsaw residents out of their homes for execution, these creatures, so certain of their might when planning the execution of millions of women and children proved to be cowards, miserable, crawling cowards begging for mercy the moment a real death battle began. They dashed about like rats in confusion, they forgot their plan for the defense of Treblinka, they forgot their fire that kills, they forgot their own weapons.

Treblinka was ablaze.

Great is the river of blood spilled by the Germans. But today it is not enough to speak of Germany's responsibility; today we must speak of the responsibility of all: of our responsibility for the future of humanity.

Today, everyone is responsible before his conscience, before his son and his mother, before his country and before mankind; responsible with all the power of his heart and his mind to find the answer to the question: What bred racism? How can we prevent the rebirth of Nazism, of fascism anywhere, either on this or the other side of the ocean—ever, ever?

Let us remember that fascism will emerge from this war not only with all the bitterness of defeat, but also with the sweet memory of the facility of mass murder.

All of us to whom decency and freedom and the life of mankind are dear, must think of it daily and with great severity.

Resistance

HOW DID THE JEWS OF EUROPE BEAR THEMSELVES THROUGH THE greatest tragedy in their history? How did they react to persecution, terrorization and mass murder by the Nazi overlords?

When Hitler came into power in 1933, Jewish citizens overnight found themselves aliens in a hostile land, a land where most of them had lived and worked for countless generations. Part of Germany's Jews emigrated, seeking homes elsewhere. But thousands, ignoring the handwriting on the wall, stayed on in their old homes, hoping for better days to come; until it grew too late and the outbreak of the second World War shut fast the last doors of escape.

With the Nazi conquest of Europe, the greater part of the continent became one vast prison-house for the Jews, a prison which extended from the Baltic to the Pyrenees, from the Channel to the Volga; and every Jew trapped in it was condemned to die. Yet, as from every prison, escape was possible. Some managed it; many more would have if the governments of the democracies had been more cooperative. So the avenues of escape became fewer as the years went by. But through a few cracks in the walls and through a few tunnels bored underground, the ingenious, the patient, the brave and the lucky, in uncounted thousands, got out. They were helped by others, safe in free countries, who, through the wall of the Pyrenees or through the roof by parachute, broke into the death-house to save them.

These were the shock troops from Tel Aviv, adepts in commando tactics, who had been trained by Major General Wingate for secret duty inside Europe. Early in the war, they quietly entered the continent and spread out through the occupied countries to organize Jewish resistance groups, to train them in sabotage, and to set up an underground railway to smuggle Jews out to safety. Funds for the support of this work were sent from Jewish communities all over the world; funds that were spent to bribe frontier guards, to buy guns and false passports.

There were other thousands who could have got out, but who refused to take the proffered opportunity. At the risk of their lives they stayed within the walls of occupied Europe. There was much work to be done.

Inside Europe, Jews were forming their own relief and resistance groups. As forced laborers they sabotaged and struck against the deportation of their comrades; trapped in ghettos they organized armed uprisings and fought long drawn-out battles to the death; escaping from ghettos and death camps, they joined partisan and guerrilla bands, and from forest and mountain hiding-places they came out to harass the enemy.

Jewish resistance to Nazi tyranny and terror is almost inseparable from the parallel efforts of non-Jewish fighters. Jew and Gentile fought and died together, sapping and mining the foundations of the "New Europe," preparing for the coming of the Allied armies and the final victory.

Hitler's attempt to set minorities against each other and all against the Jews met with some success among local fascists and collaborators, but the general population, for the most part, sympathized with the Jews and extended aid to them, often at the risk and cost of life.

Indeed, what safety the Jews of Western Europe enjoyed during the occupation was given by Gentile friends who hid them in attics and cellars, sometimes for years. The circuitous underground railway, that shipped many Jews to freedom, had strangely disparate stopping-places along its route: the homes of city dwellers, rich and poor; a peasant's hay loft; a bishop's palace; a fisherman's hut; a monastery.

Those who fought in the ghettos received more from the non-Jews than the silent messages of roses tossed over the walls. Food, arms, forged papers, medical supplies and safe-conduct to partisan hideouts were given too; while many Jewish children grew up in peasant huts and partisan caves, mothered by non-Jewish women.

This brief survey of how the doomed Jews of Europe fought back does not pretend to do more than indicate some of the methods and means used in that struggle. It will be long before anything like a complete picture can be formed, before historians will have learned all the high-lights, and filled in even some portion

of the details of one of the most tragic and heroic chapters in the history of mankind.

WESTERN EUROPE

FRANCE

Early in 1944, Captain Guy de Rothschild, aide to General Koenig of the French Forces of the Interior (FFI), visited the United States. In an interview with the press, Captain Rothschild spoke of the extent of Jewish resistance in France.

"It is difficult," he said, "to ascertain the number of Jews with the Free French Forces and the Maquis, because they all serve under assumed names. The full picture of Jewish war participation will emerge only after hostilities have ceased, and even then it will require years of research to record all the names. However, it is generally agreed, and the record of the French Intelligence bears it out, that the proportion of Jews in the fighting forces and the Maquis was far above their percentage of the French population. Their gallantry was exemplary. They were not rabbits waiting for the kill, they were hounds on the trail of the enemy. Names? There was Jean Rosenthal, chief of the Maquis of Savoy. There was Mark Hazenau, chief of the Jewish scouts engaged in rescue and sabotage. Their number is legion."

Judge Leon Meis, who had also been active in the French underground, and who accompanied Captain Rothschild to the United States, reported in the same interview that Jewish participation in the Maquis totaled at least forty per cent, including independent Jewish units and persons who served in general units.¹

An organization of Polish Jews, which had existed since 1924 as a society for general mutual assistance, became known in 1941 as *L'Union des Juifs pour la Résistance et Mutuel Secours*.

It was affiliated with the general resistance movement in France through the *Conseil National de la Résistance*. In the crucial year of 1941, when the character of the organization was changed from that of a benevolent society to one of militant resistance, sabotage and propaganda, its membership rose from 3,000 to 7,000.

RESISTANCE

Fifteen hundred of its members were armed and participated in action with the FFI. Other members took part in various forms of direct action against the Nazi invaders, including sabotage in factories, supply depots, railroads, telephone exchanges and power plants. The invaders were attacked, usually with hand grenades, in their cars, trucks, railway coaches, offices and homes.

The organization printed an underground paper in Paris, called *La Presse Nouvelle*.

Members used the hazardous protection of forged papers to keep them from deportation to labor or death camps. In this the French police were some help, but the *Union* depended chiefly on its own presses for ration books and identification cards, which the organization not only had to print but to embellish with a convincing facsimile of the police stamp. The forged papers indicated that the bearers were either unfit for military and labor service, under or over age for such service, an only son, or employed in essential work. In case of women the papers showed that the bearer was exempt from labor service by reason of two or more children.

The *Union* also served as an underground railway. Through it women and children were smuggled into Switzerland.

One of this group's most notable achievements was the liberation of the town of Castre, near Toulouse, on August 23, 1944.

The following excerpts are taken at random from the reports of the day to day activities of the "Special Group" and the First and Second Detachments of *L'Union des Juifs pour la Résistance* that operated in and around Paris during the Nazi occupation:

15 March 1943—at 22 o'clock two men armed with pistols and grenades tossed a grenade into a railway carriage reserved for Germans in the Pont d'Alma Station of the Versailles line. The grenade fell squarely in the midst of the *boches*, causing a large number of dead and wounded. The two comrades retired in good order.

19 April 1943—at 22 o'clock two men armed with pistols brought down a *boche* officer. The get-away was effected in good order.

10 January 1943—A *boche* restaurant at 8 rue Boissy-d'Anglais was attacked with grenades by a group of three partisans. A gre-

nade falling right in the middle of the *boches* caused deaths and injuries among the officers.

2 July 1943—at 9 o'clock in the morning, in the rue Martre at Clichy, three men armed with grenades and pistols attacked an autobus loaded with *boches*. A grenade was thrown by R. who was protected by two guards. The patriotic population of Clichy cheered our comrades as they started to make their get-away. Nevertheless one filthy creature tried to interfere. He was brought down by the two guards. Some *boches* who were on the road, encouraged by this act of intervention, fired several shots, wounding the guards, who took shelter in a building. The *concièrge* and the tenants refused to betray the heroic partisans. Then the *boches* brought up reinforcements and surrounded the building with several detachments, armed with machine guns, rifles and gas bombs. They threatened to blow up the building.

The partisan in charge of the operation who had been wounded in defending his comrades, came out of his hiding place and tossed his grenade into the crowd of *boches*, killing and wounding several, shot his last bullets at the enemy and died facing the invader.

The other wounded comrade managed to get to an inside court where he hid until 16 o'clock. The *concièrge* and the tenants knew that a wounded partisan was in the building.

It seems that at the insistence of certain tenants, the *concièrge* was forced to call the police commissioner of Clichy. The French police did not dare to interfere. She called the *boches*, who entered the house. The first group that went in was greeted with a grenade. The *boches* sent in a second group. The comrade still defended himself, killing and wounding his attackers. He did not fall until he had exhausted his ammunition.

One of the major efforts of *L'Union des Juifs pour la Résistance* was directed toward the effort to save Jewish children from deportation to the death camps of Poland. These children were gathered together either by prevailing upon the mothers to entrust their children to the *Union* or by actually kidnapping them from Nazi-guarded nurseries, hospitals and deportation centers. Catholic priests and Protestant pastors were helpful in this work of rescue by hiding the children and smuggling them over the Swiss border. Jewish scout leaders, provided with forged passports, led their young charges at

night by devious ways toward the Swiss border, where they were turned over to the churchmen. Priests and pastors would then lead these children in what were ostensibly religious processions toward mountain passes and forest trails leading into Switzerland. Thousands of children found safety in this way, though it is still impossible to give an accurate estimate of the total number.²

Some of the underground work in France was coordinated through a nucleus in Tel Aviv, which received reports and letters from France. Written in a very simple code, the letters seemed to deal with family affairs. It is easy to understand the following: "They are wonderful, the children, working very nicely under the most difficult conditions. They are everywhere, displaying more courage than anyone else."³

BELGIUM

In a message of October 13, 1943 to the Canadian-Jewish Congress from Baron Silvercruys, Belgian Minister to Canada, Belgium paid tribute to her Jewish citizens.

"Many Belgian Jews, often at the risk of their own lives and that of their families, have joined the Belgian forces in Great Britain. In our struggle for freedom and victory, no distinction is made between 'Aryans' and 'non-Aryans.' They are fighting side by side . . . When my country fell prey to German aggression, many Jewish names appeared on the list of Belgian martyrs."

Clandestine aid on a wide and well organized scale was extended to the Jews of all nationalities who were trapped in Belgium, and whose extinction seemed a matter of little time when the great deportations to Poland began in 1942. The organization chiefly responsible for this work was the *Comité National de Défense des Juifs*, formed at the instigation of the Belgian underground Independence Front, whose president, Emile Allard, a journalist, in pre-war days had headed the National League Against Anti-Semitism. The *Comité* was composed of both Jews and non-Jews. Its general purpose was to oppose in every possible way the deportation of Jews. To this end two branches were formed; the first to aid children, the second to aid adults.

With the help of Mlle. Nevejan, directrice of the *Oeuvre Na-*

tional de l'Enfance, arrangements were made to hide children with Gentile families, and a fund was set aside to pay for their upkeep where necessary. In this way more than 2,000 Jewish children were saved. It has been reported that Mlle. Nevejan paid with her life for her devotion to this cause.

The second branch of the *Comité* assisted adults by providing them with false passports, distributing food coupons and secreting them in places of safety. At the time of the liberation of Belgium, the books of the *Comité* showed that around 10,000 adults had been aided through its work, approximately eighty-five per cent of whom were Jews of Polish nationality. Many of the members of this branch too were arrested and deported. But there were always others to take their place and carry on the work.⁴

Some twenty per cent of the Jews in Belgium at the time of the Nazi occupation were saved through the united efforts of Jews and non-Jews, working sometimes individually and sometimes in groups.

The Belgian underground paper, *Le Monde de Travail*, in an article, printed in October 1942, issued "practical instructions how to extend help to the Jewish populace." This article states that no occasion should be missed to tell people about the crimes committed by the Nazis against the Jews. The entire Belgian nation must be made aware of these outrages, the paper says, since the Nazis keep their misdeeds secret. Hostility and contempt should always be displayed to the Gestapo and the military engaged in hunting down Jews; in the event of any clash, one should intervene and help the Jews escape. The article also recommends that Belgian citizens hide Jews and adopt Jewish children.

From the very day their country was occupied by the Germans, the Belgian people had shown what they thought of Nazi "racism." Their contempt for the invader and their fearless friendship for the Jews was shown in thousands of ways, great and small.

On one occasion, a priest in Liège announced in church one Sunday that there was a transport of Jews at the railway station who were being deported and who were without food or sufficient clothing. Then and there the sum of 6,000 francs was collected, and food and clothing were immediately purchased to provide perhaps some little comfort for the doomed people.⁵

It will be remembered that the citizens of Antwerp were among

the first of the conquered peoples to show their contempt for their new rulers by adopting as a badge of honor the yellow armband with the "Star of David" that the Jews were compelled to wear.⁶ Belgians carried packages in the streets for Jews who were ordered by the Nazis to walk empty-handed. They threw stink bombs in movie houses that exhibited anti-Semitic films. Winter relief frequently gave priority to the feeding of Jewish children.

Cardinal van Roey, primate of Belgium, pleaded with the Germans against the deportations; many priests aided escaping Jews, and church buildings and institutions gave them sanctuary.

On the holiday of *Simchat Torah*, the Jews of Antwerp heard the chimes of the Cathedral play their song of hope, *Hatikvah*.

HOLLAND

The Dutch, like their Belgian neighbors, were outspokenly opposed to the anti-Semitism of the invaders. They lost no opportunity to show contempt for their self-appointed "Aryan kinsmen" and "deliverers." Some years before the outbreak of the war the people of Holland, of all classes and creeds, had generously given aid to Jewish refugees from Germany, and the Nazi invaders had in no wise changed their hearts with anti-Semitic propaganda.

One Nazi weekly, published in Holland, made this enlightening comment on the behavior of Dutch "Aryans," when the compulsory wearing of the "Star of David" was decreed for the Jews of Holland:

"A Christian teacher twice entered a school room and held up a Star of David saying, 'Children, the Jews must now wear this, and the people of our town should do like those of Amsterdam who raise their hats when they meet a Jew wearing his Star.'"⁷

On September 2, 1942, the *Philadelphia Daily News* carried the following dispatch from London:

The Dutch Nazi burgomaster of Ostzaan was recently attacked by the populace when he tried publicly to enforce German-imposed anti-Semitic regulations.

The burgomaster, according to reports, saw a Jew walking the street carrying a bag of vegetables and not wearing his "Star of David." . . .

The burgomaster attempted to arrest the man, and he resisted. The burgomaster then tried force, and when this failed called upon passers-by for assistance.

Not only did the people in the streets refuse, but they came to the Jew's assistance instead. One man ran his bicycle full speed between the burgomaster and the Jew. Another tried to trip the burgomaster, and still another assaulted him directly.

It was a few days after this incident that the Netherlands Premier, Dr. Pieter Gerbrandy, in a broadcast over Radio Orange from London on September 11, 1942, "called on the people of the Netherlands," according to the Netherlands News Agency in London, "on the occasion of the Jewish New Year, to continue resisting the satanic plan of the Nazis for the deportation of the Jews."

Recalling the German announcement that no Jew would remain in the Netherlands after July 1, 1943, Dr. Gerbrandy asserted that the "Dutch people resist this barbarism, risking lives and safety to frustrate this plan."⁸

Some further light is thrown on the attitude and efforts of the Dutch people in regard to their Jewish fellow citizens by an article in the *Neue Zuercher Zeitung*, which quotes the contents of a joint letter of protest by the Reformed and Catholic Churches of Holland, which was sent to *Reichskommissar* Seyss-Inquart at the beginning of 1943. A sharp protest against the persecution of the Jews was read from the pulpits on Sunday, February 21, 1943, during prayers. In Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht and Hilversum the workers responded with sympathy strikes.

The people of Holland, clergy and laity alike, rallied to the defense of their Jewish compatriots with all their traditional stalwartness. Dr. J. A. C. Fagginger Auer, Professor of History and Philosophy at Harvard, said in the columns of the *Christian Science Monitor* on April 17, 1945, that "it is due in no small measure to the influence of the churches that so many Jews have escaped with their lives. The church has insisted that defenseless Jewish citizens be protected, and I have heard many stories of Jewish men, women and children remaining hidden for three years or more in attic rooms and sharing with their protectors the little they had."

That there was a Jewish rescue group working in Holland during the occupation is made evident in a booklet concerning the underground, which says:

Our movement in this country wrote a brilliant chapter in the story of the year 1942-43. It played a leading role in the attempts to organize groups for crossing the borders to safety. One of the active spirits, the youngest of the group, our comrade Joachim Simon, gave his life. He did everything to save others and nothing to save himself. But immediately a second comrade stepped in to fill his place. Our comrades were assisted by the local peasants in harboring people.⁹

The following are excerpts from letters written from Holland by Peter Matijs Smedts to his wife in the United States in June and July of 1945:

In the meantime I can tell you that my parents organized an enormous party for my return. The whole family was invited and a good many of the villagers. It lasted two days; every day we had more than a hundred people at table, and the second day the young people danced all night. Many things have changed in the village. It is not surprising: *here many people were hidden—Maria [Maria is one of the writer's sisters.—Ed] took care of thirty Jews, and all are safe.*

... you will like Mertens' fiancée ... they are going to marry in September. *Mertens helped quite a few Jews, like almost everyone else in Holland.*

You have heard about the great Jewish persecution in Amsterdam. The Jews had to be in at eight in the evening. Then the Gestapo started entering the houses, taking whole families, grandparents, parents and children. They had half an hour to pack their trunks, ridiculous because everything was taken from them later on. You saw them march through the town those beautiful summer evenings (1942) with their cases toward the station to be taken to Poland to die. I cannot describe the terrible atmosphere in Amsterdam in these days. *You had to help, and almost everybody found himself doing illegal work. I organized my underground railroad to Switzerland ...*

DENMARK

At the time of the Nazi invasion of Denmark, there were some 7,000 Jews in the country; Danish citizens for the most part, with a scattering of refugees among them. That most of them are still alive is largely due to the efforts of the Swedish people and their government in cooperation with the people of Denmark.

In October 1943, the government offered asylum to Denmark's Jewish population. The offer was made to the German occupation officials through the Swedish Minister to Berlin. No answer was received.¹⁰

Realizing that action must be taken quickly if the Jews were to be saved from deportation, the Swedes did not wait to palaver. By underground routes they sent word to the Jewish community in Copenhagen to be ready to flee *en masse*. The plan was simple, daring and—for the most part—successful. The straits between Sweden and Denmark are narrow, in some places only a mile or two across; they are dotted with little islands and veiled in fog much of the time. Both countries possess large fishing fleets.

During the first week of October 1943 the greater part of Denmark's Jewish population assembled secretly at designated spots along the coast in the vicinity of Copenhagen, while small craft scouted the straits keeping a look-out for Nazi patrol boats. Braving the icy waters of the Oeresund in small fishing boats under the Danish and Swedish flags, Jews of all ages and conditions of life finally debarked on the hospitable shores of Sweden. A few were surprised by mosquito craft of the German navy and sunk by gun fire.

The next day the Swedish press extended its welcome and expressed its sympathy to the refugees. The city of Stockholm alone appropriated 100,000 kronen toward a general relief fund. All Swedish railways, private and government owned, offered them free transportation.¹¹

The Nazis were infuriated by Sweden's act of mercy, officially sponsored by the government itself. They intensified their hunt for Danish Jews, but refugees in Sweden were of the opinion that the round-up of the Jews, instead of halting efforts at sabotage in Denmark, would have exactly the opposite effect. Indeed, such

seems to have been the case, for the Swedish domestic radio reported on October 4th, that two large German vessels, which had been designated to transport Jews to Germany on their way to the eastern death camps, had been damaged by saboteurs in harbor at Copenhagen.

At this time a number of Danish soldiers, released from internment for their part in a militant uprising against the Nazis at the end of August, refused to sign statements pledging themselves not to aid any opposition groups.¹²

That the Germans recognized the part the Danish people had played in aiding the Jews to escape was clear, when the German authorities disarmed the Danish police and interned many of them, giving as the reason for this action the fact that they had done nothing to prevent the exodus. The Swedish *Aftontidningen* said that "the Danish police had ceased to function after German authorities found that they had failed to counteract the flight of the Jews to Sweden with sufficient energy." Many of the police also fled to Sweden.

Perhaps the most sincere tribute, though an inverted one, paid the Swedish people came from Hitler's own *Voelkischer Beobachter*, which said: "These Swedish insults will not be forgotten."

NORWAY

Norway's Jewish population at the time of the invasion was very small, amounting to some 1,800 of which 500 were refugees. They received the assistance of the local population, of farmers and workers, in hiding from the Nazis, and with such assistance about half of them eventually crossed the border into Swedish territory where, as in the case of the Danish Jews, the Swedish Government and people gave them refuge and relief.¹³

CENTRAL AND SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

GREECE

The invasion of Greece by Italy began on October 28, 1940. German armies started their attack upon Greece on April 6, 1941.

Jewish participation in the Greek war was enthusiastic. All Jews eligible for military service joined up to fight the invader.

The first officer of field rank in the Greek Army to be killed in battle was Colonel Mordecai Frizi, who fell on March 21, 1941, "heroically leading his troupes to victory," to quote the official report. Highest honors were paid to Colonel Frizi: the Archbishop of Athens presided at his funeral, and a town was named for him. The *Ethnos*, an Athenian daily journal, in commenting on his death, said, "The Jews are taking their part in this fight with their whole soul and all their resources."¹⁴

Many Palestinian Jews fought with the RAF, the Royal Engineers and the Pioneer Corps in Greece. Many of them belonged to the unit that fought with the British at El Alamein.

When the Nazis conquered Greece, the attitude of the Greek people toward their Jewish compatriots was revealed by the fact that the Nazis did not dare to introduce anti-Jewish legislation on the German pattern. In Greece racial discrimination was never given the stamp of official sanction.¹⁵

When the "Rosenberg commission" arrived in Athens, the Jews there were ordered to register, an order that would have affected some 9,000 persons, one-half of whom were refugees from the large Jewish community of Salonica. In all some 300 Jews obeyed this order; the others scattered and hid, or joined the partisan forces.

Orders were issued by the Nazi authorities forbidding Greeks to give aid to Jews, orders that were disobeyed, sometimes with the result of the death penalty being invoked.

The invaders attempted to force the Greek clergy to take a stand against the Jews on the ground that they were an "inferior race," and to urge their parishioners not to give aid or comfort to the persecuted Jews. Most of the clergy refused to obey this order, and instead urged the people to help the Jews wherever possible.

As a result the Germans arrested many of the clergy and closed their churches, converting them to military purposes. At least one Greek monk was executed for sheltering Jews who were wanted by the Gestapo.

In Athens a clandestine collection was taken up to provide relief

for these victims of persecution, but the Germans, on learning of it, arrested the leaders of the movement and threatened severe reprisals for any person directly or indirectly aiding the Jews.¹⁶

The Chief Rabbi of Athens, Elias Barzalai, "deserves to be mentioned with particular reverence. Chief Rabbi Barzalai was ordered by the Germans to hand over a register of the Jewish population. Not only did he not obey the order, but he fled and hid in the mountains, taking with him the archives of the community."¹⁷

We have the Chief Rabbi's own report on the events in Greece as they concerned the Jews during the occupation. It is dated June 14, 1944, and is sent from "Somewhere in Greece." The following are some excerpts from that report:

On the basis of unverified information, I estimate that three-fourths of the Jews of Greece have suffered the greatest of catastrophes and only one-fourth of them, that is, 25,000, have been saved; part of them live in occupied Greece, hidden in houses of non-Jewish friends who had the kindness to protect them.

The largest number of these non-Jewish friends, protectors of the victims of Nazi barbarism, belong to the organization of the EAM. [Greek National Liberation Front.—Ed.]

I am happy to note that from this inferno, created by the Germans, about 10,000 Jews were able to escape. This miracle is due without question to the organization of the EAM. This highly patriotic organization showed its interest in the persecuted Jews from the first moment. When the anti-Jewish committee, "Rosenberg commandos," appeared on the scene in Athens on September 22, 1943, the central committee of the EAM immediately gave orders to its members to open their doors to the persecuted Jews and to give them refuge and protection. Thus, if today there is a free corner in Greece, if there is a great area of freedom from the hordes of Hitler, it is due to the heroic organization of the ELAS [Popular Liberation Army.—Ed.], which, with great sacrifice and admirable patriotism, was able to drive out the enemy from those areas where many Jews not only escaped death, but still breathe free air in full security and where they live among those men who are fighting not only for the liberation of Greece, but also for the application of world-wide justice, a justice which will eliminate forever every racial and religious difference.

I believe that all of Free Greece gave refuge to many Jews, but lacking adequate data, I am not in a position to give concrete figures. From information reaching me, at least 1,000 Jews are in Free Greece, among them 100-200 guerrillas, fifty working actively in affiliate organizations such as National Solidarity and EPON [Panhellenic Union of Youth—Ed.], and the rest are dispersed in various cities and villages of Free Greece.

The EAM organization gives them all its moral support, but in spite of its good will toward the refugees, finds it impossible to help them materially because the EAM is in very difficult economic straits. No doubt part of these Jews live by their own means, but most of them have exhausted all their financial resources, have sold even the most elementary necessities, and now find themselves in a lamentable condition.

Since the EAM is so well disposed toward the Jews, it would be a good thing to find the means to help those who are hungry and without clothing.

Before I finish this report, I deem it my duty to express on behalf of all the Jews who have been saved from Nazi barbarism, my deep gratitude to the EAM-ELAS organizations which gave material proof of their real patriotism, humanitarianism and opposition to anti-Semitism.

In a supplementary report, dated June 14, 1944, Chief Rabbi Barzalai adds that:

Seven thousand still remain in occupied Greece hidden in various homes, 1,000 escaped from the country, 500 are in the guerrilla army and various other organizations, and the rest are dispersed throughout the villages of Free Greece.

The aid of the EAM-ELAS in the work of saving the Jews of Greece has been great, according to the evidence in our hands. All those who escaped destruction owe their salvation to the EAM-ELAS.

From the beginning of the persecution of the Jews of Greece, the EAM considered the Jewish question within the framework of the national liberation struggle. It aided many to hide with members of the EAM organization, facilitated the escape abroad of many families, and protected all the Jews who sought refuge in Free Greece.¹⁸

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

In Czechoslovakia a peculiar condition existed regarding Jewish sabotage and armed resistance with the underground forces of the Republic.

Since 1918, Czechoslovakia had had a large German minority within her borders—three million Sudeten Germans. These three million *Volksdeutsche* not only provided Hitler with his main pretext for seizing the country, but they had also prepared the way for his troops by their assiduous fifth column activities. They had complete and exhaustive dossiers of most of the leaders and intellectuals who might be expected to oppose their Nazi masters, and every Jew was known, listed and watched. Every Jew was suspect to the Nazis.

When the Czech Jews offered their services to the underground, they were therefore regretfully refused. The leaders explained the situation: Jews, by joining the resistance, would inevitably damage the very cause they desired to serve by leading the spies of the Gestapo to headquarters and hiding places. Their duty was therefore a purely negative one, flight. It was the best way they could serve the Republic.

YUGOSLAVIA

In 1938 a group of notable non-Jews in Belgrade, taking alarm at the spread of anti-Semitism through Nazi agents in Yugoslavia, formed a league to combat the evil. The league was headed by Milan Stankovic, a prominent lawyer.

That Yugoslavs under the Nazi conquerors were still combating anti-Semitism is revealed from the following order issued on January 3, 1942, by the *Okkupationskommando* in Belgrade:

"The death penalty will be enforced on persons hiding Jews or in any way financially assisting Jews."¹⁹

The few Jews of Yugoslavia who managed to escape deportation and death at the hands of the Axis found their way into partisan territory and served with the patriot fighters in one capacity or another. Many of them joined the forces of Marshal Tito which held large stretches of unconquered country against the invaders.

One of the leading figures of Yugoslav resistance was Moische Pijade, affectionately known as "Uncle Janko," who fought side by side with Tito from the very beginning of the struggle, and who was one of the three vice-presidents of the provisional government.

A frequent method of recruiting Jewish additions to partisan bands seems to have been for the partisans to descend on concentration camps and liberate the doomed prisoners. One such camp on the island of Hvar was attacked by Tito's men, and the three hundred Jews freed from it joined the brigade of their liberators.²⁰

The Jewish partisans in turn liberated others. On October 17, 1942, a Croatian collaborationist paper, the *Hrvatski Narod*, complained that "a band of armed Jews last night raided the weakly defended concentration camp, and, after wiping out the outnumbered garrison, freed 900 dirty little brats, 160 of whom were Jews."²¹

A specifically Jewish guerrilla group, known as the Jewish Patriot Brigade, operated from a mountain stronghold. Most of the members of this brigade had been prisoners of the Nazis in a concentration camp in Croatia, from which they had been liberated by patriot forces in a bloody battle with the guards. Of those liberated, the able-bodied were provided with arms, while others were assigned tasks in hidden workshops where they produced necessities for the fighting men and cared for the wounded.²² It is to such men that General Velebit, head of the Yugoslav Military Mission to London, paid tribute in January 1945:

"The leaders of the National Liberation Army feel deep gratitude for the magnificent contributions of the Jews in their ranks. Yugoslavia is a country without any racial or religious prejudices. We are anxious to restore the rights of the Jews in all liberated territories, and hope that Jewish refugees will soon return and give their valuable assistance to the reconstruction of our common fatherland."

HUNGARY

At the end of November 1944, reports coming out of Hungary through underground channels indicated that armed resistance against the Nazi government in Budapest was very largely carried

on by Jews. The seizure of power was strenuously resisted by the Jews of Hungary, which resulted in armed conflicts between Jewish bands and the new authorities. Battles were fought in the towns of Kosice, Munkacevo and elsewhere, resulting in the death of many Jews.

During the Nazi *coup d'état*, the Jews seized possession of a number of the most important streets and squares in Budapest and closed them off with barricades, as a rejoinder to the kidnapping of several Jews by Hungarian collaborationists. These Jews had been imprisoned in a movie house and were subsequently drowned in the Danube. The Nazis' puppets brought up tanks and artillery and destroyed many buildings in the course of the battle, without succeeding in forcing the Jews out of their strongholds.²³

RUMANIA

A Jewish underground group functioned in Rumania, whose activities were mainly concerned with smuggling Jews out of the country.

A letter from Transylvania, received in Tel Aviv, gives us only a glimpse of the work:

"At last we have succeeded in establishing contact with our comrades in Bucharest . . . I can tell you with great joy that our comrades there have really created something vital. In spite of the difficulties, work continues regularly in all fields."²⁴

POLAND AND THE SOVIET UNION

The extent of Jewish armed resistance in Eastern Europe was far greater and fiercer than in Western Europe, and for a very simple reason. Eastern Europe for centuries had been the great Jewish population center of the world; since 1941 it had been augmented by a constant stream of deportees from the west.

This vast stretch of territory, dotted with death camps, where the Nazis had planned their last act in the annihilation of a whole people, was beyond sight and knowledge of the civilized world. Here great areas of forest and marshland were held by bands of

Polish and Russian partisan fighters and made inaccessible to the Germans. And beyond the German lines lay Soviet territory whence came arms and supplies, dropped by planes or smuggled through by daring infiltration.

