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Protocol of Conference

I. The following persons participated in the conference on the final solution [Endlösung] of the Jewish question held on January 20, 1942, in Berlin, Am Großen Wannsee No. 56-58:

Gauleiter Dr. Meyer and Permanent Secretary Dr. Leibbrandt	Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories
State Secretary Dr. Stuckart	Reich Ministry of the Interior
State Secretary Neumann	Plenipotentiary for the Four Year Plan
State Secretary Dr. Freisler	Reich Ministry of Justice
State Secretary Dr. Bühler	Office of the Governor General
Undersecretary of State Dr. Luther	Foreign Ministry
SS Oberführer Klopfer	Party Chancellery
Permanent Secretary Kritzingler	Reich Chancellery

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SS Gruppenführer Hofmann	Race and Settlement Main Office
SS Gruppenführer Müller SS Obersturmbannführer Eichmann	Reich Security Main Office
SS Oberführer Dr. Schöngarth Commander of the Security Police and the SD in the Government-General	Security Police and SD
SS Sturmbannführer Dr. Lange Commander of the Security Police and the SD in the General- bezirk Latvia as representative of the Commander of the Security Police and the SD for the Reichskommissariat for the Ostland	Security Policy and SD

II. SS Lieutenant General [*Obergruppenführer*] Heydrich, Head of the Security Police and the SD, opened the meeting with the announcement that the Reich Marshal [Göring] had put him in charge of preparations for the final solution of the Jewish question. He noted that this conference had been called to clarify fundamental questions. The Reich Marshal's request that a draft be submitted to him regarding the organizational, technical and material aspects of the final solution of the Jewish question required prior joint consideration by all central agencies directly concerned with these problems in order to coordinate their subsequent course of action. [Translation corrected according to what Heydrich probably said. The original German sentence here is nonsense grammatically, literally stating that "prior all central agencies directly concerned with these problems have to be treated".].

The authority for directing the final solution of the Jewish question rests with the *Reichsführer-SS* and Chief of German Police [i.e. Himmler] (Head of the Security Police and the SD) [i.e. Heydrich], without regard to geographic boundaries.

The Head of the Security Police and the SD [Heydrich] then gave a brief review of the struggle conducted so far against this foe. The most important elements are:

- a) forcing the Jews out of the various spheres of life of the German people,
- b) forcing the Jews out of the German people's living space (*Lebensraum*).

In pursuance of these endeavors, an accelerated emigration of the Jews from the territory of the Reich was seen as the only temporary solution and was accordingly embarked upon in an intensified and systematic manner.

On instruction of the Reich Marshal [i.e. Göring], a Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration was established in January 1939; its direction was entrusted to the Head of the Security Police and the Security Service (SD) [i.e. Heydrich]. Its particular tasks were:

- a) to take measures for the preparation of increased Jewish emigration,
- b) to direct the flow of emigration,
- c) to speed up the emigration process in individual cases.

The aim of this task was to purge German living space of Jews by legal means.

The disadvantages of such forced emigration methods were evident to all agencies concerned. Yet in the absence of other feasible solutions they had to be accepted for the time being. After a while, the handling of emigration was not merely a German problem but one that affected also the relevant authorities of the countries of destination.

Financial difficulties such as the increased surety immigrants had to show upon landing; higher landing fees that different foreign countries demanded; a lack of berths on ships, constantly increasing restrictions and bans on immigration, all of these impeded emigration efforts exceedingly. Yet despite these difficulties, roughly 537,000 Jews were compelled to emigrate between the [Nazi] seizure of power [January 30, 1933] and the fixed date of October 31, 1941. Of these,

ca. 360,000 left the *Altreich* [Germany with its 1937 borders].

ca. 147,000 left the *Ostmark* [Austria after March 15, 1938],

ca. 30,000 left the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia [after March 15, 1939].

