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The text of the final and most important autopsy reports (Documents Nos. 12 and 13) are reproduced verbatim, in the following, either in their entirety or in somewhat abbreviated form:

DOCUMENT NO. 12

concerning the forensic examination of a male corpse disfigured by fire (Hitler's body)

Berlin-Buch, 8.V., 1945 Mortuary CAFS 1 No. 496

The Commission consisting of Chief Expert, Forensic Medicine, 1st Byelorussian Front, Medical Service, Lieutenant Colonel F. I. Shkaravski; Chief Anatomist, Red Army, Medical Service, Lieutenant Colonel N. A. Krayevski; Acting Chief Anatomical Pathologist, 1st Byelorussian Front, Medical Service, Major A. Y. Marants; Army Expert, Forensic Medicine, 3rd Shock Army, Medical Service, Major Y. I. Boguslavski; and Army Anatomical Pathologist, 3rd Shock Army, Medical Service, Major Y. V. Gulkevich, on orders of the member of the Military Council 1st Byelorussian Front, Lieutenant General Telegrin, performed the forensic-medical examination of a male corpse (presumably the corpse of Hitler).

Results of the examination:

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A. EXTERNAL EXAMINATION

The remains of a male corpse disfigured by fire were delivered in a wooden box (Length 163 cm., Width 55 cm., Height 53 cm.). On the body was found a piece of yellow jersey, 25 x 8 cm., charred around the edges, resembling a knitted undervest.

In view of the fact that the corpse is greatly damaged, it is

Abbreviation for Chirurgisches Armeefeldlazarett.

difficult to gauge the age of the deceased. Presumably it lies between 50 and 60 years. The dead man's height is 165 cm. (the measurements are approximate since the tissue is charred), the right shinbone measures 39 cm. The corpse is severely charred and smells of burned flesh.

Part of the cranium is missing.2

Parts of the occipital bone, the left temporal bone, the lower cheekbones, the nasal bones, and the upper and lower jaws are preserved. The burns are more pronounced on the right side of the cranium than on the left. In the brain cavity parts of the fire-damaged brain and of the dura mater are visible. On face and body the skin is completely missing; only remnants of charred muscles are preserved. There are many small cracks in the nasal bone and the upper jawbones. The tongue is charred, its tip is firmly locked between the teeth of the upper and lower jaws.

In the upper jaw there are nine teeth connected by a bridge of yellow metal (gold). The bridge is anchored by pins on the second left and the second right incisor. This bridge consists of 4 upper incisors (2 1 1 2), 2 canine teeth (3 3), the first left bicuspid (14), and the first and second right bicuspids (4 5), as indicated in the sketch. The first left incisor (1) consists of a white platelet, with cracks and a black spot in the porcelain (enamel) at the bottom. This platelet is inset into the visible side of the metal (gold) tooth. The second incisor, the canine tooth, and the left bicuspid, as well as the first and second incisors and the first bicuspid on the right, are the usual porcelain (enamel) dental plates, their posterior parts fastened to the bridge. The right canine tooth is fully capped by yellow metal (gold). The maxillary bridge is vertically sawed off behind the second left bicuspid ([5). The lower jawbone lies loose in the singed oral cavity. The alveolar processes are broken in the back and have ragged edges. The front surface and the lower edge of the mandibula

At a somewhat later date occipital parts of a cranium were found, quite probably belonging to Hitler's corpse.

are scorched. On the front surface the charred prongs of dental roots are recognizable. The lower jaw consists of fifteen teeth, ten of which are artificial. The incisors (2 1 $\lceil \overline{1} \rceil 2$) and the first right bicuspid ($\overline{4}$) are natural, exhibiting considerable wear on the masticating surface and considerably exposed necks. The dental enamel has a bluish shimmer and a dirty yellow coloration around the necks. The teeth to the left ($\sqrt{4}$, $\sqrt{5}$, $\sqrt{7}$, and $\sqrt{8}$) are artificial, of yellow metal (gold), and consist of a bridge of gold crowns. The bridge is fastened to the third, the fifth (in the bridge, the sixth tooth), and the eighth tooth (in the bridge, the ninth tooth). The second bicuspid to the right (5]) is topped by a crown of yellow metal (gold) which is linked to the right canine tooth by an arching plate. Part of the masticating surface and the posterior surface of the right canine tooth is capped by a yellow metal (gold) plate as part of the bridge. The first right molar is artificial, white, and secured by a gold clip connected with the bridge of the second bicuspid and the right incisor.

