

Unit Three – The Final Solution

Background Information for Teachers:

The “Final Solution to the Jewish Question” was the euphemistic name the Nazis used to describe their program of mass murder directed against the Jews of Europe. The main problem with this phrase is that its vagueness obscures the enormity and brutality of the crime. This was intentional, as it allowed the perpetrators to discuss it without having to continually confront its true nature. It also allowed them to maintain a degree of obfuscation in their conversations, speeches, letters, and documents. They also used phrases such as “appropriate treatment”, “special handling”, “resettlement”, and “evacuation” in the same way. The corruption of language with the intent to deceive was part of the Nazis’ stock in trade. There is one way, though, in which the words “Final Solution” were clear and appropriate. The Nazis’ did not consider their earlier actions against the Jews to be far-reaching enough to be “final”. Step by step, over the course of eight and a half years, through vastly changing circumstances, Hitler and the Nazis arrived at the decision to commit genocide. How and why did they make this decision? How did they convince people to participate (or did they even have to try)? How many people were involved? As you engage these crucial questions in your classroom, help students keep the following points in mind:

1. Hitler and the Nazis frequently talked about “solving the Jewish question”, but what they meant by these words changed over time. Progressively, some of the “solutions” were:
 - Slandering Jews through propaganda to stigmatize them as a pariah group, marking them as different and separate from the “Aryan” Germans. The Nazis were able to attack Jews in this way even before they gained power.
 - Curtailing the role of Jews in German society through social, political, and economic discrimination.
 - Denial of citizenship and civil rights.
 - Segregation from the larger community.
 - Targeted violence, confiscation of property, and emigration.

With the conquest of Poland, it became possible to exile Jews and still keep them within the German sphere of influence. The Nazis considered a sort of “reservation” for Jews, first on the island of Madagascar, then in the Lublin area of Poland. This idea would soon be transformed into a policy of enclosing Jews in restricted ghettos that were so overcrowded and ill equipped that mass death was the only possible result. (For example, approximately 100,000 Jews died in the Warsaw ghetto between 1940 and 1943.) Faced with the consequences of their own contemptuous attitudes and destructive policies (i.e. Jews were dying in large numbers due to the harshness of the conditions imposed on them.), it was a small and logical next step for the Nazis to kill the Jews directly.

2. Many people mistakenly believe that the mass murder of Europe’s Jews took place within the pre-war borders of Germany. In reality, the Nazis decided to implement the “Final Solution” in the occupied territories to the east of Germany (mostly in Poland, the Baltic States, and the western Soviet Union). There were several reasons for this decision:
 - The great majority of Jews lived in this geographic region. There were over ten times more Jews living in this area than had been living within Germany in 1933. There would be fewer logistical problems carrying out killings near the places where most of the Jews lived.
 - It would be easier to conceal the evidence of a killing program in the occupied territories than it would be in Germany. The first Nazi murder program was carried out within Germany against certain handicapped people. It utilized gas chamber executions in selected hospitals. The Nazis were unable to maintain secrecy and eventually faced some opposition. They officially ended the program, although murders continued unofficially using other methods.

- There was a stronger and more recent history of violent anti-Semitism in this region. There had been many pogroms and killings in the last sixty years. Jews were generally less assimilated here than in Western Europe. The Nazis would be able to use this to their advantage.
3. The “Final Solution” was carried out under the cover of war. Unfortunately, war tends to diminish humane considerations regarding the value of life, but in this case it was even worse. Hitler had ordered his officers in the east not to follow the normal rules of war concerning the treatment of civilians and prisoners of war. Thus, the murder of Jews was carried out against the backdrop of an already brutal occupation and ruthless exploitation of conquered territories. This most likely desensitized some of the people who might otherwise have opposed what was occurring.
 4. There is a natural degree of uncertainty surrounding the question of how many people knew about, approved of, or cooperated with the mass murder program. Of course, there were varying degrees of knowledge and cooperation. The Nazis didn’t inform people about the details of the killing program unless they had a direct need to know. The killers themselves were sworn to secrecy, though many violated this oath. Even so, an activity of this sort and scope was impossible to keep secret. Even the Allies had reliable information about the killings shortly after their commencement. Certainly, most people knew something (and many knew a great deal) about what was going on. Many cooperated with the Nazis to greater or lesser degrees. Many acquiesced to the reality of the events, but considered themselves to be uninvolved because they weren’t active participants. Few took active measures to try to help the victims. These observations apply to individuals living in the occupied territories as well as to members of the German Army and to the German civilian population on the home front. It is impossible to characterize the actions of any group with sweeping generalizations and we should avoid stereotypes at all costs. Nevertheless, it is highly unlikely that there were many people who knew nothing at all of the murders and persecutions carried out by the Nazis.
 5. Regarding the question of responsibility for the crimes, it should be noted that responsibility exists at the individual level, but also at institutional and societal levels as well.
 6. There is little evidence that the Nazis forced people into killing Jews. There is reliable evidence that they allowed men who were unwilling to serve in the firing squads of the *Einsatzgruppen* to request transfers or assignment to other duty. These men were not punished. The Nazis didn’t need reluctant participants when they had eager volunteers waiting to take their places. A few thousand people carried out the actual killings, but many thousands more provided vital support in areas such as administration, technical services, transportation, supply, etc. The “Final Solution” was not a covert operation that was carried out by a cabal of secret operatives. It was a central act of the German State implemented with the integration of officials from every part of the government bureaucracy and including key participation from the private sector as well.
 7. The Nazis used tactics in their attacks against Jews that made resistance difficult. Some of these were:
 - Deception: The Nazis used misleading language and direct lies to disguise their intentions. In this way they kept the Jews off guard and hampered both Jewish and non-Jewish resistance efforts.
 - Terror: The threat and use of arbitrary and extreme physical violence had a numbing, paralyzing impact on victims.
 - Separation of family members: People who still had the hope of being reunited with their families at a later time might refrain from engaging in risky resistance activities.
 - Collective Responsibility: The Nazis used the sympathy that the victims felt for one another as a tool to control them. Any act of resistance carried the threat of massive reprisals against entire groups of victims.
 - Starvation and other deprivations (such as the lack of medicine, heating fuels, and sanitation) weakened the ability of people to physically resist.
 - Slave labor: The Nazis deceived people into believing that workers would be saved from deportation. In reality, the ultimate fate of slave laborers was only postponed. At the Wannsee Conference, Reinhard Heydrich recognized destruction through labor as one method to be used in the murder of Jews. In other words, some people were intentionally worked to death as a part of the “Final Solution”. It should be noted that there was a degree of disagreement among Nazi leaders regarding

Jewish slave labor. Some wanted to emphasize its productive capacity, while others (particularly Himmler and the SS) wanted to use it strictly as a method of destruction. The SS position usually prevailed, but there were some exceptions. Even in these cases, Jewish laborers were rarely treated humanely.

