

The Holocaust on Trial:

Shaping an Awareness Through the Triumph and Tragedy of Adolf
Eichmann's Capture

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Paper

Word Count: 2500

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“We could only hang him once, we couldn’t hang him six million times.”

-Mickey Goldman¹

Thesis

Adolf Eichmann was one of the most pivotal actors in the implementation of the “Final Solution.” Charged with managing and facilitating the mass deportation of Jews to ghettos and killing centers in Germany, he was among the major organizers of the Holocaust. His 1961 trial in Jerusalem, Israel, sparked international interest and heightened public awareness of the Holocaust.² The capture and high-profile trial of Adolf Eichmann, which was due to his role in the persecution and tragic deaths of over six million Jews, was a triumph of justice and would inevitably introduce the Holocaust into historical, educational, legal, and cultural discourse. Furthermore, it would help to shape an awareness of the Holocaust in Israeli and world public opinion.³

Isser Harel and The Mossad

In 1957, following World War II, Isser Harel, a spymaster of the intelligence and the security services of Israel and the Director of the Mossad,⁴ received a message from Frankfurt, Germany, regarding a Dr. Fritz Bauer, attorney general of Hesse, requesting to convey information to the Mossad.⁵ Harel soon learned that Eichmann was alive, and hiding in Argentina.

¹ "THE HOLOCAUST ON TRIAL: Considering the Impact and Legacy of a Global Media Event." *Maltz Museum of Jewish Heritage*, www.maltzmuseum.org/blog/the-holocaust-on-trial-considering-the-impact-and-legacy-of-a-global-media-event/. Accessed 11 Jan. 2019.

² "Eichmann Trial." *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/eichmann-trial. Accessed 11 Jan. 2019.

³ Hauser, Gideon. "Operation Eichmann." *Yad Vashem*, www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/eichmann/capturing.asp. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018.

⁴ Geller, Doron. "Israel Military Intelligence: The Capture of Nazi Criminal Adolf Eichmann – Operation Finale." *Jewish Virtual Library*, 6 Aug. 2007, www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/the-capture-of-nazi-criminal-adolf-eichmann. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018.

⁵ "Adolf Eichmann His Escape and Capture in Argentina Operation Eichmann." *Holocaust Education & Archive Research Team*, 2009, www.holocaustresearchproject.org/trials/eichmanntrialcapture.html. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018.

Like millions of Jews, Harel knew Adolf Eichmann as the “embodiment of Nazi horror;”⁶ Eichmann had personally directed the systematic annihilation of European Jewry.⁷ He had devoted his life to the meticulous massacre of six million Jews⁸ and disappeared after the war.

Harel decided Eichmann must be punished for his crimes; the victims of his slaughter demanded it; justice and morality demanded it. Eichmann was certainly living under an assumed identity and had friends inside the Argentinian government.⁹ Moreover, Harel decided it was preferable to capture Eichmann rather than kill him, he was going to capture Eichmann and make him stand trial before the people he tried to exterminate.¹⁰

The Architect of the Holocaust

In 1934, Adolf Eichmann was appointed to the Jewish section of the “security services” of the Schutzstaffel.¹¹ From then on, he became deeply involved with the formulation of the “final solution to the Jewish question.”¹² Eichmann drew up the idea of deportation of Jews into ghettos, and went about concentrating Jews in isolated areas with murderous efficiency.¹³ Eichmann also facilitated and managed the use of gas chambers in the coordinated Nazi plan,

⁶ Aderet, Ofer. "An Inside Look at Israel's Operation to Capture Nazi Criminal Adolf Eichmann." *Haaretz*, 16 Nov. 2018, www.haaretz.com/1.5213995. Accessed 15 Apr. 2012.

⁷ Kraft, Jessica. "The Eichmann Trial." My Jewish Learning, www.myjewishlearning.com/article/the-eichmann-trial/. Accessed 24 Jan. 2019.

⁸ Bar-Zohar, Michael, and Nissim Mishal. Mossad. New York, HarperCollins, 2007.

⁹ Geller, Doron. "Israel Military Intelligence: The Capture of Nazi Criminal Adolf Eichmann – Operation Finale." Jewish Virtual Library, 6 Aug. 2007, www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/the-capture-of-nazi-criminal-adolf-eichmann. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018.

¹⁰ "Adolf Eichmann His Escape and Capture in Argentina Operation Eichmann." *Holocaust Education & Archive Research Team*, 2009, www.holocaustresearchproject.org/trials/eichmanntrialcapture.html. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018.

¹¹ Sherwood, Harriet. "Adolf Eichmann's capture, as told by the Mossad, in Israel exhibition." *The Guardian*, 15 Feb. 2012. Support the Guardian, www.theguardian.com/world/2012/feb/15/adolf-eichmann-exhibition-tel-aviv. Accessed 16 Nov. 2018.

¹² Geller, Doron. "Israel Military Intelligence: The Capture of Nazi Criminal Adolf Eichmann – Operation Finale." *Jewish Virtual Library*, 6 Aug. 2007, www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/the-capture-of-nazi-criminal-adolf-eichmann. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018.

¹³ *Eichmann Interrogated*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1983.

earning him the title, “the architect of the Holocaust.”¹⁴ He found an unsettling sense of pride in this role.¹⁵

Eichmann Fleeing to Argentina

After World War II, along with many Nazi criminals, Eichmann was granted a “certificate of indulgence” by the Catholic Church in 1950, which enabled him to sail clandestinely from Italy to Argentina under the false identity of “Ricardo Klement.”¹⁶ Armed with forged identification and the Red Cross passport number 100940 [See Appendix A],¹⁷ Eichmann and two other former SS men boarded the SS *Giovanni C.*¹⁸ The vessel left Genoa on June 17, 1950, and docked in Buenos Aires on July 14, 1950.¹⁹

Eichmann secured employment with CAPRI, a construction company in Tucuman, in August 1950.²⁰ Eichmann’s wife and two children arrived in Argentina in 1952; he registered his children at an anti-Semitic German school under the name Eichmann, suggesting how the Argentine government aided and abetted former Nazis. In April 1953, CAPRI declared bankruptcy and Eichmann moved his family to Buenos Aires, where he was hired by Mercedes Benz in March 1959.²¹

¹⁴ Kraft, Jessica. "The Eichmann Trial." My Jewish Learning, www.myjewishlearning.com/article/the-eichmann-trial/. Accessed 24 Jan. 2019.

¹⁵ "Adolf Eichmann Kidnapped in Argentina." *History Today*, vol. 60, no. 5, May 2010. *Academic Search Premier*, 0-web.a.ebscohost.com.nell.flatironslibrary.org/src_ic/detail/detail?vid=1&sid=a8f6ebf1-3eef-46fc-a327-2f1041e4aec2%40sdc-v-sessmgr01&bdata=#AN=50615946&db=aph. Accessed 14 Dec. 2018.

¹⁶ Geller, Doron. "Israel Military Intelligence: The Capture of Nazi Criminal Adolf Eichmann – Operation Finale." Jewish Virtual Library, 6 Aug. 2007, www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/the-capture-of-nazi-criminal-adolf-eichmann. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018.

¹⁷ Bar-Zohar, Michael, and Nissim Mishal. *Mossad*. New York, HarperCollins, 2007.

¹⁸ "Adolf Eichmann Kidnapped in Argentina." *History Today*, vol. 60, no. 5, May 2010. *Academic Search Premier*, 0-web.a.ebscohost.com.nell.flatironslibrary.org/src_ic/detail/detail?vid=1&sid=a8f6ebf1-3eef-46fc-a327-2f1041e4aec2%40sdc-v-sessmgr01&bdata=#AN=50615946&db=aph. Accessed 14 Dec. 2018.

¹⁹ Harel, Isser. *The House on Garibaldi Street*. Viking Press, 1975.

