

# Nuremburg Laws

## **Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor**

Moved by the understanding that purity of the German Blood is the essential condition for the continued existence of the German people, and inspired by the inflexible determination to ensure the existence of the German Nation for all time, the *Reichstag* has unanimously adopted the following Law, which is promulgated herewith:

### § 1

- 1) Marriages between Jews and subjects of the state of German or related blood are forbidden. Marriages nevertheless concluded are invalid, even if concluded abroad to circumvent this law.
- 2) Annulment proceedings can be initiated only by the State Prosecutor.

### § 2

Extramarital intercourse between Jews and subjects of the state of German or related blood is forbidden.

### § 3

Jews may not employ in their households female subjects of the state of German or related blood who are under 45 years old.

### § 4

- 1) Jews are forbidden to fly the Reich or National flag or to display the Reich colors.
- 2) They are, on the other hand, permitted to display the Jewish colors. The exercise of this right is protected by the State.

### § 5

- 1) Any person who violates the prohibition under § 1 will be punished by a prison sentence with hard labor.
- 2) A male who violates the prohibition under § 2 will be punished with a prison sentence with or without hard labor.
- 3) Any person violating the provisions under § 3 or 4 will be punished with a prison sentence of up to one year and a fine, or with one or the other of these penalties.

### § 6

The Reich Minister of the Interior, in coordination with the Deputy of the Führer and the Reich Minister of Justice, will issue the Legal and Administrative regulations required to implement and complete this Law.

### § 7

The Law takes effect on the day following promulgations except for § 3, which goes into force on January 1, 1936.

Nuremberg, September 15, 1935  
at the Reich Party Congress of Freedom

*The Führer and Reich Chancellor*  
*Adolf Hitler*  
*The Reich Minister of the Interior*  
*Frick*

## The Reich Citizenship Law

The *Reichstag* has unanimously enacted the following law, which is promulgated herewith:

### § 1

- 1) A subject of the State is a person who enjoys the protection of the German Reich and who in consequence has specific obligations towards it.
- 2) The status of subject of the State is acquired in accordance with the provisions of the Reich and State Citizenship Law.

### § 2

- 1) A Reich citizen is a subject of the State who is of German or related blood, who proves by his conduct that he is willing and fit faithfully to serve the German people and Reich.
- 2) Reich citizenship is acquired through the granting of a Reich Citizenship Certificate.
- 3) The Reich citizen is the sole bearer of full political rights in accordance with the Law

### § 3

The Reich Minister of the Interior, in coordination with the Deputy of the Führer, will issue the Legal and Administrative orders required to implement and complete this Law.

Nuremberg, September 15, 1935

At the Reich Party Congress of Freedom

*The Führer and Reich Chancellor - Adolf Hitler*

*The Reich Minister of the Interior - Frick*

## The Reich Flag Law

The *Reichstag* has unanimously approved the following law, which is herewith made public:

§ 1 - The colors of the Reich are black, white, and red.

§ 2 - The Reich and National flag is the swastika flag, It is also the merchant shipping flag.

§ 3 - The Führer and Reich Chancellor shall order the form of the Reich wall flag and the Reich service flag.

§ 4 - The Secretary of the Interior will together with the Secretary of War issue the necessary law and administrative ordinances.

§ 5 - This law is valid at its day of publication.

Nuremberg, September 15, 1935

At the Reich Party Congress of Freedom

*The Führer and Reich Chancellor - Adolf Hitler*

**...Bitter complaints have come in from countless places citing the provocative behavior of Jews....a certain amount of [conspiratorial] planning was involved....[To prevent] vigorous defensive action by the [Aryan] people, we have no choice but to contain the problem through legislative measures....it may be possible, through a definitive secular solution, to create a basis on which the German people can have a tolerable relationship with the Jews...**

**This law is an attempt to find a legislative solution....if this attempts fails, it will be necessary to transfer [the Jewish problem] ... to the National Socialist Party for a final solution by law (*endgültige Lösung*).**

Adolf Hitler speech to the *Reichstag* - September 15, 1935

# **KRISTALLNACHT Telegram**

*SECRET*

Copy of Most Urgent telegram from Munich, of November 10, 1938, 1:20 A.M.

To: All Headquarters and Stations of the State Police  
All districts and Sub-districts of the SD

Urgent! For immediate attention of Chief or his deputy!

Re: Measures against Jews tonight

Following the attempt on the life of Secretary of the Legation vom Rath in Paris, demonstrations against the Jews are to be expected in all parts of the Reich in the course of the coming night, November 9/10, 1938. The instructions below are to be applied in dealing with these events:

1. The Chiefs of the State Police, or their deputies, must immediately upon receipt of this telegram contact, by telephone, the political leaders in their areas – Gauleiter or Kreisleiter – who have jurisdiction in their districts and arrange a joint meeting with the inspector or commander of the Order Police to discuss the arrangements for the demonstrations. At these discussions the political leaders will be informed that the German Police has received instructions, detailed below, from the Reichsführer SS and the Chief of the German Police, with which the political leadership is requested to coordinate its own measures:
  - a) Only such measures are to be taken as do not endanger German lives or property (i.e., synagogues are to be burned down only where there is no danger of fire in neighboring buildings).
  - b) Places of business and apartments belonging to Jews may be destroyed but not looted. The police is instructed to supervise the observance of this order and to arrest looters.
  - c) In commercial streets particular care is to be taken that non-Jewish businesses are completely protected against damage.
  - d) Foreign citizens – even if they are Jews – are not to be molested.
2. On the assumption that the guidelines detailed under paragraph 1 are observed, the demonstrations are not to be prevented by the Police, which is only to supervise the observance of the guidelines.
3. On receipt of this telegram Police will seize all archives to be found in all synagogues and offices of the Jewish communities so as to prevent their destruction during the demonstrations. This refers only to material of historical value, not to contemporary tax records, etc. The archives are to be handed over to the locally responsible officers of the SD.
4. The control of the measures of the Security Police concerning the demonstrations against the Jews is vested in the organs of the State Police, unless inspectors of the Security Police have given their own instructions. Officials of the Criminal Police, members of the SD, of the Reserves and the SS in general may be used to carry out the measures taken by the Security Police.
5. As soon as the course of events during the night permits the release of the officials required, as many Jews in all districts – especially the rich – as can be accommodated in existing prisons are to be arrested. For the time being only healthy male Jews, who are not too old, are to be detained. After the detentions have been carried out the appropriate concentration camps are to be contacted immediately for the prompt accommodation of the Jews in the camps. Special care is to be taken that the Jews arrested in accordance with these instructions are not ill-treated....

