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Testimony of HANS FRANK taken at  
Nuremberg, Germany, on 6 September  
1945, 1430-1700, by Lt. Col. Thomas  
A. Hinkel, IGD, OUSCC. Also  
present: Herbert Sherman, OUSCC,  
Interpreter, and Pvt. Clair Van  
Vleck, Court Reporter.

COL. HINKEL TO THE WITNESS THROUGH THE INTERPRETER:

Q Do you understand that you are still under oath; that you have  
promised to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

A Yes.

Q At the conclusion of this morning's session, I asked you to think  
during the noon hour, and to organize in your mind the various points you  
wanted to make with respect to your disagreement with Hitler's earliest  
activities. Are you prepared now to make a statement on that?

A Because this question is quite difficult, I would like to first ask two  
questions. Do you want to know if in case I would not have agreed with Hitler,  
and would have said so, that I could have prevented what Hitler actually did?  
I was neither a minister with a portfolio nor is there any law signed with  
my name.

Q I want you to tell me all the things with which you disagreed,  
that were done by Hitler, whether you could do anything about them, or whether  
you think you could not do anything about them.

A I would like to know if you would like to have my opinion about  
things right now.

Q You mean you have changed your opinion since these actions have  
occurred?

A During the war, the way Hitler had to fight it since 1939, it was  
much more difficult to express one's own opinion than right now when the war  
is over. During the war it is extremely difficult to speak in opposition to

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a government. Nevertheless, I held my speeches of opposition and was punished by being removed from my post.

Q Tell me what you thought at the time the particular action that you described took place, and then if you have changed your thoughts since that time, you tell me that too.

A I will ask you if you know the content of my speeches of opposition to the government. I thought this morning that you only had part of my speeches, but if you would have the whole volume, it would fill the table or the room.

Q Never mind about your speeches; what I want from you is a statement along the lines you indicated this morning; that is, that you were in opposition to Hitler and disagreed with Hitler in various things. Now, I want you to state what those things are or what those things were at the time. We have discussed concentration camps. What are the other things that you had in mind?

A Hitler brought everything in a legal way by passing laws. All of those points I am now going to criticize were formerly legal laws. The first things I accuse Hitler of is the fact that he abolished the idea of the creation of the German Reichstag. We discussed this morning that the Reichstag voted, by majority full power to Hitler under the condition that the Reichstag in itself, and its rights, would continue the same way it was working under the Weimar system. Practically, Hitler kept his word, because actually there was a Reichstag up to the end, but the moment he dissolved all the parties, the real meaning of the Reichstag didn't exist any more. The German people, accordingly, were represented only by the party in the Reichstag. That was one of the reasons why I founded the Academy of German Law. I called to this academy all those persons who were of importance in German law, without special consideration for their party membership. The idea was to try to have opera-

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tive law in Germany through this academy. Is that sufficient or do you want me to explain it further?

Q What other explanation is there that you can make?

A I propose that we go through all the points. Do you want to have more details? I am quite willing to give you more.

Q Yes; I suggest that you finish your statement with respect to all the points; and then any matters for clarification I shall take up.

A The next point I criticized is the fact that Hitler dissolved the Reichsrat. The Reichsrat was a representation of the different eighteen countries, eighteen or sixteen countries, who altogether represented the German Reich, such as Bavaria, Prussia, and Hamburg. By the fact that Hitler dissolved the Reichsrat, these different countries did not have any influence on the law making in Germany any more. Up to this date the influence of the Reichsrat on the German law making was quite important. Now, Reich law could be made by the Reichstag without consulting the Reichsrat.

A Third point is the position of the Reichs President, which Adolf Hitler dissolved in 1934 after the death of Hindenburg. In the case of the Reichsrat and the Reich President, Hitler could explain that he never took an obligation to keep that up, contrary to the continuation of the Reichstag, where he took the obligation to make no change whatsoever. The next point would be the fact that Hitler dissolved all the existent little countries into one Reich. He degraded those countries to provinces. Those countries lost their character as a state and were dependent entirely on a centralized government of the Reich.

Now, I am coming to something else that I wanted to criticize very strongly, and that is the fact that Himmler was able, under the protection of Hitler, to build up a state in the state, with the help of his SS. This SS state in the German state was expanding and growing every day, taking over more rights and control through menace or influence. The rules for the SS were made by

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Himmler. Himmler had executive rights, not only for the SS, but for the police. He had his own law making. He made out the life rules for the members of the SS. A leader of the SS could marry only with consent of Himmler. The SS had their own SS courts where any kind of crime or theft was dealt with. The biggest disadvantage Adolf Hitler brought into Germany was the fact that he let grow this SS state in the state. Those special assignments, Hitler gave Himmler, were not made known only in the party but in the state. The knowledge of those rights Hitler gave Himmler was made known not only on a high level in the Reich, but down to little countries and provinces.

