

# Appendices

## Appendix A: Four Conceptual Elements of Genocide

Objective ----- **Genos (Targeted Group)** ----- Subjective

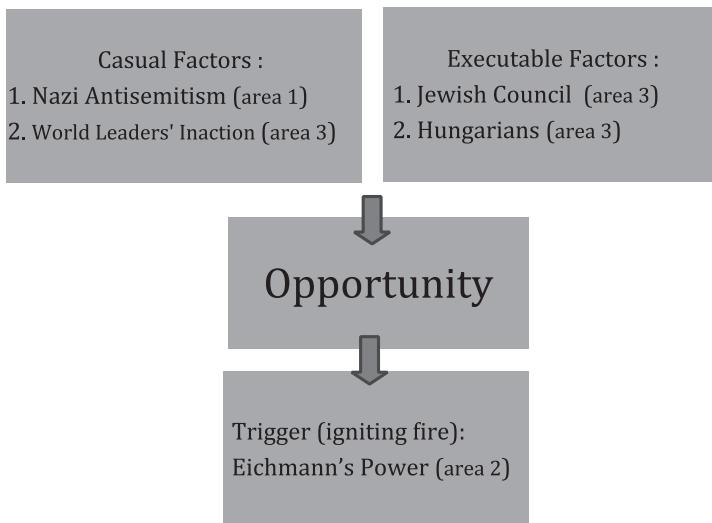
Narrow ----- **Cide (Means of Destruction)** ----- Broad

Specific ----- **Intent** ----- General

Whole ----- **Mereology** ----- In Part

These elements consist of four aspects: *genos* (the targeted group), *cide* (the act of killing), intention, and mereology (the relationship between parts and the whole). Debates arise concerning these elements, such as in mereology—how much of a group must be destroyed to qualify as genocide? Regarding *genos*, the ontological question asks whether a group is naturally defined or socially constructed. For a more detailed analysis, see Chapter 3.

## Appendix B: Genocide Triggers in Hungary, 1944: Straus's Microl level Drivers (See Chapter 12)



**Area 1** – In the forest metaphor, Nazi antisemitism resembles the conditions of heat and dryness in a forest, which increase the risk of igniting a fire. Therefore, it serves as a significant risk factor for genocide. **Area 2** – Eichmann functions as the trigger, and within this context, various factors can influence him to initiate the fire. **Area 3** – Indicators of a large-scale fire include violence following the trigger, accompanied by early patterns of atrocities. During this stage in Hungary, 12,000 Jews were transported to Auschwitz daily, facilitated by Eichmann's collaboration with Hungarian authorities and Jewish councils, while world powers failed to intervene.

## Appendix C: Timeline

**Nov. 1918** – End of World War I, Hungary was headed by Mihály Károlyi.

**March 1919** – The Communists took over Hungary under the leadership of a Jewish journalist, Béla Kun. Kun's "Soviet Republic" government did not last long.

**Nov. 1918–Aug. 1919** – Hungarian-Romanian War.

**Aug. 1919** – The Romanian military occupied Budapest and handed the country over to the right-wing "White Army," led by Admiral Miklós Horthy.

**Jan. 1920** – Elections were held, following which Horthy was declared Regent of the Kingdom.

**June 4, 1920** – Large parts of Hungary were ceded under the Treaty of Trianon.

**1930s** – Horthy formed an alliance with Adolf Hitler.

**1938** – The Hungarian government launched anti-Semitic legislation designed to exclude Jews from meaningful roles in Hungarian society.

**1941** – The third major Hungarian anti-Semitic law was passed. Modeled on Germany's Nuremberg Laws, it prohibited marriage between Jews and non-Jews and criminalized sexual relationships between Jewish men and Gentile women.

**June 27, 1941** – Hungary officially joined Germany in the war against the Soviet Union, contributing an estimated 200,000 Hungarian troops to the war effort.