²⁰ "Adolf Eichmann Kidnapped in Argentina." *History Today*, vol. 60, no. 5, May 2010. *Academic Search Premier*, 0-web.a.ebscohost.com.nell.flatironslibrary.org/src_ic/detail/detail?vid=1&sid=a8f6ebf1-3eef-46fc-a327-2f1041e4aec2%40sdc-v-sessmgr01&bdata=#AN=50615946&db=aph. Accessed 14 Dec. 2018.

²¹ Bar-Zohar, Michael, and Nissim Mishal. *Mossad*. New York, HarperCollins, 2007.

Operation Eichmann

Meanwhile, Harel asked the Prime Minister of Israel, David Ben-Gurion, for the “go-ahead.” Ben-Gurion gave it, and thus the operational machinery of searching for Eichmann went into effect.²²

In late 1959, the Israelis discovered that Eichmann had adopted the name, Ricardo Klement.²³ The Mossad team followed that lead and were eventually led to Garibaldi Street in San Fernando, Buenos Aires. The Mossad felt certain Eichmann was there, but they still needed proof. On March 21, 1960, Ricardo Klement got off his bus and walked toward his home. Klement gave a bouquet of flowers to the woman who greeted him at the door. March 21 was the date of the Eichmann’s silver wedding anniversary. The agents had found Eichmann: there was no more doubt.²⁴

The operational plan was laid out in minute detail; it would be carried out by agents in two cars: one team for the abduction, another for security and protection.²⁵ On May 11, 1960, Mossad operatives were ready to move into action. At 8:05 p.m., Eichmann was captured.²⁶ The Mossad drove him to their safe house, it was 8:55 — 50 minutes after his bus had arrived. Mossad operatives restrained Eichman, and checked his mouth for poison to ensure he would not try to kill himself as other Nazis had done to avoid being tried.²⁷ A Mossad interrogator then

²² Geller, Doron. "Israel Military Intelligence: The Capture of Nazi Criminal Adolf Eichmann – Operation Finale." *Jewish Virtual Library*, 6 Aug. 2007, www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/the-capture-of-nazi-criminal-adolf-eichmann. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018.

²³ Hauser, Gideon. "Operation Eichmann." *Yad Vashem*, www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/eichmann/capturing.asp. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018.

²⁴ Sherwood, Harriet. "Adolf Eichmann's capture, as told by the Mossad, in Israel exhibition." *The Guardian*, 15 Feb. 2012. *Support the Guardian*, www.theguardian.com/world/2012/feb/15/adolf-eichmann-exhibition-tel-aviv. Accessed 16 Nov. 2018.

²⁵ "Adolf Eichmann His Escape and Capture in Argentina Operation Eichmann." *Holocaust Education & Archive Research Team*, 2009, www.holocaustresearchproject.org/trials/eichmanntrialcapture.html. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018.

²⁶ Sherwood, Harriet. "Adolf Eichmann's capture, as told by the Mossad, in Israel exhibition." *The Guardian*, 15 Feb. 2012. *Support the Guardian*, www.theguardian.com/world/2012/feb/15/adolf-eichmann-exhibition-tel-aviv. Accessed 16 Nov. 2018.

²⁷ Aderet, Ofer. "An Inside Look at Israel's Operation to Capture Nazi Criminal Adolf Eichmann." *Haaretz*, 16 Nov. 2018, www.haaretz.com/1.5213995. Accessed 15 Apr. 2012.

tried to get Eichmann to admit his identity and, after repeatedly insisting he was Ricardo Klement,²⁸ he relented.

Harel arranged for an El-Al plane to leave Buenos Aires on May 20. They sent one of their agents into a local hospital with the claim that he had suffered brain damage in an accident. On the morning of May 20, the patient had recovered sufficiently to fly home to Israel. The Mossad then substituted Eichmann's name and photograph for the patient's [See Appendix B].²⁹ Eichmann was drugged so that his senses would be blurred when he was brought to the plane.³⁰

Eichmann's Jerusalem Trial

Argentina demanded Eichmann's return, but Israel argued that his status as an international war criminal gave right to proceed with a trial. Some observers felt that Eichmann should be tried in Germany, or by an international body;³¹ and that the importance of the still-new nation of Israel being a beacon of adherence to international law, meant the precedent for such a trial was too shaky to rely on.³² Others felt that the nation might be justified in trying Eichmann, but should not get into the business of executions, and that the most important thing was to serve Eichmann himself with justice, recognizing that no punishment could be harsh enough. And some felt it was most important to present the facts of what he did to the world, and

²⁸ Harel, Isser. *The House on Garibaldi Street*. Viking Press, 1975.

²⁹ "Adolf Eichmann Kidnapped in Argentina." *History Today*, vol. 60, no. 5, May 2010. *Academic Search Premier*, 0-web.a.ebscohost.com.nell.flatironslibrary.org/src_ic/detail/detail?vid=1&sid=a8f6ebf1-3eef-46fc-a327-2f1041e4aec2%40sdc-v-sessmgr01&bdata=#AN=50615946&db=aph. Accessed 14 Dec. 2018.

³⁰ Aderet, Ofer. "An Inside Look at Israel's Operation to Capture Nazi Criminal Adolf Eichmann." *Haaretz*, 16 Nov. 2018, www.haaretz.com/1.5213995. Accessed 15 Apr. 2012.

³¹ Harry, Mulisch. *Criminal Case 40/61, The Trial of Adolf Eichmann*. Translated by Robert Naborn, 1961.

³² Sherwood, Harriet. "Adolf Eichmann's capture, as told by the Mossad, in Israel exhibition." *The Guardian*, 15 Feb. 2012. *Support the Guardian*, www.theguardian.com/world/2012/feb/15/adolf-eichmann-exhibition-tel-aviv. Accessed 16 Nov. 2018.

preserve them for the historical record.³³ On April 11, 1961, the trial of Adolf Eichmann began. It would become one of the most widely renowned trials in history.³⁴

The Israeli prosecutor, Gideon Hausner,³⁵ was eloquent when he opened the proceedings in April of 1961:

As I stand here before you to lead the prosecution of Adolf Eichmann, I do not stand alone. With me stand six million accusers. But they cannot rise to their feet and point an accusing finger. For their ashes are piled up in the hills of Auschwitz and in the fields of Treblinka, or washed away by the rivers of Poland; their graves are scattered over the length and breadth of Europe. Their blood cries out, but their voices are not heard.³⁶

Eichmann sat for eight months in a bulletproof glass box [See Appendix C] in a Jerusalem courtroom and listened to all of the testimony against him.³⁷ 111 survivors testified with detailed eyewitness accounts of their experiences in the Holocaust, hundreds more attended the trial, and thousands of survivors worldwide followed radio and television broadcasts.³⁸ It was the first trial to be televised in history.³⁹ Eichmann faced fifteen charges, including crimes against humanity, crimes against the Jewish people, and war crimes.⁴⁰ He claimed that he was following orders, but the judges disagreed, finding him guilty of all counts on December 15, and

³³ "Eichmann Trial." *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/eichmann-trial. Accessed 11 Jan. 2019.

³⁴ Harry, Mulisch. *Criminal Case 40/61, The Trial of Adolf Eichmann*. Translated by Robert Naborn, 1961.

³⁵ Macmillan. "About the Eichmann Trial." *Yad Vashem*, 1990, www.yadvashem.org/holocaust/eichmann-trial/about.html. Accessed 26 Jan. 2019.

³⁶ "THE HOLOCAUST ON TRIAL: Considering the Impact and Legacy of a Global Media Event." *Maltz Museum of Jewish Heritage*, www.maltzmuseum.org/blog/the-holocaust-on-trial-considering-the-impact-and-legacy-of-a-global-media-event/. Accessed 11 Jan. 2019.