Himmler built up his own science. He created his own institute for scientific research. Himmler had his own representative in the various groups of economy everywhere in Germany. In those parts of the government where Himmler had not direct control, members of the SS were sent, in order to control those parts, informally, for Himmler's advantage. Himmler himself could never be accused by anybody in the Reich. He could not have been prosecuted by anybody in the Reich, but he had to the possibility to prosecute or to accuse everybody in the Reich.

Everything that is coming now, is strictly connected with what I said before; for instance, one of the most serious approaches which can be made to Adolf Hitler, is the fact that he broke the promises he made to the Christian Religious Unities and the churches. I mention for instance the Concordat Hitler made with Rome. This Concordat was made in '33 or '34 and was quite promising for the Catholic church, but thanks to Himmler, the Catholic Church in Germany had a terrific situation during the period beginning '35 to the end of the war. Everything protected through the Concordat was abolished. The Catholic faculties at the universities in Munich were dissolved in contradiction of the

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Concordat. I tried on several occasions to do something against this abolishing of now existing rights but without any success.

Nearly the same thing happened to the Protestant Church but not that bad because the Protestant Church did not represent the same state, might, and power the Catholic Church had through Rome. A good example here is the case of Pastor Niemuller. All those were the first steps toward the final breakdown of any kind of law in Germany. The security of the individual to find his rights in justice, or at court, were nonexistent by the fact that everybody, even if the court decided that the man was innocent, could have been picked up at the back door by Himmler's SS and be put into a concentration camp, internment camp or political prison.

Q Have you finished?

A No. One of the worst things is the fact that Hitler introduced, during the war, the responsibility of the whole family for the fault of one member of the family, and named that Sippenhaftung. That was by far the lowest grade law could attain.

Now I should explain all those different points with various examples if you should like me to do so. In the very beginning when the Reichsrat was abolished, and things like that took place, nobody realized what the future would be. Now, looking back, we see that everything served the sole purpose: to make the whole German people the private property of one man, Adolf Hitler. For me there was only one possibility left. I wanted to save the independent judge. If I only could help to have an independent judge, then law in Germany would have been granted, and you will not be able to show me in any of my speeches in which I did not point out that we needed in all of Germany an independent judge. The whole character of the state was false. What was in the beginning a voluntary people movement became later a forced institution. It was not

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Only contradiction to law; it was contradiction to the Party program itself, because the Church was mentioned in the Party program, so was the maintenance of law mentioned in the program.

Q Have you finished your statement?

A Yes.

Q As I understand, your conclusion is to the effect that the principles of the Party were perverted and the action of the Party perverted to bring into power one man, Hitler; is that correct?

A Yes, always in order to enforce Hitler, to make him stronger, or it might be that Himmler or Bormann wanted to secure for themselves the successorship of Hitler.

Q Who else benefited from this succession of power to Hitler?

A The official successor was Goering; the second successor was Hess.

Q You don't understand me. My question is who, besides Hitler, benefited?

A Himmler, Bormann.

Q Who else?

A Everybody had an advantage who was part of the inner circle.

Q Who was the inner circle?

A Those thousands who were dependent on Himmler and were paid by Himmler.

Q Who composed the inner circle?

A During the war it was Goebbels.

Q No; let's not limit <sup>it</sup> to the war; throughout the whole period?

A Goering was originally No. 1, but certainly not at the end of the war. Himmler in the beginning was just nothing and was quite on top in the end. Bormann started as a very unknown man and was quite on the top at the

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end of the war. Himmler, with all the strength, worked himself up from the beginning.

Q Who else besides the three that you have mentioned were part of the inner circle?

A In the end, Doenitz played a big role, but I am not sure of it. I have never been in the headquarters. I saw the Fuehrer during the war only two or three times. I only know from hearsay.

Q Tell me about the ones you know about.

A Lammers was always around; Bormann, Himmler, Doenitz, Goering, Ribbentrop.

Q Who else? You know them. You were a member from 1928 on.

Q Up to the putsch, Roehm was one of them.

Q Who else benefited from this policy that put Hitler at the top? You have given a few names but there are more, and you know who they are.

A I said those thousands, who were dependent on those men, who had the power under this system, who got the positions and income.

Q Yes; we know that.

A Ley had tremendous influence. Streicher was one of the oldest co-workers of the Party. All those men got tremendous gifts from Hitler, money, and positions.

Q These people all benefited?

A And Amann was one of the oldest, most faithful friends of Hitler.

Q We know all that. We want to know the people around Hitler who benefited most. Who are they?