Emigration was financed by the Jews themselves or by Jewish political organizations. In order to make sure that the proletarianized Jews would not stay behind, it was determined that affluent Jews had to finance the emigration of Jews without means. Based on assessments of assets, an appropriate apportionment or an emigration tax was imposed on the former in order to pay for all financial obligations impecunious Jews had incurred in the course of their emigration.

In addition to this levy in Reichsmarks, foreign currency was required as security to be presented upon arrival abroad and as landing fees. In order to conserve the German holdings of foreign currency, Jewish financial institutions abroad were called upon by Jewish organizations in this country to make sure that the required sums in foreign currency were supplied. Up to October 30, 1941, a total of about \$ 9,500,000 all told was provided in this way as gifts by these foreign Jews. In the meantime, the *Reichsführer-SS* and Head of the German Police [i.e. Himmler] has forbidden any further emigration of Jews in view of the dangers posed by emigration in wartime and the looming possibilities in the East.

III. As a further possible solution, and with the appropriate prior authorization by the *Führer*, emigration has now been replaced by evacuation to the East. This operation should be regarded only as a provisional option, though in view of the coming final solution of the Jewish question it is already supplying practical experience of vital importance.

In connection with this final solution of the Jewish question, roughly eleven million Jews will have to be taken into consideration. They are distributed over the individual countries as follows:

Country		Number of Jews
A.	Altreich	131,800
	Ostmark	43,700
	Eastern Territories	420,000
	Government-General	2,284,000
	Bialystok	400,000
	Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia	74,200
	Estonia - free of Jews -	
	Latvia	3,500
	Lithuania	34,000
	Belgium	43,000
	Denmark	5,600
	France / Occupied territory	165,000
	Unoccupied territory	700,000
	Greece	69,600
	Netherlands	160,800
	Norway	1,300
B.	Bulgaria	48,000
	England	330,000
	Finland	2,300
	Ireland	4,000
	Italy, incl. Sardinia	58,000
	Albania	200
	Croatia	40,000
	Portugal	3,000
	Romania, incl. Bessarabia	342,000
	Sweden	8,000
	Switzerland	18,000
	Serbia	10,000
	Slovakia	88,000
	Spain	6,000
	Turkey (in Europe)	55,500
	Hungary	742,800
	USSR	5,000,000
	Ukraine	2,994,684
	Belorussia, with- out Bialystok	446,484
Total: over		11,000,000

The figures of Jews in the different countries listed here, however, pertain only to those who are of Jewish faith (*Glaubensjuden*) as definitions of Jews along racial lines are in part still lacking there. Given the prevailing attitudes and conceptions, in particular in Hungary and Romania, the handling of the problem in the individual countries will encounter certain difficulties. For instance, a Jew in Romania even today can still buy for cash the appropriate documents that certify officially that he is of foreign nationality.

The influence that Jews exert everywhere in the USSR is well known. In the European part of Russia live approximately five million Jews; in the Asian part barely a quarter of a million.

The occupational distribution of Jews living in the European part of the USSR was approximately as follows:

Agriculture	9.1%
Urban workers	14.8%
Trade	20.0%
State employees	23.4%
Professions - medicine, press, theater, etc	32.7%

In the course of the final solution and under appropriate direction, the Jews are to be utilized for work in the East in a suitable manner. In large labor columns and separated by sexes, Jews capable of working will be dispatched to these regions to build roads, and in the process a large number of them will undoubtedly drop out by way of natural attrition.

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Those who ultimately should possibly get by will have to be given suitable treatment because they unquestionably represent the most resistant segments and therefore constitute a natural elite that, if allowed to go free, would turn into a germ cell of renewed Jewish revival. (Witness the experience of history.)

In the course of the practical implementation of the final solution, Europe will be combed through from West to East. Priority will have to be given to the area of the Reich, including the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, if only because of housing shortages and other sociopolitical needs.

The evacuated Jews will first be taken, group after group, to so-called transit ghettos from where they will be transported further to the East.