Signed Heydrich,  
SS GruppenFührer [Major General]

Source: [http://www1.yadvashem.org/about\\_holocaust/documents/part1/doc49.html](http://www1.yadvashem.org/about_holocaust/documents/part1/doc49.html)

# Discussion by Authorities following *Kristallnacht*

*Stenographic Report of the Meeting on the Jewish Question held under the Chairmanship of Field Marshal Goering in the Reich Air Ministry at 11 A.M. on November 12, 1938*

**Goering:** Gentlemen! Today's meeting is of decisive importance. I have received a letter on the Fuehrer's orders by the Head of Staff of the Fuehrer's deputy, Bormann, with instructions that the Jewish Question is to be summed up and coordinated once and for all and solved one way or another. A phone call from the Fuehrer to me yesterday again gave me instructions that decisive coordinated steps must now be outlined.

As the problem is in the main a large-scale economic matter, it is from this angle that it will have to be tackled. This will, of course, produce a number of legal measures, in the jurisdiction of the Justice Minister as well as the Minister of Interior; and then the resultant propaganda measures which fall into the area of the Propaganda Minister; and of course also measures by the Finance Minister and Economics Minister.

At the meeting at which this question was discussed for the first time and it was decided to Aryanize the German economy, to get the Jew out of the economy, to make them debtors on a pension, we unfortunately only made very fine plans, but then dragged our feet in following them up....

**Heydrich:** After all the elimination of the Jew from economic life, in the end there is still always the basic problem of getting the Jew out of Germany. May I make a few suggestions in this connection?

Following a suggestion made by the *Reichskommissar* we have set up a Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Vienna\* with the aid of which we have taken at least 50,000 Jews away from Austria, while only 19,000 Jews were taken out of the Reich during the same period. It was made possible by coordination between the Ministry of Economics, which was responsible, and the foreign aid organizations.

**Goering:** First of all you cooperated with the local leader of the "green border" [clandestine border crossing]. That is the main thing.

**Heydrich:** That involved only very small numbers, Mr. Field Marshal. The illegal

**Goering:** The story has gone through the entire world press. In the first night the Jews were expelled to Czechoslovakia. Next morning the Czechs caught them and pushed them across into Hungary. From Hungary they were returned to Germany and then to Czechoslovakia. That way they traveled around and around. In the end they finished up on an old barge on the Danube. They stayed there and wherever they tried to land they were turned away again.

**Heydrich:** That's what was reported. There were not even as many as 100 Jews.

**Goering:** For two weeks, in effect, a number of Jews emigrated every midnight. That was in Burgenland.

**Heydrich:** At least 45,000 Jews got away by legal means.

**Goering:** How was that possible?

**Heydrich:** Through the Jewish Community Council we took a certain sum off the rich Jews who wanted to emigrate. That was how it was done. With this money and some additional foreign currency it was then possible to get out a number of poor Jews. After all, the problem is not to get the rich Jews out, but the Jewish mob.

**Goering:** But, fellows, have you ever thought about this properly? It doesn't really help us even if we get a few hundred thousand of the Jewish mob away from Germany. Have you ever considered whether this procedure may not, in the long run, cost so much foreign currency that we cannot continue with it permanently?

**Heydrich:** Only the foreign currency that every Jew received.

(Goering: agrees.)

This way, may I suggest that we set up a similar bureau in the Reich, with the cooperation of the government agencies concerned, and that we make use of this experience [Austria] in order to find a solution for the Reich, at the same time avoiding the mistakes which the Field Marshal has so rightly pointed out to us?

(Goering: agrees.)

A second way of getting the Jews out would be an emigration operation for the Jews in the rest of the Reich, spread over at least 8 to 10 years. We cannot get out more than the maximum of 8,000 to 10,000 Jews a year. That would leave a great many Jews here. Because of Aryanization and other restrictions Jewry will be unemployed. We will see the remaining Jews becoming proletarians. I would have to take measures in Germany to isolate the Jews, on the one hand, so that they will not enter into the normal life of the Germans. On the other hand, I must create possibilities of permitting the Jews certain activities, in the matter of lawyers, doctors, barbers, etc., while yet limiting them to the smallest possible circle of customers. This question will have to be studied.

As far as isolation is concerned, I should like to put forward a few suggestions, purely police matters, which are important in part for their psychological effect on public opinion. For instance, the identification of the Jews, saying: Every person who is a Jew in accordance with the Nuremberg Laws must wear a certain distinguishing mark. This is a possibility which would simplify many other matters I don't see any danger of excesses against the Jews and it would make our relationship with foreign Jews easier.

**Goering:** A uniform!

**Heydrich:** Badge. This would also prevent the foreign Jews whose external appearance is no different from that of the local Jews, from suffering the same disadvantages.

**Goering:** But my dear Heydrich, you will not be able to avoid having ghettos in the cities on a really big scale. They will have to be established.

**Heydrich:** As for the matter of ghettos, I would like to make my position clear right away. From a police point of view I think that a ghetto, in the form of a completely segregated district with only Jews, is not possible. We would have no control over a ghetto where the Jew gets together with the whole of his Jewish tribe. It would be a permanent hideout for criminals and first of all [a source] of epidemics and the like. The situation today is that the German population...[which lives together with the Jews] forces the Jews to behave more carefully in the streets and the houses. The control of the Jews by the watchful eyes of the whole population is better than putting thousands upon thousands of Jews together in a single district of a city where uniformed officials will be unable to check on their daily activities.

**Goering:** We only have to cut off the telephone link with the outside.

**Heydrich:** I could not stop the movements of Jewry out from this district completely.

**Goering:** And in cities really all their own?

**Heydrich:** Yes, if I put them into cities entirely their own. But then this city would become such a center for criminal elements that it would be very dangerous. I would try a different way....

**Goering:** I shall choose the definition that the German Jews as a whole, as a punishment for their abominable crimes, etc., etc., will have to pay a *Kontribution* (fine) of one billion. That will do it. The swine won't hurry to commit another murder. In general I must say once again: I should not like to be a Jew in Germany.