In spite of all the obstacles, Jews managed to continue to live, to help each other, and even to fight back against the Nazis in many ways. The next unit in this guide deals with Jewish resistance.

8. Even after the Nazis began to implement the “Final Solution”, they continued to experiment with ways to make the process more efficient.
 - The mass murder program began with the invasion of the Soviet Union, utilizing four mobile firing squad units known as *Einsatzgruppen*. Several problems emerged from the use of this method. Mass shootings were inefficient, gruesome, and difficult to keep hidden. They were also considered to be too stressful on the killers. Approximately 1 – 1.5 million people were murdered in this way.
 - In response to the problems with shooting, the SS leadership decided to rely primarily on poison gas. They began by using mobile gassing vans, then established “Death Camps” in locations chosen for their suitability to this purpose. The Nazis carried out large-scale executions by poison gas at Chelmno (using gas vans), Auschwitz-Birkenau, Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka, and Majdanek. Shooting wa

The War Years: Parallel Timelines

The Nazi attempt to murder the Jews of Europe did not occur in a vacuum. Other events were happening at the same time that had an impact on the Holocaust. A careful comparison of events in the “Final Solution” and events in the conduct of World War II (especially as seen from the German perspective) can be illuminating.

Objectives:

Students will:

1. Interpret a chronology of the Holocaust from 1939 to 1945, identifying events of significance to the era.
2. Create a timeline illustrating the course of the Nazi murder program against Jews.
3. Create a parallel timeline illustrating the course of World War II.
4. Create a third parallel timeline illustrating events occurring in the United States.
5. Compare events on the different timelines to see what, if any influence they had on the others.

Materials:

1. Blank Timeline Assignment Sheet (Handout 1)
2. Holocaust Chronology Sheet (Handout 2, two pages)

(Reprint from the “Classroom Focus” section of [Social Education: Teaching About the Holocaust](#))

Procedures:

1. Pass out the blank timeline sheet.
2. Pass out the Holocaust Chronology Sheet
3. Allow students to complete the timelines, working individually or in small groups
4. Conduct a class discussion of student responses, proceeding chronologically. Ask students to explain the reasons why they selected the items they included on their timelines. (This is the most important part of the activity. It challenges students to evaluate the relative importance of events from a “cause and effect” perspective.)

Extension Activity:

Allied leaders claimed that the best help they could offer the Jews was to win the war quickly. Based on the information in the timelines, evaluate this claim.

Using Maps to Understand History

Effective Holocaust education need not deal extensively in the gruesome aspects of the subject. In fact, gratuitous use of images and descriptions of Nazi brutality can be counterproductive. One way to avoid this pitfall is to use maps to convey some of the more emotionally difficult details of the killing program.

Objectives:

Students will:

1. Interpret data from the maps that show the scope of the Nazis' murder program.
2. Compare the maps to understand the impact of geographic factors on the implementation of the Final Solution.

Materials:

1. Tell Them We Remember: The Story of the Holocaust
2. Holocaust: Maps and Photographs by Martin Gilbert

(Note: There are 15 copies of this book in the Middle School trunk. Students may be divided into groups of two or three for this activity.)

- Map 7 "German Official Plans for the 'Final Solution' 20 January, 1942"
 - Map 8 "The Concentration Camps"
 - Map 16 "The Jews of Poland"
 - Map 17 "The Jews of Western Russia, The Ukraine, and the Crimea"
 - Map 26 "The Jewish Death Toll 1939-1945"
 - Map 10 "Non-Jewish Victims of Nazi Rule"
 - Map 11 "The Fate of Gypsies Under Nazi Rule"
3. Handout: "The Final Solution: Using Maps to Understand History – Questions" (Handout 3)

Procedures:

1. As an introduction to the topic, read aloud the brief selections on pages 42-43, 46, 48, 50, and 52 of Tell Them We Remember or summarize the content. These readings are brief, but you may want to read some and summarize others to save time.
2. Introduce the activity by telling students that they are going to learn details about the "Final Solution" and other murders by using the evidence that can be observed from a collection of maps.
3. Divide students into groups and pass out the map books.
4. Pass out the handout entitled, "The Final Solution: Using Maps to Understand History -Questions"
5. Allow students sufficient time to complete the questions. Discuss the responses as a group.
6. Some of the questions allow for opportunities for students to express opinions. Discussion of these responses is the most important part of this activity.

Extension Activity:

Some students may be interested in doing additional research on topics related to the Final Solution. A few suggestions for topics are:

- The men who served in the *Einsatzgruppen*
- Medical experiments in concentration camps
- The involvement of technicians and bureaucrats
- The involvement of people from the occupied territories
- How news of the killing program reached the United States

Note: These are complex research topics. They will probably not be suitable for all students.

The Ghettos: Diaries and Speeches

The Nazis destructive policies toward Jews evolved over time, especially with the changing circumstances brought about by the war. The German conquest of Poland brought millions of Jews under Nazi rule. They decided on a policy of control and exploitation through concentration. Beginning in October 1939, The Nazis began to establish ghettos where Jews would be required to live and where they would be easily accessible for forced labor. In the larger cities, these ghettos would eventually be walled in, effectively imprisoning the population. The ghettos were ostensibly governed by the *Judenrat* (Jewish Council), but this was mostly an illusion. Nazis chose Jewish leadership councils only to facilitate the implementation of their harsh measures. These leaders had few resources and little opportunity to help their people. Furthermore, the ghettos were highly unstable. Nazi edicts were arbitrary and capricious. Deportees from Western Europe were crowded in, as were residents of smaller ghettos whose populations were absorbed into larger ones. Conditions deteriorated rapidly, with many dying as a result. The beginning of the end came for the ghettos starting in the spring of 1942, as the Nazis began the process of deporting Jews to death camps. The ghettos were never intended to be the “Final Solution”, but they represent the beginning of the mass killings of Europe’s Jews.

