

## **The Raul Hilberg Lecture**

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### **On Reading a Document:**

**SS-Man Katzmann's**

**"Solution of the Jewish Question in the District of Galicia"**

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Two "snapshots" of Raul Hilberg provide a glimpse of how this gifted historian worked with documents, the raw material of history. The first is from the late 1940s. Imagine Professor Hilberg as a graduate student beginning research on the Nazi extermination of the Jews at the War Documentation Project. There he stands, pondering 28,000 linear feet of mostly uncatalogued records. Many aspiring historians in this situation would have walked away, accepted their mentor's advice, and found a more conventional topic. But this particular historian stayed on (and on), methodically reconstructing the organization of the vast bureaucratic networks that converted a lethal antisemitic vision into a catastrophic fact.

For our second glimpse of Professor Hilberg, we don't have to imagine, we can move fast forward to the mid-1980s and see him explaining how to read a one-page memo about railroad scheduling in the film *Shoah*. Speaking to Claude Lanzmann, the director, Hilberg emphasizes how vital it is to read not just its content but every facet of a document. Who wrote it? Who sent it? Who received the original and copies? What is on the subject line? Does it bear a red "**TOP SECRET**" stamp? Every aspect of a document "incorporates the whole culture and atmosphere of the time." Administrative efficiency in mass murder or any other large scale operation depends

on bureaucrats never pondering the orders they follow. To achieve this goal, even the most drastic orders had to appear routine, ordinary memos. As Hilberg put it, "[T]he key to the entire operation was never to utter the words that would be appropriate to the action being taken."<sup>1</sup>

Among many qualities that connect the young man in the archives with the seasoned historian in the film was Hilberg's ability simultaneously to examine the minutiae of his sources and to see them as evidence of broader patterns. What drove his intellectual forays? Hilberg described the "quest for fulfillment" that kept him returning to documents, not only in search of new sources but also of new meanings in familiar sources. Hilberg wrote that, "History can be preserved only in fragments," or "leftovers." Each document "tends to be telescopic, purposeful, and problem-oriented." As scholars arrange these fragments, they fill in the blank spaces. And always they wonder about what a missing document might reveal. "Months, years, or decades may be spent in conjectures about its content. . . ."<sup>2</sup>

Thinking of Raul Hilberg as both a sleuth who discovers fragments and an intellectual who creates meaning from them, I will examine from a different angle one very well-known "fragment" that Hilberg read five decades ago and to which he later returned. It is a 62-page typed report entitled, "The Solution to the Jewish Question in the District of Galicia," written in June 1943 by SS and Police Major General Friedrich (Fritz) Katzmann. In chilling detail it describes the liquidation of 434,329 Jews. Prosecutors at the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, the Eichmann Trial, and other war crimes trials have relied on the Katzmann report to estimate the numbers of victims and to connect high-ranking Nazis with criminal orders.<sup>3</sup> In *The Destruction of the European Jews*, Hilberg cited Katzmann's statistics as evidence of the numbers of murdered Jews and of perpetrators' fear of contagion and partisan warfare.<sup>4</sup>

When archives in former Soviet territories opened during the 1990s, newly-discovered documents filled many crucial gaps in historians' knowledge of extermination in the East. After reading Dieter Pohl's 1996 book about the extermination of Jews in East Galicia, which incorporated previously unknown archival sources, Hilberg returned to the Katzmann report and adjusted his calculations of the number of victims murdered.<sup>5</sup> In this essay, I examine the Katzmann report not so much for its evidence about the outcome of the "Final Solution," but for the insights it can provide into the way perpetrators viewed their lethal mission. And, because we can assume that the ambitious Katzmann drafted his report to advance his career, we can also infer that it reflects the view of the "Final Solution" that Katzmann believed would win his

superiors' approval. Living in Berlin, far from the stench of rotting corpses, the sight of starving children, and the gore of mass shooting, the planners of the "Final Solution" thought in abstract terms. Taking a closer look at this report allows us to glimpse the culture founded on racial myth, fantasy, and science that framed perpetrators' views of their lethal mission.

In the first part of this essay, I summarize the findings of two streams of historical research that rarely intersect: studies of perpetrators and of scholarly antisemitism [*Judenforschung*]. Second, after a summary of Katzmann's tour of duty in Galicia, I look closely at the Katzmann report as an artifact within the context of Nazi visual culture as well as research on perpetrators. What kind of binding did it have? Was it stamped "Secret?" What does its narrative tell us about Katzmann's understanding of slaughtering not only men, but children and women? How do its captioned photographs and Photostats amplify this picture? Third, I situate Katzmann's beliefs within the context of Nazi-sponsored studies of "Jewry" disseminated in apparently objective popular racial science. To contextualize Katzmann's understanding of the "Final Solution," I briefly compare what one might call "applied racial science" in Germany with popular race science elsewhere in Europe and North America. Thus, I begin with a single object and move outward from the author to the album itself, to the beliefs that informed it, and to the transnational milieu within which these values existed. The heuristic benefit of this very broad overview lies in its linkage of scholarship on the values that ordinary Germans imbibed during the so called 'good years' of Nazi rule from 1933 to 1942 and studies of perpetrators in concentration camps, ghettos and extermination facilities from 1939-1945.

### **HISTORIOGRAPHY OF PERPETRATORS AND PROPAGANDA**

In the immediate post-war decade, the stereotypical perpetrator was a cross between a psychopath and a sadist.<sup>6</sup> It seemed obvious then that only terrible people could commit terrible crimes. During the 1950s, Marxist and totalitarian paradigms supplanted this simplistic view. According to the former, mass extermination followed the logic of late capitalism, or fascism. Totalitarian interpretations emphasized the terror and propaganda that bound millions to a powerful state. From both standpoints, perpetrators appeared to have been mindless "cogs" in what Hilberg called the "far flung sophisticated bureaucracy," of extermination.<sup>7</sup> Looking back, Hilberg later recalled that in the 1960s most people had found it hard to accept "the notion that

drastic acts could be practiced relentlessly by men who appeared to be as politically innocuous as they were ideologically inert.”<sup>8</sup>

After archives in former Soviet-controlled territories opened, however, scholars discovered in excruciating detail how genocidal orders had been formed and implemented in dozens of offices, labor camps, ghettos and death camps. As historians gathered evidence about perpetrators at many levels, they realized that extermination was not driven by top down commands, but by local commanders acting with a surprising degree of autonomy.<sup>9</sup> Dozens of micro-histories of extermination operations and labor camps produced what George Browder called a “new consensus” about the men (and a few women) who implemented the “final solution.” In various proportions, these “managerial perpetrators” had blended belief and careerism.<sup>10</sup> Only a tiny percentage could be considered either sadistic or mindless.

During the 1990s historians also examined the widely accepted beliefs about “Jewry” that had been produced by academics and were popularized in exhibitions, magazines, public lectures, textbook supplements, and documentary films and slides. Unlike many historians who had for decades dismissed this material as pseudo-science, post-cold-war scholars took seriously what sociologist Max Weinreich had written in 1947. “[T]he mass murder of six million people was justified, sustained, and encouraged by men whose training and culture ought to have encouraged their humaneness. . . . [but who] became- the willing, even enthusiastic servants of evil.”<sup>11</sup> At the heart of mass murderers’ belief system lay knowledge about their putative racial enemies that had been produced by experts. Academic studies of “Jewry” [*Judenforschung*] made phobic racism respectable.<sup>12</sup> In the words of historian Alon Confino, the outcome amounted to a “revolution of human imagination, consciousness, and morality that reconstituted in a wholly new way the very old idea of a life without Jews.”<sup>13</sup>

Katzmann’s album provides insights into the mental characteristics of mass murderers: an ability to withstand the excruciating horror of day-to-day slaughter and to sanitize that horror in reports to their commanding officers. Paraphrasing Hilberg, the words and images of the Katzmann report did not match his men’s actions.

## **THE AUTHOR AND HIS REPORT**

Born in 1905 into a family of miners in a small city in Westphalia, Friedrich Katzmann graduated from trade school and became a carpenter. In 1928 he lost his job and joined the

NSDAP (member number 98,528) and the *Sturmabteilung* [SA]. Two years later, he resigned from the SA and signed up with the *Schutzstaffel* [SS] (member number 3,065). Not surprisingly, this early joiner of both the party and the SS advanced quickly once the Nazi Party took over the government. This rapid promotion must have come as a reward for his participation in the murder of his party comrades on the so called “Night of the Long Knives.” With the rank of Major [*SS-Sturmbannführer*], Katzmann was transferred to Berlin in 1934, where he joined the 75<sup>th</sup> SS-Unit, known as the “Widukind” and married the woman who would bear four sons in the next five years. Katzmann became a city councilor and an honorary [*ehrenamtlich*] member of the People’s Court [*Volksgeschichtshof*]. An arrest for drunken assault did nothing to damage his reputation as a model SS-man. His commanding officer, Sepp Dietrich, one of Hitler’s oldest comrades, called him “unusually ambitious. . . . Full of the fighting spirit . . . a fanatical political soldier. . . .” who leads an „orderly life and an impeccable financial operation. [He is] a sober, honorable comrade with strong honor and character.”<sup>14</sup> Katzmann soon received the golden party award. In March 1938, he and his family were transferred to the eastern German city of Breslau (now Wrocław).

Despite Katzmann’s limited education, Hilberg observed that his “rise was meteoric, because he fit an ideal profile almost perfectly.”<sup>15</sup> In September 1939 the newly-promoted SS and Police Lieutenant Colonel [*SS-Oberführer*] Colonel Katzmann was put in charge of security for a *Wehrmacht* unit during the Polish invasion. In this capacity he organized ethnic German “self defense” units in that began mass shootings in occupied Kattowitz, Upper Silesia. As the situation stabilized, Katzmann was transferred to Radom, a small city in occupied Poland with 81,113 residents, of whom 24,745 were Jews. In the surrounding district about 280,000 Jews resided, many of whom had been expelled from other regions. Katzmann found himself in the midst of acrimonious competition among S.S., Army, civilian, and Party chiefs to conscript Jewish labor, plunder Jewish property, and drive Jews from their homes.<sup>16</sup> Katzmann ordered the execution of local communist and Jewish leaders. In November, when General Governor Hans Frank ordered Jews to wear the Star of David, Katzmann enforced the command by authorizing the execution of any Jew outside the ghetto without proper identification. He also established a Jewish council, or *Judenrat*, that would cooperate with occupation forces.