Throughout the war in the East Jewish resistance and partisan action were aspects of the same struggle for liberation. That "Jews and lawless elements" united effectively against the invader is evident from the following dispatch in the *New York Times* of May 30, 1943:

"Waging war on Russian guerrillas behind the German front is becoming a serious problem for the Nazis. Reports from correspondents with German troops give details of the extent of guerrilla attacks . . .

"One German front correspondent said the guerrillas included troops that escaped to the woods during the German advance in 1941, escaped Russian prisoners, Jews and lawless elements . . .

"The Russian Army supplied them with trained snipers, sappers, radio operators and doctors, who parachuted at night. Arms and munitions were also supplied."

The general picture of Jewish resistance in this region looms larger to us for another reason than that of the greater number of Jews involved. With the first ebbing of the tide of Nazi conquest, the Soviet Government sent members of the Extraordinary State Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes into the regions reconquered by the Red Army. Investigations were quickly and exhaustively conducted on the spot, facts and figures assembled, eyewitness stories and depositions gathered, both from the survivors of the terror and from their tormentors.

The story of the revolts of the doomed in the ghettos and death camps of Eastern Europe is one of great heroism in the face of great odds. Too frequently there was no hope or possibility of survival. Resistance could end neither in escape to freedom nor in victory on the spot, but only in death.

But death did not necessarily mean defeat: it meant that enemy supplies and buildings were destroyed, and that enemy lives were taken; that a very real blow had been struck at the invader, making the task of the liberating armies just that much easier.

It meant the moral victory of death in battle rather than in the

gas chamber. It meant more—a banner lifted forever in the sight of all men who cherish liberty, who fight tyranny, no matter what the odds.

CRACOW²⁵

Each defense group established was organized in a three-fold way. It was resolved to send anonymous letters to families who had lost their sons in the war. We wished to tell them about the real situation. One of us was given the task of copying addresses from death notices in the papers. Another had to copy the contents of the letters. By mailing the letters from some other town where there were no Jews, we succeeded in obliterating our traces.

A few days later I received official instructions regarding my functions in organizing the defense. I was given a list of people whom I had to induct into the work. It was arranged in such a way that none of the participants knew the full range of activities or the workers engaged. We succeeded in obtaining plans of government and army buildings and enterprises. We purchased large quantities of kerosene, gasoline and chemical materials. We stole uniforms and military insignia from army storehouses. We sewed ourselves various kinds of uniforms such as those of trolley car conductors, German nurses and electrical workers. We placed leaflets in soldiers' high boots, describing the situation abroad and the bombings in Germany.

We heard rumors of a group of Jewish partisans in our district. To our regret, we did not succeed in establishing contact with them, despite repeated efforts.

In January 1943, we received an order to appear at the house of a man who was one of our people. When we arrived we were introduced to two of our lads, who had escaped from a Jewish concentration camp in Cracow and had stolen across the frontier. We discussed the possibilities of defense activities and succeeded in organizing a Jewish partisan group. They obtained weapons and explosives. The work began. A mine was laid and the Cracow-Zakopane train blown up. Accidents began to occur on the railway lines. Cyganeria, the large military cafe in Cracow, was blown up. Many Germans fell, but we also suffered losses.

After this we were moved into the ghetto. Our work continued

along two lines; one was the construction of hiding places, and the second the search for Poles prepared to conceal certain people. We built hiding places known as bunkers. Sometimes they would be in attics or cellars which we closed off with walls, sometimes a cranny in the earth. We worked for days on end. We dug for hours in the earth, in rocks or in the foundations of houses. We had no experience in this kind of work, and after many hours the wall under which we had dug would collapse, and all our work would be in vain. At times we grew weak and thought that it was all useless. But later we learned from our experience. Rooms were constructed in the earth, each twenty-seven cubic meters. We made bunks. Twenty people could enter a single shelter and take their most urgent necessities with them. The expulsions which were carried out proved that it was best to remain concealed until the storm had passed.

In spite of difficulties, dwellings were found. Polish workers provided refuge.

. . . I stole back into the ghetto one night and gave a report of my activity. From the information I had received from one of our comrades who lived in the "Aryan" district, it was possible to send people to labor camps if they had "Aryan" papers. Conditions in these camps were very hard, but there was some hope of remaining alive; that was the most important thing. The matter was considered. Nobody expressed a desire to go; they all preferred to remain. Finally it was resolved to send the youngsters aged fifteen to seventeen, and to save at least a handful. A week later the first four left.

L V O V ²⁶

The Germans wanted to turn the ghetto into some sort of "toy" for themselves. Instead, it became the center of armed Jewish resistance.

In January 1943, after the German defeat at Stalingrad, a committee for armed struggle against the Germans was organized in the ghetto. The Jewish poet, Schulrich, was on the committee as the ghetto representative, and the young poet Manya Friedman as representative of the concentration camp. They established contact with the Polish committee.

We made plans to print an underground paper. We organized the collection of arms. We called for volunteers. Those who worked in the munitions industry stole arms from the Germans. We purchased revolvers from the Italians. We drilled and practised. Delegates of our committee got to Brod to establish contact with the Wolin partisans.

Arms began to stream into the ghetto. Workers smuggled them in. Once during inspection the SS found arms on a young Jew. He was shot immediately, and an alarm was sent out. On Loketek Street, an arsenal was found. But the organizers were not discovered.

In April we learned of the heroic stand of the Warsaw Ghetto and of the assistance given by the Polish population. Our committee issued an appeal to the Jews of the Lvov Ghetto, calling them to armed resistance. The committee decided to transfer the main point of armed struggle to the Brod woods.

At the end of February, the Germans began the liquidation of the ghettos in the Western Ukraine.

We had received the news from Warsaw of the destruction of the ghetto there. The Gestapo were frightened. They were afraid of a similar struggle here.

At the end of April, the order was issued to transfer all Jews to the concentration camps. I was a member of the secret organization which sent people to the Brod woods to join the partisans. By then it was very difficult to get out, but somehow we managed to find some trucks which took groups to Brod. We raided German estates, confiscated food supplies, attacked German outposts and took their arms and ammunition.

Especially well known was the attack made on the border post behind Brod where a German sentry was killed, and machine guns and grenades were captured.

The German gendarmerie made every attempt to discover the partisan headquarters, but the staff evaded them by moving about from place to place.

On May 9th the Brod woods were surrounded by a battalion of German infantry. The battle lasted three days. The German forces were larger and better armed. The partisans attempted to break through the encirclement. A few succeeded. They reached

the Lublin woods and continued the struggle from there. The others were killed in battle, with arms in their hands.

WARSAW²⁷

Warsaw has been freed. The flag of the Polish Republic flies over the ruins of this once mighty city. Beside it flies the flag of the Soviet Union in honor of the liberating Red Army. These flags fly over vast ruins—over the ghetto. Here, hidden beneath grass-grown rubble lies a piece of Jewish history.

Across the Vistula lies the suburb of Praga, the haven of those who escaped from the last revolt and massacre of August 1944, and who managed to reach the liberating armies on the opposite bank.

Following Graf Bar-Komorovski's provocations which instigated the revolt, all Polish patriots took up arms against the Nazi murderers. The fighters were reinforced by a detachment of 400 Jews who had succeeded in saving themselves during the ghetto revolt of April-May 1943.

Only four out of these 400 are alive today, among them Freda Wartman, talented pianist of pre-war Warsaw. She lived on Yasna Street. The gray hair and the wrinkled face of this 30-year-old woman bear witness to the hardships and tortures she experienced during the massacre.

Freda Wartman's story is part of the tragic history of Warsaw Jewry from the fatal September of 1939 until the final end of the ghetto; it is a commentary on the heroism in the tragic battle waged by Warsaw's Jews.

Freda Wartman relates:

It began with trifles. In November 1939, proclamations were issued to the effect that all Jews must wear white armbands embossed with the blue "Star of David." Although we lived on a Polish street, far from the Jewish community, I had to don the armband when I left my house. As soon as I had walked two or three blocks, I would enter a passageway and remove the band. I knew that this invited fearful punishment, but it was the way in which a group of intellectuals decided to protest against this imposed shame. There were others who reacted and protested in the opposite way—they wore their armbands with staunch pride.

More than one of these proud Jews paid with their lives for carrying their heads high.

Aside from armbands, the Germans quickly began to inflict other degradations upon the Jews. They introduced special trains for them—third class trains; the first class was for Germans, the second for Poles.

German soldiers, German civilians, Germans who had become assimilated in Poland, Polish citizens of German descent and other hoodlums would invade Jewish and Polish homes; they would rob and rape.

Mass raids became a daily occurrence. One day they gathered only Jews; the next, only Poles; the third, only women.

The Germans organized an economic and social boycott against the Jews. They forced proprietors of "Aryan" stores to put up announcements: "*Hunde und Juden verboten!*" Soon, other announcements appeared: "*Hunde, Juden, Polen und Bettler verboten!*"

The spring and summer of 1940 passed with never-ending terror. We were in constant fear. Those who could escape joined the Soviets.

One night, a Gestapo agent came to our home. He studied our apartment carefully and left. He returned a few days later, this time with some of his comrades. They were drunk. They brandished revolvers. They ordered father to undress. I was sick in bed. One of them came to me and tore a ring from my finger. Then they ordered everyone out of the kitchen, took a young girl, a relative who was spending the night with us, into the kitchen and tortured her endlessly. The girl went insane.

The war between the Soviet Union and Germany broke out in June 1941. And with it came a ray of hope. Jews and Poles congratulated each other; everyone now was certain that sooner or later the Germans would be defeated. Breathless, we waited for news from the front. The German retreat before Moscow was greeted with enthusiasm. Old and young, we waited for the Red Army.

A proclamation had been issued announcing the formation of a Jewish quarter. The proclamation was put up on every street-corner and was printed in the press. A horrible poverty reigned in the ghetto, and even more horrible were the crowded conditions in the dwellings. A wave of smuggling began—of both finished products and raw materials. Outside the ghetto a battalion

was organized which, under great hardships, collected packages and threw them over the ghetto wall.

Jewish social and cultural life was carried on underground. Small libraries and schools were organized, small groups gathered around secret radio sets to hear Moscow and London.

An anti-fascist organization was formed underground. Its leader was a former political prisoner, Joel Stariv. He died in the revolt of May 1943.

This organization concentrated on keeping up Jewish morale. It succeeded. It is impossible to describe the mass enthusiasm in the ghetto when the news of Stalingrad reached us. Now we were certain that we would live to see Hitler's defeat, see the Red Army march victoriously into Warsaw. It is tragic to think that only a very small group of us lived to see that day.

The first deportations from Western Europe arrived in Lublin. It was not long before Warsaw was hit. The Gestapo deported all Jews of foreign citizenship. They herded them into the Paviak prison, tortured them mercilessly, and those who remained alive were sent to the Lotaringa concentration camp, where they soon died.

The Germans kept sending more Jews into the ghetto—Jews from the "Aryan" part of Warsaw, from the provinces, from Western Europe. Bands of paid hoodlums invaded the ghetto, broke into apartments and killed on sight.

In May 1942, the Gestapo began to kill all Jews suspected of political activity. Gestapo agents flooded the ghetto. They photographed Jews at their Friday night services, dressed in their *Chassidic* clothes. These photographs appeared in Julius Streicher's *Stuerrner*, with the caption, "All is well with the Jews, they are building a society within a society. Something must be done about it."

We knew that something dreadful awaited us all.

On July 21, 1942, Gestapo agents entered the community center. They took hostages. The following morning a proclamation was issued, ordering all Jews except those employed in war plants to leave Warsaw for the east.

Old people and children were led out first. The deportations went ahead at full speed. At first the daily quota was 2,000, then 10,000, later 20,000. The weak and the old were shot on the spot.

We organized a counter-offensive. Those who had been captured by the Germans were assembled in a field near the Jewish

cemetery. My assignment was to go to the cemetery and urge flight.

I almost failed. A German guard caught me and threw me in with the rest of the deportees. I took out my "working card" showing that I was a factory worker. Angrily, he grabbed the card, tore it up, and drove me on with the others. I would have been lost, had it not been for the Polish members of our organization. One of them collided with a German guard. People began to scatter. I used the chance to escape.

The ghetto no longer was a living quarter; it was a forced labor camp. It was organized according to trades. Each factory covered a block. Like prisoners, the workers were forced to live in the factory.

I worked in the factory of the German Schultz. I worked at a sewing machine. My old father was at the steam iron. We did our work, not according to Schultz's orders, but according to those set down by our organization. We ruined everything. My father pressed until everything was scorched. Schultz punished us, not by shooting, but by a more ingenuous method; he forced my father, myself and a few of our comrades to work day and night—standing. Our feet became swollen. My father collapsed—death freed him from torture. After a few days we realized that we could go on no longer—our strength was ebbing.

One of our comrades risked his life for us. During the night, he stole into Schultz's office, where he had access to the only telephone on the street. He contacted the underground leaders.

That same night we escaped in a truck to an underground meeting place where we rested for a few days. We had new documents made.

We went to work in another block, on Mila Street.

In the evening of September 5th, a new "selection" was made. For days, thousands of workers stood on Mila Street, without food, without water, surrounded by Gestapo. Then the death march began. We walked five abreast, along a road littered with ruins. We reached the "Master over Life and Death"—an SS man with a bludgeon in one hand, a revolver in the other. Some people were shot on the spot; others were beaten and ordered to the "staging area" which led to the gas chambers; those who looked healthy remained alive. We were among the "lucky ones." In those days 80,000 Jews died.

The Germans hit upon a fiendish plan. They announced that

Jews could be exchanged for German prisoners-of-war in America. They organized a bureau in the Hotel Polski on Druga Street. The first Jews who appeared at the bureau were treated politely; they filled out documents, paid a large sum of money and were put into luxury trains. The trains left for Monovar. The passengers were led into gas chambers.

This opened the eyes of the most gullible; our organization grew. Political parties and conflicting groups no longer existed. All were united.

Not all could be given guns. I was armed with vitriol, and so were all my comrades. Our orders were to cover Mila Street as soon as the revolt started.

When the German soldiers entered our building we poured vitriol on them. The first Germans ran away, screaming wildly. When the second wave of Germans came, we repeated our action. After the first encounters the Germans did not come near us; they used grenades.

After the revolt 20,000 Jews remained in the Polish part of Warsaw with Polish friends. I lived with a Polish woman on *Saska Kampa*. I maintained contact with my comrades. We had a special organization whose responsibility it was to care for the refugees from the ghetto. We collected money and devised means to support them, to forge papers, to send out those who could be spared, or were needed elsewhere. We maintained continual contact with the Jewish Partisan Movement—with Joel Greenspan and Zalman Kratko. We collected arms.

Not all Jews lived in private dwellings. Some lived underground, some in caves under the ruins of the ghetto.

At the beginning of that tragic August, the Jews came out of their tunnels and caves. They gathered in the streets. The organized groups received arms from us. Later, the *Armia Krajowa* rejected all Jews in their midst, chased them from their caves at the very moment when enemy planes bombed the city. But the largest part of the population did not heed Bar-Komorovski's followers; they shared their food with the Jews and saved all they could.

Our ranks grew. Jews were everywhere—in the front lines, in the medical units; Jewish girls acted as couriers.

There were Hungarian Jews among us, who had been in a German concentration camp not far from the Paviak prison. They had been freed by the Polish Freedom Fighters of the Peo-

ple's Army. They formed a special contingent which participated in the bloody defense of the old city. Almost every one of them died a hero's death.

Warsaw was in flames when I finally went back to *Saska Kampa*. Street after street, house after house in flames. Wounded and bloody, I escaped to the Red Army.

Five fundamental points give meaning to the revolt of the Warsaw Ghetto. The revolt was not a sudden, unmotivated happening, nor was it simply a reaction to the atmosphere of terror that had reigned in the ghetto from the day of its founding. It was the result of careful organization, of methodical plans and technical preparations that finally burst forth in armed resistance.

The people of the Warsaw Ghetto did not accept the idea of isolation, nor the inevitability of surrender. Passive resistance was the first expression of the people's mood: the tragic fight for existence, the fight to obtain food, to prevent epidemics, the fight against corruption, the fight to assemble for prayer.

In time this passive resistance changed into militant revolt, into the first armed battles of March and April 1943. These battles were more than a blind striving for self-preservation; they were premeditated and prepared; the culmination of growing forces that had come into existence with the establishment of the ghetto.

The leaders of the underground movement, aware of the gravity of the situation, dissolved all inter-party conflicts. Joseph Levortovsky, unforgettable hero of the ghetto organization of the Workers' Parties, long-time leader of Jewish working men, promulgated a slogan that expressed the principle of the struggle. It was accepted, not only by Warsaw Jews, but by Jews in other ghettos and concentration camps: "We are all brothers and children of one family."

It made it possible for Adam Berman, Labor-Zionist, to work with Sonia Novograduka, Bund Leader. It made it possible for the Zionist, Henech Kirschbaum, to work with the Communist Joseph Levortovsky. Jewish resistance was based on unity. The Communists brought their enthusiasm and their limitless experience in anti-fascist activities; the Zionists brought adherents eager for open battle; the Bund members brought their organizational talents.

A new kind of soldier developed in the ghetto—the result of this synthesis. The fighting organization which developed this new man revived the ancient tradition of the Maccabees in the person of Berek Yoselovich, heroine of the rebellion, who had organized the first revolt in January 1943 and the revolts of April and May of the same year.

The second major revolt of the ghetto proclaimed to the world a united front of all Jews. But hope and yearning were not enough. The ghetto was a huge prison. Without contact with the non-Jewish population outside, without their help, the entire undertaking would have been doomed to failure.

The underground organization in the ghetto made these ties possible. Though the so-called Government in London had cynically refused to provide the ghetto with arms, the Polish anti-fascist organizations had not ignored the hand that was held out to them. Christina Kovolska, daughter of a Polish worker and secretary of the Warsaw branch of the Polish Workers' Party, visited the ghetto every other day. She took an active part in the preparations of the Revolt Committee and participated in the inter-party conferences. Her apartment in the Polish part of Warsaw was a mecca not only for the Jewish members of the Workers' Party, but also for the members of the Hatzair Youth Movement, for the Labor Zionists, and for all other Jewish fighters.

The commander of the People's Guard helped build commando groups for the Jewish fighting forces. The Workers' Party and the Polish Socialists gave the Jews all possible help. Comrade Kazik, a Polish Socialist, died helping Jewish soldiers escape from Warsaw. The memory of the Richard brothers, of Kovasky, Wroblewski, Vashtchinow, and hundreds of others who bravely helped defend the ghetto, will forever remain in the hearts of the Jewish people. Their names will be honored by the democratic world.

The third phase in the revolt of the Warsaw Jews was the establishment of a united front with militant Polish democracy. Certain foreign correspondents have erroneously written of the defense of the ghetto as a mere act of desperation. But the very fact that the defense developed as a result of a process begun long before anyone suspected that the Nazis intended the destruction of every Jew proves that the revolt was not a spontaneous, unplanned act

stemming from uncertainty, but a preconceived, deliberate call to arms. The revolt of the ghetto found expression in the slogan on the banners and the placards that appeared on the walls of the ghetto during the first days of the revolt: "Polish Jews, to Arms! Defend the Honor of Our People!" It was a fight for the dignity and the honor of the Jewish people.

The fighters knew what they were doing when they attacked the German tanks: this was not a battle in defense of their families and homes, because there was no hope of defeating the mighty enemy. It was not a battle for the lives of those nearest and dearest, because they had already been slaughtered. Nor was this a battle to save their own lives, for their own lives were already unbearable. The revolt was conceived on a moral plane: a battle for the honor of their people, for the future of their people. It was an act that grew out of the great yearning for dignity.

The collective and the individual heroism of the fighters presented the climax of this unity. Adam Mesetik, the tailor, died together with Leib Sokolow, the aristocrat. Anielevitch, Hatzair Youth member; Micheal Klepfish, member of the Bund; Jacob Dreier, Communist, all died for the same ideal: for the dignity of their people. Joseph Kurman, poet, and Zalman Pinkert, grave digger, fought in the same ranks.

Some units evaded the German machine guns and escaped from the ghetto to the forests. There they joined the Land Resistance Movement. Some of them, like Meyer Alef and Zalman Kratka, survived and are a living testimony to the last heroic days of the Warsaw Ghetto.

The forty-two-day battle emphasized the end of a period in the lives of Polish Jewry—it opened a new chapter in the history of the Jews. Warsaw was a flaming torch which lighted the way for other Polish cities, ghettos and concentration camps. Bialystok followed Warsaw, then Sobibor, Bendin, Minsk-Mozovietski, Vilna, Slutsk and Rovno. Members of the Warsaw Resistance Movement traveled far and wide; they united their strength with the Soviet Partisan Movement.

Mordecai Anielevitch, defender of the Warsaw Ghetto, and Micheal Schmuelevitch, soldier of the First Polish Army which was defeated in the battle of Lenina, died for the same ideals. The

Jewish people will hold in their hearts forever the memory of those who fell in the battle for Warsaw.

VILNA ²⁸

The idea of revolt was in the minds of the people immediately after they were driven into the ghetto. Various resistance groups were organized.

The first active rebellion in the ghetto took place on October 24, 1941.

Under the leadership of two youths, Hanz and Goldstein, twenty Jews barricaded themselves in a cellar on Hospital Street. When Schweigenburg and his men broke into the cellar, the Jews threw themselves on them. In an hour-long battle, the twenty were killed, but not before they had strangled two of the Germans and wounded five of the police.

On January 23, 1942, the basis of the Ghetto Partisan Organization was laid at a meeting of party representatives. Itzik Wittenberg, a Vilna worker, was named commander. Abe Kovner and Joseph Glassman were named members of the staff. Later, Nissen Roznick, Chvanik and Yankel Kaplan were added to the staff.

The Ghetto Partisan Organization was to prepare for armed resistance; to carry out sabotage in the German factories and workrooms, and to establish contact with the partisans in the forests.

They stole arms from German stores and from sealed trains waiting to be dispatched to the front. In May 1943, three of our comrades, Vittke Kempner, Moshe Braze and Yitzchok Motzkewitch, derailed a train headed for the front and loaded with men and munitions. This was one of the first actions around Vilna. Its echo shook the entire neighborhood. Our members, Berl Shereshnievski and Tanya Madeisker, were active in the organization of the underground movement in the city. Shereshnievski became the secretary of the municipal committee of the Communist Party. We had a radio and issued political bulletins for our members. Isaac Kowaksky stole a press from the municipal printing plant and brought it to the underground organization. We printed the illegal newspaper *Szandar Wolnosci*. Itzik Wittenberg wrote for the paper, and members of the organization, driven to forced

labor by the whips of the storm troopers, distributed it all over the city.

We manufactured hand grenades in the hidden ghetto workrooms. We organized the Jews from the provinces and helped them to flee to the forests. We gave sanctuary to non-Jewish fugitives from the Gestapo.

Boruch Goldstein, who brought the first flame thrower into the ghetto, wrecked four German ammunition dumps at the Burbiskiai Fortress. The engineer Isaac Ratner constructed miniature chemical apparatuses and put them into the gasoline reservoirs of tanks. Eight hours later, when the tanks set off for the front, they would burst into flames. Ten tanks were wrecked.

Tevke Halpern, who worked in the German post office, tore up and burned documents. He would carry German food parcels into the ghetto and give them to the hungry. Zelig Goldberg, the architect of the Vilna Jewish Technicum, worked as an engineer in the military workroom at the airdrome in Parubanek. Out of fifty airplanes which were brought in for repair, he removed the most important parts and bored holes in the gas tanks.

In collaboration with non-Jews we set fire to the fur factory, Kailim. Sixty thousand coats, which the Germans were preparing to ship to soldiers at the front, went up in flames.

The deed of sixteen-year-old Zalman Tiktin must be recorded. He looted a sealed train and loaded himself with grenades. He was spotted and ran. During the chase he was wounded. They took him to the hospital and went to great pains to cure him so that they might torture him later. He told his torturers defiantly: "I stole the grenades to use on you, because you murdered my parents."

Our members, Joseph Kempner, Solomon Entin, the two sisters Zilber, Edek Boraks and Cheike Grossman, were sent to Bialystok and Warsaw to organize the resistance there. It fell to the lot of Vilna to perform the historic role of organizing the unarmed strength of occupied Poland. After organizing Warsaw and Bialystok, our messengers remained there. Cheike Grossman, a young teacher, was one of the most active participants in the Bialystok uprising. Edek Boraks died fighting in Bialystok.

Parallel with the partisan organization, an underground cultural life began in the Vilna Ghetto. We organized a literary

group—the president was Z. Kalamovitch—which held a series of forty-three literary evenings. We celebrated the Jewish writers, Sholem Aleichem, Peretz, Bialik, Yehoash; and issued two periodicals, *Ghetto News* and *People's Health*. We had a theater and gave performances. The musicians, who had survived the slaughter, would steal through the guarded streets and dig out the instruments which they had hidden. A symphony orchestra was formed. We had two choirs, the Vilbig Choir under the direction of A. Slieff, and a Hebrew choir under the direction of Dovid Mashkin. We organized a hospital, two baths, kindergartens, schools, a sports arena, kitchens. We organized literary competitions. Even in the fenced-in streets the urge to life was not stifled. The Jews of Vilna knew that with schools they could defy Hitler. The writers were partisans with words as their weapons. The musicians were partisans armed with music. Zlakindson, the son of the eminent Vilna physician, wrote a great work on astronomy. Vilna did not surrender to the executioner's sword. It kept its glorious tradition alive.

On July 15, 1943, an hour after midnight, the police stormed the ghetto, arrested Wittenberg, the commander of the partisan organization, and put him in chains. At the gates of the ghetto he managed to escape. A call was sent out for the mobilization of all partisans. Preparations were made for defense.

After the uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto, the Germans, frightened by the Jewish resistance in that city, sent Kittel to Vilna. With the help of an *agent-provocateur*, he managed to arrest Vitos and Koslovski, two Lithuanian leaders of the illegal organization. Vitos, with whom Wittenberg had close contact, hanged himself in prison. Kittel told Koslovski that the Jew Wittenberg had betrayed him. On July 16th, after Kittel had failed to capture Wittenberg, an ultimatum was delivered to the ghetto: if Wittenberg was not surrendered by six o'clock in the evening, airplanes would be sent from Kovno to drop incendiaries on the ghetto.

There was panic in the ghetto. The majority was resolved to ignore the ultimatum and protect Wittenberg. As the hour set for the ultimatum drew near, the atmosphere became unbearably tense.

Designating Abe Kovner as his successor, Wittenberg went to

give himself up, to save the lives of the ghetto population. The next morning his body was found in the corridor of the Gestapo, limbs broken and eyes gouged out.

On September 1, 1943, the ghetto was surrounded with machine guns. We ordered complete mobilization and opened the munition arsenals. The struggle was on. It lasted a week. The Germans used bombs to break down the walls from behind which our comrades fired. On Strashun Street one hundred Jews were shot.

The Jewish partisans of Vilna, the comrades of Wittenberg, who carried on the fight against the Germans, later joined up with the Lithuanian and White Russian partisan groups. It was no small revenge that they took for the blood of their commander. The Jewish partisan group, the "Avengers," commanded by Abe Kovner, in the three months of its struggle, managed to wreck three trains. In the first wreck, twelve cars and locomotives were derailed. In the second, six cars packed with Germans. In the third, on the Vilna-Orag railway, two hundred Nazis were killed. Near Drogatski, the "Avengers" destroyed three bridges. They destroyed a German factory and took part in destroying a large number of German automobiles and cannons in the village of Kaniuchi.

After we took refuge in the forests, our comrade, Zelda Trager, went back into Vilna eighteen different times to rescue Jews from the prison camps. Vitke Kempner, the hero of the first diversion, went back into Vilna to destroy the electric station. When the Red Army began its attack on Vilna, the Jewish partisans were the first to enter the city, engage the barricaded Germans in battle and exterminate them by the score.

RIGA²⁹

Jews of all European countries were brought to the Riga Ghetto. There is no accurate figure as yet of the number of Jews annihilated in Riga. Certain Jews who managed to escape estimate that the number killed must be close to 200,000.

Immediately after the first mass murders, a plan was devised to organize an armed struggle against the invaders. The Jewish youth began to organize regular escapes from the ghetto. They faced

their torturers in armed struggle. Many young men worked in the war plants. They decided to utilize this opportunity to get hold of automatic pistols, hand grenades and rifles. With the tacit consent of the Jewish Committee and the Jewish ghetto militia, trenches were dug, where these supplies were concealed.

They formed squads of ten which conducted their activities in secret. Members of one squad knew nothing of the activities of the others. Wolfovitch, the leader of one of the squads, conceived a plan to organize the escape of the members of his group. He wanted to join the partisans. When he had completed all of his preparatory work, he contacted them. He fled the ghetto in an automobile, together with his nine comrades, in the autumn of 1942. When the automobile was some nine kilometers out of Riga, Gestapo men caught up with them and surrounded the car. The Jews fought back. Eight Gestapo men were killed.

THE LAST BATTLE OF THE BIALYSTOK GHETTO³⁰

On the day following the conquest of the town, the Germans caught 300 Jews and imprisoned them in the large synagogue. The German commandant invited the representatives of the community to visit him and informed them that he was prepared to liberate the imprisoned in return for gold and dollars. The heads of the community, led by Rabbi Dr. Rosenman, collected the necessary amount. The commandant put all the money and gold in his pocket and ordered gasoline to be poured over the synagogue.

The Jews of Bialystok began to prepare for self-defense. The underground organization of fighting Jews came into existence. The organization was in contact with the Russian partisans and with the Jewish National Movement of Warsaw.

On August 21, 1943, a police detachment entered the area of the fish market. They were received with a fusillade of shots from all windows. Several dozen policemen fell dead or wounded. The detachment fled in alarm. The ghetto was in revolt.

This was Warsaw on a smaller scale. The defenders possessed machine guns, hand grenades, bombs and rifles. The Germans, who had learned from their experience in the Warsaw battle, which had cost them 5,000 slain, now used artillery. A thousand

policemen and about the same number of SS began to bombard the Jewish district, which had been transformed into a fortress. The Jews of Bialystok gave battle for eight days. After eight days, the Germans were ordered to set the ghetto on fire. It burned for a fortnight. Not until the middle of September was the German staff in a position to proclaim that the revolt of the Bialystok Jews had been suppressed.

Throughout this period of their struggle, the ghetto fighters received help from the White Russian and Polish partisans. Those who remained alive endeavored to break the iron ring with which the Germans had surrounded the ghetto. A few groups were successful. They reached the forests where they were met by devoted friends.

Forty thousand Jews fell in the battle of Bialystok.

A LETTER³¹

In my great human sorrow, I, a young Jewish girl from Kishinev, was befriended by a young Russian patriot, Tonya Pisemka. When our group was taken away by the invaders, Tonya followed us. She knew that we were being led away to be shot . . .

We were several dozen people. We were thrown into a small room and locked up. Tonya came to us. This might have meant her death, but she went from house to house, collected bread, and through an opening in the window handed it to us. We didn't care about food, we knew that the minutes of our life were numbered, but we wanted to live, because not for a second did we doubt that the Red Army would come again.

Understanding the dangerous work of fearless Tonya, I bravely looked death in the face. The Germans didn't succeed in shooting us: they had to hurry away under the blows of the Russians.

We excitedly congratulated our liberators, the Red Army, and at the same time praised the fighting Tonya, who had come to our prison to be the first to give us news of the approaching Red Army.

UKRAINE

*Escape*³²

Only two years after the grim events, details of the "Christmas

party" the Germans gave 15,000 Jews of Kharkov in 1941 became available. . . .