Splinters of glass, parts of the wall and bottom of a thinwalled ampule, were found in the mouth.

The neck muscles are charred, the ribs on the right side are missing, they are burned. The right side of the thorax and the abdomen are completely burned, creating a hole through which the right lung, the liver, and the intestines are open to view. The genital member is scorched. In the scrotum, which is singed but preserved, only the right testicle was found. The left testicle could not be found in the inguinal canal.

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The right arm is severely burned, the ends of the bone of the upper arm and the bones of the lower arm are broken and charred. The dry muscles are black and partially brown; they disintegrate into separate fibers when touched. The remnants of the burned part (about two thirds) of the left upper arm are preserved. The exposed end of the bone of the upper arm is charred and protrudes from the dry tissue. Both legs, too, are charred. The soft tissue has in many places disappeared; it is burned and has fallen off. The bones are partially burned and have crumbled. A fracture in the right thighbone and the right shinbone were noted. The left foot is missing.

B. INTERNAL EXAMINATION

The position of the internal organs is normal. The lungs are black on the surface, dark red on the cut surface, and of fairly firm consistence. The mucous membrane of the upper respiratory tracts is dark red. The cardiac ventricles are filled with coagulated reddish-brown blood. The heart muscle is tough and looks like boiled meat. The liver is black on the surface and shows burns; it is of fairly firm consistence and yellowish-brown on the cut surface. The kidneys are somewhat shrunken and measure 9 x 5 x 3.5 cm. Their capsule is easily detachable; the surface of the kidneys is smooth, the pattern effaced, they appear as if boiled. The bladder contains 5 cc. yellowish urine, its mucous membrane is gray. Spleen, stomach, and intestines show severe burns and are nearly black in parts.

- NOTE: 1. The following objects taken from the corpse were handed over to the SMERSH Section of the 3rd Shock Army on May 8, 1945: a) a maxillary bridge of yellow metal, consisting of 9 teeth; b) a singed lower jaw, consisting of 15 teeth.
 - 2. According to the record of the interrogation of Frau Käthe Heusermann it may be presumed that the teeth as well as the bridge described in the document are those of Chancellor Hitler.
 - In her talk with Chief Expert of Forensic Medicine, Lieutenant Colonel Shkaravski, which took place on May 11, '45,3 in the offices of CAFS

³ I asked N. Krayevski how it was possible for this date to appear in an autopsy report that had been written on May 8. He explained that the report had originally been written by hand; only later was it decided to add the statements of Heusermann. As was mentioned above, the delay between evidence and conclusion is absolutely normal.

No. 496, Frau Käthe Heusermann described the state of Hitler's teeth in every detail. Her description tallies with the anatomical data pertaining to the oral cavity of the unknown man whose burned corpse we dissected.

Appended: A test tube with glass splinters from an ampule which were found in the mouth of the body.

signed (Shkaravski)
Chief Expert, Forensic Medicine,
1st Byelorussian Front, Medical Service,
Lieutenant Colonel

signed (Krayevski)
Chief Anatomical Pathologist, Medical Service, Red Army,
Lieutenant Colonel

signed (Marants)
Acting Chief Anatomical Pathologist,
1st Byelorussian Front, Medical Service,
Major

signed (Boguslavski)
Army Expert, Forensic Medicine,
3rd Shock Army, Medical Service,
Major

signed (Gulkevich)
Army Anatomical Pathologist,
3rd Shock Army, Medical Service,
Major

CONCLUSION

Based on the forensic-medical examination of the partially burned corpse of an unknown man and the examination of other corpses from the same group (Documents Nos. 1—11), the Commission reaches the following conclusions:

1. Anatomical characteristics of the body:

Since the body parts are heavily charred, it is impossible to describe the features of the dead man. But the following could be established:

- a) Stature: about 165 cm. (one hundred sixty-five)
- b) Age (based on general development, size of organs, state of lower incisors and of the right bicuspid), somewhere between 50 and 60 years (fifty to sixty).
- c) The left testicle could not be found either in the scrotum or on the spermatic cord inside the inguinal canal, nor in the small pelvis.
- d) The most important anatomical finding for identification of the person are the teeth, with much bridgework, artificial teeth, crowns, and fillings (see documents).