A This is the inner circle I just mentioned before: Ribbentrop, Goering, Goebbels, Himmler, Bormann.

Q What about Hess?

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A Hess felt that he was in a disadvantage in comparison with Goering, and he played a very curious mystic role toward his end.

Q What about Rosenberg?

A Rosenberg had a very high estimate from the Fuehrer as a professor, but never took any active part in any decision.

Q Can you think of anybody else?

A There were some gauleiters.

Q What about Keitel?

A Keitel is one of those who came up to his right only when Blomberg had to go.

Q Wasn't he one of the inner circle too?

A He was considered as a right hand of the Fuehrer in a purely military sense.

Q How about politically?

A He was not very liked by the German Wehrmacht because of his close connection to the Party and Hitler.

Q As a matter of fact, he was a political general, isn't that right?

A (No response).

Q What about Jodl?

A Jodl is a specialist with a very good character.

Q Is he in the same place as Keitel?

A As an officer, Keitel has not the same estimate as Jodl.

Q What about as a politician?

A You are talking about Keitel or Jodl?

Q I am talking about Jodl.

A Jodl is a man who was never known in politics.

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Q Didn't both Keitel and Jodl benefit from Hitler's rise to power, and weren't they members of the inner circle?

A By the fact that they had to be in the general headquarters, they naturally were very often with Hitler during the war. I could not say if they had any advantage by Hitler's rise to power. I would not know if Keitel or Jodl got any presents from the Fuehrer during any special occasion, like a birthday.

Q Did you ever get any presents from the Fuehrer?

A No.

Q How did that happen?

A That came out of my position I held toward Hitler.

Q What was your job in September, 1939?

A I was drafted and I was a lieutenant in the Army.

Q What was your job in October 1939?

A I was nominated by the Fuehrer as a General Governor for Cracov.

Q Why did he give you that job?

A There are many who say that he liked to see me in such a disposed place.

Q Never mind what many of them say. What do you think? Why do you think you got that job?

A I sincerely believe at that time, that Hitler wanted to give me a chance to prove to him, what I was able to do, as a man of administration, but I lost his confidence already after one week when I saw what kind of responsibility Hitler gave to Himmler and to Goering in the same area I was supposed to be the responsible man. My first action was that I resigned.

Q It is pretty hard to believe, isn't it, that you had all this opposition to Hitler from 1933 to 1939, and that he would give you such a nice job?

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You don't think that is odd, do you?

A I was a member of the Party. I was known as a man of law. I was known on an international basis. I visited Poland twice. The same way he made von Neurath protector in Prague, he nominated myself as Governor for Poland.

Q Do you think that those qualifications were what made him select you for the Governor General of Poland, the fact that you were a member of the Party, known as a man of law?

A This was not a task of law, but a task of administration.

Q That's what makes me wonder why he appointed you. You were not an administrative man, were you? You were not an administrator at that time.

A I was astonished myself.

Q Yes; I can see why you might have been.

A I couldn't understand it myself. I especially traveled to see him and to talk about it.

Q What did he tell you when you traveled to him to talk about it?

A I just got a call from him to come at once to see him.

Q What did he say, and what did you say, at this conference that you had?

A He told me that this was not a situation for me to be a lieutenant in the Army during the war. I was the only minister and Party leader who was active in the military force. I told him, "I am an officer in a very proud regiment and now we are at war, and now we have to give an example with a gun in the hand." Hitler said, "I don't care about that. You will have a special war task and you just have to take your assignments." Hitler said, "I promise you I will help you to overcome all difficulties, and you may see me any day you want to discuss anything with me."

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Q What did he tell you he wanted you to do in Poland?

A For Hitler the most necessary thing was to get order in economy and travel. It was general administration and to take care that all troubles we found in Poland would be eased.

Q What kind of troubles did he refer to?

A Those troubles in connection with the normal war.

Q The war was over at that point, wasn't it?

A For instance, the destruction of part of the country, the destruction of Warsaw, the destruction of factories, bridges, and trains, the movement of displaced persons. This was the picture the way we found it. Now, it was my task, through a normal administration, to get order.

Q He thought you were an expert on that, didn't he?

A I asked him if he really thought that I was the right man for this task. He said, "You may choose your own co-workers the way you want."

Q What was the task he really gave you there?

A The exact task was to represent the Reich, and the construction of administration.

Q What special instructions did he give you with reference to the treatment of the Polish population?

A He only said that the situation in Poland was especially difficult right then. He said I must understand that, therefore, he would have to give special jurisdiction to Himmler and to the Army to guarantee that order will be re-established as soon as possible. Besides that, it should be a rule that the situation should be discussed from time to time with Hitler, but I must tell you that during the time elapsed of five years, there was only one big conference with Hitler. On a certain scale, I had altogether three conferences, but this was the only one that was of any importance.