One of the few survivors of the Kharkov massacre, 40-year-old Sara Sokola, a library clerk, told of her own experience. Her story has been carefully investigated by Soviet commissions and has been accepted as accurate.

Today the woman, who is small and frail, is a cripple, for in her wanderings after her escape her feet were frozen and all but her heels were amputated. . . .

But though crippled, homeless and poverty stricken, she said the joy of liberation burned in her heart, and that her life was now happy.

Sara Sokola lived in Kharkov's Pushkin Street, in an apartment house where there were many Jewish families. During the first part of December, within a few weeks after the Germans' entry, soldiers of the special police called regularly to pick up listed persons and on December 14th she was the last Jew in the house. She received an order to join a group of 15,000 Jews for a seven-mile walk to an abandoned tractor plant. "So with a bundle of clothes and bedding and a small bag of food I set out," she said.

"Old people, little children and sick people lay dying beside the road. . . ."

She told how the survivors of the march were packed into a number of wooden huts which were to be their homes for the next three weeks, until the extermination was complete.

The huts had no windows and according to regulations the doors were kept open. They were not furnished, though some of the condemned had brought trestle beds. The Germans selected one Jew in each hut to act as the responsible chief.

Fines were imposed on mothers whose infants cried during the night, and when these fines could not be paid the women were told the children would be shot. "What could the mothers do?" she continued. "The children were hungry, for the mothers could give them no milk."

Miss Sokola paid tribute to a number of brave Kharkov residents who, risking German reprisals, visited the camp, trying to help with food and bandages.

. . . Her escape is another story. During eighteen months of

wandering she received much evidence of the bravery of the simple Ukrainian people who sheltered her.

Refuge ³³

On the Second Ukrainian Front, Russia, February 28th—

This writer has learned about the merciful hand stretched courageously toward the Jews by their non-Jewish Russian brethren.

At Konotop the Jewish matron in charge of the Red Air Force hostel told the tragic tale of how her family had practically been exterminated at Kiev, her native town. Four brothers were among those who perished; the others, including children, had been burned alive in their cottage.

But her own daughter obtained refuge with a Ukrainian family, and an 8-year-old girl, aided by a new name, was protected from persecution. The child is now safe in Moscow.

Late one night at Shenderovka, after we had threaded our way through a vast park of smashed German vehicles, we called for warmth at an undamaged cottage. There the tall haggard farmer told how in one of the most densely populated sections of the rural Ukraine the Germans had methodically rounded up the Jews and slaughtered them. But here, too, the villagers smuggled some condemned children into their own cottages and saved them from death.

The villages that had been spared the more dramatic forms of destruction by war were found to have been bled white of manpower and skilled labor. With horrifying precision, the German anti-Semitic policy has been applied to this region of cherry orchards and fields of sun-flowers.

Yet here Jew and Gentile alike defied the enemy with indomitable courage. In few parts of the front have partisans played a more active, decisive role than on the banks of the middle Dnieper.

MINSK

The Partisans ³⁴

When the Germans invaded the Soviet Union, a Jewish youth—his parents ill and not able to leave their home—was about to finish his studies at the Medical School of Minsk University. When the

Germans entered the city they set up a ghetto for Jewish citizens and threw the youth and his family into it. Soon afterward his mother died, and a few weeks later his father was arrested and shot. Within a short time the Nazis had massacred most of the Jews in Minsk, and the ghetto was closed.

As a medical student, the Jewish youth had been classified a "specialist" by the Germans and was assigned to a veterinary surgeon, who put him to work as a stableman. He was transferred to the ghetto at Vilnius. Knowing that he was doomed to die, he fled with seven young friends, also "specialists." They escaped into the forests near Vilnius. Here they met a Russian partisan who gave them food. He said that there were many Jews hiding in the forests.

The boys offered to join the guerrilla detachment, and the partisans took them into their ranks and advised them, "Get yourselves some arms the way we did." Unarmed, the eight young men attacked German soldiers on a highway, and thus got their first tommy-guns and rifles. Next they had to learn how to use these arms. A partisan was assigned to instruct them, and in ten days they had learned how to shoot and hurl grenades. It was the young medical student's idea that they should form a detachment of Jewish guerrillas. They were soon joined by eleven more who had escaped from the ghetto.

Within a month all of them were armed. They began to carry out dangerous operations, and their fame spread. Many Jews who had taken refuge in the forests sought them out and joined their ranks. To the usual partisan oath, the commander added these words: "As a son of the Jewish people, I vow always to remember the sufferings which the Germans have inflicted on my people."

From the Vilnius region the detachment moved to the Pinsk district. There in the dense forests and marshes it operated with more than 200 fighters. And this was not the only Jewish detachment.

As a rule, people do not escape from the ghetto—they die there. And to the Germans the Jewish guerrillas appeared as specters returned from the dead. They called these Jewish detachments "refugees from the ghetto." In their plan for the total extermination of the Jewish people, the Germans murdered hundreds of thousands. But the specters live—with their partisan comrades they are fighting the battle of liberation.

The Ghetto ³⁵

On June 22, 1941, Germany attacked the Soviet Union. As early as June 28th, the clatter of German tanks was heard in the streets of Minsk. About 75,000 Jews who did not have time to evacuate, were trapped in the city. From the very first day of the arrival of the fascists, disorder set in; robbery, rape, shootings and executions. Jews were subjected to special violence.

The first order of the invaders informed the inhabitants of the city of Minsk that they had been "liberated" from "Bolshevik-Jewish banditry." All men from fifteen to forty-five years of age were ordered to the conscription center under threat of shooting.

At the same time homes were searched: allegedly to find hidden arms, but in reality to steal our belongings—clothes, underwear, blankets, shoes, dishes and foodstuffs. Like hungry dogs, the Nazis fell upon sugar, honey, butter, cocoa, rice. They loaded them into large trucks and carted them away.

By order of the German authorities, thousands of men were sent to the Drozdy camp, where they were separated into national groups; Russians were kept in one group, Jews in another. They were given no food; they were forbidden to take water from the nearby stream; they were beaten; their heads were smashed with bottles. Tortures and abuses were inflicted upon Russians and Jews in equal measure. The guards shot hundreds of Soviet citizens on the spot.

Those who remained alive were divided into two groups: intellectual workers and manual workers. The first group was placed in trucks, taken to the outskirts of the city and machine-gunned.

The second group, which included many skilled and technical workers, was taken under convoy to the city jails. When they were driven through the streets, women and children ran out of their homes, looking for friends and relatives in the convoy. The 14-year-old daughter of Zyskin stopped at the gate hoping to see her father. A shot was fired, and the little girl fell.

The workers spent several days in prison; some were released and put to work; others were placed in trucks, taken out of town and shot.

About that time, an order was issued directing the entire Jewish population to register with a specially formed Jewish Committee (*Judenrat*).

The Gestapo picked up ten men in the street, brought them to the administration building, told them that they were the Jewish Committee and would be obliged to carry out all orders of the German authorities.

Jews were ordered to sew yellow patches of a prescribed size on their chests and backs. Any irregularity was punished by shooting.

Then the German authorities set up a ghetto and imposed a tax upon the Jews in gold, silver and Soviet money.

The Jews left their old homes for the ghetto. Living space was granted them on the basis of 1.5 square meters per person, not counting the children.

The ghetto was surrounded by five rows of barbed wire. Leaving the ghetto was punishable by shooting. Contact with the Russian population was punishable by shooting. Purchase of foodstuffs was forbidden under threat of shooting. Death became the fellow traveler of the Jew.

As soon as the ghetto was fenced in, robbery and rape began. Day and night, Germans broke into Jewish apartments. They robbed the people of everything. The robberies were accompanied by beatings, tortures and frequently by murder.

At this time a camp was opened on Shirokaya Street, where Soviet war prisoners and Jewish civilians were put to forced labor. Jews were compelled to haul sand and clay from one place to another, to dig the earth without spades. Once a day they were given 200 grams of bread and dirty water, called German soup.

The commandant of this camp was Gorodetski. Robbery, rape, murder, were his specialties.

The few who remained in the ghetto were registered with the labor department of the *Judenrat*.

On August 14th, part of the ghetto was surrounded, the men taken out, placed in cars and driven away. The Gestapo explained these men were being sent to work on military structures, but what the Gestapo called work meant death in every other language.

On August 31, 1941, the raid was repeated. The ghetto was again

surrounded by automobiles. This time women were also taken.

People who were taken away during the raids of the 14th, the 26th and the 31st were brought to jail and shot there—in all about 5,000 persons.

German fascism tried to create panic among the Jews; to chain their thoughts and actions; to instill into their consciousness the thought that for them all was lost, that there was no escape from the fascist yoke. But the Nazi bandits miscalculated. They forgot that they were dealing with Soviet Jews who for twenty-three years had led a free life. They forgot that these Jews grew up in struggle and victories.

In August 1941, the ghetto began to gather forces for organized resistance. On Ostrovsky Street a group of Communists gathered, among them a worker of the Council of Peoples' Commissars, Nat Weinhaus; workers of the Beolostok textile factory—Schnitman, Haimovic Feldman; a worker of the Union of Soviet Writers—Stolyar. The meeting decided to create an underground party organization which would handle the following problems:

1. morale among the Jews,
2. installing of a radio,
3. arranging for a systematic issue of leaflets,
4. establishing contact with Communists in the Russian part of the city,
5. establishing contact with partisan detachments.

The Germans shouted to the whole world about their victories and the underground party group—having begun to issue leaflets—mirrored the true state of affairs in revealing the falsity of the German victory announcements, and called on the Soviet people to fight.

Nat Weinhaus was the editor of these leaflets. They were read with great interest. They were copied, passed from house to house. When people met in the street, instead of greeting one another, they would ask: "What news is there today?"

On September 30, 1941, the Germans killed one of the leaders of the underground party group in the ghetto, Korkoeshko. His place was taken by Misha Gebelev, a teacher of the Kaganovich Communist Party in the city of Minsk. He was instructed to establish

contact with the Communists of the Russian section. The question of calling a joint party convention was raised.

In September 1941, contact with a Soviet guerrilla detachment was established. The underground party resolved to organize systematic aid by sending warm clothing, soap and salt.

Contact was established with the chairman of the *Judenrat*, Mushkin. Later on, the manager of the food sector of the *Judenrat*, Riditser, and the chief of the Jewish militia, Serebryansky, joined in helping the guerrilla movement. It was they who shipped clothes and supplies to the guerrilla detachments. Jewish women, even very old ones, helped the guerrilla fighters, sewed underwear for them, camouflaged robes, knitted socks late at night in the cellars. The workshops of the ghetto under supervisor Goldin worked primarily for the guerrilla fighters.

On November 6th, a rumor spread through the ghetto that there would be a pogrom on the day of the October Revolution. Gorodetski came to the ghetto. He selected some trained workers and ordered them and their families brought to the camp at Shirokaya Street. Some members of the *Judenrat* were also taken there.

At daybreak, large black machines began to enter the ghetto. Gestapo men emerged from these machines, armed with whips, revolvers and hand grenades. With shrieks, whistles and wild laughter, these drunken beasts dashed into the homes, driving helpless women, old people and children into the cars. When the machines were filled to the top, they took them to Turczynki, and unloaded the people at the barracks.

About 12-13,000 Jews were taken to Turczynki. They were kept there for two days. The moans of the children, tortured by thirst, echoed far beyond the barracks. On the third day, all these people were mowed down by machine guns and their bodies thrown into waiting pits.

On November 8, 1941, the specialists from the camp on Shirokaya and the workers of the *Judenrat* were returned to the ghetto. At the same time, 5,000 Jews from Hamburg arrived in Minsk. They were housed in apartments "vacated" after the pogrom. Some of the streets were added to the Russian section. The ghetto territory diminished. The ghetto led a hungry, hard life. But even this life soon came to an end for many.

On November 20, 1941, before daybreak, the Germans again came to the ghetto. Again they drove people out of their apartments, taking them to Turczynki, to their graves. Quicklime was prepared at the graves. People were thrown in and burned alive. Seven thousand Jews perished that day.

The pogroms did not stop Jewish resistance. The movement did not come to an end when the leaders perished. Weinhaus died in the pogrom of November 20, 1941. His place was taken by Bruskind, Publicity Secretary of the Voroshilov Communist Party in the City of Minsk.

At the end of November, the Communists succeeded in calling an all-party conference. Slavek was the leader of the conference. Gebelev was the representative of the party group from the ghetto. From this moment on the systematic shipment of people into the guerrilla detachments began.

In the ghetto, groups of ten were assigned to the following tasks:

1. name candidates for contact with the partisan detachments,
2. collect arms,
3. send warm clothing to the partisans,
4. send medical supplies to the partisans,
5. create a fund for needy Communists.

The inhabitants of the ghetto had a very severe winter; people suffered from cold and hunger. Jews, who worked in the Russian section and had an opportunity to meet the Russian population, did not suffer so much. Jews, who did not work outside the ghetto, lived in dire circumstances. The Communists, who were not sent to work, suffered most.

Contact with several partisan detachments was broken because the detachments moved from place to place. Searches for the detachments ensued, and in February 1942, contact with the Soviet elements of the city administration was established. Through them the underground began to send children out of the ghetto to homes for Russian children.

In February 1942, Mushkin was arrested. He was the chairman of the *Judenrat*. His role was extremely difficult. On the one hand he fought the invaders, extending material aid to the partisan de-

tachments; on the other hand he was obliged to preserve the appearance of normal relations with the German authorities. He had to conceal his underground work even from his immediate co-workers on the *Judenrat*. The Nazis tortured him to extract information, but he told them nothing. After a month they killed him.

The winter of 1942 had brought more hunger, cold and sickness. The cries of the children, the moans of the sick, echoed through the Jewish homes. People sustained themselves on the refuse of German kitchens. The most common dish among the Jewish population was potato peelings.

Scurvy, beri-beri, typhoid fever and typhus were prevalent. The people had to conceal all illnesses from the German authorities. The Jews knew that if the authorities discovered contagious disease in the ghetto, a pogrom would be inevitable.

On March 2, 1942, Gestapo arrived in the ghetto. Among them was *Obersturmfuehrer* Schmidt, thoroughly drunk. Working columns went to work as usual, while the Gestapo settled down in the apartment of the manager of the labor exchange, Epstein, and began an orgy. They had brought plenty of vodka and expensive wines. There was no room for all of them in the apartment, so some remained in the street. They called Richter, police chief of the Fifth Section, who had jurisdiction over the ghetto. The arrogant pack drank and over-ate. Then the executions began.

With knouts, revolvers and small machine guns they dashed into homes.

In the evening, the *Obersturmfuehrer*, surrounded by his pack of wolves and his policemen, armed with a long knout, totally drunk, swished his knout through the air and shouted in Russian: "Today we were successful, very successful." The police chief received an award and a promotion for organizing the pogrom.

The night pogroms occurred on March 31st, April 3rd, April 15th, April 23rd. In one of these pogroms—March 31, 1942, Nina Liss, who had returned the day before from Western Byelorussia, perished. She had been to Western Byelorussia on instructions from the party to seek out a place where the ghetto children could be taken.

The night pogroms were explained by the Gestapo by the need to combat the partisan movement. The same kind of "acts" (that is what the Germans called a pogrom) were taking place in the Russian section.

Smolyar was head of the underground party. The Gestapo demanded his surrender. Joffe, the new chairman of the *Judenrat*, resorted to a ruse; he filled out a blank passport, in the name of Efim Stolyarevich, smeared it with blood and took it to the Gestapo, claiming that this passport was found on one of the men killed in a raided house. The Gestapo was satisfied, thinking that Stolyarevich (Smolyar) perished with all the residents of the house.

Stolyarevich lived on and continued the struggle with the enemy.

Ten Communists from the Russian section were brought to the ghetto where Gebelev hid them and gave them Jewish passports.

Contact with partisan detachments was temporarily lost.

For some time all searches were in vain. It was difficult to establish contact, not only with the partisans, but even with the Communists in the Russian section.

At the end of April 1942, a party meeting was called in one of the houses on Torgovaya Street. A group of Communists from the Russian section came to the meeting. They were the leaders of the Underground Party Committee of the City of Minsk. The city party organization was restored.

With the aid of the party, the ghetto formed a detachment near Slutsk, under the command of Captain Nikitin. Jews from the ghetto were sent to this detachment.

On June 27, 1942, the Gestapo issued an order that, in addition to yellow patches, all Jews must wear the following buttons: red for workers and dependents of workers, green for the unemployed. The workers were to receive their buttons at their places of work, others in the square at the *Judenrat*. The order stated that in view of the fact that the *Judenrat* would not be able to issue all buttons the Gestapo itself would issue them.

On July 28, 1942, after the workers' columns left, the Gestapo and the police, headed by Gattenbach, entered the ghetto. The residents were driven out of their apartments into the square.

Large, black automobiles—*dooshegoobky* (soul-destroyers) drove up. The people were loaded into them and gassed, and their bodies were taken to the graves prepared for them. At this time the hospital too was destroyed. The sick were shot in their beds. The medical personnel and the physicians were lined up in a separate column. They were taken to the square in their white uniforms, loaded into the *dooshegoobky* and put to death.

Forty-eight physicians—among them some of the greatest specialists of the Byelorussian Soviet Republic such as Professor Dvorszets, and experienced physicians like Toorgel, Kantorovich, Gurvich and Sirotkin perished at this time.

The nightmarish pogrom lasted for four days. In between, the executioners stopped to get drunk. They placed tables in the streets, covered with white cloths. While the ghetto was being drowned in blood the Nazi dogs drowned themselves in oceans of wine.

When the workers' columns returned, only puddles of congealed blood remained on the streets. Cries filled the ghetto. The returning workers found their dear ones gone. There was not a family without victims.

Out of 75,000 Minsk Jews, 8,794 remained by August 1, 1942. German Jews too fell victim to this pogrom—3,000 of them perished in the *dooshegoobky*.

In January 1943, the bodies of two Germans were found in the Russian section of the city. The Gestapo responded immediately. On February 1st, several *dooshegoobky* arrived in the ghetto, led by the bloodthirsty *Obersturmfuehrer* Miller. People were arrested in the street and placed in the *dooshegoobky*. In the morning 401 were missing.

With the arrival of Ribbe the Jews did not have a moment's peace. Mikhelson, the newly appointed police chief, Bunge and his assistant, Corporal Scherner, were the aides to his bloody deeds.

From early morning until late at night these four mad dogs rushed through the ghetto. If Ribbe did not like a man's face—he

was shot; if his clothes were not such as Ribbe approved of—he was shot; if the patch was sewed on in a displeasing manner—he was shot.

The ghetto streets were deserted. People were afraid to leave their homes. Ribbe and his gang hunted them down.

The pogroms began again. On February 19, 1943, Ribbe, inspecting the enterprises where German Jews worked, noticed many young girls. He took thirteen of them—twelve German Jewesses and one Soviet Jewess, Lina Ney. They were young, beautiful and full of life. The executioner ordered them to the labor exchange in the ghetto. Thirteen Jewish militiamen were brought there at the same time.

Ribbe and Mikhelson arrived at the labor exchange. Outside the street was noisy. The workers' columns were returning home; many stopped and waited. Why did Ribbe gather all these beautiful girls? Then the order came: each of the militiamen present was to take one woman by the arm and slowly lead her to the cemetery and to execution.

It was a terrible procession: thirteen young couples walked slowly to their funeral. One German Jewess asked permission to say goodbye to her husband. Ribbe had him brought to the cemetery and shot before his wife. The beasts stripped the women, tormented them, and then Ribbe and Mikhelson personally shot them. The cynicism of the bandits was so great that Ribbe took the brassiere off Lina Ney and put it into his pocket. "In memory of a beautiful Jewess," he said.

In June 1943, the extermination of the workers' columns began. Under the pretext of sending them to work in radio plants, the Germans rounded up seventy women. Twenty were sent to the plant and fifty to the Gestapo. Ribbe, surrounded by Gestapo officers, told his victims that they would be placed in automobiles and taken to work. He said they would be well fed. The machines arrived, and the women saw that they were the familiar *dooshegoobky*. They knew they were not being taken to work but to their death. They tried to run, and many were shot on the spot. The rest were forced into the machines.

From this moment on the systematic extermination of workers

began. Ribbe visited all firms employing Jews and counted them all. After Ribbe's visits the Jewish workers disappeared one by one.

At the beginning of September 1943, Ribbe came to the ghetto of the German Jews and selected 300—the youngest and the healthiest. He packed them into machines tightly, like cattle. Several days later the procedure was repeated in the ghetto of the Soviet Jews.

On September 12th, the remaining German Jews were told to get ready to leave for Germany. They hastily got their belongings together. On September 14th, the *dooshegoobky* arrived.

The ghetto of the German Jews was no more.

Solomon Blumin, supervisor of the housing department of the *Judenrat*, extended much aid to the partisan movement.

For three weeks Blumin was tortured by the Gestapo. They demanded that he divulge the names of his accomplices, his contacts, the cache of arms. Blumin suffered in silence. The greed of the professional murderers who had lost all semblance of men, reached such proportions that they knocked out his gold teeth. In order to frighten the ghetto Jews who were still alive, Blumin was placed in a machine, taken to the cemetery in broad daylight and shot. The Jews were barely able to recognize his body; a tall, strong, stoutish man, when he was brought to the cemetery he was shrunk, thin, toothless.

His terrible fate did not stop the people's movement.

In June 1943, the guides came from the partisan detachment and asked for medicaments and a physician. The choice fell upon Dr. Nina Isaakovna Turetskaya, a splendid physician, a marvelous comrade. The inhabitants of the ghetto respected her greatly. "Our *Nuta*," our little mother, she was called by the children and workers of the children's home. A beautiful woman, a clever woman, she was able to find a common language with everybody. During difficult moments she would bolster up their courage, she would console and give hope where there seemed to be none.

She was happy that she was called upon to serve her people.

Four times Nina Turetskaya tried to leave the ghetto. Each time she met with bad luck.

Finally, on the night of June 16-17, 1943, the group got out. Two miles from the ghetto, they encountered Scherner with a squad of policemen. Like jackals, they threw themselves on the Jews. The guide was killed. Turetskaya was wounded. She crawled away and hid in a ditch. The bandits scoured around for her for three hours. Finally, they found her and took her to the fifth police precinct. They tortured her. Turetskaya lay there bleeding. Scherner tortured her for twenty-four hours, questioned her in Russian and in German: where was she going, with whom, whose assignment was she carrying out. Each word was accompanied by blows which fell upon her head, her shoulders, the wounded leg. Scherner saw that he could get nothing out of her. In the morning he dragged her into an automobile and took her to the Jewish cemetery. She was brought to the common grave on a stretcher. There the questioning was resumed. *Nuta* spoke up. To Scherner's question, "With whom were you?" she answered: "The entire nation went with me. I do not know their names. You will kill me, but no one will suffer for it. On the contrary, after my death, more people will escape. They will hate you more. Look at your hands, they are covered with blood. How many children did you strangle? I am not afraid. The entire Soviet nation will avenge us. Kill me."

Having gathered her last bit of strength, *Nuta* arose, sat erect and calmly awaited the bullet.

Scherner shot her. *Nuta* rolled off the stretcher and into the common grave.

The Jews of the Minsk Ghetto who remain alive will never forget their *Nuta*.

The Jews' escape reached its height in April-May 1943, when Farkhomenko detachments and the national Zorin detachment were formed in the Pushka. Zorin knew of the suffering of the Jews in the ghetto; he had borne it himself.

Some of the Jews entered the fighting detachments. Each fighter was imbued with the desire for revenge upon the enemy of man-

kind. Each fighter saw before him the burned cities, villages, the homeless people, the orphaned children.

The hour had come when the partisan units joined the Red Army.

Justice

THE CHRONICLER OF A JEWISH CATASTROPHE IN THE MIDDLE AGES ended his sad tale with the following charitable words: "And much more had come to pass than we have recorded here; many more tragedies befell our brethren in these bad times—bloodier, crueller and more horrible than these—but we have refrained from telling them out of our respect for the human race, which is the crown of the Lord's creation, and not to undermine the faith of the future generations in mankind . . ."

The men and women who have collected, checked and collated the material for this book, had far more data than are presented here. They could have multiplied every incident we have reported a hundred fold, and still leave the record of Nazi terror incomplete. They could have continued recounting details of torture as gruesome as any contained here, without reaching the bottom of fascist depravity or the full horror of the Nazi nightmare. But their purpose was not the creation of an archive of all the facts of Nazi crimes against the Jews, many of which may not become known for some time. The objective of this effort was to bring before the world the basic pattern and the salient, incontestable facts of the murderous fascist conspiracy against the Jews.

This is an obligation that we owe to the millions of Jewish martyrs who met a horrible death at the hands of the Nazis—we owe it to them that their death shall not be forgotten or go unpunished. We owe it to ourselves and our children to see that they shall not have died in vain.

Man's mind is forgetful, especially of the unpleasant and disturbing. And what we forget, we forgive. Particularly, we are prone to forget the Nazi atrocities against the Jews, because they were so unbelievably revolting that our minds refuse to accept them as reality—despite our knowledge that they are true. This psychological failure on our part prevented us from realizing the full meaning of the Nazi crime early enough to react in a way that

might have saved many thousands of lives. Some of us still have no full conception of it. As the war recedes into the past, the facts of the Nazi inhumanities against the Jews will fade from our memory like the details of a bad dream. But this must not be forgotten. The blood of our brothers cries out to us from the earth. Woe to the human race, if six million people can be tortured and murdered in cold blood—and be forgotten.

The destruction of European Jewry by the Nazis was not an accident, a murderous act by a gang of thugs. It was part of a social process, which, were it permitted to run its full course, would have destroyed our civilization and turned those of us who survived into miserable slaves. In sheer self-defense against the recurrence of the common danger, we must closely examine that social process. We must learn to recognize it under every cloak. We must prepare—psychologically, socially and politically—to resist it as soon as we detect it anywhere in the world. What happened to the Jews of Europe must serve as a warning to all free peoples in all lands.

The evidence contained in this book was made available to the appropriate offices of the powers whose responsibility it is to punish the Nazi criminals. Some of these criminals have been brought to trial as this material is presented to the court of public opinion. But it is painful to state that, eight months after the end of the war in Europe, the larger number of Nazi criminals were still at large. We must demand speedy trial for every German, or other national, who has had a hand in the colossal murder of the Jews in Europe, a murder that could not have been perpetrated without the active aid of thousands of willing accessories. Not he alone is the criminal who fired the shot, or pulled the rope, or dropped the hammer on the victim's head. Murderers also are they who ordered these acts to be done, who designed, built and equipped the gas chambers, who operated the torture dungeons, who conducted the scientific experiments upon the tortured victims—all who had a share in the monstrous bestiality.

Speaking on behalf of the millions of murdered Jews, we demand that their murderers be tried for this specific crime as well as for any others they may have perpetrated. Let no one say: "What difference does it make what crime a Nazi hangs for so long

as he hangs?" It is important that the Nazi as well as his relatives and friends, and the whole world, know exactly what he was hanged for. No matter how many other counts there may be against him, the count of his murder of Jews must be conspicuous among them. Let the world know that the life of the Jew is as inviolate as that of any other human being on this earth. It is sad that this elementary lesson needs to be driven home in the middle of the twentieth century after the birth of Christ, but such is the case. Even now Jewish life is unsafe in parts of Europe where the seed of Hitlerism has not yet been entirely uprooted. We must come to realize that safety of life is indivisible, that in the long run—and not too long—no human life is safe where the life of the Jew is not safe.

On behalf of the living—the million survivors out of the seven million Jews in Europe outside the Soviet Union—we must make the demand that full justice be done them. It is not enough that their former legal rights be formally restored. Steps must be taken to translate paper rights into living realities. Equality of economic opportunity is no less essential than equality under the law. The Jew, still on his way from the gas chamber or concentration camp, from concealment in the woods or a place of refuge in another land, must be given the possibility of returning to his native city. He must not come back a stranger, on sufferance, he must not resume his existence as a marginal man. He should find his home a home indeed, with a full sense of belonging—socially, economically and politically. His house, his place of business, his job, or his property must be restored to him. We must take the profits out of Nazism. The Nazi of today and the would-be Nazi of tomorrow must be made to realize that Nazism does not pay even in the simple terms of dollars and cents. The wages of fascism should be full and speedy punishment, not a source of wealth or a stepping stone to power.

In the name of the vast majority of the Jewish people, scattered over the face of the earth, we call upon the leaders of the world to effect a solution to the so-called Jewish problem, which is also that of the non-Jew.

This is the time. At no time heretofore has the leadership of the world been composed of so many men devoid of prejudice and

devoted to the common good. At no time have the masses of the people been given such a clear insight into the workings of anti-Semitism as they had during the dark age of Nazi rule. Today they realize the baselessness of the charges against the Jew, the sinister use of anti-Semitism as a pawn in power politics and a screen for the enslavement of peoples. They have seen the logical consequence of anti-Semitism: the degeneration of the character of the anti-Semite into a bestial torturer of young and old, a fiendish killer of children. At no time during the past 2,000 years had anti-Semitism been unmasked and discredited in the eyes of the people as it is today. Now is the time to act, the time for the governments of the nations to outlaw anti-Semitism within their countries and as an instrument of foreign policy.

Appendix

List of abbreviations used in the Appendix:

- RGBL I—Reichsgesetzblatt, Teil I (Reich Law Gazette, Part I)
- V.B. —Voelkischer Beobachter
- H.F. —Hamburger Fremdenblatt
- J.N. —Juedisches Nachrichtenblatt

Translation of technical terms:

- Verordnung—Decree
- Anordnung—Ordinance
- Bekanntmachung—Notice

April 7, 1933 (RGL I, p. 175)

Reichsgesetzblatt

Teil I

175

FIRST DECREE SUPPLEMENTING THE LAW FOR THE RESTORATION OF PROFESSIONAL CIVIL SERVICE

April 11, 1933 (RGL I, p. 195)

Nr. 37 — Tag der Ausgabe: Berlin, den 11. April 1933

195

Erste Verordnung zur Durchführung des Gesetzes zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums.
Vom 11. April 1933.

Auf Grund des § 17 des Gesetzes zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums vom 7. April 1933 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 175) wird verordnet was folgt:

§ 2
1.
Ungeeignet sind alle Beamten, die der kommunistischen Partei oder kommunistischen Hilfs- oder Ersatzorganisationen angehören. Sie sind daher zu entlassen.

§ 3
2.
(1) Als nicht arisch gilt, wer von nicht arischen, insbesondere jüdischen Eltern oder Großeltern abstammt. Es genügt, wenn ein Elternteil oder ein Großeltern teil nicht arisch ist. Dies ist insbesondere dann anzunehmen, wenn ein Elternteil oder ein Großeltern teil der jüdischen Religion angehört hat.

(2) Wenn ein Beamter nicht bereits am 1. August 1914 Beamter gewesen ist, hat er nachzuweisen, daß er arischer Abstammung oder Frontkämpfer, der Sohn oder Vater eines im Weltkriege Gefallenen ist. Der Nachweis ist durch die Vorlegung von Urkunden (Geburtsurkunde und Heiratsurkunde der Eltern, Militärapapiere) zu erbringen.

(3) Ist die arische Abstammung zweifelhaft, so ist ein Gutachten des beim Reichsministerium des Innern bestellten Sachverständigen für Rassenforschung einzuholen.

"A non-Aryan is a person who is the descendant of non-Aryans, particularly Jewish parents or grandparents, even if only one parent or grandparent is non-Aryan. This is presumed especially if one parent or grandparent is of the Jewish faith."