**Aug. 27–28, 1941** – Thousands of Jews deported from Hungary were murdered in Kamenetz-Podolsk.

**March 9, 1942 – March 22, 1944** – Horthy remained Hungary's regent, and Miklós Kállay served as prime minister.

**Early 1942** – The Hungarians gradually began to resist German plans.

**Oct. 1942** – To Berlin's dismay, Hungary refused German demands to deport its Jews or to order them to wear a Jewish star.

**Jan. 1943** – During the Soviet offensive at Voronezh, more than 120,000 Hungarian troops fell in battle. The massive death toll shocked the Hungarian public and fueled anti-war sentiment.

**1943** – Italy abandoned the Axis alliance.

**1943** – That year, Prime Minister Kállay relaxed media censorship, allowing Hungarian politicians and members of the press to voice opposition to the war.

**1944** – Kállay established contact with the Allies for two purposes: to extricate Hungary from the war and to prevent Soviet occupation. However, he ignored intelligence reports warning of a German invasion. The German Foreign Office blamed Kállay's estrangement on Jewish influences in the Hungarian government, and the German army prepared to breach the Hungarian border.

**March 18, 1944** – Hitler summoned Hungarian Regent Miklós Horthy and other government officials to discuss military issues. Hitler demanded the replace-

ment of the Kállay government and informed Horthy that the German army was moving into Hungary.

**March 19, 1944** – Wehrmacht squadrons invaded Hungary without resistance. The Germans forced Horthy to appoint Döme Sztójay, a Nazi sympathizer, as prime minister.

**March 1944** – Adolf Eichmann entered Budapest with the invading army. As head of the Nazi RSHA's Department for Jewish Affairs, Eichmann had already orchestrated the deportation and mass murder of most European Jews. He arrived with a special SS-Sonderkommando group to oversee the destruction of Hungarian Jewry.

**April 5, 1944** – Hungarian Jews were ordered to wear a four-inch yellow Star of David.

**April 7, 1944** – Jews were prohibited from leaving their homes.

**April 27–28, 1944** – Jewish communities were required to register for food stipends and were ordered to be concentrated in ghettos.

**April 1944** – Hungarian authorities ordered approximately 500,000 Jews outside Budapest to relocate to designated cities, usually regional government seats. Jews were also required to register all property exceeding 10,000 pengő.

**Spring–Summer 1944** – Rudolf Kasztner repeatedly met with Eichmann, who oversaw the deportation of Hungarian Jews to Auschwitz. They reached an agreement to spare 1,684 Jews, who were sent to Bergen-Belsen before being rescued and transported to Switzerland in August and December 1944.

**May 15–July 9, 1944** – Over 400,000 Jews were deported to Auschwitz in the Holocaust of Hungarian Jews.

**May 16, 1944** – Joel Brand was dispatched by Eichmann to negotiate the “blood for goods” deal but was detained by the British and failed to return within Eichmann’s two-week deadline.

**June 6, 1944** – The Allied invasion of Normandy prompted defensive actions by the Nazis.

**June 30, 1944** – Kasztner’s train departed Hungary for Bergen-Belsen. The passengers arrived in Switzerland in two groups, on August 21 and December 5, 1944.

**End of July 1944** – The only remaining Jewish community in Hungary was in Budapest.

**Summer 1944–April 1945** – After deportations ceased in July, a second phase of persecution began. Initially led by Nazi-appointed Sztójay, and later by Ferenc Szálasi, who took power in October after Horthy was detained in Germany, the Arrow Cross continued mass killings of Jews and Romani people. The massacres lasted until April 1945, when Soviet and Romanian forces occupied all of Hungary.

**Nov. 1944–Dec. 1944** – The Arrow Cross regime ordered the remaining Jews of Budapest into a ghetto, covering only 0.1 square miles and housing nearly 70,000 people. Several thousand Jews were forced on foot to the Austrian border in death marches, during which many were executed for failing to keep up.