³⁷ History.com Editors. "Eichmann Captured." *History.com*, A&E Television Networks, 21 July 2010, www.history.com/this-day-in-history/eichmann-captured. Accessed 16 Nov. 2018.

³⁸ Kraft, Jessica. "The Eichmann Trial." *My Jewish Learning*, www.myjewishlearning.com/article/the-eichmann-trial/. Accessed 24 Jan. 2019.

³⁹ "Adolf Eichmann." *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, Gale, 1998. Biography In Context, http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/K1631001998/BIC?u=bpls_main&sid=BIC&xid=14daedfc. Accessed 14 Dec. 2018.

⁴⁰ Macmillan. "About the Eichmann Trial." *Yad Vashem*, 1990, www.yadvashem.org/holocaust/eichmann-trial/about.html. Accessed 26 Jan. 2019.

sentencing him to death.⁴¹ On June 1, 1962, Eichmann was hanged near Tel Aviv.⁴² Eichmann's body was incinerated in an oven in the prison courtyard. "Black smoke rose toward the sky," wrote an American reporter. "No one said a word, but it was impossible not to recall the crematoriums at Auschwitz."⁴³ Adolf Eichmann's ashes were cast into the Mediterranean.⁴⁴ The wind and the waves dispersed the remains of the man who twenty years earlier had declared: "I'll jump laughing into the grave, happy at having exterminated six million Jews."⁴⁵

Shaping an Awareness

In the annals of public awareness of the Holocaust, nothing rivals the Eichmann trial as a turning point, whose impact is evident to this day.⁴⁶ The trial introduced the Holocaust as an essential topic of ethical discourse, not merely in Israel and the Jewish world, but on the consciousness of humanity.⁴⁷ It focused attention upon the account of the suffering and torment of the Jewish people. The trial broke down the reluctance of many Israelis and Jews to approach the Holocaust, due to the powerful impression left by the personal testimonies of over a hundred witnesses.⁴⁸

⁴¹ Rothman, Lily. "Operation Finale Shows the Capture of Nazi Adolf Eichmann. But What Happened at His Trial Changed History, Too." *Time*, time.com/5377670/operation-finale-adolf-eichmann-trial/. Accessed 16 Nov. 2018.

⁴² "Eichmann Trial." *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/eichmann-trial. Accessed 11 Jan. 2019.

⁴³ "Eichmann Trial." *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/eichmann-trial. Accessed 11 Jan. 2019.

⁴⁴ Malkin, Peter Z., and Harry Stein. *Eichmann in My Hands*. New York City, Warner Books, 1990.

⁴⁵ "THE HOLOCAUST ON TRIAL: Considering the Impact and Legacy of a Global Media Event." *Maltz Museum of Jewish Heritage*, www.maltzmuseum.org/blog/the-holocaust-on-trial-considering-the-impact-and-legacy-of-a-global-media-event/. Accessed 11 Jan. 2019.

⁴⁶ Harry, Mulisch. *Criminal Case 40/61, The Trial of Adolf Eichmann*. Translated by Robert Naborn, 1961.

⁴⁷ Justice in Jerusalem. New York City, Harper and Row, 1966.

⁴⁸ Sherwood, Harriet. "Adolf Eichmann's capture, as told by the Mossad, in Israel exhibition." *The Guardian*, 15 Feb. 2012. *Support the Guardian*, www.theguardian.com/world/2012/feb/15/adolf-eichmann-exhibition-tel-aviv. Accessed 16 Nov. 2018.

Similarly, echoes of the trial attracted attention to the Holocaust survivors who had hesitated prior to the trial, to share their tragic stories.⁴⁹ Further, it brought about a significant change among Israeli youth in their attitude towards the Holocaust. For them, the Holocaust was a “remote and abstract issue.”⁵⁰ As a result of the trial, the Holocaust is now perceived as an integral part of their identity.⁵¹ The trial also gave rise to literature, some 600 works of various categories have been published in numerous languages. In addition, eighty-nine documentary films and four feature films have been produced.⁵² Famous poets and writers have written about the trial, including Eli Wiesel, Primo Levi, Nathan Alterman, and Haim Gouri.⁵³ In the same way, the trial sparked intellectual controversy among scholars, the best known being the debate on the journalistic reports of political philosopher Hannah Arendt.⁵⁴

The trial, orchestrated to lay bare the entirety of the Holocaust for the world to understand, was a striking mix of intense emotion on the part of witnesses, audience and prosecution and dispassion on Eichmann’s part. His inability to internalize the terrifying and heart-wrenching experiences being recounted was as if he was physically trying to keep the torrent of humanity on display contained.⁵⁵

⁴⁹ "THE HOLOCAUST ON TRIAL: Considering the Impact and Legacy of a Global Media Event." *Maltz Museum of Jewish Heritage*, www.maltzmuseum.org/blog/the-holocaust-on-trial-considering-the-impact-and-legacy-of-a-global-media-event/. Accessed 11 Jan. 2019.

⁵⁰ Gould, Allan. "Allan Gould: The Eichmann Effect." *The National Post*, 1 June 2012, nationalpost.com/opinion/allan-gould-the-eichmann-effect. Accessed 13 Jan. 2019.

⁵¹ Bar-Zohar, Michael, and Nissim Mishal. *Mossad*. New York, HarperCollins, 2007.

⁵² *Justice in Jerusalem*. New York City, Harper and Row, 1966.

⁵³ Geller, Doron. "Israel Military Intelligence: The Capture of Nazi Criminal Adolf Eichmann – Operation Finale." *Jewish Virtual Library*, 6 Aug. 2007, www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/the-capture-of-nazi-criminal-adolf-eichmann. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018.

⁵⁴ "Adolf Eichmann." *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, Gale, 1998. *Biography In Context*, http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/K1631001998/BIC?u=bppls_main&sid=BIC&xid=14daedfc. Accessed 14 Dec. 2018.

⁵⁵ "THE HOLOCAUST ON TRIAL: Considering the Impact and Legacy of a Global Media Event." *Maltz Museum of Jewish Heritage*, www.maltzmuseum.org/blog/the-holocaust-on-trial-considering-the-impact-and-legacy-of-a-global-media-event/. Accessed 11 Jan. 2019.

As one of the first global media events, the trial revealed the horrors the Nazis had brought on the Jewish people.⁵⁶ When the death sentence was handed down — the first and last in Israel’s history to date — there was both relief and disappointment. A key perpetrator of the tragic deaths of millions would no longer walk the earth.⁵⁷

At Eichmann’s trial, many Holocaust survivors spoke publicly for the first time, “giving a voice to the victims that they had not had before, and would compel the world to listen to the story of the Final Solution in an unprecedented way.”⁵⁸ The world’s consciousness had not yet been raised about genocide. The word “genocide” was rarely uttered, and the term “The Holocaust” had not yet entered the global vernacular. Eichmann’s trial changed that; unlike the Nuremberg Trials, hundreds of millions now watched. In the United States, many channels showed excerpts from the Eichmann trial every weeknight for months.⁵⁹

Eichmann's trial broke the taboo. The Holocaust was the central issue before a court for the first time, and the highly visible witnesses for the prosecution were Jews.⁶⁰ For the first time, survivors were prominent, present and publicly vocal.⁶¹ They could not testify about Eichmann's role of German criminal responsibility, but they could describe how their daily lives had been shaped by the criminals and their crimes.⁶² For the first time in history, the Jewish people had the

⁵⁶ Salpeter, Eliahu. "Israeli Reaction to Eichmann Trial." *The Canadian Jewish Chronicle*, 28 Apr. 1961. *Google News*, news.google.com/newspapers?nid=883&dat=19610428 &id=pO9OAAAIAIBAJ&sjid=ZUwDAAAIAIBA Jpg=3131,5584919 &hl=en. Accessed 9 Jan. 2019.