**v. Krosigk:** That is why I would like to emphasize what Mr. Heydrich said at the beginning: we must try everything in the way of more export, of getting the Jews out abroad. It will always be the decisive point that we do not have to keep this whole proletarian company here. It will always be a terrible burden to deal with them.

(Frick: and a danger.)

I also do not imagine that if we are forced to have ghettos it would be very pleasant. The likelihood of having to have ghettos is not pleasant. Therefore the aim must be what Heydrich said: out with whoever can be got out!

**Goering:** The second point is the following. If the German Reich should in the near future become involved in conflict abroad then it is obvious that we in Germany will first of all make sure of settling accounts with the Jews. Apart from that the Fuehrer is now at last to make a major move abroad, starting with the Powers which have brought up the Jewish question, in order really to get around to the Madagascar solution. He explained this to me in detail on November 9. There is no longer any other way. He is also going to say to the other nations: "Why do you keep talking about the Jews? Take them!..."

**Funk:** The decisive question is whether the Jewish stores will have to be reopened or not?

**Goering:** That depends on the extent to which these Jewish stores have a relatively large turnover. If that is the case it is a sign that the German people are simply forced to buy there although it is a Jewish store, because there is a need. If all the Jewish stores that are shut now were to be shut before Christmas many would go empty-handed.

**Fischboeck:** We already have a precise plan for this in Austria, Mr. Field Marshal General. In Vienna there are 12,000 Jewish artisans businesses and 5,000 Jewish retail stores. Even before the *Umbruch*\*\* there was a plan for all the tradesmen involved in these 17,000 open businesses; of the 12,000 artisans shops almost 10,000 were to be closed for good, and 2,000 kept going. Of the 5,000 retail stores, 1,000 were to be kept going, that is they were to be Aryanized, and 4,000 were to be shut. According to this plan, then, 3,000 to 3,500 of the total of 17,000 businesses would remain open, and all the others would be closed. This is calculated on the basis of investigation for each separate branch and in accordance with local requirements. It has been settled with all the competent authorities and could start tomorrow, as soon as we get the Law which we requested in September, which would authorize us to withdraw trade licenses generally, without any connection with the Jewish Question. It would be quite a short Law.

**Goering:** I will issue the regulation today.

**Fischboeck:** We have been promised this for Austria within the framework of our general economic plan. I think that it was not settled only because of ongoing negotiations between the Reich Ministry of Economics and [the Ministry of] Nutrition. There was agreement on principle. As soon as we have it we can close these 10,000 businesses officially. That's just paperwork. In order to carry it out it will be then still be necessary for somebody to see what is to be done with the goods in these businesses. Up to last week we had had the intention of leaving the liquidation of stores more or less to the Jews themselves. That will now no longer be possible. We plan to create an economic agency for all these businesses together, which will see to it that use is made of these goods. In general this will be done best by handing them over to the branch concerned, which can then divide them up among the Aryan businesses, who can either take them on commission or pay for them.

If this is carried out along the proposed lines we will be left with only about another 3,000 businesses slated for Aryanization in accordance with the plans for the various branches. There are already firm buyers for about half these stores, and their purchase contracts have been checked sufficiently for immediate authorization. In many cases the

authorization has not been finalized only because we were waiting for the definitive decision on the planning issue. Negotiations have also proceeded quite far for the other 15,000 businesses. We are of the opinion that we should set ourselves a deadline, which might be the end of this year. If no definite buyer has been found by the end of the year for the retail stores that are to be Aryanized we will check again whether they should not be liquidated after all. That should usually be possible: artisans shops are very individual businesses. As far as retail stores are concerned the matter would never be so urgent that it could be said that the economic damage was too great. That would leave us with just a very few stores that have been judged necessary but for which there are no buyers: They would have to be taken on by the Public Trustees Office. I don't think that it would come to as many as 100 businesses, probably fewer. In this way we could have eliminated all publicly visible Jewish businesses by the end of the year.

**Goering:** That would be excellent!

**Fischboeck:** Then 12,000 or 14,000 of 17,000 businesses would be closed and the rest Aryanized or transferred to the State Trustee.

**Goering:** I must say that this proposal is marvelous. Then the whole business would really be cleared out by Christmas or the end of the year in Vienna, one of the chief Jewish cities, so to say.

**Funk:** We can do it here [in Germany] too. I have prepared a Regulation for this matter which states that from January 1, 1939, Jews are forbidden to operate retail stores and commission agencies, or to operate independent artisans businesses. They are also forbidden to hire employees for this purpose, to offer such services, to advertise them or to accept orders. Where any Jewish trade is carried out it will be closed by the Police. From January 1, 1939, a Jew can no longer be the manager of a business, in accordance with the Law for the Organization of National Labor, of January 20, 1934. Where a Jew is in a leading position in an economic enterprise without being the official manager his employment can be terminated by the manager with six weeks notice. At the end of the period of notice all claims of the employee deriving from the terminated contract will be void, including pension rights where these existed. That is always very unpleasant and a great danger. A Jew cannot be a member of a cooperative. Jewish membership in cooperatives is terminated on December 31, 1938. No special authorization is required. The Reich Ministers concerned are being authorized to issue the Regulations necessary for the implementation of the Law....

\*\* Austrian expression for *Anschluss*.



# **Establishment of the Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration**

Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan

Berlin, January 24, 1939

To

The Reich Minister of the Interior

Berlin

The emigration of the Jews from Germany is to be furthered by all possible means.

A Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration is being established in the Reich Ministry of the Interior from among representatives of the agencies concerned. The Reich Central Office will have the task to devise uniform policies as follows:

1. Measures for the preparation of increased emigration of Jews. This will include the creation of a Jewish organization that can prepare uniform applications for emigration; the taking of all steps for the provision and efficient use of local and foreign funds; and a decision on suitable target countries for emigration, to be selected in coordination with the Reich Center for Emigration.
2. The direction of emigration, including, for instance, preference for the emigration of the poorer Jews.
3. The speeding up of emigration in individual cases, by means of speedy and smooth provision of the State documents and permits required by the individual emigrant, through central processing of applications for emigration.

The Reich Center for Emigration will be headed by the Chief of the Security Police. He will appoint a Responsible Manager and make rules for the operation of the Reich Center.

