

All told, the total manpower of *Einsatzgruppe A* did not even reach a thousand at the end of 1941. Under Sandberger in Tallinn there were only a few dozen, at most a hundred men.<sup>47</sup> In the killing of Jews and others, however, the *Einsatzkommandos* had no rivals. In his report on the operations of *Einsatzgruppe A*, dated October 15, 1941, or a short time after meeting Anthoni in Helsinki, *SS-Brigadeführer* Walter Stahlecker stated: "The Jewish Question will be settled by all available means."<sup>48</sup> The report for February 1942 stated that *Einsatzgruppe A* had so far executed exactly 229,052 Jews.<sup>49</sup>

Martin Sandberger had thus referred to these orders, which in the fall of 1941 were still based on improvised decisions and on account of which small-size execution squads had carried out summary executions. The "final destruction" of Jewry according to plan had not yet begun, and Sandberger's status did not qualify him for inclusion among the Nazi elect who would be let in on the grand plan.

Sandberger was also asked whether Anthoni had known anything about the massacre of Estonian Jews carried out by the Gestapo. He asserted that Anthoni could not have obtained the intelligence from the Germans, who were pledged to secrecy; but he did not think it impossible that Anthoni might have got wind of the matter from other sources. Sandberger knew quite well that the liquidation of Estonian Jews had been an open secret. But the details of the liquidation and the particular orders from higher up in the SS hierarchy had, of course, been scrupulously kept from leaking out. In the fall of 1941, it was impossible for any Finnish police officer or even top-level Valpo official to grasp the full extent of the destructive measures aimed against the Jews and the ultimate objectives of Nazi racial policy, for at that time — and even far into the next year — not even the SS leaders had a clear picture of the situation.

The fourth question addressed to Sandberger indicates how hazy were the grounds on which it had been argued that the Valpo and the *Einsatzkommando Ia* had been in touch on matters relating to the destruction of Jewry. That question contains a categorical assumption that Anthoni and his associates had visited the site of a mass burial of murdered Jews.

47. Bucheim et al., op. cit., p. 361. On the Baltic situation, see also Myllyniemi, op. cit., pp. 75-77.

48. IMT, Bd. XXXVII, pp. 672 and 687. Gesamtbericht der Einsatzgruppe A. 15 X 1941.

49. Undated *Einsatzgruppe A* report. Krausnick thought it could have been issued in February 1942. IMT, Bd. XXX, p. 72. Cf. Bucheim et al., op. cit., 1965, p. 367.

The lawyers' committee of the Finnish section of the World Jewish Congress failed to obtain the truth about this matter — though such opportunities had opened up — until it petitioned the international tribunal of Nürnberg to be allowed to interrogate the former chief of the Gestapo in Estonia.

However, Finnish sources of information can throw light on this issue. The story about a visit to the burial site can be traced to Santeri Jacobsson, who had misinterpreted certain utterances of Minister Väinö Voionmaa, a fellow Social Democrat. According to Jacobsson, Professor Voionmaa had said during a conversation with him about the Estonian Jews that his son, Jouko Voionmaa, who had served in Tallinn as a liaison officer for the Finnish Naval Headquarters, had mentioned having visited a Jewish common grave.

Jacobsson's version runs as follows: "On official business in Tallinn, he [Jouko Voionmaa] had fallen into the company of men from the Gestapo, who had been joined by Judge Anthoni.\* Under the influence of liquor, in which they had freely imbibed, the Germans had openly related how they had murdered Jews living in Estonia and at the same time mentioned where they were buried. Around midnight, the German hosts offered to show them the grave, upon which Judge Anthoni jumped at the chance. Thereupon, the whole assemblage had gone to an open space at the edge of town, where four miserable birch trees grew. It was on this spot that the Germans announced the grave was located, saying that here the Jewish dogs were resting, at which Anthoni had promised to send more Jews from Finland as filling for this grave."<sup>50</sup>

Jouko Voionmaa's own version of the incident was completely different. It is noteworthy that Jacobsson and Voionmaa were interrogated on the same day, October 20, 1947, but that the letter from the lawyers' committee to the international tribunal in Nürnberg was not sent until July 14, 1948. Prior to that, to be sure, the said committee had turned to the Finnish Ministry of Justice and requested that it contact "the authorities concerned at Nürnberg toward having Martin Sandberger interrogated in the foregoing matter." But this letter was not dated until July

\* *Varatuomari* = "Vice-Judge," a title awarded lawyers in Finland who have passed required examinations.

50. Supplementary Record of Inquiry 1. Hearing of Social Welfare Inspector Santeri Jacobsson (original version), 20 X 1947. Sotavankileirien tutkimuskeskus. Ilm. pvk. 1388.II, pp. 1-4. Military Archives.