⁵⁷ Klieger, Noah. "The Eichmann Trial's Cataclysmic Effect on the World." *Ynet News*, 26 Apr

⁵⁸ Gould, Allan. "Allan Gould: The Eichmann Effect." *The National Post*, 1 June 2012, nationalpost.com/opinion/allan-gould-the-eichmann-effect. Accessed 13 Jan. 2019.

⁵⁹ Geller, Doron. "Israel Military Intelligence: The Capture of Nazi Criminal Adolf Eichmann – Operation Finale." *Jewish Virtual Library*, 6 Aug. 2007, www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/the-capture-of-nazi-criminal-adolf-eichmann. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018.

⁶⁰ Harry, Mulisch. *Criminal Case 40/61, The Trial of Adolf Eichmann*. Translated by Robert Naborn, 1961.

⁶¹ Gould, Allan. "Allan Gould: The Eichmann Effect." *The National Post*, 1 June 2012, nationalpost.com/opinion/allan-gould-the-eichmann-effect. Accessed 13 Jan. 2019.

⁶² "Eichmann Trial." *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/eichmann-trial. Accessed 11 Jan. 2019.

means to bring about justice to those who persecuted them.⁶³ The Eichmann trial broadened the study of genocide. Now, there is a consensus among democratic states that genocidal killers cannot take refuge behind claims of obedience to superior orders.⁶⁴

Furthermore, there was a proliferation of museums and annual remembrances around the world. The media took on the challenge of depicting the Holocaust. Movies such as *Judgment at Nuremberg* and *Schindler's List*; TV shows like *Holocaust*; and novels *The Wall*, *Mila 18* and *Exodus* all owe something to the educational effect of the trial.⁶⁵ On a global level, the Eichmann trial and the education on the Holocaust has encouraged communities to vocalize commemorating their own tragedies.⁶⁶ On some occasions, the community of civilized nations even rouses itself to give meaning to the words "never again."⁶⁷

The Eichmann trial became the first time in Israeli history that the atrocities of the death camps were publicly discussed.⁶⁸ "The Eichmann trial raised so much awareness that subsequent national conflicts were, and still are, interpreted in relation to the Holocaust as the most extreme of all Jewish catastrophes."⁶⁹

Isser Harel described the importance of its undertaking: "For the first time in history the Jews would judge their assassins; and for the first time the world would hear, and the young generation in Israel would hear, the full story of the edict of annihilation against an entire

⁶³ Harel, Isser. *The House on Garibaldi Street*. Viking Press, 1975

⁶⁴ Gould, Allan. "Allan Gould: The Eichmann Effect." *The National Post*, 1 June 2012, nationalpost.com/opinion/allan-gould-the-eichmann-effect. Accessed 13 Jan. 2019.

⁶⁵ Sherwood, Harriet. "Adolf Eichmann's capture, as told by the Mossad, in Israel exhibition." *The Guardian*, 15 Feb. 2012. *Support the Guardian*, www.theguardian.com/world/2012/feb/15/adolf-eichmann-exhibition-tel-aviv. Accessed 16 Nov. 2018.

⁶⁶ Macmillan. "About the Eichmann Trial." *Yad Vashem*, 1990, www.yadvashem.org/holocaust/eichmann-trial/about.html. Accessed 26 Jan. 2019.

⁶⁷ Harry, Mulisch. *Criminal Case 40/61, The Trial of Adolf Eichmann*. Translated by Robert Naborn, 1961.

⁶⁸ "Adolf Eichmann His Escape and Capture in Argentina Operation Eichmann." *Holocaust Education & Archive Research Team*, 2009, www.holocaustresearchproject.org/trials/eichmanntrialcapture.html. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018.

⁶⁹ Kraft, Jessica. "The Eichmann Trial." *My Jewish Learning*, www.myjewishlearning.com/article/the-eichmann-trial/. Accessed 24 Jan. 2019

people.”⁷⁰ In April 1961, the world understood what the Germans had done.⁷¹ The trial of Adolf Eichmann echoed throughout the entire world from the courtroom in Beit Ha'am. It riveted the attention of the Israeli public and aroused great interest all over the world.⁷²

Journalists from many countries converged upon Jerusalem to cover the trial, and international public opinion followed its course with concentration; the trial gave rise to discussions on a great variety of subjects, on legal, social, educational, psychological, religious, and political levels.⁷³

In general, the trial was well received around the world and seen as the embodiment of historical justice. The case was not a history lesson, but it was a crucial event: it reframed the historical significance of the Holocaust and it exploded a barrier of public silence.⁷⁴ The purpose of catching Eichmann was clear from the beginning — to remind the world what the Germans did to the Jews, and to remind Israeli youth why the state of Israel needs to exist.⁷⁵ Its purpose was to put the Holocaust on trial, and Eichmann was a tool to that end.⁷⁶

This trial did not accomplish everything that was hoped: to bury the Nazi era for good. On the contrary, there have been a number of trials since the Eichmann case, and the number of literature and artworks about the Nazi era, grows each year. The Nazi years are the only

⁷⁰ Rothman, Lily. "Operation Finale Shows the Capture of Nazi Adolf Eichmann. But What Happened at His Trial Changed History, Too." *Time*, [time.com/5377670/operation-finale-adolf-eichmann-trial/](https://www.time.com/5377670/operation-finale-adolf-eichmann-trial/). Accessed 16 Nov. 2018.

⁷¹ Aderet, Ofer. "An Inside Look at Israel's Operation to Capture Nazi Criminal Adolf Eichmann." *Haaretz*, 16 Nov. 2018, www.haaretz.com/1.5213995. Accessed 15 Apr. 2012.

⁷² "THE HOLOCAUST ON TRIAL: Considering the Impact and Legacy of a Global Media Event." *Maltz Museum of Jewish Heritage*, www.maltzmuseum.org/blog/the-holocaust-on-trial-considering-the-impact-and-legacy-of-a-global-media-event/. Accessed 11 Jan. 2019.

⁷³ Kraft, Jessica. "The Eichmann Trial." *My Jewish Learning*, www.myjewishlearning.com/article/the-eichmann-trial/. Accessed 24 Jan. 2019.

⁷⁴ "Adolf Eichmann His Escape and Capture in Argentina Operation Eichmann." *Holocaust Education & Archive Research Team*, 2009, www.holocaustresearchproject.org/trials/eichmanntrialcapture.html. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018.

⁷⁵ "What it took to capture Eichmann." *Washington Times* [Washington, DC], 26 Apr. 2009, p. M32. *Biography In Context*, http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/A198560784/BIC?u=bpls_main&sid=BIC&xid=7650e108. Accessed 21 Dec. 2018.

⁷⁶ "Eichmann Trial." *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/eichmann-trial. Accessed 11 Jan. 2019.

historical period in the modern age to generate ever greater interest in subsequent decades, the enormity and significance emerges more clearly as time passes, rather than fading away.⁷⁷

Conclusion

In 1961, one of the most spectacular trials of the 20th century began in Jerusalem: The State of Israel vs. Adolf Eichmann.⁷⁸ The proceedings against the former SS Obersturmbannführer, who organized the tragic deportations of millions of Jews to Nazi extermination camps, brought the Holocaust to the center of global attention.⁷⁹ The Eichmann trial was almost more important in the field of education than in that of justice.⁸⁰ His trial triumphantly raised the conscience of the world, and thereby changed humanity for the better. The trial educated the Israeli public about the true nature of the Holocaust.⁸¹ In the rest of the world, the intense media coverage rooted the Holocaust in the collective cultural consciousness. This consciousness, in Israel and throughout the world, is the enduring legacy of the operation to capture Adolf Eichmann.⁸²

⁷⁷ Harel, Isser. *The House on Garibaldi Street*. Viking Press, 1975.

