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T R A N S L A T I O N  
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30 May 1945

Karl Hermann Frank, interrogated by Dr. B.Ecer, deposed :

The events prior to the moving in of the German troops on  
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1 October 1938.  
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The claims of the "Sudetendeutsche Partei" /Party of Sudet Germans/ aimed at first, i.e. in early 1938, at an autonomy within the frame of the Republic. The party demanded from the Government a national statute for the Sudet Germans. Conferences with the Prime Minister Hodza took place and a commission was appointed by the Party in, I think, May 1938. The commission consisted as far as I remember of the members of Parliament Mundt, Peters, Rosche, Dr. Sebekowsky and Dr. Schickstanz. The task of the commission was 1/ working out of the draft of laws concerning the autonomy, and 2/ negotiations with the Government. Myself I stood somewhat apart from these negotiations with the Government because I was deputy to Konrad Henlein as party leader. The current negotiations with the Government were carried on by the commission. I have myself spoken with Hodza only two or three times. The result of my negotiations was unsatisfactory from the point of view of the SdP /Party of Sudet Germans/. The negotiations dragged on for many months. We made our propositions, the Government answered with counter-propositions. I think there were for such counter-propositions which were designated by the Party as unsatisfactory.

In late May an English observer, Sutton-Pratt, I believe, came to Czechoslovakia. He came twice to see me in Prague, it was in June 1938, but I cannot state this exactly. I informed him of the standpoint of the Party and about the general situation of the Germans in the Sudet-German territory. He asked only for information. I did not put forward any demands to him, as in my opinion he was not entitled to accept such demands and his mission was only that of an observer.

In late July 1938, as I believe, Lord Runciman with Ashton-Quatkin and other English gentlemen came to Prague. We were informed of the arrival of this mission by the British Legation and we greeted them at the station. There followed very numerous negotiations between the English mission and the above-mentioned commission. Myself I had two conferences with Runciman and Ashton-Quatkin in Prague and one in the Castle Rothenhaus owned by the Prince Hohenlohe. I had also conferences with two other gentlemen of the mission, whose names I cannot recall anymore.

I informed Lord Runciman and Ashton-Quatkin and told them that the Party demands an autonomy, and that the negotiations between the Party and the Government remained without results. I add here that during the stay of the mission the negotiations with the Government were continued but without result. During the negotiations with Runciman's mission and with the Government, the Party insisted at that time upon a true autonomy, which was to be granted immediately so that a pacification of the Sudet-German

territory be attained.

The Czechoslovakian Government was not prepared to accept our claims as formulated by us; for instance, as I previously mentioned, they made counter-proposals. We had the impression that the Government was dragging the negotiations in order to gain time. I remember that Dr. Hodza was the man who made the greatest advances to us. About twice Dr. Hacha also participated as an expert in the negotiations between the Government and the Party, and has equally made us great advances, as I have been informed. To my knowledge Kundt and Sebekowsky spoke once with the President, Dr. Benes. The president's point of view was negative to our claims. Kundt and Peters had unofficial negotiations with certain Czech members of Parliament. Also Rosche had such conferences. From the Agriculture Party it was Beran, Zilka, Suchy, Stoubel and perhaps others. The parliamentarians and political personalities of the Agriculture Party showed understanding for our claims. The above-named Sudet-Germans parliamentarians had, to my knowledge, also conferences with the parliamentarians of the Czech Social-Democratic Party ~~and of the Czech Social Democratic Party~~ and of the Czech People's Party. The attitude of these two groups of Czech parliamentarians was negative to our claims. But I want to emphasize that also the parliamentarians of the Agriculture Party maintained the point of view of the Czechoslovakian Republic and considered a solution of the Sudet-German question only possible with the Republic.

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The commission of our Party had besides also conferences with the Slovakian People's Party, with Hungarian parliamentarians and, as far as I can remember, with a representative of the Poles and a representative of the Karpato-Ruthenians. On behalf of the Slovaks Tiso, Sidor and somebody else led the negotiations. The names of the representatives of the other national groups are not known to me anymore. In approximately July 1938 I had myself a conference with Tiso. But already before that, as I believe in February 1938, I had an interview with Hlinka in Ruzomberok. I remark that Sidor was present at the conference with Tiso. All the above-named Slovaks with whom I spoke were autonomists, accepted our claims and we accepted theirs, so that the final result of our negotiations was that we would assist each other and would vote jointly in Parliament for our motions for laws concerning the Slovakian and the Sudet-German autonomy.