**Dec. 1944–Feb. 13, 1945** – The Soviet Army captured all of Budapest and liberated the Budapest ghettos between January 16 and 18, 1945, where approximately 100,000 Jews remained.

**1946** – After the war, Sztójay was captured and executed, along with several other Arrow Cross leaders.

**1946** – Hungary fell under Soviet control and became part of the Eastern Bloc.

## Appendix D: Scott Straus's Warning Signs Table

### Warning Signs Before Mass Atrocities

(See Chapter 3 and Straus, *Fundamentals of Genocide and Mass Atrocity Prevention*, p. 76)

<b>Tension and polarization</b>	Widening gulf between groups either in social life or in conflict; situation is charged with emotion, anxiety, and fear
<b>Apocalyptic public rhetoric</b>	Leaders claim they face a great danger and in doing so justify violence
<b>Labeling civilian groups as the “enemy”</b>	Descriptions of a particular group as dangerous, homogenous, or worthless
<b>Development/deployment of irregular armed forces</b>	Increased empowerment and arming of irregular armed groups that may be tasked with attacking civilian populations
<b>Stockpiling weapons</b>	Significant accumulation of weapons, especially weapons that could be used against civilian populations
<b>Emergency or discriminatory legislation</b>	Authorities create laws to facilitate or support state-led and/or group-targeted violence
<b>Removing moderates from leadership or public service</b>	Those interested in perpetrating or supporting violent acts remove political opposition to such crimes
<b>Impunity for past crimes</b>	Acts of violence that go unpunished indicate acceptance of violence against civilians and can give a green light for further aggression

## Appendix E: Justice/Aftermaths

**Dóme Sztójay**, who served as Hungary's pro-German prime minister during the Nazi occupation and was a staunch supporter of Hitler, played a key role in implementing anti-Jewish policies and aligning Hungary with the Axis powers. As the Red Army advanced, he fled Hungary in April 1945 but was soon captured by American forces. Extradited to Hungary in October 1945, he was tried by a People's Tribunal in Budapest, found guilty of war crimes and crimes against the Hungarian people, and sentenced to death. He was executed by firing squad in Budapest in 1946.

**Ferenc Szálasi**, a Hungarian military officer and leader of the fascist Arrow Cross Party, headed the government of Hungary from October 16, 1944, after the Nazis removed Regent Miklós Horthy, until the war ended in May 1945. During his rule, he led brutal persecutions against the Jewish population. After the war, Szálasi was tried by a Hungarian court and sentenced to death for war crimes and crimes against humanity. He was hanged on March 12, 1946, in Budapest.

**Gábor Vajna, Károly Beregyi, and József Gera**, were Hungarian leaders executed for their active roles in the persecution and murder of Hungarian Jews during the Holocaust, as well as their participation in war crimes and collaboration with Nazi Germany. Vajna and Beregyi served as ministers under Ferenc Szálasi's regime, while Gera was the Arrow Cross Party's chief ideologist, promoting its antisemitic and extremist policies that led to mass atrocities. They were hanged alongside Szálasi using the Austro-Hungarian pole method (short-drop hanging), a particularly brutal form of execution. This method involved a tall post with a rope looped over a hook at the top. Szálasi was led up a set of steps, bound hand and foot, and positioned with his back against the post. Once the noose was secured and the steps were removed, the short drop meant he likely died slowly from strangulation rather than the near-instantaneous death caused by a standard drop. The binding of his limbs suggests an effort to prevent struggling during the execution.

