

Dealing with The Devil: The Triumph and Tragedy of IBM's Business with the Third Reich

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INNOVATION AND INVENTION drive the world forward and thrive off a free market that rewards individuals and companies that can tap into supply and demand. During tragedy, especially wartime, this can take a dark turn when the triumph of invention and profit is gained from human tragedy. International Business Machines Corporation (IBM) saw warfare as an opportunity to capitalize off of both sides. As the Nazis rose to power, they needed the machinery to identify, organize, and number the Jewish population. IBM sought this as a favorable position for corporate gain and began leasing tabulating machinery to the Nazi regime. IBM's endorsement of the Third Reich yielded capital gain at the cost of millions of lives. This advanced technology, which enabled IBM's profit from the Holocaust, set the scene for the company's dominance throughout the 20th century while ultimately enabling a calculated genocide.

Background

In January 1933, Adolf Hitler was elected chancellor of Germany.¹ Hitler implemented many racial laws that prohibited Jews from public living. Jewish businesses were plundered, and many were driven from their jobs and homes.² Jewish companies were consumed by the German government and ran by German officials. As Hitler's regime progressed, he looked to institutionalize a core virtue of Nazism into German society: the identification, ostracization, and extermination of the Jewish community. In his attempt to expunge Jews from Germany, in 1935, Hitler ratified the Nuremberg Race Laws.³ These "laws excluded German Jews from Reich citizenship and prohibited them from marrying or having sexual relations with persons of 'German or related blood.'"⁴ In a speech to the Reichstag, Hitler proclaimed, "Jews will have to adjust to constructive, respectable activities, such as other people are already engaged in, or, sooner or later,

they will succumb to a crisis of yet inconceivable proportions.”⁵ In order to fulfill Nazism, Hitler needed the technology and databases to count, organize, and number the population to distinguish Jews from the rest of society. Little did Hitler know he would have to look no further than New York City.

IBM’s Connection to the Nazis

IBM’s business with Germany began when the United States entered World War I, and IBM’s property was seized by the German government for being owned by an international adversary.⁶ CEO Thomas J. Watson was pleased with the seizure because the corporation’s international assets were well-protected. In 1937, Watson later wrote to Nazi Economics Minister, Hjalmar Schacht, that “from the day I returned to Germany after the [Great] War, to find my Company’s affairs in the best safekeeping by your Alien Property Custodian...this attitude has caused me to give public utterance to my impressions and convictions in favor of Germany at a time when public opinion in my country and elsewhere was predominantly unfavorable.”⁷ Subsequently, Watson planned a prodigious investment in the German computing market.

Willy Heidinger operated a corporation called Dehomag, which was a licensed distributor of IBM tabulating technology.⁸ German post-war hyperinflation reached a peak in the early 1920s⁹ and was greatly detrimental to Heidinger’s business. Watson, cognizant of Heidinger’s financial position, looked to claim substantial ownership of the subsidiary. In 1922, he struck a deal with the “cornered” Heidinger for 90 percent ownership of Dehomag, with Heidinger retaining the remaining 10 percent.¹⁰ Through Dehomag, IBM’s tabulation technology found its way into multiple German industries and received commercial success. But Watson knew that in order to claim the German tabulation market as his own, he would have to win the German census.

Five months after Hitler was inducted Chancellor of Germany, a census was scheduled for June of 1933 to obtain “information on the religion of each member of the population.”¹¹ Aspiring for Nazi patronage, Watson adapted his tabulators to fit Hitler’s demands. Along with tabulation machines having the capability of “counting and classifying each citizen,” Dehomag provided recruitment, training, and even fed workers needed to operate the census.¹² Dehomag’s consultant for governmental trade, Karl Koch, managed to secure a contract for Reichsmark (RM) 1,350,000 to superintend the Prussian census.¹³ Upon clinching the commission, Koch penned Watson saying, “We now have a chance to demonstrate what we are capable [of]...” Watson responded; he hoped to “have the pleasure

of visiting [Koch's] country next year."¹⁴ On June 15, 1933, Dehomag began tabulating the Prussian census with IBM precision. This trade was the first of many during the Third Reich era, which ultimately precipitated the deplorable events of the Holocaust.