The negotiations with the Government during the stay of the Runciman-Mission did not lead to a satisfactory result. Konrad Henlein was summoned to Adolf Hitler to Berchtesgaden in about late August 1938. Upon his return he reported during a session of the party leaders, at which I was present, that Adolf Hitler had promised him the support of our claims for autonomy with the means of the Reich. Shortly thereafter, presumably on 9 September, I went to Nuremberg to the party meeting of the NSDAP /National Socialistic German Workers Party/. At this party meeting Hitler delivered a speech, I believe, on 12 or 13 September, which repre-

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sents a decisive turning-point in the Sudet-German question. I emphasize that at the time of the speech our party still held the standpoint of the autonomy within the frame of the Republic, and had not yet put forward the demand of incorporation of the Sudet-German territory in the German Reich. Hitler's speech aroused such an enthusiasm amongst the Sudet-German population that on the same evening after the speech, in all towns of the Sudet-German territory, processions were organized, the "Horst Wessel" song and "Deutschland Ueber Alles" /"Germany Over All"/ were sung, and the motto "Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Fuehrer" /"One Nation, One Empire, One Leader"/ was impetuously proclaimed. According to my estimate at least ninety percent of the Sudet-German population backed this new motto. I add here that already the results of the community elections on May 21, 1938 brought an overwhelming majority of the Sudet-German Party, I think 92%. This majority of Sudet-Germans backed the party's claims. Personally I was surprised by Hitler's speech, in as much as Hitler supported the claims of the Sudet-Germans to such a far going extent. The reply of the Government was the dispatch of troops into Sudet-German territory. Under the impression of the marching in of the Czech troops, I telephoned personally to the Prime Minister Dr. Hodza by order of Konrad Henlein, I think it was on 14 September 1938, I made following short-termed demand: Withdrawal of the troops and the State police from the Sudet-German territory and transfer of the care for order to the Sudet-German

Party and their representative. I did not utter any threat during this conversation by telephone. Dr. Hodza promised to give a reply soon, but the reply was never given us. Shortly thereafter Ashton-Quatkin came to see me in Eger and asked for an interview with Konrad Henlein. We both drove to Henlein in Asch. It was, I think, the 15th of September 1938. Konrad Henlein declared before me and Quatkin in the name of the party that ~~he~~ now must insist on the right of self-determination of the Sudet-Germans and that the commission for negotiations was already dissolved. On 15 or 16 September 1938 it came in Eger to heavy shooting. At that time there existed no concentrated party leadership - Henlein with his personal staff was in Asch, I was in Eger with a part of the party officials and a part of the main leadership was in Prague. No conference of all party leaders took place. In the meantime, warrants for arrest were issued against myself and Henlein, and I first drove to Asch and then walked to Selb in Bavaria to evade arrest. Henlein also crossed the border and later stayed in a castle in Bavaria. From there Henlein proclaimed the demand for selfdetermination of the Sudet-German in the name of the "Anschluss" /incorporation/ into the German Reich. He called upon the forming of a volunteer corps of German refugees from Czechoslovakia. The volunteer corps was then formed and placed along the Czechoslovakian border. His proclamation of the right for self-dermination and his appeal for the formation of a volunteer corps were broadcasted by the "Reichssender" /the



Reich broadcasting station/. I agreed with Henlein and backed personally the demand he proclaimed and his appeal for the formation of a volunteer corps. I had several conferences with Henlein in Bavaria and we saw clearly that the solution of the Sudet-German question is not to be obtained anymore by negotiations with the Czechoslovakian Government, that through Adolf Hitler's intervention this question had already become European and had to be cleared with the leaders of European powers. We also saw clearly that Adolf Hitler himself had taken the Sudet-German question into his hands and was determined to settle the question in any case, either by negotiations or by military action, "biegen oder brechen" /to bend or to break/. Ourselves, i.e. the leaders of the Sudet-German Party, were not consulted anymore. On 1 October 1938, after the conclusion of the treaty of Munich, the German troops marched into the territory yielded to the German Reich by the treaty of Munich. The demarcation of the border of the yielded territory in its details was left to a commission in Berlin - the so-called "Grenzziehungskommission" /boundary demarcation commission/. Personally I returned to Eger on 3 October 1938, over Asch.

Dr. Eger quotes to the examinee, Karl Hermann Frank, the contents of an interview of Adolf Hitler with an American journalist on 16 January 1935, during which he explained to the journalist that Austria must become part of the German Reich and that Czechoslovakia was an unnatural creation of the treaty of Versailles, a

dangerous springboard and aircraft carrier for the Soviets.

According to the report of the American journalist, Hitler used then for the first time the word "Protectorate" when speaking of the relation between Germany and Czechoslovakia.

Question : Do you know anything about this interview and its contents ?