Objectives:

Students will:

1. Read primary source accounts from people living in the ghettos.
2. Analyze the conditions in the ghetto based on the diary and speech excerpts.
3. Evaluate the responses of ghetto inhabitants to the conditions for effectiveness and possible alternatives.

Materials:

1. Handout: “Ghetto Primary Source Readings # 89 (Handout 4) ,102 (Handout 5), 105 (Handout 6), and 129” (Handout 7) from Documents on the Holocaust; Yad Vashem, 1981.
2. Worksheet: “Discussion Questions from the Primary Source Readings” (Handout 8)
3. The text – The Holocaust: A History of Courage and Resistance
4. The video: “Nightmare: The Immigration of Joachim and Rachel”

Procedures:

1. Introduce the activity by telling students that they are going to learn about the ghetto from people who were there. Three of the quotes were from men keeping diaries in the Warsaw Ghetto. The first was written by a teacher named Avraham Levin. Emanuel Ringelblum, the famous diarist of Oneg Shabbat, wrote the next two. The final quote is an excerpt of a speech given by Chaim Rumkowski, head of the Lodz Ghetto.
2. Read the quotations aloud or have students read them silently.
3. Pass out the worksheet and allow students time to complete the questions.
4. Discuss the responses in class.

Extension Activities:

1. The text The Holocaust: A History of Courage and Resistance contains five excellent chapters that deal primarily with the ghettos. They are chapters 5,7,10, 14, and 15. Hopefully, you will have enough class time available in your unit to allow students to read them all. The discussion questions at the end of each chapter are also good. You could also divide the class into five groups and have each group report to the class on the subject of one chapter.
2. The video entitled “Nightmare: The Immigration of Joachim and Rachel” is a brief look at the ghetto experience through the eyes of two children who escape. The style of the film is a bit quirky, and uses flashbacks for dramatic effect. It can be a good vehicle for helping students review what they know about the ghettos. At several points in the story, events occur that illustrate the main points of the text chapters and featured quotations.

In the Ghettos and Camps: The Artists of Terezin

Even though the ghettos are often considered the last intermediate step before the “Final Solution”, it is appropriate to study them in this unit for three reasons:

- The brutal conditions imposed on the ghettos caused mass death. The rising Jewish death toll made it easier for the Nazis to make the final decision to murder all Jews (after all, they were dying anyway).
- The majority of mass shootings carried out by the *Einsatzgruppen* to the east of Poland were done at the high point of the ghetto period (June 1941 – December 1942).
- It was during the ghetto period that awareness of the mass murder program began to spread among Jews. Of course, this didn't happen all at once, and many people had a hard time believing it. Nevertheless, Jews in ghettos began to formulate their varied responses to the deportations and killings as awareness grew.

As the reality of their situation came into clearer focus, some of the people imprisoned in ghettos and labor camps expressed their anguish, fears, and hopes in writing and in art. This was true also in the “model ghetto” of Theresienstadt (Note: Theresienstadt is sometimes called a ghetto and sometimes a camp. It had elements of each.) Some of these artists and poets were children.

Objectives:

Students will:

1. Study about conditions in Theresienstadt to understand the setting in which the children's art and poetry were created.
2. Explore the capacity of art and poetry to describe life in the ghettos and camps and the role it played in the struggle to resist the dehumanizing conditions.
3. Create art and poetry in response to what they have learned.

Materials:

1. The textbook - The Holocaust: A History of Courage and Resistance (one per student)
2. Drawing paper
3. Colored pencils or crayons
4. The book – ...I Never Saw Another Butterfly: Children's Drawings and Poems From Terezin Concentration Camp, 1942-1944 (Display poems and drawings from this book as primary sources and as examples.)

Procedures:

1. Pass out the textbooks.
2. Have student read (or read aloud) Chapter 14 entitled, “A ‘Model’ Concentration Camp: Theresienstadt” on pages 115-123. Discuss the reading, especially the section about the children helping the elderly. As an activity, how does this compare with creating art and poetry?
3. Pass out the handouts.
4. Read and discuss the meaning of the poems and drawings in the text and in the handouts. Compare and contrast the messages and styles of expression.
5. Have students create art and poetry of their own. Student works can be done from the any of the following perspectives:
 - Through the eyes of a prisoner at Terezin
 - From our perspective looking back on and studying the Holocaust
 - As memorials to the victims of the Holocaust

6. As they are working, allow students to look at ...I Never Saw Another Butterfly as a reference book and for ideas and inspiration.

Extension Activities:

1. There are several other good books that deal with the subject of art and creative writing in the Holocaust. You will find descriptions of some of these in Learning About The Holocaust: Literature and Other Resources for Young People by Elaine C. Stephens, Jean E. Brown, and Janet E. Rubin. This book is in the trunk.

Students may study other artists and writers from the Holocaust and compare their work to artists who were their contemporaries. They could also compare “Holocaust art” with art produced in other periods or under different conditions.

- There is an online art collection featuring single works of several artists at: www.yad-vashem.org.il
There is also a gallery of the works of the artist Felix Nussbaum (1904-1944) who died at Auschwitz.
- The web site of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum at: www.ushmm.org

contains an online exhibit entitled, “Speech and Silence: Poetry and the Holocaust” and another entitled, “Joseph Nassy: Images of Internment” Joseph Nassy was an expatriate African-American artist of Jewish descent interned by the Germans as a civilian prisoner.

Of course, teachers should view the contents of these online collections before recommending them for students.

2. Students may choose to enter the annual **Yom HaShoah Creative Arts Contest** sponsored by the Holocaust Memorial Resource and Education Center of Florida. For information about the contest call the Center at 407-628-0555 x283.

“The Ambulance”

“The Ambulance” was one of the first cinematic responses to the Holocaust. It was made in Poland shortly after World War II. It was almost lost due to deterioration before it was transferred to videotape.

In style, The Ambulance is a “trigger film” – a short creative work designed to elicit a powerful emotional response. In one way, the film is realistic. It depicts an execution carried out in a mobile gas van disguised as an ambulance. In reality, the Nazis used twenty such vehicles in the occupied territories to the east of Germany. They were camouflaged, but not as ambulances. In spite of this element of realism, this film is best studied as a work of art. It uses plot devices such as foreshadowing and symbolism. Students may interpret these devices as they would in a short story. In the process, they will view the Holocaust from a new perspective.