Following the lucrative success of the Prussian Census, Watson invested RM 7,000,000 into German business. A large portion of the allocations were used to develop a production facility site in Berlin.¹⁵ In 1934, the opening day of the factory, Heidinger gave a speech in front of IBM representatives and numerous Nazi officials. He proclaimed, "The physician examines the human body and determines whether all organs are working to the benefit of the entire organism. We [Dehomag] are very much like the physician, in that we dissect, cell by cell, the German cultural body."¹⁶ Heidinger extended the metaphor, "We are proud that we may assist in such a task, a task that provides our nation's Physician [Adolf Hitler] with the material he needs for his examinations. Our Physician can then determine whether the calculated values are in harmony with the health of our people. It also means that if such is not the case, our Physician can take corrective procedures to correct the sick circumstances."¹⁷ He concluded his speech, "Hail to our German people and *der Fuhrer!*"¹⁸ A copy of the speech was rushed back to New York, and Watson praised Heidinger for a job well done.¹⁹ After a myriad of trades, correspondence, and investments with the Third Reich, Thomas J. Watson and IBM inevitably swore the Nazi allegiance.

Calculated Genocide

On September 15, 1935, Hitler ratified the Nuremberg Race Laws.²⁰ During this time, IBM's technology held 95 percent of the German tabulating market.²¹ IBM tabulators took German businesses by storm, these included the aviation, locomotive, steel, banking, electrical, and automotive industries. There was "virtually no business that could not benefit from punch card technology."²² Seeking to innovate the remunerative German tabulating market, Dehomag introduced a powerful tabulator classified as the "Dehomag D-11."^{23 24} This IBM machinery received many upgrades, and was "not comparable with any other machine of its kind."²⁵ With the new capabilities brought by the D-11, tabulating became a way of life in Germany.

IBM established a strong financial relationship with Germany, and on July 1, 1937, Watson received a German Eagle from Hitler due to "work in bettering economic relations."²⁶ The medal was titled, "The Merit Cross of The German Eagle with Star"²⁷ and was the second most prestigious decoration a foreigner might receive.²⁸ In a ceremonial speech upon the

bestowal of the German Eagle, Nazi Economic Minister Schacht spoke of Watson, “In your work for the International Chamber of Commerce you have also worked for Germany.”²⁹ Watson delightfully responded to Hitler, stating “Before leaving Berlin, I wish to express my pride in and deep gratitude for the high honor I received through the order with which you honored me.”³⁰ This fortified the relationship between IBM and Germany in time for the 1939 census.³¹

As of January 30, 1939, antisemitism cancerously disseminated the “German cultural body.”³² After the ratification of additional laws restricting Jews, the events of *Kristallnacht*,³³ and Hitler promulgating “the annihilation of the Jewish race,”³⁴ IBM resumed business with the Third Reich. In order to carry out genocide, Hitler needed more information about the German population. On May 17, 1939, Hitler implemented a census intended to find “detailed information on the ancestry, religious faith and material possessions of all residents.”³⁵ Around 750,000 voluntary census proctors surveyed 80,000,000 German citizens³⁶ asking “whether [they are] of pure ‘Aryan Blood’”³⁷ and “to which nationality do [they] feel [they] belong.”³⁸ The information was immediately shipped to Dehomag to be processed by the D-11 punch card machines.³⁹

The sizeable 1939 census overtook any job Dehomag had completed before. Initially, Dehomag was punching 450,000 cards a day, but they slowly adapted to a rate of 1,000,000 cards daily. Along with the 80,000,000 punch cards needed to be processed for each citizen, a supplementary card was required for more detail on the ethnicity, educational, and financial background of each resident. The head of each German family received one supplemental punch card, resulting in 25,000,000 cards.⁴⁰ With IBM efficiency, Dehomag was able to reach Hitler’s November deadline. The information IBM elicited from the 1939 census would aid Hitler in the preliminary stages of the concentration, deportation, and attempted annihilation of the Jewish people.

The 1939 census counted a diminishing population of 330,892 German Jews “to whom the Nuremberg Laws are applicable.”⁴¹ In pursuit of “The Final Solution,”⁴² Hitler established five death camps and 23 main concentration camps between 1939 and 1940.⁴³ Among these camps was Auschwitz, responsible for the deaths of 960,000 Jews.⁴⁴ Almost every concentration camp utilized the *Hollerith Abteilung* Dehomag machine, informally called the “Death Calculator.”⁴⁵ Upon entering a concentration camp, a prisoner was designated a five-digit Hollerith code, which was tattooed onto their body.⁴⁶ Holocaust survivor, Mike Vogel, recalled, “There was one person who would rub the...little piece of dirty alcohol on your arm, and the other one had the...needle with the inkwell, and he would do the numbering. So my number is 65,316.”⁴⁷