**László Endre, László Baky, and Andor Jaross**, collectively known as the “deportation trio”, were tried in December 1945 in Budapest and found guilty of crimes against the Jewish population and acting against Hungary's national interests. All three were sentenced to death, along with four of Hungary's wartime prime ministers, including Béla Imrédy. Endre was executed on March 29, 1946, by short-drop hanging, a method commonly used in Austro-Hungarian executions. László Endre was a key figure in the Hungarian government's collaboration with Nazi Germany, playing a central role in the deportation and mass murder of Hungarian Jews during the Holocaust. As a State Secretary in the Interior Ministry under the pro-German

Sztójay government, he was instrumental in organizing the deportations, working closely with Adolf Eichmann to implement the Final Solution in Hungary. Endre's brutality and excessive zeal in carrying out antisemitic policies drew the attention of Regent Miklós Horthy, who, as early as June 1944, called for his removal from the Interior Ministry. By July, Horthy successfully halted the deportations, and in September, Endre was officially dismissed. However, following Horthy's deposition and arrest by the Nazis in October 1944, Endre quickly returned to power under Ferenc Szálasi's fascist Arrow Cross regime, serving as Commissioner of Civil Administration. After Budapest fell to the Red Army in March 1945, Endre fled to Austria but was captured and extradited to Hungary.

**Adolf Eichmann**, managed to escape to Argentina after the war. He was located and kidnapped to stand trial in Israel in 1961. He was executed by hanging past midnight on June 1, 1962, and his ashes were spread outside Israel's territorial waters. The trial received widespread coverage by the press in West Germany, and many schools added material studying the issues to their curricula. In Israel, the testimony of witnesses at the trial led to a deeper awareness of the impact of the Holocaust on survivors, especially among younger citizens. The trial therefore greatly reduced the previously popular misconception that Jews had gone "like sheep to the slaughter."

**Rudolf Höss**, the commandant of Auschwitz concentration camp, was responsible for overseeing the mass extermination of Jews and others during the Holocaust. He was hanged in 1947 following a trial before the Polish Supreme National Tribunal. During his imprisonment, at the request of the Polish authorities, he wrote his memoirs.

**Dieter Wisliceny**, was extradited to Czechoslovakia, where he was tried and hanged for war crimes in 1948.

**Kurt Becher**, a high-ranking SS officer and close associate of Heinrich Himmler, played a key role in the deportation and exploitation of Jews. He was involved in the exploitation and economic manipulation of Jewish assets, accepting bribes to halt some deportations and allowing certain Jews to be spared in exchange for financial gain. After the war, he was briefly arrested by American forces but was later released due to testimony from Rudolf Kasztner and avoided significant punishment for his war crimes. Becher went on to build a successful business empire, becoming one of the wealthiest businessmen in West Germany by the 1960s, with estimated assets of \$30 million. In contrast to Eichmann, Becher presented a more diplomatic and agreeable demeanor during negotiations, making it likely that he

would honor commitments made for substantial bribes. A strained relationship existed between Becher, who was under Heinrich Himmler's direct command, and Eichmann, who considered himself the superior officer. It was during Becher's command that Kasztner's train, carrying 1,684 Jews, was allowed to leave, likely because Becher facilitated this part of the deal.<sup>522</sup>

**Herman Krumey**, was a high-ranking Nazi official who served as an aide to Adolf Eichmann. After the war, he was arrested by the Allies in Italy in May 1945. On May 5, 1948, Israel Kastner signed an affidavit on his behalf, leading to Krumey's release from custody. However, on August 19, 1969, he was sentenced to life imprisonment in Germany. Krumey died in 1981 after being released from prison due to health reasons.