Civil servants who entered the service after August 1, 1914, must submit documents to prove their "Aryan" descent, their status as "frontfighters," or as sons or fathers of persons killed during the war 1914-18. If "Aryan" descent is doubtful, an opinion must be obtained from the "expert on racial research."

1933	Ausgegeben zu Berlin, den 7. April 1933	Nr. 34
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Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums.
Vom 7. April 1933.

Die Reichsregierung hat das folgende Gesetz beschlossen, das hiermit verkündet wird:

§ 1
(1) Zur Wiederherstellung eines nationalen Berufsbeamtentums und zur Vereinfachung der Verwaltung können Beamte nach Maßgabe der folgenden Bestimmungen aus dem Amt entlassen werden, auch wenn die nach dem geltenden Recht hierfür erforderlichen Voraussetzungen nicht vorliegen.

(2) Als Beamte im Sinne dieses Gesetzes gelten unmittelbare und mittelbare Beamte des Reichs, unmittelbare und mittelbare Beamte der Länder und Beamte der Gemeinden und Gemeindeverbände, Beamte von Körperschaften des öffentlichen Rechts sowie diesen gleichgestellten Einrichtungen und Unternehmen (Dritte Verordnung des Reichspräsidenten zur Sicherung der Wirtschaft und Finanzen vom 6. Oktober 1931 — Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 537 —, Dritter Teil Kapitel V Abschnitt I § 15 Abs. 1). Die Vorschriften finden auch Anwendung auf Bedienstete der Träger der Sozialversicherung, welche die Rechte und Pflichten der Beamten haben.

(3) Beamte im Sinne dieses Gesetzes sind auch Beamte im einstweiligen Ruhestand.

(4) Die Reichsbank und die Deutsche Reichsbahn-Gesellschaft werden ermächtigt, entsprechende Anordnungen zu treffen.

des jeweiligen Grundgehalts der von ihnen zuletzt bekleideten Stelle bewilligt werden; eine Nachversicherung nach Maßgabe der reichsgesetzlichen Sozialversicherung findet nicht statt.

(4) Die Vorschriften der Abs. 2 und 3 finden auf Personen der im Abs. 1 bezeichneten Art, die bereits vor dem Inkrafttreten dieses Gesetzes in den Ruhestand getreten sind, entsprechende Anwendung.

§ 3
(1) Beamte, die nicht arischer Abstammung sind, sind in den Ruhestand (§§ 8 ff.) zu versetzen; soweit es sich um Ehrenbeamte handelt, sind sie aus dem Amtsverhältnis zu entlassen.

(2) Abs. 1 gilt nicht für Beamte, die bereits seit dem 1. August 1914 Beamte gewesen sind oder die im Weltkrieg an der Front für das Deutsche Reich oder für seine Verbündeten gekämpft haben oder deren Väter oder Söhne im Weltkrieg gefallen sind. Weitere Ausnahmen können der Reichsminister des Innern im Einvernehmen mit dem zuständigen Finanzminister oder die obersten Landesbehörden für Beamte im Ausland zulassen.

§ 4
Beamte, die nach ihrer bisherigen politischen Betätigung nicht die Gesetze dafür bis jetzt rückhaltlos für sich annehmen, können auf die Dauer...

Sec. 1 lists persons recognized as civil servants under this law and provides for the compulsory retirement of certain persons, without consideration of existing provisions for the retirement of civil servants.

Sec. 3 provides that "non-Aryan" civil servants be retired, and "non-Aryan" honorary officials dismissed. Excepted are civil servants:

1. appointed before August 1, 1914,
2. who fought for Germany or her allies in the war of 1914-18,
3. whose fathers or sons were killed in that war.

LAW REGARDING THE ADMISSION TO THE LEGAL PROFESSION

April 7, 1933 (RGL I, p. 188)

188

Reichsgesetzblatt, Jahrgang 1933, Teil I

Gesetz über die Zulassung zur Rechtsanwaltschaft.

Vom 7. April 1933.

Die Reichsregierung hat das folgende Gesetz beschlossen, das hiermit verkündet wird:

§ 1

Die Zulassung von Rechtsanwälten, die im Sinne des Gesetzes zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums vom 7. April 1933 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 175) nicht arischer Abstammung sind, kann bis zum 30. September 1933 zurückgenommen werden.

Die Vorschrift des Abs. 1 gilt nicht für Rechtsanwälte, die bereits seit dem 1. August 1914 zugelassen sind oder im Weltkriege an der Front für das Deutsche Reich oder für seine Verbündeten gekämpft haben oder deren Väter oder Söhne im Weltkriege gefallen sind.

§ 2

Die Zulassung zur Rechtsanwaltschaft kann Personen, die im Sinne des Gesetzes zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums vom 7. April 1933 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 175) nicht arischer Abstammung sind, versagt werden, auch wenn die in der Rechtsanwaltsordnung hierfür vorgesehenen Gründe nicht vorliegen. Das gleiche gilt von der Zulassung eines der im § 1 Abs. 2 bezeichneten Rechtsanwälte bei einem anderen Gericht.

The admission of "non-Aryan" lawyers to practise law may be revoked as of September 30, 1933, and no new "non-Aryan" lawyers may be admitted. Excepted are "non-Aryan" lawyers:

1. who practised law since or before August 1, 1914,
2. who saw frontline service for Germany or her allies during the war of 1914-18,
3. whose fathers or sons were killed in that war.

DECREE REGARDING PHYSICIANS' SERVICES WITH THE NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE

April 22, 1933 (RGL I, p. 222)

222

Reichsgesetzblatt, Jahrgang 1933, Teil I

nungsmäßige Fortführung des Betriebes durch den Pächter gesichert ist. Vor der Entscheidung ist der Verpächter zu hören. Endet das Pachtverhältnis mit Ablauf und macht der Verpächter glaubhaft,

Verordnung über die Zulassung von Ärzten zur Tätigkeit bei den Krankenkassen.
Vom 22. April 1933 *).

Auf Grund des § 368i Abs. 1 Nr. 2 und Abs. 3 der Reichsversicherungsordnung verordne ich an Stelle des Reichsausschusses für Ärzte und Krankenkassen:

Artikel I

(1) Die Tätigkeit von Rassenärzten nicht arischer Abstammung und von Rassenärzten, die sich im kommunistischen Sinne betätigt haben, wird beendet. Neuzulassungen solcher Ärzte zur Tätigkeit bei den Krankenkassen finden nicht mehr statt.

(2) Die Durchführung dieser Vorschriften erfolgt nach Maßgabe des Artikels II.

Artikel II

Die Ausführungs- und Überleitungsbestimmungen über das Rassenärztliche Dienstverhältnis, Zweiter Teil (Zulassungsordnung) vom 30. Dezember 1931 (Reichsgesetzbl. 1932 I S. 2, 8), werden wie folgt geändert:

1.

§ 7 Abs. 4 erhält folgende Fassung:

„Die Eintragung ist nur zulässig, wenn der Arzt deutscher Reichsangehöriger und arischer Abstammung ist, sich im Besitze der bürgerlichen Ehrenrechte befindet, seit mindestens zwei Jahren ärztliche Tätigkeit ausübt und sich nicht im kommunistischen Sinne betätigt hat. Die nicht arische Abstammung ist kein Hindernis für die Eintragung, wenn die Ärzte am Weltkriege auf Seiten des Deutschen Reichs oder seiner Verbündeten teilgenommen haben oder wenn ihre Väter oder Söhne im Weltkriege gefallen sind.“

The services of "non-Aryan" and Communist panel physicians with the National Health Insurance are terminated. Future admission is granted only to physicians who are German nationals and of "Aryan" descent, who have been physicians for at least two years, and are not Communists. Admission may be granted to a "non-Aryan" physician if he has participated in the war of 1914-18 on the side of Germany or her allies, or if his father or son was killed during that war.

LAW AGAINST THE OVERCROWDING OF GERMAN SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES

April 25, 1933 (RGL I, p. 225)

Reichsgesetzblatt

Teil I

1933	Ausgegeben zu Berlin, den 26. April 1933	Nr. 43
Inhalt: Gesetz zur Änderung des Reichsschulhaltergesetzes. Vom 25. April 1933. S. 225 Gesetz gegen die Überfüllung deutscher Schulen und Hochschulen. Vom 25. April 1933. S. 225 Erlass über Ausfertigung und Verkündung der Landesgesetze, Beamtenernennungen und die Ausübung des Gnadenrechts in Preußen. Vom 25. April 1933. S. 226 Erste Verordnung zur Durchführung des Gesetzes gegen die Überfüllung deutscher Schulen und Hochschulen. Vom 25. April 1933. S. 226		

Gesetz gegen die Überfüllung deutscher Schulen und Hochschulen. Vom 25. April 1933.

Die Reichsregierung hat das folgende Gesetz beschlossen, das hiermit verkündet wird:

§ 1

Bei allen Schulen außer den Pflichtschulen und bei den Hochschulen ist die Zahl der Schüler und Studenten soweit zu beschränken, daß die gründliche Ausbildung gesichert und dem Bedarf der Berufe genügt ist.

§ 2

Die Landesregierungen setzen zu Beginn eines jeden Schuljahres fest, wie viele Schüler jede Schule und wie viele Studenten jede Fakultät neu aufnehmen darf.

§ 3

In denjenigen Schularten und Fakultäten, deren Besucherzahl in einem besonders starken Mißverhältnis zum Bedarf der Berufe steht, ist im Laufe des Schuljahres 1933 die Zahl der bereits aufgenommenen Schüler und Studenten soweit herabzusetzen, wie es ohne übermäßige Härten zur Herstellung eines angemesseneren Verhältnisses geschehen kann.

This law

1. limits the number of students, except in elementary schools, in proportion to the requirements of the various professions.
2. restricts the number of "non-Aryan" students in proportion to the percentage of "non-Aryans" in the German population.

The provisions do not apply to "non-Aryan" students whose fathers fought for Germany or her allies in the war of 1914-18. Also to "non-Aryan" students whose parents were married before the proclamation of this law, if one parent or two grandparents are of "Aryan" descent.

§ 4

Bei den Neuaufnahmen ist darauf zu achten, daß die Zahl der Reichsdeutschen, die im Sinne des Gesetzes zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums vom 7. April 1933 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 175) nicht arischer Abstammung sind, unter der Gesamtheit der Besucher jeder Schule und jeder Fakultät den Anteil der Nichtarier an der reichsdeutschen Bevölkerung nicht übersteigt. Die Anteilzahl wird einheitlich für das ganze Reichsgebiet festgesetzt.

Bei Herabsetzung der Zahl der Schüler und Studenten gemäß § 3 ist ebenfalls ein angemessenes Verhältnis zwischen der Gesamtheit der Besucher und der Zahl der Nichtarier herzustellen. Hierbei kann eine von der Anteilzahl abweichende höhere Verhältniszahl zugrundegelegt werden.

Abfälle 1 und 2 finden keine Anwendung auf Reichsdeutsche nicht arischer Abstammung, deren Väter im Weltkriege an der Front für das Deutsche Reich oder für seine Verbündeten gekämpft haben, sowie auf Abstammlinge aus Ehen, die vor dem Inkrafttreten dieses Gesetzes geschlossen sind, wenn ein Elternteil oder zwei Großeltern arischer Abkunft sind. Sie bleiben auch bei der Berechnung der Anteilzahl und der Verhältniszahl außer Ansatz.

LAW REGARDING EDITORS

October 4, 1933 (RGL I, p. 713)

713

Reichsgesetzblatt

Teil I

1933	Ausgegeben zu Berlin, den 7. Oktober 1933	Nr. 111
Inhalt: Schriftleitergesetz. Vom 4. Oktober 1933. S. 713 Verordnung zur Durchführung des Gebäudeinstandsetzungsgesetzes (BjG). Vom 2. Oktober 1933. S. 717 Dritte Verordnung zur Verhütung der Einschleppung des Kartoffelfäfers aus Frankreich. Vom 3. Oktober 1933. S. 719 Vierte Verordnung zur Durchführung der landwirtschaftlichen Schuldenregelung. Vom 5. Oktober 1933. S. 719		

Schriftleitergesetz. Vom 4. Oktober 1933.

Die Reichsregierung hat das folgende Gesetz beschlossen, das hiermit verkündet wird:

Erster Abschnitt

Schriftleiterberuf

§ 1

Die im Hauptberuf oder auf Grund der Bestellung zum Hauptschriftleiter ausgeübte Mitwirkung an der Gestaltung des geistigen Inhalts der im Reichsgebiet herausgegebenen Zeitungen und politischen Zeitschriften durch Wort, Nachricht oder Bild ist eine in ihren beruflichen Pflichten und Rechten vom Staat durch dieses Gesetz geregelte öffentliche Aufgabe. Ihre Träger heißen Schriftleiter. Niemand darf sich Schriftleiter nennen, der nicht nach diesem Gesetz dazu befugt ist.

§ 4

Mitwirkung an der Gestaltung des geistigen Inhalts deutscher Zeitungen liegt auch dann vor, wenn sie nicht im Betriebe einer Zeitung stattfindet, sondern bei einem Unternehmen, das zur Belieferung von Zeitungen mit geistigem Inhalt (Wort, Nachricht oder Bild) bestimmt ist.

Zweiter Abschnitt

Zulassung zum Schriftleiterberuf

§ 5

Schriftleiter kann nur sein, wer:

1. die deutsche Reichsangehörigkeit besitzt,
2. die bürgerlichen Ehrenrechte und die Fähigkeit zur Bekleidung öffentlicher Ämter nicht verloren hat,
3. arischer Abstammung ist und nicht mit einer Person von nichtarischer Abstammung verheiratet ist,
4. das 21. Lebensjahr vollendet hat,
5. geschäftsfähig ist,
6. fachmännisch ausgebildet ist,
7. die Eigenschaften hat, die die Aufgabe der geistigen Einwirkung auf die Öffentlichkeit erfordern.

Only such persons as authorized by this law can be editors. The functions of editors and others responsible for the contents of newspapers and political magazines within the Reich are considered a "public service," duties and privileges of which are regulated by this law.

Editors must be German citizens of "Aryan" descent, not married to a person of "non-Aryan" descent, and fulfill all other conditions laid down in the law.

LAW REGULATING PEASANT HOLDINGS

September 29, 1933 (RGL I, pp. 685 ff.)

Reichsgesetzblatt 685

Teil I

1933 | Ausgabe zu Berlin, den 30. September 1933 | Nr. 108

Inhalt: Reichserbhofgesetz. Vom 29. September 1933. S. 685

Reichserbhofgesetz. Vom 29. September 1933.

Die Reichsregierung will unter Sicherung alter deutscher Erbsitte das Bauerntum als Blutquelle des deutschen Volkes erhalten.

Die Bauernhöfe sollen vor Überschuldung und Zer splitterung im Erbgang geschützt werden, damit sie dauernd als Erbe der Sippe in der Hand freier Bauern verbleiben.

Es soll auf eine gesunde Verteilung der landwirtschaftlichen Besitzgrößen hingewirkt werden, da eine große Anzahl lebensfähiger kleiner und mittlerer Bauernhöfe, möglichst gleichmäßig über das ganze Land verteilt, die beste Gewähr für die Gesunderhaltung von Volk und Staat bildet.

Die Reichsregierung hat daher das folgende Gesetz beschlossen. Die Grundgedanken des Gesetzes sind:

Land- und forstwirtschaftlicher Besitz in der Größe von mindestens einer Vternahrung und von höchstens 125 Hektar ist Erbhof, wenn er einer bauernfähigen Person gehört.

Der Eigentümer des Erbhofs heißt Bauer.

Bauer kann nur sein, wer deutscher Staatsbürger, deutschen oder stammesgleichen Blutes und ehbar ist.

Der Erbhof geht ungeteilt auf den Auerben über.

Die Rechte der Miterben beschränken sich auf das übrige Vermögen des Bauern. Nicht als Auerben berufene Abstammlinge erhalten eine den Kräften des Hofes entsprechende Berufsausbildung und Ausstattung; geraten sie unverschuldet in Not, so wird ihnen die Heimatzuflucht gewährt.

Das Auerbenerbe kann durch Verfügung von Todes wegen nicht ausgeschlossen oder beschränkt werden.

Der Erbhof ist grundsätzlich unveräußerlich und unbelastbar.

Das Gesetz wird hiermit verkündet:

2. Abschnitt

Der Bauer

§ 11

Begriff

(1) Nur der Eigentümer eines Erbhofs heißt Bauer.

(2) Der Eigentümer oder Besitzer anderen land- oder forstwirtschaftlich genutzten Grundeigentums heißt Landwirt.

(3) Andere Bezeichnungen für Eigentümer oder Besitzer land- oder forstwirtschaftlich genutzten Grundeigentums sind unzulässig.

(4) Die Berufsbezeichnung der Eigentümer im Grundbuch ist allmählich entsprechend zu ändern.

§ 12

Erfordernis der deutschen Staatsangehörigkeit

Bauer kann nur sein, wer die deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit besitzt.

§ 13

Erfordernis deutschen oder stammesgleichen Blutes

(1) Bauer kann nur sein, wer deutschen oder stammesgleichen Blutes ist.

(2) Deutschen oder stammesgleichen Blutes ist nicht, wer unter seinen Vorfahren väterlicher- oder mütterlicherseits jüdisches oder farbiges Blut hat.

(3) Stichtag für das Vorhandensein der Voraussetzungen des Abs. 1 ist der 1. Januar 1800. Ist zweifelhaft, ob die Voraussetzungen des Abs. 1 gegeben sind, so entscheidet hierüber auf Antrag des Eigentümers oder des Kreisbauernführers das Auerbengericht.

The preamble states that this law intends to preserve the German peasantry as the "source of life" (*Blutquelle*) of the German people.

The law defines hereditary land holdings for peasants. Only a person who is a German citizen and of German or cognate blood can be a peasant. The homestead, of a size fixed by law, can be neither sold nor mortgaged, and can be bequeathed under certain conditions only.

The second part of the law gives a very detailed definition of the meaning of "peasant" (*Bauer*) as distinguished from farmer (*Landwirt*). It repeats that only a person of German or cognate blood can be a peasant. Of German or cognate blood is a person who has among his maternal or paternal ancestors no person of Jewish or Negro blood. Investigation regarding ancestry must go back to January 1, 1800.

LAW REGARDING THE REVOCATION OF NATURALIZATION AND THE ANNULMENT OF GERMAN CITIZENSHIP

July 14, 1933 (RGL I, p. 480)

480

Reichsgesetzblatt, Jahrgang 1933, Teil I

Gesetz über den Widerruf von Einbürgerungen und die Aberkennung der deutschen Staatsangehörigkeit.

Vom 14. Juli 1933.

Die Reichsregierung hat das folgende Gesetz beschlossen, das hiermit verkündet wird:

§ 1

Einbürgerungen, die in der Zeit zwischen dem 9. November 1918 und dem 30. Januar 1933 vorgenommen worden sind, können widerrufen werden, falls die Einbürgerung nicht als erwünscht anzusehen ist.

Durch den Widerruf verlieren außer dem Eingebürgerten selbst auch diejenigen Personen die deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit, die sie ohne die Einbürgerung nicht erworben hätten.

Der Widerruf wird wirksam mit der Zustellung der Widerrufsverfügung oder mit dem Zeitpunkt seiner Veröffentlichung im Reichsanzeiger.

Der Widerruf liegt den Landesbehörden, bei unmittelsbaren Reichsangehörigen dem zuständigen Reichsminister ob.

Diese Vorschrift tritt mit dem Ablauf von 2 Jahren seit ihrer Verkündung außer Kraft.

§ 2

Reichsangehörige, die sich im Ausland aufhalten, können der deutschen Staatsangehörigkeit für verlustig erklärt werden, sofern sie durch ein Verhalten, das gegen die Pflicht zur Treue gegen Reich und Volk verstößt, die deutschen Belange geschädigt haben. Das gleiche gilt für Reichsangehörige, die einer Rückkehraufforderung nicht Folge leisten, die der Reichsminister des Innern unter Hinweis auf diese Vorschrift an sie gerichtet hat. Bei der Einleitung des Aberkennungsverfahrens oder bei Erlass der Rückkehraufforderung kann ihr Vermögen beschlagnahmt, nach Aberkennung der deutschen Staatsangehörigkeit als dem Reiche verfallen erklärt wer-

den. Die Beschlagnahme des Vermögens endigt spätestens mit dem Ablauf von 2 Jahren, falls es nicht vorher als dem Reiche verfallen erklärt wird.

Diese Maßnahmen können auch gegenüber Reichsangehörigen im Saargebiet getroffen werden, die in der Zeit nach dem 30. Januar 1933 ihren Aufenthalt dorthin verlegt haben.

Die Entscheidung trifft der Reichsminister des Innern im Einvernehmen mit dem Reichsminister des Auswärtigen in der Regel nach Anhörung der Regierungen der beteiligten Länder; als beteiligt gelten das Land, dem der Reichsangehörige angehört, und diejenigen Länder, in denen er innerhalb der letzten Jahre seine dauernde Niederlassung gehabt hat.

Der Reichsminister des Innern im Einvernehmen mit dem Reichsminister des Auswärtigen beschließt im einzelnen Falle, inwieweit sich der Verlust der deutschen Staatsangehörigkeit auf den Ehegatten, auf die ehelichen oder an Kindesstatt angenommenen Kinder, bei Frauen auf die unehelichen Kinder erstreckt.

Die Aberkennung der Staatsangehörigkeit wird mit der Verkündung der Entscheidung im Reichsanzeiger wirksam.

§ 3

Der Reichsminister des Innern kann im Einvernehmen mit den Reichsministern des Auswärtigen und der Finanzen Rechts- und Verwaltungsvorschriften zur Ausführung dieses Gesetzes erlassen.

Berlin, den 14. Juli 1933.

Der Reichskanzler

Adolf Hitler

Der Reichsminister des Innern

Fried

Der Reichsminister des Auswärtigen

Freiherr von Neurath

Der Reichsminister der Finanzen

Graf Schwerin von Krosigk

Naturalizations granted between November 9, 1918* and January 30, 1933** may be revoked, if considered undesirable.

The citizenship of Reich citizens residing abroad may be annulled if these citizens "impair German interests by their conduct," or if they "disregard a request by the Reich Minister of the Interior to return." The property of such persons will be forfeited to the Reich, after annulment of citizenship has been pronounced.

The Minister of the Interior and the Minister of Foreign Affairs decide in each particular case how far the loss of German citizenship shall affect the husband or wife, the legitimate, adopted or illegitimate children.

* The day of the proclamation of the German Republic.

** The date of the Nazis' seizure of power.

DECREE SUPPLEMENTING THE LAW REGARDING THE
REVOCATION OF NATURALIZATION AND THE ANNUL-
MENT OF GERMAN CITIZENSHIP

July 26, 1933 (RGL I, p. 538)

538

Reichsgesetzblatt, Jahrgang 1933, Teil I

4. In der Tarifar. 443 (Baumwollengarn, zwei- oder mehrfädig, wiederholt gesponnen) sind die Zoll-

Verordnung zur Durchführung des Gesetzes über den Widerruf von Einbürgerungen und die Aberkennung der deutschen Staatsangehörigkeit.

Vom 26. Juli 1933.

Auf Grund des § 3 des Gesetzes über den Widerruf von Einbürgerungen und die Aberkennung der deutschen Staatsangehörigkeit vom 14. Juli 1933 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 480) wird im Einvernehmen mit den Reichsministern des Auswärtigen und der Finanzen hiermit verordnet:

Zu § 1. I.

Ob eine Einbürgerung als nicht erwünscht anzusehen ist, beurteilt sich nach völkisch-nationalen Grundsätzen. Im Vordergrund stehen die rassischen, staatsbürgerlichen und kulturellen Gesichtspunkte für

eine den Belangen von Reich und Volk zuträglichste Vermehrung der deutschen Bevölkerung durch Einbürgerung. Dabei sind außer Umständen aus der Zeit vor der Einbürgerung vor allem auch Umstände zu berücksichtigen, die in die Zeit nach der Einbürgerung fallen.

Hiernach kommen für den Widerruf der Einbürgerung insbesondere in Betracht:

- a) Personen, es sei denn, daß sie auf deutscher Seite im Weltkriege an der Front gekämpft oder sich um die deutschen Belange besonders verdient gemacht haben;
- b) Personen, die nach einem schweren Verbrechen

THE REICH LAW ON CITIZENSHIP

September 15, 1935 (RGL I, p. 1146)

1146

Reichsgesetzblatt, Jahrgang 1935, Teil I

Reichsbürgergesetz.

Vom 15. September 1935.

Der Reichstag hat einstimmig das folgende Gesetz beschlossen, das hiermit verkündet wird:

§ 1

(1) Staatsangehöriger ist, wer dem Schutzverband des Deutschen Reiches angehört und ihm dafür besonders verpflichtet ist.

(2) Die Staatsangehörigkeit wird nach den Vorschriften des Reichs- und Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetzes erworben.

§ 2

(1) Reichsbürger ist nur der Staatsangehörige deutschen oder artverwandten Blutes, der durch sein Verhalten beweist, daß er gewillt und geeignet ist, in Treue dem Deutschen Volk und Reich zu dienen.

(2) Das Reichsbürgerrecht wird durch Verleihung des Reichsbürgerbriefes erworben.

(3) Der Reichsbürger ist der alleinige Träger der vollen politischen Rechte nach Maßgabe der Gesetze.

§ 3

Der Reichsminister des Innern erläßt im Einvernehmen mit dem Stellvertreter des Führers die zur Durchführung und Ergänzung des Gesetzes erforderlichen Rechts- und Verwaltungsvorschriften.

München, den 15. September 1935,
am Reichsparteitag der Freiheit.

Der Führer und Reichskanzler

Adolf Hitler

Der Reichsminister des Innern

Frick

Distinction is made between *Staatsangehöriger* or German subject, and *Reichsbuerger* or citizen of the Reich. Only a person of German or cognate blood whose attitude proves that he is willing and able to serve faithfully the German people and the Reich, can be a *Reichsbuerger*. Only the *Reichsbuerger* has full political rights.

THE LAW FOR THE PROTECTION OF GERMAN BLOOD
AND HONOR

September 15, 1935 (RGL I, pp. 1146-7)

Gesetz zum Schutze des deutschen Blutes und der deutschen Ehre.

Vom 15. September 1935.

Durchdrungen von der Erkenntnis, daß die Reinheit des deutschen Blutes die Voraussetzung für den Fortbestand des Deutschen Volkes ist, und befeuert von dem unbeugsamen Willen, die Deutsche Nation für alle Zukunft zu sichern, hat der Reichstag einstimmig das folgende Gesetz beschlossen, das hiermit verkündet wird:

§ 1

- (1) Eheschließungen zwischen Juden und Staatsangehörigen deutschen oder artverwandten Blutes sind verboten. Trotzdem geschlossene Ehen sind nichtig, auch wenn sie zur Umgehung dieses Gesetzes im Ausland geschlossen sind.
- (2) Die Richtigkeitsklage kann nur der Staatsanwalt erheben.

Mr. 100 — Tag der Ausgabe: Berlin, den 16. September 1935 1147

§ 2

Außerehelicher Verkehr zwischen Juden und Staatsangehörigen deutschen oder artverwandten Blutes ist verboten.

§ 3

Juden dürfen weibliche Staatsangehörige deutschen oder artverwandten Blutes unter 45 Jahren in ihrem Haushalt nicht beschäftigen.

§ 4

- (1) Juden ist das Führen der Reichs- und Nationalflagge und das Zeigen der Reichsfarben verboten.
- (2) Dagegen ist ihnen das Zeigen der jüdischen Farben gestattet. Die Ausübung dieser Befugnis steht unter staatlichem Schutz.

§ 5

- (1) Wer dem Verbot des § 1 zuwiderhandelt, wird mit Zuchthaus bestraft.
- (2) Der Mann, der dem Verbot des § 2 zuwiderhandelt, wird mit Gefängnis oder mit Zuchthaus bestraft.
- (3) Wer den Bestimmungen der §§ 3 oder 4 zuwiderhandelt, wird mit Gefängnis bis zu einem Jahr und mit Geldstrafe oder mit einer dieser Strafen bestraft.

§ 6

Der Reichsminister des Innern erläßt im Einvernehmen mit dem Stellvertreter des Führers und dem Reichsminister der Justiz die zur Durchführung und Ergänzung des Gesetzes erforderlichen Rechts- und Verwaltungsvorschriften.

§ 7

Das Gesetz tritt am Tage nach der Verkündung, § 3 jedoch erst am 1. Januar 1936 in Kraft.

Nürnberg, den 15. September 1935,
am Reichsparteitag der Freiheit.

Der Führer und Reichskanzler
Adolf Hitler

Der Reichsminister des Innern
Frid

Der Reichsminister der Justiz
Dr. Görtner

Der Stellvertreter des Führers
R. Heß
Reichsminister ohne Geschäftsbereich

The preamble states that the law is intended "to conserve the purity of German blood."

Marriages as well as extra-marital relations between Jews and persons of German or cognate blood are forbidden.

Jews may not employ in their homes female persons of German or cognate blood under 45 years of age.

Jews are not allowed to display the colors of the Reich or to hoist the national flag.

Severe penalties will be imposed for violation of this law.

FIRST DECREE SUPPLEMENTING THE REICH LAW ON CITIZENSHIP

November 14, 1935 (RGL I, pp. 1333 f.)

1333

Reichsgesetzblatt

Teil I

1935	Ausgegeben zu Berlin, den 14. November 1935	Nr. 125
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Erste Verordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz.

Vom 14. November 1935.

Auf Grund des § 3 des Reichsbürgergesetzes vom 15. September 1935 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 1146) wird folgendes verordnet:

§ 2

(1) Die Vorschriften des § 1 gelten auch für die staatsangehörigen jüdischen Mischlinge.

(2) Jüdischer Mischling ist, wer von einem oder zwei der Rasse nach volljüdischen Großeltern abstammt, sofern er nicht nach § 5 Abs. 2 als Jude gilt. Als volljüdisch gilt ein Großelternstamm ohne weiteres, wenn er der jüdischen Religionsgemeinschaft angehört hat.

§ 3

Nur der Reichsbürger kann als Träger der vollen politischen Rechte das Stimmrecht in politischen Angelegenheiten ausüben und ein öffentliches Amt bekleiden. Der Reichsminister des Innern oder die von ihm ermächtigte Stelle kann für die Übergangszeit Ausnahmen für die Zulassung zu öffentlichen Ämtern gestatten. Die Angelegenheiten der Religionsgesellschaften werden nicht berührt.

§ 4

(1) Ein Jude kann nicht Reichsbürger sein. Ihm steht ein Stimmrecht in politischen Angelegenheiten nicht zu; er kann ein öffentliches Amt nicht bekleiden.

(2) Jüdische Beamte treten mit Ablauf des 31. Dezember 1935 in den Ruhestand. Wenn diese Beamten im Weltkrieg an der Front für das Deutsche Reich oder für seine Verbündeten gekämpft haben, erhalten sie, bis zur Erreichung der Altersgrenze als Ruhegehalt die vollen zuletzt bezogenen ruhegehaltfähigen Dienstbezüge; sie steigen jedoch nicht in Dienstaltersstufen auf. Nach Erreichung der Altersgrenze wird ihr Ruhegehalt nach den letzten ruhegehaltfähigen Dienstbezügen neu berechnet.

(3) Die Angelegenheiten der Religionsgesellschaften werden nicht berührt.

(4) Das Dienstverhältnis der Lehrer an öffentlichen jüdischen Schulen bleibt bis zur Neuordnung des jüdischen Schulwesens unberührt.

§ 5

(1) Jude ist, wer von mindestens drei der Rasse nach volljüdischen Großeltern abstammt. § 2 Abs. 2 Satz 2 findet Anwendung.