The number was paired with a Hollerith punch card, which cataloged information about the prisoner's ethnicity, age, sexuality, physical ability, and ultimately, form of departure.^{48 49} Rudolf Cheim, a prisoner at the Westerbork camp, worked in a labor service office.⁵⁰ Cheim witnessed the IBM machinery being operated, and managed to decode the algorithm.⁵¹ For example, Columns 3 and 4 stated "reason for delivery," and code 5 designated a Jew, while code 2 signified a homosexual. Column 34 entailed "reason for departure," and the egregious code 6 stated "special handling."⁵² While scrutinizing the machines, Cheim recalls, "[There was] never a name, only the assigned numbers."⁵³ IBM's technology aided Hitler in the identification, marginalization, and attempted annihilation of the Jewish people in the Third Reich, and facilitated the tragic events of the Holocaust. People were being cataloged and murdered by the thousands, and Watson reaped larger capital as a result.

The Devil's Gold

Ever since Hitler came to power, Dehomag proved to be a worthy financial endeavor for IBM. 1933 was a remunerative year for IBM at home and abroad, as the corporation sourced a substantial income of 5,735,424 USD, including subsidiaries.⁵⁴ Watson commented on the year, saying that "December of 1933 was the largest December of the company's history... With our new machines and increased number of salesmen, we have every reason to expect the increase to continue."⁵⁵

Dehomag continued to prosper through the 1934 and 1935 fiscal years. Watson stated that "[IBM's] trade abroad is improving,"⁵⁶ but Reich legislation was perpetually adapting throughout Hitler's regime. IBM tax advisor Konrad Matzdorf even complained that IBM had "a hard struggle [to retain profits] with the fascist authorities during the war."⁵⁷ Reich regulations taxed profit dividends severely and required any corporate profits to be obtained in Germany.⁵⁸ In search of a solution, Watson approached the Dehomag board ordering that "money should...remain invested in the firm and be credited to the license account [royalties], as direct remittances are not possible."⁵⁹ Royalty payments were recorded as expenses, and not taxed by Germany.

Watson realized his strategy would not work forever, so IBM began investing profits into Dehomag and German real estate.⁶⁰ To create a German illusion, Willy Heidinger, Karl Hummel, and Hermann Rottke were named directors of the Dehomag branch.⁶¹ It was managed so the Germans would appear on balance sheets as owners, while Dehomag was completely controlled by IBM. This action bolstered the Dehomag German image to the Third Reich and shaded IBM's Nazi business from American citizens.

When war was declared on September 1, 1939,⁶² IBM struggled to stay within the Axis territories. IBM held millions in unallocated profit, and by integrating profits to stay in Germany they hoped to be unaffected by the newly ratified Roosevelt trade legislation (General Ruling 11), which otherwise stymied American trade with Nazi Germany. Business with the Third Reich required a Treasury Department license, but General Ruling 11 conditions would expose clandestine business activity and tax evasion strategies practiced by IBM.⁶³ This placed IBM in a stalemate, which ultimately enabled Nazi takeover of IBM. Upon U.S. entry into World War II, IBM lost autonomous control over Dehomag to the Nazis,⁶⁴ but Watson knew his investments were secure, and he should stay close to Germany.

Under Nazi supervision, Dehomag prospered, posting RM 109,676,032 of returns between 1941 and 1943.⁶⁵ Watson was informed on the success, and received multiple memorandums and reports.⁶⁶ Nazi authorities moved IBM technology to firms in Poland, which supplied concentration camps.⁶⁷ After this intervention, it was perceived that “all [Dehomag] records [were] destroyed.”⁶⁸ By 1944, IBM technology was being produced and distributed directly to Hitler’s concentration camps. The world was experiencing a time of havoc and bloodshed, but Watson still sought to retain his financial stronghold: Germany.

At the end of the war, IBM reclaimed Dehomag and the German properties. The rental cost and Dehomag machinery were also obtained. In April 1949, IBM changed Dehomag’s name to IBM Deutschland.⁶⁹ It would never be known how much money IBM made in Germany because of their strategies used to evade German taxes, but it could be presumed to be a lot given that IBM tabulators had been present in every Nazi corporation, governmental operation, and concentration camp. IBM’s business with the Third Reich opened up a new foreign market and proved to be a long-lasting financial triumph.

