

Preface

To begin with, a word should be said about the scope of this book. Lest one be misled by the word "Jews" in the title, let it be pointed out that this is not a book about the Jews. It is a book about the people who destroyed the Jews. Not much will be read here about the victims. The focus is placed on the perpetrators.

The following chapters will describe the vast organization of the Nazi machinery of destruction and the men who performed important functions in this machine. They will reveal the correspondence, memoranda, and conference minutes which were passed from desk to desk as the German bureaucracy made its weighty and drastic decisions to destroy, utterly and completely, the Jews of Europe. They will deal with the administrative and psychological obstacles which blocked action from time to time, and they will show how these impediments were cleared away.

On the other hand, there will be no emphasis on the effects of the German measures upon Jewry in Europe and elsewhere. We shall not dwell on Jewish suffering, nor shall we explore the social characteristics of ghetto life or camp existence. Insofar as we may examine Jewish institutions, we will do so primarily through the eyes of the Germans: as tools which were used in the destruction process. In short, this study does not encompass the internal developments of Jewish organization and Jewish social structure. That is Jewish history. It is concerned with

the storm that caused the wreckage. That is a part of Western history. The history of the West has at times been shaped by the Jews. It has been changed no less — and perhaps more so — by those who have acted against the Jews, for when I do something to another, I also do something to myself.

The total import of the German measures has not yet been explored; the destruction of the European Jews has not yet been absorbed as a historical event. This does not mean a general denial that millions of people have disappeared, nor does it imply a serious doubt that masses of these people were shot in ditches and gassed in camps. But acknowledgment of a fact does not signify its acceptance in an academic sense. Unprecedented occurrences of such magnitude are accepted academically only when they are studied as tests of existing conceptions about force, about relations between cultures, about society as a whole. Only a generation ago, the incidents described in this book would have been considered improbable, infeasible, or even inconceivable. Now they have happened. The destruction of the Jews was a process of extremes. That, precisely, is why it is so important as a group phenomenon. That is why it can serve as a test of social and political theories. But to perform such tests, it is not enough to know that the Jews have been destroyed; one must also grasp how this deed was done. That is the story to be told in this book.

Acknowledgments

My work was begun in 1948; it was accomplished with considerable help. A great many people gave me counsel and assistance. Some of them furthered decisively the achievement of the final result.

From the outset I have been indebted to Professor Hans Rosenberg of Brooklyn College. I must credit him with comments which convinced me that this project had to be undertaken.

The late Franz Neumann of Columbia University introduced me to the indispensable Nuremberg material. He then placed me on the staff of a research organization to examine the document collections at Alexandria, Virginia.

Professor William T. R. Fox of Columbia University gave me much encouragement during a difficult period. His many acts of kindness, freely extended again and again, brought me a degree and an award, as well as

grants and teaching positions.

The late Dr. Philip Friedman of Columbia University and the YIVO Institute also went out of his way to express concern for me and my work. At the same time, my father shared with me his patience and his sense of literary balance.

My old friend Eric Marder stood by for a decade while the work was under way. Throughout these years I drew extensively on his penetrating insights in the shaping of the book.

Shortly before the end of the effort, Mr. Frank C. Petschek interested himself in the manuscript. He read it line by line. Then he offered in a singular gesture to make possible its appearance in print.

When this study was first conceived, it was intended as the first word on a difficult subject. Now that the job is done, let it be received in that spirit.

RAUL HILBERG

BURLINGTON, VERMONT

October 25, 1960

The German destruction of the European Jews was a tour de force; the Jewish collapse under the German assault was a manifestation of failure. Both of these phenomena were the final product of an earlier age.

Anti-Jewish policies and anti-Jewish actions did not have their beginning in 1933. For many centuries, and in many countries, the Jews have been victims of destructive action. What was the object of these activities? What were the aims of those who persisted in anti-Jewish deeds? Throughout Western history, three consecutive policies have been applied against Jewry in its dispersion.

The first anti-Jewish policy started in the fourth century after Christ in Rome.¹ In the early 300's, during the reign of Constantine, the Christian Church gained power in Rome, and Christianity became the state religion. From this period, the state carried out Church policy. For the next twelve centuries, the Catholic Church prescribed the measures that were to be taken with respect to the Jews. Unlike the pre-Christian Romans, who claimed no monopoly on religion and faith, the Christian Church insisted upon acceptance of Christian doctrine.