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Q What was the date of this conference?

A The first time I handed in my resignation in October 1939. It was just at this time that Himmler tried to force on me as Secretary of State, the same way I mentioned to you before where Himmler tried always to gain influence on those parts of the government he had no direct control of.

Q What was your first official action when you were appointed Governor?

A After my entry into Cracov, on November 1st or November 7th, a proclamation to the inhabitants of Cracov.

Q What did you do about getting labor?

A It was a voluntary demand to the population.

Q As a matter of fact, your first official action really was on the 26th of October, 1939; isn't that right?

A No.

Q And it wasn't on entering into Cracov, was it?

A I was nominated on the 26th of October.

Q You were appointed that day, too, weren't you?

A Yes.

Q What was your first official action on that day?

A I hadn't even been in Cracov at this time.

Q Does that make any difference about making an official action? Do you have to be in Cracov to do that?

A The first thing that I did was to get my co-workers together. I nominated Buhler as chief of my post. There I had my first difficulty with Himmler because he tried to force upon me

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Turner as Secretary of State.

Q What other kind of labor did you try to get on the 26th of October 1939?

A You want to know what I did later?

Q No; I want to know what you did on the 26th of October. This morning you complimented yourself on your remarkable memory.

A Can you give me any help?

Q Do you remember signing any decrees that day?

A If it was signed, then it is right, but right away I can not remember exactly what it was.

Q Do you remember a decree introducing forced labor for all Polish nationals of Jewish descent?

A If I signed it, it came from me. I don't know if it was the 26th of October.

Q Was it the 27th?

A That I don't know.

Q Do you remember the decree?

A Yes; I remember.

Q What else do you remember about it?

A It was not forced labor; it was an obligation to work.

Q Did you order that all Jews be brought together in special places for this voluntary work, as you describe it?

A I would like to see the decree, if it was a general order, or if I have signed this special order.

Q You will be down it soon enough. In the meanwhile, I want to test this memory you spoke about this morning.

A At the very beginning, Buhler and some other representa-

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tives of different ministries handed to me decrees I had to sign.

Q Did you read those decrees?

A I did not only read the decrees, but I studied them.

I agreed entirely, that during a way, it was quite all right to use this kind of labor the way we did, naturally, in the interests of the Reich.

Q I am not talking about that right now; I am just talking about whether you did, or did not, on or about the 26th day of October 1939, issue the kind of decree I just told you about; did you or didn't you?

A If that is my signature, then I did.

Q Don't you remember?

A Yes; it was a special wish of Adolf Hitler that under any condition we had to start at once with the work.

Q So you did issue those decrees, didn't you?

A Yes.

Q Of course you did, and it was your first official act too, wasn't it?

A No.

Q It was the second decree that you signed; is that it?

A It seems that all those decrees were together on the first number, where different laws were passed.

Q When did Hitler tell you to issue this decree?

A Already during the conversation I mentioned before.

Q Why didn't you mention this decree when you told me about that conversation?

A I told you that it was Hitler special wish, to recon-

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struct as soon as possible, Poland, and to get order into this country.

Q Now you tell me that he also told you to issue this decree?

A He did not tell me to make this decree; he only told me that we would have to start with the reconstruction of Poland and restore order as soon as possible.

Q So it was your idea to issue this decree?

A It was not especially my own idea; it was the result of all the conferences I had with all those persons, who were charged with the reconstruction of the country.

Q It was your job, wasn't it, to get the reconstruction done in Poland?

A Not Poland.

Q That part of Poland of which you had charge?

A Yes.

Q It was your responsibility to get it done too, wasn't it?

A Yes; so far as they left me the right to deal with it.

Q So you issued this decree?

A Yes.

Q What other decrees did you issue while you were Governor-General of Poland?

A I was not the General Governor of Poland.

Q Of that part of Poland of which you were the director.

A Up to 1944, there was a tremendous amount of decrees I

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made.

Q I am speaking about labor for reconstruction and other kinds of work.

A I think those mentioned, the two decrees, were the main decrees, but besides that we started at once with the free and voluntary labor.

Q Do you remember making a speech in November, 1941, at the University in Berlin?

A About what?

Q Do you remember making a speech?

A Yes; I do remember that.

Q About what was the speech?

A That was a speech about general government.

Q What did you say?

A I talked purely about the reconstruction work.

Q What did you say about the particular decree, the one about which we have just been talking.

A That I can not remember now. I really must say that I had a tremendous success and at the time I was in Berlin, we really could say that we succeeded in this so difficult task, not only with thanks to the forced labor, but generally thanks to other co-operation like that.