Conclusion

The profits made from Germany between 1933 and 1945 lifted IBM out of America’s “Great Depression” and surged the company to its best performing decade.⁷⁰ This enabled IBM to be a powerful 20th-century tech competitor, and in 1967, Forbes named IBM “America’s top company” valued at 259,000,000 USD.⁷¹ After great losses in the ’90s,⁷² IBM is considered to be in the shadows of its successful past. In 2001, allegations rose questioning IBM’s culpability in the Holocaust. The corporation responded by validating the accusations, stating, “It has been well known for decades that the Nazi’s used Hollerith equipment⁷³ and that IBM’s German subsidiary...supplied Hollerith equipment.”⁷⁴

IBM's business with the Nazis is a stain on American business and a reflection on how far some are willing to go for a profit. The trades with the Third Reich yielded massive capital, which set IBM to dominate the 20th-century tech industry, but ultimately calculated the genocide of millions of people. In the midst of tragedy, there will always be an opportunity for lucrative profit. "Businesspeople have often been willing to do business with the Devil as long as the check clears."⁷⁵

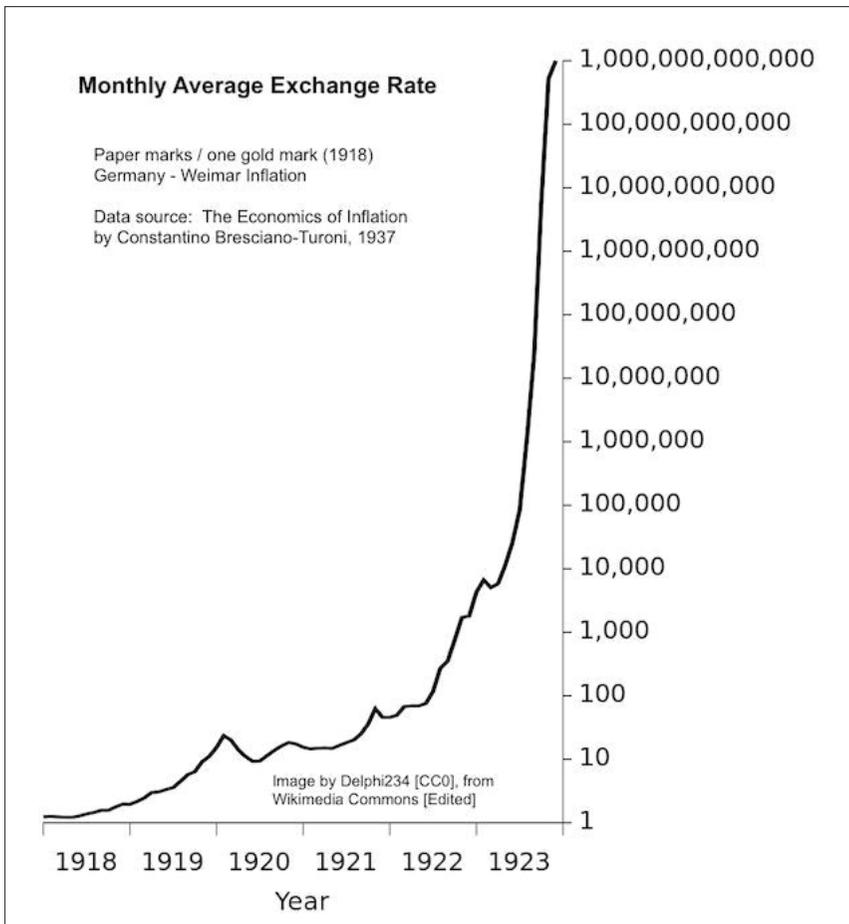
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49. See Appendix D.
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72. See Appendix E.
73. IBM punch card tabulators were often referred to as "Hollerith Machines." The name originates from the machines inventor, Herman Hollerith. IBM most likely chose to refer to their machines as "Hollerith Equipment" to try to make a strong discretion from their corporate name and the Holocaust.
74. International Business Machines. "IBM Statement on Nazi-era Book and Lawsuit." IBM Newsroom. <https://www-03.ibm.com/press/us/en/pressrelease/1388.wss>.
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Appendix A