Like other commanders in “the wild East,” Katzmann faced conflicting priorities. Confining Jews in urban ghettos risked spreading infectious diseases among the German troops

patrolling the borders. But if Jews remained in the countryside, they could more easily escape. *Wehrmacht* pressure for slave labor camps in war-related production collided with the ideological mission of exterminating Jews. Orders to sequester confiscated Jewish property were virtually unenforceable, and until July 1940 no office kept track of booty taken by Gestapo, S.S., army, and civilian authorities. Katzmann supervised slave labor units, looting, and mass shootings.<sup>17</sup> Already in the first months of occupation, the shortage of food and fuel became so catastrophic that Major [*SS Sturmbannführer*] Rolf-Heinz Hoepfner suggested to Eichmann, "It should be seriously considered if it would not be the most humane solution to dispose of the Jews, insofar as they are not capable of work, through a quick-acting agent. In any case it would be more pleasant than to let them starve."<sup>18</sup>

In this chaotic situation, Katzmann also attended to other responsibilities, such as assuring the 24-hour operation of a nearby oil refinery at Beryslaw-Drohobycz, maintaining a 160-kilometer highway to the front, and providing laborers for construction, agriculture and industry. In the spring of 1940, Katzmann oversaw the establishment of two ghettos in Radom, which together housed about 32,000 Jews. Until ghetto boundaries were sealed in April 1941, Jews could secretly communicate with non-Jewish residents outside, which meant that wealthy Jews could procure food and special favors. Memoirs by survivors of the Radom ghetto recall impact of Katzmann's arrival. David Wajnapel testified at the IMT in Nuremberg,

A few weeks after the entry of the German troops into Radom, police and SS authorities arrived. Conditions became immediately worse. The house in the Zeromski St. where their headquarters were became a menace to the entire population. People who were walking in this street were dragged into the gateway and ill-treated by merciless beatings and by the staging of sadistic games. All SS officers, as well as the men, took part in this.<sup>19</sup>

Although Wajnapel did not name Katzmann, the operations he described fell directly under Katzmann's command.

Katzmann remained in Radom until Operation Barbarossa, the invasion of the Soviet Union in late June 1941. After some internal dissent, the 35-year old Katzmann became an SS-Major General [*SS-Gruppenführer*], SS Police Leader [*SS Polizeiführer*] and liaison to Alfred

Rosenberg, the Reich Commissioner for the Consolidation of Ethnic Germany [RKF, *Reichskommissar für die Festigung des deutschen Volkstums*]. Waiting for his new assignment to become official, Katzmann and key staff members moved to Lemberg (Łwów in Polish, Lviv in Ukrainian) Eastern Galicia. In July as Hungarian troops advanced into East Galicia, the local NKVD had executed suspected anti-Communists. While German propagandists blamed Jews for these crimes, *Einsatzgruppe C* and Ukrainian paramilitaries murdered prominent Jewish professionals, intellectuals, community leaders, and businessmen as “reprisals.” During this chaotic interlude, German and Hungarian troops stole an estimated 25,000,000 rubles worth of property from Jews and burned all synagogues.<sup>20</sup>

As in Radom, Katzmann confronted unrestrained pogroms, pillage, and corruption. But the scale of operations was considerably larger. In Radom he had supervised 25,000 Jews, whereas 150,000 Jews lived in Lvov.<sup>21</sup> More significantly, an entirely new “solution” to the “Jewish question” emerged during the early months of Barbarossa. In East Galicia, SS, Wehrmacht, and local militias mass murdered not only male Jews, but women and children as well. At this time, Governor Frank explained that new measures were in the offing. Whether or not he was in the audience, Katzmann would have learned the gist of Frank’s speech.

When it comes to the Jews I want to say in complete candor that an end must be made of them, one way or another. . . . Therefore, I will proceed only from the fundamental expectation that they disappear [*verschwinden*]. They must be gotten rid of. . . . Gentlemen, I must ask you to defend yourselves against all feelings of sympathy. We must exterminate [*vernichten*] the Jews wherever they may appear.

Of course, he continued, this would not be achieved by following ordinary rules.

The Jews represent for us [an] extraordinarily malignant gluttons [*Fressser*]. We have now approximately 2,500,000 of them in the General Government, perhaps with the Jewish mixtures and everything that goes with it, 3,500,000 Jews. We cannot shoot or poison those 3,500,000 Jews, but we shall nevertheless be able to take measures, which will lead, somehow, to their annihilation. . . . The General Government must become free

of Jews. . . . Where and how this is to be achieved will be decided by the offices which we must appoint and create here.<sup>22</sup>

According to the Jewish council, between October and December 1941 the Lvov Jewish population declined from 119,000 to 106,000.<sup>23</sup> In East Galicia, Katzmann directed the slaughter of between 55,000 and 65,000 Jews during 1941-1942. On his orders about 80,000 Jews were sent to the Lvov ghetto in conditions so terrible that many died en route. Christopher Browning called this, “the first step toward the liquidation of the entire Jewish population” because Katzmann targeted women and children, as well as men.<sup>24</sup> In other words, Katzmann anticipated plans for total extermination of all Jews months before those plans became official policy.

Very few East Galician Jews survived, but their memoirs vividly depict Katzmann’s methods. Simon and Cyla Wiesenthal described Katzmann’s technique for luring Jews out of hiding. He established a kindergarten for Jewish children as a “gesture of good faith.” Few Jewish parents could withstand the offer of milk and cocoa for their starving children. One day three SS men took the children on an “outing” from which they never returned.<sup>25</sup> Another survivor recalled, “The Nazis’ sadism was demonstrated by their formation of an orchestra of inmates who had to accompany the killings with music.”<sup>26</sup> Internationally celebrated Jewish musicians from Lvov played works by Mozart, Beethoven’s Third Symphony, and the Radetzky March during the worst operations, perhaps less because of sadism than because their commander wanted to create a mirage of order. Another survivor recalled, “The Germans killed children in a most gruesome fashion. Many were thrown alive out of the burning houses. . . .”<sup>27</sup>

One of the most valuable documents about SS men’s psychological response to their bloody mission in occupied Poland is a collection of letters by SS man Felix Landau, who was posted to Galicia in 1941. So central are these letters to documenting Katzmann’s actions that Tuvia Friedman published them together with the Katzmann report. These intimate letters describe the devastating violence in Galicia that Katzmann encountered upon his arrival. Writing to his sweetheart in early July 1941, Landau used the passive voice. “Shortly after arriving, the first Jews were shot by us.” He continues, “500 Jews stand there lined up ready to be shot.” His tone remains flat until he describes a stench so terrible that one needed a gas mask. The sight of wounded Jews covered with dirt crawling out of mass graves makes him sick. He depicts

[h]undreds of Jews with blood streaming down their faces, holes in their heads, broken hands, and eyes hanging out . . . There were rows of Jews lying one on top of the other like pigs, whimpering horribly. The Jews kept streaming out of the citadel completely covered in blood.

In another letter he writes about “Pig Jews” *Saujuden*. Landau does not object to murder, “But Jews should not be allowed to run around in this condition.” The young man closes, “I would prefer an honorable open battle. Well, good night my beloved Bunny.” A day later he writes, “I am again, as once before, emotionally devastated. I sense that I will remain a good for nothing.”<sup>28</sup>

The bloody mayhem described in Landau’s letters resonates with a report about transports from Łvov to Belzec from September 7 through 10, 1942. Trains broke down. Sealed boxcars stood on the tracks for hours, and even days. A few Jews escaped from the boxcars, only to be shot. Corpses rotted in the sun. “The Jews’ continually increasing panic, made worse by the terrible heat, the overcrowded box cars, and the stench of corpses (at unloading 2,000 were found dead) made the transport almost impossible to complete.”<sup>29</sup> An accelerated round up in early September 1942, produced a grim street scene. After a member of the Judenrat refused an order, SS-men murdered scores of Jews and piled their bodies in front of the Judenrat headquarters. On another occasion, as “retaliation” for Jews’ alleged bad behavior, Katzmann’s men hanged 12 Jewish officials & policemen in public places throughout Lvov. Ropes or wires sometimes broke. Victims fell to pavement. German soldiers hoisted them again. The corpses remained hanging to demonstrate German “justice.” A survivor described the “corpses . . . their tongues blackened and stretched out.” She continued, “German civilians with their wives and children came to see the sensational spectacle. . . . Visitors enthusiastically photographed the scene.”<sup>30</sup> By 1942, when a high wooden fence closed the ghetto, 70,000 Jews remained alive within it. Terrible overcrowding forced hundreds (the “dead of the desert”) to live outdoors. In a press release dated Cracow, October 16, 1942, an unknown journalist described “resettlement” as “not worthy of a civilized nation.”<sup>31</sup>

As in Radom, Katzmann confronted intractable problems. Wehrmacht officers demanded Jewish slave workers for vital war-related production, while SS chiefs prioritized extermination,

and civilians looted Jewish property. A black market in stolen goods and forged documents thrived. No wonder Himmler complained that the system of Jewish labor was “in dire need of reorganization.”<sup>32</sup> The German and Jewish labor offices under Katzmann’s command created constant friction, not least because no Jewish leader volunteered to lead the *Judenrat* and the first four appointed Jewish leaders were executed for disobedience.<sup>33</sup> Katzmann himself violated orders when he led an anti-partisan campaign without informing *Wehrmacht* officers in the area. After it backfired, the *Wehrmacht* filed a complaint against Katzmann.<sup>34</sup> No investigation followed.

Corruption in occupied Poland became so rampant that Himmler dispatched SS Lieutenant General [*Obergruppenführer*] Oswald Pohl to investigate. Katzmann had every reason to think his financial dealings would come under scrutiny as he watched strife among SS top chiefs and between Frank’s civilian government and SS rivals. In March 1942, Pohl charged Frank with shipping convoys of food and household furnishings to his estate in Germany, abetting his wife’s acquisitive habits (ten fur coats among them), and purloining gold jewelry.<sup>35</sup> The governor of East Galicia, Dr. Karl Lasch, Katzmann’s superior in Radom and then Łvov, was rumored to have accepted Persian rugs, paintings, porcelain, and furniture in exchange for granting protection to wealthy Jews. Despite Lasch’s claim that he had behaved no worse than his peers, he was found guilty without a trial and died in custody in the late spring of 1943.<sup>36</sup> Frank was stripped of Nazi Party rank, but he remained in office. Through a barrage of recriminations, Katzmann remained above suspicion.