Q Didn't you say that this decree, plus other decrees of yours, enabled the German authorities not only to exploit Polish Jews as a slave labor force, but also to deport them wherever you wanted them?

A That I never said.

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Q What did you say along that line?

A I never said such a thing. That is impossible that I said things like that.

Q What did you say along that line, if you didn't say that?

A That is exactly against everything that I planned, sought, and really did. I always mentioned that the Polish population, the ones that were not influenced by resistance groups, followed all our rules and co-operated very much with us and were very gentle. That is why I was so proud of being able to attain something that did not work out in some other countries; and that was the mutual confidence between the population and the government.

Q They liked you, didn't they?

A My personal relationship towards the Polish population was especially good. I always lived among Poles over there. They served me, and I helped them out, and I must say our connections were really very good. Under me worked more than 200,000 Polish officials.

Q How about the Polish Jews?

A I was not responsible for the Polish Jews. It was Himmler who was charged with all the rules referring to the treatment of Jews in Poland. In a case where the Poles were part of a resistance movement, even those Poles were under the jurisdiction of Himmler. As a result, the Polish Jews worked under Police supervision, and you must find it in one of those decrees.

Q You had something to do with the Polish Jews, though, didn't you?

A Yes, I tried to save some of them at my residence.

Q Did you save many of them?

A During the time I went to the Reich, they took them away from me. I had a possession near Cracov. I was living on a summer residence near Cracov, and there a Jewish couple were in charge of my stable, and I tried

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to save them too, but during the time I had to leave for Germany they were taken away from me.

Q What about this decree of October 26th?

A This decree on October 26th mentions the fact that the Jewish forced labor had to work under Police supervision.

Q That is all the dealings that you had with the Polish Jews, just that one decree?

A Yes; it must be the only thing. I don't remember anything else. It might be possible that I had another decree. I made another decree concerning the ghetto in Cracov, but I am not sure about it. It might be that even the order for the construction of the ghetto was a part of the police administration, not of mine.

Q We will take a five-minute recess while you think it over and see if you can remember some other decrees dealing with Polish Jews.

A If there are decrees bearing my name, then naturally I made them.

Q Never mind, I want you to remember this. You think about this for five minutes and then we will see.

(A short recess was taken.)

Q Do you remember now any other decrees that you signed dealing with Polish Jews?

A I don't know if you mean by that one of the decrees where the Polish Jews were obliged to have the Star of David on an armband.

Q Do you remember that one?

A I don't remember if I made the decree.

Q You know very well that you signed that decree, don't you?

A Did I sign that? If I did, then it is all right. I don't want you to believe that I want to deny anything I signed. I have been in prison

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for four months, and you must realize it is very hard for me to concentrate myself. I don't want you to have the impression that I want to deny anything I did.

Q Didn't you on the 23rd day of November 1939 issue, above your own signature, a decree calling for the segregation of Jews in the general government region of Poland, and compelling all Polish nationals of the Jewish race, above the age of ten, to wear a white armband with the Star of David? This decree threatened imprisonment and a heavy fine on all who failed to comply.

A Yes, in my subconscious mind I remember that.

Q What about your conscious mind?

A During this time, it was a rule in the whole German Reich that the Jews had to wear the yellow star on their breast. I didn't want to have the same thing and thought it would be a good idea to have something else, because I judged it much better than to have this yellow star; so I suggested the white armband with a star, because all the German workers anyhow had some kind of an armband. I thought it was not so discriminating for the Jews to wear an armband something similar to those of the German workers. It was a rule in the Reich, and I considered it much better than those the Reich had now in order. It was much less discriminating. Besides that, those were all general orders coming from the Reich.

Q You said you remember a speech you made at the University of Berlin in November 1941; is that not so?

A Yes, I protest that I said anything about the treatment of Jewish forced labor.

Q To whom did you make this speech?

A It was a general official speech I made. It was not a pure academical speech I made; it was more for the public.

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Q Didn't at least a part of your audience consist of the ambassadors of countries that were allied with Germany?

A I think there was the Ambassador of Hungary, or Slovakia, present, but I don't know exactly.

Q Do you recall what you stated on that occasion, with reference to the original intention of the Nazi Party, with respect to the concentration of all Jews?

A I thought they were supposed to be transferred to Bohmen. Himmler had once a plan to concentrate all Jews in Bohmen, or to the East, but, formerly, this plan was made by Himmler only after 1941 to send all Jews in the Russian part of Poland, and the Russian occupied territories. It is quite possible that I referred to this speech from Himmler, but in November 1941, it was not only the question of my little part, I was governor in, but it was on behalf of the whole East.