⁷⁸ Harel, Isser. *The House on Garibaldi Street*. Viking Press, 1975.

⁷⁹ Macmillan. "About the Eichmann Trial." *Yad Vashem*, 1990, www.yadvashem.org/holocaust/eichmann-trial/about.html. Accessed 26 Jan. 2019.

⁸⁰ "Adolf Eichmann: Trial Video." *Youtube*, www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/adolf-eichmann-trial-video. Accessed 9 Jan. 2019.

⁸¹ "THE HOLOCAUST ON TRIAL: Considering the Impact and Legacy of a Global Media Event." *Maltz Museum of Jewish Heritage*, www.maltzmuseum.org/blog/the-holocaust-on-trial-considering-the-impact-and-legacy-of-a-global-media-event/. Accessed 11 Jan. 2019.

⁸² Macmillan. "About the Eichmann Trial." *Yad Vashem*, 1990, www.yadvashem.org/holocaust/eichmann-trial/about.html. Accessed 26 Jan. 2019.

Appendix A



"Adolf Eichmann His Escape and Capture in Argentina Operation Eichmann." Holocaust Education & Archive Research Team, 2009,

www.holocaustresearchproject.org/trials/eichmanntrialcapture.html. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018.

Eichmann had been issued with an ID Certificate in the northern Italian town of Termeno in 1948, the ID was numbered 131 and bore the name Ricardo Klement, and claimed that he was a technician born in Bolzano, Italy, and apolide (without nationality). The Red Cross passport enabled Eichmann to escape from Italy and sail to Argentina under the false alias, Ricardo Klement.

Appendix B



---. Eichmann upon Arrest. *Yad Vashem*,
www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/eichmann/images/operation_eichmann/public_opinion/18s.jpg. Accessed 26 Jan. 2019.

Isser Harel learned that on May 20, Argentina would celebrate their 150th anniversary of its independence. High-ranking delegations would be coming from all over the world. An Israeli delegation headed by Minister of Education, Abba Eban would also come. Abba Eban was happy to learn that El Al would be putting at his disposal a special plane — a Britannia "Whispering Giant." Nobody told Eban that the real reason for El Al's generosity was Operation Eichmann. On May 20, Eichmann was to be brought back to Israel, he was blindfolded and drugged so his senses would be blurred and his speech impeached. He was then dressed in an EI AL uniform and brought onto the plane.

Appendix C



---. Eichmann in Trial. Yad Vashem,

www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/eichmann/images/trial/verdict/11s.jpg. Accessed 26 Jan.

2019.

During Adolf Eichmann's trial in Jerusalem, Israel, a bulletproof transparent box was designed to prevent from any assassinations or lynching.

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

Adolf Eichmann's False Identification. *Holocaust Education & Archive Research Team*, 2009,

www.holocaustresearchproject.org/trials/images/False%20identification%20papers%20used%20by%20Adolf%20Eichmann%20while%20he%20was%20living%20in%20Argentina%20under%20the%20assumed%20name%20Ricardo%20Klement.jpg. Accessed 26 Jan. 2019. This photo showed the false identification used by Adolf Eichmann while he was living in Argentina under the assumed name, Ricardo Klement. This photo was beneficial to my project production because it showed me how Eichmann was able to escape to Argentina by changing his name and assuming a new identity.

Adolf Eichmann's Red Cross Passport. Holocaust Education & Archive Research Team, 2009,

www.holocaustresearchproject.org/trials/images/Adolf%20Eichmann's%20red%20cross%20passport.jpg. Accessed 26 Jan. 2019. This photo showed Adolf Eichmann's red cross passport. I found this photo useful because it helped me understand how Eichmann fled to Argentina using the Red Cross passport with the adopted name of Ricardo Klement.

Adolf Eichmann's Resume. Holocaust Education & Archive Research Team, 2009,

www.holocaustresearchproject.org/trials/images/Eichmans%20Lebenslauf.jpg. Accessed 26 Jan. 2019. This photo was of Adolf Eichmann's hand written resume. This photo presented the resume Eichmann used in 1937, and it was useful because it included his roles as a Nazi soldier and his achievements he had with enacting the final solution.

"Adolf Eichmann: Trial Video." *Youtube*, www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/adolf-eichmann-trial-video.

Accessed 9 Jan. 2019. This primary source video showed the entirety of Adolf Eichmann's trial. Watching this video displayed significant information on Eichmann's trial and showed how consequential it was to Israel. The video also revealed the intensity of the trial, which helped to convey the idea that Eichmann's trial was outstandingly impactful.

Aharoni, Zvi, and Wilhelm Dietl. *Operation Eichmann*. John Wiley & Sons, 1996. This book was written by one of the Mossad agents that played a significant role in Eichmann's capture, thus developing my project further by providing a different perspective on Eichmann and his trial's influence. It also implored very detailed information about Eichmann's capture, giving me the facts concerning Eichmann's identification and abduction.

"Argentine Police Probe Eichmann Kidnap Report." *Times Daily*, 27 May 1960. *Google News*, news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1842&dat=19600527&id=Wx4sAAAIAIAJ&sjid=1cYEAAIAIAJ&pg=780,3242091&hl=en. Accessed 9 Jan. 2019. This newspaper allowed me to fully understand how the public was reacting to Adolf Eichmann's capture. It also examined the possibility of another one of Adolf Hitler's "henchman," an associate of Adolf Eichmann, who could have possibly been involved in Eichmann's escape. It relayed the ideas that Eichmann had help from multiple connections, which gave information on the fact that Eichmann was protected during those years living in Argentina.

Eichmann, Adolf. "Adolf Eichmann's Plea to the Court in 1962." 31 May 1962. Speech. This source provided me with Adolf Eichmann's plea to the court on May 31, 1962. The plea helped me to understand Eichmann's beliefs and motives as well as his own definition of the assertion of guilt.

It proved Eichmann's continuous claim that he was just following orders and delivered a clear sense of his stance on obedience and duty.

---. Letter. 1961. *Jewish Virtual Library*, www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/memoirs-of-adolfeichmann.

Accessed 9 Jan. 2019. The Jewish Virtual Library allocated letters and memoirs written by Adolf Eichmann. These memoirs were written by Adolf Eichmann during his trial, they held information regarding the final solution. They contained details about Eichmann's family and childhood, as well as omissions representing his own archives and accounts as a Nazi soldier. These sources were evident of Eichmann's thoughts and feelings and they assisted me in inferring whether or not guilt played a factor in his actions at his trial.

"Eichmann Hanged." *St. Petersburg Times*, 1 June 1962. *Google News*,

news.google.com/newspapers?nid=888&dat=19620601&id=r9wqAAAIBAJ&sjid=LFIDAAAIBAJ&pg=6561,8203&hl=en. Accessed 9 Jan. 2019. This primary source newspaper summarized Eichmann's death. It helped me to understand Israeli public view and opinion on Eichmann and his death sentence. It also provided information about Israel's history of crime and punishment, and that with Eichmann being the first ever execution to occur in Israel, how Israel would react.

Eichmann Interrogated. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1983. This book was filled with transcripts from archives of the Israeli police. This book focused centrally along the ideas of the events leading up to and during the Eichmann trial. It helped me understand more of the law based influence that was present in Eichmann's capture and trial. The archives and transcripts also added to the many perspectives on Eichmann and his responsibility in the Holocaust.

Eichmann Led to EI AL Plane. *Yad Vashem*,

www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/eichmann/images/operation_eichmann/capturing/13s.jpg. Accessed 26 Jan. 2019. This picture was of Eichmann with covered eyes, being led to EI AL plane, on the way back to Jerusalem, Israel, in 1960. I used this photo to understand the abduction part of Operation Eichmann. It demonstrated how Eichmann was powerless and under the Mossad's control, which added to the effect of understanding Eichmann's trial.