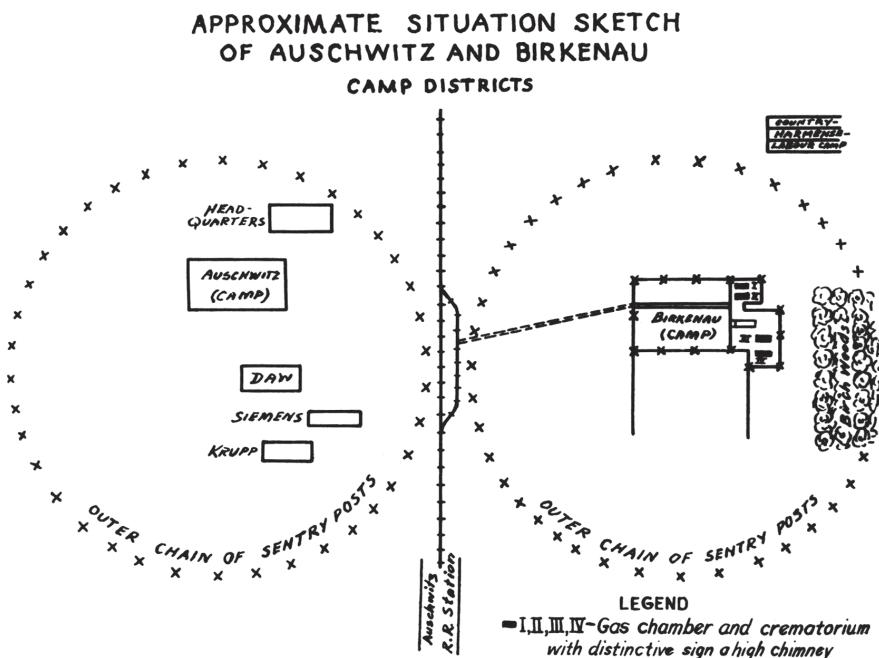
**Alois Brunner**, was an Austrian SS officer (captain) and one of Adolf Eichmann's top aides. He played a key role in the deportation of Jews from several countries to concentration and extermination camps during the Holocaust. After the war, he escaped to Syria, where he lived under an assumed identity. Despite being sought by authorities for war crimes, he was never captured, and it was reported that he died in Syria.

**Otto Winkelmann**, was the Higher SS and Police Leader in Hungary during the Nazi occupation. When Miklós Horthy's government began peace negotiations, Winkelmann and Edmund Veesenmayer immediately acted to remove the Horthy regime and installed the Arrow Cross puppet government in October 1944. Captured by American forces in May 1945, Winkelmann later testified in Hungary's war crimes trials but was not extradited despite Hungary's request. He returned to Germany in 1948, was elected to Kiel's municipal council in 1955, and in 1961 submitted a deposition for the Eichmann trial in Israel, denying culpability in the deportation of Hungarian Jews and claiming that Eichmann acted independently under the RSHA. Winkelmann retired in 1964 with a General of Police pension, a move that sparked controversy as he was never tried for his role in the Hungarian Holocaust.

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<sup>522</sup> Porter, Kasztner's Train, pp. 190–247. Kurt Andreas Ernst Becher (1909–1995) was an SS lieutenant and later a colonel who was at a later time Commissar of all German concentration camps, and Chief of the Economic Department of the SS Command in Hungary during the German occupation in 1944. He is best known for having traded Jewish lives for money during the Holocaust. Kasztner's actions and his testimony in favor of Kurt Becher at the Nuremberg Trials became controversial, especially during the trial of Melchiel Greenwald, who blamed Kasztner. This trial, known as the "Kasztner trial," in the 1950s, shocked Israel. In his ruling, Judge Benjamin Halevi stated, "Kasztner sold his soul to the devil." Shortly after the trial, Kasztner was murdered in Tel Aviv.

## Appendix F: Vrba-Wetzler Report



**Figure 25:** Sketch of the Auschwitz-Birkenau gas chambers and crematoria from the English-language version of the Vrba-Wetzler report, November 1944, first written in Slovakian and German, April 1944. Credit: The Archive of The State Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau in Oświęcim.