For an understanding of Christian policy toward Jewry, it is essential to realize that the Church pursued conversion not so much for the sake of aggrandizing its power (the Jews have

always been few in number) but because of the conviction that it was the duty of true believers to save unbelievers from the doom of eternal hell-fire. Zealousness in the pursuit of conversion was an indication of the depth of faith. The Christian religion was not one of many religions, like other religions. It was the true religion, the only religion. Those who were not in its fold were either ignorant or in error. The Jews could not accept Christianity.

In the very early stages of the Christian faith, many Jews regarded Christians as members of a Jewish sect. The first Christians, after all, still observed the Jewish law. They had merely added a few nonessential practices, such as baptism, to their religious life. But this view was changed abruptly when Christ was elevated to Godhood. The Jews have only one God. That God is indivisible. He is a jealous God and admits of no other gods. He is not Christ, and Christ is not He. Christianity and Judaism have since been irreconcilable. An acceptance of Christianity has since signified an abandonment of Judaism.

In antiquity and in the Middle Ages, Jews did not abandon Judaism lightly. With patience and persistence, the Church attempted to convert obstinate Jewry, and for twelve hundred years, the theological argument was fought without interruption. The Jews were not convinced. Gradually the Church began to back its words with force. The Papacy did not permit pressure to be put on individual Jews; Rome never permitted forceful conversions.² However, the clergy did use pressure on the whole. Step by step, but with ever widening effect, the

1. Pre-Christian Rome had no anti-Jewish policy. Rome had crushed the independent Jewish state of Judea, but the Jews in Rome enjoyed equality under the law. They could execute wills, enter into valid marriages with Romans, exercise the rights of guardianship, and hold office. Otto Stobbe, *Die Juden in Deutschland während des Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1902), p. 2.

Church adopted "defensive" measures against its passive victims. Christians were "protected" from the "harmful" consequences of intercourse with Jews by rigid laws against intermarriage, by prohibitions of discussions about religious issues, by laws against domicile in common abodes. The Church "protected" its Christians from the "harmful" Jewish teachings by burning the Talmud and by barring Jews from public office.³

These measures, which we shall discuss more fully in a moment, were precedent-making destructive activities. How little the Church had accomplished its aim is revealed by the treatment of that relative handful of Jews who succumbed to the Christian religion. The clergy was not sure of its success — hence the widespread practice, in the Middle Ages, of identifying proselytes as former Jews,⁴ hence the inquisition of new Christians suspected of heresy,⁵ hence the issuance in Spain of certificates of "purity" (*limpieza*) signifying purely Christian ancestry, and the specification of half new Christians, quarter new Christians, one-eighth new Christians, etc.⁶

2. This prohibition had one weakness: once converted, even though forcibly, a Jew was forbidden to return to his faith. Guido Kisch, *The Jews in Medieval Germany* (Chicago, 1949), pp. 201–2.

3. Actually, non-Jews who wish to become Jews face formidable obstacles. See Louis Finkelstein, "The Jewish Religion: Its Beliefs and Practices," in Finkelstein (ed.), *The Jews: Their History, Culture, and Religion*, (New York, 1949), II, 1376.

4. Kisch, *Jews in Medieval Germany*, p. 315.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Cecil Roth, "Marranos and Racial Anti-Semitism — A Study in Parallels," *Jewish Social Studies*, II (1940), 239–48. New Christian doctors were accused of killing patients; a Toledo tribunal handed down a decision in 1449 to the effect that new Christians were ineligible for public office; and in 1604 new Christians were barred from the University of Coimbra (*ibid.*). Anyone who was a descendant of Jews or Moors was also

The failure of conversion had far-reaching consequences. The unsuccessful Church began to look upon the Jews as a special group of people, different from Christians, deaf to Christianity, and dangerous to the Christian faith. In 1542, a reform leader and founder of a new church, Martin Luther, wrote the following lines.