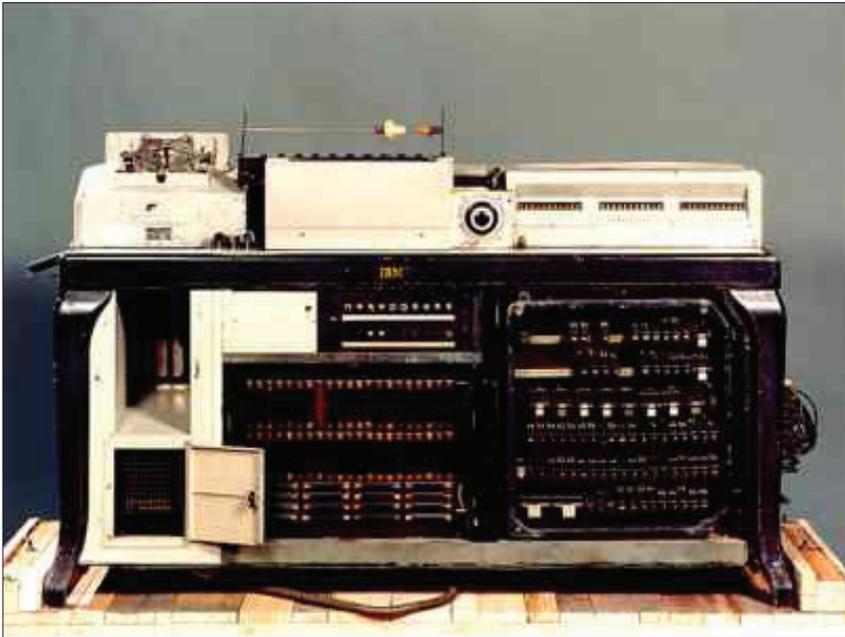


This chart is a graphical representation of the 1920 German Hyperinflation. As shown from the graph, inflation was rising exponentially in the 1922 fiscal year. Hyperinflation was a huge detriment to Dehomag's business and was the primary reason IBM claimed autonomous ownership over the subsidiary.

Citation

USAGold. "The Nightmare German Inflation." Gold Classics Library. <http://www.usagold.com/cpmforum/the-nightmare-german-inflation/>.

Appendix B



This is the Dehomag D-11 tabulator, which was specially developed for German industry. The machinery was used in the 1933 and 1939 German census and held additional punch card columns, processing extensive details on each citizen. A punch card with information on a numbered citizen would be placed through the machine and processed. This machine was ubiquitous in German business and was utilized in every major industry. The Dehomag D-11 organized German businesses and tabulating became a way of German life.

Citation

“Dehomag [Deutsch Hollerith Maschinen] D-11 Tabulator.” 1933-1939. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. <https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn521586>.

Appendix C



In the picture above, Watson is dining with Adolf Hitler in celebration upon the bestowal of the German Eagle. The figure on the far left is Watson, and the man sitting in the chair on the left with his hand harbored on his chin is Hitler. Watson was even seen saluting to Hitler, but quickly lowered his arm in realization to what he was doing.

Citation

“Thomas Watson, Sr. Meets Adolf Hitler.” June 1937. Computer History Museum. <https://www.computerhistory.org/revolution/punched-cards/2/15/109>.

Appendix D

Dies ist eine typische Hollerithkarte, wie sie in Holland gebraucht wird. Die Einteilungen, welche die SS für die Erfassung der Konzentrationslagerinsassen gebraucht hat, war ungefähr:

Spalte 1-2 Einlieferungslager: 01 Dachau 18 Westerbork
 02 Auschwitz
 03 Budapest
 04 Drancy
 05 Milano usw...