Objectives:

Students will:

1. View the events portrayed in The Ambulance and compare them with real events that occurred during the Holocaust.
2. Interpret the symbolism used in the film to identify the film’s “message”.
3. Evaluate the film’s effectiveness in teaching about the Holocaust.

Materials:

1. The Ambulance video
2. TV and VCR
3. Handout: The Ambulance – Discussion Questions (Handout 9)
4. Handout: *SS Untersturmfuhrer* Dr. Becker’s Memo (Handout 10)regarding the gas vans (for the extended activity)

Procedures:

1. Inform students that they will be watching one of the first films made about the Holocaust. Prepare them for the splices and sound quality by telling about how the film was almost lost.
2. Also inform students that the film uses a mixture of realism and symbolism to make its point.
3. Pass out The Ambulance – Discussion Question Worksheets
4. Preview the questions with students so that they will be better prepared to write answers after the film.
5. Show the film (approximately 10 minutes)
6. Allow students sufficient time to answer the questions.
7. Discuss student responses to the questions.

Extension Activity:

As an illuminating contrast to the film, pass out and read with students the May 16, 1942 memo by *SS Untersturmfuhrer* Dr. Becker regarding the maintenance and proper use of the gas vans. Discuss the following questions:

1. Dr. Becker makes note of four problems with the use of the gas vans. What are they?
2. What disturbs you most about this memo?

In Their Own Words: Nazis Speak about the “Final Solution”

Given the Nazis’ desire to keep direct knowledge of the Final Solution secret, it is amazing so much documentary evidence remains, especially in the form of speech transcripts, letters, and memoranda. It is even more significant in light of the Nazis’ attempt to destroy evidence in the closing days of the war. Students can gain great insight into the Nazi mass murder program by reading what top Nazis had to say about it.

Objectives:

Students will:

1. Read selected quotes from top Nazis regarding the murder of Jews to gain insight into their actions and the attitudes that made them possible.
2. Evaluate the reasoning the Nazis used to justify their actions.
3. Evaluate the validity of the Nazis’ view of Jews.
4. Evaluate the system of values and morality embraced by the Nazis.

Materials:

1. Handouts: “In Their Own Words: Nazis Speak about the Final Solution” Page 1 (Handout 11) , Page 2 (Handout 12)
2. "In Their Own Words" Question Sheet (Handout 13)

Procedures:

1. Pass out the Nazi quotations.
2. Read the quotes aloud in class. Four of the five quotes were originally spoken, so it is appropriate for students to hear the words as well as read them.
3. Allow students time to answer the questions or answer them together as a class.
4. In class discussion of these quotes be aware of the fact that each question will probably evoke a dozen more.

Extension Activity:

Holocaust deniers try to convince people that the Nazis did not attempt to murder the Jews of Europe. In the light of the quotes from this lesson, conduct a class discussion in which students consider the following questions:

- Why would someone want to deny a history that has already been convincingly documented? In other words, what are Holocaust deniers trying to accomplish?
 - How can you tell the difference between an alternate interpretation of history and a denial of established facts?
- HANDOUT 1
- What would you say to someone who tried to tell you that the Holocaust never happened?

Name: _____

Date:

Period: _____

The Final Solution – Parallel Timelines

Directions: Study the Holocaust Chronology handout carefully. You will be making three timelines. On the first timeline, place seven events you think were significant in the course of the “Final Solution”. On the second timeline, place seven events that illustrate the course of World War II. On the third, place seven events that were happening in the United States. You will need to use an encyclopedia or an American History text for this timeline. You do not have to place an event in each year of the timelines, but you must not skip more than one consecutive year on any of the timelines. You will not place every event from the handout on the timelines. Choose the ones that seem most important to you. Be prepared to explain why you chose the events that you used.

	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
The Final Solution							
World War II							
Events in the United States							
	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945

Holocaust Chronology

STEPHEN FEINBERG

1933

Jan. 30 Hitler appointed Chancellor of Germany.

Feb. 27 *Reichstag* fire.

Feb. 28 Hitler given emergency powers by presidential decree.

Mar. 5 *Reichstag* elections; Nazis win 44% of the vote.

Mar. 20 First concentration camp opens at Dachau.

Mar. 24 "Enabling Law" passed by *Reichstag*; used to establish dictatorship.

Apr. 1 Nationwide boycott of Jewish-owned businesses.

Apr. Jews excluded from government employment; includes teachers and university professors.

Apr. 26 Formation of the Gestapo (*Geheime Staatspolizei*).

May 10 Public burning of books by Jews and opponents of Nazis.

Jul. 20 Concordat signed in Rome between the Vatican and the Third Reich.

Oct. 14 German withdrawal from the League of Nations.

Nov. 12 *Reichstag* elections; Nazis "win" 93% of the vote.

Dec. 1 Legal unity of German state and Nazi Party declared.

1934

Jan. 26 Ten-year nonaggression pact signed with Poland.

Jan. 30 "Night of the Long Knives"; Ernst Roehm, head of the SA, is murdered; SA purged.

Aug. 2 Death of President von Hindenburg; Hitler declares himself Fuehrer of the German state; armed forces are required to take a personal oath of loyalty to Hitler.

Oct.-Nov. First major arrests of homosexuals throughout Germany.

1935

Mar. 16 In violation of Treaty of Versailles, military conscription introduced; no response from other powers.

Apr. Jehovah Witnesses banned from civil service jobs; many arrested throughout Germany.

Sep. 15 Nuremberg Laws announced; Jews deprived of citizenship.

1936

Mar. 3 Jewish doctors no longer permitted to practice in government institutions in Germany.

Mar. 7 Nazi army enters Rhineland in violation of Treaty of Versailles; no response from other powers.

Jul. 12 First arrest of German Gypsies; sent to Dachau.

Aug. 1 In anticipation of 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin, anti-Semitic signs removed from most public places.

Oct. 25 Rome-Berlin Axis agreement signed.

1937

Jul. 16 Establishment of Buchenwald concentration camp.

Sep. 7 Hitler repudiates Treaty of Versailles.

Nov. 25 Political and military pact signed by Germany and Japan.

1938

Mar. 13 Anschluss: Austria is annexed by Germany.