And if there were a spark of common sense and understanding in them, they would truly have to think like this: O my God, it does not stand and go well with us; our misery is too great, too long, too hard; God has forgotten us, etc. I am no Jew, but I do not like to think in earnest about such brutal wrath of God against this people, for I am terrified at the thought which cuts through my body and soul: What is going to happen with the eternal wrath in hell against all false Christians and unbelievers?⁷

In short, if *he* were a Jew, he would have accepted Christianity long ago.

A people cannot suffer for fifteen hundred years and still think of itself as the chosen people. But this people was blind. It had been stricken by the wrath of God. He had struck them "with frenzy, blindness, and raging heart, with the eternal fire, of which the Prophets say: The wrath of God will hurl itself outward like a fire that no one can smother."⁸

ineligible to serve in the "Militia of Christ," Torquemada's army, which tortured and burned "heretics" Franz Helbing, *Die Tortur — Geschichte der Folter im Kriminalverfahren aller Völker und Zeiten* (Berlin, 1902), p. 118.

7. Martin Luther, *Von den Jueden und Jren Luegen* (Wittenberg, 1543), p. Aiii2. Page numbers in the original edition of Luther's book are placed on the bottom of every second or fourth page, as follows: A, Aii, Aiii, B, Bii, Biii, to Z, Zii, Ziii, starting over with a, aii, aiii. In order to identify quotations more closely, I have inserted arabic numerals in my footnotes, thus: Aiii2, Aiii3, etc.

8. Luther, *Von den Jueden*, p. diii. The reference to frenzy is an inversion. Frenzy, etc., is one of the punishments for deserting the one and only God.

The Lutheran manuscript was published at a time of increasing hatred for the Jew. Too much had been invested in twelve hundred years of conversion policy. Too little had been gained. From the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, the Jews of England, France, Germany, Spain, Bohemia, and Italy were presented with ultimatums which gave them no choice but one: conversion or expulsion.

Expulsion is the second anti-Jewish policy in history. To be sure, in its origin, that policy presented itself only as an alternative—moreover, as an alternative which was left to the Jews. But long after the separation of church and state, long after the state had ceased to carry out church policy, expulsion and exclusion remained the goal of anti-Jewish activity.

The anti-Semites of the nineteenth century, who divorced themselves from religious aims, espoused the emigration of the Jews. The anti-Semites hated the Jews with a feeling of righteousness and reason, as though they had acquired the antagonism of the church like speculators buying the rights of a bankrupt corporation. With this hatred, the post-ecclesiastic enemies of Jewry also took the idea that the Jews could not be changed, that they could not be converted, that they could not be assimilated, that they were a finished product, inflexible in their ways, set in their notions, fixed in their beliefs.

The expulsion and exclusion policy was adopted by the Nazis and remained the goal of all anti-Jewish activity until 1941. That year marks a turning point in anti-Jewish history. In 1941, the Nazis found themselves in the midst of a total war. Several million Jews were incarcerated in ghettos. Emigration was impossible. A last-minute project to ship the Jews to the African island of Madagascar had fallen through. The "Jewish problem" had to be "solved" in some other way. At

this crucial time, the idea of a "territorial solution" emerged in Nazi minds; the "territorial solution," or "the final solution of the Jewish question in Europe," as it became known, envisaged the death of European Jewry. The European Jews were to be killed. That is the third anti-Jewish policy in history.

To summarize: Since the fourth century after Christ, there have been three anti-Jewish policies: conversion, expulsion, and annihilation. The second appeared as an alternative to the first, and the third emerged as an alternative to the second.

The destruction of the European Jews between 1933 and 1945 appears to us now as an unprecedented event in history. Indeed, in its dimensions and total configuration, nothing like it had ever happened before. Five million people were killed as a result of an organized undertaking in the short space of a few years. The operation was over before anyone could grasp its enormity, let alone its implications for the future.

Yet if we analyze that singularly massive upheaval, we discover that most of what happened in those twelve years had already happened before. The Nazi destruction process did not come out of a void; it was the culmination of a cyclical trend.⁹ We have observed the trend in the three successive goals of anti-Jewish administrators. The missionaries of Christianity had said in effect: You have no right to live among us as Jews. The secular rulers who followed had proclaimed: You have no right to live among us. The German Nazis at last decreed:

9. A regular trend is unbroken (for instance, an increase of population); a cyclical trend is observed in some of the recurring phenomena. We may speak, for example, of a set of wars that become progressively more destructive, depressions that decline in severity, etc.