Answer : No. I only remember that Hitler mentioned Czechoslovakia in one of his speeches only after the incorporation of Austria. I add that on the occasion of the Volkssportprozess /people's sport trial/ he alluded in a speech to Czechoslovakia. I remark further that the utterance of "Czechoslovakia being the aircraft carrier against Germany" was used repeatedly by Sudet-German parliamentarians in

speeches in the Czechoslovakian Parliament. It is possible that I have myself used this expression in the parliamentary committee for foreign politics.

Question: Do you know anything about the murder of Professor Lessing ?

Answer: No, only that what I read in the newspapers.

Question: Did Sudet-Germans participate in the murder of Professor Lessing ?

Answer : To my knowledge they did not. But I cannot exclude the possibility.

Question: Do you know anything about the murder of engineer Formis ?



**Answer:** I have heard rumours that Formis was murdered by a "Sonderkommando" /special commando/, which came from the Reich, because of a secret broadcasting station against the German Government.

**Question:** Do you know that the German radio admitted on 23 November 1939 the murder of Formis by two SS-men by order of the Reich authorities.

**Answer:** I do not know anything of such a statement by the German radio.

**Question:** Did Sudet-German participate in the murder of the engineer Formis ?

**Answer:** Not to my knowledge. I consider it impossible.

**Question:** Do you know that in the period prior to the marching in of German troops into the Sudet territory, i.e. prior to 1 October 1938 political murders of Czech citizens, officials or soldiers were committed ?

**Answer:** I only know that in the last days of September 1938 during some shooting in the locality Haberspark, near Fallena, one or more Czech gendarmes were shot. More I do not know.

Dr. Ečer reproduces to the examinee the contents of a speech by Hitler on 30 January 1939 in the Reichstag /German Parliament/.

**Question :** Is this speech and its contents known to you ?

**Answer:** I know the speech, I was already a member of the

Reichstag. I was present at the session on January 30, 1939, and heard the speech.

When in his speech Hitler spoke of inadmissible provocations on the part of the Czechoslovakian Government or of authorities as an instrument of intensive suppression of the Sudet-German population, I can only confirm, out of my own experience, that during the critical time, which began on 21 May 1938 with the partial mobilisation of the Czechoslovakian Army, numerous conflicts occurred in the Sudet territory between the population and the Gendarmerie or police or the troops. I remember among others the shooting of two peasants in Eger, to whose funeral Adolf Hitler sent two wreaths and to which I attended together with two military attaches of the German legation in Prague. Also the murder of a Sudet-German in the "Boehmer Wald" /Bohemian Forest/, either by social-democrats or communists, but I do not know it exactly now. In my opinion they were leftist German elements.

Question : Do you know that the acts to which Hitler referred in his speech were either from one or the other side and were even ordered by the Party in the Sudet territory or in the German Reich, or by the Reich authorities - in order to justify later military actions against Czechoslovakia ?

Answer It is possible that in this or that case these acts were provoked on both sides. But I cannot confirm that these acts were ordered either by my Party or by the National Socialist Party in Germany or by the Reich authorities

to justify the later military interventions.

Question : Did you personally know anything about the military preparations which Hitler disclosed in his above-mentioned speech ?

Answer: I did not know anything. It was also impossible for me or other party members to learn something about it, as Adolf Hitler kept his decisions and preparations of this kind strictly secret. This secrecy was actually a system.

Question : Did the perpetrators who participated in the shooting of Czech gendarmes in Habespink possess arms?

Answer: Yes. I presume that they provided themselves with arms by disarming the "Bezirksgendarmeriekommando" /district gendarmerie command/.

Question: Do you know that arms were smuggled into Sudet territory from Germany ?

Answer: Not before the formation of the volunteer corps was completed. But after the formation of the volunteer corps - yes.

I add that during the summer of 1938, it was repeatedly published by the newspaper that a strong defence line was being built in the West. These fortifications let discussions loose whether it was not in connection with an armed conflict in Central Europe. Nothing more is known to me about this.

I estimate the number of those Czechs whose settlement area was

incorporated into the Reich territory by the occupation on October 1938 to be 250,000 to 300,000. I believe that in several localities, schools were retained. They /translator's note : the Czechs/ had no legal right of their own language, i.e. to deal in their mother tongue with authorities and law courts, but within the community they could use their mother tongue. They were not granted political rights, but I can remember that an endeavour was made to permit an organisation of loyal Czechs and to grant them the right to publish a newspaper in Czech language. That was in the territory of Troppau-Hohenstadt. How this attempt ended, I do not know. As far as I know, it did not come to a legal settlement of the Czech minority question.

Question : Was safeguarding of life and property guaranteed to these Czechs by the German authorities and was their life and their property de facto protected against aggression ?

Answer: That I do not know.

Question: Did these Czechs retain their employment or were they removed from it ?

Answer: To my knowledge a number of so-called "Wiedergutmachung-faelle" /reparation cases/ were brought up through which Czechs lost their position and their land.