Eichmann on Trial in Israel. Jewish Virtual Library, 6 Aug. 2007,

www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/images/eichtrial.jpg. Accessed 26 Jan. 2019. This photo showed Eichmann during his trial in Jerusalem, Israel. This photo helped me to understand how Eichmann was reacting to his trial, it also showed the bulletproof glass box that Eichmann sat in to protect him from being murdered or lynched.

"Eichmann Says He 'Obeyed Orders.'" *Daytona Beach Morning Journal*, 21 Apr. 1961. *Google News*, news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1873&dat=19610421&id=obQeAAAAIIBAJ&sjid=ktEEAAAIAIBAJ&pg=779,3532587&hl=en. Accessed 9 Jan. 2019. This newspaper article helped me realize different views of Adolf Eichmann, particularly during his trial. In addition to providing information on the perspective of the public, the article outlined Eichmann's claims and his own perception of himself and his role in the Holocaust. It was useful to me because it showed his denial and refusal to the accusations. Along with this, the newspaper presented the idea that Eichmann was perhaps not a Jewish hater or an anti-Semite, for he had friends as well as many relatives that were Jewish.

Eichmann's Identification Papers. *Holocaust Encyclopedia*,

encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/eichmann-trial. Accessed 26 Jan. 2019. This picture showed the false identification papers used by Adolf Eichmann while he was living in Argentina under the alias, Ricardo Klement. This photo gave me a general idea of how Eichmann assumed numerous different identities in a ploy to escape to Argentina. It presented the idea that Eichmann used multiple names to his advantage in the process of actually changing his name and fleeing to Argentina.

"Eichmann's Son's Hit Israel Trial." *The Victoria Advocate*, 2 June 1962. *Google News*,

news.google.com/newspapers?nid=861&dat=19620602&id=hyIKAAAIBAJ&sjid=4EoDAAAIBAJ&pg=5787,93117&hl=en. Accessed 9 Jan. 2019. This newspaper contained Eichmann's son's reactions to his trial. It included information that suggests that Eichmann's children had similar views on their father's trial. In addition to the insight on what Eichmann's sons had to say about his death, the newspaper lended another view on Israel's competence in respecting public's values.

Eichmann Standing in Prison Yard. *Holocaust Education & Archive Research Team*, 2009,

www.holocaustresearchproject.org/trials/images/Eichamann%20walks%20the%20prison%20yard%20in%20Israel.jpg. Accessed 26 Jan. 2019. This photo showed Eichmann standing alone in a prison yard during his trial. It helped me to understand that Eichmann was helpless, but whilst claiming to be following orders he had an unusual amount of composure during the trial.

Gould, Allan. "Allan Gould: The Eichmann Effect." *The National Post*, 1 June 2012,

nationalpost.com/opinion/allan-gould-the-eichmann-effect. Accessed 13 Jan. 2019. This source

focused on the Eichmann Effect, or the huge impacts his trial had. This website developed my project further by explaining the influence Eichmann's trial created and how media coverage brought attention to a new perception of the Holocaust.

Harel, Isser. *The House on Garibaldi Street*. Viking Press, 1975. Through Isser Harel's book, I was able to gather information that would help me understand the logistical details that occurred in order to capture Adolf Eichmann. This book provided the more in depth facts regarding Operation Eichmann. It also showed the perspective on the Holocaust from Israel which conveyed new messages regarding the trial's overall impact.

Hausner, Gideon. Arrest Warrant. *Yad Vashem*,

www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/eichmann/images/operation_eichmann/public_opinion/16s.jpg. Accessed 26 Jan. 2019. This photo showed Adolf Eichmann's arrest warrant. This picture displayed the warrant used upon Eichmann's arrest in Jerusalem, Israel. It showed me even after Eichmann had been captured and brought back to stand trial in Jerusalem, Israeli officials were treating it as nothing more or nothing more consequential than a fair trial.

---. Courtroom during Trial. *Yad Vashem*,

www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/eichmann/images/trial/verdict/10s.jpg. Accessed 26 Jan. 2019. This picture showed the courtroom during Eichmann's trial in Jerusalem, Israel. This photo was useful to my project understanding because I got to see the setting of the trial, which added to the effect of portraying how Eichmann's trial was that of the most serious and most notorious trials in history.

---. *EI AL Plane. Yad Vashem,*

www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/eichmann/images/operation_eichmann/capturing/14s.jpg. Accessed 26 Jan. 2019. This photo showed the EI AL 4x plane, which enabled direct flight from Argentina to Israel in 1960, and was used to abduct Eichmann out of Argentina. It helped me to see what the plane looked like in order to bring Eichmann back to Jerusalem.

---. *Eichmann before an Israeli Judge. Yad Vashem,*

www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/eichmann/images/operation_eichmann/public_opinion/17s.jpg. Accessed 26 Jan. 2019. This photo showed Eichmann before an Israeli judge issuing his arrest warrant in 1960. This picture furthered my project by demonstrating to a certain effect that Israel was handling Eichmann's capture in the highest seriousness and that Eichmann was in fact complying with Israeli officials actions.

---. *Eichmann during his Trial. Yad Vashem,*

www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/eichmann/images/trial/verdict/03s.jpg. Accessed 26 Jan. 2019. This picture showed Eichmann during his trial in Jerusalem, Israel. It was useful to see the perspective of what was occurring during the trial. I used this picture in order to further my understanding of how Eichmann's trial had historical context.

---. *Eichmann in Prison Cell. Yad Vashem,*

www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/eichmann/images/trial/preparing/05s.jpg. Accessed 26 Jan. 2019. This photo was of Adolf Eichmann in his prison cell. I found this primary source picture helpful because I got to see Eichmann in the prison readying himself for the trial.

---. Eichmann in Trial. *Yad Vashem*,

www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/eichmann/images/trial/verdict/11s.jpg. Accessed 26 Jan. 2019. This photo showed Adolf Eichmann during his trial in Jerusalem, Israel. I used this picture to better understand what the trial was like. Just from looking at the picture I was able to comprehend the feelings and perceptions that went on during the trial.

---. Eichmann's Red Cross Passport. *Yad Vashem*,

www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/eichmann/images/operation_eichmann/argentina/01s.jpg. Accessed 26 Jan. 2019. This picture showed Eichmann's red cross passport. This photo helped me because I got to see Eichmann's passport that he used to escape from Italy to Argentina. It also showed his false identification which allowed me to understand how he was able to use a borrowed identity to change his entire identity.

---. Eichmann's Worker ID for Mercedes Benz. *Yad Vashem*,

www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/eichmann/images/operation_eichmann/argentina/03s.jpg. Accessed 26 Jan. 2019. This photo showed Eichmann's Argentine worker's I.D. for Mercedes Benz. This picture was useful because it showed me that Eichmann continued to use the false alias, Ricardo Klement, when he was hired for Mercedes Benz.

---. Eichmann upon Arrest. *Yad Vashem*,

www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/eichmann/images/operation_eichmann/public_opinion/18s.jpg. Accessed 26 Jan. 2019. This photo showed Eichmann's pictures and fingerprints upon arrest in 1960. This photo helped me to also understand more of how Israel double checked that the man

brought back from Argentina was in fact Adolf Eichmann. It also conveys the security measures that occur in order to arrest Eichmann.

Justice in Jerusalem. New York City, Harper and Row, 1966. This book emphasized the idea of a “triumphant justice” by bringing Eichmann to trial. It helped me understand how Eichmann’s trial was something held in the highest regard pertaining to egalitarianism but also was in fact a victory. It also provided information that would suggest a perspective of Eichmann that was based off of the educational and legal sense.