Q Don't you remember that you said on that occasion that it was at one time the plan to concentrate all Jews in Poland?

A No; that certainly is not so. It was never the intent to concentrate all Jews in Poland.

Q Where was it intended to concentrate the Jews?

A In the East.

Q Whose intention was that?

A From Hitler and those men, Himmler, and those men around him.

Q Did you ever get any written directives or instructions with reference to that?

A No; never.

Q Then how did you know it was Himmler's plan to do that?

A Somebody told me in Cracov, that all the Jews be sent to Theresienstadt

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and the East. At this time we considered the East containing all of Russia.

Q Do you remember stating, during that speech, that it had been decided that instead of concentrating all the Jews in Poland, that Poland was to serve merely as a transmission camp and that the Jews actually were to go further East?

A That is a question of the policy concerning the Jews that was only in the hands of Himmler. He was so much in charge of this question, that he even was not obliged to make it known to countries concerned about what kind of action he was about to take.

Q You don't remember then making the statement about which I have just told you?

A I don't want to deny, that on some occasions I did mention something about the solution of the Jewish question, because this question at this time had to be brought to its end.

Q Do you mean the solution of sending them East?

A No; we were waiting for a solution from Berlin, to know exactly what we could do about those poor men.

Q What was your suggestion for the solution?

A I never was supposed to make any solution. We worked quite well together with the Jews. They were distributed among the country, and without the Jews there would never have been any commerce. The Jews in Poland are specialists, like tailors or shoemakers. Without those little Jewish commercial men, it would have been very hard to get along. My government had always the intention to keep those Jews in their places because we needed them in their work. We proved that. We had to lay down the factories after the moment Jews were deported from Poland.

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Q Getting back to this speech you made in November 1941, don't you remember making statements that I have just told you?

A That all Jews are supposed to come to Poland?

Q No; the statements were these: In the course of your lecture, you stated that at one time it was the plan to bring all the Jews to Poland, but that this plan had been changed, and that instead of using Poland as a place to concentrate the Jews, Poland was to be used only as a camping ground, while the Jews were moved further East.

A I certainly did not originate this kind of speech. It is absolutely impossible.

Q Didn't you say during that speech that since the Jews had come originally from Palestine, it didn't make any difference if they were transported an additional 900 kilometers to the East?

A I am sure that I did not say that.

Q Well, if somebody remembers hearing you say it, would you say that that person was lying?

A No; I would not say that.

Q Then if somebody made a record and said that you said what I have just stated, would you say that the record was wrong?

A If it is an official stenographer, or if it is made by some official party, then I naturally can not deny it.

Q Who established the ghettos in Poland?

A The police started with it. They concentrated them together in a certain living quarters.

Q What was your connection with that?

A I tried to get a certain law into all of those decrees, and I remember now, that I made a decree about the construction of Jewish living

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quarters.

Q You established the ghettos, didn't you?

A I only made those decrees lawful. It was not the task of the police to consider the question of sewage, water, and labor, and taxes for those ghettos. That was my task.

Q My question is this: Did you or did you not, by decree, legalize the setting up of ghettos?

A I only tried, when those ghettos were erected by the Police, to get a legal background and foundation for those things.

Q You did that by issuing a decree, didn't you?

A In the interests of everybody, and especially, in the interests of the Jews.

Q You did that by issuing a decree, didn't you?

A I do remember that I signed a law concerning all of that, but I would not remember exactly if it was in the form of a decree.

Q You read it, didn't you?

A Yes; I suppose if it was a decree, I read it before I signed it.

Q You never sign anything without reading it, do you?

A It is sometimes possible that it happened.

Q You don't really think that you signed this decree without reading it, do you?

A No; I don't think so.

Q How many ghettos were established in the Governor-Generalship of Poland?

A I could not say that offhand. We had a terrific problem with those ghettos, and it was one of the most awful tasks I had.

Q There was a big one in Lublin, wasn't there?

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A It was surely in Lublin, Warsaw, and Cracov. If there were more ghettos in other towns, I could not say.

Q Who was charged with the administrating of these ghettos?

A My administration let the ghettos govern themselves, and they were responsible to my officials. They had their own police in the ghettos.

Q The fact of the matter is that you were in charge of the ghettos, weren't you?

A The responsibility was that of the governor, the burgomeister, and a responsible man in the ghetto.

Q And you were the governor, were you not?

A I was the General Governor. I don't want to diminish my responsibility by accusing others.

Q All I am saying is that it was your ultimate responsibility, as Governor General of Poland, to administer these ghettos. Now, you did it by one means or another, but the fact of the matter is that it was your responsibility; isn't that so?