Jul. 6-15 Thirty-two countries at Evian Conference discuss refugee policies; most countries refuse to let in more Jewish refugees.

Aug. 17 All Jewish men in Germany will be required to add "Israel" to their names; all Jewish women will be required to add "Sarah."

Sep. 29 Munich Agreement is signed by Germany, France, Italy and Great Britain; Czechoslovakia loses Sudetenland to Germany.

Oct. 28 First deportation of Polish Jews from Germany.

Nov. 7 Shooting of Ernst vom Rath, a low-level Nazi functionary, in Paris by Herschel Grynszpan, a Polish Jew.

Nov. 9 "*Kristallnacht*," a nationwide pogrom; 30,000 Jews sent to concentration camps.

Nov. 12 Fine of 1 billion *reichsmarks* levied on Jews of Germany.

Nov. 15 All Jewish children expelled from public schools.

Dec. 2-3 Gypsies in Germany required to register with police.

1939

Mar. 15 Nazis invade Czechoslovakia; no immediate response from other powers.

May 15 Ravensbruck concentration camp for women established.

Jun. Jewish refugees aboard the S.S. *Loch* denied entry to the United States and Cuba; forced to return to Europe.

Aug. 23 Hitler-Stalin Pact signed.

Sep. 1 Germany invades Poland; World War II begins.

Sep. 2 Stutthof concentration camp established in Poland.

Sep. 3 Britain and France declare war on Germany.

Sep. 21 Reinhard Heydrich (SS) orders establishment of *Judenrate* and concentration of Polish Jews.

Sep. 28 Partition of Poland between Germany and USSR.

Oct. Hitler authorizes "euthanasia program" (T-4) in Germany; doctors to kill institutionalized mentally and physically disabled.

Oct. 8 First Polish ghetto established in Piotrkow Trybunalski.

1940

Feb. 8 Establishment of Lodz Ghetto.

Apr. 27 Heinrich Himmler (SS) orders establishment of Auschwitz concentration camp; first prisoners, mostly Poles, arrive in early June.

Apr. 30 Lodz Ghetto is sealed.

Spring Nazis conquer Denmark, Norway, Belgium, Luxembourg, Holland, and France.

Sep. 27 Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis established.

Oct. 3 Anti-Jewish laws passed by Vichy government in France.

Oct. 12 Establishment of Warsaw Ghetto.

Nov. 15 Warsaw Ghetto is sealed.

Nov. 20 Hungary, Rumania, and Slovakia join the Nazis and Italians.

1941

Mar. 1 Himmler orders construction of camp at Birkenau (Auschwitz II); construction begins in October 1941 and continues until March 1942.

Mar. 3 - 28 Krakow Ghetto established and sealed.

Mar. 24 Nazis invade North Africa.
Apr. 6 Nazis invade Yugoslavia and Greece.
Apr. 24 Lublin Ghetto is sealed.
Jun. 22 Operation "Barbarossa," the Nazi invasion of the USSR.
Jun. 23 *Einsatzgruppen* begin their mass murder of Jews, Gypsies, and Communist leaders in the USSR.
Jul. 20 Minsk Ghetto established.
Jul. 21 Hermann Goering gives Reinhard Heydrich the authority to prepare a "total solution" to the "Jewish question" in Europe.
Aug. 1 Bialystok Ghetto established.
Sep. 1 "Euthanasia program" (T-4) in Germany ended; between 70,000 and 93,000 people had been murdered in Germany during the course of this program.
Sep. 3 The first experimental gassing of Soviet prisoners of war at Auschwitz.
Sep. 3-6 Two ghettos established at Vilna.
Sep. 19 German Jews required to wear yellow badge in public.
Sep. 29-30 At Babi Yar, 33,771 Kiev Jews murdered.
Oct.-Nov. First deportation of German and Austrian Jews to ghettos in Eastern Europe.
Oct. Construction of Majdanek-Lublin extermination camp.
Nov. 1 Construction of Belzec extermination camp begins.
Nov. 24 Theresienstadt (Terezin) concentration camp established.
Dec. 7 Japan attacks Pearl Harbor.
Dec. 8 Gassing operations begin at Chelmo extermination camp.
Dec. 11 Germany and Italy declare war on the United States.

1942

Jan. 20 Wannsee Conference (coordination of the "Final Solution" planned).
Feb. 8 First Jews from Salonika, Greece sent to Auschwitz.
Mar. 1 Construction of Sobibor extermination camp begins; Jews first killed there in May 1942.
Mar. 17 Killings begin at Belzec extermination camp.
Mar. 28 First Jews from France sent to Auschwitz.
Apr. 29 Dutch Jews ordered to wear yellow badge.
May 27 Belgium Jews ordered to wear

yellow badge.

Jun. 7 Jews in occupied France ordered to wear yellow badge.
Jul. 22 Treblinka extermination camp completed; by August 1943, 870,000 Jews murdered at Treblinka.
Jul. 22-Sep. 12 Mass deportations from Warsaw Ghetto to Treblinka.
Jul. 28 Jewish fighting organization set up in Warsaw Ghetto.
Aug. 13-20 Majority of Croatian Jews sent to Auschwitz.
Oct. 16 Over 1,000 Roman Jews are deported to Auschwitz.
Nov. 24 Knowledge of the extermination of the Jews of Europe publicly announced in U.S. by Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.

1943

Jan. 18-22 First Warsaw Ghetto uprising breaks out.
Feb. 2 Nazis defeated at Battle of Stalingrad.
Feb. 26 First transport of Gypsies arrive at Auschwitz; Gypsy Camp established.
Apr. 19-May 16 Warsaw Ghetto uprising; Jews resist Nazis' effort to deport them to death camps.
Jul. 21 Himmler orders the liquidation of all ghettos in Poland and USSR.
Aug. 2 Inmate uprising at Treblinka extermination camp.
Aug. 16 Revolt in Bialystok Ghetto.
Oct. 2 Nazis attempt round-up of Danish Jews; Danish people use boats to smuggle most Danish Jews (7,200) to neutral Sweden.
Oct. 14 Inmate revolt at Sobibor extermination camp.
Oct. 20 United Nations War Crimes Commission established.