You have no right to live.

These progressively more drastic goals brought in their wake a slow and steady growth of anti-Jewish action and anti-Jewish thinking. The process began with the attempt to drive the Jews into Christianity. The development was continued in order to force the victims into exile. It was finished when the Jews were driven to their deaths. The German Nazis, then, did not discard the past; they built upon it. They did not begin a development; they completed it. In the deep recesses of anti-Jewish history, we shall find many of the administrative and psychological tools with which the Nazis implemented their destruction process. In the hollows of the past, we shall also discover the roots of the characteristic Jewish response to an outside attack.

The significance of the historical precedents will most easily be understood in the administrative sphere. The destruction of the Jews was an administrative process, and the annihilation of Jewry required the implementation of systematic administrative measures in successive steps. There are not many ways in which a modern society can, in short order, kill a large number of people living in its midst. This is an efficiency problem of the greatest dimensions, one which poses uncounted difficulties and innumerable obstacles. Yet, in reviewing the documentary record of the destruction of the Jews, one is almost immediately impressed with the fact that the German administration knew what it was doing. With an unflinching sense of direction and with an uncanny path-finding ability, the German bureaucracy found the shortest road to the final goal.

We know, of course, that the very nature of a task determines the form of its fulfilment. Where there is the will, there is also the way, and if the will

is only strong enough, the way will be found. But what if there is no time to experiment? What if the task must be solved quickly and efficiently? A rat in a maze, which has only one path to the goal, learns to choose that path after many trials. Bureaucrats, too, are sometimes caught in a maze, but they cannot afford a trial run. There may be no time for hesitations and stoppages. That is why past performance is so important, that is why past experience is so essential. Necessity is said to be the mother of invention, but if precedents have already been formed, if a guide has already been constructed, invention is no longer a necessity. The German bureaucracy could draw upon such precedents and follow such a guide, for the German bureaucrats could dip into a vast reservoir of administrative experience, a reservoir which church and state had filled in fifteen hundred years of destructive activity.

In the course of its attempt to convert the Jews, the Catholic Church had taken many measures against the Jewish population. These measures were designed to "protect" the Christian community from Jewish teachings and, not incidentally, to weaken the Jews in their "obstinacy." It is characteristic that as soon as Christianity became the state religion of Rome, in the fourth century A.D., Jewish equality of citizenship was ended. "The Church and the Christian state, concilium decisions and imperial laws, henceforth worked hand in hand to persecute the Jews."¹⁰ Table 1 compares the basic anti-Jewish measures of the Catholic Church and the modern counterparts enacted by the Nazi regime.¹¹

10. Stobbe, *Die Juden in Deutschland*, p. 2.

11. The list of Church measures is taken in its entirety from J. E. Scherer, *Die Rechtsverhältnisse der Juden in den deutsch-österreichischen Ländern* (Leipzig, 1901), pp. 39-49. Only the first date of each measure is listed in Table 1.