Question: Since when did the Sudet-German Party actively work for the incorporation of the Sudet-German territory in the Reich ?

Answer : Since Hitler's speech on 12 September at the Party meeting in Nuremberg.

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The majority of the Sudet-Germans, in my opinion 90 %, approved this fight of the Party for incorporation of the Sudet-German territory into the Reich.

Question: Did the Sudet-German population also back this fight actively ?

Answer: Yes.

The events from 1 October 1938 until 15 March 1939.

When I returned from Germany on 3 October 1938, I was summoned to Konrad Henlein to Reichenberg. At that time I was still his deputy in the Party leadership. In November 1938, the NSDAP /National Socialistic German Workers Party/ was founded, the "Sudetengau" established, Adolf Hitler appointed Henlein "Gauleiter" /regional leader/ and myself deputy "Gauleiter". I had no contact with the German movement under the second Republic, I came to Prague only once by chance, if at all, it was not a political journey. The leadership of the Germans under the second Republic was undertaken by Kundt. He related me later all he had done to effect the recognition of the NSDAP /National Socialistic German Workers Party/. From ~~my~~ experiences I do not know anything about how the German population and its political organisation behaved in the second Republic. I also do not know about the representatives of the Germans in the second Republic coming for conferences to Berlin. I only know that Kundt was in Berlin once. What he did, I do not know, as a tension of a personal character had developed between Kundt and myself. Surely the Germans in the Republic

sent reports to Germany, but it is not known to me that in addition to this information service they helped in any way to prepare the occupation of 15 March. I also had no contacts with Czech politicians during this time. Personally, as previously mentioned, I was surprised by the occupation of 15 March, as I had expected that it would come to an alliance between the Republic and the German Reich. Out of personal experience I do not know anything about the journey of Dr. Hácha to Berlin on 14 March 1939, only that what was related to me by several Czech gentlemen, like Beran, Syrový, Elias, Hawelka and perhaps others. From these narrations, which of course in general coincided with each other, I got the impression that the negotiations proceeded in a friendly manner, and that the solution was reached on the basis of mutual understanding. From these narrations I also know that Adolf Hitler, in conversations with Hácha, emphasized that the German Wehrmacht was prepared for the occupation of Bohemia and Moravia. I do not know anything about a threat to bomb Prague. I met Hácha only four weeks after his return from Berlin. From the conference with him I got the impression that he suffers under burden of his office. He repeatedly pointed out : I serve the nation. His dignity as president of the state was fully respected from the German side. He himself claimed this respect for his dignity.

The period of the so-called Protectorate after March 15, 1939.

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As I have already mentioned, I was appointed Secretary of



State to the Reichs Protector on 17 March 1939. This occurred in the Hotel Imperial in Vienna. Adolf Hitler informed me of this himself and described my duty as follows : The Secretary of State is the chief of the office of the Reichs Protector in the Protectorate, he is with the Protector in the first place responsible for the execution of the political directives issued by Hitler. The office of the Reichs Protector consisted of several departments. The police was, however, not subordinated to this office. To avoid misunderstanding, I state that during the year of 1939 I was appointed Hoehrer SS- und Polizeifuehrer /Higher SS and Police Commander/, although originally I did not want to accept this position. I accepted it to avoid that some other high SS official would make politics besides myself. In my capacity of the Higher SS and Police Commander I represented only the interests of the Allgemeine SS /general SS/, Waffen-SS, Sicherheitspolizei /security police/ and Ordnungspolizei /administrative police/, without having a right to issue instructions or orders. The Gestapo was a part of the Sicherheitspolizei /security police/ with two chiefs independent of each other, one in Prague - during a certain period Dr. Geschke - and another in Bruenn /Brno/. Both of them received instructions and orders directly from the Reichssicherheitshauptamt /main office for the security of the Reich/ in Berlin. In addition to these two Gestapo chiefs, there was a Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei /executive commander of the security police/ in the Protectorate - for a certain time Dr. Rasche - who, however, also had no complete right of issuing instructions as concerns these Gestapo chiefs. 32

Both Gestapo headquarters in Prague and Bruenn /Brno/ had a large number of branches in Bohemia and Moravia.

Question : Who was responsible for the acts of the German authorities in the Protectorate ?

Answer : The Reichs Protector, and with him myself, were responsible for the state political and governmental activity of these authorities. Neither the Reichs Protector nor myself were responsible for the police activity. The supreme responsibility was in the hands of Heinrich Himmler as chief of the German police. The Gestapo received instructions directly from Berlin either from Himmler himself or from the Reichssicherheitshauptamt /main office for the security of the Reich.