Overlapping jurisdictions, conflicting priorities, and administrative chaos dogged Katzmann’s career in Łvov. In late 1941 he received orders to ghettoize all Jews. But when epidemics spread among starving Jews packed into overcrowded areas, the policy was reversed.<sup>37</sup> Liquidation reduced demographic pressure. In January 1942, Himmler visited Łvov and most likely endorsed SS operations there.<sup>38</sup> An occupation official reported succinctly in April 1942, “The Jewish population is deeply depressed, which certainly is understandable as the actual destination of operations against Jews becomes known.”<sup>39</sup>

In the aftermath of Reinhard Heydrich’s assassination in May, SS and police personnel accelerated what they euphemistically called “resettlement” under the rubric of Operation Reinhard. On Katzmann’s orders, SS men shot 10,000 Jews found outside the ghetto without special work papers.<sup>40</sup> To prevent escapes from the trains to death camps, in the winter of 1942-

43, Katzmann ordered that victims be stripped naked. In the notorious Janowska camp, SS men held a weekly “track meet” in which they forced inmates carrying heavy loads to run in rows of five from the railway station to the camp. “When the order ‘run’ was given, it was not sufficient just to run. We had to be careful not to step out of line. . . SS officers. . . would goad us on with wild shouts, kicks, beatings, shots...”<sup>41</sup>

During 1942, the Łvov ghetto population “shrank” from 140,000 to 40,000 residents. Of about 300,000 Jews alive in occupied Poland at the end of 1942, 161,000 lived in the district of East Galicia. In January 1943, Katzmann created a “*Julag*” [Jewish Camp] in Lvov for Jews with work permits. Although he condemned employers who wanted Jewish workers, Katzmann authorized between 60,000 and 70,000 work permits. Because Łvov was a railway hub, Katzmann could count on a steady supply of labor to replace murdered Jews in the nearby Janowska work camp, which historian Thomas Sandkühler called “the hungry Moloch.” On January 5, 6, and 7, 1943 one *Aktion* murdered about 15,000 Jews, including members of the *Judenrat*.<sup>42</sup> During the following months, Katzmann’s intensified searches, round ups, deportations, and shootings in East Galicia produced a death toll of 143,000 people.<sup>43</sup> Survivors recalled guards’ penchant for particular cruelty, such as using Jews for target practice, devising ways to murder children without using ammunition, and tormenting elderly rabbis. On particular dates, like Hitler’s birthday or the day Mussolini was hanged, torturers devised especially hideous forms of murder. One of the worst sadists, a professional violinist, organized accompanying music and shot musicians who hit the wrong note.<sup>44</sup>

Katzmann’s fellow officer, Jürgen Stroop, came to Lvov to help with “tidying up” the ghetto. Later Stroop recalled how easy the first wave of killings had been, when “you bag them like chickens.” Once Jews comprehended the magnitude of death camps, however, they resisted so effectively, “that it took Katzmann’s men days” to hunt down thousands of Jews in hiding. Stroop admired Jews as, “excellent military engineers” who constructed underground fortifications. “Courageous, strong, and imaginative, [the] Jews fought like tigers . . . none surrendered.”<sup>45</sup> Survivors’ accounts document widespread resistance, ranging from clandestine literary circles and organized escape networks to armed resistance, often in cooperation with non-German soldiers in the German military.

After the last *Aktion* in May 1943, 21,156 Jews were quartered temporarily in 21 “Jew camps.” On June 30, 1943 the self-promoting Katzmann declared his mission had been

accomplished. “Galicia is free of Jews!”<sup>46</sup> Despite what one personnel officer perceived as Katzmann’s poor organizational skills and tactlessness, he was deemed ideal for “pioneer work in the East” and transferred to Danzig,<sup>47</sup> where he commanded the SS Chief District [*Oberabschnitt*] Weichsel [Wisła]. In July 1944 as Major General of the Waffen-SS, Katzmann directed the “clearing” of the concentration camp at Stutthoff.

Three months after Katzmann’s departure from Łvóv, the last traces the ghetto were liquidated. By the end of 1943 virtually all of the 620,000 Jews living in Galicia before the German invasion had been murdered. The ruins Łvóv ghetto, however, became the scene of one last “action.” As the Red Army invaded Ukraine in the autumn of 1943, Himmler ordered the destruction of all traces of atrocity. Special SS Unit 1005 (the “death brigade”) ordered the few surviving Jews in Łvóv to exhume and burn thousands of corpses from mass graves.<sup>48</sup> On November 20, the desperate men in the brigade attacked their captors and several managed to escape.

After the German surrender on 8. May 1945, Katzmann demonstrated his extraordinary survival skills by vanishing completely, even from his wife and five children. As “Bruno Albrecht” he found work as a traveling salesman and lived quietly in Darmstadt. Post war trials condemned his peers (among them HSSPF Stroop, HSSPF Odilo Globocnik, Governor General Frank, and HUSSPF Krüger) to death. Katzmann, however, evaded detection until 1953, when in the hospital with only days to live he revealed his identity to a priest.

### **THE REPORT AS ARTIFACT**

As evidence, the Katzmann report has lost much its value because of what Pohl described as the “gross distortion of facts Katzmann submitted to the SS command.”<sup>49</sup> It does, however, provide a “window” into the way “the architects of genocide,” quoting Richard Breitman’s phrase, perceived the outcome of their lethal commands. Looking at the Katzmann report, it seems odd that this record of mass murder would resemble a family photo album. But on second thought, it is not so strange. This 62-page double-spaced typed document, hand bound in a sturdy leatherette cover, is not a document intended to be filed away, but rather a testimonial to Katzmann’s heroic achievements. Katzmann ordered three copies, of which only one has been discovered. Its “SECRET” stamp lent it particular weight and reminded readers that they belonged to the inner circle of power. Its praise for courageous SS men and their commander’s

administrative skills contains clues about how Katzmann reconciled the day-to-day horror of extermination with SS rhetoric of virtuous manhood. The report cannot, of course, provide reliable information about the author's actual experience, but it gives an excellent portrait of the "Final Solution" Katzmann believed his superiors wanted to hear.

"East Galicia is Free of Jews" consists of a five-page history of the Jews in Łvów, a seven-page itemized list of plunder and a seven-page narrative describing his unit's struggle against the Jewish enemy. It also includes two sections of photographs, one of putatively profitable slave labor and the other of the last round up of Jews for deportation and death. In both content and appearance, the Katzmann album bears a striking resemblance to Stroop's 75-page leather bound, illustrated description of how his valiant men defeated the Warsaw ghetto uprising.<sup>50</sup> Stroop dated his report May 16, 1943, and Katzmann's was dated June 30. Both were addressed to Krüger. Writing after the extermination camps had been in full operation for over a year, both authors assembled their reports in what must have seemed to them the full flush of victory. In "The Warsaw Ghetto Exists No More!" Stroop describes only the liquidation of the ghetto, whereas Katzmann's account covers slave labor, looted property, and Jewish resistance.

#### **IMAGES OF COST-EFFECTIVE SLAVE LABOR MANAGEMENT**

The opening passages of "The Solution of the Jewish Problem in East Galicia" set the tone for this account of efficient, morally justifiable extermination. Katzmann began his narrative section with a sober, almost pedantic, history lesson about the Jewish peril.

Galicia, because of its association with the term 'Galician Jew' was probably the best known corner of the world to gain recognition because of its connection with Judaism. Here lived a large and compressed mass that comprised a world unto itself, which provisioned the rest of world Jewry. . . Jewish influence, which radiated outward from Galician Jewry expanded under Austrian and Polish rule and grew immensely after the Soviet invasion. They held the reins of power . . . Therefore solving the Jewish problem had to take top priority.<sup>51</sup>

Stroop also began by placing his unit's deadly mission within a historical framework.

The creation of special areas for Jewish habitation and the restriction of the Jews with regard to residence and trading are nothing new in the history of the East. Such measures were first taken far back in the Middle Ages; they could be observed as recently as during the last few centuries. These restrictions were imposed in order to protect the Aryan population against the Jews. Identical considerations led us as early as February, 1940 to conceive the project of creating a Jewish residential district in Warsaw.<sup>52</sup>

Amplifying his rationale for extermination, Katzmann describes Jews' criminality as so rampant that civilian authorities had been totally stymied in their efforts to control it. Although Katzmann omitted detailed information about his first eight months in Lvov, he boasted that solving the Jewish problem had been his first priority. Oddly, he begins his narrative in the spring of 1942 – perhaps to distance himself from the calamitous disorder of his first seven months in Łvov.

Dissolving all Jewish-operated employment offices, Katzmann describes how he and his men re-credentialed workers and, in the process, identified untold numbers of forged documents. He lashes out at non-Jewish employers of Jewish workers who defended their “employees” in a “manner which can only be called profoundly shameful.” Even German-owned local businesses carried on “the most fantastic rackets.” Ever eager to belittle his rivals, Katzmann adds, until he arrived, “The *Wehrmacht* service stations especially had assisted the Jewish parasites” in procuring false papers. The SS, by contrast, wages an, “effective war against the Jew dominated black market that was astonishingly widespread.”

Describing the establishment of work camps, Katzmann boasts that he had transformed “lazy Jews who hang around and do nothing” into labor crews that improved local infrastructure, which was in “catastrophic condition.” Yes, Katzmann admits, Jews were willing to work, but they lacked a work ethic. “For the Jewish labor offices, work was merely a means to escape harsher treatment.” Under his command, “the entire shirking and asocial Jewish rabble were seized and subjected to special treatment.”<sup>53</sup> Katzmann sanitizes brutal house-to-house searches and shooting of helpless victims with a vocabulary of cleansing. Phrases like, “dragging through” or “sifting” [*Durchschleusung*] and “areas to be combed through” [*auszukämmenden Gebiete*] present an ordinary (and sensible) operation.<sup>54</sup>

With the SS Office of Economic Policy [*WVHA*] demanding that every operation be conducted according to what Hilberg called the “self-financing principle,” Katzmann must have anticipated that his report would place him above suspicion. Like a businessman, he itemizes employers’ per diem payments (5 zloty for males and 4 zloty for females) to the SS for supplying slave labor against the cost of providing clothing, shelter, breakfast and dinner, and health care (about 1.60 zloty). Overlooking the “fur action” that had robbed Jews of warm clothing, Katzmann notes that he allowed workers to bring their own ample [*reichliche*] garments. Katzmann proudly describes how he standardized work permits, regularized bank deposits, and placed slave labor under the supervision of SS and police personnel.