A Originally, those ghettos were erected by the police. I later had two decrees to legalize those facts. Furthermore, I was charged with administration, but we had terrific difficulties with the police who did interfere daily into our administration measures. The idea of my decree was only to protect those Jews, who, without any special decree and law, would have been diminished or eliminated. There was always the talk about the elimination of the Jews, and I tried, by these decrees, to save them. It was entirely wrong. I know that you will always want to put me in a position where I will be accused as the originator of those ghettos, but that is not the truth. They were already erected, and it was only my task to legalize those things.

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I know for five years I have been considered as War Criminal No. 1 and that I was a terrible Jew baiter and killer, and a man who wanted to erase the Poles from the world, but you have to look really into those things in order to see that that is not the truth. I know that those approaches were mentioned in the press and the radio against me. On the first day of my arrest, the people mentioned that I had killed 600,000 Poles, and I don't know how many Jews.

Q I don't want you to have the idea that I am accusing you of anything. All I am trying to get out of you is factual information.

A For what I want to say, these men will be the witnesses; Fischer from Warsaw; Zorner from Lublin; Dr. Buhler and Governor Wachter from Cracov. They will say in my defense that I always tried to prevent the worst, and that my ideals were to fight to help. I was charged with delivery of food to the ghetto. The police only concentrated there, but it was my task to give them something to eat. Those poor men--

Q Did you ever visit the ghetto?

A No. Once I went to the ghetto in Warsaw.

Q What did you find there? What were the conditions?

A The conditions, in the long range, were absolutely impossible. Under any conditions, a change was necessary, and then started the biggest battle I ever had. It was impossible to get the necessary foodstuffs for those 100,000 poor men. We did what we could, but the land was poor. The country was poor, and all around was the police. We really had to smuggle in food. I ask you to hear the Governor Fischer who was at Warsaw, who is able to give you a detailed report confirming what I just told you. For a certain time, conditions in the ghetto were better. The Jewish inmates in the ghetto made treaties with German industries for deliveries of uniforms

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and other things.

Q What did you do to better conditions in the Warsaw ghetto, after you made your trip through it?

A I gave at once to Governor Fischer the order to do everything in his means to deliver food to the ghetto and to try to better conditions. When I came back to Cracov, I had a meeting with all the different delegates, and I discussed all my plans, and as a result, two men went to Berlin in order to effect treaties between German factories and the inmates of the ghetto. During my next trip to Berlin, I had a personal conversation with Minister Funk.

Q What was that discussion about?

A About the general economical situation in Poland, the general government in Poland, and especially the possibility of small industry in the ghetto.

Q Did you tell him about the ghetto?

A Yes, I did.

Q What did he say?

A He promised to help and he did help.

Q In what way?

A He gave us orders, especially for the purpose of the Army.

Q I noticed when you gave the list of things that you objected to, or took exception to with respect to Hitler's regime, you didn't mention the treatment accorded the Jews.

A I could have mentioned much more. If you say that, you could consider the whole problem as unethical.

Q That may very well be, but the fact is you were given the oppor-

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tunity to set forth all the things to which you took exception.

A If it is your impression to consider myself as a Jew baiter because I didn't mention various other points, then you are wrong.

Q I haven't any impressions at all regarding your Jewish activities, but I want to find out from you just what your opinion is with respect to that.

A We had to solve the Jewish problem in Germany. My idea of the solution was to get the Jewish population out of Germany through emigration. That means to go into other countries who would like to have them. It was very difficult in the years after the revolution for the German population to live together with the Jews, and it was originally Hitler's program to emigrate all the Jews from Germany.

Q What was your opinion of the laws which were enacted depriving Jews of their full rights as German citizens? Did you agree or disagree with those laws?

A Basically, I agreed with those laws. The Jews are a special people, and they should have their own state. The best thing would have been if they would have been given a state and they would have lived over there and would have been happy. This Jewish problem is not a specific German problem, as an international problem, and starts to be a problem in every country all over the world. It is not only a problem of this time we are living in, actually, but it is a thousand-year-old problem.

Q How do you reconcile your professed desire to have the German state operate on a legal basis and, therefore, your opposition to Hitler because of some of the things that he did, and your statement that you agreed with these laws that made Jews less than German citizens?

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A That at that time was my opinion about the Jewish problem. That really at that time was my opinion. I was at that time a very poor man. I saw the Jews had all very rich positions and fortunes, and out of this youthful criticism, I came to my judgment about the Jews.

Q As a lawyer, did you consider it right and proper, and in keeping with the fundamental concepts of German law, that by decree Jews of German nationality were deprived of certain citizenship rights?

A If the Communists would have gained power, the way Hitler gained power in Germany, they would have deprived all the Germans of their rights, fortunes, and so on.

Q Never mind about that. Just answer my question. How do you reconcile those opinions?