From 15 March until early May the administration of the Protectorate was in the hands of the military authorities, at the head of which was Blaskowitz. After the dissolution of the military administration, the state political administration of the Protectorate was transferred to the Reichs Protector's office. Orders for imprisonment and deportation to concentration camps were issued by the Gestapo probably in conjunction with Berlin. Of larger actions I was notified subsequently.

The mass arrests in early September 1939.

When the war against Poland broke out, the Gestapo in the Protectorate received the order from Berlin, as I learned

later after the action had been accomplished, to arrest and to send to concentration camps all members of the former MAFFIA /translator's note: Czechoslovak liberation movement during World War I/ and political suspects. For this action Heinrich Himmler has the supreme responsibility. I was informed of same only subsequently. I had no legal right to raise objections against such and similar actions of the Gestapo. De facto I could, however, point out the political harmfulness or other reactions of this action. I did not do it, as it would have been useless anyway and would possibly have landed me myself in a concentration camp. I never learned the number of the persons who were arrested during this action, although I tried to. This action was rightfully called in the Protectorate "hostage action". I never received a list of the arrested people, neither a report on this action. I only heard occasionally several names, among them also the name of the Mayor of Prague, Dr. Zenkl. Such actions interfered with my work. I actually took the autonomy of the Czech people seriously and strove to bring about a decent cohabitation of the Czechs and Germans, especially after war broke out.

Trial of Elias.

General Elias and Minister Havelka were arrested in approximately December 1941 or January 1942. The arrest was made by order of Heydrich after inquiring in Berlin either of Hitler or Himmler. I received later a report on the trial, I do not remember

today whether it was oral or in writing. I only remember that General Elias was charged with : connection with the Czech movement abroad, organizing and financing the illegal groups in the Protectorate and direct contact with President Benes through the intermediary of a messenger. It was maintained that Elias received and accepted instructions for the conduct of the Government of the Protectorate and of Dr.Hacha, and that these instructions were transmitted to him by messenger directly from President Benes. I do not know, however, if these circumstances were included in the above-mentioned report of the trial, submitted to me, or in another report. The disclosure of this affair was the result of the work of many months of the Gestapo /secret state Police/.

Question : Do you know the names of Czech personalities who helped the Gestapo in this work ?

Answer: No. I remark further that I did not receive a special report of the trial, but a general report concerning the whole resistance movement in the Protectorate then discovered.

Question: Were you convinced that Elias was guilty ?

Answer: I was convinced that he was in contact with the Czech movement abroad and President Benes. This conviction was confirmed by a report of the Czech broadcasting station in London. In this report it said that a messenger of President Dr.Benes had brought instructions to the Government of the Protectorate and to Dr.Hacha.

Question : Was Dr. Hacha himself interrogated in this connection ?

Answer: To my knowledge Hacha was not interrogated about this matter and I presume that he was not questioned by anybody about it. Considering the highly political importance of this affair, I would have surely received knowledge of such an investigation or interrogation.

Question: Why was the execution of Elias postponed ?

Answer: In my opinion because he was needed as witness for other trials.

I was aware that the trial and the execution were politically of the utmost importance, but I did not undertake any endeavors in favor of Elias and his accomplices because I was personally convinced that he actually was in contact with foreign sources. The publication of the death sentence caused a fairly strong excitement among the Czech population.

From Summer to Autumn 1941 I received several reports concerning the growth of the resistance movement in the Protectorate following the directives of the London broadcasts and following the directions of the illegal leaflets and newspapers in the Protectorate itself, as for instance the paper "V Boj" /"Fight/. Sabotage acts were committed in the factories, and what was particularly important, the delivery of grain and food was delayed. Particularly delicate was the disturbance in the delivery of milk. Workers in factories and peasants committed these acts. In particularly important cases I took some measures personally, at the moment I

cannot remember what these measures were. I only remember that, for instance, I demanded the establishment of control commissions. For the rest I had to leave the whole matter to the Sicherheitspolizei /security police/.

Personally I was convinced that the mass of the Czech laborers and peasants had nothing to do with<sup>it</sup> and that this movement was the work of several illegal groups. I remember that some of those groups were : the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the group around the newspaper "V Boj", the "Fingerring Gruppe" /ring group/, then a group called "The Czechoslovak Revolution Committee" , and later the group of the so-called "Blanik" -knights and the National Committees. The name "Nationalausschuss" /"National Committee"/ appeared in the leaflets and foreign broadcasts in 1942. Since then National Committees were formed in communities and districts which were led by a central office called "Czech National Council". These groups were constantly mopped up by the State Police, liquidated by arrests. Immediately new groups were formed, however, or to express it properly, new groups arose constantly, partly under other names. One group was called, for instance, "Cesky Lev" /Czech Lion/. It was only on the 5th or 6th of May, 1945, that I learned the names of the Central Czech National Council. I would like, however, to describe in a separate part of this statement this last phase of my activity in Prague and of the happenings in the Protectorate shortly before the capitulation of Germany.