Rudolf Vrba and Alfréd Wetzler, two Slovak Jews who escaped from Auschwitz on April 10, 1944, composed the report either by hand or through dictation in Slovak between April 25 and 27, in Žilina, Slovakia. Oscar Krasniansky, a member of the Slovak Jewish Council, transcribed and simultaneously translated the report into German. The partial publication of this report in June 1944 is widely acknowledged for its role in influencing Hungarian Regent Miklós Horthy to cease the deportation of Hungarian Jews to Auschwitz, which had been occurring at a staggering rate of 12,000 per day since May 1944. Scholars hold differing views on when Kasztner obtained the report. According to Randolph L. Braham, Kasztner possessed a copy by May 3, when he visited Kolozsvár (Cluj), his hometown.<sup>523</sup> The motivations

<sup>523</sup> Braham, Randolph, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000, p. 95.

behind Kasztner's decision not to disclose the document remain unclear. Vrba maintained until his passing that Kasztner withheld it to avoid jeopardizing negotiations between the Aid and Rescue Committee and Adolf Eichmann, the SS officer overseeing the deportation of Jews from Hungary.<sup>524</sup>

The study discussed the scholarly debate, incorporating insights from Yehuda Bauer and Randolph Brahm regarding the potential responses of Hungarian Jews had they received the report, ultimately concluding that there is insufficient evidence to definitively assert that the Jews, had they been provided with the information, would have believed it or been able to resist. However, it suggests that such information might have hindered the ease with which Eichmann orchestrated the transportation of Jews, drawing parallels with the insights from Milgram's experiments as discussed in the study.

Notably, the Jewish Council in Budapest did distribute the report to individuals, and here is one pertinent example to consider when pondering how people might have responded. As a teenager working for the Jewish Council in Budapest, Hungarian biologist George Klein served as a junior secretary. In late May or early June, his boss, Dr. Zoltán Kohn, entrusted him with a carbon copy of the report, instructing him to share it only with his closest family and friends. Klein confided in his uncle, a prominent physician, who reacted with disbelief and anger, nearly resorting to physical confrontation. Similar reactions ensued among other relatives and friends: the older generation dismissed the report, while the younger ones embraced it and expressed a desire to take action. When the time came for Klein to board the train, he opted to flee instead, a decision that ultimately saved his life.<sup>525</sup>

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524 See page 24.

525 Klein, George, "Confronting the Holocaust: An Eyewitness Account", in Randolph L. Brahm and William Vanden Heuvel (ed.), *The Auschwitz Reports and the Holocaust in Hungary*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.

## Appendix G: Scott Straus's Forest Metaphor (See Chapters 3 and 12)



**Figure 26:** An individual's reflection on the act of igniting a flame within a dense forest.

In examining the dynamics of genocide, Scott Straus's 'forest fire' metaphor provides a compelling framework for understanding how violence spreads. To visually represent this concept, I have included an image of an individual contemplating his ability to spark a fire in a dense forest. This illustration serves as a symbol of how localized acts of violence can escalate into large-scale atrocities, much like a single spark that can ignite an entire forest. Straus analyzes the interplay between risk factors – akin to vulnerable areas of a forest susceptible to ignition – and the triggers of genocide, which resemble small sparks that can ignite widespread destruction. This study further utilizes this imagery to analyze the evolution of events in Hungary, demonstrating how a particular section of the forest, embodying delicate components, symbolizes the potential for Eichmann to initiate the annihilation of Hungarian Jewry, as outlined by the factors discussed. Just as a single individual can ignite a forest fire, Eichmann's decisions acted as a trigger for subsequent events. However, his ability to act depended on seizing the right opportunity – overcoming obstacles and fears, including the risk of others intervening before his plans could materialize. The study further explores the role of bystanders, drawing a parallel to a fire deliberately set in a forest – one that spreads unchecked because those who could intervene choose not to act.

## Appendix H: Map 1 – Hungary, 1933



**Figure 27:** Map of Hungary in the inter-war period, after World War I and prior to its alliance with Nazi Germany.

Credit: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

## Appendix I: Map 2 – Hungarian Expansion During WWII



**Figure 28:** Map of Hungary's Expansion during World War II.

Credit: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.