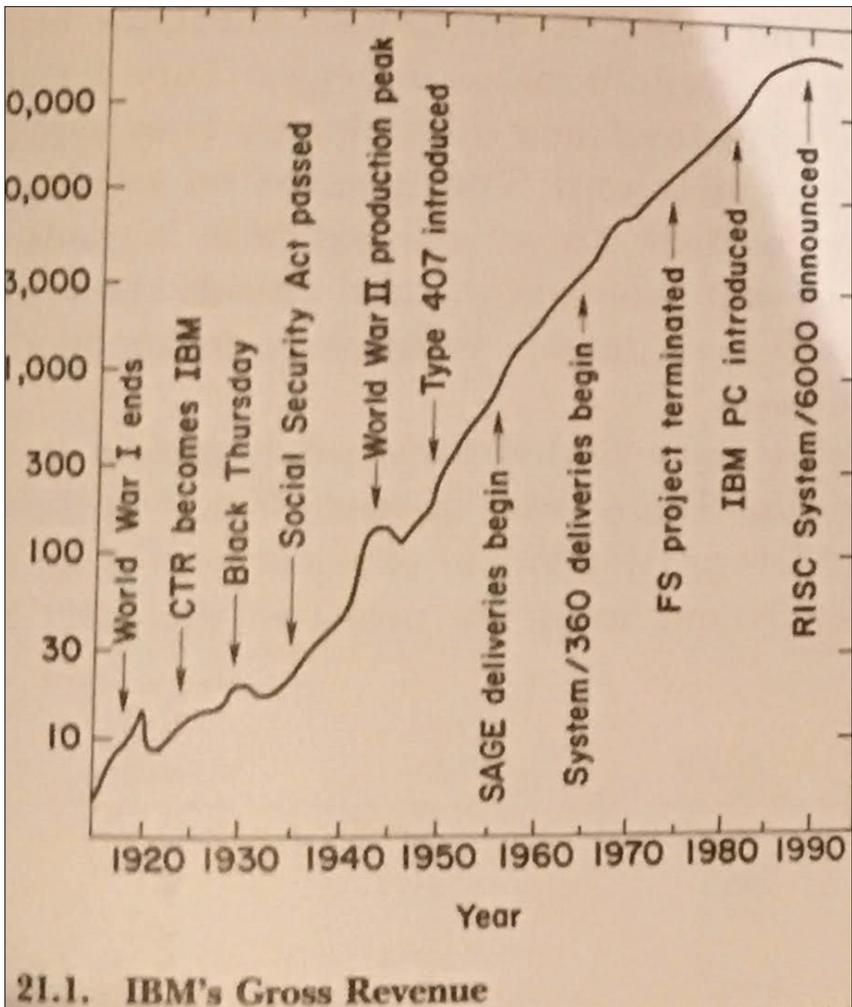
3-4 Grund der Einlieferung: 01. Bibelforscher
 02 Homosexuelle
 03 politischer Häftling
 04 Wehrmacht
 05 Jude
 06 Schutzhaft usw.

Above are the observations of the Dehomag punch-cards written by Rudolph Martin Cheim. The punch-cards allowed the Nazis to keep a record on the demographic of concentration camp prisoners and where they are located. This punch-card was used with the *Hollerith Abteilung*, the IBM tabulator that was installed in every Nazi concentration camp. This card processed the enslavement, torture, and death of millions of people. The punch-card was the Nazi's secret weapon, able to organize and solve the "Final Solution."

Citation

Papers of Rudolph Martin Cheim, RG 804, Box 1. YIVO Institute for Jewish Research

Appendix E



Through the 1933-1945 timeframe, IBM prospered. The company's revenue grew exponentially and hit a peak during World War II. Because this is a revenue chart, it is evident that there was increased business during wartime. The corporation's earnings begin to plateau during the '90s, and IBM fell from its successful past.

Citation

"IBM's Gross Revenue." Pugh, Emerson. *Building IBM: Shaping an Industry and its Technology*, Figure 21.1.

Annotated Bibliography

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This news article is about a survey IBM administered about Business success in the first fiscal quarter. There was an extreme increase in trade activity in the later half of the quarter, and IBM included that corporations were beginning to recover from the Depression at an accelerated rate. This article helped me understand the trade climate in America during the 1930s, and provided evidence that IBM was gaining substantial monies during this decade.

Associated Press. "Poland Invaded; Cities Bombed." *Evening Star*, September 1, 1939, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1939-09-01/ed-1/seq-45/>.

This article was released the day of the start of World War II. It describes the Germany's attack on Poland, which is signified as the beginning of World War II. This source was helpful for finding primary evidence on the start of World War II, and provided great historical context for the closing sections of my paper.

"Business Leaders See Gains Continue." *The New York Times*, Jan. 2, 1935.

This news article features many prominent business icons and their views on the 1935 fiscal year. Thomas J. Watson is one of the businessmen interviewed in the column, and he spoke about his company and the new found foreign success.

Computing Tabulating Recording Co., Box 2, Folder 18, Geoffrey D. Austrian Research Notes on Herman Hollerith, Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, DE.