Regular reports on the work of the Reich Center will be forwarded to me. I will be consulted continuously on measures requiring decisions of principle.

In addition to representatives of other agencies involved, the Committee will include Ambassador Eisenlohr, who is responsible for official inter-state negotiations, and Ministerial Director Wohlthat, who is responsible for negotiations in connection with the Rublee Plan.

signed Goering

Source: [http://www1.yadvashem.org/about\\_holocaust/documents/part1/doc57.html](http://www1.yadvashem.org/about_holocaust/documents/part1/doc57.html)

# Schnellbrief

The Chief of the Security Police

Berlin, September 21, 1939

## Schnellbrief

To Chiefs of all Einsatzgruppen of the Security Police  
Subject: Jewish Question in Occupied Territory

I refer to the conference held in Berlin today, and again point out that the *planned total measures* (i.e., the final aim – *Endziel*) are to be kept *strictly secret*.

Distinction must be made between:

1. the final aim (which will require extended periods of time) and
2. the stages leading to the fulfillment of this final aim (which will be carried out in short periods.)

The planned measures require the most thorough preparation with regard to technical as well as economic aspects.

It is obvious that the tasks ahead cannot be laid down from here in full detail. The instructions and directives below must serve also for the purpose of urging chiefs of the *Einsatzgruppen* to give practical consideration [to the problems involved].

### I

*For the time being, the first prerequisite for the final aim is the concentration of the Jews from the countryside into the larger cities.*

This is to be carried out speedily.

In doing so, distinction must be made:

- 1) between the zones of Danzig and West Prussia, Posnan, Eastern Upper Silesia, and
- 2) the other occupied zones.

As far as possible, the areas referred to under 1) are to be cleared of Jews; at least the aim should be to establish only few cities of concentration.

In the areas under 2), as few concentration centers as possible are to be set up, so as to facilitate subsequent measures. In this connection it should be borne in mind that only cities which are rail junctions, or are at least located on railroad lines, should be selected as concentration points.

On principle, Jewish communities of *less than 500 persons* are to be dissolved and transferred to the nearest concentration center . . .

### II

#### *Council of Jewish Elders*

- 1) In each Jewish community a Council of Jewish Elders is to be set up which, as far as possible, is to be composed of the remaining authoritative personalities and rabbis. The Council is to be composed of up to 24 male Jews (depending on the size of the Jewish community.)

The Council is to be made *fully responsible*, in the literal sense of the word, for the exact and prompt implementation of directives already issued or to be issued in the future.

- 2) In case of sabotage of such instructions, the Councils are to be warned that the most severe measures will be taken.

- 3) The Judenräte (Jewish Councils) are to carry out an approximate census of the Jews of their areas, broken down if possible according to sex (and age groups): a) up to 16 years, b) from 16 to 20 years, and c) above; and also according to the principal occupations. The results are to be reported in the shortest possible time.
- 4) The Councils of Elders are to be informed of the date and time of the evacuation, the means available for evacuation, and, finally, the departure routes. They are then to be made personally responsible for the evacuation of the Jews from the countryside.

The reason to be given for the concentration of the Jews in the cities is that the Jews have taken a decisive part in sniper attacks and plundering.

- 5) The Councils of Elders in the concentration centers are to be made responsible for the appropriate housing of the Jews arriving from the countryside.

For reasons of general police security, the concentration of the Jews in the cities will probably call for regulations in these cities which will forbid their entry to certain quarters completely and that – but with due regard for economic requirements – they may, for instance, not leave the ghetto nor leave their homes after a certain hour in the evening, etc.

- 6) The Councils of Elders are also to be made responsible for the suitable provisioning of the Jews during the transport to the cities.
- 7) Jews who fail to comply with the order to move into cities are to be given a short additional period of grace where there was sufficient reason for the delay. They are to be warned of the most severe penalties if they fail to move by the later date set.

### III

*All necessary measures are, on principle, always to be taken in closest consultation and cooperation with the German civil administrations and the competent local military authorities.*

In the execution [of this plan], it must be taken into consideration that economic requirements in the occupied areas do not suffer.

- 1) Above all, the needs of the army must be taken into consideration. For instance, for the time being, it will scarcely be possible to avoid, here and there, leaving behind some trade Jews who are absolutely essential for the provisioning of the troops, for lack of other possibilities. But in such cases the prompt Aryanization of these enterprises is to be planned and the move of the Jews to be completed in due course, in cooperation with the competent local German administrative authorities.
- 2) For the preservation of German economic interests in the occupied territories, it is obvious that Jewish-owned war and other essential industries, and also enterprises, industries and factories important to the Four Year Plan, must be maintained for the time being.

In these cases also, prompt Aryanization must be aimed at, and the move of the Jews completed later.

- 3) Finally, the food situation in the occupied territories must be taken into consideration. For instance, as far as possible, land owned by Jewish settlers is to be handed over to the care of neighboring German or even Polish farmers to work on commission to ensure the harvesting of crops still standing in the fields, and replanting.

With regard to this important question, contact is to be made with the agricultural expert of the Chief of the Civil Administration.

- 4) In all cases in which it is not possible to coordinate the interests of the Security Police on the one hand, and the German civil administration on the other, I am to be informed by the fastest route and my decision awaited before the particular measures in question are carried out.

#### IV

The Chiefs of the *Einsatzgruppen* are to report to me continuously on the following matters:

- 1) Numerical survey of the Jews present in their areas (according to the above classifications, if possible.) The numbers of Jews evacuated from the countryside and of those already in the cities is to be listed separately.
- 2) Names of the cities, which have been designated as concentration centers.
- 3) The dates set for the Jews to move to the cities.
- 4) Surveys of all the Jewish [owned] war and other essential industries and enterprises, or those important to the Four Year Plan in their areas.

If possible, the following should be specified:

- a) Type of enterprise (with a statement on possible conversion to really vital or war-important enterprises or ones of importance to the Four Year Plan);
- b) Which factories should be most urgently Aryanized (in order to forestall possible losses)

What kind of Aryanization is proposed? Germans or Poles? (The decision to depend on the importance of the enterprise);

- c) The number of Jews working in these factories (specify those in leading positions).

Can operations at the enterprise be continued without difficulty after the removal of the Jews, or will it be necessary to allocate German or possibly Polish workers in their place? In what numbers?