(2) Als Jude gilt auch der von zwei volljüdischen Großeltern abstammende staatsangehörige jüdische Mischling,

a) der beim Erlass des Gesetzes der jüdischen Religionsgemeinschaft angehört hat oder danach in sie aufgenommen wird,

b) der beim Erlass des Gesetzes mit einem Juden verheiratet war oder sich danach mit einem solchen verheiratet,

c) der aus einer Ehe mit einem Juden im Sinne des Absatzes 1 stammt, die nach dem Inkrafttreten des Gesetzes zum Schutze des deutschen Blutes und der deutschen Ehre vom 15. September 1935 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 1146) geschlossen ist,

d) der aus dem außerehelichen Verkehr mit einem Juden im Sinne des Absatzes 1 stammt und nach dem 31. Juli 1936 außerehelich geboren wird.

A "Jewish hybrid" (*Mischling*) is the descendant of one or two racially "full-Jewish" grandparents. A grandparent is considered "full-Jewish" if he was a member of the Jewish religious community.

Only a citizen of the Reich (*Reichsbuerger*) can have full political rights including the right to vote; only he can be a civil servant.

A Jew cannot be a *Reichsbuerger*. He does not have the right to vote, nor can he be a civil servant.

Jewish officials must be retired by December 31, 1935. If they have fought in the frontlines for Germany or her allies during the war (1914-18), they may be pensioned.

Paragraph 5 defines a Jew as the descendant of three racially "full-Jewish" grandparents.

The "Jewish hybrid" with two "full-Jewish" grandparents is also considered a Jew

1. if he was a member of the Jewish religious community when the Reich Law on Citizenship was proclaimed, or if he has become a member after proclamation of the law;

2. if he was married to a Jewish person when this law was proclaimed, or if he marries a Jewish person after proclamation of the law;

3. if he is the descendant of a marriage with a Jewish person which was contracted after the "Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honor" was proclaimed;

4. if he is the offspring of extra-marital relations with a Jewish person and born after July 31, 1936.

FIRST DECREE SUPPLEMENTING THE LAW FOR THE PROTECTION OF GERMAN BLOOD AND HONOR

November 14, 1935 (RGL I, pp. 1334 ff.)

Nr. 125 — Tag der Ausgabe: Berlin, den 14. November 1935

1935

Erste Verordnung

zur Ausführung des Gesetzes zum Schutze
des deutschen Blutes und der deutschen Ehre.

Vom 14. November 1935.

Auf Grund des § 6 des Gesetzes zum Schutze des
deutschen Blutes und der deutschen Ehre vom
15. September 1935 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 1146)
wird folgendes verordnet:

§ 2

Zu den nach § 1 des Gesetzes verbotenen Ehe-
schließungen gehören auch die Eheschließungen
zwischen Juden und staatsangehörigen jüdischen
Mischlingen, die nur einen volljüdischen Großeltern-
teil haben.

§ 3

(1) Staatsangehörige jüdische Mischlinge mit zwei
volljüdischen Großeltern bedürfen zur Eheschließung
mit staatsangehörigen deutschen oder artverwandten
Blutes oder mit staatsangehörigen jüdischen Misch-
lingen, die nur einen volljüdischen Großeltern-
teil haben, der Genehmigung des Reichsministers des
Innern und des Stellvertreters des Führers oder der
von ihnen bestimmten Stelle.

(2) Bei der Entscheidung sind insbesondere zu be-
rücksichtigen die körperlichen, seelischen und charak-
terlichen Eigenschaften des Antragstellers, die Dauer
der Ansässigkeit seiner Familie in Deutschland, seine
oder seines Vaters Teilnahme am Weltkrieg und
seine sonstige Familiengeschichte.

(3) Der Antrag auf Genehmigung ist bei der
höheren Verwaltungsbehörde zu stellen, in deren Be-
zirke der Antragsteller seinen Wohnsitz oder gewöhn-
lichen Aufenthalt hat.

(4) Das Verfahren regelt der Reichsminister des
Innern im Einvernehmen mit dem Stellvertreter
des Führers.

§ 4

Eine Ehe soll nicht geschlossen werden zwischen
staatsangehörigen jüdischen Mischlingen, die nur
einen volljüdischen Großeltern-
teil haben.

§ 11

Außerehelicher Verkehr im Sinne des § 2 des
Gesetzes ist nur der Geschlechtsverkehr. Strafbar
nach § 5 Abs. 2 des Gesetzes ist auch der außereheliche
Verkehr zwischen Juden und staatsangehörigen
jüdischen Mischlingen, die nur einen volljüdischen
Großeltern-
teil haben.

§ 12

(1) Ein Haushalt ist jüdisch (§ 3 des Gesetzes),
wenn ein jüdischer Mann Haushaltsvorstand ist
oder der Hausgemeinschaft angehört.

(2) Im Haushalt beschäftigt ist, wer im Rahmen
eines Arbeitsverhältnisses in die Hausgemeinschaft
aufgenommen ist, oder wer mit alltäglichen Haus-
haltsarbeiten oder anderen alltäglichen, mit dem
Haushalt in Verbindung stehenden Arbeiten
beschäftigt ist.

Marriages forbidden by law (in addition to those forbidden by the
“Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honor” itself) include
those between Jewish persons and “Jewish hybrids” with only one
“full-Jewish” grandparent.

“Jewish hybrids” with two “full-Jewish” grandparents must obtain
permission from the Reich Minister of the Interior and the Deputy of
the Fuehrer for a marriage with a person of German or cognate blood
or with a “hybrid” who has only one “full-Jewish” grandparent.

The following considerations should enter into the decision whether
to grant this permission: the physical, psychological and character
qualities of the petitioner; how long the family has lived in Ger-
many; if he or his (her) father participated in the war (1914–18), and
other facts of his (her) family history.

A marriage may not be contracted between two “Jewish hybrids”
with only one “full-Jewish” grandparent.

Paragraph 11 defines extra-marital relations within the meaning of
the law, and makes such relations between Jews and “Aryans,” and be-
tween Jews and “Jewish hybrids” with only one “full-Jewish” grand-
parent a criminal offense.

LAW ON THE LEGAL STATUS OF JEWISH COMMUNITIES

March 28, 1938 (RGL I, p. 338)

338

Reichsgesetzblatt, Jahrgang 1938, Teil I

Gesetz über die Rechtsverhältnisse der jüdischen Kultusvereinigungen.

Som 28. März 1938.

Die Reichsregierung hat das folgende Gesetz beschlossen, das hiermit verkündet wird:

§ 1

(1) Die jüdischen Kultusvereinigungen und ihre Verbände erlangen die Rechtsfähigkeit durch Eintragung in das Vereinsregister.

(2) Mit Ablauf des 31. März 1938 verlieren die jüdischen Kultusvereinigungen und ihre Verbände die Stellung von Körperschaften des öffentlichen Rechts, soweit sie diese bisher besaßen. Sie sind von diesem Zeitpunkt an rechtsfähige Vereine des bürgerlichen Rechts. Die Eintragung in das Vereinsregister ist nachzuholen.

§ 2

Die Beamten der im § 1 Abs. 2 genannten Vereinigungen und Verbände verlieren mit Ablauf des 31. März 1938 ihre Beamteneigenschaft. Sie treten mit demselben Zeitpunkt zu den Vereinigungen und Verbänden in ein bürgerlich-rechtliches Dienstverhältnis, auf das die bisherige Regelung ihrer Rechte und Pflichten entsprechende Anwendung findet.

§ 3

(1) Der Genehmigung durch die höhere Verwaltungsbehörde bedürfen:

Beschlüsse der Organe der jüdischen Kultusvereinigungen und ihrer Verbände

a) bei Bildung, Veränderung und Auflösung der Vereinigungen und Verbände,

b) bei Veräußerungen oder wesentlichen Veränderungen von Gegenständen, die einen geschichtlichen, wissenschaftlichen oder Kunstwert haben, insbesondere von Archiven oder Teilen von solchen.

(2) Die höhere Verwaltungsbehörde kann gegen die Berufung der Mitglieder der Organe der jüdischen Kultusvereinigungen und ihrer Verbände Einspruch erheben.

§ 4

Der Reichsminister für die kirchlichen Angelegenheiten kann zur Durchführung und Ergänzung dieses Gesetzes im Einvernehmen mit dem Reichsminister des Innern Rechts- und Verwaltungsvorschriften erlassen.

§ 5

(1) Das Gesetz tritt mit Wirkung vom 1. Januar 1938 in Kraft.

(2) Mit diesem Zeitpunkt treten entgegenstehende Bestimmungen außer Kraft.

(3) Die Inkraftsetzung dieses Gesetzes für das Land Österreich bleibt vorbehalten.

Berlin, den 28. März 1938.

As of March 31, 1938, Jewish communities lose their status as "corporations of public law." Henceforth they are to be regarded as "private associations."

Officials of Jewish communities lose their civil service status as of March 31, 1938.

Resolutions of Jewish communities regarding their formation, change or dissolution, and resolutions concerning the disposal of or substantial changes in property of historical, scientific or artistic value, especially archives, must be approved by government authorities.

DECREE AGAINST AIDING IN CONCEALMENT OF OWNERSHIP OF JEWISH ENTERPRISES

April 22, 1938 (RGL I, p. 404)

404

Reichsgesetzblatt, Jahrgang 1938, Teil I

§ 3

Vermögensgegenstände.

Der Ernach einem der Finanz

Die Verantand Österreich Bezirk I in WiBerlin.

Verordnung gegen die Unterstützung der Tarnung jüdischer Gewerbebetriebe.
Som 22. April 1938.
Auf Grund der Verordnung zur Durchführung des Vierjahresplanes vom 18. Oktober 1936 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 887) verordne ich folgendes:

§ 1

Ein deutscher Staatsangehöriger, der aus eigenem Willen einen Gewerbebetrieb zur Irreführung des Charakters eines Gewerbebetriebes zur Irreführung der Bevölkerung oder der Behörden bewußt zu verführen sucht, wird mit Zuchthaus, in weniger schweren Fällen mit Gefängnis, jedoch nicht unter einem Jahr, und mit Geldstrafe bestraft.

§ 2

Ebenso wird bestraft, wer für einen Juden ein Rechtsgeschäft schließt und dabei unter Irreführung des anderen Teils die Tatsache, daß er für einen Juden tätig ist, verschweigt.

§ 3

Diese Verordnung tritt mit dem Tage ihrer Verkündung in Kraft.

Berlin, den 22. April 1938.

Der Beauftragte für den Vierjahresplan
Göring
Generalfeldmarschall

gehörige des Deutschen Reichs, vor 1938 österreichische Bundesbürger sind, im Altreichsgebiet

§ 5

Die des Deutschen Reichs, die am 1. Januar 1938 österreichische Bundesbürger gewesen sind, gelten die Vorschriften der Reichsfluchtsteuer vom 8. Dezember 1937 (I S. 699) mit ihren späteren Änderungen im Altreichsgebiet für den Steuerzweck.

Any German citizen who "for selfish reasons" aids in concealing the Jewish ownership of a business enterprise for the purpose of misleading the public or officials, will be subject to a minimum of one year imprisonment and a fine.

The same penalty is provided for any person contracting for a Jew and concealing this fact in order to mislead the partner to the contract.

DECREE REGARDING THE REGISTRATION OF JEWISH PROPERTY

April 26, 1938 (RGL I, p. 414)

414

Reichsgesetzblatt, Jahrgang 1938, Teil I

Verordnung über die Anmeldung des Vermögens von Juden.

Vom 26. April 1938.

Auf Grund der Verordnung zur Durchführung des Vierjahresplans vom 18. Oktober 1936 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 887) wird folgendes verordnet:

§ 1

(1) Jeder Jude (§ 5 der Ersten Verordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz vom 14. November 1935 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 1333)) hat sein gesamtes in- und ausländisches Vermögen nach dem Stande vom Tage des Inkrafttretens dieser Verordnung gemäß den folgenden Bestimmungen anzumelden und zu bewerten. Juden fremder Staatsangehörigkeit haben nur ihr inländisches Vermögen anzumelden und zu bewerten.

(2) Die Anmelde- und Bewertungspflicht trifft auch den nichtjüdischen Ehegatten eines Juden.

(3) Für jede anmeldspflichtige Person ist das Vermögen getrennt anzugeben.

§ 2

(1) Das Vermögen im Sinne dieser Verordnung umfasst das gesamte Vermögen des Anmeldspflichtigen ohne Rücksicht darauf, ob es von irgendeiner Steuer befreit ist oder nicht.

(2) Zum Vermögen gehören nicht bewegliche Gegenstände, die ausschließlich zum persönlichen Gebrauch des Anmeldpflichtigen bestimmt sind, und der Hausrat, soweit sie nicht Gegenstände sind.

(1) Jeder Vermögensbestandteil ist in der Anmeldung mit dem gemeinen Wert anzugeben, den er am Tage des Inkrafttretens dieser Verordnung hat.

On a form issued by the administrative authorities, every Jew must register and evaluate his entire domestic and foreign holdings in excess of 5,000 Reichsmark. Changes occurring after registration, increases as well as decreases, must be reported.

Only objects for personal use and household objects, unless they are luxuries, are excepted.

The property of the non-Jewish wife or husband of a Jewish person must also be registered and evaluated.

Each person must file a separate registration return.

Jews of foreign nationality must register and evaluate their German holdings only.

(2) Die Anmeldspflicht entfällt, wenn der Gesamtwert des anmeldpflichtigen Vermögens ohne Berücksichtigung der Verbindlichkeiten 5000 Reichsmark nicht übersteigt.

§ 4

Die Anmeldung ist unter Benützung eines amtlichen Modells bis zum 30. Juni 1938 bei der für den Wohnsitz des Anmeldenden zuständigen höheren Verwaltungsbehörde abzugeben. Wenn im Einzelfall aus besonderen Gründen eine vollständige Anmeldung und Bewertung des Vermögens bis zu diesem Tage nicht möglich ist, so kann die höhere Verwaltungsbehörde die Anmeldefrist verlängern; in diesem Falle ist jedoch bis zum 30. Juni 1938 unter Angabe der Hinderungsgründe das Vermögen schätzungsweise anzugeben und zu bewerten.

§ 5

(1) Der Anmeldpflichtige hat der höheren Verwaltungsbehörde unverzüglich jede Veränderung (Erhöhung oder Verminderung) seines Vermögens anzuzeigen, die nach dem Inkrafttreten der Verordnung eintritt, sofern die Vermögensveränderung über den Rahmen einer angemessenen Lebensführung oder des regelmäßigen Geschäftsverkehrs hinausgeht.

(2) Die Anzeigepflicht gilt auch für diejenigen Juden, die beim Inkrafttreten der Verordnung nicht zur Anmeldung und Bewertung verpflichtet sind, aber nach diesem Zeitpunkt Vermögen im Werte von mehr als 5000 Reichsmark erwerben. § 1 Abs. 1 Satz 2, Abs. 2 und 3 gelten entsprechend.

THIRD NOTICE REGARDING IDENTIFICATION CARDS

July 23, 1938 (RGL I, p. 922)

922

Reichsgesetzblatt, Jahrgang 1938, Teil I

Dritte Bekanntmachung über den Kennkartenzwang.

Vom 23. Juli 1938.

Auf Grund der Verordnung über Kennkarten vom 22. Juli 1938 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 913) bestimme ich im Einvernehmen mit dem Reichsminister der Justiz folgendes:

§ 1

Juden (§ 5 der Ersten Verordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz vom 14. November 1935 — Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 1333), die deutsche Staatsangehörige sind, haben unter Hinweis auf ihre Eigenschaft als Jude bis zum

Jews who are German subjects have to apply for identification cards by December 31, 1938. They must expressly state the fact that they are Jewish. All Jews over 15 years of age must carry this card at all times. In dealings with government officials and Nazi Party functionaries, Jews must not only show their identification cards without being asked to do so, they must also expressly state that they are Jewish. A person representing a Jew must point out this fact. Heavy punishment is provided for violation of these provisions.

31. Dezember 1938 bei der zuständigen Polizeibehörde die Ausstellung einer Kennkarte zu beantragen. Für Juden, die nach dem Inkrafttreten dieser Bekanntmachung geboren werden, ist der Antrag innerhalb von drei Monaten nach der Geburt zu stellen.

§ 2

Juden (§ 1) über 15 Jahre haben sich, sobald sie eine Kennkarte erhalten haben, auf amtliches Erfordern jederzeit über ihre Person durch ihre Kennkarte auszuweisen.

§ 3

(1) Juden (§ 1) haben, sobald sie eine Kennkarte erhalten haben, bei Anträgen, die sie an amtliche oder parteiamtliche Dienststellen richten, unaufgefordert auf ihre Eigenschaft als Jude hinzuweisen sowie Kennort und Kennnummer ihrer Kennkarte anzugeben oder, falls die Anträge mündlich gestellt werden, unaufgefordert ihre Kennkarte vorzulegen. Das gleiche gilt für jede Art von Anfragen und Eingaben, die Juden an amtliche oder parteiamtliche Dienststellen richten, sowie bei der polizeilichen Meldung.

(2) Wird in den Fällen des Abs. 1 ein Jude durch eine dritte Person vertreten, so hat der Vertreter unaufgefordert auf die Eigenschaft des Vertretenen als Jude hinzuweisen sowie Kennort und Kennnummer der Kennkarte des Vertretenen anzugeben.

§ 4

Zu widerhandlungen gegen die Bestimmungen der §§ 1 bis 3 sind als besonders schwere Fälle im Sinne des § 13 Abs. 3 der Verordnung über Kennkarten vom 22. Juli 1938 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 913) anzusehen.

§ 5

Diese Bekanntmachung tritt am 1. Oktober 1938 in Kraft.

Berlin, den 23. Juli 1938.

Der Reichsminister des Innern
Fritz

SECOND DECREE SUPPLEMENTING THE LAW REGARDING THE CHANGE OF FAMILY NAMES

August 17, 1938 (RGL I, p. 1044)

1044

Reichsgesetzblatt, Jahrgang 1938, Teil I

Zweite Verordnung

zur Durchführung des Gesetzes über die Änderung von Familiennamen und Vornamen*.)

Vom 17. August 1938.

Auf Grund des § 13 des Gesetzes über die Änderung von Familiennamen und Vornamen vom 5. Januar 1938 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 114) wird folgendes verordnet:

§ 1

(1) Juden dürfen nur solche Vornamen beigelegt werden, die in den vom Reichsminister des Innern herausgegebenen Richtlinien über die Führung von Vornamen aufgeführt sind.

(2) Abs. 1 gilt nicht für Juden, die eine fremde Staatsangehörigkeit besitzen.

§ 2

(1) Soweit Juden andere Vornamen führen, als sie nach § 1 Juden beigelegt werden dürfen, müssen sie vom 1. Januar 1939 ab zusätzlich einen weiteren Vornamen annehmen, und zwar männliche Personen den Vornamen Israel, weibliche Personen den Vornamen Sara.

(2) Wer nach Abs. 1 einen zusätzlichen Vornamen annehmen muß, ist verpflichtet, hiervon innerhalb eines Monats seit dem Zeitpunkt, von dem ab er den zusätzlichen Vornamen führen muß, dem Standesbeamten, bei dem seine Geburt und seine Heirat beurkundet sind, sowie der für seinen Wohnsitz oder gewöhnlichen Aufenthaltsort zuständigen Ortspolizeibehörde schriftlich Anzeige zu erstatten.

(3) Ist die Geburt oder die Heirat des

Jews are allowed certain first names only, as enumerated in a special list authorized by the Reich Minister of the Interior. Jewish persons with first names different from those listed must register and use as signature the first name "Israel" (for men) and "Sara" (for women), in addition to their own names.

gebiet beurkundet, so ist die dem Standesbeamten zu erstattende Anzeige an den Standesbeamten des Standesamts I in Berlin zu richten. Hat der Anzeigepflichtige seinen Wohnsitz oder gewöhnlichen Aufenthalt im Ausland, so ist die im Abs. 2 Satz 1 vorgesehene Anzeige an Stelle der Ortspolizeibehörde dem zuständigen deutschen Konsul zu erstatten.

(1) Bei geschäftsunfähigen und in der Geschäftsfähigkeit beschränkten Personen trifft die Verpflichtung zur Anzeige den gesetzlichen Vertreter. . .

§ 3

Sofern es im Rechts- und Geschäftsverkehr üblich ist, den Namen anzugeben, müssen Juden stets auch wenigstens einen ihrer Vornamen führen. Sind sie nach § 2 zur Annahme eines zusätzlichen Vornamens verpflichtet, ist auch dieser Vorname zu führen. Die Vorschriften über die Führung einer Handelsfirma werden hierdurch nicht berührt.

§ 4

(1) Wer der Vorschrift des § 3 vorsätzlich zuwiderhandelt, wird mit Gefängnis bis zu sechs Monaten bestraft. Verzußt die Zuwiderhandlung auf Fahrlässigkeit, so ist die Strafe Gefängnis bis zu einem Monat.

(2) Wer die im § 2 vorgeschriebene Anzeige vor-

FOURTH DECREE SUPPLEMENTING THE REICH LAW ON CITIZENSHIP

July 25, 1938 (RGL I, p. 969)

Nr. 122 — Tag der Ausgabe: 2. August 1938

969

Vierte Verordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz.

Vom 25. Juli 1938.

Auf Grund des § 3 des Reichsbürgergesetzes vom 15. September 1935 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 1146) wird folgendes verordnet:

§ 1

Bestellungen (Approbationen) jüdischer Ärzte erlöschen am 30. September 1938.

§ 2

Der Reichsminister des Innern oder die von ihm ermächtigte Stelle kann auf Vorschlag der Reichsärztekammer Ärzten, deren Bestallung auf Grund des § 1 erloschen ist, die Ausübung des Arztberufes widerruflich gestatten. Die Genehmigung kann unter Auflagen erteilt werden.

§ 3

(1) Juden, deren Bestallung (Approbation) erloschen und denen eine Genehmigung nach § 2 nicht erteilt ist, ist es verboten, die Heilkunde auszuüben.

(2) Ein Jude, dem eine Genehmigung nach § 2 erteilt ist, darf, abgesehen von seiner Frau und seinen ehelichen Kindern, nur Juden behandeln.

(3) Wer vorsätzlich oder fahrlässig den Bestimmungen im Abs. 1 oder 2 zuwiderhandelt, wird mit Gefängnis bis zu einem Jahr und mit Geldstrafe oder mit einer dieser Strafen bestraft.

§ 4

Die Bestallung als Arzt kann einem Juden nicht erteilt werden.

Licenses (approbations) of Jewish physicians will expire on September 30, 1938. The Reich Minister of the Interior may grant certain exceptions and permit some Jewish physicians to practise, a permission revocable at any time. Jewish physicians permitted to practise may treat Jewish patients only. No Jew can obtain a new license to practise medicine.

§ 6

Dienstverträge, die ein von § 1 betroffener jüdischer Arzt als Dienstberechtigter geschlossen hat, können von beiden Teilen unter Einhaltung einer Kündigungsfrist von sechs Wochen für den 31. Dezember 1938 auch dann gelündigt werden, wenn nach den gesetzlichen oder vertraglichen Bestimmungen die Auflösung des Dienstverhältnisses erst zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt zulässig wäre. Gesetzliche oder vertragliche Bestimmungen, wonach eine Kündigung des Dienstvertrags schon zu einem früheren Zeitpunkt zulässig ist, bleiben unberührt.

§ 7

(1) Auf die Kündigung von Mietverhältnissen über Räume, die ein durch § 1 betroffener jüdischer Arzt für sich, seine Familie oder für seine Berufsausübung gemietet hat, finden die Vorschriften des Gesetzes über das Kündigungsrecht der durch das Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums betroffenen Personen vom 7. April 1933 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 187), im Lande Österreich die Vorschriften des § 13 der Verordnung zur Neuordnung des österreichischen Berufsbeamtentums vom 31. Mai 1938 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 607) entsprechende Anwendung. Die Kündigung muß für den 30. September 1938 erfolgen und dem Vermieter spätestens am 15. August 1938 zugehen. Ein Widerspruch des Vermieters gegen die Kündigung ist unzulässig, wenn dem Vermieter durch die Reichsärztekammer oder die von ihr bestimmte Stelle ein anderer ärztlicher Mieter nachgewiesen wird.

(2) Der Vermieter kann das Mietverhältnis unter den gleichen Voraussetzungen innerhalb der gleichen Frist kündigen. Dem Mieter steht ein Widerspruch ^{nicht} zu.

DECREE REGARDING AN ATONEMENT FINE FOR JEWISH
SUBJECTS OF THE REICH

November 12, 1938 (RGL I, p. 1579)

1579

Reichsgesetzblatt

Teil I

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12. 11. 38	Verordnung zur Durchführung des Vierjahresplans vom 18. Oktober 1936 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 887) das Folgende:	

**Verordnung
über eine Sühneleistung der Juden deutscher Staatsangehörigkeit.**

Vom 12. November 1938.

Die feindliche Haltung des Judentums gegenüber dem deutschen Volk und Reich, die auch vor feigen Mordtaten nicht zurückschreckt, erfordert entschiedene Abwehr und harte Sühne.

Ich bestimme daher auf Grund der Verordnung zur Durchführung des Vierjahresplans vom 18. Oktober 1936 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 887) das Folgende:

§ 1

Den Juden deutscher Staatsangehörigkeit in ihrer Gesamtheit wird die Zahlung einer Kontribution von 1000000000 Reichsmark an das Deutsche Reich auferlegt

§ 2

Die Durchführungsbestimmungen erläßt der Reichsminister der Finanzen im Benehmen mit den beteiligten Reichsministern.

Berlin, den 12. November 1938.

The preamble to the text of the decree, issued by Hermann Goering, reads:

"The hostile attitude of Jewry toward the German people and Reich, not even recoiling from cowardly murder, requires determined counteraction and severe punishment. Therefore I order: . . ."

All Jews who are German subjects have to pay an atonement fine of one billion Reichsmark.

DECREE TO ELIMINATE THE JEWS FROM GERMAN ECONOMIC LIFE

November 12, 1938 (RGL I, p. 1580)

1580

Reichsgesetzblatt, Jahrgang 1938, Teil I

Verordnung

zur Ausschaltung der Juden aus dem deutschen Wirtschaftsleben.

Vom 12. November 1938.

Auf Grund der Verordnung zur Durchführung des Vierjahresplans vom 18. Oktober 1936 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 887) wird folgendes verordnet:

§ 1

(1) Juden (§ 5 der Ersten Verordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz vom 14. November 1935 — Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 1333) ist vom 1. Januar 1939 ab der Betrieb von Einzelhandelsverkaufsstellen, Versandgeschäften oder Bestellkontoren sowie der selbständige Betrieb eines Handwerks untersagt.

(2) Ferner ist ihnen mit Wirkung vom gleichen Tage verboten, auf Märkten aller Art, Messen oder Ausstellungen Waren oder gewerbliche Leistungen anzubieten, dafür zu werben oder Bestellungen darauf anzunehmen.

(3) Jüdische Gewerbebetriebe (Dritte Verordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz vom 14. Juni 1938 — Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 627), die entgegen diesem Verbot geführt werden, sind polizeilich zu schließen.

§ 2

(1) Ein Jude kann vom 1. Januar 1939 ab nicht mehr Betriebsführer im Sinne des Gesetzes zur Ordnung der nationalen Arbeit vom 20. Januar 1934 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 45) sein.

(2) Ist ein Jude als leitender Angestellter in einem Wirtschaftsunternehmen tätig, so kann ihm mit einer Frist von sechs Wochen gekündigt werden. Mit Ablauf der Kündigungsfrist erlöschen alle Ansprüche des Dienstverpflichteten aus dem gekündigten Verträge, insbesondere auch Ansprüche auf Versorgungsbezüge und Abfindungen.

§ 3

(1) Ein Jude kann nicht Mitglied einer Genossenschaft sein.

(2) Jüdische Mitglieder von Genossenschaften scheiden zum 31. Dezember 1938 aus. Eine besondere Kündigung ist nicht erforderlich.

§ 4

Der Reichswirtschaftsminister wird ermächtigt, im Einvernehmen mit den beteiligten Reichsministern die zu dieser Verordnung erforderlichen Durchführungsbestimmungen zu erlassen. Er kann Ausnahmen zulassen, soweit diese infolge der Überführung eines jüdischen Gewerbebetriebes in nichtjüdischen Besitz zur Liquidation jüdischer Gewerbebetriebe oder in besonderen Fällen zur Sicherstellung des Bedarfs erforderlich sind.

Berlin, den 12. November 1938.

Der Beauftragte für den Vierjahresplan

Göring

Generalfeldmarschall

As of January 1, 1939, Jews are forbidden to own retail stores, mail order or brokerage firms, to engage independently in any trade or to offer for sale, advertise or accept orders for goods or trade services at markets, fairs or exhibitions.

Jewish enterprises continuing in business in defiance of this decree are to be closed by the police.

As of January 1, 1939, a Jew can no longer be the head of an enterprise or be employed in an executive position. He may be given notice six weeks in advance, but will not be entitled to any compensation after termination of employment.

No Jew can be a member of a cooperative enterprise after December 31, 1938. Membership ends automatically without notification.

DECREE REGARDING THE RESTORATION OF JEWISH PLACES OF BUSINESS

November 12, 1938 (RGL I, p. 1581)

Nr. 189 — Tag der Ausgabe: 14. November 1938

1581

Verordnung

zur Wiederherstellung des Straßenbildes bei jüdischen Gewerbebetrieben.

Vom 12. November 1938.

Auf Grund der Verordnung zur Durchführung des Vierjahresplans vom 18. Oktober 1936 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 887) verordne ich folgendes:

§ 1

Alle Schäden, welche durch die Empörung des Volkes über die Hege des internationalen Judentums gegen das nationalsozialistische Deutschland am 8., 9. und 10. November 1938 an jüdischen Gewerbebetrieben und Wohnungen entstanden sind, sind von dem jüdischen Inhaber oder jüdischen Gewerbetreibenden sofort zu beseitigen.

Berlin, den 12. November 1938.

Der Beauftragte für den Vierjahresplan

Goering

Generalfeldmarschall

All damage caused to Jewish enterprises or dwellings on November 8, 9, and 10, 1938, by the "wrath of the people regarding the agitation of international Jewry against National Socialist Germany" must be repaired immediately by their Jewish owners, at their own expense. Indemnities due to Jews from insurance companies are confiscated by the Reich.

§ 2

(1) Die Kosten der Wiederherstellung trägt der Inhaber der betroffenen jüdischen Gewerbebetriebe und Wohnungen.

(2) Versicherungsansprüche von Juden deutscher Staatsangehörigkeit werden zugunsten des Reichs beschlagnahmt.

§ 3

Der Reichswirtschaftsminister wird ermächtigt, im Benehmen mit den übrigen Reichsministern Durchführungsbestimmungen zu erlassen.

ORDINANCE BY REICH MINISTER OF EDUCATION

(V.B. November 16, 1938)

Norddeutsche Ausgabe

52. Jahrg. / 51. Jahrg. / Einzelpreis 20 Pf.

VÖLKISCHER BEOBACHTER

Norddeutsche Ausgabe

Berlin, Mittwoch, 16. November 1938

Kampfblatt der nationalsozialistischen Bewegung Großdeutschlands

Deutsche Schulen judenfrei!

Erlaß einer Anordnung durch Reichsminister Rust

Berlin, 15. November.

Nach der ruchlosen Mordtat von Paris kann es keinem deutschen Lehrer und keiner deutschen Lehrerin mehr zugemutet werden, an jüdische Schulkinder Unterricht zu erteilen. Auch versteht es sich von selbst, daß es für deutsche Schüler und Schülerinnen unerträglich ist, mit Juden in einem Klassenraum zu sitzen.