As SS-Lieutenant General (*Obergruppenführer*) Heydrich pointed out in addition, one important prerequisite for carrying out the evacuation at all will be the precise designation of all persons to be involved.

The intention is not to evacuate Jews over the age of 65 but to send them to an old people's ghetto Theresienstadt has been earmarked for this purpose.

In addition to these age groups - and of the 280,000 Jews who lived in the *Altreich* and the *Ostmark* on October 1, 1941, some 30% are over 65 - the old people's ghetto will also receive Jews with war injuries and Jews with war decorations (EK I) [Iron Cross First Class]. With this

convenient solution the many intercessions [for exemptions from deportation to the East] will be eliminated at one blow.

The onset of the individual major evacuation moves will largely depend on military developments. In regard to the manner in which the final solution will be carried out in those European territories which we now either occupy or influence it has been suggested that the pertinent specialists in the Foreign Office should confer with the appropriate official of the Security Police and the SD [Security Service].

In Slovakia and Croatia the situation is no longer all that difficult since the essential key questions there have already been resolved. In the meantime the Romanian government has likewise appointed a plenipotentiary for Jewish affairs. In order to settle the matter in Hungary it will soon be necessary to impose upon the Hungarian government an adviser on Jewish questions.

With regard to the beginning of preparations for a settlement of this problem in Italy, SS Lieutenant General [*Obergruppenführer*] Heydrich considers it advisable to establish contact about these concerns with the chief of police.

In occupied and unoccupied France, the collection of Jews for evacuation will in all probability proceed without major difficulties. Undersecretary of State Luther commented in this connection that the far-reaching treatment of this problem will cause difficulties in some countries, notably the Nordic states. Therefore he would recommend to defer the matter in these countries for the time being.

In view of the insignificant number of Jews involved there, such a postponement would in any case not amount to a substantial restriction.

On the other hand, the Foreign Office visualizes no major difficulties in southeastern and western Europe.

SS Major General [*Gruppenführer*] Hofmann voiced his intention to send to Hungary a specialist from the Race and Settlement Main Office for general orientation whenever the Head of the Security Police and the Security Service (SD) gets ready to tackle the matter over there. It was resolved that this specialist -- who is not to become actively involved -- be officially seconded, on a temporary basis, as an assistant to the Police Attacheé.

IV. During the implementation of the plan for the final solution its basis, as it were, should be the Nuremberg Laws, whereby the solution of the problem of mixed marriages [*Mischehen*] and mixed parentage [*Mischlinge*] must likewise be a prerequisite for the definitive settlement of the questions.

With reference to a letter from the Head of the Reich Chancellery, the Head of the Security Police and the Security Service (SD) thereupon discussed -- for the moment still theoretically -- the following issues:

1) Treatment of first-degree *Mischlinge*

First-degree *Mischlinge* will be treated like Jews in regard to the final solution of the Jewish question.

The following will be exempt from this treatment:

- a) First-degree *Mischlinge* married to spouses of pure German blood from whose marriages children were born (second-degree *Mischlinge*). These second-degree *Mischlinge* are essentially given equal status with Germans.
- b) First-degree *Mischlinge* for whom the highest authorities of party and state have temporarily granted special exceptions in some selected spheres of life. Each individual case must be checked, whereby the possibility cannot be ruled out that the new decision arrived at may be to the *Mischling's* disadvantage.

Prerequisites for any special exception must always be the fundamental services rendered by the *Mischling* in question himself. (The merits of the German blooded parent or marriage partner do not count).

Any first-degree *Mischling* to be exempted from evacuation will be sterilized in order to prevent any progeny and to settle the *Mischling* problem once and for all. Sterilization will be voluntary, but it is the precondition for remaining in the Reich. The sterilized *Mischling* will henceforth be exempt from all restrictive regulations to which he was previously subjected.