TABLE 1 / *Canonical and Nazi Anti-Jewish Measures*

CANONICAL LAW	NAZI MEASURE
Prohibition of intermarriage and of sexual intercourse between Christians and Jews, Synod of Elvira, 306	Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honor, September 15, 1935 (RGB1 I, 1146.)
Jews and Christians not permitted to eat together, Synod of Elvira, 306	Jews barred from dining cars (Transport Minister to Interior Minister, December 30, 1939, Document NG-3995.)
Jews not allowed to hold public office, Synod of Clermont, 535	Law for the Re-establishment of the Professional Civil Service, April 7, 1933 (RGB1 I, 175.)
Jews not allowed to employ Christian servants or possess Christian slaves, 3d Synod of Orleans, 538	Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honor, September 15, 1935 (RGB1 I, 1146.)
Jews not permitted to show themselves in the streets during Passion Week, 3d Synod of Orleans, 538	Decree authorizing local authorities to bar Jews from the streets on certain days (i.e., Nazi holidays), December 3, 1938 (RGB1 I, 1676.)
Burning of the Talmud and other books, 12th Synod of Toledo, 681	Book burnings in Nazi Germany
Christians not permitted to patronize Jewish doctors, Trulanic Synod, 692	Decree of July 25, 1938 (RGB1 I, 969.)
Christians not permitted to live in Jewish homes, Synod of Narbonne, 1050	Directive by Göring providing for concentration of Jews in houses, December 28, 1938 (Bormann to Rosenberg, January 17, 1939, PS-69.)
Jews obliged to pay taxes for support of the Church to the same extent as Christians, Synod of Gerona, 1078	The "Sozialausgleichsabgabe" which provided that Jews pay a special income tax in lieu of donations for Party purposes imposed on Nazis, December 24, 1940 (RGB1 I, 1666.)
Prohibition of Sunday work, Synod of Szabolcs, 1092	
Jews not permitted to be plaintiffs, or witnesses against Christians in the Courts, 3d Lateran Council, 1179, Canon 26	Proposal by the Party Chancellery that Jews not be permitted to institute civil suits, September 9, 1942 (Bormann to Justice Ministry, September 9, 1942, NG-151.)
Jews not permitted to withhold inheritance from descendants who had accepted Christianity, 3d Lateran Council, 1179, Canon 26	Decree empowering the Justice Ministry to void wills offending the "sound judgment of the people," July 31, 1938 (RGB1 I, 937.)
The marking of Jewish clothes with a badge, 4th Lateran Council, 1215, Canon 68 (Copied from the legislation by Caliph Omar II [634-44], who had decreed that Christians wear blue belts and Jews, yellow belts.)	Decree of September 1, 1941 (RGB1 I, 547.)
Construction of new synagogues prohibited, Council of Oxford, 1222	Destruction of synagogues in entire Reich, November 10, 1938 (Heydrich to Göring, November 11, 1938, PS-3058.)
Christians not permitted to attend Jewish ceremonies, Synod of Vienna, 1267	Friendly relations with Jews prohibited, October 24, 1941 (Gestapo directive, L-15.)
Jews not permitted to dispute with simple Christian people about the tenets of the Catholic religion, Synod of Vienna, 1267	

TABLE 1 / *Canonical and Nazi Anti-Jewish Measures (Continued)*

CANONICAL LAW	NAZI MEASURE
Compulsory ghettos, Synod of Breslau, 1267	Order by Heydrich, September 21, 1939 (PS-3363.)
Christians not permitted to sell or rent real estate to Jews, Synod of Ofen, 1279	Decree providing for compulsory sale of Jewish real estate, December 3, 1938 (RGB1 I, 1709.)
Adoption by a Christian of the Jewish religion or return by a baptized Jew to the Jewish religion defined as a heresy, Synod of Mainz, 1310	Adoption by a Christian of the Jewish religion places him in jeopardy of being treated as a Jew, Decision by Oberlandesgericht Königsberg, 4th Zivilsenat, June 26, 1942 (<i>Die Judenfrage</i> [Vertrauliche Beilage], November 1, 1942, pp. 82-83.)
Sale or transfer of Church articles to Jews prohibited, Synod of Lavour, 1368	
Jews not permitted to act as agents in the conclusion of contracts between Christians, especially marriage contracts, Council of Basel, 1434, Sessio XIX	Decree of July 6, 1938, providing for liquidation of Jewish real estate agencies, brokerage agencies, and marriage agencies catering to non-Jews (RGB1 I, 823.)
Jews not permitted to obtain academic degrees, Council of Basel, 1434, Sessio XIX	Law against Overcrowding of German Schools and Universities, April 25, 1933 (RGB1 I, 225.)

No summation of the canonical law can be as revealing as a description of the Rome ghetto, maintained by the Papal State until the occupation of the city by the Royal Italian Army in 1870. A German journalist who visited the ghetto in its closing days published such an account in the *Neue Freie Presse*.¹² The ghetto consisted of a few damp, dark, and dirty streets, into which 4700 human creatures had been packed tightly (*eingepfercht*).

