

# ADOLF EICHMANN – A CASE STUDY

## The Trial of Adolf Eichmann

In 1961, the world watched the first televised courtroom trial as a Jerusalem court tried Nazi SS Lieutenant Colonel Adolf Eichmann for crimes against the Jewish people. Eichmann's role in deporting the Jews of Europe to concentration camps made him the target of a fifteen-year manhunt by Israeli agents. His defense, like that of other Nazis, was that he was "just following orders."

Eichmann's trial was the first televised trial in the history of television. Israel's Prime Minister David Ben Gurion wanted to broadcast the trial to educate a generation that had come of age after World War II about the atrocities of the Holocaust. The trial was an emotionally explosive event that revealed for the first time to a shocked world audience the Nazi campaign to exterminate European Jewry.

Eichmann's name first surfaced during the Nuremberg Trial. In 1950 he fled to Argentina with the help of the Nazi underground. The Israeli government found him living in Buenos Aires with his wife and three sons. In the May, 1960, the Israelis kidnapped him and forcibly brought him to Israel to stand trial as a war criminal.

Eichmann was the mastermind behind moving the Jewish people out of their homes into the ghettos, and then into the concentration camps. He proved to be the Nazi's foremost Jewish specialist. His ability to organize, categorize, and supervise enabled him to bring over six million Jews to their deaths. By piling men, women, and children in cattle train cars, he sent millions to their deaths.

During the trial, Eichmann sat enclosed within a glass booth. He became known, and is known today, as The Man in the Glass Booth. The Israelis built the booth for his protection because they feared someone would try to kill him before the trial was over.

One of the extraordinary aspects of the Eichmann trial is that no one knew very much about the Holocaust when the trial began. Holocaust survivors did not speak about their ordeals at the hands of the Nazis until the trial. To many, the Holocaust was unspeakable remembrance, but the trial was a catharsis, and people began to tell their tales. Gideon Hausner, Attorney General representing the State of Israel, called over 100 witnesses to the stand. The courtroom was packed. After an emotional 16 weeks, Eichmann was found guilty on all 15 counts of the criminal indictment against him. He was hanged [and it was decided that no grave would mark his life, so] his body was cremated, and his ashes were scattered [in international waters] in the Mediterranean Sea.

This website was developed by I-NET Design for ABC News Productions. The 2-hour documentary, *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann*, aired on April 30th, 1997.

## The Little Girl in the Red Coat

Perhaps the most moving image in Steven Spielberg's epic film "Schindler's List" is the little girl in the red coat, the only color image in the three-hour black and white film. However, most people do not know that this image is based upon a true story, a story told at the trial of Adolf Eichmann.

In the PBS documentary, "The Trial of Adolf Eichmann," this image loses none of its impact when the actual story is told by Assistant Prosecutor (now Supreme Court Judge) Gavriel Bach in an interview which appears in the program. When asked if there was any moment in the trial that affected him more than any other, this is the moment he describes.

Bach was questioning Dr. Martin Földi, a survivor of Auschwitz, about the selection process at the train station in the shadows of the famous "Arbeit Macht Frei" sign at Auschwitz. Földi

described how he and a son went to the right while a daughter and his wife went to the left. His little daughter wore the red coat. When an SS officer sent the son to join the mother and daughter, Földi describes his panic. How would the boy, only twelve, find them among the thousands of people there? But then he realized the red coat would be like a beacon for the boy to join his mother and sister.

He then ends his testimony with the chilling phrase, "I never saw them again."

In the program, while telling the story, thirty-five years after the incident, Judge Bach wells up with emotion. As Dr. Földi recounted the incident, Bach became frozen and unable to continue. All he could do was think about his own daughter who he had by chance just bought a red coat. He then adds that to this day he can be at the theater or a restaurant and he will feel his heart beating faster when he sees a little girl in a red coat.

### **Relevant Today, Unfortunately**

It is always the hope of those who believe that our better spirits will influence our civilization, that trials such as Eichmann's will serve both as lessons about and deterrents against future bestial behavior. However, the disappointment is hard to avoid when newspaper headlines slap one with the repeat of genocide in Bosnia and Rwanda, international tribunals indicting and trying war crimes against new Eichmanns, and, even worse, renewed evidence that many nations such as Switzerland and Sweden still have to face up to their actions during the Holocaust itself.