2. Cause of death:

On the body, considerably damaged by fire, no visible signs of severe lethal injuries or illnesses could be detected.

The presence in the oral cavity of the remnants of a crushed glass ampule and of similar ampules in the oral cavity of other bodies (see Documents Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 13), the marked smell of bitter almonds emanating from the bodies (Documents Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11), and the forensic-chemical test of internal organs which established the presence of cyanide compounds (Documents Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11) permit the Commission to arrive at the conclusion that death in this instance was caused by poisoning with cyanide compounds.

signed (Shkaravski)
Chief Expert, Forensic Medicine,
1st Byelorussian Front, Medical Service,
Lieutenant Colonel

signed (Krayevski) Chief Anatomical Pathologist, Medical Service, Red Army, Lieutenant Colonel

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signed (Marants)
Acting Chief Anatomical Pathologist,
1st Byelorussian Front, Medical Service,
Major

signed (Boguslavski)
Army Expert, Forensic Medicine,
3rd Shock Army, Medical Service,
Major

signed (Gulkevich)
Army Anatomical Pathologist,
3rd Shock Army, Medical Service,
Major

Thus far the contents of Document No. 12. Before entering into the question of what corpse was being examined—a question left in abeyance in the document—let us consider Document No. 13, which records the results of the forensic-medical examination of a female corpse. The Commission came to the following conclusions:

1. Anatomical characteristics of the body:

In view of the fact that the body parts are extensively charred, it is impossible to describe the features of the dead woman. The following, however, could be established:

- a) The age of the dead woman lies between 30 and 40 years, evidence of which is also the only slightly worn masticating surface of the teeth.
- b) Staturė: about 150 cm.
- c) The most important anatomical finding for identification of the person are the gold bridge of the lower jaw and its four front teeth.
- 2. Cause of death:

On the extensively charred corpse there were found traces of a splinter injury to the thorax with hemothorax, injuries to

4 For complete text, see Appendix, Document No. 13.

one lung and to the pericardium, as well as six small metal fragments.

Further, remnants of a crushed glass ampule were found in the oral cavity.

In view of the fact that similar ampules were present in other corpses—Documents Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11—that a smell of bitter almonds developed upon dissection—Documents Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11—and based on the forensic-chemical tests of the internal organs of these bodies in which the presence of cyanide compounds was established—Documents Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11—the Commission reaches the conclusion that notwithstanding the severe injuries to the thorax the immediate cause of death was poisoning by cyanide compounds.

In both cases the experts were faced with the most seriously disfigured of all thirteen corpses. Because of this obstacle to the examination two sentences need to be particularly stressed: "Splinters of glass, parts of the wall and bottom of a thin-walled ampule, were found in the mouth" (Document No. 12)—and "In the oral cavity...yellowish glass splinters... of a thin-walled ampule were found" (Document No. 13, Appendix). These findings permitted the Commission to come in their summary in both cases to analogous conclusions: Death was caused by poisoning with cyanide compounds.

This conclusion is in no way contradicted by the splinter injuries in Eva Braun's body. These could not possibly have been inflicted on her in the bunker. Most probably they occurred during the burning in the garden, which was under artillery fire. Only shell splinters could have caused the injuries and the hemorrhage in the pleura.

Several versions are current concerning the story of the identification of the two corpses, some of them amusingly fictional. A few years ago the German illustrated magazine Stern published the account of an M.D., Dr. Arnaudow, a native of Bulgaria, who became a citizen of the West German Republic. He tells in great detail that he was the person who had been able to identify the corpses of Hitler and Frau Braun.

When I showed this account to the actual participants in the identification process, they responded with ironical smiles. Of course they remembered a young Bulgarian student whom they had met on May 9, 1945, at the Charité Hospital. There, Soviet investigators had appeared in search of the Chief of the Throat, Nose, and Ear Clinic, Professor Karl von Eicken, who was known to have treated Hitler for years. The young Bulgarian student offered to accompany the Soviet officers to Kurfürstendamm, where they wanted to track down Hitler's dentist, Professor Blaschke. In those turbulent days this was not an easy task, and Arnaudow acquitted himself honorably. Among the shelled and bombed-out houses he found the intact private office of Blaschke, but not Blaschke himself, who had fled. This ended the Bulgarian's mission.