14, 1948, either.<sup>51</sup> There would thus have been time to check certain facts with Jouko Voionmaa himself.

The report on Voionmaa's interrogation has the following to say about the happenings in Tallinn:

... In the officers' restaurant located at Toompea, a dinner had been arranged, as he recalled, on account of Anthoni's arrival in Tallinn. The interrogatee had also been invited to this dinner, at which Sandberker [*sic*] had acted as host. Present on this occasion, in addition to the aforementioned Anthoni and the interrogatee, had been some person serving as Sandberker's adjutant, whose name the interrogatee no longer remembers, as well as possibly Frigate Captain Cellarius. A few other persons had been present besides, whose identities the interrogatee cannot accurately recollect, the size of the company numbering at least 6-8, all told. The meal was enjoyed informally, and the interrogatee cannot recall anybody's making speeches, and no toasts were drunk separately for any reason. Intoxicating liquors were drunk abundantly, excepting the interrogatee, who has never taken alcohol. In the middle of the room there had been a table about 5-6 meters long, around which all present had sat. Anthoni and Sandberker had been seated in the middle, while the interrogatee had sat at one end of the table. . . .

... A couple of hours after the party had started, Sandberker had left the table in a heavy state of intoxication, and as recollected by the interrogatee he had not returned. The rest of the company had remained seated for some time, after which everybody, as the interrogatee recalls, left the room simultaneously; after that, the interrogatee had either gone to his own quarters or stayed in the restaurant for some time longer in some side room. Where Anthoni and the rest of the company present at the dinner had gone at this juncture, the interrogatee had no idea. The interrogatee firmly denies having left the restaurant together with the Gestapo men and Anthoni and then having gone to a grave possibly located close to town. Whether such a grave near Tallinn even exists, the interrogatee denies knowing, but he does admit, to be sure, to having heard it rumored that at a place named Raasiku there had been some grave, in which people killed by the Germans were buried, and that the number of dead should have been great. The nationality of the people buried is not known to the interrogatee.

The interrogatee admits to having told his father, Professor Voionmaa, in strict confidence, about *rumors* [H.R.'s italics] he had heard in Estonia,

51. Communication to the Ministry of Justice from the Helsinki Jewish Congregation's Committee dealing with questions relating to anti-Semitism, 14 IV 1948. Archives of the Helsinki Jewish Congregation.

and to having possibly mentioned the case of Raasiku; but he vigorously denies having spoken to his father about any visit to a grave or about Anthoni's having on that occasion promised to fill the grave with Jews he would send from Finland. If his father had told anything like this to Inspector Jacopason [*sic*], he would have had to obtain his information from some other source, and not from the interrogatee.<sup>52</sup>

Testimony on the same matter was also given by Professor Voionmaa's widow, Mrs. Ilma Voionmaa. She affirmed that she had never heard her husband and her son "discuss the Jewish Question." She explained that her husband had always told her everything he had learned about matters relating to politics, etc., but he had never mentioned anything to the effect that their son had visited some grave in Tallinn together with Judge Anthoni and the Gestapo.<sup>53</sup>

In his interrogations, Sandberger stated that the report concerning a Raatsiko burial ground was "absolutely untrue. . . . In this connection, I am hearing the name Raatsiko for the first time." He said he knew of a certain Jewish burial site near Harku but that he had "never gone there either alone or in the company of others." Sandberger went on: "As I recall, I was with Anthoni only once outside the city limits of Tallinn. Our trip had as its destination an estate named Kostivere, where I was stationed at the time. This trip served the purpose that we could spend a few hours together over a meal without being disturbed."<sup>54</sup> According to Sandberger's testimony, Anthoni visited Estonia four or five times during the years 1941-1943.

Anthoni himself said that during those years he had made four trips to Tallinn on official business. The visit about which questions were asked in his interrogation took place, according to Anthoni, "in 1942 or 1943." During this trip, Anthoni had "not met members of the Gestapo but had been a guest of Frigate Captain Cellarius (of *Abwehr*'s intelligence). . . . On three of his trips, the interrogatee had met men from the Gestapo in Estonia, where he had been their guest. During every visit, a dinner

52. Supplementary Record of Inquiry 1. Indendant Jouko Lauri Voionmaa's hearing, 20 X 1947. Sotavankileirien tutkimuskeskus. Ilm. pvk. 1388. II, pp. 4-6. Military Archives.

53. Supplementary Record of Inquiry 1. Hearing of Mrs. Ilma Voionmaa, widow, 22 X 1947. Sotavankileirien tutkimuskeskus. Ilm. pvk. 1388. II, pp. 8-9. Military Archives.