What can we hope to learn from "The Trial of Adolf Eichmann?" First, that justice can and must be delivered to the perpetrators, if for no other reason than to not dishonor the victims and ourselves. More importantly, it is our duty to publicly affirm loud and clear that killing is wrong and that individuals are responsible for their choice to participate. It might prevent a future Eichmann or two, despite the evidence which, sadly, disputes this wish. What else can we do?

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## **Eichmann: From Capture to Trial**

### **Escape and Capture**

After Germany's unconditional surrender on May 7, 1945, Eichmann's dispirited S.S. unit awaited capture. An S.S. friend suggested that he would be better off escaping to the mountains because of his certain status as a war criminal. His attempt to evade capture failed; he was taken prisoner by an American unit and whisked off to a prisoner-of-war camp. After one successful escape, he was recaptured, but was never recognized as Eichmann by Allied authorities. In the camp, he used the alias S.S. Lt. Otto Eckmann.

During the Nuremberg Trial, Eichmann's name surfaced again and again as a principal in the conspiracy to kill all of the Jews of Europe. Terrified that he would soon be discovered, HE SLIPPED AWAY FROM AN AMERICAN PRISONER-OF-WAR CAMP, 35 MILES FROM NUREMBERG, AND DISAPPEARED INTO THE MOUNTAINS OF CENTRAL GERMANY. HE ADOPTED THE NAME OTTO HENNINGER AND BECAME A CHICKEN FARMER.

When the International Nuremberg Tribunal unanimously identified Eichmann to be the Nazi bureaucrat in charge of mass murder of the Jews, many people fanned out, including survivors seeking to avenge the murder of their families, searching for him. He found refuge for a time in a monastery in Italy where he was given a refugee passport with the name Ricardo Klement.

IN 1950, WITH THE HELP OF THE NAZI UNDERGROUND, EICHMANN FLED GERMANY TO HIDE IN ARGENTINA. Argentina was a comfortable place at that time for Nazis and their sympathizers. Within two years, he felt safe enough to send for his family. HE WORKED FIRST AS A SURVEYOR IN A SMALL MOUNTAIN VILLAGE. AFTER TWO YEARS, HE

FELT SAFE ENOUGH TO BRING HIS WIFE AND THREE SONS OVER FROM GERMANY. THEY EVENTUALLY MOVED TO BUENOS AIRES. HE WORKED ON A RABBIT FARM, THEN AS A MECHANIC AT THE ARGENTINE MERCEDES BENZ PLANT. AND HE SOON BECAME A FOREMAN AND WAS BUILDING A NEW LIFE.

In 1956, he was approached by a Dutch ex-Nazi, Wilhelm Sassen, who invited Eichmann to co-write a book about his experiences during the war. Over 600 typewritten pages of material was prepared through interviews with Eichmann, and some of this material was condensed and published in Life Magazine. These interviews provided a profusion of information useful to prosecutors before and during his trial.

DAVID BEN-GURION, ISRAEL'S FIRST PRIME MINISTER, said that IT WAS HIS NATION'S DUTY TO TELL THE STORY OF THE CRIMES AGAINST THE JEWS AND TO CATCH THE WAR CRIMINALS RESPONSIBLE. HE HAD ANNOUNCED THAT ADOLF EICHMANN "MUST BE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE IF HE IS STILL ALIVE." Nazi hunters, among them Simon Wiesenthal and Tuvia Friedmann, augmented official Israeli government pursuers, but could not find a trace of the infamous Eichmann.

BUT IN THE FALL OF 1959 THE ISRAELIS GOT A TIP THAT EICHMANN WAS LIVING IN A POOR SUBURB OF BUENOS AIRES, UNDER THE NAME OF RICARDO KLEMENT.