1944

Mar. 19 Nazis occupy Hungary.
Apr. 5 Hungarian Jews ordered to wear yellow badge.
Apr. 7 Alfred Wetzler and Rudolf Vrba escape from Auschwitz with detailed information about the extermination of the Jews; their report, from Slovakia, reaches the free world in June.
May 2 First transport of Hungarian Jews reach Auschwitz; by July 9, over 437,000 Hungarian Jews are sent to Auschwitz; most of them are gassed.
Jun. 6 Allied invasion of Normandy.
Jul. 20 Unsuccessful attempt made to assassinate Hitler.

Jul. 24 Soviet army liberates Majdanek extermination camp.
Aug. 2 Gypsy camp at Auschwitz destroyed by Nazis; 3,000 Gypsies gassed.
Oct. 7 Prisoners blow up one of the gas chambers at Auschwitz-Birkenau extermination camp.

1945

Jan. 17 Nazis evacuate Auschwitz; "death marches" toward Germany.
Jan. 27 Soviet army liberates Auschwitz.
Apr. 11 American army liberates Buchenwald concentration camp.
Apr. 15 British army liberates Bergen-Belsen concentration camp.
Apr. 28 Mussolini executed by Italian partisans.
Apr. 29 American army liberates Dachau concentration camp.
Apr. 29-30 Ravensbrück concentration camp liberated.
Apr. 30 Hitler commits suicide in Berlin.
May 2 Soviet troops capture Berlin.
May 3 Nazis hand over Theresienstadt to the International Red Cross.
May 5 American army liberates Mauthausen concentration camp.
May 7 Nazi Germany surrenders; end of World War II in Europe.
Aug. 14 Japan surrenders; end of World War II.
Nov. 20 First major Nuremberg War Crimes Trials begin.

1946

Oct. 1 Conclusion of first major Nuremberg Trials; twelve Nazis to be executed, three sentenced to life imprisonment, four receive various prison terms, and three are acquitted.
Oct. 16 Execution of Nazi war criminals.

1948

May 14 State of Israel established.

Sources

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Name: _____ Date: _____ Period: _____

The Final Solution: Using Maps to Understand History – Questions

Directions: Use maps # 7,8,10,11,16,17,26 in The Holocaust: Maps and Photographs to answer the following questions:

Map 7 and 8

1. Using Berlin as a reference, do most Jews live to the north, south, east, or west? _____
2. Why is Estonia listed as “Free of Jews” on this map? _____
3. Why do you think the Nazis listed Jews from areas they didn’t control?

4. Why do you think most concentration camps were in Germany, but the death camps were in Poland?

Maps 16 and 17

5. Describe the difference in Nazi tactics used in the part of Poland they took over in 1939 compared to the territory to the east that they invaded in 1941.

6. Look at the figures listed on map 26. Why do you think the death toll varied so widely?

Maps 10 and 11

7. List some of the reasons non-Jews and non-Gypsies were killed by the Nazis.

8. Where did most European Gypsies live? (Answer by listing several countries or by naming the region.)

9. Why do you think the Nazis targeted Gypsies for mass murder?

10. Using the information on all of the maps, write a paragraph to answer the following question. What do you think were the Nazis’ long-term goals for the areas they conquered?

**EXTRACTS FROM THE WARSAW GHETTO DIARY
OF AVRAHAM LEVIN, 1942**

Friday, June 5, 1942

... One of the most surprising side-effects of this war is the clinging to life, the almost total absence of suicides. People die in great numbers of starvation, the typhus epidemic or dysentery, they are tortured and murdered by the Germans in great numbers, but they do not escape from life by their own desire. On the contrary, they are tied to life by all their senses, they want to live at any price and to survive the war. The tensions of this historic world conflict are so great that all wish to see the outcome of the gigantic struggle and the new regime in the world, the small and the great, old men and boys. The old have just one wish: the privilege of seeing the end and surviving Hitler.

I know a Jew who is all old age. He is certainly about 80. Last winter a great tragedy befell the old man. He had an only son who was about 52. The son died of typhus. He has no other children. And the son died. He did not marry a second time and lived with his son. A few days ago I visited the old man. When I left—his mind is still entirely clear—he burst out crying and said: “I want to see the end of the war, even if I live only another half an hour!”

Why should the old man wish so much to stay alive? There it is: even he wants to live, “if only half an hour” after the last shot is fired. This is the burning desire of all the Jews.

A. Levin, *Mt-Pinkaso shel ha-More mi-Yehudiya* (“From the Notebook of the Teacher from Yehudiya”), Beit Lohamei ha-Geta'ot, 1969, p. 70.

THE SMUGGLING OF FOOD INTO THE WARSAW GHETTO

Smuggling began at the very moment that the Jewish area of residence was established; its inhabitants were forced to live on 180 grams [6½ oz.] of bread a day, 220 grams of sugar a month, 1 kg. [2.2 lbs.] jam and ½ kg. of honey, etc. It was calculated that the officially supplied rations did not cover even 10 percent of normal requirements. If one had wanted really to restrict oneself to the official rations then the entire population of the ghetto would have had to die of hunger in a very short time....

The German authorities did everything to seal off the ghetto hermetically and not to allow in a single gram of food. A wall was put up around the ghetto on all sides that did not leave a single millimeter of open space....

They fixed barbed wire and broken glass to the top of the wall. When that failed to help, the Judenrat was ordered to make the wall higher, at the expense of the Jews, of course....

Several kinds of guards were appointed for the walls and the passages through them; the categories [of guards] were constantly being changed and their numbers increased. The walls were guarded by the gendarmerie together with the Polish police; at the ghetto wall there were gendarmerie posts, Polish police and Jewish police... The victims of the smuggling were mainly Jews, but they were not lacking either among the Aryans [Poles]. Auerswald, too, employed sharply repressive measures to stop the smuggling. Several times smugglers were shot at the central lock-up on Gesiowka* Street. Once there was a veritable slaughter (100 persons were shot near Warsaw). Among the Jewish victims of the smuggling there were tens of Jewish children between 5 and 6 years old, whom the German killers shot in great numbers near the passages and at the walls....

And despite that, without paying attention to the victims, the smuggling never stopped for a moment. When the street was still slippery with the blood that had been spilled, other [smugglers] already set out, as soon as the "candles" ** had signalled that the way was clear, to carry on with the work....

The smuggling took place— a) through the walls, b) through the gates, c) through underground tunnels, d) through sewers, and e) through houses on the borders....

Ringelblum, II, pp. 274-277.

* The reference is to the Jewish prison in the Warsaw ghetto which was called "Gesiowka."