54. Regarding this incident, Anthoni was interrogated as early as 28 X 1947. Sotavankileirien tutkimuskeskus. Ilm. pvk. 1388. II, pp. 17-22. See also Sandberger's interrogation, 29 XII 1948.



had been arranged at which alcoholic beverages had been served, but the interogatee does not remember a single time that Sandberger had departed from the dinner table before the others. Whether the subject of Jews had been brought up during these dinners, the interogatee does not remember.<sup>55</sup>

In some places in the testimony given by Anthoni and Jouko Voionmaa — such as the matter of Sandberger's having left the premises — discrepancies occur. But these discrepancies are of no significance in the present connection. The essential fact is that nothing indicates that Anthoni and other Finns had been taken to a grave where large numbers of Jews had been buried or that the Germans might have otherwise disclosed to Finnish visitors details on the killing of Jews and the operational procedures of the *Einsatzkommando*. Nor did anything along these lines appear in Viherluoto's report on his visit to Estonia.

#### *The Agreement between Anthoni and Müller*

The Jews of Finland were also mentioned in the Grosser Wannsee protocol of January 20, 1942. Listed in the protocol were the Jews of every European country, but the figures were not exact. The Jewish population of Finland was estimated at 2,300; only Albania and Norway had less Jews.<sup>56</sup> Ascertaining the size of the Jewish population of Finland was, of course, no difficult task. The information could be copied right out of the official statistics available in Helsinki. As a matter of fact, relevant statistical data for Finland had been passed on at a fairly early stage to experts in Jewish matters. The figure for 1936, for instance, had been 2,000, which no doubt was close to the truth. Registering all the Jews residing in Finland was somewhat complicated, however, because, as one informant explained, they had "melted" into the rest of the population and now identified themselves as "Swedes."<sup>57</sup>

In August 1941, the German Foreign Office was confronted with an awkward problem — how to deal with foreign Jews residing within the boundaries of the Third Reich? The question involved particularly the Jews of friendly countries, allies and neutrals. This group also included the Jews of Finland, few in number but politically significant and

55. Arno Anthoni's hearing, 28 X 1948.

56. Minutes of the Grosser Wannsee meeting, 20 I 1942.

57. Minutes of meeting 15 I 1936 of "anti-Semitic League" led by Colonel Fleischauer. MA 554. Juden IV. 2935076.

requiring delicacy in their treatment. At the end of August 1941, *SS-Sturmbannführer* Adolf Eichmann took the issue up with Foreign Office bureaucrats, informing them confidentially that his superior, Heydrich, had received an order from the Führer to extend the requirement of wearing the Star of David to all Jews residing in the Reich, not exempting aliens.

The *Auswärtiges Amt* bureaucrats protested on the grounds that such an action would provoke the United States, among others, to resort to reprisals. Therefore all Jews of foreign citizenship should, in the opinion of the bureaucrats, be exempted. The *Auswärtiges Amt*, however, was to prepare a compromise for Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop: the regulations governing Jews were to take effect immediately in all the conquered areas, including, for instance, Belgium and the Netherlands, but otherwise a "mutual understanding" should be reached with "amiably disposed European governments and the Government of France [Vichy]." Only after that could the regulations governing Jews be applied in full to Jews of foreign citizenship.<sup>58</sup>

The Jews of Finland were not included in this plan, but when Arno Anthoni made his first trip to Berlin, at the beginning of April 1942, the situation had changed. Anthoni had received his invitation from *SS-Obergruppenführer* Reinhard Heydrich himself, chief of the security police and the SD. The invitation was official in nature and was sent through the German legation in Helsinki.<sup>59</sup> Anthoni had then held his post for more than a year. Before that, toward the end of 1941, he had met top-level Swedish police officials on a similar official visit. As explained by Anthoni: "The purpose was to keep up the former good collaboration between the police authorities of Sweden and the State Police of Finland." He also "hoped in particular to obtain from the Swedes information about espionage activity against Finland and possibly information about persons in Finland known by the Swedish authorities to be working against Finland."<sup>60</sup>

In retrospect, Anthoni's trip to Berlin had a touch of drama by its tak-

58. From Franz Rademacher's (Judenreferat III des Auswärtiges Amtes) Aufzeichnung to State Secretary Luther, 21 VIII 194. AA. K 210290. Copy in documents covering Adolf Eichmann's trial. Police d'Israel. 682-197. IfZG. Munich.

59. Arno Anthoni's hearing, 4 VI 1945. Sotavankileirien tutkimuskeskus. Ilm. pvk. 1388. I, p. 68. Military Archives.

60. E.g., Arno Anthoni's hearing, 6 V 1947. Sotavankileirien tutkimuskeskus. Ilm. pvk. 1388. II, p. 88. Military Archives. See also Arno Anthoni's hearing, 25 X 1945, p. 172.