Visual evidence enhanced the authenticity of his statistical precision, Katzmann inserted photo copies of forged identity documents and 78 photographs of the labor camps. Like the



photographs historian Janina Struk describes, the images Katzmann selected made mass murder in ghettos and camps seem ordinary.<sup>55</sup> Their amateurish quality gives them an aura of authenticity.

By showing his superior officers Heinrich Himmler and Krüger visiting the work sites, Katzmann underscored the legality of his operations. Subsequent photos reinforced Katzmann’s portrayal of labor camps as well-



managed wartime institutions. Snapshots of kitchen personnel might have been taken anywhere. After a snapshot of delousing and shaving, he inserted photographs of emaciated men shoveling snow, digging trenches, working in a stone quarry, lying down for a full-body search, and lining up at meal

time. In two pictures, SS men and their helpers remove Jews from a “Jewish village.”<sup>56</sup> Another shot features a disheveled, but warmly dressed work crews standing at attention.

Attempts at light hearted sarcasm in captions enhance the impression of ordinariness. For example, a picture of men carrying heavy rocks with their hands bears the comment, “In the

early days, too few wheelbarrows, so the work was done by hand. A bit tedious, but it worked.” The caption on the photograph of skeleton-like laborers declares, “While marching off to work one can’t exactly talk about ‘good morale.’” A snapshot of a food line tells viewers, “But at the end of the workday with the distribution of food, radiant sunshine returns.”<sup>57</sup> Neatly arranged cots in prisoners’ living quarters, a local woman chatting with officers, and a portrait of a Jewish supervisor describe a smoothly run network of camps.

On page ten, after the labor camp photographs, Katzmann announces that the establishment of Jewish districts [*Judenwohnbezirken*] had resulted in the “resettlement” [*Ausbezw. Umgesiedelt*] of 254,989 Jews. A copy of his memo to the *Wehrmacht Rüstungsinspektion* (October 10, 1942) describes the housing, care, cost effectiveness, and clothing provided to forced laborers, whose “wages” were deposited in a local bank.<sup>58</sup> According to Katzmann’s cost/benefit analysis, the SS operations in Galicia had yielded 13,423,764 zloty.<sup>59</sup> After a brief paragraph declaring Lvov “Free of Jews,” Katzmann turns to the financial side of his operations.

#### **FINANCIAL ORDERING OF PLUNDER**

Seven pages of Katzmann’s inventory of confiscated Jewish property convey the impression that unlicensed pillage was a controlled action. Historian Yitzhik Arad calculated from Katzmann’s June 30, 1943 lists of “confiscations” that the plunder included astonishing amounts of gold, silver, and other valuables.<sup>60</sup> Arad suspects that Katzmann understated the amount and value of property to cover up wholesale theft. The careful itemization must have been intended to dispel reports of wonton plunder. Notice its refined categories. Copper, brass, iron and nickel coins are weighed separately; loose stamps are separated from complete collections. The sums are never rounded off. Watches and jewelry are weighed. Cameras and binoculars are counted, and costume jewelry listed by the sack.

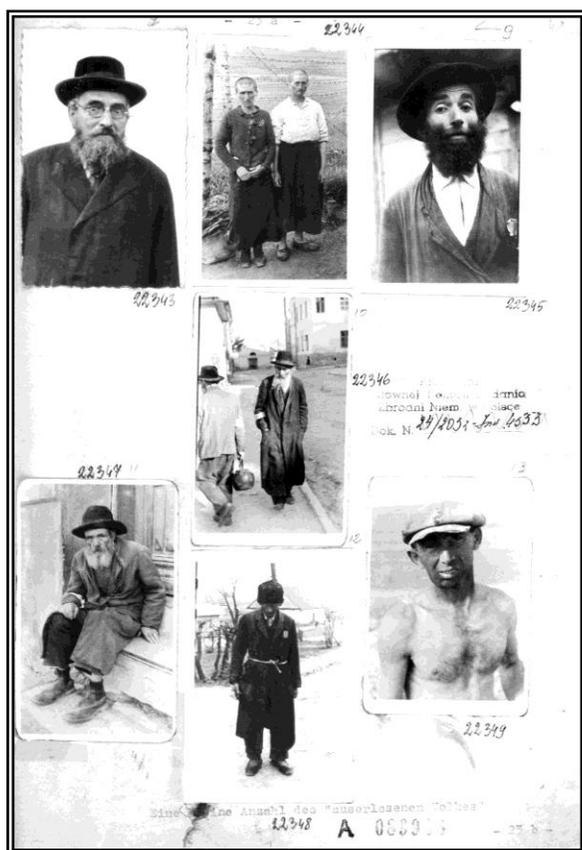
|              |               |
|--------------|---------------|
| 25.580 kg.   | copper coins  |
| 53.190 kg    | nickel coins  |
| 97.581 kg    | gold coins    |
| 82.600 kg    | silver chains |
| 6.640 kg     | chains, gold  |
| 4,326.780 kg | broken silver |
| 167.740 kg   | silver coins  |

18.490 kg iron coins  
20.050 kg brass coins  
20.952 kg wedding rings gold  
22.740 kg pearls  
11.730 kg gold teeth bridges  
28.200 kg powder compacts silver or other metal  
44.655 kg gold fragments  
482.900 kg silver flatware  
343.100 kg cigarette cases silver and other metal  
20.880 kg rings, gold, with stones  
39.917 kg brooches, earrings, etc.  
18.02 kg rings, silver  
6.166 kg pocket watches, various  
3.133 kg pocket watches, silver  
3.425 kg wrist watches silver  
1.256 kg wrist watches gold  
2.892 kg pocket watches gold  
68 cameras  
98 binoculars  
7 stamp collections complete  
5 travel baskets of loose stamps  
100.500 kg 3 sacks of rings, jewelry not genuine  
3.290 kg 1 box corals  
0.460 kg 1 case corals  
0.280 kg 1 case corals  
7.495 kg 1 suitcase of fountain pens and propelling pencils  
1 travel basket of fountain pens and propelling pencils  
1 suitcase of cigarette lighters  
1 suitcase of pocket knives  
1 trunk of watch parts

Currency: Bank Notes and Metal [this is followed by a detailed list of coins and bank notes].

The “Fur Action” in the winter of 1942-42 yielded 35 wagons of fur coats and hats, plus pullovers, skis, boots and other winter clothing for German soldiers on the Eastern Front. Furniture, a “great quantity of textiles,” 17 automobiles and many horses are all accounted for. Katzmann estimated the total value of seized property at 16,795,000 zloty, or nearly RM 8,500,000. These statistics carry an aura of administrative efficiency and personal integrity that disguised corruption, rivalries, debauchery, and chaotic command structures endemic in occupied Poland and Ukraine.

### HUNTING JEWS



The third topic covered in Katzmann’s report was what we might call a “search and destroy” mission to ferret out every last Jew from the Lvov area. On August 21, 1942 he announced that all Jews who had not been identified by September 7 would be “[*zwangsweise entfernt*] forcibly removed.<sup>61</sup> At this point in his report, Katzmann shifts priorities from pragmatism to ideology. His “deceitful” victims hide in cellars, attics, and artfully disguised bunkers. Three visual tropes supply putative evidence of “Jewish danger.” First, no women or children appear in the images. Second, derisive, sarcastic comments complement Katzmann’s statement that only “draconian methods” could “solve” the Jewish question. Third, other captions catalogued victims within the categories of SS training materials: “The

criminal Jew,” “*Der ‘Tateleben’ und sein Nachwuchs*,” and “the living plague carriers that had to be hauled out of their filth centers.” Katzmann especially despises wealthy Jews because they offer “unbelievably high” bribes to occupation officials. Four photographs of impoverished Jews

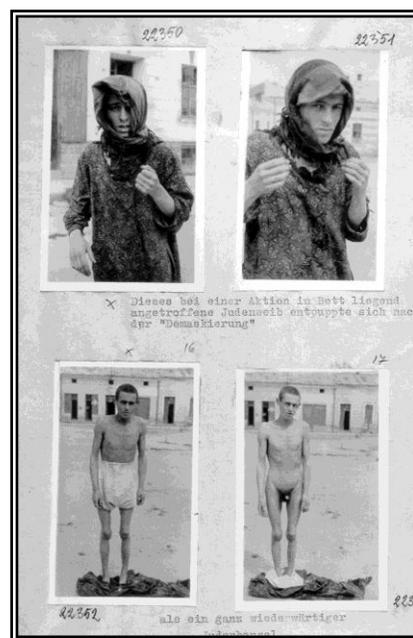
engaged in trading in the town streets bore the sarcastic caption: “A few images that convey the mood of the former Jewish stock exchange in the Lemberg ghetto.”



Effeminate Jews, he implies, lack the courage to fight openly. Four photographs documented the „unmasking” of a man who disguised himself as a woman. A strip search reveals him as, a “truly repugnant little rascal” [“*als ein ganz widerwärtiger Judenbengel*”]. The final photograph in this section shows the gravestones in a Jewish cemetery in Lvov that “provided 2,000 cubic meters of paving stones.”

In the final section of the report, snapshots of the hiding places (which Stroop admired) become evidence of Jews’ devious, deceitful, and cowardly character. Although Katzmann admits that these supposedly weak Jews created “tremendous [*ungeheure*] difficulties,” his prose depicts Jews

who evaded detection as rodent-like creatures hiding in “invisible corners, sewers, chimneys, and even in manure vats.” Jews’ ingenuity in constructing hiding places and weapons caches in



attics, tunnels and bunkers (three of which, the text emphasizes, were named for Soviet victories, Stalingrad, Sebastopol, and Leningrad) demonstrated the reality of a Communist-Jewish enemy. Katzmann admits that without denunciations the bunkers were so skillfully built that most of them would not have been detected. Seventeen images of hiding places and confiscated weapons celebrate his men's heroic victory over a putative danger. A typical caption reads, "The entry way to this cellar was so well disguised, it could not be discovered; it had to be excavated via the air shaft. " Katzmann, the former carpenter, acknowledged, "Tunnels and bunkers were professionally reinforced."<sup>62</sup> A single page in the album depicts the "master builder" of a very large bunker that was equipped with electricity, water, and enough food to keep about 60 Jews alive for a "very long time."

Katzmann, like Stroop, observed, "The smaller the number of surviving Jews became, the more strongly they resisted." In early June 1943 Jewish resisters killed five Germans and one Ukrainian. Katzmann emphasizes the psychic stress of his men's task. "It took more and more effort to overcome the disgust that welled up in order to enter the filth- and epidemic-ridden holes of the Jews."<sup>63</sup> Because of contact with these places, 120 men became ill with typhus and eight died.