If Polish workers have to be used care should be taken that they are drawn mainly from the former German provinces so as to begin to ease the problem there. These matters can be carried out only by means of coordination with the German Labor Offices which have been set up.

#### V

In order to reach the planned aims, I expect the fullest cooperation of the whole manpower of the Security Policy and the SD.

The Chiefs of neighboring *Einsatzgruppen* are to establish contact with each other immediately in order to cover the areas in question completely.

#### VI

The High command of the Army; the Plenipotentiary for the Four Year Plan (attention: Secretary of State *Neumann*), the Reich Ministry for the Interior (attention: State Secretary *Stuckart*), for Food and the Economy (attention: State Secretary *Landfried*), as well as the Chiefs of Civil Administration of the Occupied Territories have received copies of this decree.

Signed Heydrich

# Kommissar Order

High Command of the Armed Forces  
WFSt. (Armed Forces Operational Staff) Department L (IV Q)  
("Intelligence")  
No 44822/41 Top Secret for general officers only

Fuehrer Headquarters, 6 June 1941

In addition to the Fuehrer's decree of 14 May regarding Military jurisdiction in the "Barbarossa" zone (Supreme Command of the Armed Forces/Armed Forces Operational Staff/Department L (IV Q) (Intelligence) No 44718/41, (Top Secret, for General Officers only), the enclosed "directives for the treatment of political commissars" are being transmitted herewith:

You are requested to limit the distribution to Commanders in Chief of Armies or of Air Commands, respectively, and to inform the Junior commanders by word of mouth.

The Chief of the Supreme Command  
Of the Armed Forces  
By Order.  
Signed: Warlimont

Enclosure to Supreme Command of the Armed Forces/Department L IV Q (Intelligence)  
No. 44822/41 Top Secret  
For General Officers only.

## Directives for the treatment of political commissars.

When fighting Bolshevism one can not count on the enemy acting in accordance with the principles of humanity or International Law. In particular it must be expected that the treatment of our prisoners by the political commissars of all types who are the true pillars of resistance, will be cruel, inhuman and dictated by hate.

The troops must realize:

1. That in this fight it is wrong to trust such elements with clemency and consideration in accordance with International Law. They are a menace to our own safety and to the rapid pacification of the conquered territories.
2. That the originators of the asiatic-barbaric methods of fighting are the political commissars. They must be dealt with promptly and with the utmost severity.

Therefore, if taken while fighting or offering resistance they must, on principle, be shot immediately.

For the rest, the following instructions will apply:

### I. Theatre of Operations.

1. Political commissars who oppose our troops will be dealt with in accordance with the "decree concerning jurisdiction in the "Barbarossa" area". This applies to commissars of any type and position, even if they are only suspected of resistance, sabotage or instigation thereto.

Reference is made to "Directives on the behavior of troops in Russia."

2. Political commissars in their capacity of officials attached to the enemy troops are recognizable by their special insignia – red star with an inwoven golden hammer and sickle on the sleeves – [ . . . ]. They are to be segregated at once, i.e. while still on the battlefield, from the prisoners of war. This is necessary in order to deprive them of any possibility of influencing the captured soldiers. Those commissars will not be recognized as soldiers; the protection granted to prisoners of war in accordance with International Law will

not apply to them. After having been segregated they are to be dealt with.

3. Political commissars who are not guilty of any hostile act or are not suspected of such will remain unmolested for the time being. Only in the course of a deeper penetration into the country will it be possible to decide whether they are, or should be handed over to the "Sonderkommandos". The latter should preferably scrutinize these cases themselves.

As a matter of principle, when deliberating the question of "guilty or not guilty", the personal impression received of the commissar's outlook and attitude should be considered of greater importance than the facts of the case which may not be decisive.

4. In cases 1) and 2) a brief report (report form) on the incident is to be submitted:
  - a) to the Division (Ic) (Field Intelligence Officer) by troops subordinated to a Division.
  - b) to the Corps Command or other respective Commands, as follows (Ic) by troops directly subordinated to a Corps Command, an Army High Command or the Command or an Army group, or Armored Group.
5. None of the above mentioned measures must delay the progress of operations. Combat troops should therefore refrain from systematic rounding-up and cleansing measures.

## II. In the Rear Areas.

Commissars arrested in the rear area on account of doubtful behavior are to be handed over to the "Einsatzgruppe" or the "Einsatzkommandos" of the SS Security Service (SD) respectively.

## III. Restriction with regard to Court Martials and Summary Courts.

The Court Martials and Summary Courts of regimental and other commanders must not be entrusted with the carrying out of the measures as under I and II.

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Source of English translation: Directives for the Treatment of Political Commissars [Commissar Order] (June 6, 1941), U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD, Nuremberg Trial, National Archives Record Group 238m, Entry 175, Box 27, NOKW-1076.

## Extract from Written Evidence of Rudolf Hoss

In the summer of 1941, I cannot remember the exact date, I was suddenly summoned to the *Reichsfuhrer SS*,\* directly by his adjutant's office. Contrary to his usual custom, Himmler received me without his adjutant being present and said in effect:

"The Fuhrer has ordered that the Jewish question be solved once and for all and that we, the SS, are to implement that order.

The existing extermination centers in the East are not in a position to carry out the large *Aktionen* which are anticipated. I have therefore earmarked Auschwitz for this purpose, both because of its good position as regards communications and because they can easily be isolated and camouflaged. At first I thought of calling in a senior SS officer for this job, but I changed my mind in order to avoid difficulties concerning the terms of reference. I have now decided to entrust this task to you. It is difficult and onerous and calls for complete devotion notwithstanding the difficulties that may arise. You will learn further details from *Sturmbannfuhrer* Eichmann of the Reich Security Main Office who will call on you in the immediate future.

The departments concerned will be notified by me in due course. You will treat this order as absolutely secret, even from your superiors. After you talk with Eichmann you will immediately forward to me the plans for the projected installations.

The Jews are the sworn enemies of the German people and must be eradicated. Every Jew that we can lay our hands on is to be destroyed now during the war, without exception. If we cannot now obliterate the biological basis of Jewry, the Jews will one day destroy the German people."

On receiving these grave instructions, I returned forthwith to Auschwitz, without reporting to my superior at Oranienburg.