2) Treatment of second-degree *Mischlinge*

Second-degree *Mischlinge* will on principle be given equal status with persons of German blood except in the following instances when second-degree *Mischlinge* will be considered equivalent to Jews:

- a) The second-degree *Mischling* is the descendent of a bastard marriage (both spouses being *Mischlinge*).
- b) The racial appearance of a second-degree *Mischling* is particularly unfavorable in which case he will be classed with the Jews purely on the basis of his looks.
- c) A particularly negative police and political assessment of the second-degree *Mischling*, indicating that he feels and behaves like a Jew.

And even if such a second-degree *Mischling* should be married to a person of German blood, no exceptions are to be made in cases like these.

3) Marriages between full Jews and persons of German blood

Here it must be decided from case to case whether the Jewish spouse should be evacuated or sent to an old-people's ghetto in consideration of the effect which such a measure might have on the German relatives of the mixed-marriage partners.

4) Marriages between first-degree *Mischlinge* and persons of German blood

- a) No children.

If the marriage has remained childless, the first-degree *Mischling* will be evacuated or sent to an old-people's ghetto. (The same treatment as in marriages between full Jews and persons of German blood; [see above,] Article 3).

b) With children

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

5) Marriages between first-degree *Mischlinge* and first-degree *Mischlinge* or Jews.

In these marriages, all parties (including children) will be treated as Jews and therefore be evacuated or sent to an old-people's ghetto.

6) Marriages between first-degree *Mischlinge* and second-degree *Mischlinge*

Both marriage partners will be evacuated or sent to an old-people's ghetto, regardless of whether they have children or not, because as a rule children of such marriages have, racially speaking, more pronounced Jewish features than do second-degree *Mischlinge*.

SS Major General [*Gruppenführer*] Hofmann takes the view that extensive use must be made of sterilization, notably because once the *Misch-*

ling, faces the choice between evacuation and sterilization, he will prefer to be sterilized.

State Secretary Dr. Stuckart noted that the actual implementation of the possible solutions regarding mixed marriages and *Mischling* questions just discussed would, in this form, constitute endless administrative work. And in order to take into account the biological aspects involved as well, State Secretary Stuckart suggested that forced sterilization be embarked upon.

To simplify the problem of mixed marriages, further possible solutions should be considered with the objective, for instance, of the legislative body simply ruling: “these marriages are dissolved.”

State Secretary Neumann stated in regard to the question of how the evacuation of the Jews will effect the economy that Jews now working in essential war industries cannot be evacuated as long as there are no replacements for them.

SS Lieutenant General [*Obergruppenführer*] Heydrich thereupon pointed out that on the basis of the guidelines for the implementation of the currently proceeding evacuations previously approved by him, these Jews would not be evacuated anyway.

State Secretary Dr. Bühler declared that the *Generalgouvernement* would welcome it if the final solution of this question would begin in the General-gouvernement first because the transportation problem was no overriding factor there,

and because considerations of labor utilization would not impede the course of this action. Jews should be removed from the territory of the *Generalgouvernement* as speedily as possible because precisely there the Jews constitute a significant danger as carriers of epidemics. In addition, they were constantly upsetting the economic structure of the region through ceaseless black market activities. Moreover, the majority of the 2 1/2 million Jews in question were anyhow unfit for work.

State Secretary Dr. Bühler noted further that the Head of Security Police and SD [Security Service] was in charge of the final solution of the Jewish question in the *Generalgouvernement*, and that the administrative agencies of the *Generalgouvernement* would assist him in his work. He had only one favor to ask: that the Jewish question in this territory be resolved as fast as possible.

In conclusion there was a discussion about the various types of possible solutions. Here *Gauleiter* Dr. Meyer and State Secretary Dr. Bühler both took the position that in connection with the final solution certain preparatory measures be carried out in the occupied territories at once, but in such a way that the population there would not become apprehensive.

The Head of Security Police and SD [Heydrich] terminated the conference with the request that all participants in today's deliberations give him their cooperation in implementing the tasks connected with the solution.

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