In view of the alarming reports that were continually spreading about the increasing arming of the Jews, it became necessary to adopt the most stringent measures in the last fourteen days of June. . . <sup>31</sup>

Katzmann's troops anticipated their last roundup would uncover 12,000 Jews in hiding. They were astonished to find 20,000. But, Katzmann concludes, his men had endured. „Despite the extraordinary strain," he wrote, "SS-men's morale remained strong. . . . Only by dint of the deep personal sense of duty of each officer and man was it possible to master this plague in the shortest possible time."<sup>64</sup> Thus ends *The Solution to the Jewish Question in the District of Galicia*.

In the midst of corruption, mass shootings, and endemic chaos, Katzmann credits his businessman's acumen in extracting profit from slave labor, plunder, and liquidation. Only months after Katzmann wrote his report, Himmler voiced his concern about the impact of liquidation on his men. Although they would remember a "difficult chapter" of the war on the eastern front, he told a select audience, "In public we will never talk about it." Himmler compared the extermination of millions of Jews with the murder of between 150 and 200

individuals on Hitler's "enemy list" during the "Blood purge" of June 30, 1934. "Every one of us knew that we would do it again if it were ordered and if it were necessary." But obeying orders to assassinate approximately 150 fellow party members in a 48-hour period bore scant resemblance to tormenting and murdering wretched children, women and men for months on end. For those in the audience who may not have grasped his analogy, Himmler clarified, "I am referring to the evacuation of the Jews, to the extermination of the Jewish people." The mission required hardness as well as honor. "And to have seen this through, and -- with the exception of human weaknesses -- to have remained respectable [*anständig*], has made us hard and is a page of glory never mentioned and never to be mentioned."<sup>65</sup> Katzmann's sanitized report contributed to the mirage of respectability -- that could, by implication, be mentioned in history.

The statistical accounts of murder, plunder and slave labor in Katzmann's report performed another sleight of hand by treating the competing aims of exploiting and exterminating Jews as complementary. The report takes up both in separate sections as if there were no conflict between a rational for-profit enterprise and ruthless liquidation of an ideological foe. In a chaotic situation beyond his control, Katzmann created a simulacrum of order that would match the imagined "final solution" in the minds of his superior officers (who rarely witnessed daily life and death in actual ghettos and camps). By sanitizing the catastrophic situation in Łvov, Katzmann reinforced the myth of innovative SS men who could be trusted to resolve local problems efficiently.

### **THE SS RACIAL MISSION DEFINED BY *JUDENFORSCHUNG***

Katzmann's dissimulation conveys the spirit of what Hilberg described as the "whole culture and atmosphere of the time." The prose, photos, and captions in the Katzmann report captures the spirit of what Hitler called an informed and "rational" approach to the Jewish "problem" -- as opposed to the vulgar, "emotional," antisemitism of old timer Nazis. As a relatively early joiner of the party and SS, Katzmann surely had encountered Julius Streicher's infamous tabloid, *Der Stürmer*, with its sensational headlines, libelous news about international Jewry and pornographic cartoons of overweight Jewish males assaulting helpless Aryan maidens.<sup>66</sup> He would have read or heard about screeds like Hermann Esser's *The Jewish Global Plague* and Johan Leers's *How did the Jews Come by their Money?* and the scurrilous caricatures in *Jews! Look at Yourselves!*<sup>67</sup> Descriptions of "the Jew" as a "noxious bacillus" or an "eternal

blood sucker” drowning in “filth and offal” would have been familiar from *Mein Kampf*. Katzmann, however, avoided vulgar language and instead drew on a rational, supposedly empirical form of racism. Jewry, in this report, represented a scientifically-grounded biological threat to be systematically eradicated.

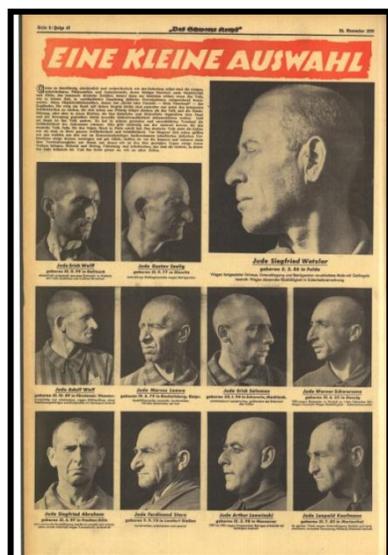
In the months after Hitler’s seizure of power, Hitler and the coterie around him lavishly funded the search for empirical evidence of an individual’s race. The Minister of Education, for example, boasted, “There can never be a genuine contradiction between the aims of science and the goals of the National Socialist state; for the latter has grown out of a practical understanding of the immanent laws of nature and of history.”<sup>68</sup> Despite generous funding, race scientists produced no evidence for racial “laws of nature.”

In the absence of empirical evidence about race-based “laws of nature,” scholars in history, sociology, literature and physical anthropology created a body of knowledge about Jews that was written in sober, empirical language and illustrated by photographs, charts, and graphs. In what we would call “think tanks” or research institutes, credentialed academics searched for the “laws of nature and history” that would vindicate racial persecution.<sup>69</sup> Luminaries like political theorist Carl Schmitt as well as unknowns like historian Walter Frank documented Jews’ deleterious influence on German history, law, medicine, and culture. Katzmann’s report provides an example of the formative role of racialized knowledge produced by *Judenforschung*. Avoiding coarse expressions used by vulgar antisemites, Katzmann wrote about Jews as “riff raff” [“*Jüdisches Gesindel*”], “freeloaders” [“*jüdischer Schmarotzentrüm*”], and a „source of epidemics,” [“*Seuchenherd*”].<sup>70</sup> His relatively restrained word choices place his account within a superficially respectable, “legal” war against Jews. The captioned photographs of Jewish men in his album resonated with racial studies concepts. Strop and Katzmann opened their reports with historical overviews that echoed historian Wilhelm Grau’s glorification of heroic anti-Semitism across the centuries.<sup>71</sup>

A plethora of articles in professional journals celebrated up-to-date “Jewish research” [*Judenforschung*], which Nazi publishers lost no time in marketing to a broad public. Textbooks and teachers’ supplements injected racial concepts into all fields of knowledge. A party-sponsored, mass-market photo magazine modeled on *Life* magazine, *Neues Volk* (with a circulation that peaked at 250,000) glorified “fit” Aryans and disseminated facts about “undesirable” human categories. Authors contrasted the barbaric segregation and anti-

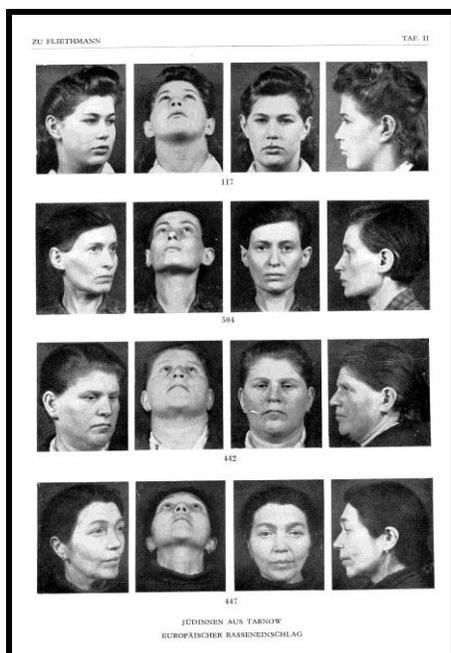
miscegenation laws in the USA with the enlightened Nuremberg Laws.<sup>72</sup> The official party newspaper, the *völkische Beobachter*, publicized news about national and international scholarly conferences, exhibits, and research as well as about putative Jewish crimes. The authors of a sober study, *The Jew as Criminal*, analyzed visual, linguistic and statistical evidence to prove Jews' preponderance in robbery, fraud, white slavery, rape, and murder.<sup>73</sup> Documentary films, text book units, block buster exhibitions, picture calendars, and vivid posters deepened the visual divide between so called desirable and undesirable.

Katzmann's report illustrates the utility of anti-Jewish scholarship in validating S.S. leaders' imagined picture of operations "in the East" by submerging uncontrolled looting, endemic corruption, and savage murder beneath a discourse of reason and order. The paucity of records about Katzmann makes it impossible to determine his reading habits, but after the war his colleague Stroop recalled reading a secret report on experts' proposals to solve the Jewish problem.<sup>74</sup> Like all SS men, Katzmann had participated in weltanschauung training programs, as well as special workshops, including a month-long course in Dachau and brief service with Hitler's elite body guard regiment. General Dietrich praised his intellect. „At the lecture podium and on the front lines, for years he has shown that he understands how to orient himself to the troops. . . his weltanschauung is completely solid.“<sup>75</sup> Katzmann would have read SS teaching materials, the SS periodical *das Schwarze Korps*, the up-scale humor magazine *Brennessel*, and the military instruction series *SS Leithefte*. Under the heading of "enemy studies" [*Gegnerforschung*], articles in these publications featured not only Jews, but also gypsies, communists, and other so-called biological dangers.<sup>76</sup> In the wartime S.S. indoctrination book, *Der Untermensch*, captioned photographs conveyed the scurrilous message that fused Jews and Bolsheviks. Given his lack of formal education, Katzmann may well have studied these publications with particular zeal. We cannot ascertain whether Katzmann was a "true believer." But we can assume that this savvy careerist framed his account of the exploitation and extermination of Jews in ways that he believed his superiors wanted to perceive it. Reading it, we see rampant criminality packaged in the language of necessity that made it respectable and even restrained when compared to vulgar [*radau*] anti-Semitism that pervaded some circles.



In an era when photojournalism was coming into its own, visual images of racial danger filtered into viewers' assumptions about an elite "us" and a pernicious "other." The Jews in Katzmann's album "look guilty." Here, too Katzmann replicated the visual culture of SS racism. In the aftermath of the November 9-10, 1938 pogrom, Hermann Goering and other high-ranking Nazis privately expressed outrage at the lawless destruction of property. As part of what we would call 'damage control,' *das Schwarze Korps* ran front page reports with "mug shots" of a "small sample" of the 30,000 Jewish men sent to concentration camps. With shaved heads and striped prison garb, these ordinary businessmen, professionals, and white collar workers also "look guilty." By displacing agency from perpetrators to victims, the visual language of necessity framed liquidation as preemptive self defense.