Die Rassentrennung im Schulwesen ist zwar in den letzten Jahren im allgemeinen bereits durchgeführt, doch ist ein Restbestand jüdischer Schüler auf den deutschen Schulen übriggeblieben, dem der gemeinsame Schulbesuch mit deutschen Jungen und Mädchen nunmehr nicht weiter gestattet werden kann.

Vorbehaltlich weiterer gesetzlicher Rege-

lung hat daher Reichserziehungsminister Rust mit sofortiger Wirkung folgende Anordnung erlassen:

1. Juden ist der Besuch deutscher Schulen nicht gestattet. Sie dürfen nur jüdische Schulen besuchen. Soweit es noch nicht geschehen sein sollte, sind alle zurzeit eine deutsche Schule besuchenden jüdischen Schüler und Schülerinnen sofort zu entlassen.

2. Wer jüdisch ist, bestimmt § 5 der ersten Verordnung vom 14. November 1935 zum Reichsbürgergesetz (Reichsgesetzblatt I Seite 1333).

3. Diese Regelung erstreckt sich auf alle mir unterstellten Schulen einschließlich der Volkshochschulen.

The *Voelkischer Beobachter* introduced the decree with a statement as to its motivation:

"After the ruthless murder in Paris we can no longer require German teachers to instruct Jewish pupils. Also, it is self-evident that German children consider it unbearable to share their classrooms with Jews.

"Racial segregation in schools has been generally accomplished during the past few years, but a small number of Jewish children still remain in German schools. They can no longer be permitted to attend school together with German boys and girls.

"Without prejudice to subsequent legislation, Reich Minister of Education, Rust, has therefore issued the following ordinance to be effective immediately:"

1. Jews are not permitted to attend German schools. They may only attend Jewish schools. All Jewish students not yet dismissed from German schools, must be dismissed immediately.
2. This ordinance applies to all schools under his supervision.

POLICE DECREE REGARDING THE APPEARANCE OF JEWS IN PUBLIC

November 28, 1938 (RGBl I, p. 1676)

1676

Reichsgesetzblatt, Jahrgang 1938, Teil I

(2) Der Kreishauptmann in Sachsen führt künftig die Amtsbezeichnung „Kreisamtspräsident“.

(5) Die bisherigen bayerischen Kreise heißen künftig „Bezirksverbände“. Ihre leitenden Beamten

Polizeiverordnung

über das Auftreten der Juden in der Öffentlichkeit.

Vom 28. November 1938.

Auf Grund der Verordnung über die Polizeiverordnungen der Reichsminister vom 14. November 1938 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 1582) wird folgendes verordnet:

§ 1

Die Regierungspräsidenten in Preußen, Bayern und in den sudeten-deutschen Gebieten, die ihnen gleichstehenden Behörden in den übrigen Ländern des Reichs, die Landesoberhäupter (der Bürgermeister in Wien) im Lande Österreich und der Reichskommissar für das Saarland können Juden deutscher Staatsangehörigkeit und staatenlosen Juden (§ 5 der Ersten Verordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz vom 14. November 1935 — Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 1333) räumliche und

Berlin, den 28. November 1938.

Der Reichsminister des Innern

Im Auftrag
Heinrich

zeitliche Beschränkungen des Inhalts auferlegen, daß sie bestimmte Bezirke nicht betreten oder sich zu bestimmten Zeiten in der Öffentlichkeit nicht zeigen dürfen.

§ 2

Wer den Vorschriften des § 1 vorzüglich oder fahrlässig zuwiderhandelt, wird mit Geldstrafe bis zu 150 Reichsmark oder mit Haft bis zu sechs Wochen bestraft.

§ 3

Diese Polizeiverordnung tritt am Tage nach ihrer Verkündung in Kraft.

Governors and other administrative officials are authorized to exclude Jews (German subjects and stateless Jews) from certain localities and to ban them from appearing in public at certain hours.

[The Berlin Police President, on December 3, 1938, issued the following order, which became effective on December 6, banning Jews from several parts of Berlin.]

Erste Anordnung über das Auftreten der Juden

Ab 6. Dezember Judenbanne in Berlin

Münz-, Linien- und Grenadierstraße sollen reine Judenstraßen werden

Berlin, 3. Dezember.

Der Polizeipräsident erläßt für den Polizeibezirk Berlin zu der Polizeiverordnung vom 28. November 1938 über das Auftreten der Juden in der Öffentlichkeit folgende erste Anordnung, die am 6. Dezember 1938 in Kraft tritt:

Auf Grund der Polizeiverordnung über das Auftreten der Juden in der Öffentlichkeit vom 28. November 1938 wird für den Polizeibezirk Berlin folgendes verordnet:

§ 1.

Sträßen, Plätze, Anlagen und Gebäude, über die der Judenban verhängt wird, dürfen von allen Juden deutscher Staatsangehörigkeit und staatenlosen Juden nicht betreten oder betreten werden.

§ 2.

Juden deutscher Staatsangehörigkeit und staatenlose Juden, die bei Infrakttreten dieser Verordnung nach innerhalb eines Bezirkes wohnhaft sind, über den der Judenban verhängt ist, benötigen zum Überschreiten der Wohnungseinen vom Polizeirevier des Wohnbezirks ausgestellten Erlaubnischein.

Mit Wirkung vom 1. Juli 1939 werden Erlaubnischeine für Bewohner innerhalb des Bannbezirks nicht mehr erteilt.

§ 3.

Juden deutscher Staatsangehörigkeit und staatenlose Juden, die von einer innerhalb des Bannbezirks gelegenen Dienststelle vorgeladen werden, bedürfen eines vom Polizeirevier des Wohnbezirks ausgestellten Erlaubnischeines von zwölfstündiger Gültigkeit.

§ 4.

Der Judenban erstreckt sich in Berlin auf 1. sämtliche Theater, Kinos, Kabarets, öffentliche Konzerte und Vortragssäle, öffentliche Kassen, die Ausstellungshallen am Messeplatz einschl. Aus-

stellungsgelände und Junktur, die Deutsches Landhalle und den Sportpalast, das Reichssportfeld, sämtliche Sportplätze einschließlich der Eisbahnen;

2. sämtliche öffentliche und private Bäder, Kassen und Hallenbäder einschließlich Freibäder;

3. die Wilhelmstraße von der Leipziger Straße bis Unter den Linden einschließlich Wilhelmplatz;

4. die Hofstraße von der Hermann-Göring-Straße bis zur Wilhelmstraße;

5. das Reichstagsgebäude mit der nördlichen Gehrader unter den Linden von der Unterstadt bis zum Zeughaus.

§ 5.

Ausgenommen von Ziffer 1 bis 2 des § 4 sind die Einrichtungen und Veranstaltungen, die nach entsprechender behördlicher Genehmigung für jüdischen Besuch freigegeben sind.

§ 6.

Wer dieser Verordnung vorzüglich oder fahrlässig zuwiderhandelt, wird auf Grund des § 2 der Polizeiverordnung vom 28. November 1938 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 1582) mit Geldstrafe bis zu 150 — RM. oder mit Haft bis zu sechs Wochen bestraft.

§ 7.

Diese Verordnung tritt am Tage nach ihrer Verkündung in Kraft. Hierzu teilt der Polizeipräsident folgenden mit:

Wie aus der Überschrift der erlassenen Verordnung ersichtlich, werden auf Grund der Polizeiverordnung vom 28. November 1938 nach weiteren einschneidenden Durchführungsverordnungen ergehen. Die erlassene erste Durchführungsverordnung hat nur über einen verhältnismäßig geringen Teil von Straßenzügen, Anlagen usw. den Judenban verhängt. Dieser Judenban erstreckt sich nicht auf ausländische, wohl aber auf alle Juden deutscher Staatsangehörigkeit und staatenlose Juden. Angehörigkeit und staatenlose Juden. Nachsicht wird der zeitlich unbefristete Judenban in Rücksicht auf eine große Zahl Berliner Straßen ausgedehnt werden.

Es kommen hierfür vornehmlich die Haupt- und Geschäftsstraßen Berlins, wie na. der Kurfürstendamm, Friedrichstraße, Tauentzienstraße, Unter den Linden, Kollwitzdamm, Bismarckstraße usw. in Frage, da gerade in diesen Straßen das Judentum auch heute noch das Straßenbild mehr oder weniger beherrscht.

Es haben schon zahlreiche Juden angefragt, welche Wohnbezirke Berlins aller Voraussicht nach von dem Judenban ausgenommen werden. Hierzu kann gesagt werden, daß wahrscheinlich die im Zentrum und Norden Berlins gelegenen Straßenzüge, in denen schon seit Jahren das jüdische Element vorherrscht (so z.B. Münz-, Linien-, Grenadierstraße), nicht zu den Judenbannbezirken darauf hingewiesen, daß die in oder an den Haupt- und Geschäftsstraßen Berlins wohnenden Juden damit rechnen müssen, daß schon in nächster Zeit über die von ihnen bewohnten Straßen der Judenban zeitlich befristet oder auch unbefristet verhängt wird.

Es empfiehlt sich daher für die Juden, jetzt schon vorzeitig eine andere Wohnung in einem der obengenannten Teile Berlins zu suchen und eventuell mit dort wohnenden deutschen Volksgenossen einen Wohnungstausch vorzunehmen.

Das weitere haben zahlreiche Gastwirte und Hoteliers sofort nach der Veröffentlichung der Polizeiverordnung vom 28. November 1938 darum gebeten, daß im Verordnungswege nunmehr den Juden der Zutritt zu ihren Lokalen verboten wird. Die Juden haben damit zu rechnen, daß sie in Zukunft auf rein jüdische Gaststätten beschränkt werden.

Jews are banned from all legitimate or motion-picture theaters, shows, concert and lecture halls, museums, amusement places, sport fields, public and private bathing establishments, and several prominent Berlin streets. This ban does not apply to Jews of foreign nationality.

Jews residing in one of the prohibited streets may obtain special certificates from their police precincts permitting them to appear within the banned area. These certificates expire as of July 1, 1939.

Jews are further warned that more areas may be added to the list and are advised to look for apartments in Berlin's center and north [where many of the poorer Jews lived—Ed.].

DECREE REGARDING THE UTILIZATION OF JEWISH PROPERTY

December 3, 1938 (RGBl I, pp. 1709 ff.)

Nr. 206 — Tag der Ausgabe: 5. Dezember 1938

1709

Verordnung über den Einlaß des jüdischen Vermögens. Vom 3. Dezember 1938.

Auf Grund des § 1 der Zweiten Verordnung des Reichspräsidenten für den Vierjahresplan auf Grund der Verordnung über die Anmeldung des Vermögens von Juden vom 24. November 1938 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 1688) wird im Einvernehmen mit den beteiligten Reichsministern folgendes verordnet:

Artikel I Gewerbliche Betriebe

§ 1
Der Inhaber eines jüdischen Gewerbebetriebs (Dritte Verordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz vom 14. Juni 1938 — Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 627) kann aufgegeben werden, den Betrieb binnen einer bestimmten Frist zu veräußern oder abzuwickeln. Mit der Verordnung können Auflagen verbunden werden.

§ 2

(1) In jüdische Gewerbebetriebe, deren Inhabern nach § 1 die Veräußerung oder die Abwicklung aufgegeben worden ist, kann zur einstweiligen Fortführung des Betriebs und zur Herbeiführung der Veräußerung oder Abwicklung ein Treuhänder eingesetzt werden, insbesondere wenn der Betriebsinhaber der Verordnung innerhalb der ihm gesetzten Frist nicht nachgekommen und ein Antrag auf Verlängerung der Frist abgelehnt worden ist.

(2) Der Treuhänder ist zu allen gerichtlichen und außergerichtlichen Geschäften und Rechtshandlungen ermächtigt, die der Betrieb des betreffenden Unternehmens, seine Abwicklung oder Veräußerung erforderlich machen. Seine Ermächtigung erhebt in diesem Rahmen jede gesetzlich erforderliche Vollmacht.

(3) Der Treuhänder hat bei seiner Tätigkeit die Sorgfalt eines ordentlichen Kaufmanns anzuwenden und steht unter staatlicher Aufsicht.

(4) Die Kosten der treuhänderischen Verwaltung trägt der Betriebsinhaber.

§ 3

(1) Die Verfügungen nach §§ 1 und 2 sind dem Inhaber des jüdischen Gewerbebetriebs zuzustellen.

(2) Bei Abwesenheit des Betroffenen kann die Zustellung durch Bekanntmachung im Deutschen Reichsanzeiger und Treuhänderischen Staatsanzeiger erfolgen. In diesen Fällen gilt der Tag der Bekanntmachung als Tag der Zustellung.

Reichsgesetzbl. 1938 I

§ 4

Mit der Zustellung der Verfügung, durch die ein Treuhänder gemäß § 2 eingesetzt wird, verliert der Inhaber des Gewerbebetriebs das Recht, über die Vermögenswerte zu verfügen, zu deren Verwaltung der Treuhänder eingesetzt ist. Er erlangt dieses Recht erst wieder, wenn die Bestellung des Treuhänders aufgehoben wird.

§ 5

Die Genehmigung der Veräußerung nach § 1 der Verordnung auf Grund der Verordnung über die Anmeldung des Vermögens von Juden vom 26. April 1938 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 415) ist auch in den Fällen notwendig, in denen die Veräußerung angeordnet ist; das gilt auch für die Veräußerung durch einen Treuhänder.

Artikel II

Land- und forstwirtschaftliche Betriebe. Grundbesitz und sonstiges Vermögen

§ 6

Einem Juden (§ 5 der Ersten Verordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz vom 14. November 1935 — Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 1333) kann aufgegeben werden, seinen land- oder forstwirtschaftlichen Betrieb, sein anderes land- oder forstwirtschaftliches Vermögen, sein sonstiges Grundbesitz oder andere Vermögenswerte ganz oder teilweise binnen einer bestimmten Frist zu veräußern. Mit der Verordnung können Auflagen verbunden werden. Die Vorschriften der §§ 2 bis 4 gelten entsprechend.

§ 7

(1) Juden können Grundstücke, grundstücksgleiche Rechte und Rechte an Grundstücken nicht durch Rechtsgeschäft erwerben.

Hrgang 1938, Teil I

Anordnung auf Grund der Verordnung über die Anmeldung des Vermögens von Juden vom 26. April 1938.

Artikel III

Depotzwang für Wertpapiere

§ 11

(1) Juden haben binnen einer Woche nach Inkrafttreten dieser Verordnung ihre gesamten Aktien, Rente, festverzinslichen Werte und ähnlichen Wertpapiere in ein Depot bei einer Devisenbank einzulegen. Neu erworbene Wertpapiere sind binnen einer Woche nach dem Erwerb in ein solches Depot einzuliefern. Der Besitzer derartiger einem Juden gehöriger Wertpapiere darf die Wertpapiere nur an eine Devisenbank für Rechnung des Juden ausshändigen.

(2) Soweit zu Gunsten von Juden Wertpapiere bereits im Depot bei einer Devisenbank liegen oder Schuldbuchforderungen eingetragen sind oder bei einer Verwaltungsstelle Auslosungsscheine hinterlegt sind, auf Grund deren Vorzugsrenten gewährt werden, haben die Juden unverzüglich der Bank, der Schuldenverwaltung oder der Verwaltungsstelle durch eine schriftliche Erklärung ihre Eigenschaft als Juden anzuzeigen. Im Falle des Abs. 1 Satz 3 muß diese Erklärung gegenüber dem Besitzer abgegeben werden.

(3) Die Depots und die Schuldbuchkonten sind als jüdisch zu kennzeichnen.

§ 12

Verfügungen über die in ein jüdisches Depot eingelegten Wertpapiere sowie Auslieferungen von Wertpapieren aus solchen Depots bedürfen der Genehmigung des Reichswirtschaftsministers oder der von ihm beauftragten Stelle.

Nr. 206 — Tag der Ausg.

§ 13

Die Vorschriften der §§ 11 und 12 gelten nicht für Juden ausländischer Staatsangehörigkeit.

Artikel IV

Juwelen, Schmuck- und Kunstgegenstände

§ 14

(1) Juden ist es verboten, Gegenstände aus Gold, Platin oder Silber sowie Edelsteine und Perlen zu erwerben, zu verpfänden oder freihändig zu veräußern. Solche Gegenstände dürfen, abgesehen von der Verwertung eines bei Inkrafttreten dieser Verordnung zu Gunsten eines nichtjüdischen Pfandgläubigers bereits bestehenden Pfandrechts aus jüdischem Besitz, nur von den vom Reich eingerichteten öffentlichen Verkaufsstellen erworben werden. Das gleiche gilt für sonstige Schmuck- und Kunstgegenstände, soweit der Preis für den einzelnen Gegenstand 1 000 Reichsmark übersteigt.

(2) Die Vorschrift des Abs. 1 gilt nicht für Juden ausländischer Staatsangehörigkeit.

Artikel V

Allgemeine Vorschriften

§ 15

(1) Die Genehmigung zur Veräußerung jüdischer Gewerbebetriebe, jüdischen Grundbesitzes oder sonstiger jüdischer Vermögenswerte kann unter Auflagen erteilt werden, die auch in Geldleistungen des Erwerbers zu Gunsten des Reichs bestehen können.

(2) Die Genehmigungen der im Abs. 1 genannten Art können auch mit der Maßgabe erteilt werden, daß dem jüdischen Veräußerer an Stelle des ganzen oder eines Teiles des im Veräußerungsvertrag vorgesehenen Entgelts Schuldverschreibungen des Deutschen Reichs zugewiesen oder Schuldbuchforderungen in das Reichsschuldbuch eingetragen werden.

DECREE REGARDING THE UTILIZATION OF JEWISH PROPERTY

1 & 2. The owner of a Jewish enterprise may be requested to sell or liquidate the enterprise within a given period. A trustee may be put in charge of the temporary continuation or liquidation.

6. A Jew may be ordered to sell—in full or in part—within a given period, his agricultural or arboricultural property, his real estate or other property.

7. Jews cannot acquire real estate or real estate rights.

11. Within a week, Jews must deposit their securities, stocks and bonds with a recognized bank. A declaration must be filed stating that those papers already deposited belong to a Jew; all such papers must be identified as "Jewish."

12. Disposal of such papers requires the consent of the Reich Minister of Economics.

14. Jews are forbidden to buy, pawn or sell, except to public purchasing offices of the Reich, objects of gold, platinum and silver, precious stones and pearls, or other jewelry and art objects worth 1,000 Reichsmark or more. This provision does not apply to Jews of foreign nationality.

15. Permits for the sale of Jewish enterprises, real estate or other property may be granted conditionally. Such conditions may include fees to be paid to the Reich by the purchaser; or, instead of the whole or part of the price, the Jewish seller may be given promissory notes of the German Reich or entries of his claim into the *Reichsschuldbuch* (Reich Ledger of Claims).

THIRD ORDINANCE SUPPLEMENTING THE DECREE REGARDING THE REGISTRATION OF JEWISH PROPERTY

February 21, 1939 (RGLB I, p. 282)

282

Reichsgesetzblatt, Jahrgang 1939, Teil I

Dritte Anordnung auf Grund der Verordnung über die Anmeldung des Vermögens von Juden. Vom 21. Februar 1939.

Auf Grund des § 7 der Verordnung über die Anmeldung des Vermögens von Juden vom 26. April 1938 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 414) ordne ich an:

§ 1

(1) Alle Juden (§ 5 der Ersten Verordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz vom 14. November 1935 - Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 1333) haben die in ihrem Eigentum befindlichen Gegenstände aus Gold, Platin oder Silber sowie Edelsteine und Perlen binnen zwei Wochen nach dem Inkrafttreten dieser Verordnung an die nach § 14 der Verordnung über den Einfluß des jüdischen Vermögens vom 3. Dezember 1938 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 1709) vom Reich eingerichteten öffentlichen Verkaufsstellen abzuliefern.

(2) Die Vorschrift des Abs. 1 gilt nicht für Juden ausländischer Staatsangehörigkeit.

§ 2

(1) Über die Bewertung der abgelieferten Gegenstände und die Auszahlung der Entschädigung trifft der Reichswirtschaftsminister nähere Bestimmungen.

(2) Der Reichswirtschaftsminister kann Ausnahmen von der Ablieferungspflicht zulassen.

§ 3

Der Reichswirtschaftsminister erläßt die zur Durchführung und Ergänzung dieser Verordnung notwendigen Vorschriften.

§ 4

Wer den Vorschriften dieser Verordnung zuwiderhandelt, wird nach § 8 der Verordnung über die Anmeldung des Vermögens von Juden vom 26. April 1938 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 414) bestraft.

§ 5

Diese Verordnung tritt mit dem Tage der Verkündung in Kraft.

Berlin, den 21. Februar 1939.

Within two weeks after proclamation of this decree, all Jews must surrender their gold, platinum and silver objects, their precious stones and pearls to the public purchasing offices established by the Reich.

This provision does not apply to Jews of foreign nationality.

The Reich Minister of Economics will issue regulations regarding the appraisal of and compensation for these objects.

DECREE ON THE EMPLOYMENT OF JEWS

(H.F.* March 4, 1939)

ARBEITSEINSATZ DER JUDEN

Die Mitteilungen der Industrie-und Handelskammer Hamburg weisen in ihrer Nummer 6 auf einen Erlass des Praesidenten der Reichsanstalt fuer Arbeitsvermittlung hin, der die Notwendigkeit der beschleunigten Heranziehung der Juden zur Arbeit und die dazu notwendige Bereitstellung geeigneter Arbeiten fuer Juden betont. Es heisst darin:

Der Staat hat kein Interesse daran, die Arbeitskraft der einsatzfaehigen arbeitslosen Juden unausgenutzt zu lassen und diese unter Umstaenden aus oeffentlichen Mitteln ohne Gegenleistung zu unterstuetzen. Es ist anzustreben, alle arbeitslosen und einsatzfaehigen Juden beschleunigt zu beschaeftigen und damit nach Moeglichkeit die Freistellung deutscher Arbeitskraefte fuer vordringliche, staatspolitisch wichtige Vorhaben zu verbinden.

Der Einsatz erfolgt in Betrieben, Betriebsabteilungen, bei Bauten, Meliorationen, usw., abgesondert von der Gefolgschaft.

Ich ersuche Sie daher, unverzueglich bei den oeffentlichen und privaten Unternehmen Ihres Bezirkes auf die Bereitstellung solcher Arbeiten hinzuwirken. Es ist sichergestellt, dass dem Unternehmer oder seinem Betrieb aus der Tatsache, dass er Juden beschaeftigt, keinerlei Nachteile erwachsen.

Als Juden im Sinne dieses Erlasses sind Juden deutscher Staatsangehoerigkeit und staatenlose Juden (§ der Ersten Verordnung zum Reichsbuergergesetz vom 14. November 1935—Reichsgesetzblatt I S. 1333) anzusehen, die fuer einen Arbeitseinsatz geeignet sind.

Wegen der Bereitstellung geeigneter Arbeiten fuer Juden, auch durch oeffentliche Betriebe, habe ich mich mit den in Frage kommenden Obersten Reichsbehoerden in Verbindung gesetzt. Gleichzeitig habe ich den Herrn Reichswirtschaftsminister und den Herrn Reichsernaehrungsminister gebeten, die Unternehmer der privaten Wirtschaft auf die Notwendigkeit der beschleunigten Heranziehung der Juden zur Arbeit und der Bereitstellung entsprechender Arbeiten nachdruecklich hingewiesen.

Dieser Erlass ergeht mit ausdruecklicher Billigung des Beauftragten fuer den Vierjahresplan, Ministerpraesident Generalfeldmarschall Goering. Den Stellvertreter des Fuehrers habe ich gebeten, die Parteidiensstellen einschliesslich der Gliederungen und angeschlossenen Verbaende im Sinne dieses Erlasses zu unterrichten.

The Reich will not leave unused the working power of unemployed Jews able to work. All employable Jews should be employed to make German labor available for "important national tasks."

Jewish workers shall be employed in construction work, soil improvement, etc.; they must be separated from non-Jewish workers.

The President of the Reich Employment Service asks local authorities to provide such work for Jews in public and private enterprises. No disadvantages will accrue to employers because of the fact that they employ Jews.

This decree is issued with permission of Minister President Goering.

* This issue of the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* is not available. The German text is taken from a typewritten copy received by the American Jewish Committee, New York, from its Amsterdam office.

APPENDIX

507

LAW ON LEASES ENTERED INTO WITH JEWS

April 30, 1939 (RGL I, p. 864)

864

Reichsgesetzblatt, Jahrgang 1939, Teil I

Gesetz über Mietverhältnisse mit Juden.

Vom 30. April 1939.

Die Reichsregierung hat das folgende Gesetz beschlossen, das hiermit verkündet wird:

§ 1

Vorforderung des Mieterschutzes

Ein Jude kann sich auf den gesetzlichen Mieterschutz nicht berufen, wenn der Vermieter bei der Kündigung durch eine Bescheinigung der Gemeindebehörde nachweist, dass für die Zeit nach der Beendigung des Mietverhältnisses die anderweitige Unterbringung des Mieters sichergestellt ist. Dies gilt nicht, wenn auch der Vermieter Jude ist.

§ 2

Vorzeitige Kündigung

Ein Mietvertrag kann, wenn nur ein Vertragsteil Jude ist, von dem anderen jederzeit mit der gesetzlichen Frist gekündigt werden, auch wenn der Vertrag auf bestimmte Zeit geschlossen oder eine längere als die gesetzliche Kündigungsfrist vereinbart ist. Der Vermieter kann jedoch für einen früheren als den vertraglich zulässigen Termin nur kündigen, wenn er bei der Kündigung durch eine Bescheinigung der Gemeindebehörde nachweist, dass für die Zeit nach der Beendigung des Mietverhältnisses die anderweitige Unterbringung des Mieters sichergestellt ist.

§ 3

Untermieter

Juden dürfen Untermietverträge nur mit Juden abschließen. Die Erlaubnis des Vermieters ist nicht erforderlich, wenn dieser auch Jude ist.

§ 4

Unterbringung

(1) Ein Jude hat in Wohnräumen, die er als Eigentümer oder auf Grund eines Nutzungsrechts innehat oder die er von einem Juden gemietet hat, auf Verlangen der Gemeindebehörde Juden als Mieter oder Untermieter aufzunehmen. Wird der Abschluss eines entsprechenden Vertrags verweigert, so kann die Gemeindebehörde bestimmen, dass ein Vertrag mit dem von ihr festgesetzten Inhalt als vereinbart gilt. Die Höhe der Vergütung für die Überlassung der Räume und eines etwaigen Untermietzuschlags bestimmt die Gemeindebehörde, sofern sie nicht selbst Preisbehörde ist, im Einvernehmen mit der zuständigen Preisbehörde.

(2) Für die Festsetzung von Mietverträgen und Untermietverträgen kann die Gemeinde Gebühren erheben.

(3) Ein nach Abs. 1 begründetes Miet- oder Untermietverhältnis darf der Vermieter oder Untermieter nur mit Genehmigung der Gemeindebehörde kündigen.

§ 5.

Neuvermietung

Juden dürfen leerstehende oder frei werdende Räume nur mit Genehmigung der Gemeindebehörde neu vermieten. Die Vorschriften des § 1 finden auf diese Räume entsprechend Anwendung.

Jews cannot claim legal protection [granted by law to tenants of small apartments—Ed.] against notice to vacate, unless the landlords are also Jewish, provided the landlord can prove that other accommodations are available for the tenant.

Leases with Jews may be terminated on short notice if other accommodations are available.

Jews may sublet only to Jews. Permission of the landlord is not required if he also is a Jew.

Jews must admit other Jews as tenants or sub-tenants upon request of local authorities.

Vacant apartments or rooms may be rented by Jews only with the permission of local authorities.

TENTH DECREE SUPPLEMENTING THE REICH LAW ON CITIZENSHIP

July 4, 1939 (RGL I, pp. 1097 f.)

Zehnte Verordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz.

Vom 4. Juli 1939.

Auf Grund des § 3 des Reichsbürgergesetzes vom 15. September 1935 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 1146) wird folgendes verordnet:

Artikel I

Reichsvereinigung der Juden

§ 1

- (1) Die Juden werden in einer Reichsvereinigung zusammengeschlossen.
- (2) Die Reichsvereinigung ist ein rechtsfähiger Verein. Sie führt den Namen „Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland“ und hat ihren Sitz in Berlin.
- (3) Die Reichsvereinigung bedient sich als örtlicher Zweigstellen der jüdischen Kultusvereinigungen.

§ 2

- (1) Die Reichsvereinigung hat den Zweck, die Auswanderung der Juden zu fördern.
- (2) Die Reichsvereinigung ist außerdem
 1. Träger des jüdischen Schulwesens,
 2. Träger der freien jüdischen Wohlfahrtspflege.
- (3) Der Reichsminister des Innern kann der Reichsvereinigung weitere Aufgaben übertragen.

§ 3

- (1) Der Reichsvereinigung gehören alle staatsangehörigen und staatenlosen Juden an, die ihren Wohnsitz oder gewöhnlichen Aufenthalt im Reichsgebiet haben.

§ 4

Die Reichsvereinigung untersteht der Aufsicht des Reichsministers des Innern; ihre Satzung bedarf seiner Genehmigung.

§ 5

- (1) Der Reichsminister des Innern kann jüdische Vereine, Organisationen und Stiftungen auflösen oder ihre Eingliederung in die Reichsvereinigung anordnen.

Reichsgesetzbl. 1939 I

Artikel II Jüdisches Schulwesen

§ 6

- (1) Die Reichsvereinigung der Juden ist verpflichtet, für die Beschulung der Juden zu sorgen.
- (2) Zu diesem Zwecke hat die Reichsvereinigung die notwendige Zahl von Volksschulen zu errichten und zu unterhalten. Sie kann außerdem Mittel- und höhere Schulen sowie Berufs- und Fachschulen und sonstige Schulen oder Unterrichtskurse unterhalten, die der Auswanderung der Juden förderlich sind.

- (3) Die Reichsvereinigung hat für die Ausbildung und Fortbildung der Lehrer der von ihr unterhaltenen Schulen zu sorgen.

- (4) Die von der Reichsvereinigung unterhaltenen Schulen sind Privatschulen.

Artikel III Jüdische Wohlfahrtspflege

§ 12

Die Reichsvereinigung hat als Träger der jüdischen freien Wohlfahrtspflege (§ 35 a Abs. 1 Satz 1 der Reichsgrundgesetze über Voraussetzung, Art und Maß der öffentlichen Fürsorge vom 1. August 1931, Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 439, in der Fassung der Verordnung über die öffentliche Fürsorge für Juden vom 19. November 1938, Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 1649) nach Maßgabe ihrer Mittel hilfsbedürftige Juden so ausreichend zu unterstützen, daß die öffentliche Fürsorge nicht einzutreten braucht. Sie hat Vorkehrungen zu treffen, daß für anstaltspflegebedürftige Juden ausschließlich für sie bestimmte Anstalten zur Verfügung stehen.

ARTICLE I

A Reich Association of Jews in Germany is set up with its main office in Berlin and local branches throughout the Reich.

Chief function of the "Reich Association" is to further Jewish emigration. In addition it is responsible for maintaining schools for Jewish children and furnishing relief for Jews.

Members of the "Reich Association" are all Jews who are German subjects, and all stateless Jews residing in the Reich.

Foreign Jews or Jews married to "Aryans" are free to join the "Reich Association."

The "Reich Association" functions under the supervision of the Reich Ministry of the Interior.

The Reich Minister of the Interior may dissolve Jewish societies, organizations and foundations, or he may order them to be incorporated in the "Reich Association."