A I didn't have at this time any reluctance to those laws against the Jews. Today, naturally, I am more awake. Today I naturally realize that you can not solve the problem this way. You have to have a big international conference or you have to make provisions where to put the Jews in a normal way. Besides that, I think we should have made a difference between the Jews, those Jews who were citizens a long time, and those who came after the revolution in the east into Germany.

Q Did you, in any of your writings, point out that it was contrary to the fundamental German law to deprive one part of the population of citizens' rights on a racial basis?

A I never wrote against this question, but I did agree with the development of the Jewish question in Germany.

Q Did you agree with the Nuremberg laws?

A Yes; I did, because I considered it as a very necessary law.

Q Getting back to the Warsaw ghetto, when did you pay this visit

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to Hitler that you have referred to?

A I think it was during the year 1940.

Q What provision was made during the year 1940 to remove the Jews from Warsaw?

A I can not answer this question, because this was a point the police were entirely in charge of, and the police did not work under me.

Q You were familiar, however, with the plan which had been formulated, were you not?

A I was never informed about this. Nobody talked about that to me. If I got wind of anything, it came to me indirectly through one of my officials. The police were entirely separated from the normal administration.

Q Isn't it a fact that there was a plan formulated in February, 1940, to restrict the Jewish population of Warsaw to a part of the city east of the Weichsel River?

A I don't know anything about this plan.

Q Isn't it a fact that the government of the city of Warsaw protested against this plan, primarily because of the danger of disturbing industry and economy?

A It is possible that the city government protested it.

Q Wasn't the city government under you?

A Yes.

Q Wouldn't that kind of a proposition have been referred to you for consideration?

A No; the governor could have straightened it out on the spot.

Q Yes, he could have, but didn't he ask you what your opinion on the matter was?

A No.

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Q This is the first time you have ever heard of it?

A I can't remember. I don't think that this plan originated in Cracov. That is an original plan from Warsaw.

Q That may be, but weren't you informed of this plan?

A No.

Q This is the first time you ever heard about it?

A This is the first time.

Q Isn't it a further fact, that the plan to establish the ghetto in Warsaw was postponed in March, 1940, and it was planned to establish the Lublin area as a reception area for all Jews in Poland, also for those Jews evacuated from the German Reich?

A No; I had no idea about this plan.

Q Who was the SS police leader in Cracov?

A Kruger.

Q Did you know him?

A Yes. Until 1943 I had one of my heaviest struggles with him. He was replaced by Mr. Koppe. Koppe and Kruger were representatives of Himmler in the general government, not only in their capacity as police chiefs, but as specialists for the Jewish question too.

Q Did you ever hear Kruger say that the concentration of Jews in the Lublin area, that I have just mentioned, was not contemplated?

A Whatever Kruger did, he did for Himmler without asking any of us.

Q Where is Lowitsch?

A West of Warsaw.

Q Were you ever in Lowitsch?

A Yes; I visited the communities over there.

Q Was there a ghetto established in Lowitsch?

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A I don't know. I can't say that.

Q Certainly you can remember that. You were there.

A It is a very little town.

Q As a matter of fact, wasn't the experience of Lowitsch, with respect to having a large Jewish population, which was increased from time to time, such, that it was decided that the only solution to what was called the Jewish problem was to establish ghettos?

A The idea of concentration of Jews in ghettos was not originated with the general government but by Himmler and the police.

Q When was the ghetto established in Warsaw?

A Before the decree was published, the concentration camp in Warsaw was already erected.

Q When was that?

A I don't remember.

Q Was it in 1939?

A Yes, the police started at once.

Q When was the ghetto itself established?

A I do not remember that.

Q Isn't it a fact, that a certain part of the city was selected sometime in 1940 as the section, which would be used for the Warsaw ghetto?

A Yes. It was finally decided, based on the decree.

Q Did you participate in the decision which decided that?

A No. That was proposed and arranged on the spot after the police concentrated the Jews already in certain areas. As far as I remember, those ghettos were erected around the original former ghetto already existing.

Q Who was the district chief of the city of Warsaw?

A Dr. Fischer.

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Q Was Dr. Fischer under your jurisdiction?

A Yes.

Q Is it not a fact, that you issued an order to Dr. Fischer, to the effect that the transfer of the Jewish population of Warsaw into the ghetto, must be completed by 15 November 1940?

A No; I don't remember that. If you would only show me that, then I could help, but I don't have everything in my head.

Q We will adjourn now, and overnight you think about it and see if you don't remember issuing an order to Dr. Fischer to the effect that all the Jews in Warsaw would have to be put in the ghetto before 15 November 1940. You think about it overnight. That will be all.

APPROVED:

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