When Katzmann explained extermination as the solution to "overcrowding," his logic conformed to East European Studies or *Ostforschung* research.<sup>77</sup> His album describes Jews as examples of demographic and public health problems that experts like Peter Hans Seraphim had thoroughly documented. Just 300 km from Lvov the German government sponsored a center for the study of Jewry in Cracow, the capital of occupied Poland. Founded on Hitler's birthday, April 20, 1940, the Center supplied information that would facilitate the efficient exploitation of the natural and human resources in newly conquered territory. The latter task involved collecting photographs of Aryan soldiers and contrasting them with Jewish headshots. Director of the Center, Josef Sommerfeldt, like Katzmann and Stroop, defined liquidation as the fulfillment of an historical mission. "This is not the first time in history that Jewry in East Europe has experienced a time of need and dire straits [*Not und Bedrängnis*]. Not for the first time is it enduring difficult fateful blows, which threaten to exterminate its parasitic existence."<sup>78</sup>



Before Jews vanished, however, the institute studied them. Between March 23 and April 2, 1942, scholars from the Institute photographed, measured and made plaster casts of the heads of 578 Jewish residents of the Tarnow ghetto (located on the route between Lvov and Cracow). The Institute gathered “body measurements, finger prints, hair samples, genealogical data, household inventories, psychological projective tests, photographs” of Tarnow Jews<sup>79</sup> and compared the results with a sample of SS-men serving in the district.<sup>80</sup> This research framed liquidation in the discourse of necessity.

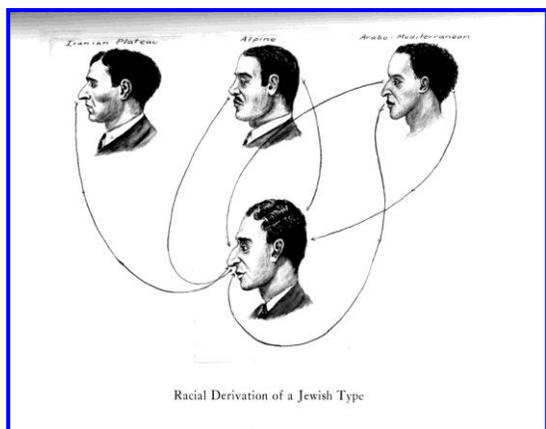
### INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS AMONG RACE RESEARCHERS

Several state-sponsored research projects in Germany produced what appears today as fraudulent research for a lethal purpose. Understanding how mass murderers could have conceived of their actions as justifiable requires us to imagine an outlook that has become repugnant to us. Looking back, it is difficult to remember how many researchers in liberal settings took for granted innate racial differences. In interwar Europe and North America, the assumptions on which *Ostforschung* and *Judenforschung* were constructed represented an extreme version of a broad consensus about race in North America and Europe. Researchers everywhere were enthralled by photographs and measurements.

In the tradition of the founder of eugenics, Francis Galton, race scientists compared hundreds and thousands of pictures of people from all over the globe as the basis for their racial typologies. Although skull and skeletal measurements failed to provide clear-cut markers of race, photographs could be selected and arranged in ways that confirmed conventional stereotypes about racial differences. When Katzmann wrote about Jews as a race, his ideas resonated not only with Nazi-sponsored scholarship, but with widely shared assumptions. Historian Elazar Barkan documented the pervasive racism in anthropological research in England and the USA until the outbreak of 1939.

Three internationally acclaimed and widely read racial scientists (two non-German and one German) illustrate widespread agreement about the physical and psychological elements of what they defined as race.

The chairman of the Harvard Anthropology Department and curator of the Peabody Museum, Earnest Albert Hooton, assembled an immense collection of drawings and photographs



of racial types and subtypes in his books, which bore titles like *The Descent of Man* and *Plain Statements about Race*. Emphasizing physiology rather than culture, Hooton examined the inheritance of particular traits, among them the “racial derivation of a Jewish type.”<sup>81</sup>

Sir Arthur Keith, physical anthropologist and Conservator of the Royal College of Surgeons Museum in London, studied racial evolution.

Acknowledging the inconclusiveness of physiological evidence of race, he nevertheless defended the utility of “race prejudice” because “the racial birthright that Nature had bestowed” prepares individuals to sacrifice their lives for the survival of their group. “Nature keeps her human orchard healthy by pruning. War is her pruning hook.”<sup>82</sup> About Jews, his judgment was unequivocal: “Take away their homeland and the other racial units fall to pieces. On the other hand, the Jew maintains a racial union without a homeland. His sense of reality is so developed that he no longer needs the ‘smell’ of land to keep his raciality alive. . . . [Jews] resist conformity and absorption [into the nationalities among which they



live].<sup>83</sup>

Hans F. K. Günther, the prolific author of internationally popular studies of race, blended “spiritual and physical” traits in his studies.<sup>84</sup> In the decade before he joined the Nazi Party in 1928, Günther had written several best sellers on the races of man. Shortly after the publication of his *The Racial Anthropology of the Jews* in 1930, Günther was appointed to a chair at the

University of Jena.<sup>85</sup> Nicknamed the “Pope of Race” and “Race Günther” [*Rassenpapst* and *Rassengünther*], he continued his prolific career in the Third Reich. Although Günther was preoccupied by physiological traits (eye, lip, and nose shape, tendency to androgyny, and speech patterns), he attributed Jews’ ability to retain their identity to a powerful culture that enforced endogamy and business practices that favored fellow Jews over gentiles – even to the detriment of individual Jews. These traditions, which might be considered in a positive light if adopted among Nordic races, were pernicious in Jews. Thus, the more educated and talented Jews were, the more they endangered “host” nations.

### **CONCLUSION: CREATING A CULTURE OF IMPUNITY**

Throughout his career, Hilberg returned often to the question of perpetrators’ mentality. In *The Destruction of the European Jews*, he quotes one of Himmler’s commanders who asked Himmler point blank in August 1941, “What kind of followers are we training here? Either neurotics of savages.”<sup>86</sup> Of course, high ranking officers could simply avoid witnessing repulsive scenes, but even when individuals could avert their gaze, Hilberg notes, perpetrators were “jittery and afraid.” The SS had to “conceal the destructive process, and not only from all outsiders but also from the censoring gaze of its own conscience.”<sup>87</sup> After all, he noted, soldiers “had not volunteered to kill Jews.” As SS-man Landau wrote, “I would prefer an honorable open battle.” Katzmann’s report suggests not simply denial of reality, but a more subtle re-configuration of savage crimes as part of a long-term, honorable battle against Jews.

Reading about the Holocaust, we ask “what kind of men” could carry out such brutal orders. Katzmann’s report cannot answer that question, but it can tell us something about what perpetrators believed they were doing. Amidst the daily the stench of rotting corpses, the squalor of ghettos and camps, the threat of epidemics, and the sight of emaciated Jews, Katzmann justified his actions as protective by representing helpless victims as a threat to the superior German race.<sup>88</sup> His “The Solution of the Jewish Problem in Galicia” depicted mass slaughter as a rational, orderly operation that was justified as an historical obligation. By denying the bloody mayhem of the actual murder sites and compiling precise statistics, cost-benefit accounting, photographs, and sober narrative, Katzmann’s report depicted persecution, plunder, and mass murder as a logical continuation of a centuries-old “Aryan” racial war. Rendering Jews as a sub-human threat to Aryan survival expelled them from perpetrators’ realm of moral

obligation. Katzmann placed the extermination of 434,329 Jews within a twisted moral universe that had evolved before the first deportations began. One factor that contributed to the high rates of compliance with wartime crimes was the broader cultural context that made a “war” against the Jews respectable.

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<sup>1</sup> Claude Lanzmann, *Shoah, An Oral History of the Holocaust: The Complete Text of the Film* (New York: Pantheon, 1985), 129.

<sup>2</sup> Raul Hilberg, "Incompleteness in Holocaust Historiography," in *Gray Zones*, eds. Jonathan Petropoulos and John K. Roth (New York: Berghahn, 2005), 81-83.

<sup>3</sup> \*L-18, Official report, Katzmann to General of Police Krueger, 30 June 1943, concerning "Solution of Jewish Question in Galicia," (USA 277) Vol. VII, 755 and Nizkor Project, *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann: Judgment. (Part 42 of 70)*. Session 23, <http://www.nizkor.org/hweb/people/e/eichmann-adolf/transcripts/Sessions/Session-023-04.html> see also [http://www1.yadvashem.org/about\\_HOLOcaust/documents/part2/doc159.html](http://www1.yadvashem.org/about_HOLOcaust/documents/part2/doc159.html). So-called revisionists cite the report by Eugene M. Kulischer (reporting for the International Labor Office) and insist that Katzmann's euphemisms should be taken at face value and denied that terms like “*deportation*” meant “murder.” Hilberg and others cite the January 18, 1943 report by Richard Korherr (director of the statistical department of the SS) that summarized the situation as of December 31, 1942. Korherr estimated that after 1933 Nazi policies had reduced the Jewish population in Europe by half, that is, by about 4,000,000. Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution, the attempt to exterminate the Jews of Europe, 1939-1945* (New York: Beechhurst, 1953), 501.

<sup>4</sup> Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, Student ed. (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1985), 192, 211, 294. Raul Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1990), Vol. 3, 1287-1293.

<sup>5</sup> Dieter Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien 1941-1944: Organisation und Durchführung eines staatlichen Massenverbrechens* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1997) and Thomas Sandkühler, *"Endlösung" in Galizien. der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiativen von Berthold Beitz, 1941-1944* (Bonn: Dietz, 1996).

<sup>6</sup> Devin O. Pendas, *The Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial, 1963-1965: Genocide, History, and the Limits of the Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 291-292, 284.

<sup>7</sup> H. G. Adler, *Der verwaltete Mensch: Studien z. Deportation d. Juden aus Deutschland* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1974); Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem. A Report on the Banality of Evil* (New York: Viking, 1964); G.M. Gilbert, "The Mentality of the SS Murderous Robots," *Yad Vashem Studies* 5 (1963). For an interpretation of early cold war views of perpetrators, cf.

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Nicolas Berg, *Der Holocaust und die westdeutschen Historiker. Erforschung und Erinnerung* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2003).

<sup>8</sup> Raul Hilberg, "German Railroads/ Jewish Souls," *Society* 35, no. 2 (1998). 162-174, which appeared originally in *Transactions*. 1976.