The moment has come to introduce two Soviet officers who played a signal role in our story. They are Andrei Sevostyan-ovich Mirozhnichenko, Chief of Counter Intelligence in the 3rd Shock Army, and his deputy, Vasili Ivanovich Gorbushin, two Soviet citizens of the older generation who had been forced by the war to be endlessly on the road. If their biographical data had been exposed to the eyes of a Gestapo investigator, their names would immediately have been singled out for "Special Treatment." As sons of the working class, both were long-standing members of the Communist Party (Mirozhnichenko since 1930, Gorbushin since 1932); they were also officers of the

Cheka ¹ (Mirozhnichenko since 1930, Gorbushin since 1938), devoting their lives to combating the enemies of the Soviet State.

At this point in the identification process, Vasili Gorbushin was entrusted with the search for witnesses, assisted by Major Bystrov, an experienced officer with a knowledge of German.

Gorbushin was from Leningrad. In the history of wars, the siege of Leningrad will live on as one of the most cruel and ruthlessly destructive operations. Today, there are voices who wish to excuse it as "military necessity." But at the time no one in Berlin was looking for an excuse for this crime. It was a foregone conclusion that the city bearing Lenin's name would be razed and its population doomed to starvation.

However, the citizens of Leningrad thwarted Hitler's calculations. Vasili Gorbushin, former Chief Foreman of the 2nd Mechanical Division of the famous industrial complex "Krasny Putilovets," survived the worst times of the siege, the winter months of 1941/42. His mission at the time was to counteract the German agents infiltrating the city. From March 1942 he worked in the Volkhov Sector, and from 1943 he was detailed to the Staff of the 3rd Shock Army. On May 9, 1945, Gorbushin's mission was to ascertain whether the corpses found in the garden of the Chancellery were really those of Adolf Hitler and Eva Braun.

Gorbushin's group decided to base their search on the recommendations of the medical investigators. The dissecting doctors had taken into custody jawbones with many artificial bridges, crowns, and fillings. All that was needed for an irrefutable identification were Hitler's dentists. Gorbushin relates:

In the morning of May 9, I went in search of Hitler's dentists. In Professor Blaschke's clinic we were received by a Dr. Bruck. When Bruck learned that we wanted to see his chief on a matter of importance to the Soviet Army Command, he

¹ Abbreviation of Russian for the Soviet Security Service, later replaced by the GPU and eventually by the NEVD.

told us that the Professor himself was not at home and asked whether an assistant of the Professor, Käthe Heusermann, might represent him.

I summoned her to an interrogation and had her fetched by the Bulgarian student.

"Where is the medical history on Adolf Hitler's teeth?" I asked Käthe Heusermann.

"Here, in the files," she answered.

Frau Heusermann quickly searched in the file box and pulled out a card which proved to be the medical history of Adolf Hitler. The entries gave evidence that the Führer had had very poor teeth in need of frequent repair.

We also needed the X-ray pictures of Hitler's teeth, but they were not at the clinic. When I asked where they might be, Käthe Heusermann answered that they ought to have been kept in Professor Blaschke's office in the Chancellery.

Wasting no more time in the clinic, we drove to the Chancellery, taking Käthe Heusermann along. Here we went down to the basement, found Professor Blaschke's dental office, and with Käthe Heusermann's assistance soon discovered X-ray photographs of the Führer's teeth and a few gold crowns that had been prepared, but time to put them to use had run out on dentist and patient.

Käthe Heusermann informed me that crowns and bridges for Hitler and Eva Braun had been prepared by a dental technician named Fritz Echtmann, whose address she knew. We found Echtmann at home. I explained the purpose of our visit and asked him to come with us. He was readily willing.

Frau Heusermann and Echtmann were interrogated by me separately. I was assisted by Major Bystrov.