Shortly afterwards Eichmann came to Auschwitz and disclosed to me the plans for the operations as they affected the various countries concerned. I cannot remember the exact order in which they were to take place. First was to come the eastern part of Upper Silesia and the neighboring parts of Polish territory under German rule, then, depending on the situation, simultaneously Jews from Germany and Czechoslovakia, and finally the Jews from the West: France, Belgium and Holland. He also told me the approximate number of transports that might be expected, but I can no longer remember these.

We discussed the ways and means of effecting the extermination. This could only be done by gassing, since it would have been absolutely impossible to dispose by shooting of the large numbers of people that were expected, and it

would have placed too heavy a burden on the SS men who had to carry it out, especially because of the women and children among the victims.

Eichman told me about the method of killing people with exhaust gases in lorries,\*\* which had previously been used in the East. But there was no question of being able to use this for the mass transports that were due to arrive in Auschwitz. Killing with showers of carbon monoxide while bathing, as was done with mental patients in some places in the Reich, would necessitate too many buildings and it was also very doubtful whether the supply of gas for such a vast number of people would be available. We left the matter unresolved. Eichmann decided to try and find a gas which was in ready supply and which would not entail special installations for its use, and to inform me when he had done so. We inspected the area in order to choose a likely spot. We decided that a peasant farmstead situated in the north-west corner of what later became the third building sector at Birkenau would be the most suitable. It was isolated and screened by woods and hedges, and it was also not far from the railway. The bodies could be placed in long, deep pits dug in the nearby meadows. We had not at that time thought of burning the corpses. We calculated that after gas-proofing the premises then available, it would be possible to kill about 800 people simultaneously with a suitable gas. These figures were borne out later in practice.

Eichman could not then give me the starting date for the operation because everything was still in the preliminary stages and the *Reichsfuhrer* SS had not yet issued the necessary orders.

Eichman returned to Berlin to report our conversation to the *Reichsfuhrer* SS.

A few days later I sent to the *Reichsfuhrer* SS by courier a detailed location plan and description of the installation. I have never received an acknowledgement or a decision on my report. Eichmann told me later that the *Reichsfuhrer* SS was in agreement with my proposals...

\* Heinrich Himmler.

\*\* See Document 191.



# Authorization Letter from Göring to Heydrich

Reich Marshal of the *Großdeutsches Reich*  
Plenipotentiary for the Four Year Plan  
Chairman  
of the Ministerial Council for Defense of the Reich

Berlin, July 31, 1941

To the Chief of the Security Police and the SD,  
SS *Gruppenführer* Heydrich  
Berlin

In completion of the task which was entrusted to you in the Edict dated January 24, 1939, of solving the Jewish question by means of emigration or evacuation in the most convenient way possible, given the present conditions, I herewith charge you with making all necessary preparations with regard to organizational, practical and financial aspects for an overall solution (*Gesamtloesung*) of the Jewish question in the German sphere of influence in Europe.

Insofar as the competencies of other central organizations are affected, these are to be involved.

I further charge you with submitting to me promptly an overall plan of the preliminary organizational, practical and financial measures for the execution of the intended final solution (*Endloesung*) of the Jewish question.

[*handwritten signature*] Goering

# Order Banning Emigration of Jews from the Reich

Reich Security Main Office (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*)

Berlin, October 23, 1941

IV B 4 b(Rz) 2920/41 g (984)

To...

The Officer appointed by the Chief of the Security Police and the SD for Belgium and France

*SS Brigadefuehrer Thomas*

Brussels

Secret

*Re: Emigration of Jews*

*Reference: none*

The *Reichsfuehrer SS* and Chief of the German Police has decreed that the *emigration* of Jews is to be prevented, taking effect immediately. (Evacuation *Aktionen* will remain unaffected.)

I request that the internal German Authorities concerned in the area of service there may be informed of this order.

Permission for the emigration of individual Jews can only be approved *in single very special cases*; for instance, in the event of a genuine interest on the part of the Reich, and then only after a *prior* decision has been obtained from the Reich Security Main Office.

signed Mueller

Source: [http://www1.yadvashem.org/about\\_holocaust/documents/part1/doc68.html](http://www1.yadvashem.org/about_holocaust/documents/part1/doc68.html)

# The Wannsee Protocol

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Minutes of discussion.

I. The following persons took part in the discussion about the final solution of the Jewish question which took place in Berlin, am Grossen Wannsee No. 56/58 on 20 January 1942.

Gauleiter Dr. Meyer and Reichsamtleiter Dr. Leibbrandt - Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern territories

Secretary of State Dr. Stuckart - Reich Ministry for the Interior

Secretary of State Neumann - Plenipotentiary for the Four Year Plan

Secretary of State Dr. Freisler - Reich Ministry of Justice

Secretary of State Dr. Buehler - Office of the Government General

Under Secretary of State Dr. Luther - Foreign Office

SS-Oberführer Klopfer - Party Chancellery

Ministerialdirektor Kritzinger - Reich Chancellery

SS-Gruppenführer Hofmann - Race and Settlement Main Office

SS-Gruppenführer Mueller - Reich Main Security Office

SS-Obersturmbannführer Eichmann

SS-Oberführer Dr. Schoengarth - Security Police and SD Chief of the Security Police and the SD in the Government General

SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Lange - Security Police and SD Commander of the Security Police and the SD for the General-District Latvia, as deputy of the Commander of the Security Police and the SD for the Reich Commissariat "Eastland".

II. At the beginning of the discussion Chief of the Security Police and of the SD, SS-Obergruppenführer Heydrich, reported that the Reich Marshal had appointed him delegate for the preparations for the final solution of the Jewish question in Europe and pointed out that this discussion had been called for the purpose of clarifying fundamental questions. The wish of the Reich Marshal to have a draft sent to him concerning organizational, factual and material interests in relation to the final solution of the Jewish question in Europe makes necessary an initial common action of all central offices immediately concerned with these questions in order to bring their general activities into line.

The Reichsführer-SS and the Chief of the German Police (Chief of the Security Police and the SD) was entrusted with the official central handling of the final solution of the Jewish question without regard to geographic borders.

The Chief of the Security Police and the SD then gave a short report of the struggle which has been carried on thus far against this enemy, the essential points being the following:

- a) the expulsion of the Jews from every sphere of life of the German people,
- b) the expulsion of the Jews from the living space of the German people.