ISRAEL SENT SPECIAL AGENTS TO ARGENTINA AND THEY KEPT EICHMANN UNDER SURVEILLANCE FOR MONTHS. THEY PHOTOGRAPHED HIS HOUSE FROM EVERY ANGLE, DREW UP DETAILED MAPS. UNDERCOVER, THEY ASKED HIM FOR DIRECTIONS, TAKING PICTURES OF HIM WITH A CAMERA HIDDEN IN A BRIEFCASE. FINALLY, ON MAY 11, 1960, THEY STRUCK. THEY GRABBED EICHMANN AFTER HE GOT OFF A BUS ON HIS WAY HOME FROM WORK AND TOOK HIM TO A SAFEHOUSE FOR QUESTIONING. HE SIGNED A STATEMENT SAYING HE WAS WILLING TO STAND TRIAL:

"I, THE UNDERSIGNED, ADOLF EICHMANN, STATE HEREWITH OF MY OWN FREE WILL, SINCE MY TRUE IDENTITY HAS BEEN REVEALED, THAT THERE IS NO POINT IN MY CONTINUING TO EVADE JUSTICE. I DECLARE MYSELF WILLING TO PROCEED TO ISRAEL AND TO STAND TRIAL THERE BEFORE A COMPETENT COURT."

THE ISRAELIS DRUGGED HIM AND SMUGGLED HIM OUT OF THE COUNTRY TO ISRAEL, AND, ONCE THERE, HE WAS BOOKED AND PROCESSED LIKE ANY CRIMINAL SUSPECT.

### **World Reaction to the Eichmann Capture**

World reaction to the capture of Eichmann was fiercely opinionated, both pro and con. The Washington Post editorialized that "anything connected with the indictment of Eichmann is tainted with lawlessness" (May 27, 1960) and protested the trial. The New York Times wrote that "No immoral or illegal act justifies another...the rule of law must protect the most depraved criminals." (June 18, 1960).

Yet other editorials argued that the end justified the means. There was unanimity of rejoicing and pride for the capture in the Israeli press.

The government of Argentina expressed its outrage, and the capture provoked an international firestorm. Argentina declared the incident in violation of its international sovereignty. On June 15, it filed an official complaint with the UN and asked for a meeting to consider "the violation of its sovereign rights creating an atmosphere of insecurity and mistrust incompatible with the preservation of international peace."

The UN convened a special session to discuss the incident. Argentina called on Israel to punish the perpetrators and make reparations for violations of territorial sovereignty committed by its nationals. At that time, it was not clear whether the brazen capture had been carried out by official government sanction or by Holocaust survivors seeking justice.

However, Argentina never did demand that Eichmann be returned. The Israel Foreign Minister at the time and future Prime Minister, American-born Golda Meir, apologized on behalf of her adopted country for the breach of law, but said that in this case, a violation of law was justified.

The United States representative to the U.N., Henry Cabot Lodge, acknowledged that Argentina's complaint was legitimate, but suggested that the resolution of this complaint by Argentina be amended to express the concern that Eichmann should be brought to justice. Ambassador Lodge brokered an agreement which resulted in Israel's apology for the action, with the understanding that Argentina would not request that Eichman be returned.

Argentina did not find the form of Israel's apology acceptable and sent Israel's ambassador packing for home. But diplomatic relations were never severed. On August 5, diplomatic contacts between representatives of the two nations resulted in a joint communiqué which stated that the matter which "infringed fundamental rights of the State of Argentina" was now considered closed.

### **Treatment of Eichmann before the Trial**

HE WAS TAKEN TO A REMOTE TOP-SECURITY PRISON WHERE HE SPENT 11 MONTHS LIVING SIDE BY SIDE WITH THE INVESTIGATORS WHO WERE BUILDING THE CASE AGAINST HIM. In Israel, criminal investigations are the responsibility of the Police. A special investigative bureau was established, called Bureau 06 (before the capture, Israel had five police bureaus). It was staffed chiefly by German-speaking officers. Extraordinary security precautions were taken to thwart escape or a rescue commando raid. Even anti-aircraft weapons were installed at the compound.

EVERY DAY, THE INVESTIGATORS RECORDED THEIR INTERROGATION OF EICHMANN. THE TAPES WERE TRANSCRIBED EVERY NIGHT AND THE NEXT MORNING, THE PRISONER WAS GIVEN HIS CHANCE TO CORRECT THEM. IN THE END, EICHMANN'S DESCRIPTION OF HIS LIFE WOULD FILL MORE THAN 3,500 PAGES. Every page was submitted to him for his initialed corrections. A PICTURE OF A MAN WAS EMERGING.