In answer to my questions Käthe Heusermann and Fritz Echtmann described Hitler's teeth from memory in minute detail. Their information about bridges, crowns, and fillings corresponded precisely with the entries in the medical history and with the X-ray pictures that we had found. Next we asked them to identify the jawbones which had been taken from the

male corpse. Frau Heusermann and Echtmann recognized them unequivocally as those of Adolf Hitler.

In a similar procedure we next asked the dentists to describe Eva Braun's teeth. After they had both answered our questions exhaustively, we placed before them the gold bridge which had been taken from the mouth of the female corpse during the autopsy.

Käthe Heusermann and Fritz Echtmann declared without hesitancy that this prosthesis belonged to Eva Braun. Fritz Echtmann added that the special construction of the bridge prepared for Eva Braun was his own invention and that so far no dental prosthetist had used a similar method of attachment.

Next, our medical experts met again. After examination of the medical history, X-ray pictures, and the jawbone with the teeth of the charred male corpse which had been found on May 4 in the garden of the Chancellery, the experts came to the definite conclusion that these were Adolf Hitler's teeth.

We have every reason to believe in the trustworthiness of Gorbushin's account, since it has received documentary confirmation: the subsequently drawn up records of the interrogation. On May 9 Professor Eicken was interrogated by Colonel Mirozhnichenko and Gorbushin. Frau Heusermann was repeatedly interrogated, on May 10 by Gorbushin himself.² Here is the crucial part of the interrogation:

Question: Can you establish from the dental bridges that they belong to Hitler?

Answer: Yes, there is no doubt of it.

Question: We have shown you the dental bridge of an upper jaw and a lower jaw with teeth. Do you know to whom these teeth belong?

Answer: The teeth shown to me belong to the German Chan-

² Yelena Rshevskaya, who in 1965 published a report on the search for the leaders of the Third Reich, was interpreter during this interrogation. Cf. Yelena Rshevskaya, *Hitlers Ende ohne Mythos* (Berlin, 1967), pp. 90 ff.

cellor Adolf Hitler. The upper jaw on the left, behind the fourth tooth, exhibits a distinct trace which occurred when the gold bridge was sawed by the dental drill, at the time of the extraction of the sixth tooth. This extraction was performed by Professor Blaschke with my assistance in the autumn....

All further evidence that these bridges are Adolf Hitler's tallies with those named by me before from memory, with the exception of the fourth lower right tooth, which I believed to be an artificial porcelain tooth. But the teeth you have shown me prove that this tooth is a natural one.

Question: Can you affirm that the teeth shown to you are Adolf Hitler's teeth?

Answer: Yes, I affirm that the teeth shown to me are Adolf Hitler's teeth.

The dental technician Fritz Echtmann confirmed Frau Heusermann's statements on May 11.3 On the same day, Frau Heusermann was interrogated by Dr. Faust Shkaravski. Here are his recollections:

On May 11, 1945, Hitler's medical history was sent to me from the aforementioned Field Hospital for Surgery, No. 496 in Buch. Käthe Heusermann, an assistant of Hitler's stomatologist, Professor Blaschke, was also brought to me. She had helped to prosthesize Hitler's teeth in her capacity as specialist in stomatology. I remember very clearly how frightened she was during the interrogation. However, the interrogation proceeded very smoothly, really like an ordinary conversation between doctors. I, a Soviet physician, was speaking with a German doctor. In the course of our conversation, which lasted between two and three hours, Frau Heusermann gladly ate some of our candy. Her fear soon evaporated. She de-

3 Later, as a Soviet prisoner, Echtmann produced sketches and descriptions of the jaws of Eva Braun, whose dental prostheses were made by him, and of those of Hitler, on whose dental prosthesis he collaborated.

scribed minutely the specific features of Hitler's dental prostheses and drew them with her own hand. I even started to argue with her, because I had overlooked one detail when examining the teeth and had miscounted the steel pins. She turned out to be right.

Having finished with the theoretical part of our conversation, we proceeded to the practical part, that is, I wanted to check the correctness of her statements against the prostheses themselves, which were in my desk. I took them out and placed them before Frau Heusermann. Frau Heusermann repeated everything again in detail and declared categorically that the prosthesis I had shown her was in fact Hitler's dental prosthesis. The picture was clear beyond doubt, for Frau Heusermann as well as for me as forensic expert.