In carrying out these efforts, an increased and planned acceleration of the emigration of the Jews from Reich territory was started, as the only possible present solution.

By order of the Reich Marshal, a Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration was set up in January 1939 and the Chief of the Security Police and SD was entrusted with the management. Its most important tasks were

- a) to make all necessary arrangements for the preparation for an increased emigration of the Jews,
- b) to direct the flow of emigration,
- c) to speed the procedure of emigration in each individual case.

The aim of all this was to cleanse German living space of Jews in a legal manner.

All the offices realized the drawbacks of such enforced accelerated emigration. For the time being they had, however, tolerated it on account of the lack of other possible solutions of the problem.

The work concerned with emigration was, later on, not only a German problem, but also a problem with which the authorities of the countries to which the flow of emigrants was being directed would have to deal. Financial difficulties, such as the demand by various foreign governments for increasing sums of money to be presented at the time of the landing, the lack of shipping space, increasing restriction of entry permits, or the canceling of such, increased extraordinarily the difficulties of emigration. In spite of these difficulties, 537,000 Jews were sent out of the country between the takeover of power and the deadline of 31 October 1941. Of these

approximately 360,000 were in Germany proper on 30 January 1933

approximately 147,000 were in Austria (Ostmark) on 15 March 1939

approximately 30,000 were in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia on 15 March 1939.

The Jews themselves, or their Jewish political organizations, financed the emigration. In order to avoid impoverished Jews' remaining behind, the principle was followed that wealthy Jews have to finance the emigration of poor Jews; this was arranged by imposing a suitable tax, i.e., an emigration tax, which was used for financial arrangements in connection with the emigration of poor Jews and was imposed according to income.

Apart from the necessary Reichsmark exchange, foreign currency had to be presented at the time of landing. In order to save foreign exchange held by Germany, the foreign Jewish financial organizations were--with the help of Jewish organizations in Germany--made responsible for arranging an adequate amount of foreign currency. Up to 30 October 1941, these foreign Jews donated a total of around 9,500,000 dollars.

In the meantime the Reichsführer-SS and Chief of the German Police had prohibited emigration of Jews due to the dangers of an emigration in wartime and due to the possibilities of the East.

III. Another possible solution of the problem has now taken the place of emigration, i.e. the evacuation of the Jews to the East, provided that the Führer gives the appropriate approval in advance.

These actions are, however, only to be considered provisional, but practical experience is already being collected which is of the greatest importance in relation to the future final solution of the Jewish question.

Approximately 11 million Jews will be involved in the final solution of the European Jewish question, distributed as follows among the individual countries:

Country	Number
A. Germany proper	131,800
Austria	43,700
Eastern territories	420,000
General Government	2,284,000
Bialystok	400,000
Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia	74,200
Estonia	- free of Jews -
Latvia	3,500

Lithuania	34,000
Belgium	43,000
Denmark	5,600
France / occupied territory	165,000
unoccupied territory	700,000
Greece	69,600
Netherlands	160,800
Norway	1,300
B. Bulgaria	48,000
England	330,000
Finland	2,300
Ireland	4,000
Italy including Sardinia	58,000
Albania	200
Croatia	40,000
Portugal	3,000
Rumania including Bessarabia	342,000
Sweden	8,000
Switzerland	18,000
Serbia	10,000
Slovakia	88,000
Spain	6,000
Turkey (European portion)	55,500
Hungary	742,800
USSR	5,000,000
Ukraine	2,994,684
White Russia excluding Bialystok	446,484
Total over	11,000,000

The number of Jews given here for foreign countries includes, however, only those Jews who still adhere to the Jewish faith, since some countries still do not have a definition of the term "Jew" according to racial principles.

The handling of the problem in the individual countries will meet with difficulties due to the attitude and outlook of the people there, especially in Hungary and Rumania. Thus, for example, even today the Jew can buy documents in Rumania that will officially prove his foreign citizenship.

The influence of the Jews in all walks of life in the USSR is well known. Approximately five million Jews live in the European part of the USSR, in the Asian part scarcely 1/4 million.

The breakdown of Jews residing in the European part of the USSR according to trades was approximately as follows:

Agriculture	9.1 %
Urban workers	14.8 %
In trade	20.0 %
Employed by the state	23.4 %
In private occupations such as medical profession, press, theater, etc.	32.7 %

Under proper guidance, in the course of the final solution the Jews are to be allocated for appropriate labor in the East. Able-bodied Jews, separated according to sex, will be taken in large work columns to these areas for work on roads, in the course of which action doubtless a large portion will be eliminated by natural causes.

The possible final remnant will, since it will undoubtedly consist of the most resistant portion, have to be treated accordingly, because it is the product of natural selection and would, if released, act as a the seed of a new Jewish revival (see the experience of history.)

In the course of the practical execution of the final solution, Europe will be combed through from west to east. Germany proper, including the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, will have to be handled first due to the housing problem and additional social and political necessities.

The evacuated Jews will first be sent, group by group, to so-called transit ghettos, from which they will be transported to the East.

SS-Obergruppenführer Heydrich went on to say that an important prerequisite for the evacuation as such is the exact definition of the persons involved.

It is not intended to evacuate Jews over 65 years old, but to send them to an old-age ghetto--Theresienstadt is being considered for this purpose.

In addition to these age groups--of the approximately 280,000 Jews in Germany proper and Austria on 31 October 1941, approximately 30% are over 65 years old--severely wounded veterans and Jews with war decorations (Iron Cross I) will be accepted in the old-age ghettos. With this expedient solution, in one fell swoop many interventions will be prevented.

The beginning of the individual larger evacuation actions will largely depend on military developments. Regarding the handling of the final solution in those European countries occupied and influenced by us, it was proposed that the appropriate expert of the Foreign Office discuss the matter with the responsible official of the Security Police and SD.

In Slovakia and Croatia the matter is no longer so difficult, since the most substantial problems in this respect have already been brought near a solution. In Rumania the government has in the meantime also appointed a commissioner for Jewish affairs. In order to settle the question in Hungary, it will soon be necessary to force an adviser for Jewish questions onto the Hungarian government.

With regard to taking up preparations for dealing with the problem in Italy, SS-Obergruppenführer Heydrich considers it opportune to contact the chief of police with a view to these problems.