<sup>9</sup> Michael Mann, *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing* (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 276-277, the biography of Katzmann appears on page 247. See also Christopher Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York, 1992) as well as Hans-Heinrich Wilhelm and Helmut Krausnick, *Die Truppe des Weltanschauungskrieges: die Einsatzgruppen der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD, 1938-1942* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1981).

<sup>10</sup> George C. Browder, "Perpetrator Character and Motivation: An Emerging Consensus?" *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 17, no. 3 (2003), 495. After analyzing a sample of 1,500 direct perpetrators, sociologist Michael Mann observed that the higher an individual's rank, the more likely he was to be

Michael Mann observed that many perpetrators were committed to what they believed was a higher ultimate purpose, which Mann calls "perverted idealism" Michael Mann, "Were the Perpetrators of Genocide 'Ordinary Men' or 'Real Nazis'? Results from Fifteen Hundred Biographies," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 14, no. 3 (2000), 331-365.

<sup>11</sup> M. Weinreich, *Hitler's Professors*, vii.

<sup>12</sup> Alan Steinweis, *Studying the Jew* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006), 3.

<sup>13</sup> Alon Confino, "Fantasies About the Jews: Cultural Reflections on the Holocaust," *History & Memory*, 17, no. 1/2 (2005), 296-320.

<sup>14</sup> S. Dietrich, „Beurteilung,“ November 4, 1937, in Personnel file, Bl 7 in Friedmann, ed., *Report by SS-General Katzmann*. „Er verstand es, trotz größter Schwierigkeiten, aus ihr in kürzester Zeit eine organisatorisch festgefügte, disziplinierten und einsatzfähige Einheit zu schaffen.“ On April 12, 1937, Dietrich observed he led a "geregeltes Leben und eine einwandfreie Geldwirtschaft. Er ist ein beschneidener, ehrlicher Kamerad mit stark ausgeprägtem Ehrgefühl und Charakter."

<sup>15</sup> Raul Hilberg, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe, 1933-1945*, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Aaron Asher, 1992), 41-42.

<sup>16</sup> C. Browning, *Origins*, 131-151.

<sup>17</sup> T. Sandkühler, "Endlösung," 81-2, 139 and Pohl, *Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien*, 102-105.

<sup>18</sup> C. Browning, *Origins*, 321.

<sup>19</sup> David Wajnapel, D-953, [Exhibit GB 566 - GB 565](#).

<http://www.nizkor.org/ftp.cgi/imt/ftp.py?imt//tgmwc/tgmwc-20/tgmwc-20-196.04>

<sup>20</sup> "Record of the Communities in East Galicia," *Encyclopedia of the Jewish Communities in Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), Bl. 5-8. Reprinted in T. Friedmann, ed., *Report by General Fritz Katzmann*.

<sup>21</sup> The population of Łvów was 420,000, one third of whom were Jewish, one third Polish, and one third Ukrainian. "Of the 160,000 Jews who had lived in Łvów [in June 1941] only about 50,000 were still alive at the end of August 1942." "Record of the communities in East Galicia," 16. Scholars at the Cracow Institute for studying East Europe estimated the population of East Galicia as in 1918, 588,000; in 1921 538,000; in 1938 600,000; in 1940/41 588,000; and in 1942 450,000. Anton Gasselich, "Völkisches Ringen und staatliche Schulpolitik im Galizischen Raum," *Deutsche Forschung im Osten* 3, no. 8 (1943), 294.

<sup>22</sup> T. Friedman, "Fritz Katzmann," 16. For the transcript of Frank's notes for his speech, cf: [http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Holocaust/frank\\_on\\_jews.html](http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Holocaust/frank_on_jews.html) For a summary of the historical debate about the significance of this document, cf. Gord McFee's English translation of Götz Aly, "Dezember 16, 1941" *Berliner Zeitung*, December 13, 1997.

<sup>23</sup> D. Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenvernichtung*, 87 ff and 158.

<sup>24</sup> Browning, *Origins*, 351.

<sup>25</sup> Alan Levy, *The Wiesenthal File* (London: Constable, 1997), 41.

<sup>26</sup> "Record of the Communities: East Galicia," in Katzmann, *Report by SS-General Katzmann*, 26-30.

<sup>27</sup> Philip Friedman and Ada June Friedman, *Roads to Extinction: Essays on the Holocaust*, ed. Conference on Jewish Social Studies, 1st ed. (New York: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1980). 287. Philip Friedman lived through the Nazi occupation of Lvov and afterward collected oral testimony as well as published and unpublished memoirs written in Polish, Yiddish, Hebrew, Ukrainian, and English, 318-320. For an example of his very early studies, see Filip Friedman, *Oświęcim* trans. Tadeusz Hołuj (Warsaw: ksia`zka 1946).

<sup>28</sup> Entry dated July 2, 1941, 3. „Kurz nach der Ankunft wurden von uns die ersten Juden erschossen. 500 Juden standen zum erschiessen angetreten.“ (emphasis in the original). He describes he next day, „Hunderte von Juden mit blutüberströmten Gesichtern, Löchern in den Köpfen, gebrochenen Händen und heraushängenden Augen laufen die Straße entlang. . . . “Ich bin wieder seelisch zerbrochen, wie damals. Ich fühle, dass ich etwas nie mehr zustande bringen werde.“ Felix Landau, "Tagebuch des SS-Hauptscharf. F. Landau über siene Tätigkeit in Drohobycz, 1941-1944," in *Bericht des SS-und Polizeiführers über die Vernichtung der Juden*

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*Galiziens. Tagebuch des SS-Hauptscharf. F. Landau über seine Tätigkeit in Drohobycz, 1941-1944*, ed. Tuvyah Friedmann (Ramat Gan, Israel: Stadtverwaltung, 1963), 3-4 & 9.

<sup>29</sup> Lemberg, 14. 9, 1942. an: Herrn Kommandeur der Ordnungspolizei im Distrikt Galizien, Lemberg. btr: Judenumsiedlung. Bezug: Befehl v. Aug 31, 1942, d. Kdr d. orpo i.d. G. Ia-1526-42-Tgb. Nr. 1117/42 (g). Vfg. d. SS-u. Pol Führ. III Tgb. Nr. 474/42(g) v. 29. Aug 1943, in Friedman, Personal-Akt, Bl 22. *"Die immer grösser werdende Panik unter den Juden, hervorgerufen durch starke Hitze, Überfüllung der Waggons und den Leichengestank - es befanden sich beim Ausladen der Waggons etwa 2,000 tot im Zuge - machten den Transport fast undurchführbar."*

<sup>30</sup> Friedman, *Roads*, 280 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Leutnant d. SchP d. Res. (Police Battalion 133) to Kommandeur der Ordnungspolizei, Galicia, Lemberg. Sept 14, 1942, Friedmann, ed., *Der Personal-Akt des SS-Gruppenführers Fritz Katzmann*. See also the Press release quoted by Friedman, "The Extermination of the Jews of Lemberg," Bl 33.

<sup>32</sup> *"Katzmann [hat] bereits 265,000 Arbeiter abgegeben, noch weitere 10,000 bekommen köbnten."*

Himmler to Saukel, August 18, 1942 in Friedmann, ed., *Report by SS-General Katzmann*. For an example of a Reich Auditor's Office inspection from the Stanislawow region, cf. Rainer Weinert, *Die Sauberkeit der Verwaltung im Kriege der Rechnungshof des Deutschen Reiches 1938-1946* (Wiesbaden, 1993), 153.

<sup>33</sup> Friedman, *Roads*, 252.

<sup>34</sup> Edward B. Westerman, *Hitler's Police Battalions. Enforcing Racial War in the East* (Kansas City: University of Kansas Press, 2005), 148-149.

<sup>35</sup> Michael Burleigh, *The Third Reich: A New History*, 1st American ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000), 454.

<sup>36</sup> Contrary to the smoothly functioning bureaucracy of extermination described by early histories of extermination, recent research suggests that a "thorough de-bureaucratization" "*einer durchgreifenden Entbürokratisierung*" produced a "mafia-like" web of self-interested team players. F. Bajohr, *Parvenüs und Profiteure: Korruption in der NS-Zeit* 12 ff; M. Mazower, *Hitler's Empire: How the Nazis Ruled Europe*, 250-254; and Weinert, *Die Sauberkeit*., 140.

<sup>37</sup> Pohl, *Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien*, 154-165 and Browning, *Origins*, 347-352.

<sup>38</sup> Sandkühler, *"Endlösung" in Galizien*, 162.

<sup>39</sup> Quoted in Pohl, *Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien*, 192.

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<sup>40</sup> Daniel Blatman, "District Lublin, Kielce," in *Yad Vashim: Pinkas HaKehilot, Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities, Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), "Record of the communities: East Galicia." <http://www.zchor.org/radom/radom.htm>.

<sup>41</sup> Friedman, *Roads*, 310-311.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 283.

<sup>43</sup> D. Pohl, *Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien*, 229-230. In the last four weeks of round ups, 80,000 victims were shot in East Galicia, *ibid.*, 263. Alexander Schwarz, "Story of a Janowska Survivor," <http://www.history.ucsb.edu/projects/holocaust/Resources/JanowskaSurvivor047.htm>.

<sup>44</sup> Friedman, *Roads*, 311.

<sup>45</sup> Kazimierz Moczarski, *Conversations with an Executioner*, ed. Mariana Fitzpatrick (Englewoods Cliffs. NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1981), 166. Once Jews realized that extermination took priority over labor, about 3,000 Jews committed suicide, but others procured weapons and organized.

<sup>46</sup> He submitted his report to *SS Obergruppenführer* [Lieutenant General] Friedrich-Wilhelm Krüger, who passed it along to Himmler, which means that Katzmann worked within a chain of command outside the RSHA (Reich Security Main Office).

<sup>47</sup> Beurteilungsnotiz, SS Gruf. von Herff, „*K. ist jünger und elastischer als er erscheinungsbildlich wirkt. . . Kein grosser Taktiker und Diplomat. . . Der gegebene Typ für die Pionierarbeit im Osten.*“ Personnel file, in T. Friedmann, ed., *der Personal-Akt des SS-Gruppenführer Fritz Katzmann*, bl 11.

<sup>48</sup> E. Brand, "The Extermination Plan at the Beginning of the Russian Campaign," in *Documentary collection*, ed. Tuviah Friedman (Haifa: 1971). Only 823 of the Jews living in Łvov in 1939 remained alive according to Philip Friedman.

<sup>49</sup> D. Pohl, *Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien*, 160.