After the interrogation of Frau Heusermann and Echtmann the forensic experts no longer doubted the identity of the corpses. I asked Professor Krayevski which detail of this memorable experts' report he remembered most clearly.

"Probably the smell of bitter almonds, which we all noticed. For an anatomical pathologist or a forensic physician this smell says unmistakably: Poisoning by cyanide compounds."

I further mentioned to Professor Krayevski one particular detail which had been established at the dissection of Hitler's internal organs: the missing second testicle. In medical parlance this defect is known as monorchism. Krayevski remarked that monorchism is a fairly frequent phenomenon and as a rule is congenital: such a defect did not exclude a normal sexual life. I asked whether this might be the consequence of an illness. Himmler is said to have told Dr. Kersten that Hitler in his early years had contracted syphilis. According to Professor Krayevski, however, there is no connection between syphilis and monorchism.

This congenital defect of Hitler's had not been mentioned anywhere in the existing literature. But Professor Hans Karl con Hasselbach, one of Hitler's physicians, remembers that the

Führer always refused categorically to have a medical check-up.⁴ It is conceivable that this refusal was motivated by this physical abnormality.

Hitler died in the firm conviction that all traces of his physical existence had been destroyed. But Soviet shells and the unbearable smell of burning corpses kept his subordinates from following through in the execution of the Führer's last commands. Thus it became possible that the last (forensic-medical) opinion on Hitler was pronounced by Dr. Shkaravski, by Dr. Faust. Once upon a time Germany's greatest poet raised the name of Faust to a symbol of the triumph of human reason. Once again reason triumphed over madness.

Having concluded their work, the Commission under Dr. Shkaravski submitted its findings to the Military Council of the 1st Byelorussian Front.

12

Anne Frank was a child. Maria Rolnikaite, who was imprisoned in the Warsaw ghetto and left notes of similar impact, was also only fourteen years old. Among the victims of Babi Yar, of Lidice, there were many children—and a great many perished in Dresden.

These few signposts may serve as a yardstick as we turn to the murder of the six Goebbels children. Six, it may be said, are not six hundred thousand. But murder is always murder. And even those historians who appraise the life of the former Reich Minister for Propaganda and National Enlightenment with an unprejudiced eye will not dare to affirm that Helga (born September 1, 1932), Hilde (April 13, 1934), Helmut (October 2, 1935), Holde (February 2, 1937), Hedda (May 5, 1938), and Heide (October 29, 1940) willingly chose their death.

In the chaos of events around May 1, 1945, the fate of these 4 Cf. H. D. Röhrs, Hitlers Krankheit (Neckargmund, 1966), p. 71.

children escaped proper attention. But the example of the Goebbels family throws an appalling light on the abyss to which horror propaganda can lead even its perpetrators. Did Goebbels and his wife seriously believe that the Allies would wreak their vengeance on six children? The postwar period has refuted such conjectures. Not a hair was harmed on the heads of the children of Bormann, Himmler, Göring, and many other Party bigwigs.

Not everything can be explained by a fanaticism which knows no bounds. But a regime which welcomes murder as the means of self-assertion must in the long run damage its own soul. Whoever ceases to respect his neighbor as a human being will in the end cease to be a human being himself. His biographer Helmut Heiber believes that Goebbels wanted to put himself in the spotlight through the death of his children, to create for himself an aura, a legend, conducive to immortality, to surround his end with the "awe-inspiring grandeur of antiquity and a sense of fateful doom." 1

How were Goebbels' children murdered? Opinions differ. Some, among them Goebbels' erstwhile Secretary of State Werner Naumann, assert that Magda Goebbels herself did the deed. Another version has it that their mother waited outside while the doctors administered poison to the children. Still others believe that we shall never know exactly what the actual proceedings were.

I do not wish to assert that the following documents throw a full light on the events. But they have one advantage: they were drawn up immediately after these events. The reader will notice that the eyewitness Dr. Helmut Kunz did not at first come out with the full truth. Then the Soviet Court of Inquiry subjected him again to a probing cross-examination.

RECORD OF INTERROGATION

May 7, 1945. Lieutenant Colonel Vasilyev, Chief of Counter Intelligence, 4th Section, SMERSH, 1st Byelorussian Front, has

Helmut Heiber, Joseph Goebbels (Munich, 1965), p. 370.