** Smugglers' look-outs.

THE DILEMMA OF JEWISH SELF-HELP

May 26, 1942

...Relief work doesn't solve the problem; it only keeps people going a little while. The people have to die anyway. It lengthens suffering but cannot save them; if it [the Jewish Self-Help] really wanted to do anything, it would have to have millions of zloty at its disposal every month, and it does not have them. It remains a proven fact that the people fed in the soup-kitchens will all die if they eat nothing but the soup supplied and the dry rationed bread. The question thus arises whether it would not serve the purpose better to reserve the available money for selected individuals, for those who are socially productive, for the intellectual elite, etc. But the situation is such that, first of all, the numbers even of such select individuals is quite considerable, and there would not be sufficient even for them. Secondly, the question arises why should one pronounce judgment on artisans, laborers and other useful persons, who were productive people back in their small towns, and only the ghetto and the war have turned them into non-people, into scrap, into human dregs, candidates for mass graves. There is left a tragic dilemma: What shall one do? Shall one [hand out the food] with little spoons to everybody, and then no one will live, or in generous handfuls to just a few...?

**RUMKOWSKI'S ADDRESS AT THE TIME OF THE
DEPORTATION OF THE CHILDREN
FROM THE LODZ GHETTO, SEPTEMBER 4, 1942**

... The ghetto has been struck a hard blow. They demand what is most dear to it—children and old people. I was not privileged to have a child of my own and therefore devoted my best years to children. I lived and breathed together with children. I never imagined that my own hands would be forced to make this sacrifice on the altar. In my old age I am forced to stretch out my hands and to beg: "Brothers and sisters, give them to me!—Fathers and mothers, give me your children..." (Bitter weeping shakes the assembled public)... Yesterday, in the course of the day, I was given the order to send away more than 20,000 Jews from the ghetto, and if I did not—"we will do it ourselves." The question arose: "Should we have accepted this and carried it out ourselves, or left it to others?" But as we were guided not by the thought: "how many will be lost?" but "how many can be saved?" we arrived at the conclusion—those closest to me at work, that is, and myself—that however difficult it was going to be, we must take upon ourselves the carrying out of this decree. I must carry out this difficult and bloody operation, I must cut off limbs in order to save the body! I must take away children, and if I do not, others too will be taken, God forbid... (terrible wailing).

I cannot give you comfort today. Nor did I come to calm you today, but to reveal all your pain and all your sorrow. I have come like a robber, to take from you what is dearest to your heart. I tried everything I knew to get the bitter sentence cancelled. When it could not be cancelled, I tried to lessen the sentence. Only yesterday I ordered the registration of nine-year-old children. I wanted to save at least one year—children from nine to ten. But they would not yield, I succeeded in one thing—to save the children over ten. Let that be our consolation in our great sorrow.

There are many people in this ghetto who suffer from tuberculosis, whose days or perhaps weeks are numbered. I do not know, perhaps this is a satanic plan, and perhaps not, but I cannot stop myself from proposing it: "Give me these sick people, and perhaps it will be possible to save the healthy in their place." I know how precious each one of the sick is in his home, and particularly among Jews. But at a time of such decrees one must weigh up and measure who should be saved, who can be saved and who may be saved.

Common sense requires us to know that those must be saved who can be saved and who have a chance of being saved and not those whom there is no chance to save in any case....

Name: _____ Date: _____ Period: _____

Ghetto Diaries and Speeches: Discussion Questions

Directions: Read the four selections and answer the following questions.

1. What problems threaten the lives of ghetto residents, according to Avraham Levin?

2. In spite of these problems, what does Levin say most ghetto residents want?

3. Why was smuggling such an important activity in the ghetto?

4. Describe the methods the authorities used to try to stop smuggling. Were they successful?

5. According to Emanuel Ringelblum, what is the dilemma of Jewish self-help?

6. Does Ringelblum approve of the idea of labeling some ghetto residents as “non-productive”? Explain your answer.

7. Chaim Rumkowski states at the beginning of his speech that the ghetto has been dealt a hard blow. What does he mean?

8. What arguments does Rumkowski use to try to persuade people to go along with the decree?

9. In what ways does Rumkowski try to defend his role in the events?

10. In what ways does this situation represent the dilemma facing all of the ghettos?

Name: _____ Date: _____ Period: _____

The Ambulance: Discussion Questions

Directions: After viewing the film, answer the following questions. Use the back of this sheet if you need more space.

1. This film contains both realistic and unrealistic elements. List two of each.

2. The following items were used as symbols in the film. What do you think that each one represents?

The ambulance: _____

The dog: _____

The girl's lost shoe: _____

The spinner toy: _____

The bird: _____

3. Why do you think that some of the children play while waiting?

4. Why do you think the guards prepare the van right in front of the victims?

5. Do you think the children know what is about to happen?

6. What do you think is represented by the adult who is with the children?

7. What do you think it means when the dog chases the toy?

8. What do you think it means when one of the boys tosses a stone at the bird?

9. What do you think the film director was trying to say about the Holocaust?

EXTERMINATION IN GAS VANS IN THE UKRAINE, 1942

Kiev, May 16, 1942

Field Post Office No. 32704

B. Nr 40/42

*Reich Secret Document*To SS-Obersturmbannführer Rauff
Berlin

The overhauling of the vans of [*Einsatz*] Gruppe D and C has been completed...

I have had the vans of [*Einsatz*] Gruppe D disguised as house-trailers, by having a single window shutter fixed to each side of the small vans, and on the large ones, two shutters, such as one often sees on farm houses in the country. The vans had become so well known that not only the authorities but the civilian population referred to them as the "Death Vans" as soon as one appeared. In my opinion the vans cannot be kept secret for any length of time even if they are camouflaged.

The brakes of the Saurer van which I took from Taganrog to Simferopol were damaged on the way... When I reached Stalino and Gorlovka a few days later the drivers of the vans there complained of the same trouble...

I also gave instructions that all personnel should stay as far away as possible from the vans when the gassing is in progress to prevent damage to their health in the event of gas leaking out. I would like to take this opportunity to call attention to the following: several of the special units let their own men do the unloading after gassing.

I pointed out to the commanders of the *Sonderkommando* (Special Unit) concerned the enormous psychological and physical harm this may cause the men, possibly later even if not immediately. The men complained to me of headaches that recur after each such unloading. Nevertheless there is reluctance to change the orders because it is feared that if prisoners are used for this work they might make use of a favorable moment to escape. I request appropriate instructions in order to save the men from suffering harm.