This folder, from the Hagley Museum which is located on the original DuPont Family's black powder works, describes one of the earliest corporate entities affiliated with IBM, Computing Tabulating Recording Company (CTR). This company was formed by the American venture capitalist, nicknamed "The Merchant of Death," Charles Flint. He eventually granted an executive position to Watson, in which he transformed the company into IBM. This source held financial information about the early shareholders, correspondence, ledgers, and memoirs relating to the early form of IBM. These documents were essential for understanding the development of IBM, and Watson's perseverance in the workplace. All though I was unable to include sections that use these documents, they were an important part of my research.

Denkschrift zur Einweihung der neuen Arbeitsstätte der Deutschen Hollerith Maschinen Gesellschaft m.b.H. in Berlin-Lichterfelde, Jan. 8, 1934, pp. 39-40, USHMM Library.

This is the speech that Heidinger gave on the opening day of the Berlin factory. It is marked as the spark for trade with IBM and the Third Reich. I used this speech at the end of my paragraph explaining the connection with IBM and the Nazis, to communicate the fortifying relationship between the two powers.

Enderis, Guido. "Group Formed by Papen." *The New York Times*, Jan. 31, 1933.

This article is about Hitler's election to be Chancellor of Germany. I used this in the beginning of my background due to its importance to my topic.

Hollerith Letters, Box 2, Folder 30, Geoffrey D. Austrian Research Notes on Herman Hollerith, Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, DE.

This folder held letters and correspondence from IBM's core founder, Herman Hollerith. Herman Hollerith invented the tabulating machine for the U.S. 1890 census, and it revolutionized census taking. The census was record in record-time, 2 years, and his machines started to enter American industry. The letters stated how Hollerith resented salesmen, and even said that salesmen are completely worthless. Hollerith loathed the industrialization of his product, and believed that his tabulators were only meant to be used for collecting data and recording censuses. His product was originally used as a census tool, but it later became a tool of industry and then a weapon of genocide. This may have been what Hollerith feared, or he was just stubborn with others meddling with his product.

International Business Machines. "IBM Statement on Nazi-era Book and Lawsuit." IBM Newsroom. <https://www-03.ibm.com/press/us/en/pressrelease/1388.wss>.

This source was IBM's response to new allegations in 2001, accusing them of significantly endorsing the Holocaust. IBM validated the charges, and even said that it has been well known for years that Dehomag traded with the Nazis. I used this source to connect modern day IBM to this historic topic.

IBM History Early Investors, Box 3, Folder 2, Geoffrey D. Austrian Research Notes on Herman Hollerith, Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, DE.

This folder has early shareholder correspondence from the formation of IBM. It held financial reports, memorandums, and information on how CTR became IBM. These documents were essential for understanding the large players in the early development of the company, and how equity was distributed among shareholders. Unfortunately, I was unable to include these sources in my paper due to space, but it was still a great folder which helped me gain an understanding on the formation of IBM.

"IBM Advertisement." The CIO News (Cumberland, MD.), November 8, 1943, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn89060376/1943-11-08/ed-1/seq-23/>.

This advertisement by IBM is titled "War Bonds," in which IBM says that by purchasing war bonds that they are "junior forces for our armed forces." At times of war, corporations tend to shift to a more patriotic marketing strategy. Here IBM is using the fact that they have purchased war bonds to market as a large contributor to the American forces. Yet this is ironic, because IBM's technology was distributed across Germany and was being utilized by the Nazis.

Letter, Matzdorf to International Business Machines, Series I, Box I, Folder 20, IBM European Business Archive ca. 1915-1960, New York University Fales Library and Special Collections, New York City, United States.

This source was a letter from an IBM tax advisor who was working with Dehomag. After 1943, Dehomag was completely managed by Nazi Germans due to trade regulations. When World War II ended, IBM needed to regain the subsidiary. In this letter, Matzdorf speaks about the equity remaining in Germany, and how to get it back. It was useful because Matzdorf spoke of his past experiences managing Dehomag, and I quoted his letter to communicate the point that Dehomag was struggling with Reich regulation.

Letter, Thomas J. Watson to Dr. Karl Koch, June 20, 1933, IBM Files, quoted in Black, Edwin. *IBM and the Holocaust*.

This letter contained Watson's response to Koch upon obtaining the 1933 Russian Census contract. He was very pleased with the action and praised Koch deeply. I used this source to show the correspondence between IBM NY and Germany.

Letter, Dr. Karl Koch to Thomas J. Watson, May 26, 1933, IBM Files, quoted in Black, Edwin. *IBM and the Holocaust*.