### **Eichmann's Early Years**

Adolf Eichmann, the son of Adolf Karl Eichmann and Maria nee Schefferling, was born in 1906 in Solingen, Germany. Both of his parents were Protestant. When he was eight, his family moved to Linz, Austria. He was a mediocre, if not poor, student. His father was the commercial manager of the Linz Electric Works. The family went to church every Sunday.

His mother died when he was ten, and his father soon remarried. By then, he had one sister and five brothers. Years later, he told the Dutch interviewer Wilhelm Sassen, with whom he was collaborating on a book about his experiences, that his best childhood friend, Harry Selbar, was Jewish. He had a typical Austrian middle-class upbringing. As was also typical at that time, a strong stirring of nationalism was a part of the culture of pre-war Austria and he and his family absorbed it cheerfully.

After dropping out of high school, he became a traveling salesman with the Socony Vacuum Company. Later, he took a job with an American oil company, and this gave him an opportunity to travel.

In 1932, Eichmann and his father were invited to a meeting of the Nazi Party by a family friend, Dr. Ernst Kaltenbrunner. Eichmann was entranced by the perculating nationalistic fervor of those who attended, and he signed up. A year later, he was laid off from his oil company job and sought help from Kaltenbrunner. Kaltenbrunner arranged for Eichmann to be accepted into an S.S. brigade comprised of Austrians. Soon thereafter, Eichmann was invited to join the S.D., the S.S.'s Security Service, and given the rank of sergeant. In 1935, he was assigned to the Jewish Department of the S.D. and worked his way up to the top. Unlike virtually all Nazi bureaucrats, who were rotated among departments, Eichmann kept the same post throughout the war years.

He taught himself Hebrew and Yiddish. HE STUDIED THE JEWS, GATHERING INFORMATION ABOUT THEIR LEADERS, SYNOGOGUES, BUSINESSES, CULTURE. Eichmann married Vera Liebl, a native of Bohemia (in what is now Czechoslovakia) in 1936 and lived with her in Prague. He eventually became the father of four children, all boys.

He was given his military commission in 1937, beginning with the rank of second lieutenant.

### **Eichmann's duties during the war**

Austria was annexed by Germany on March 13, 1938. Reinhard Heydrich, chief of the S.D., was given the responsibility of clearing Germany and its allies of Jews. Eichmann arrived in Vienna on March 17, and, as an expert in Jewish affairs who had even been to Palestine, was soon given the job of expelling the Jewish community. A special authority was set up under Heydrich called the Central Office for Jewish Emigration, with Eichmann in charge. His strategy was to reopen Jewish institutions, but only for the purpose of assisting him in deportations. He arranged for Jewish leaders in concentration camps to be returned to Vienna to staff these offices to assist him in deportations. With an iron hand and insensitive to any appeals, he became an autocrat with respect to Jewish affairs. He set up an assembly line in which Jews would go in at one end, and, by the time they reached the exit at the other end, they were stripped of their property, bank accounts, jobs, apartments, and given a passport valid for two weeks. They were told that if they were not successful in finding a foreign visa, they would be sent to Dachau, a prison camp near Munich for political opponents of the Nazi regime.

By the time war broke out in September 1939, Eichmann was running the Central Office for Jewish Emigration with three branch offices. He was promoted almost annually, eventually achieving the rank of Lt. Colonel of the S.S. (SS Obersturmbannführer) by 1941.

Stories circulated about his arrogance--even that he periodically challenged superior officers to duels when they failed to share his vision with respect to the "Jewish problem."

### **WWII, the Holocaust, and Eichmann**

#### **The beginning of World War II**

WORLD WAR II BEGAN IN SEPTEMBER OF 1939, WHEN GERMANY LAUNCHED ITS ATTACK ON POLAND, HOME TO EUROPE'S LARGEST JEWISH POPULATION. EICHMANN'S OFFICE GAVE GERMAN TROOPS ORDERS TO KILL JEWS THEY CONSIDERED SECURITY THREATS.

EXPULSION AND MURDER WERE INADEQUATE TO DEAL WITH THE 3 MILLION POLISH JEWS. FROM BERLIN, EICHMANN ROUNDED UP AND FORCED THEM INTO GHETTOS AND LABOR CAMPS.

#### **Ghettos**

Although he denied it at his trial, official documents indicated that Eichmann himself suggested ghettoization as an interim method to kill large numbers of Jews. The ghetto was to be Step One in the "Final Solution," which culminated in survivors being sent to death camps.