The gassing is generally not carried out correctly. In order to get the *Aktion* finished as quickly as possible the driver presses down on the accelerator as far as it will go. As a result the persons to be executed die of suffocation and do not doze off as was planned. It has proved that if my instructions are followed and the levers are properly adjusted death comes faster and the prisoners fall asleep peacefully. Distorted faces and excretions, such as were observed before, no longer occur.

Today I shall continue my journey to [*Einsatz*] Gruppe B, where I may be reached for further instructions.

Dr. Becker
SS Untersturmführer

DOCUMENTS ON THE HOLOCAUST

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FROM A SPEECH BY HIMMLER BEFORE SENIOR
SS OFFICERS IN POZNAN, OCTOBER 4, 1943*Evacuation of the Jews*

...
I also want to speak to you here, in complete frankness, of a really grave chapter. Amongst ourselves, for once, it shall be said quite openly, but all the same we will never speak about it in public. Just as we did not hesitate on June 30, 1934,* to do our duty as we were ordered, and to stand comrades who had erred against the wall and shoot them, and we never spoke about it and we never will speak about it. It was a matter of natural tact that is alive in us, thank God, that we never talked about it amongst ourselves, that we never discussed it. Each of us shuddered and yet each of us knew clearly that the next time he would do it again if it were an order, and if it were necessary.

I am referring here to the evacuation of the Jews, the extermination of the Jewish people. This is one of the things that is easily said: "The Jewish people are going to be exterminated," that's what every Party member says, "sure, it's in our program, elimination of the Jews, extermination — it'll be done." And then they all come along, the 80 million worthy Germans, and each one has his one decent Jew. Of course, the others are swine, but this one, he is a first-rate Jew. Of all those who talk like that, not one has seen it happen, not one has had to go through with it. Most of you men know what it is like to see 100 corpses side by side, or 500 or 1,000. To have stood fast through this and — except for cases of human weakness — to have stayed decent that has made us hard. This is an unwritten and never-to-be-written page of glory in our history, for we know how difficult it would be for us if today — under bombing raids and the hardships and deprivations of war —

POLAND

if we were still to have the Jews in every city as secret saboteurs, agitators, and inciters. If the Jews were still lodged in the body of the German nation, we would probably by now have reached the stage of 1916-17.

The wealth they possessed we took from them. I gave a strict order, which has been carried out by SS *Obergruppenführer* Pohl, that this wealth will of course be turned over to the Reich in its entirety. We have taken none of it for ourselves. Individuals who have erred will be punished in accordance with the order given by me at the start, threatening that anyone who takes as much as a single Mark of this money is a dead man. A number of SS men — they are not very many — committed this offense, and they shall die. There will be no mercy. We had the moral right, we had the duty towards our people, to destroy this people that wanted to destroy us. But we do not have the right to enrich ourselves by so much as a fur, as a watch, by one Mark or a cigarette or anything else. We do not want, in the end, because we destroyed a bacillus, to be infected by this bacillus and to die. I will never stand by and watch while even a small rotten spot develops or takes hold. Wherever it may form we will together burn it away. All in all, however, we can say that we have carried out this most difficult of tasks in a spirit of love for our people. And we have suffered no harm to our inner being, our soul, our character. . .

PS-1919.

* The reference is to "the night of the long knives" — murder of Röhm, SA leaders and other purges.

In Their Own Words: Nazis Speak about the “Final Solution”

(Page 2)

HANDOUT 12

“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.”

Rudolf Höss – Commandant of Auschwitz quoting the oral orders he received from Heinrich Himmler

“...One way or another – I will tell you that quite openly- we must finish off the Jews.”

“... If the pack of Jews were to survive the war in Europe while we sacrifice the best of our blood for the preservation of Europe, then this war would still be only a partial success. I will therefore, on principle, approach Jewish affairs in the expectation that the Jews will disappear.”

“Gentleman, I must ask you to steel yourselves against all considerations of compassion. We must destroy the Jews wherever we find them, and wherever it is at all possible, in order to maintain the whole structure of the Reich...”

Excerpts from a speech by Hans Frank
December 16, 1941.
(Document # 116 pp. 247-248)

“According to my impression there are at least 2-3 million men and women well fit for work among the approximately 10 million European Jews. In consideration of the exceptional difficulties posed for us by the question of labor, I am of the opinion that these 2-3 million should in any case be taken out and kept alive. Of course, this can only be done if they are at the same time rendered incapable of reproduction.”

SS Oberfuehrer Viktor Brack in a letter to Heinrich Himmler dated June 23, 1942

122 pp. 272-273)

During a meeting of SS leaders, Odilo Globocnik was asked the following question. “Would it not be better to incinerate the bodies instead of burying them? Another generation might think differently about this.” His answer is recorded below.

“But, Gentlemen, if we should ever be succeeded by so cowardly and weak a generation that it does not understand our work, which is so good and so necessary, then, Gentlemen, the whole of National Socialism will have been in vain. On the contrary, one should bury bronze plaques [with the bodies], on which is inscribed that it was we, we who had the courage to complete this gigantic task.”

All quotes from Documents on the Holocaust, Yad Vashem, 1981.

Name: _____ Date: _____ Period: _____

In Their Own Words: Nazis Speak about the Holocaust – Questions

Directions: Read the quotes contained in the handouts and answer the following questions.

1. To what previous event does Heinrich Himmler compare the killing of Jews? Do you think this is a valid comparison? Why or why not?

2. Why does Himmler complain about the “average” German people and their attitude toward the Jews?

3. Why do you think Himmler called the killing of the Jews a “never to be written page of glory”?

4. What offense does Himmler believe would make an SS man deserving of death?

5. Why does Himmler say that they have the moral right to kill the Jews?

6. How does Himmler evaluate the impact of the killing program on his men?

7. Why do you think Himmler decided that the Jews were Germany’s “sworn enemies”?

8. Why do you think Hans Frank said that the destruction of the Jews was necessary to maintain the structure of the Reich?

9. Why do you think Viktor Brack wanted to insist on the sterilization of Jews to be used for labor?

10. Imagine that you could write a letter to Odilo Globocnik’s responding to his statements. What would you write?