---. Newspaper About Eichmann. *Yad Vashem*,

www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/eichmann/images/trial/execution_verdict/newspapers.jpg.

Accessed 26 Jan. 2019. This picture showed newspapers that were printed after Eichmann's verdict. The newspapers in the photo depicted certain views of the trial through propaganda. It was useful to me because it gave me another idea of the perspectives and reactions that the public had to Eichmann’s trial. It showed that the trial was of the highest importance in Israel and that people were using media to convey their own opinions on his trial.

---. Personal Belongings. *Yad Vashem*,

www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/eichmann/images/operation_eichmann/public_opinion/15s.jpg.

Accessed 26 Jan. 2019. This picture showed Eichmann's personal belongings upon arrest.

This was useful because it provided me with a general idea of what Eichmann carried with him on a daily basis.

---. Personal Documents. *Yad Vashem*,

www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/eichmann/images/operation_eichmann/public_opinion/01_9s.jpg. Accessed 26 Jan. 2019. This picture showed Eichmann's personal documents upon arrest. This was useful because the photo presented me with Adolf Eichmann's actual documents, the documents displayed Eichmann's personal information which was also used to identify Eichmann back in Argentina.

---. *Proof of Guilt*. *Yad Vashem*,

www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/eichmann/images/trial/proof/_DSC8589s.jpg. Accessed 26 Jan. 2019. This picture showed the document claiming Eichmann's guilty verdict. This photo was very important because it was literally the guilty verdict that was handed down to Eichmann. This was also helpful for me to understand how Eichmann's trial ended, it is an official representation of justice.

---. Ship Eichmann Escaped On. *Yad Vashem*,

www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/eichmann/images/operation_eichmann/argentina/02s.jpg. Accessed 26 Jan. 2019. This picture showed the Giovanni C ship, in which Eichmann used to escape to Argentina in 1950. This photo was useful to me so I could understand how Eichmann was able to leave Argentina using his fake identification. I also used it to see and gather a basic understanding of the ship that Eichmann boarded to flee Italy.

---. Surveillance Journal. *Yad Vashem*,

www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/eichmann/images/operation_eichmann/locating/08s.jpg. Accessed 26 Jan. 2019. This photo showed a surveillance journal kept by an agent while the

Mossad was still trying to find Eichmann and identify him. It was useful because it showed how Mossad operatives were persevering and working incredibly hard to locate and identify Eichmann without alerting Argentina.

---. Surveillance of Eichmann's House. *Yad Vashem*,

www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/eichmann/images/operation_eichmann/locating/06s.jpg.

Accessed 26 Jan. 2019. This photo showed surveillance photographs of Eichmann's house on Garibaldi Street during which the Mossad was attempting to identify Eichmann with absolute certainty. It was helpful because I was able to understand that finding Eichmann in Argentina wasn't such an easy task, that the operation was really a lot of observing and recording.

---. Trial Notes. *Yad Vashem*,

www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/eichmann/images/trial/preparing/09s.jpg. Accessed 26 Jan. 2019. This photo showed Adolf Eichmann's trial notes. This photo allowed me to understand what was happening during Eichmann's trial, but more importantly what Eichmann felt and his own perspective on his role in the Holocaust.

Klieger, Noah. "The Eichmann Trial's Cataclysmic Effect on the World." *Ynet News*, 26 Apr. 2016,

www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4796503,00.html. Accessed 25 Jan. 2019. This article was written by an Auschwitz survivor, therefore it helped me gather information on how Eichmann's trial was affecting other Holocaust survivors and its significance among the younger Jewish generation. As well as it gave me insight on the trial's influence on Holocaust survivors and Jews, it also presented information about the significance of Eichmann's trial and a much larger scale.

Malkin, Peter Z., and Harry Stein. *Eichmann in My Hands*. New York City, Warner Books, 1990. This book was written by one of the agents present during Eichmann's capture. Not only was Peter Z. Malkin a Mossad operative that assisted Isser Harel capture Eichmann, he also was a Jew, thus this book really helped to create this new idea of how Eichmann's trial was such a monumental stepping stone in shaping an awareness of the Holocaust. This book also helped develop my project further by providing material on the actual capture.

"'Not Worthy of Mercy' - Eichmann." *Daytona Beach Morning Journal*, 20 Apr. 1961. *Google News*, news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1873&dat=19610420&id=oLQeAAAIBAJ&sjid=ktEEAAAIBAJ&pg=686,3502039&hl=en. Accessed 9 Jan. 2019. I used this source to help put Eichmann's trial into historical context. It was also helpful to understand Adolf Eichmann's views towards his trial. It allowed me to discover if Eichmann felt any guilt or remorse in his role in the Holocaust. The source was actually quite contradictory to other sources, other sources have conveyed that Eichmann claimed to have just been following orders but this newspaper displayed the idea that Eichmann himself did not think himself worthy of mercy. This suggested that the public had differing interpretations of Eichmann and his trial.

Remains on Garibaldi Street. Holocaust Education & Archive Research Team, 2009, www.holocaustresearchproject.org/trials/images/Remains%20of%20Eichmanns%20home%20at%2014%20Garibaldi%20St.JPG. Accessed 26 Jan. 2019. This photo showed the remains of Eichmann's home at 14 Garibaldi St. It helped me to understand where Eichmann was living while he was in Argentina. It also was useful because it showed me how Mossad operatives were able to find and identify Eichmann through numerous contacts and much surveillance.

Secondary Sources

Aderet, Ofer. "An Inside Look at Israel's Operation to Capture Nazi Criminal Adolf Eichmann." *Haaretz*, 16 Nov. 2018, www.haaretz.com/1.5213995. Accessed 15 Apr. 2012. This source provided the very general facts about Eichmann's capture and trial. It gave background information on Eichmann's capture, which then helped me comprehend just how important Eichmann's capture and trial was and would be in history. Along with that, it showed the occurrences of Eichmann's capture, this website also provided some basic ideas as to the effects Eichmann's trial had.

"Adolf Eichmann." *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, Gale, 1998. *Biography In Context*, http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/K1631001998/BIC?u=bpls_main&sid=BIC&xid=14daedfc. Accessed 14 Dec. 2018. This source was more of a background information site. It gave information that would help create my understanding of Adolf Eichmann. This source helped to further my research by detailing Adolf Eichmann's life before, during and after World War II. Specifically this source described his years leading up to and as a Nazi soldier.

"Adolf Eichmann His Escape and Capture in Argentina Operation Eichmann." *Holocaust Education & Archive Research Team*, 2009, www.holocaustresearchproject.org/trials/eichmanntrialcapture.html. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018. This source was a stepping stone in my research on Eichmann's capture and trial. It provided me with the background information on Eichmann's capture, as well as his trial, but it focused greatly on Eichmann's escape to Argentina. It was essential to my research because it gave much facts on how Eichmann managed to flee from Italy to Argentina through using a Red Cross passport and a new identity.

"Adolf Eichmann Kidnapped in Argentina." *History Today*, vol. 60, no. 5, May 2010. *Academic Search Premier*,

0-web.a.ebscohost.com.nell.flatironslibrary.org/src_ic/detail/detail?vid=1&sid=a8f6ebf1-3eef-46fc-a327-2f1041e4aec2%40sdc-v-sessmgr01&bdata=#AN=50615946&db=aph. Accessed 14 Dec. 2018. Eichmann's trial had much controversy, especially by philosopher, Hannah Arendt. This source helped me understand a little more of the negative aspect of Eichmann's trial, and while I focused mainly on the positive impact, it was helpful to understand that there was in fact people in Israel and around the world that thought differently about Eichmann's trial. This source helped me understand Hannah Arendt's phrase "the banality of evil" and how it related to Adolf Eichmann. It also showed me other ideas regarding Eichmann and his trial, and that people have also opinionated different views on how the Eichmann trial would have long lasting impacts.