In October 1939, Eichmann was put in charge of a newly created office that had as its purpose the deportation of Jews from occupied Poland so that ethnic Germans from other countries could return to "Greater Germany." The objective of the office was to deport 190,000 Jews, Poles, and Gypsies. Those who survived the deportations ended up in ghettos. Thousands who ended up in these ghettos died of starvation and disease. And those who survived the horrible conditions of the ghettos were deported to labor camps, concentration camps, or death camps. Few survived to tell of their experiences.

Although the Nazis were successful in isolating Jews socially and economically, their actual physical isolation did not begin until December 1939. Jews had known the ghetto since the Middle

Ages, although Jews were then permitted to leave the ghetto during the day and participate in the business of the general community. The purpose of the Nazi ghetto, however, was to confine the entire Jewish population, turning entire neighborhoods into a prison unlike the ghettos of centuries past.

Eichmann hoped that the abominable conditions in the ghettos would deplete the Jewish population quickly and naturally through starvation, disease, and cold. The ghetto served as a holding area for eventual transportation to the death camps for the hardy ones who survived brutal conditions.

There was no medicine permitted in the ghettos. The food ration allowed to inhabitants was a quarter of that available to the Germans, barely enough to permit survival. The water supply was often contaminated. Epidemics of tuberculosis, typhoid, and lice were common.

IN 1940, HENRYK ROSS, A PRESS PHOTOGRAPHER BEFORE THE WAR, WAS TAKEN INTO CUSTODY AND SHIPPED TO THE JEWISH GHETTO IN THE TOWN OF LODZ. HE SECRETLY PHOTOGRAPHED THE BRUTAL CONDITIONS THERE.

WITH PHOTOS TAKEN BY ROSS AND OTHERS, PROSECUTORS PAINTED A PICTURE OF GHETTO LIFE, INCLUDING THE ONE IN LODZ, WHERE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY THOUSAND PEOPLE WERE PACKED INTO AN AREA SMALLER THAN THREE SQUARE MILES. WHEN EICHMANN FORCED ANOTHER TWENTY-THOUSAND INTO LODZ, THE DISTRICT COMMISSIONER NAIVELY COMPLAINED THAT EICHMANN MUST HAVE HAD INACCURATE INFORMATION ABOUT THE CAPACITY OF THE GHETTO. ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY THOUSAND JEWS IN THE LODZ GHETTO DIED OF STARVATION. THE JEWS WHO WERE NOT FORCED INTO GHETTOS WERE CONDEMNED TO POLAND'S 300 LABOR CAMPS.

### **Einsatzgruppen**

IN JUNE OF 1941, GERMANY INVADED THE SOVIET UNION. SPECIAL GERMAN UNITS CALLED EINSATZGRUPPEN FOLLOWED IMMEDIATELY BEHIND THE ADVANCING TROOPS. UNDER ORDERS FROM EICHMANN, THESE UNITS HUNTED DOWN THE JEWS AND KILLED THEM.

Eichmann was the supervisor of these units. THE MAIN AND PRINCIPLE OBJECTIVE OF THE EINSATZGRUPPEN WAS TO KILL JEWS AND ROB THEM OF THEIR PROPERTY. An estimated 1.4 million Jews were murdered by the Einsatzgruppen. All reports about their activities went to Eichmann.

Records of the Gestapo were destroyed after the collapse of Germany. However, one order which survived and was used as evidence at the trial was from Eichmann to several Gestapo officers to deport 50,000 Jews.

A SPECIAL TRIAL OF EINSATZGRUPPEN OFFICERS HAD BEEN CONVENED AFTER THE WAR AND AN AMERICAN JUDGE, MICHAEL MUSMANN, HAD PRESIDED OVER IT. HE WAS CONSIDERED AN EXPERT ON THESE SPECIAL UNITS AND HAUSNER CALLED HIM AS A WITNESS TO TIE THEM TO EICHMANN.

### **The gas chambers**

The Einsatzgruppen's methods of mass murder were considered inefficient, and it was Eichmann's duty to develop and implement methods to hasten the annihilation of the Jews under Nazi occupation.