To rent any house or business establishment outside of the ghetto boundaries, the Jews needed the permission of the Cardinal Vicar. Acquisition of real estate outside the ghetto was prohibited. Trade with industrial products or books was prohibited. Higher schooling was prohibited. The professions of lawyer, druggist, notary, painter, and architect were prohibited. A Jew could be a doctor, provided that he confined his practice to Jewish

patients. No Jew could hold office. Jews were required to pay taxes like everyone else and, in addition, the following: (1) a yearly stipend for the upkeep of the Catholic officials who supervised the Ghetto Finance Administration and the Jewish community organization; (2) a yearly sum of 5250 lira to the Casa Pia for missionary work among Jews; (3) a yearly sum of 5250 lira to the Cloister of the Converted for the same purpose. In return, the Papal State expended a yearly sum of 1500 lira for welfare work. But no state money was paid for education or the care of the sick.

The papal regime in the Rome ghetto gives us an idea of the cumulative effect of the canonical law. *This* was its total result. Moreover, the policy of the Church gave rise not only to ecclesiastical regulations; for more than a thousand years, the will of the Church was also enforced by the state. The decisions of the synods and councils became basic guides for state action. Every medieval state copied the canonical law and elaborated upon it.

12. Carl Eduard Bauernschmid in *Neue Freie Presse*, May 17, 1870, reprinted in *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* (Leipzig), July 19, 1870, pp. 580-82.

Thus there arose an "international medieval Jewry law" which, in fact, continued to develop until the eighteenth century. The governmental refinements and elaborations of the clerical regime may briefly be noted in Table 2, which shows also the Nazi versions.

These are some of the precedents which were handed down to the Nazi bureaucratic machine. To be sure, not all the lessons of the past were still

remembered in 1933; much had been obscured by the passage of time. That is particularly true of negative principles, such as the avoidance of riots and pogroms. In 1406, the state sought to make profits from mob violence in the Jewish quarter of Vienna. Christians suffered greater losses in this pogrom than Jews, because the Jewish pawnshops, which went up in smoke during the great ghetto fire, contained the possessions of the very people who

TABLE 2 / Pre-Nazi and Nazi Anti-Jewish Measures

PRE-NAZI STATE DEVELOPMENT	NAZI MEASURE
Per capita protection tax (<i>der goldene Opferpfennig</i>) imposed upon Jews by King Ludwig the Bavarian, 1328-1337 (Stobbe, <i>Die Juden in Deutschland</i> , p. 31.)	
The property of Jews slain in a German city considered as public property, "because the Jews with their possessions belong to the Reich chamber," provision in the 14th-century code <i>Regulae juris "Ad decus"</i> (Kisch, <i>Jews in Medieval Germany</i> , pp. 360-61, 560-61.)	13th Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law providing that the property of a Jew be confiscated after his death, July 1, 1943 (RGB1 I, 372.)
Confiscation of Jewish claims against Christian debtors at the end of the 14th-century in Nuremberg (Stobbe, <i>Die Juden in Deutschland</i> , p. 58.)	11th Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law, November 25, 1941 (RGB1 I, 722.)
"Fines": for example, the Regensburg fine for "killing Christian child," 1421 (<i>Ibid.</i> , pp. 77-79.)	Decree for the "Atonement Payment" by the Jews, November 12, 1928 (RGB1 I, 1579.)
Marking of documents and personal papers identifying possessor or bearer as a Jew (Zosa Szajkowski, "Jewish Participation in the Sale of National Property during the French Revolution," <i>Jewish Social Studies</i> , 1952, p. 291n.)	Decree providing for identification cards, July 23, 1938 (RGB1 I, 922.) Decree providing for marking of passports, October 5, 1938 (RGB1 I, 1342.)
Ca. 1800, the Jewish poet Ludwig Börne had to have his passport marked "Jud" von Frankfurt," (Heinrich Graetz, <i>Volkstümliche Geschichte der Juden</i> [Berlin-Vienna, 1923], III, 373-74.)	
Marking of houses, special shopping hours, and restrictions of movement, 17th century, Frankfurt (<i>Ibid.</i> , pp. 387-88.)	Marking of Jewish apartments (<i>Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt</i> [Berlin], April 17, 1942.) Decree providing for movement restrictions, September 1, 1941 (RGB1 I, 547.)
Compulsory Jewish names in 19th-century bureaucratic practice (Leo M. Friedman, "American Jewish Names," <i>Historica Judaica</i> [October, 1944], p. 154.)	Decree of January 5, 1937 (RGB1 I, 9.) Decree of August 17, 1938 (RGB1 I, 1044.)

were rioting in the streets.¹³ This experience was all but forgotten when, in November, 1938, Nazi mobs surged once more into Jewish shops. The principal losers now were German insurance companies, who had to pay German owners of the damaged buildings for the broken window glass.¹⁴ A historical lesson had to be learned all over again.