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The organisation which was headed by Professor Krajna.

After the assassination of Heydrich, a secret organization was discovered, headed by the university professor Krajna. This organization worked in closest cooperation with parachuted agents. Through the arrest of these parachuted agents and after a long investigation by the Gestapo, it was succeeded by the arrest of Professor Krajna, and two of his collaborators. In my belief, Krajna was the most important, best and most able leader of the secret resistance movement. For this reason, I undertook a personal investigation of Krajna in the Petschek-Palais <sup>in Prague</sup> /translator's note : Gestapo Headquarters/. The interview with Krajna impressed me. He behaved courageously and manly, and stood up courageously for his ideals. He did not try at all to save his life by betrayal or information concerning the movement. Under the impression of his courageous attitude, I promised him that, though he would be imprisoned, he would not be executed, although he was the most dangerous leader of the movement. I do not know whether this promise was kept. I had told to the Gestapo chief who was present that I pledge for the man and that it is my desire that my promise be kept. The Gestapo chief was SS Obersturmbannführer /translator's note : SS rank equal to that of a Lieutenant Colonel/ Gerke. He promised me his intervention in Berlin to the effect that the promise given by me should be fulfilled. Personally such people impressed me, and not the cowards, I mean, of course, in individual cases.

The students' demonstrations in connection with the Czechoslovak National Independence Day on 28 October 1939.

Karl Hermann Frank was interrogated on these events by Dr. Fanderlik.

The Government of the Protectorate and in particular the Minister of Education Kapras were responsible for the academies and universities in the Protectorate.

In Autumn 1939, I believe on 28 October, because this was the Czech National Independence Day, demonstrations broke out which in the majority were led by students, but at which also parts of the population participated. Shooting took place in the streets of Prague. The State police and the SS guard company from the Castle were sent to the town to make order. As far as I remember, several participants were shot and wounded, also several policemen were killed and injured. Of the demonstrators, particularly a student was wounded, I think it was Johann Opletal, who died in the hospital several days later. At his funeral it came to further demonstrations, which in my opinion were not so large as the first ones. During both demonstrations, processions were organized in the town and the demonstrators cried "Down with Hitler", "Long live Benes", "Out with the Germans", and so on. It was the first occurrence where the population demonstrated publicly and expressed these slogans in public. For this reason the matter was taken seriously and I have reported myself to Berlin of all these events. I remark that I have had myself seen the demonstrations and had the impression that these were of a dangerous nature.

In the report which I sent to Berlin I explicitly stated that these demonstrations were the first and therefore should be attributed special importance, as these had taken place in the streets. I asked for directives and received these immediately from the Fuehrer's Headquarters. These directives were sent from Berlin directly to the Sicherheits-polizei /security police/ in Prague, and I was notified of the contents of the same. The whole action was carried out directly by the police. From the Fuehrer's Headquarters it was required that the leaders should be immediately arrested and executed. Within two days, as far as I can remember, nine students were arrested and executed. I cannot remember their names. Simultaneously, it was ordered from the Fuehrer's Headquarters that all seizable students in Prague - I do not know whether also in Bruenn /Brno/ - should be arrested and sent to concentration camps. The police had occupied the Students' Homes, the students were arrested and taken to the concentration camp Oranienburg. I do not know how many of them there were.

Question: Do you know that several students were killed or wounded while being arrested and how the police treated them?

Answer: I can only remember that I heard subsequently in broadcasts from London that students were beaten and girl students raped by SS-men.

Question: Do you know that several students had fled to the Yugoslavian Students' Home, that the police attacked

the Yugoslavian Home and dragged these students out?

Answer: Nothing is known to me of this incident. I only know that the Students' Homes were confiscated as enemy property by official decree. All Homes were taken over for German purposes.

Question: Do you know where the execution of the students took place and whether the arrested students were present?

Answer: I have only heard that it happened in Rusyn, but I know no details.

Several days later, still in November 1939, as I believe, the Reichs Protector, Freiherr von Neurath, the minister of the Protectorate to the Reichs Government, Dr. Chvalhovsky, and myself were summoned to the Fuehrer in Berlin. The Fuehrer informed us briefly that the Czech Universities would be closed, to begin with, for three years as punishment for the demonstrations of the Czech students hostile to the Reich. A discussion of this question had not preceded this decision and this order was briefly communicated. Adolf Hitler also ordered that the building and the inventory of the universities be taken over for German purposes. As far as I remember a commissioner was appointed to the Reichs Protector for administration and distribution of the property of the universities. I think the curator of the German universities in Prague whose name I do not recall.