ARTICLE II

The "Reich Association" is responsible for the creation and maintenance of the necessary number of elementary schools for Jews. Other schools and courses of instruction (trade schools, etc.) are permitted if they further Jewish emigration. All these schools are considered private schools.

The "Reich Association" is responsible for the professional training of teachers in Jewish schools.

ARTICLE III

The "Reich Association" is responsible for the payment of relief to poor Jews so that no public funds will be required. The "Reich Association" must provide institutions for Jews in need of institutional care.

NOTICE REGARDING PERSONAL EFFECTS OF
EMIGRANTS

April 17, 1939 (J.N. #3, April 25, 1939)

For German text see p. 124.

For the purposes of this notice, the property of emigrants is divided into three categories.

1. Possessions which the emigrant acquired before January 1, 1933.

He is permitted to take these abroad unless they fall under category 3.

2. Objects acquired after January 1, 1933.

The emigrant is not permitted to take them abroad. Exceptions may be made for the purpose of emigration. Permits to take abroad the latter be made for apparel bought to replace unusable old clothes and objects may be granted on condition that the emigrant pay the Reich a sum equal to the value of the objects.

3. Objects absolutely forbidden to be taken abroad.

Permits will not be granted to take abroad:

- a) Gold, silver or platinum articles, pearls and precious stones, except wedding rings, silver watches and used silverware—two knives, two forks, two table spoons and two soup spoons per person.
- b) Cameras, other optical instruments, musical instruments, etc. (Permits to take these may be granted only if the emigrant needs them to found a modest existence abroad, and if he pays the Reich an amount equal to their value.)
- c) Works of art and other objects of special historic, artistic or cultural value.

DECREE REGARDING EMIGRATION TAXES FOR JEWS

(J.N. #10, February 2, 1940)

For German text see p. 126.

The preamble states the purpose of the decree: to provide financial means for the Reich Association of Jews in Germany to carry out its three main tasks: Jewish emigration, Jewish schools and Jewish relief. The tax must be paid by all emigrating Jews who are members of the "Reich Association," and who own property of 10,000 Reichsmark or more.

Paragraphs 2 to 4 give detailed rules as to the conditions under which the tax is to be levied. Former officials receiving pensions must pay the emigration tax under certain conditions.

Paragraph 5 determines the percentage of the tax as:

10%	from property up to	20,000 Reichsmark
20%	" " " "	50,000 "
30%	" " " "	100,000 "
40%	" " " "	250,000 "
50%	" " " "	500,000 "
60%	" " over	500,000 "

POLICE DECREE REGARDING IDENTIFICATION BADGES
FOR JEWS

September 1, 1941 (RGLB I, p. 547) *

Kennzeichnung von Juden

Polizeiverordnung über die Kennzeichnung der Juden vom 1. September 1941. Reichsgesetzblatt I, S. 547.

Der Reichsminister des Innern ordnet an, daß Juden sich vom 19. September 1941 an in der Öffentlichkeit nur mit einem Judenstern zeigen dürfen. Der Judenstern besteht aus einem handtellergroßen, schwarz ausgezogenen Sechsstern aus gelbem Stoff mit der schwarzen Aufschrift „Jude“. Er muß sichtbar auf der linken Brustseite des Kleidungsstücks fest aufgenäht getragen werden. Juden ist es fernerhin verboten, den Bereich ihrer Wohngemeinde zu verlassen, ohne eine schriftliche Erlaubnis der Ortspolizeibehörde bei sich zu führen, sowie Orden, Ehrenzeichen und sonstige Abzeichen zu tragen.

Ausgenommen von diesen Vorschriften sind Juden, die das sechste Lebensjahr noch nicht vollendet haben, ferner männliche und weibliche jüdische Ehegatten, die in einer Mischehe leben, sofern Abkömmlinge aus der Ehe vorhanden sind, die nicht als Juden gelten. In diesem Fall, also wenn nichtjüdische Abkömmlinge vorhanden sind, gilt die Ausnahme auch dann, wenn die Ehe nicht mehr besteht oder der einzige Sohn im gegenwärtigen Kriege gefallen ist. Ferner gelten die Vorschriften der Verordnung bei kinderloser Mischehe nicht für die jüdische Ehefrau während der Dauer der Ehe, wohl aber für den jüdischen Ehemann.

Zu widerhandlungen werden mit Geldstrafe bis zu 150 RM oder mit Haft bis zu sechs Wochen bestraft, auch wenn sie fahrlässig sind; weitergehende Strafvorschriften bleiben unberührt, nach denen eine höhere Strafe verwirkt ist. Die Polizeiverordnung gilt auch im Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren.

•

The Reich Minister of the Interior orders:

Starting September 19, 1941, Jews over six years of age must wear the "Star of David" when appearing in public. The "Star of David" is a black, six-pointed star on yellow material, as big as the palm of a hand, with the inscription "JEW." It has to be worn firmly sewn above the heart.

Jews are forbidden to leave the district of their residence without written authorization.

Excepted are Jewish husbands or wives of "mixed marriages" if they have children who are not considered Jewish, and Jewish wives of "mixed marriages," if the marriage is childless.

Failure to comply with the decree may entail fines up to 150 Reichsmark or detention up to six weeks.

* This is a photostat of a clipping from the files of the American Jewish Committee, New York. The original number of the *Reichsgesetzblatt* is not available.

NOTICE ON CLOTHES RATIONING FOR JEWS

(J.N. February 6, 1940)

Jüdisches

NACHRICHTENBLATT

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Nummer 11

Dienstag, den 6. Februar 1940

Jahrgang 1940

Versorgung der Juden mit Kleidern und Spinnstoffwaren

Die Reichsvereinigung teilt mit:

Nach einem uns zugegangenen Erlaß des Reichswirtschaftsministers erhalten Juden nicht die Reichskleiderkarte; auch werden an Juden grundsätzlich keine Bezugscheine für Spinnstoffwaren, Schuhe und Sohlenmaterial ausgegeben.

Juden erhalten einen Bezugschein für Nähmittel im Betrage von RM 0,20 im Vierteljahr. Es ist in Aussicht genommen, den Bezugschein gelegentlich der Ausgabe der Lebensmittelkarten formlos auszuhändigen.

Die Reichsvereinigung wird Sammlungen veranstalten, um dem dringendsten Bedarf abzuhefen.

Weitere Nachrichten folgen in Kürze. Es ist zwecklos, vorher Anträge zu stellen; derartige Anträge können auch nicht beantwortet werden.

According to a decree by the Reich Ministry of Economics, Jews receive neither ration cards for clothing, nor ration cards for textile materials, shoes, or leather for shoe soles.

Jews receive a ration card to buy sewing material to the amount of 20 Pfennige (\$.05) every three months.

DECREE REGARDING THE EMPLOYMENT OF JEWS

October 31, 1941 (RGL I, pp. 681 f.)

For German text see p. 173.

A Jew cannot be a member of a German working unit which is built on the principle of "mutual confidence of all workers."

Jewish workers can claim payment only for work actually done, except when prevented from working by weather conditions.

Jews cannot receive sick pay; they may take vacations without pay. Jews cannot claim additional pay for work on Sundays or holidays or for overtime.

Jews may not receive family allowances, or any other extra compensation.

Jews must accept any work offered to them by the employment offices.

Jews may be employed in groups only and have to be kept separated from other workers. If groups of Jews are employed outside their place of residence, they must be sheltered separately.

Jews may not be employed as apprentices.

Regulations regarding working hours must be applied equally to Jewish adults and Jewish youths between 14 and 18.

Unemployment pay for Jews is limited to the amount absolutely essential for minimum maintenance.

ELEVENTH DECREE SUPPLEMENTING THE REICH LAW
ON CITIZENSHIP

November 25, 1941 (RGL I, pp. 722 f.)

Reichsgesetzblatt

Teil I

1941	Ausgegeben zu Berlin, den 26. November 1941	Nr. 133
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G. L. 11

Erste Verordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz.
Vom 25. November 1941.

Auf Grund des § 3 des Reichsbürgergesetzes vom 15. Dezember 1935 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 1116) wird folgendes verordnet:

§ 1

Ein Jude, der seinen gewöhnlichen Aufenthalt im Ausland hat, kann nicht deutscher Staatsangehöriger sein. Der gewöhnliche Aufenthalt im Ausland ist dann gegeben, wenn sich ein Jude im Ausland unter Umständen aufhält, die erkennen lassen, daß er dort oder nur verbleibend verweilt.

§ 3

(1) Das Vermögen des Juden, der die deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit auf Grund dieser Verordnung verliert, verfällt mit dem Verlust der Staatsangehörigkeit dem Reich. Dem Reich verfällt ferner das Vermögen der Juden, die bei dem Inkrafttreten dieser Verordnung staatenlos sind und zuletzt die deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit besessen haben, wenn sie ihren gewöhnlichen Aufenthalt im Ausland haben oder nehmen.

(2) Das verfallene Vermögen soll zur Förderung aller mit der Lösung der Judenfrage im Zusammenhang stehenden Zwecke dienen.

A Jew residing abroad cannot be a German subject.

The property of a Jew who has ceased to be a German subject by virtue of this decree is confiscated by the German Reich. Such confiscated property will be used for "purposes in connection with the solution of the Jewish question."

Jews whose property has thus been confiscated cannot be heirs of German citizens; presents to them are forbidden.

§ 2

Ein Jude verliert die deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit

- a) wenn er beim Inkrafttreten dieser Verordnung seinen gewöhnlichen Aufenthalt im Ausland hat, mit dem Inkrafttreten der Verordnung,
- b) wenn er seinen gewöhnlichen Aufenthalt später im Ausland nimmt, mit der Verlegung des gewöhnlichen Aufenthalts ins Ausland.

§ 4

(1) Personen, deren Vermögen gemäß § 3 dem Reich verfallen ist, können von einem deutschen Staatsangehörigen nichts von Todes wegen erwerben.

(2) Schenkungen von deutschen Staatsangehörigen an Personen, deren Vermögen gemäß § 3 dem Reich verfallen ist, sind verboten. Wer dem Verbot zuwider eine Schenkung vornimmt oder verspricht, wird mit Gefängnis bis zu zwei Jahren und mit Geldstrafe oder mit einer dieser Strafen bestraft.

ORDER ON THE USE OF PUBLIC CONVEYANCES

(J.N. #16, April 17, 1942)

Jüdisches
NACHRICHTENBLATT

Alle Zuschriften sind zu richten an: „Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt“, Berlin 24, Oranienburger Str. 40 41. Redakt.: Berlin 24 Oranienburger Str. 40 41. Tel.: 43 52 51. Beleggeld: eventl. Beleggeld je Monat RM 2.76, je Vierteljahr RM 2.28. Anzeigenschluß jeweils Montag 17 Uhr. Für die Rücksendung unverlangt eingehender Manuskripte kann keine Gewähr übernommen werden.

Nr. 16

Freitag, den 17. April 1942

Jahrgang 1942

Benutzung öffentlicher Verkehrsmittel

Die Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland gibt in Erweiterung der im „Jüdischen Nachrichtenblatt“ Nr. 65 vom 10. Oktober 1941 veröffentlichten Durchführungsrichtlinien zur Polizeiverordnung über die Kennzeichnung der Juden vom 1. September 1941 (RGL I, S. 347) folgende Anordnung ihrer Aufsichtsbehörde bekannt:

I. Benutzungsverbot

1. Juden, die zum Tragen des Kennzeichens verpflichtet sind, ist die Benutzung sämtlicher öffentlicher Verkehrsmittel innerhalb des Bereichs ihrer Wohngemeinde ohne schriftliche Erlaubnis der Ortspolizeibehörde verboten.

II. Benutzungserlaubnis

2. Die schriftliche Erlaubnis der Ortspolizeibehörde zur Benutzung von Verkehrsmitteln wird auf Antrag erteilt:

- a) Juden im Arbeitseinsatz, wenn zwischen Wohnung und Arbeitsstätte eine Wegstrecke (ohne den Rückweg) von in der Regel mehr als einer Stunde Gehzeit bzw. von mehr als 7 km zurückzulegen ist, kriegsbeschädigten, alten oder sonst körperlich behinderten Personen auch bei entsprechend geringerer Entfernung zwischen Wohnung und Arbeitsstätte,
- b) Schulkindern, wenn zwischen Wohnung und Schule eine Wegstrecke (ohne den Rückweg) von in der Regel mehr als einer Stunde Gehzeit bzw. von mehr als 5 km zurückzulegen ist, kränklichen, schwachen oder gebrechlichen Kindern auch bei entsprechend geringerer Entfernung zwischen Wohnung und Schule,
- c) zugelassenen Krankenbehndlern, Krankenschwestern, Hebammen und Konsulenten.

Jews may not use public conveyances without written permission issued by the local police.

Upon request, this permission will be granted to Jewish workers if their place of residence and their place of work are more than seven kilometers apart; to disabled Jewish war veterans [referring to war of 1914-18—Ed.]; to the old or invalid even where the distance is shorter; to school children where the distance between their homes and their school is more than five kilometers, or for a shorter distance if the children are weak or sickly; to "healers of the sick," nurses, midwives, "consultants." *

* Jewish physicians and lawyers who were still permitted to practise among Jews only, could not be called physicians or lawyers, but "healers of the sick" and "consultants."

NOTICE ON KEEPING PETS

Jüdisches

NACHRICHTENBLATT

Alle Manuskripte sind zu richten an: „Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt“, Berlin 194, Oranienburger Str. 40/41 / Redaktion: Berlin 194, Oranienburger Str. 40/41 (Tel. 45 50 31) / Belegexpedition: Berlin 194, Oranienburger Str. 40/41, in Vierteljahr RM 2,20 / Ausschnittgebühr jeweils Montag 17 Uhr. Für die Rücksendung unverlangt eingesandter Manuskripte kann keine Gewähr übernommen werden.

Nr. 20

Freitag, den 18. Mai 1942

Jahrgang 1942

Halten von Haustieren

Die Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland gibt folgende Anordnung ihrer Aufsichtsbehörde bekannt:

1. Juden, die zum Tragen des Kennzeichens verpflichtet sind, und den mit ihnen zusammen wohnenden Personen ist mit sofortiger Wirkung das Halten von Haustieren (Hunden, Katzen, Vögeln) verboten.
2. Juden, die im Zeitpunkt der Veröffentlichung dieser Anordnung Haustiere halten, sind verpflichtet, der für ihren Wohnort zuständigen Jüdischen Kultusvereinigung bzw. Bezirks- oder Verwaltungsstelle der Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland bis zum 20. 5. 1942, unter Angabe des Kennworts „Haustiere“, schriftlich anzuzeigen, welche Haustiere von ihnen gehalten werden.
3. Ueber die Ablieferung oder Abholung der Haustiere wird den Tierhaltern (vgl. Ziff. 2) durch die zuständige Jüdische Kultusvereinigung bzw. Bezirks- oder Verwaltungsstelle der Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland Anweisung zugehen.
4. Eine anderweitige Unterbringung der Haustiere, insbesondere in Pflegestellen bei Dritten, ist unzulässig.
5. Zuwiderhandlungen gegen diese Anordnung haben staatspolizeiliche Maßnahmen zur Folge.
6. Diese Anordnung gilt nicht für Juden ausländischer Staatsangehörigkeit, es sei denn, daß sie zum Tragen des Kennzeichens verpflichtet sind.

Effective immediately, Jews are forbidden to keep pets (dogs, cats, birds). By May 20, 1942, Jews must file a list of the pets they are keeping. They will be notified regarding the surrender of these pets, but they may not turn them over to a third person.

This notice does not apply to foreign Jews.

THIRTEENTH DECREE SUPPLEMENTING THE REICH LAW ON CITIZENSHIP

July 1, 1943 (RGL I, p. 372)

372

Reichsgesetzblatt, Jahrgang 1943, Teil I

Dreizehnte Verordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz.
Vom 1. Juli 1943.

Auf Grund des § 3 des Reichsbürgergesetzes vom 15. September 1935 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 1140) wird folgendes verordnet:

§ 1

(1) Strafbare Handlungen von Juden werden durch die Polizei geahndet.

(2) Die Polenstrafrechtsverordnung vom 4. Dezember 1941 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 759) gilt nicht mehr für Juden.

§ 2

(1) Nach dem Tode eines Juden verfällt sein Vermögen dem Reich.

(2) Das Reich kann jedoch den nichtjüdischen Erbberechtigten und Unterhaltsberechtigten, die ihren gewöhnlichen Aufenthalt im Inland haben, einen Ausgleich gewähren.

(3) Der Ausgleich kann durch einen Kapitalbetrag gewährt werden. Er darf die Höhe des Verkaufswertes des in die Verfügungsgewalt des Deutschen Reichs übergegangenen Vermögens nicht übersteigen.

(4) Der Ausgleich kann durch Überlassung von Sachen und Rechten aus dem übernommenen Vermögen gewährt werden. Für die hierfür erforderlichen Rechtshandlungen werden Gerichtsgebühren nicht erhoben.

§ 3

Der Reichsminister des Innern erläßt im Einvernehmen mit den beteiligten Obersten Reichsbehörden die zur Durchführung und Ergänzung dieser Verordnung erforderlichen Rechts- und Verwaltungsvorschriften. Hierbei bestimmt er, inwieweit diese Verordnung für Juden ausländischer Staatsangehörigkeit gilt.

§ 4

Diese Verordnung tritt am siebenten Tage nach ihrer Verkündung in Kraft. Im Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren gilt sie für den Bereich der deutschen Verwaltung und der deutschen Gerichtsbarkeit; § 2 findet auch auf protektoratsangehörige Juden Anwendung.

Berlin, den 1. Juli 1943.

Der Reichsminister des Innern
Frick

Der Leiter der Partei-Kanzlei
M. Bormann

Der Reichsminister der Finanzen
Graf Schwerin von Krosigk

Der Reichsminister der Justiz
Dr. Thierack

Criminal actions by Jews will be punished by police authorities. Upon the death of a Jew, his property is forfeited to the Reich.

Reference Notes

CONSPIRACY

Abbreviations: M.K.—“*Mein Kampf*” (Hitler); Speeches—Hitler’s Speeches.

- ¹ Alfred Rosenberg, “*Mythus des Zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts*,” p. 74.
- ² E. A. Mowrer, “Germany Puts the Clock Back,” p. 150.
- ³ Fritz Thyssen, “I Paid Hitler,” pp. 79-80.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 126.
- ⁵ Carl von Clausewitz, “*Vom Kriege*,” Berlin, 1832, Vol. I, p. 28.
- ⁶ Adolf Hitler, “*Mein Kampf*,” Reynal & Hitchcock, New York, p. 580.
- ⁷ Hitler’s Speeches, Oxford University Press, New York, 1942, p. 12.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- ⁹ M.K., p. 84.
- ¹⁰ Speeches, p. 59.
- ¹¹ Paul Joseph Goebbels, “Bolshevism in Theory and Practice,” Berlin, 1936 (English Edition).
- ¹² M.K., p. 424.
- ¹³ Speeches, pp. 27-29.
- ¹⁴ Speeches, p. 7.
- ¹⁵ Speeches, p. 84.
- ¹⁶ Quoted by Palme Dutt, “World Politics,” p. 261.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 300.
- ¹⁹ Goebbels, *op. cit.*
- ²⁰ Speech, Berlin, February 10, 1933.
- ²¹ Speech, Berlin, May 7, 1933.
- ²² Speech, Berlin, August 21, 1939.
- ²³ M.K., pp. 579 ff.
- ²⁴ M.K., p. 579.
- ²⁵ Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2.
- ²⁶ Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 114.
- ²⁷ M.K., p. 630.
- ²⁸ Hermann Rauschning, “The Voice of Destruction,” pp. 227-228.
- ²⁹ Rosenberg, Speech, August 19, 1927.
- ³⁰ Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 677.
- ³¹ Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
- ³² “The Germanization of the New Testament,” published by Friends of Europe, London, p. 18.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, p. 26.
- ³⁴ Speeches, p. 954.
- ³⁵ M.K., p. 485.

- ³⁶ Speech at Tuebingen, October 1936.
³⁷ "Five Years of Hitler," published by American Council on Public Affairs.
³⁸ M.K., p. 448.
³⁹ "Heil Hitler Dir," Leipzig, 1933.
⁴⁰ *Ibid.*
⁴¹ *Voelkischer Beobachter*, March 21, 1933.
⁴² Speeches, p. 732.
⁴³ Rauschning, *op. cit.*
⁴⁴ Pamphlet, Berlin, 1935 (English edition).
⁴⁵ Pertinax, "Gravediggers of France," p. 415.
⁴⁶ Friedrich List, "Die Ackerverfassung und die Auswanderung," *Werke*, Berlin, 1928.
⁴⁷ Speeches, p. 929.
⁴⁸ Speeches, p. 9.
⁴⁹ M.K., p. 773.
⁵⁰ M.K., p. 952.
⁵¹ Goebbels, *op. cit.*
⁵² *Ibid.*
⁵³ *Ibid.*
⁵⁴ M.K., p. 116.
⁵⁵ February 10, 1942.
⁵⁶ *Der Stuermer*, October 1, 1942.
⁵⁷ *New York Herald Tribune*, August 21, 1945.
⁵⁸ *New York Herald Tribune*, May 6, 1945.
⁵⁹ M.K., p. 452.

THE LAW

Abbreviation: RGBL, I.,—*Reichsgesetzblatt*, Teil I (Reich Law Gazette, Part I).

- ¹ Hans Frank in *Zeitschrift der Akademie fuer Deutsches Recht*, 1936, p. 290.
² *Deutsches Recht*, 1934, p. 233.
³ "Letter of Resignation of James G. McDonald, High Commissioner for Refugees, addressed to The Secretary General of the League of Nations, with an Annex containing an Analysis of the Measures in Germany against 'non-Aryans' and their effects in creating Refugees," London, December 27, 1935, p. 22.
⁴ *Frankfurter Zeitung*, November 26, 1935.
⁵ Robert A. Brady: "Business as a System of Power," New York, 1943, p. 40.
⁶ In addition to Reich laws and decrees, local authorities issued ordinances for their own districts regarding discrimination against Jews. Restricting the Jews' personal freedom, they generally kept in line with the government's and Party's anti-Jewish policy. Legal persecution of a local nature is disregarded in this section; it will be treated elsewhere in the book in connection with the various extra-legal methods of persecution.
⁷ Article 129 of the Constitution. Article 104 established life tenure for German judges.
⁸ Second Decree Supplementing the Law for the Restoration of Professional Civil Service, May 4, 1933, RGBL, I., p. 233.
⁹ The status of notaries public varied in the different German states, but they

- were expressly included as officials within the meaning of the Law for the Restoration of Professional Civil Service.
¹⁰ State or municipal institutions in Germany.
¹¹ Third Decree Supplementing the Law for the Restoration of Professional Civil Service, May 6, 1933, RGBL, I., p. 245.
¹² The Reichsbank and Reich Railroad Corporation, whose employees had civil service status, were authorized to issue corresponding regulations.
¹³ Law Concerning Officials, Salary and Insurance, June 30, 1933, RGBL, I., p. 433.
¹⁴ Law of April 22, 1933, RGBL, I., p. 217.
¹⁵ Law Regarding Honorary Offices in Social Insurance and Reich Insurance, May 18, 1933, RGBL, I., p. 277.
¹⁶ Law on the New Election of Lay Jurors and Commercial Judges, April 7, 1933, RGBL, I., p. 188.
¹⁷ Law Concerning the Admission of Tax Consultants, May 6, 1933, RGBL, I., p. 257.
¹⁸ RGBL, I., p. 350.
¹⁹ RGBL, I., p. 226.
²⁰ Third Decree Supplementing the Law for the Restoration of Professional Civil Service, May 6, 1933, RGBL, I., p. 245.
²¹ Law Regarding the Establishment of a Reich Chamber of Culture, September 22, 1933, RGBL, I., p. 661.
²² RGBL, I., p. 213.
²³ Law Regarding the Reich Labor Service, June 26, 1935, RGBL, I., p. 769.
²⁴ Defense Law, May 21, 1935, RGBL, I., p. 609.
²⁵ Labor Court, Dortmund, decision of August 11, 1933, in *Central Verein Zeitung*, November 23, 1933.
²⁶ See Footnote 3.
²⁷ RGBL, I., p. 1524.
²⁸ RGBL, I., p. 41.
²⁹ RGBL, I., p. 1751.
³⁰ See p. 16, points 4 and 5.
³¹ *Juedische Rundschau*, September 17, 1935.
³² *New York Times*, September 24, 1935 (Wireless dispatch from Berlin).
³³ Dr. Guenter Keiser, "Der Juengste Konzentrationsprozess," Volume 2 of *Die Wirtschaftskurve* (published by the publishing house of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*), May 1939.
³⁴ Potsdam Declaration, Part III: "Germany," Section B: "Economic Principles," Point 12.
³⁵ *Frankfurter Zeitung*, December 28, 1937.
³⁶ RGBL, I., p. 128.
³⁷ Robert A. Brady: "The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism," New York, 1937, p. 157.
³⁸ See p. 89, and footnote 25.
³⁹ *Freiburger Zeitung*, February 3, 1938.
⁴⁰ RGBL, I., p. 925.
⁴¹ RGBL, I., pp. 699 ff.
⁴² Law of December 1, 1936, RGBL, I., p. 1000.
⁴³ American Jewish Yearbook, 1939-40, Vol. 41, p. 263.

⁴⁴ Exact figures as to how many Jews emigrated from Germany each year after 1933 are not available. Reliable estimates give the following picture:

In 1933 approximately	110,000	Jews left Germany
" 1934	" 80,000	" " "
" 1935	" 55,000	" " "
" 1938	" 60,000	" " "

⁴⁵ Circular Edict of the Reich Ministers of the Interior, Finance, Science and Education, June 1, 1938 (*Ministerialblatt des Reichs-und Preussischen Ministeriums des Innern*, 1938, p. 971).

⁴⁶ *Neue Freie Presse*, Vienna, April 30, 1938: "One did not hesitate to mention 'expropriation' in these comments (referring to press comments abroad). It is the duty of the National Socialist regime as *Rechtsstaat* to contradict such falsifications. We have neither the ambition nor even the desire to execute such unlawful coercive measures."

⁴⁷ RGBL, I., April 26, 1938, p. 415.

⁴⁸ RGBL, I., p. 627.

⁴⁹ RGBL, I., p. 823.

⁵⁰ RGBL, I., p. 913.

⁵¹ RGBL, I., p. 1342.

⁵² RGBL, I., p. 1403.

⁵³ RGBL, I., p. 1545.

⁵⁴ First Decree Supplementing the Law Regulating the Profession of Nursing, September 28, 1938 (RGBL, I., p. 1310), and Law on Midwives, December 21, 1938 (RGBL, I., p. 1893).

⁵⁵ RGBL, I., p. 47.

⁵⁶ *Frankfurter Zeitung*, November 17, 1938.

⁵⁷ RGBL, I., p. 1668.

⁵⁸ These "tribunals" were appointed by the British Home Office to consider the cases of 3,600 persons who had come to England from Germany, and whose status was changed by the Declaration of War from that of refugees to that of "enemy aliens." All these persons, according to the tribunals' letter, were Jews "by race," or had Jewish blood in their veins. The letter is the result of the tribunals' investigation, and the facts stated therein had been proved by corroborative evidence to the satisfaction of the investigators.

⁵⁹ RGBL, I., pp. 1741 ff.

⁶⁰ Figures from *Statistisches Reichsamt*, published in *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, March 1940.

⁶¹ These local measures are treated in detail in the Section on "Starvation," pp. 205-206.

⁶² RGBL, I., p. 675.

⁶³ *Juedisches Nachrichtenblatt* No. 22, May 29, 1942.

⁶⁴ *New York Times*, June 10, 1945, UP dispatch from Frankfurt-on-Main, "80% of Reich Jews Murdered by Nazis."

⁶⁵ Fuehrer's Ordinance Concerning the Introduction into Austria of the Laws of the Reich, March 15, 1938, RGBL, I., p. 247.

⁶⁶ Dr. Robert Ley in a speech to German armament workers at Essen, reported by the German News Agency on December 4, 1942.

⁶⁷ Constitutional Law for the Expatriation and Deportation of Jewish Inhabitants of Slovakia, May 15, 1942.

⁶⁸ "Hitler's Ten-Year War on the Jews," published by the Institute of Jewish Affairs of the American Jewish Congress, World Jewish Congress, N. Y., 1943, p. 107.

⁶⁹ Order Concerning the Sheltering of Jews, December 22, 1941, *Verordnungsblatt des Befehlshabers Serbien*, No. 27, 1941, p. 196.

⁷⁰ Raphael Lemkin, "Axis Rule in Occupied Europe," Washington, 1944, p. 75.

STRATEGY OF DECIMATION

Abbreviations: Contemporary Jewish Record—CJR; Jewish Telegraph Agency—JTA; U. S. Office of War Information—OWI; Official Netherlands & Netherlands Indies News Agency—ANETA; International Jewish Press Service—IJPS.

¹ Shub, Boris, "Starvation Over Europe," Institute of Jewish Affairs, New York; see also, "Food Rationing and Supply," 1943-44, League of Nations, 1944.

² Kulischer, Eugene, "The Displacement of Population in Europe," International Labour Office, Montreal, 1943.

³ Brady, Robert, "Business as a System of Power," p. 45, New York.

⁴ "The Yellow Spot": a collection of facts and documents, New York, 1936, pp. 22, 43-44, 67-69, 89, 185-187.

⁵ See pp. 56-57.

⁶ Population figures cited are a combined estimate derived from:

a. *Das Statistische Jahrbuch fuer das Deutsche Reich*, 1933;

b. Kulischer, Eugene, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

⁷ Germany, Basic Handbook, Ministry of Economic Warfare, London, 1944.

⁸ Studies of Migration and Settlement, Lecture Series: Wischnitzer, Mark, "Emigration from Germany and Austria" (1933-42), August 1944; New School for Social Research, New York.

⁹ A law passed on March 23, 1934, called for expulsion of Eastern Jews, but mass expulsions of Jews began in 1938. See p. 88.

¹⁰ Kulischer, Eugene, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

¹¹ Studies of Migration and Settlement, Lecture Series: Auerbach, Franz L., "Survey of Laws and Regulations Dealing with Migration, and their Application in Germany and Austria," August, 1944; New School for Social Research, N. Y.

¹² Kulischer, Eugene, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

¹³ Studies of Migration and Settlement, Lecture Series: Auerbach, Franz L., *op. cit.*

¹⁴ Established at the Evian Conference, July 6-7, 1938.

¹⁵ Studies of Migration and Settlement, Lecture Series: Wischnitzer, Mark, *op. cit.*

¹⁶ For summary of text, see Appendix, p. 510.

¹⁷ CJR, May-June 1939.

¹⁸ Germany, Basic Handbook, *op. cit.*

¹⁹ For summary of text, see Appendix, p. 511.

²⁰ Information Service, April 24, 1943; weekly, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

²¹ *Voelkischer Beobachter*, February 8, 1939.

²² Information Service, *op. cit.*

²³ Kulischer, Eugene, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

²⁴ "Hitler's Ten-Year War on the Jews," Institute of Jewish Affairs, New York, 1943.