The use of gas to kill the mentally insane had been employed in Germany as early as 1939. At an October 1941 meeting where Eichmann was present, a decision was made to use poison gas to kill Jews. Auschwitz, a camp in Poland, was chosen to test this new method, and it was Eichmann who met with the Auschwitz commandant, Rudolph Hoess, to accomplish this. By the end of 1941, zyclon B gas, which had first been tested on Russian prisoners of war, was found to be a faster method than carbon monoxide poisoning (using the exhaust gas from diesel engines).

### **Wannsee Conference and the Final Solution**

THE EINSATZGRUPPEN KILLED NEARLY A MILLION JEWS IN JUST SIX MONTHS. BUT NAZI LEADERS WORRIED THAT CARRYING OUT SO MANY CLOSE UP COLD-BLOODED MURDERS WOULD BE TOO MUCH OF A STRAIN ON THEIR TROOPS. EICHMANN BEGAN TO FEEL THE NEED FOR WHAT HE CALLED A "MORE ELEGANT SOLUTION," AND IN A SUBURB OF BERLIN CALLED WANNSEE, HE HELPED ORGANIZE A MEETING OF THE NAZI BRASS TO FIND IT. THE NOTORIOUS WANNSEE CONFERENCE LASTED ONLY AN HOUR AND A HALF, BUT IT PUT INTO MOTION THE PROGRAM FOR THE SYSTEMATIC EXTERMINATION OF THE JEWS AT THE DEATH CAMPS.

AT THE WANNSEE CONFERENCE, EICHMANN PRESENTED ESTIMATES OF THE NUMBERS OF JEWS THAT WOULD BE DEPORTED FROM EACH COUNTRY AND GASED IN THE CAMPS.

Fifteen high-ranking Nazi officials were in attendance, including Heydrich, for whom Eichmann prepared the conference's opening speech. At this meeting, the Third Reich adopted a plan to deport Jews to death camps, in what became known as the "Final Solution." Most of the debate centered not on the morality of this, but rather what proportion of Jewish blood would merit this "special treatment" and the methods used to effect genocide. Heydrich made it clear that all organizational and logistical requirements would be the responsibility of Adolf Eichmann.

Throughout most of the war, Eichmann was the top official of a bureaucracy designed to deport, concentrate, and murder millions of Jews. He would travel from occupied country to occupied country and assist in making the arrangements for the Jews to be slaughtered.

According to Eichmann, it was he who coined the term "Final Solution" to mean the annihilation of the Jewish people. In 1941, Hitler ordered that all Jews in the Reich be killed. A written order to that effect was found to be sent from Gestapo Chief Hermann Goerring to Heydrich. Eichmann, as the Nazi war machine's Jewish expert, was the central instrument in the German War bureaucracy to see that this order was fulfilled. At his trial in Nuremberg, Goerring denied that the words in the directive meant that the Jews were to be killed. In his Sassen interviews, Eichmann took the credit for drafting Goerring's directive. It is generally believed that the number of Jews who died in the Holocaust was six million. Five million others also perished as a result of Nazi atrocities.

### **The end of the war**

The Third Reich's initial military victories were overtaken by stunning defeats. BY THE FALL OF 1944, HEAVY ALLIED BOMBING HAD TAKEN A TOLL ON THE EUROPEAN RAILROAD SYSTEM, WHICH WAS NEEDED FOR BOTH THE WAR EFFORT AND THE DEPORTATION OF JEWS. THE GERMANS WERE ALSO SUFFERING LOSSES ON THE EASTERN FRONT. HOPING TO INGRATIATE HIMSELF WITH THE RUSSIANS, WHO WERE FAST APPROACHING BUDAPEST, HIMMLER TRIED TO HALT THE FINAL SOLUTION. HE ORDERED EICHMANN TO STOP ALL DEPORTATIONS FROM HUNGARY. EICHMANN IGNORED HIMMLER'S ORDERS, AND ROUNDED UP ANOTHER 50,000 JEWS. UNABLE TO DEPORT THEM BY TRAINS, HE DECIDED TO MARCH THEM TO THEIR DEATH CAMPS IN POLAND.

With the war seemingly lost, Eichmann set to work with two goals in mind: destroying all documents he could find which implicated him in the most heinous mass murder in human history, and murdering as many Jews as could be accomplished before the cover of war was lifted.

According to one account, he knew that he would be high on the list of war criminals who would be dealt with following the inevitable Allied victory.