In 1941, Heinrich Himmler was in Prague and on this occasion the Reichs Protector, Baron von Neurath, requested him to release the Czech students from the concentration camps in Oranienburg.

I was present and backed this intervention. Himmler declared he would see what could be done. However, in the course of time it was obtained by new interventions of the President of the State, Hacha, and the Government of the Protectorate, which I supported, that gradually the students were released from the concentration camps in small groups. After the assassination of Heydrich in May 1942, I have inquired in Berlin through Minister of the Reich Lammers, as I think about the prospects for the re-opening of the universities; whether on expiration of the three years' period the universities could again be opened. I was informed that now, after the assassination, for the time being there existed no prospects for this. On the occasion of naming the Moldau-Quai after Heydrich, I made a speech and I remember that I had found a wording in which I left open the possibility of the re-opening of the schools.

I did not make the remark credited to me by the London broadcasts concerning the universities, i.e. that these would remain closed because the Czech people do not need universities.

Continuation of the interrogation of Karl Hermann Frank by Dr. Ecer.  
The removal of Neurath and appointment of Heydrich as acting  
Reichs Protector.

After the Czech resistance movement increased considerably in the Summer and Autumn of 1941, as described by me in the part of my statement concerning this question, Neurath and myself were summoned to Adolf Hitler. That was in September 1941. Hitler made us reproaches, some of which I felt concerned me personally.

He said that the governing of the Protectorate was too slack. He told us briefly that the growth of the resistance movement requires a stronger hand and more rigorous and decisive action. He informed us that for this purpose von Neurath was to go on sick-leave, and Reinhardt Heydrich was to go to Prague as Acting Reichs Protector. Neurath remained formally Reichs Protector, but was excluded from all activity and Heydrich was the actual Reichs Protector of Bohemia and Moravia. He was entrusted with the affairs of Reichs Protector.

Mobilisation of workers from the Protectorate for the requirements of the Reich.

I am informed of the workers' mobilisation in the Protectorate, because this matter belonged to the sphere of my office.

Question: Do you know the following remark of Adolf Hitler: "The German people alone will be a people of warriors. The other nations will be helots, working for the Teuton warrior caste"?

Answer: I do not know this remark and I also do not know any similar remark of Adolf Hitler.

The investigating officer quotes to the examinee a speech by Walter Darre, made in 1940 at a meeting of German officials. He outlined there the economic plans of the Third Reich with regard to the occupied territories. He explained among other things: "Thus a new aristocracy of the German master race will arise. This aristocracy will have slaves assigned to them who will



be their property and consist of landless members of non-German nations". Darre explained further: "Please do not consider the word "slave" a parable or a phrase. We mean a modern form of middle-age slavery which we must and want to establish, because we need it urgently for the fulfillment of our tasks".

Question: Is this speech of Darre known to you or a similar one of his?

Answer: No.

Question: Did you not hear of this speech from another source?

Answer: No.

Question: Did these thoughts not come to you, respectively to the office of the Reichs Protector in the form of instructions?

Answer: Never.

The binding and legally ordered deportation of larger numbers of Czech workers to the Reich began only with the appointment of the "Reichsstatthalter" /translator's note: lieutenant-governor for the highest official in any territory/ and "Gauleiter" /regional leader/ Fritz Saukel to "Generalbevollmaechtigtter fuer den Arbeitseinsatz im Rahmen des Vier-Jahr-Planes" /delegate general in charge of labor supply within the frame of the four-year-plan/. I remember that after his appointment, Saukel came to Prague and demanded 50,000 - I cannot state this figure exactly now - from the Reichs Protector and myself for the German armament industry. Prior to Saukel's appointment, there were no deportations of Czech workers to Germany on a larger scale,

though individual specialized craftsmen were transferred to the German armament industry. I cannot say that this was by force, but in any case they did not like to go and I admit that probably the consequences of a refusal induced them to go.

The General Deputy for the Four-Year-Plan since 1936 was Hermann Goering. Saukel issued a number of decrees. I remember a fundamental decree of Saukel which appeared about August 1942. This decree builds up the whole system of labor supply on the idea of a compulsory mobilisation of work power. The carrying out of this decree in the Protectorate was undertaken by the labor supply administration in the office of the Reichs Protector, which was detached in the Labor Ministry. The office of the Reichs Protector issued the corresponding orders for Bohemia and Moravia. The technical accomplishment of the mobilisation was taken over by the Labor Offices which were extended for this purpose. At the head of each labor office was a German official. All the other staff, or the majority of the staff, were Czech employees. The workers selected for labor in the Reich received call-up orders, or properly expressed, labor mobilisation orders, had to be at the station on a certain day at a certain time, were gathered into contingents, handed over to own transport guides and directed to the German armament industry. If a worker did not follow such an order, he was looked up by the police and received a warning. If he did not obey after that, he was arrested and deported to an educational work camp which was a penal camp. The same measures were applied to workers who