<sup>50</sup> <http://www.holocaustresearchproject.org/nazioccupation/stroop.html>

<sup>51</sup> F. Katzmann, *Rozwiazanie kwestii zydowskiej* Bl 12. [http://www1.yadvashem.org/about\\_HOLocaust/documents/part2/doc159.html](http://www1.yadvashem.org/about_HOLocaust/documents/part2/doc159.html)

<sup>52</sup> J. Stroop, *The Stroop Report: The Jewish Quarter of Warsaw is No More!*, trans. Sybil Milton, 1st American ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979). IMT Document 1061-PS. For several pragmatic reasons, however, the ghetto with about 440,000 inhabitants was not established until the following summer. Between July 22 July and October 3, 1942, 310,322 Jews “were removed.” Stroop, like Katzmann, described the German assault on the ghetto as a defensive

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action and depicted the victims as ‘Polish bandits,’ ‘pleasure loving wealthy Jews,’ or ‘sewer rats.’

<sup>53</sup> The translation is by C. Browning, *Origins*, 350.

<sup>54</sup> Katzmann, *Rozwiazanie kwestii zydowskie*. Bl., 4. „[...] bei der Durschschleusung das gesamte arbeitsscheue und asoziale jüd. Gesindel erfaßt und sonderbehandelt wurde. [...] Auch diese Juden wurden einer Sonderbehandlung zugeführt.“ Late in 1942 Himmler had ruled that „durchgeschleust“ be substituted for „sonderbehandelt“ because the latter had become too transparent as a cover for „exterminate.“

<sup>55</sup> In the same chapter, Struk describes photographs taken for Jewish councils. Janina Struk, *Photographing the Holocaust: Interpretations of the Evidence* (London & New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004), 74-94.

<sup>56</sup> Rolf Sachsse, *Die Erziehung Zum Wegsehen: Fotografie im NS-Staat* (Dresden: Philo Fine Arts, 2003), 43-49 and 217-218.

<sup>57</sup> F. Katzmann, *Rozwiazanie kwestii zydowskiej*, „Nach Arbeitsschluss und beim Essenempfang ist schon wieder eitel Sonnenschein,“ Bl 3j and 3i.

<sup>58</sup> Ingo Loose, *Kredite Für Ns-Verbrechen: Die Deutschen Kreditinstitute in Polen Und Die Ausraubung der Polnischen und jüdischen Bevölkerung 1939-1945* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2007), 371 ff.

<sup>59</sup> F. Katzmann, "Use of Jewish Manpower," in *Report by SS-General Friz Katzmann*. Survivors recalled, "Katzmann recognized the importance of the Jewish craftsmen for the economy," "Record of the Communities, *ibid.*, 10. For an account of the actual conditions in these camps, see Sandkühler, "Endlösung" in *Galicien*, 141-148.

<sup>60</sup> Yitzhak Arad, "The Plunder of Jewish Property in the Nazi-Occupied Areas," *Yad Vashem Studies* 29 (1998), 39-40. Sandkühler, *Endlösung in Galizien*, 198-201.

<sup>61</sup> Anordnung über die Bildung eines geschlossenen jüdischen Wohnbezirks in der Stadt Lemberg, in Friedmann, ed., *Report by SS-General Fritz Katzmann*.

<sup>62</sup> F. Katzmann, *Rozwiazanie kwestii zydowskiej*, Bl 34.

<sup>63</sup> "Es kostete immer wieder Überwindung des aufkommenden Ekels, um in die Schmutz- und Seuchenlöcher der Juden zu gehen." Katzmann, *Rozwiazanie kwestii zydowskie*, Bl 18.

<sup>64</sup> „Nur durch persönliches Pflichtbewusstsein jedes einzelnen Führers und Mannes ist es gelungen, dieser Pest in kürzester Frist Herr zu werden.“ Katzmann, *Rozwiazanie kwestii zydowskiej*, Bl 64.

<sup>65</sup> <http://www.holocaust-history.org/himmler-poznan/speech-text.shtml>. He devoted a major portion of this speech to corrupting within the ranks of the SS and promised, "A number of SS men have offended against this order. There are not very many, and they will be dead men - WITHOUT MERCY!"

<sup>66</sup> FIPS (Philipp Rupprecht), „*Mit offenen augen ins Verderben rennt ein Volk das nicht die Rassenfrage kennt.*” *Der Stürmer*, July, 1934. "A people that does not understand the race question rushes with eyes wide open into ruin."

<sup>67</sup> Hermann Esser, *Die jüdische Weltpest, kann ein Jude Staatsbürger sein?* (Munich: F. Eher, 1927). This scurrilous work is a direct descendent of Hartwig Hundt-Radowsky's 1819 *Judenspiegel – ein Schand- und Sittengemälde alter und neuer Zeit*. Johann von Leers, *History on a Racial Basis*, trans. foreword by Julian Huxley, vol. 42, Friends of Europe Publications (London: Friends of Europe, 1936).

<sup>68</sup> John Brown Mason, "Nazi Concepts of History," *The Review of Politics*, 2, no. 2 (1940), 180-196.

<sup>69</sup> R. Hilberg, *Destruction of the European Jews*, 282-283.

<sup>70</sup> Yaacov Lozowick, *Hitler's Bureaucrats: The Nazi Security Police and the Banality of Evil*, trans. H. Watzman (London: Continuum, 2002), 3 and 303-311. Katzmann, *Rozwiazanie kwestii zydowskiej*, Bl 4, 6, 18, and 120.

<sup>71</sup> Wilhelm Grau, *Die Judenfrage in der deutschen Geschichte* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1936) 12-31.

<sup>72</sup> "Wie Rassenfragen entstehen: Weiss und Schwarz in Amerika," *Neues Volk*, (March 1936). See also, "Wir stehen nicht allein!," *ibid.* (March 1936). Judy Scales-Trent, "Racial Purity Laws in the United States and Nazi Germany: The Targeting Process," *Human Rights Quarterly* 23, no. 2 (2001), 259-307.

<sup>73</sup> Josef Keller and Hanns Andersen, *Der Jude als Verbrecher*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Berlin and Leipzig, Niebelungen, 1942, 17-24. J. Leers, "Die Kriminalität des Judentums," in *Das Judentum in der Rechtswissenschaft*, vol 3, *Judentum und Verbrechen*. Johan Leers, *History on a Racial Basis* (London : Friends of Europe: 1936?).

<sup>74</sup> K. Moczarski, *Conversations*, 114.

<sup>75</sup> S. Dietrich, *Beurteilung*, April 12, 1938, Personnel file, in Friedman, ed., *Der Personal-Alt des SS-Gruppenführers Katzmann*, Bl 9.

<sup>76</sup> One of the few articles about Jewish biological race discusses "Jewish" elements in Nordic races. "Adam und Eva, jüdische "Reste" in deutschen Köpfen," *SS Leitheft*, NSDAP

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Schutzstaffel: Rasse u. Siedlungs-Hauptamt. Schulungsamt, ed., 1942, 20-22. In the following issue, Jews were depicted as an epidemic, "Die Seuche der Völker," *SS-Leitheft*, Folge 4a, 19-20.

<sup>77</sup> A. Steinweis, *Studying the Jew*, 143 and Hans-Christian Petersen, "'Ordnung Schaffen' Durch Bevölkerungsverschiebung: Peter-Heinz Seraphim Oder Der Zusammenhang Zwischen 'Bevölkerungsfragen' Und Social Engineering," *Historical Social Research* 31, no. 118 (2006), 288-290.

<sup>78</sup> Josef Sommerfeldt, "Die Aufgaben des Referats Judenforschung," *Deutsche Forschung im Osten* 1, no. 7 (1941), 29-35, quotation on 31.

<sup>79</sup> Gretchen Schrafft and Gerhard Zeidler, "Register to the Materials of the Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit. National Anthropological Archives," (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian, 1998).

<sup>80</sup> Peter Heinz Seraphim, *Das Judentum im Osteuropäischen Raum*, ed. Institut für Osteuropäische Wirtschaft (Essen: Essener Verlagsanstalt, 1938). Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit, *Deutsche Forschung im Osten: Mitteilungen des Instituts für Deutsche Ostarbeit Krakau* (Krakau: Verlag des Instituts für Deutsche Ostarbeit, 1941).

<sup>81</sup> Earnest Albert Hooton, *Twilight of Man* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1939), 88 and 101-102 and his "Plain Statements about Race," *American Association of University Women, Journal*, 29:4 (June 1936).

<sup>82</sup> Arthur Keith, *The Place of Prejudice in Modern Civilization: Being the substance of a Rectorial Address to the Students of Aberdeen University* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1931). See also his, "The Meaning of 'Race,'" *Times* [London] 48600:7 (Apr 26, 1940), 7G and "Racial Dislikes," *ibid.*, 45843 (June 8, 1931), 17G.

<sup>83</sup> A. Keith, "Aryans and Semites: A Race without a Homeland," *The Times* Aug 13, 1934. The context of this remark was a debate about whether British Foreign Secretary Sir John Simon was English or Jewish. Keith insisted on his Jewish identity despite Simon's thoroughly Christian upbringing.

<sup>84</sup> Hans F. K. Günther, *Kleine Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes*, 3rd ed. (Munich: J.F. Lehmann, 1933), 9-10. By „Race,“ he meant, „eine grössere Gruppe von Menschen, welche durch den hereditären Gemeinbesitz eines bestimmten angeborenen körperlichen und geistigen Habitus untereinander verbunden und von anderen derartigen Gruppen getrennt sind.“

<sup>85</sup> A. Steinweis, *Studying the Jew*, 142-151. As Steinweis noted, Seraphim's purported disapproval of the methods used to apply his knowledge did not deter his collaboration.

<sup>86</sup> R. Hilberg, *Destruction*, 136.

<sup>87</sup> R. Hilberg, "The Nature of the Process," in *Survivors, Victims, Perpetrators*, ed. Joel E. Dimsdale (New York: 1980), 19-20. R. Hilberg quotes von dem Bach's distress in *Destruction*,

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137. Richard Breitman, among others, wrote about “the crippling psychological effects” of bloody mass murder on supposedly elite soldiers. Richard Breitman, "Himmler and the 'Terrible Secret' among the Executioners " *Journal of Contemporary History* 26, no. 3/4 (1991).

<sup>88</sup> Culture encompasses, “the shared values and expectations, the ways of life and thought, historical memory and representations that gave meaning and coherence to the Nazi experience and informed collective action.” Alon Confino, “Fantasies about the Jews: Cultural Reflections on the Holocaust,” *History & Memory* (17: 1/2, 2005), 305.