- ²⁵ Kulischer, Eugene, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
²⁶ Information Service, *op. cit.*
²⁷ Germany, Basic Handbook, *op. cit.*
²⁸ CJR, March-April 1943.
²⁹ Sir John Hope Simpson, "The Refugee Problem," London, 1939, p. 126.
³⁰ Kulischer, Eugene, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98; see also "Hitler's Ten-Year War on the Jews," *op. cit.*, p. 48.
³¹ CJR, September-October 1938.
³² Sir John Hope Simpson, *op. cit.*, p. 141.
³³ CJR, May-June 1939.
³⁴ Kulischer, Eugene, *op. cit.*, p. 41; see also "International Assistance to Refugees," Supplementary Report submitted to the Twentieth Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations by Sir Herbert Emerson, High Commissioner for Refugees, October 20, 1939, League of Nations, A. 18 (a), 1939. XII
³⁵ Translation from the German, in CJR, November-December 1940.
³⁶ *New York Times*, November 26, 1939; CJR, January-February 1940.
³⁷ "Hitler's Ten-Year War on the Jews," *op. cit.*, p. 50.
³⁸ Information Service, *op. cit.*
³⁹ JTA, Tel Aviv, May 28, 1943.
⁴⁰ OWI, Bureau of Overseas Intelligence, September 15, 1943; "Notes on Austria," July 1943.
⁴¹ "Czechoslovakia Fights Back": a Document of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs, American Council of Public Affairs, Washington, D. C., 1943, p. 40.
⁴² Kulischer, Eugene, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42; see also "Czechoslovakia Fights Back," *op. cit.*, p. 107.
⁴³ "Czechoslovakia Fights Back," *op. cit.*, p. 107.
⁴⁴ *Der Neue Tag*, Prague, October 8, 1941 (under "Evakuierung der Juden gefordert").
⁴⁵ *Ibid.*
⁴⁶ CJR, July-August 1939.
⁴⁷ Information made available by the American Jewish Committee, New York.
⁴⁸ CJR, January-February, 1940.
⁴⁹ An Associated Press dispatch to the *New York Times*, December 6, 1939, quoted an order for the expulsion of all Jewish males under thirty-seven from the Protectorate by February 28, 1940.
⁵⁰ *London Times*, March 11, 1940: Czech authorities still demand the deportation of 250 Jews daily.
⁵¹ Information made available by the American Jewish Committee, New York.
⁵² From material made available by Bureau of Overseas Intelligence, OWI, November 1944.
⁵³ News Flashes from Czechoslovakia, September 14, 1942.
⁵⁴ *Posledni List*, October 30, 1941.
⁵⁵ "Czechoslovakia Fights Back," *op. cit.*, p. 111.
⁵⁶ From material made available by the Bureau of Overseas Intelligence, OWI, November 1944.
⁵⁷ Bulletin of the World Jewish Congress, New York, October 1942.
⁵⁸ Conditions in Occupied Territories, No. 6, "Persecution of the Jews." United Nations Information Office, New York; see also Information Service, *op. cit.*

- ⁵⁹ Information made available by the American Jewish Committee, New York.
⁶⁰ *Transocean*, March 1, 2, 5, 1943.
⁶¹ Conditions in Occupied Territories, No. 6, *op. cit.*
⁶² Approximate estimates from: (a) Material, dated January 3, 1945, made available by the Bureau of Overseas Intelligence, OWI; (b) Kulischer, Eugene, *op. cit.*, p. 102; (c) "Czechoslovakia Fights Back," *op. cit.*, p. 112; (d) "Hitler's Ten-Year War on the Jews," *op. cit.*, p. 61.
⁶³ CJR, September-October 1939.
⁶⁴ Slovak Government's Statistical Office, July 1, 1939.
⁶⁵ CJR, September-October 1939.
⁶⁶ Material, dated January 3, 1945, made available by the Bureau of Overseas Intelligence, OWI.
⁶⁷ Information made available by the American Jewish Committee, New York.
⁶⁸ *Grenzbote*, Bratislava, quoted in CJR, July-August 1941; see also "Hitler's Ten-Year War on the Jews," *op. cit.*, p. 64.
⁶⁹ *Gardista*, March 7, 1942.
⁷⁰ "Czechoslovakia Fights Back," *op. cit.*, p. 113.
⁷¹ Radio Bratislava, May 18, 1942; see also "Czechoslovakia Fights Back," *op. cit.*, p. 113.
⁷² Radio Bratislava, June 30, 1942; see also "Czechoslovakia Fights Back," *op. cit.*, p. 113.
⁷³ "Hitler's Ten-Year War on the Jews," *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65.
⁷⁴ From material made available by the Bureau of Overseas Intelligence, OWI; see also Conditions in Occupied Territories, No. 6, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
⁷⁵ From material, dated January 3, 1945, made available by the Bureau of Overseas Intelligence, OWI.
⁷⁶ Bureau of Overseas Intelligence data (see above reference) cites 20,000 persons left at the close of 1942.
⁷⁷ Conditions in Occupied Territories, No. 6, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
⁷⁸ *Grenzbote*, Bratislava, January 14, 1944.
⁷⁹ From material dated January 3, 1945, made available by the Bureau of Overseas Intelligence, OWI.
⁸⁰ Kulischer, Eugene, *op. cit.*, p. 103; see also Conditions in Occupied Territories, No. 6, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
⁸¹ "Voice of the Unconquered," March 1943.
⁸² ANETA, May 30, 1942; Netherlands Information Bureau, New York.
⁸³ Conditions in Occupied Territories, No. 6, *op. cit.*, p. 13; *Storm Weekblad der Nederlandsche SS*, July 29, 1942.
⁸⁴ Radio Hilversum, July 8, 1942.
⁸⁵ JTA, Stockholm, August 20, 1942.
⁸⁶ Text of radio message by Prime Minister Gerbrandy to Netherlands, reprinted in *Knickerbocker Weekly*, August 3, 1942, New York.
⁸⁷ ANETA, December 17, 1942.
⁸⁸ Kulischer, Eugene, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
⁸⁹ ANETA, December 16, 1942.
⁹⁰ ANETA, February 5, 1943.
⁹¹ ANETA, February 20, 1943.
⁹² Translated in *News from Europe*, April 23, 1943, No. 127, OWI.
⁹³ ANETA, June 22, August 19, November 5, 1943.

- ⁹⁴ Radio Orange broadcast, October 21, 1943, by Prime Minister Pieter S. Gerbrandy.
- ⁹⁵ Kulischer, Eugene, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
- ⁹⁶ Belgium, Basic Handbook, Ministry of Economic Warfare, London, 1943.
- ⁹⁷ "Hitler's Ten-Year War on the Jews," *op. cit.*, p. 250.
- ⁹⁸ Information made available by the American Jewish Committee, New York.
- ⁹⁹ "Hitler's Ten-Year War on the Jews," *op. cit.*, p. 251.
- ¹⁰⁰ Information made available by the American Jewish Committee, New York.
- ¹⁰¹ Belgian Information Center, New York, January 8, 1942.
- ¹⁰² Belgium, Basic Handbook, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁰³ "Situation of the Jews in Belgium," World Jewish Congress, August 29, 1942.
- ¹⁰⁴ 25,000 to 42,000 registered Jews were said to have been deported, according to data published in the Belgium Basic Handbook, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁰⁵ Conditions in Occupied Territories, No. 6, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
- ¹⁰⁶ "Hitler's Ten-Year War on the Jews," *op. cit.*, pp. 257-258.
- ¹⁰⁷ Kulischer, Eugene, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
- ¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁰ *Basler Nationalzeitung*, August 26, 1942.
- ¹¹¹ *Dagens Nyheter*, Stockholm daily, September 12, 1942.
- ¹¹² Norway, Basic Handbook, Ministry of Economic Warfare, London, September 1943.
- ¹¹³ *New York Herald Tribune*, August 24, 1945.
- ¹¹⁴ Norway, Basic Handbook, *op. cit.*; Conditions in Occupied Territories, No. 6, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
- ¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁶ Conditions in Occupied Territories, *op. cit.*, No. 6, p. 14.
- ¹¹⁷ *Dagens Nyheter*, Stockholm, January 16, 1943.
- ¹¹⁸ Conditions in Occupied Territories, *op. cit.*, No. 6, p. 15.
- ¹¹⁹ *Dagens Nyheter*, Stockholm, February 26, 1943; see also *New York Sun*, February 26, 1943.
- ¹²⁰ Information made available by the American Jewish Committee, New York.
- ¹²¹ "Front Line in Denmark" (pamphlet), Danish Council Information Office, Free Denmark Publishing Co., Ltd., London, March 1944.
- ¹²² "Notes on the Danish Crisis," reprinted from the Danish Listening Post, Danish Information Service, October 1943.
- ¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 16.
- ¹²⁴ Information made available by the American Jewish Committee, New York.
- ¹²⁵ Notes on the Danish Crisis, *op. cit.*
- ¹²⁶ Information made available by the American Jewish Committee, New York.
- ¹²⁷ Hungary, Basic Handbook, Ministry of Economic Warfare, London, March 1944, p. 87.
- ¹²⁸ American Jewish Yearbook, 1943-44.
- ¹²⁹ Hungary, Basic Handbook, *op. cit.*
- ¹³⁰ CJR, March-April 1943.
- ¹³¹ JTA, Stockholm, July 29, 1944; CJR, May-June 1944; *London Times*, July 5, 1944.
- ¹³² Information made available by the American Jewish Committee, New York.
- ¹³³ *Donauzeitung*, May 21, 1944.

- ¹³⁴ IJPS, June 9, 1944.
- ¹³⁵ "Le Drame des Juifs Hellènes," published by Le Département Hellénique de l'Information, Cairo, July 12, 1942.
- ¹³⁶ Information made available by the American Jewish Committee, New York.
- ¹³⁷ CJR, March-April 1943.
- ¹³⁸ Kulischer, Eugene, *op. cit.*, p. 107.
- ¹³⁹ *Berliner Boersenzeitung*, September 9, 1942.
- ¹⁴⁰ "Hitler's Ten-Year War on the Jews," *op. cit.*, p. 102.
- ¹⁴¹ Kulischer, Eugene, *op. cit.*, p. 106.
- ¹⁴² *New York Herald Tribune*, August 14, 1941.
- ¹⁴³ Eyewitness account of Meyer Sternberg, brother of the poet Yankev Sternberg, exiled to Transnistria, submitted to the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee of the U.S.S.R.
- ¹⁴⁴ OWI, Foreign Service Division, March 28, 1943.
- ¹⁴⁵ See Raphael Lemkin, "Axis-Rule in Occupied Europe," pp. 80-85.
- ¹⁴⁶ "Know Your Enemy," T. H. Tetens, Society for the Prevention of World War III, 1944.
- ¹⁴⁷ "The Yellow Spot," *op. cit.*, p. 124.
- ¹⁴⁸ *Der Angriff*, August 30, 1933.
- ¹⁴⁹ CJR, September-October 1938.
- ¹⁵⁰ Decree of November 1, 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 1649).
- ¹⁵¹ "Hitler's Ten-Year War on the Jews," *op. cit.*, p. 23.
- ¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 27.
- ¹⁵³ CJR, September-October 1939.
- ¹⁵⁴ Information Service, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁵⁵ CJR, September-October 1939.
- ¹⁵⁶ "Hitler's Ten-Year War on the Jews," *op. cit.*, p. 27.
- ¹⁵⁷ Information Service, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁵⁸ "Jewish Forced Labor," Institute of Jewish Affairs, New York, March 1942.
- ¹⁵⁹ *Daily Express*, London, June 10, 1941.
- ¹⁶⁰ Institute of Jewish Affairs, New York, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁶¹ Kulischer, Eugene, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
- ¹⁶² For summary of law, see Appendix, p. 515.
- ¹⁶³ Germany, Basic Handbook, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁶⁴ "Hitler's Ten-Year War on the Jews," *op. cit.*, p. 48.
- ¹⁶⁵ CJR, September-October, 1938.
- ¹⁶⁶ "Hitler's Ten-Year War on the Jews," *op. cit.*, p. 50.
- ¹⁶⁷ JTA, January 6, 1942.
- ¹⁶⁸ OWI release, December 6, 1944.
- ¹⁶⁹ Kulischer, Eugene, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
- ¹⁷⁰ Institute of Jewish Affairs, New York, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁷¹ Kulischer, Eugene, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
- ¹⁷² CJR, May-June 1939.
- ¹⁷³ Information Service, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁷⁴ CJR, November-December 1939.
- ¹⁷⁵ Institute of Jewish Affairs, New York, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁷⁶ *Der Neue Tag*, Prague, October 23, 1941.
- ¹⁷⁷ Kulischer, Eugene, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
- ¹⁷⁸ Conditions in Occupied Territories, No. 6, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

- ¹⁷⁹ Material, dated November 3, 1944, made available by the Bureau of Overseas Intelligence, OWI.
- ¹⁸⁰ Kulischer, Eugene, *op. cit.*, p. 109; see also Conditions in Occupied Territories, *op. cit.*, No. 6, p. 6.
- ¹⁸¹ *New York Times*, February 25, 1943.
- ¹⁸² Kulischer, Eugene, *op. cit.*, p. 134.
- ¹⁸³ CJR, June-July 1939.
- ¹⁸⁴ Institute of Jewish Affairs, New York, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁸⁵ CJR, November-December 1939.
- ¹⁸⁶ Institute of Jewish Affairs, New York, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁸⁷ Material, dated January 3, 1945, made available by the Bureau of Overseas Intelligence, OWI.
- ¹⁸⁸ CJR, May-June 1941; JTA, London, August 24, 1941.
- ¹⁸⁹ Institute of Jewish Affairs, New York, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁹⁰ Information made available by the American Jewish Committee, New York.
- ¹⁹¹ IJPS, Geneva, August 6, 1943.
- ¹⁹² *Ibid.*, London, December 10, 1943.
- ¹⁹³ Material, dated January 3, 1945, made available by the Bureau of Overseas Intelligence, OWI.
- ¹⁹⁴ Institute of Jewish Affairs, New York, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁹⁵ Conditions in Occupied Territories, No. 6, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.
- ¹⁹⁶ Hider's Ten-Year War on the Jews, *op. cit.*, p. 239.
- ¹⁹⁷ *Joodsche Weekblad*, August 7, 1942.
- ¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, August 21, October 7, 1942.
- ¹⁹⁹ JTA, London, September 3, 1942.
- ²⁰⁰ *New York Times*, February 17, 1944.
- ²⁰¹ Belgian Ministry of Information, London, October 16, 1941.
- ²⁰² Institute of Jewish Affairs, New York, *op. cit.*
- ²⁰³ Belgium, Basic Handbook, Ministry of Economic Warfare, London, September, 1943.
- ²⁰⁴ Free Belgian News Agency, August 24, 1942; *New York Sun*, August 24, 1942.
- ²⁰⁵ JTA, London, March 29, 1943.
- ²⁰⁶ Information made available by the American Jewish Committee, New York.
- ²⁰⁷ Material, dated March 15, 1942, made available by the Bureau of Overseas Intelligence, OWI.
- ²⁰⁸ Decree Concerning the Introduction of Compulsory Labor for the Polish Population of the Gouvernement-General, October 26, 1939, in Raphael Lemkin, *op. cit.*; *Verordnungsblatt des Generalgouverneurs fuer die besetzten polnischen Gebiete*, No. 1, October 26, 1939.
- ²⁰⁹ Second Order Implementing the Order of October 26, 1939, Concerning the Introduction of Forced Labor for the Jewish Population of the Gouvernement-General, December 12, 1939; *Verordnungsblatt des Generalgouverneurs*, (p. 246); See Raphael Lemkin, *op. cit.*, note 31; see also p. 76, *ibid.*
- ²¹⁰ Order, December 21, 1940 (*Verordnungsblatt des Generalgouverneurs*, No. 79).
- ²¹¹ Order, March 17, 1941; see "Black Book of Polish Jewry," New York, p. 218.
- ²¹² Kulischer, Eugene, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
- ²¹³ *Berliner Boersenzeitung*, August 21, 1941.

- ²¹⁴ *Koelnische Zeitung*, February 20, 1941.
- ²¹⁵ Report No. 19, March 15, 1942, on German-Occupied Poland; material made available by the Bureau of Overseas Intelligence, OWI.
- ²¹⁶ Jewish Agency Bulletin, 1944.
- ²¹⁷ Kulischer, Eugene, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
- ²¹⁸ *Ostdeutscher Beobachter*, 1943, quoted in "Black Book of Polish Jewry," p. 102.
- ²¹⁹ Kulischer, Eugene, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-110.
- ²²⁰ CJR, March-April 1941.
- ²²¹ Mary Berg, "Diary," New York, 1944.
- ²²² From material made available by the Bureau of Overseas Intelligence, OWI.
- ²²³ Kulischer, Eugene, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
- ²²⁴ *Gazeta Zydowska*, September 1, 1941.
- ²²⁵ *Ibid.*, October 23, 1940.
- ²²⁶ Institute of Jewish Affairs, New York, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
- ²²⁷ Kulischer, Eugene, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
- ²²⁸ Eyewitness account by I. Hertz, submitted to the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee of the U.S.S.R.
- ²²⁹ Kulischer, Eugene, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-111, and footnote 2, p. 110.
- ²³⁰ Institute of Jewish Affairs, New York, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
- ²³¹ *Krakauer Zeitung*, July 1942, quoted in CJR, November-December 1942.
- ²³² This case history is part of a larger report on Treblinka by Vassili Grossman.
- ²³³ *Der Angriff*, January 31, 1940.
- ²³⁴ *Reichsdeutsche*—full citizens of the Reich; *Volksdeutsche*—persons of German origin, not Reich citizens, e.g., *Sudeten Deutsche*.
- ²³⁵ Decree, April 21, 1933, Ritual Slaughter of Animals (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, pp. 5-6).
- ²³⁶ Law Regulating Peasant Holdings; for text and summary see Appendix, pp. 476-477.
- ²³⁷ "The Yellow Spot," *op. cit.*, p. 189.
- ²³⁸ CJR, May-June 1939.
- ²³⁹ "Hunger and Disease in Nazi Europe," November 1943, p. 3, OWI.
- ²⁴⁰ *Der Angriff*, October 18, 1939.
- ²⁴¹ CJR, November-December 1939.
- ²⁴² Germany, No. 2, 1939, Report of the British Chargé d'Affaires in Berlin, presented by the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, London.
- ²⁴³ CJR, May-June 1939.
- ²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*
- ²⁴⁵ *New York Times*, August 3, 1940.
- ²⁴⁶ CJR, May-June 1940.
- ²⁴⁷ *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, No. 6, February 25, 1941, quoted by Shub, Boris, "Starvation Over Europe," p. 73.
- ²⁴⁸ "Hitler's Ten-Year War on the Jews," *op. cit.*, p. 27.
- ²⁴⁹ *New York Times*, October 5, 1942.
- ²⁵⁰ *New York Times*, December 2, 1942.
- ²⁵¹ *Basler Nationalzeitung*, September 18, 1942.
- ²⁵² Shub, Boris, *op. cit.*
- ²⁵³ *Deutschland-Berichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands*, Paris, November 4, 1940, pp. A 50-51; see Shub, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

- ²⁵⁴ Information made available by the American Jewish Committee, New York.
- ²⁵⁵ CJR, January-February 1942.
- ²⁵⁶ JTA, Lisbon, January 6, 1942.
- ²⁵⁷ Conditions in Occupied Territories, No. 2, "Rationing Under Axis Rule," Inter-Allied Information Committee, Report, London, p. 5.
- ²⁵⁸ CJR, May-June 1939, July-August 1939.
- ²⁵⁹ "Rationing Under Axis Rule," *op. cit.*, p. 6.
- ²⁶⁰ *Jewish Morning Journal*, September 1, October 23, 1939.
- ²⁶¹ *Der Neue Tag*, Prague, October 30, 1939.
- ²⁶² CJR, November-December 1939, March-April 1940.
- ²⁶³ *Juedisches Nachrichtenblatt*, Prague, April 17, 1942.
- ²⁶⁴ "Rationing Under Axis Rule," *op. cit.*, p. 5.
- ²⁶⁵ *Juedisches Nachrichtenblatt*, Prague, February 7, 1941 (under "Neue Einkaufszeiten fuer Juden").
- ²⁶⁶ JTA, Lisbon, August 26, 1941.
- ²⁶⁷ *Juedisches Nachrichtenblatt*, Prague, October 31, 1941; see also: *Sammlung der Gesetze und Verordnungen des Protektorates Boehmen und Maehren*, No. 126, October 24, 1941, p. 1719; No. 133, August 14, 1942, p. 1420; No. 139, November 11, 1941, p. 1869.
- ²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Prague, July 5, 1942.
- ²⁶⁹ *Der Neue Tag*, Prague, December 12, 1942.
- ²⁷⁰ *Slovensky Zakonnik*, Slovakia, 1939, p. 290.
- ²⁷¹ CJR, June-July 1939, March-April 1940.
- ²⁷² *Gradne Noviny*, Slovakia, No. 4, January 18, 1941; see also Shub, Boris, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
- ²⁷³ *Slovakisches Nachrichtenblatt*, Slovakia, No. 27, September 12, 1941; see Shub, Boris, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62.
- ²⁷⁴ *Vestnik*, September 8, 1941.
- ²⁷⁵ *Vestnik Ustredne Zidov*, May 21, 1942.
- ²⁷⁶ *Slovak*, Bratislava, October 9, 1943.
- ²⁷⁷ *New York Post*, January 23, 1944.
- ²⁷⁸ Report published October 4, 1944, made available by the Bureau of Overseas Intelligence, OWI.
- ²⁷⁹ "Hitler's Ten-Year War on the Jews," *op. cit.*, p. 48.
- ²⁸⁰ Decree, Prohibition of *Shechitah* or Ritual Slaughter, October 26, 1939, CJR, January-February 1940.
- ²⁸¹ CJR, January-February 1940; May-June 1940.
- ²⁸² Polish Telegraphic Agency, April 22, 1940.
- ²⁸³ Shub, Boris, *op. cit.*, p. 74; *Gazeta Zydowska*, August 28, 1940.
- ²⁸⁴ *Gazeta Zydowska*, September 3, September 10, December 6, 1940.
- ²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, October 29, 1940, December 6, 1940; see also Shub, Boris, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-66.
- ²⁸⁶ CJR, September-October 1940.
- ²⁸⁷ Report No. 19, March 15, 1942, made available by the Bureau of Overseas Intelligence, OWI.
- ²⁸⁸ Shub, Boris, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
- ²⁸⁹ Conditions in Occupied Territories, No. 6, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
- ²⁹⁰ Shub, Boris, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
- ²⁹¹ "Rationing Under Axis Rule," *op. cit.*, p. 23; Information Service, *op. cit.*

- ²⁹² Shub, Boris, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
- ²⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 74.
- ²⁹⁴ Jewish Agency Bulletin, April 1944.
- ²⁹⁵ Shub, Boris, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
- ²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 79.
- ²⁹⁷ "Rationing Under Axis Rule," *op. cit.*, p. 12.
- ²⁹⁸ Mary Berg, *op. cit.*
- ²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ³⁰⁰ *Dagens Nyheter*, Stockholm, July 1941, quoted in Shub, Boris, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
- ³⁰¹ "Tale of a City" (pamphlet), OWI.
- ³⁰² *Gazeta Zydowska*, August 1, 1941.
- ³⁰³ *Verordnungsblatt fuer das Generalgouvernement*, No. 99, October 25, 1941, p. 595.
- ³⁰⁴ Reprinted in *New York Herald Tribune*, November 28, 1941.
- ³⁰⁵ *Gazeta Polska*, Palestine, December 1941, article by Dr. Witold Majewski on Warsaw Ghetto.
- ³⁰⁶ Shub, Boris, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
- ³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 108, note 77, p. 79.
- ³⁰⁸ Jewish Agency Bulletin, 1943.
- ³⁰⁹ Eyewitness account by I. Hertz, submitted to the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee of the U.S.S.R.
- ³¹⁰ Minutes of Shavel *Judenrat*.
- ³¹¹ Information Service, *op. cit.*
- ³¹² Conditions in Occupied Territories, No. 6, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
- ³¹³ Information Service, *op. cit.*
- ³¹⁴ Jewish Agency Bulletin, December 1943.
- ³¹⁵ Eyewitness account by A. S. Machiz, submitted to the Soviet Extraordinary State Committee.

FOOD CHARTS

A. *Normal consumer*, term used by the League of Nations for average consumer.

B. *Potato Rations*, source: *Food Rationing and Supply, 1943-44*, League of Nations, 1944; *Average Weekly Food Rations in Enemy and Enemy-Occupied Countries 1944*, Ministry of Economic Warfare, London; *Gazeta Zydowska*, August 1, 1941.

1. 1941 figure for ghettos in Poland; *Gazeta Zydowska*, August 1, 1941; no later figure available.

C. *Bread Rations*, source: *Food Rationing and Supply, 1943-44*, League of Nations, 1944.

D. *Meat Rations*, source: *Food Rationing and Supply, 1943-44*, League of Nations, 1944; *Average Weekly Food Rations in Enemy and Enemy-Occupied Countries 1944*, Ministry of Economic Warfare, London; *Weekly Food Rations*, September 1944, Economic Board of the Wartime Prices Trade Board of Canada; Office of Price Administration, Washington, D. C.

1. All consumers received 500 grams of tinned fish per week.

2. Poles are not entitled to: veal, pork, poultry, game, salt, fresh and smoked fish, which are the meats and fish ordinarily available in Poland.

E. *Sugar Rations*, source: *Food Rationing and Supply, 1943-44*, League of Nations, 1944; *Wartime Rationing and Consumption*, League of Nations, 1942; *Average Weekly Food Rations in Enemy and Enemy-Occupied Countries 1944*, Ministry of Economic Warfare, London.

1. In May 1943, 36 ounces extra sugar distributed for jam-making.
2. Rural and urban communities respectively.
3. The higher figure relates to Budapest, the lower to rural districts.

F. *Fat Rations*, source: *Food Rationing and Supply, 1943-44*, League of Nations, 1944; *Average Weekly Food Rations in Enemy and Enemy-Occupied Countries 1944*, Ministry of Economic Warfare, London; Boris Shub, *Starvation Over Europe*, New York, 1943.

1. Rural and urban communities respectively.
2. Margarine and lard only—butter irregularly distributed.
3. Information regarding fat rations differs, but it is reasonable to assume that at this time normal consumers and children received none.
4. In Poland, where most of Axis-occupied European Jews were concentrated, no fats were distributed to Jews. Elsewhere Jews received 0.32% of fats required for an adequate diet as compared to 77% for Germans; see Boris Shub, *op. cit.*

G. *Composition of Food for a Typical family*, source: *Food Rationing and Supply, 1943-44*, League of Nations, 1944; Boris Shub, *op. cit.*

1. Typical family, termed a "consumption unit" by the League of Nations is, according to the League scale, equivalent to two adults and two children or 3.32 adult males.
2. Information regarding fat rations differs; compare *Fat Rations*, 3.

ANNIHILATION

¹ *The Trial*, published by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1944.

² *Congress Weekly*, New York, December 4, 1942.

³ Cf. Ilya Ehrenburg, *Sobibur*.

⁴ U.S. Government, War Refugee Board Report, November 1944.

⁵ Report of December 1944 of The Soviet Extraordinary State Committee for the Ascertaining and Investigation of Crimes Committed by the German Fascist Invaders and Their Associates, and Damage Caused by Them to Citizens, Collective Farms, Public Bodies, State Enterprises, and Institutions of the USSR.

⁶ *New York Times*, May 4, 1945.

⁷ *New York Herald Tribune*, November 18, 1944.

⁸ Soviet Extraordinary State Committee, report December 1944.

⁹ Report of February and March 1945.

¹⁰ *New York Herald Tribune*, May 1, 1945.

¹¹ Part of the information in this section is based on *Buchenwald Camp*, The Report of a Parliamentary Delegation, Cmd. 6626, H.M.S.O., London, April 1945.

¹² Reported by Gene Curriuan, *New York Times*, April 18, 1945.

¹³ Prisoners of War and Displaced Persons Division, U.S. Group Control Council, *Inspection of German Concentration Camp for Political Prisoners Located at Buchenwald on the North Edge of Weimar*.

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¹⁴ *New York Times*, May 13, 1945.

¹⁵ *New York Times*, May 13, 1945.

¹⁶ U.S. Army newspaper.

¹⁷ *New York Times*, May 6, 1945.

¹⁸ *New York Times*, May 15, 1945.

¹⁹ *New York Herald Tribune*, May 4, 1945.

²⁰ *PM*, New York daily newspaper, June 10, 1945.

²¹ *Time* magazine, May 7, 1945.

²² Joseph North in *Daily Worker*, New York, May 20, 1945.

²³ *New York Herald Tribune*, December 14, 1945.

²⁴ This refers to blood-stained clothes giving evidence of the torture prisoners underwent—Ed.

²⁵ Concentration Camp Esterwegen, Office of Commanding Officer, *Special Camp Regulations*, signed by Eicke, SS Group Leader.

²⁶ *Papers Concerning the Treatment of German Nationals in Germany, 1938-39*, Cmd. 6120, H.M.S.O., London, 1939.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ See "Conspiracy," pp. 59-61 and "The Law," pp. 99-100.

²⁹ *An Eyewitness Account of the Burning of the Synagogue of Cologne*, November 10, 1938, by Dr. Adolf Kober, Chief Rabbi of Cologne.

³⁰ *United Nations Review*, 1943, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 1.

³¹ *The Christian Science Monitor*, January 11, 1945.

³² Recorded by the United States Office of War Information, quoted in the newspaper *PM*, October 3, 1944.

³³ *New York World Telegram*, October 4, 1944.

³⁴ *New York Times*, May 6, 1945.

³⁵ *PM*, New York, April 22, 1945.

³⁶ ANETA (Netherlands and Netherlands Indies News Agency), April 1, 1942.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, December 16, 1943.

³⁸ *New York Times*, November 13, 1944.

³⁹ Published by Netherlands Information Bureau, New York.

⁴⁰ Order by General von Stuelpnagel, German Commander of the Troops of Occupation in France.

⁴¹ *Jewish Telegraph Agency*, February 23, 1945.

⁴² Obtained from the U. S. Department of Interior.

⁴³ French Press and Information Service, New York, January 2, 1945, Document Series II, No. 1816 E.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, January 6, 1945, Document Series II, No. 1847 E.

⁴⁵ *New York Times*, May 4, 1945.

⁴⁶ Czechoslovak Government Press Bureau, New York, March 27, 1945.

⁴⁷ *PM*, New York, June 25, 1945.

⁴⁸ *New York Times*, June 12, 1945.

⁴⁹ This letter was received in New York by K. D., a political refugee from Czechoslovakia, from his wife I. D., who was interned in the Terezin concentration camp from 1942-45. Freed in January 1945, she reached Switzerland in February.

⁵⁰ Other camps were at Zemun, near Belgrade, Novi Sad, in the northern Hungarian territory, and Kavaja, in northern Albania.

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- ⁵³ Joint Rescue Committee for Jewish Agency for Palestine, Jerusalem, March 1945.
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- ⁵⁵ Report of December 1944 of the Soviet Extraordinary State Committee.
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- ⁵⁷ Eyewitness account by I. Hertz, submitted to the Soviet Extraordinary Commission, and the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee of the U.S.S.R.
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- ⁵⁹ W. H. Lawrence in *New York Times*, October 6, 1944.
- ⁶⁰ From an eyewitness report by A. Sutzkever, Jewish poet of Vilna.
- ⁶¹ A. Sutzkever, *op. cit.*
- ⁶² A. Sutzkever, *op. cit.*
- ⁶³ A. Sutzkever, *op. cit.*
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- ⁶⁵ Deposition made to Soviet military authorities.
- ⁶⁶ *Washington Post*, April 10, 1945.
- ⁶⁷ Deposition made to Soviet military authorities.
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- ⁸¹ German Order turned over to the Soviet Extraordinary State Committee.
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- ⁹⁰ W. H. Lawrence in *New York Times*, October 22, 1944.
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