deserted their places of work in Germany and were arrested, but the latter did not succeed very often. In general, however, the workers followed the mobilisation order, if only with consideration for the threatened consequences. The workers began to resist to the orders on a larger scale only when groups of Slovak partisans arrived in Bohemia and Moravia, and developed their activities. This was after the Slovak revolt in 1944. Also groups of so-called parachuted agents -partly soldiers, partly civilians - contributed by their activity to stiffen the resistance of the Czech workers against the mobilisation orders. I remark that after the primary scepticism the Czech worker found acknowledgment as a diligent worker in the German armament industry. In the course of the years more contingents were continuously called for by Saukel. I estimate the total contingent of Czech workers which were used in this manner in the German armament industry to three hundred thousand. By Saukel's decree also the prisoners of war were mobilised for the German armament industry. I remember the priority ranks by which the workers were mobilised and which were exactly specified in Saukel's decree. In the first place there were the requirements of the occupation troops and of the civil authorities, then the requirements of the German war industry, and in the last place the requirements of the population of the area concerned. I remark that I remembered this priority rank after the paragraph concerning the decree was read to me by the investigating officer. I remember that the minimum working hours were fifty-four. The "Ostarbeiter" /"east laborers" - translator's

note: laborers from the territories east of the Government General /Poland/ had to work longer, and later the work-hours in various parts were variously regulated. The German Labor Front /DAF/ was in charge of the care of the foreign laborers. The Czech workers were billeted partly in private houses, partly in camps. They complained from the Reich about improper treatment and particularly about wrong nutrition. They wrote letters to their families, to the Government and also to me. The workers applied to me for the reason that I was always interested in social matters - had understanding for the social needs of the workman - and, as I believe, had the confidence of a part of the workers. As an example I refer to an unannounced visit, in about 1943, to the coal mines of the Maehrisch-Ostrau /Moravska Ostrava/ area and to the iron works Witkowitz /Witkovice/, where I removed on the spot a number of social defects. Therupon, I received from many workers letters of thanks. In the course of time I received whole piles of such letters of thanks from Czech workers in the camps in the Reich. When I learned of the complaints of the Czech workers, I made interventions to begin with at the German Labor Front /DAF/ to obtain the equalization of the Czech workers with the German workers, respectively with workers of the friendly nations. I obtained this equalization. This was in late 1942 or early 1943. I further succeeded further in obtaining that Czech confidants of workers, equipped with authorities, were sent to the camps of Czech laborers. They had the right to forward workers' complaints either directly to the German

Labor Front at the place, or to Prague. I erected a special department in the office of the Reichs Protector for receipt and checking of these complaints. Care was taken for the cultural needs and the sending of parcels was allowed on a large scale to improve their nourishment. This welfare of the Czech laborers was accomplished in cooperation with the Czech trade-union organisation, which I had preserved contrary to the will of the German Labor Front /DAF/, and where Mr. Stoces particularly excelled. I reserve myself the right to make a more detailed statement about this matter in the course of the further investigation.

Expropriation of Czech peasants.

I know that only in several instances Czech peasants were expropriated as penal measures and their farms were given to German peasants. Acts of this kind were carried out by the Sicherheits-polizei /security police/. But I also know that in the district of Melnik and in the region of Boehmisch-Budweis /Ceske Budejovice/ a number of German peasants from Bukovina and Bessarabia were settled on Czech farms. I do not know where the Czech peasants went and whether they received a compensation. As I remember this action was carried out by a special settlement staff which came from the Reich. This action was dropped after a short time completely, as it aroused very angry feelings. A third category was the evacuation of several Czech villages for the purpose of making three troop training grounds. These were Beneschau /Benesov/ Milowitz /Milovice/ and Wischau /Viskov/. These peasants received

an adequate indemnity in money from the military authorities. German peasants were not settled in these villages. For the sake of the food supply of the area concerned, farms were kept up at certain places, though, and managed by German peasants. At the moment I do not know of Czech property belonging to craftsmen, merchants or industries having been expropriated in favor of Germans, should it have been done now and then as a penal measure. Ended and signed, Wiesbaden, 31. May 1945.

/s/ Karl Hermann Frank

/t/ KARL HERMANN FRANK

/s/ Maj. Fanderlik

/s/ Bernard E. Hart

/s/ Dr. Ecer

/t/ BERNARD E. HART  
Captain ORD  
as witness for the  
authenticity of the  
signature of Karl  
Hermann Frank