Bar-Zohar, Michael, and Nissim Mishal. *Mossad*. New York, HarperCollins, 2007. This book provided contained some of the greatest operations the Mossad every completed. It provided very detailed insight on the logistics and tactical sides of Adolf Eichmann's capture. It also contained further knowledge on how the Mossad managed to find Eichmann in Argentina and how he was identified. It focused mainly on the planning of the capture and less on his trial and the impact but it was helpful to see all the precision that went into his capture. The source helped me to understand just how much the Mossad planned and formulated Eichmann's capture, in which it also helped me to realize that his capture was something of great importance to Israel and the rest of the world.

"Eichmann begged for his life." *World War II*, May-June 2016, p. 16. *Biography In Context*,

http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/A448794225/BIC?u=bpls_main&sid=BIC&xid=94f8ae68.

Accessed 21 Dec. 2018. This source furthered my research by giving information on Eichmann's views of his trial. This journal supported the idea that Eichmann, even though he claimed he was just following orders, essentially "begged for his life." My interpretation of this was that Eichmann denied all the accusations against him because, though he knew his role in the Holocaust, he never saw himself as a killer. It helped me further understand that Eichmann truly believed he had not committed any crimes, that he was just obeying and following orders.

"Eichmann Trial." *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/eichmann-trial.

Accessed 11 Jan. 2019. This source was important to my research because it examined the trial. It gave information on the legal, educational, and cultural perspectives of his trial. This website helped me to understand the occurrences during Eichmann's trial. It focused attention on the testimonies and witnesses and provided me with information regarding the trial's proceedings playing a role in introducing the Holocaust on a global level.

Geller, Doron. "Israel Military Intelligence: The Capture of Nazi Criminal Adolf Eichmann – Operation Finale." *Jewish Virtual Library*, 6 Aug. 2007, www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/the-capture-of-nazi-criminal-adolf-eichmann. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018. This source was among the most helpful in terms of general background information on Adolf Eichmann and his capture. It gave me the basic information about Eichmann's roles as a Nazi and his responsibility in creating death camps. It also provided much information on Isser Harel, and his reasoning for wanting to capture Eichmann. This website was helpful to me because I really got to understand the motives for bringing Eichmann to stand trial in Jerusalem, and it also allowed me to learn about how Eichmann enacted the final solution.

Harry, Mulisch. *Criminal Case 40/61, The Trial of Adolf Eichmann*. Translated by Robert Naborn, 1961.

This book was also written by another one of the agents that captured Adolf Eichmann. It focused more on the legal aspects of Eichmann's trial and how his trial is rooted in history. This book was very detailed in terms of giving me information on Eichmann's trial. It helped develop my project because it allowed me to discover more about the Eichmann case. More specifically, it was useful to me because I got to understand in depth, the charges Eichmann faced and how the accusations helped bring attention to the Holocaust.

Hauser, Gideon. "Operation Eichmann." *Yad Vashem*,

www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/eichmann/capturing.asp. Accessed 15 Nov. 2018. This source provided me with very detailed information on Eichmann's capture. It focused on how Eichmann was abducted out of Argentina, which gave way to my understanding of the amount of planning and coordination used to make sure Eichmann's capture was successful. It was useful to me because I was able to understand how Eichmann's capture was carried out and in itself, how capturing Eichmann was a triumph.

History.com Editors. "Eichmann Captured." *History.com*, A&E Television Networks, 21 July 2010,

www.history.com/this-day-in-history/eichmann-captured. Accessed 16 Nov. 2018. This source gave me an overview of Eichmann's capture. It gave the general information on how Eichmann was captured, along with including how Eichmann was identified, both before the capture and after. It also provided detailed information concerning Eichmann's years as a Nazi. This source showed me how Eichmann was tasked with the implementation of the final solution and his roles in the Holocaust. It was helpful in that I learned more of how Eichmann was identified but also how Adolf Eichmann played a major role in the Holocaust.

“THE HOLOCAUST ON TRIAL: Considering the Impact and Legacy of a Global Media Event.” *Maltz Museum of Jewish Heritage*,

www.maltzmuseum.org/blog/the-holocaust-on-trial-considering-the-impact-and-legacy-of-a-global-media-event/. Accessed 11 Jan. 2019. The source furthered my research by providing me with information on the impact of the Holocaust. It helped to show how media coverage on the Eichmann trial created this legacy that would influence the public and a greater scale. It delivered the purpose of putting Eichmann on trial was essentially to put the Holocaust on trial. This source was incredibly essential in my project because it really showed me how the Eichmann trial would impact perception.

Kraft, Jessica. "The Eichmann Trial." *My Jewish Learning*,

www.myjewishlearning.com/article/the-eichmann-trial/. Accessed 24 Jan. 2019. This blog was written for the purpose of informing the reader of Adolf Eichmann's capture and his trial. It contained information about discourse and critique of Israel and Eichmann's trial, again focusing on some of the negatives of the Eichmann trial. It was important to my project because it helped me understand more of the effects the trial had and how through those impacts the trial would become a very crucial part of history.

Macmillan. "About the Eichmann Trial." *Yad Vashem*, 1990,

www.yadvashem.org/holocaust/eichmann-trial/about.html. Accessed 26 Jan. 2019. This source was centered on Eichmann's trial, specifically on the charges Eichmann faced. It contained critical information to help better my project in terms of historical context. This source provided a

lot of information on witnesses and testimonies at Eichmann's trial, which helped me to also understand the influence the trial had on Holocaust survivors.

Papdatas, Peter. *The Eichmann Trial*. New York City, Frederick A Praeger, 1964. This source developed my research more by helping me understand the trial better. It was a bit confusing to understand what exactly happened during Eichmann's trial but this source helped to simplify my ideas of how the trial pertained to the theme and how it had historical context. This source provided very in depth research about Eichmann's trial, along with this, it introduced new information on Eichmann's verdict and his execution.

Rothman, Lily. "Operation Finale Shows the Capture of Nazi Adolf Eichmann. But What Happened at His Trial Changed History, Too." *Time*, time.com/5377670/operation-finale-adolf-eichmann-trial/. Accessed 16 Nov. 2018. This source described Eichmann's capture but it really highlighted how Eichmann's trial would change history. It was useful to my project because it showed the significance and impact the trial had. This source showed the influence the trial had on Israel but it also helped me realize that the Eichmann trial affected much more than just Israel. That Adolf Eichmann's capture created a global wide impact that would bring about this new awareness of the Holocaust.

Sherwood, Harriet. "Adolf Eichmann's capture, as told by the Mossad, in Israel exhibition." *The Guardian*, 15 Feb. 2012. *Support the Guardian*, www.theguardian.com/world/2012/feb/15/adolf-eichmann-exhibition-tel-aviv. Accessed 16 Nov. 2018. This secondary source website gave me information about Eichmann's capture through an Israeli exhibition. It was very helpful in giving the basic information of Eichmann's capture. This

source also provided me with a lot of primary source images that helped further my project as well. It also helped me understand the influences Eichmann's trial had, as well as how the Eichmann trial changed public opinion on the Holocaust.

"What it took to capture Eichmann." *Washington Times* [Washington, DC], 26 Apr. 2009, p. M32.

Biography In Context,

http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/A198560784/BIC?u=bpls_main&sid=BIC&xid=7650e108.

Accessed 21 Dec. 2018. This source was very helpful in that it demonstrated what it took to capture Eichmann. It showed me the amount of organization that was used to ensure the operation would be successful, this delivering the purpose of capturing Eichmann was to bring the Holocaust to a center of attention. This source also prevailed the significance Eichmann's capture and trial had in history, thus giving the ideas of how the media reshaped an awareness of the Holocaust.