If some old discoveries had to be made anew, it must be stressed that many a new discovery had not even been fathomed of old. The administrative precedents, created by church and state, were in themselves incomplete. The destructive path, charted in past centuries, was an interrupted path. The anti-Jewish policies of conversion and expulsion could carry destructive operations only up to a point. These policies were not only goals; they were also limits, before which the bureaucracy had to stop and beyond which it could not pass. Only the removal of these restraints could bring the development of destructive operations to its fullest potentiality. That is why the Nazi administrators became improvisers and innovators; that is also why the German bureaucracy under Hitler did infinitely more damage in twelve years than the Catholic Church was capable of in twelve centuries.

The administrative precedents, however, are not the only historical determinants with which we are concerned. In a Western society, destructive activity is not just a technocratic phenomenon. The problems arising in a destruction process are not only administrative but also psychological. A Christian is commanded to choose good and to reject evil. The greater his destructive task, therefore, the more potent are the moral obstacles

in his way. These obstacles must be removed — the internal conflict must somehow be resolved. One of the principal means through which the perpetrator will attempt to clear his conscience is by clothing his victim in a mantle of evil, by portraying the victim as an object that must be destroyed.

In recorded history, we find many such portraits. Invariably, they are floating — effusively, like clouds — through the centuries and over the continents. Whatever their origins and whatever their destinations, the function of these stereotypes is always the same. They are used as justifications for destructive thinking; they are employed as excuses for destructive action.

The Nazis needed such a stereotype. They required just such an image of the Jew. It is therefore of no little significance that, when Hitler came to power, the image was already there. The model was already fixed. When Hitler spoke about the Jew, he could speak to the Germans in familiar language. When he reviled his victim, he resurrected a medieval conception. When he shouted his fierce anti-Jewish attacks, he awakened his Germans as if from slumber to a long-forgotten challenge. How old, precisely, are these charges? Why did they have such an authoritative ring?

The picture of the Jew which we encounter in Nazi propaganda and Nazi correspondence had been drawn several hundred years before. Martin Luther had already sketched the main outlines of that portrait, and the Nazis, in their time, had little to add to it. We shall look here at a few excerpts from Luther's book *About the Jews and Their Lies*. In doing so, let it be stressed that Luther's ideas were shared by others in his century, and that the mode of his expression was the style of his times. His work is

13. Otto Stowasser, "Zur Geschichte der Wiener Geserah," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, XVI (1922), 117.

14. See pp. 26-28.

Appendix III / Statistics on Jewish Dead

Statistical Recapitulation of Jewish Dead (by operation)

Area of mobile killing operations		1,400,000
Tabulated dead	900,000	
Untabulated dead	500,000	
Unreported by <i>Einsatzgruppen</i>	150,000 ^P	
Higher SS and Police Leaders and BdS CG	100,000	
Army killings, PW killings, and operations by anti-partisan units	100,000	
Ghetto dead	100,000 ^P	
Death of fleeing Jews	50,000 ^P	
Area of deportations		3,700,000
Killed in camps (including Transnistria)	3,000,000	
Ghetto and aggravated deaths	700,000	
Total		5,100,000

Statistical Recapitulation of Jewish Dead (by territory)*

250,000	Reich-Protektorat area		250,000
3,900,000	{	USSR	700,000
		Baltic states	200,000
		Poland	3,000,000
		Mobile operations	500,000
		Ghetto dead	550,000
		Killed in camps	1,950,000
		North	(less than a thousand)
200,000	{	The Low Countries	130,000
		France and Italy	70,000
		Yugoslavia	60,000
750,000	{	Greece and Rhodes	60,000
		Slovakia	60,000
		Roumania	270,000
		Hungary and Carpatho-Ukraine	300,000
5,100,000		Total	5,100,000

*Borders refer to August, 1939.