In occupied and unoccupied France, the registration of Jews for evacuation will in all probability proceed without great difficulty.

Under Secretary of State Luther calls attention in this matter to the fact that in some countries, such as the Scandinavian states, difficulties will arise if this problem is dealt with thoroughly and that it will therefore be advisable to defer actions in these countries. Besides, in view of the small numbers of Jews affected, this deferral will not cause any substantial limitation.

The Foreign Office sees no great difficulties for southeast and western Europe.

SS-Gruppenführer Hofmann plans to send an expert to Hungary from the Race and Settlement Main Office for general orientation at the time when the Chief of the Security Police and SD takes up the matter there. It was decided to assign this expert from the Race and Settlement Main Office, who will not work actively, as an assistant to the police attaché.

IV. In the course of the final solution plans, the Nuremberg Laws should provide a certain foundation, in which a prerequisite for the absolute solution of the problem is also the solution to the problem of mixed marriages and persons of mixed blood.

The Chief of the Security Police and the SD discusses the following points, at first theoretically, in regard to a letter from the chief of the Reich chancellery:

#### 1) Treatment of Persons of Mixed Blood of the First Degree

Persons of mixed blood of the first degree will, as regards the final solution of the Jewish question, be treated as Jews.

From this treatment the following exceptions will be made:

- a) Persons of mixed blood of the first degree married to persons of German blood if their marriage has resulted in children (persons of mixed blood of the second degree). These persons of mixed blood of the second degree are to be treated essentially as Germans.

- b) Persons of mixed blood of the first degree, for whom the highest offices of the Party and State have already issued exemption permits in any sphere of life. Each individual case must be examined, and it is not ruled out that the decision may be made to the detriment of the person of mixed blood.

The prerequisite for any exemption must always be the personal merit of the person of mixed blood. (Not the merit of the parent or spouse of German blood.)

Persons of mixed blood of the first degree who are exempted from evacuation will be sterilized in order to prevent any offspring and to eliminate the problem of persons of mixed blood once and for all. Such sterilization will be voluntary. But it is required to remain in the Reich. The sterilized "person of mixed blood" is thereafter free of all restrictions to which he was previously subjected.

## 2) Treatment of Persons of Mixed Blood of the Second Degree

Persons of mixed blood of the second degree will be treated fundamentally as persons of German blood, with the exception of the following cases, in which the persons of mixed blood of the second degree will be considered as Jews:

- a) The person of mixed blood of the second degree was born of a marriage in which both parents are persons of mixed blood.
- b) The person of mixed blood of the second degree has a racially especially undesirable appearance that marks him outwardly as a Jew.
- c) The person of mixed blood of the second degree has a particularly bad police and political record that shows that he feels and behaves like a Jew.

Also in these cases exemptions should not be made if the person of mixed blood of the second degree has married a person of German blood.

## 3) Marriages between Full Jews and Persons of German Blood.

Here it must be decided from case to case whether the Jewish partner will be evacuated or whether, with regard to the effect of such a step on the German relatives, [this mixed marriage] should be sent to an old-age ghetto.

## 4) Marriages between Persons of Mixed Blood of the First Degree and Persons of German Blood.

- a) Without Children.

If no children have resulted from the marriage, the person of mixed blood of the first degree will be evacuated or sent to an old-age ghetto (same treatment as in the case of marriages between full Jews and persons of German blood, point 3.)

- b) With Children.

If children have resulted from the marriage (persons of mixed blood of the second degree), they will, if they are to be treated as Jews, be evacuated or sent to a ghetto along with the parent of mixed blood of the first degree. If these children are to be treated as Germans (regular cases), they are exempted from evacuation as is therefore the parent of mixed blood of the first degree.

## 5) Marriages between Persons of Mixed Blood of the First Degree and Persons of Mixed Blood of the First Degree or Jews.

In these marriages (including the children) all members of the family will be treated as Jews and therefore be evacuated or sent to an old-age ghetto.

## 6) Marriages between Persons of Mixed Blood of the First Degree and Persons of Mixed Blood of the Second Degree.

In these marriages both partners will be evacuated or sent to an old-age ghetto without consideration of whether the marriage has produced children, since possible children will as a rule have stronger Jewish blood than the Jewish person of mixed blood of the second degree.

SS-Gruppenführer Hofmann advocates the opinion that sterilization will have to be widely used, since the person of

mixed blood who is given the choice whether he will be evacuated or sterilized would rather undergo sterilization.

State Secretary Dr. Stuckart maintains that carrying out in practice of the just mentioned possibilities for solving the problem of mixed marriages and persons of mixed blood will create endless administrative work. In the second place, as the biological facts cannot be disregarded in any case, State Secretary Dr. Stuckart proposed proceeding to forced sterilization.

Furthermore, to simplify the problem of mixed marriages possibilities must be considered with the goal of the legislator saying something like: "These marriages have been dissolved."

With regard to the issue of the effect of the evacuation of Jews on the economy, State Secretary Neumann stated that Jews who are working in industries vital to the war effort, provided that no replacements are available, cannot be evacuated.

SS-Obergruppenführer Heydrich indicated that these Jews would not be evacuated according to the rules he had approved for carrying out the evacuations then underway.

State Secretary Dr. Buehler stated that the General Government would welcome it if the final solution of this problem could be begun in the General Government, since on the one hand transportation does not play such a large role here nor would problems of labor supply hamper this action. Jews must be removed from the territory of the General Government as quickly as possible, since it is especially here that the Jew as an epidemic carrier represents an extreme danger and on the other and he is causing permanent chaos in the economic structure of the country through continued black market dealings. Moreover, of the approximately 2 1/2 million Jews concerned, the majority is unfit for work.

State Secretary Dr. Buehler stated further that the solution to the Jewish question in the General Government is the responsibility of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD and that his efforts would be supported by the officials of the General Government. He had only one request, to solve the Jewish question in this area as quickly as possible.

In conclusion the different types of possible solutions were discussed, during which discussion both Gauleiter Dr. Meyer and State Secretary Dr. Buehler took the position that certain preparatory activities for the final solution should be carried out immediately in the territories in question, in which process alarming the populace must be avoided.

The meeting was closed with the request of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD to the participants that they afford him appropriate support during the carrying out of the tasks involved in the solution.