This letter held information about the 1933 census. In Koch's letter, he describes the importance of the deal to Watson, and the value of the contract. I used this as primary evidence for the events of the 1933 census.

Letter, Fellingner to Esch, Series I, Box I, Folder 20, IBM European Business Archive ca. 1915-1960, New York University Fales Library and Special Collections, New York City, United States.

This letter is a continuing statement to Mr. Esch. I still haven't been able to figure out who Mr. Esch was, but this document contained reasons why financial information was not recovered past 1944. It was said that when the Nazis moved companies equipping them to Poland, they destroyed almost all of the corporate information. In the perspective of Fellingner, he thought the corporation was completely destroyed. This source was useful because it gave me an affirmation to as little or no remuneration was recorded in between 1944-1945 to IBM.

Letter, Thomas J. Watson to Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, ca. 1937, IBM Files, quoted in Black, Edwin. *IBM and the Holocaust*.

This letter to the Nazi Economics Minister Hjalmar Schacht expressed Watson's contentment with how IBM's assets were protected during World War I. He also said that he was proud of German culture, and gave them his full support. I used this source to show that Watson was pleased with Germany claiming their property during World War .

"Leaders in Warsaw, 30 Jan 1939, Hitler Threatens Destruction of European Jews if War Comes Again." United States Memorial Museum Collection, 2002.542.1, Jan. 30, 1939 <https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn1000273>.

This source contains Hitler's speech to the Reichstag on January 30, 1939. This speech is considered to be the start of mass genocide in Germany, as Hitler threatens the Jewish group in front of numerous Nazi officials. I used this source in my background to map out the history of Hitler's regime.

Memorandum to File, September 19, 1941, 1941, quoted in Black, Edwin. *IBM and the Holocaust*.

This memorandum was a report on IBM's status in Germany, and how IBM was in a position by which they might lose full power over their subsidiary. I used a quote from this source to show the dire position IBM was situated in.

Memorandum for Mr. William Esch, RE: Deutsche Hollerith Maschinen Gesellschaft m.b.H (Dehomag), Series I, Box I, Folder 20, IBM European Business Archive ca. 1915-1960, New York University Fales Library and Special Collections, New York City, United States.

This source was a memorandum reporting all equity remaining in Germany after World War II. It held financial information on all machines and property owned by Dehomag. It also posted the 1941-1943 profits. This source was key because even in my secondary sources there is no information on the 1940-1945 timeframe. This memorandum allows me to prove that the operation was in full production during the extermination stages of the Holocaust.

Murray, Phillip. *Wages and War Profits*, Washington: Congress of Industrial Organizations, 1941, Pennsylvania Historical Society, HD4975.M8x, Philadelphia, PA.

This speech is a primary source about the economics of war profits. The source goes in depth on how production greatly increases during war, and uses General Motors as an example. The speaker, Phillip Murray, was the president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), which was a federation of unions which organized unions and workers in the American labor scene. The congress was established in 1935, and last adjourned in 1955. This speech allowed me to think about war profiteering through an economical lense, and helped establish some fundamentals before moving forward in the development of my paper.

“Nazi’s Seek to Buy Plants in Europe.” *The New York Times*, May 28, 1941.

This article states that American companies invested 225,000,000 USD in plants in Germany. According to the article, one of these corporations was IBM. This was important because it marks how much American equity was residing in Germany during this time.

Nuremberg Laws, 1933-1945. 18501106, National Archives at College Park.

This document is the original Nuremberg Laws containing the Blood Law, the Flag Law, and the Citizen Law. The Flag Law exempts Jewish citizens from holding the German Flag. The Blood Law prevents the Jewish people from marrying with German citizens, and The Citizen Law exempted citizenship from the Jewish people. I used this document as primary evidence for the establishment of the Nuremberg Laws

“Oral history interview with Mike Vogel.” United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection, 1989.A.0329, July 14, 1989 <https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn504722>.

Mike Vogel’s oral history describes his experiences entering Auschwitz. He described how he got tattooed upon entering Auschwitz, and the atrocious experiences he had there. I used his account to give context to the impact Hollerith Machines had on human lives.

Papers of Rudolph Martin Cheim, RG 804, Box 1, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research.

Rudolph Martin Cheim was a prisoner at the Westerbork Concentration Camp, and worked in the labor service offices. As part of his job, he witnessed data being processed through IBM machines every day. In his report, he said a punch card was filled out with each prisoners information. The punch card was put through a machine and processed the data given. If a Nazi wanted to know the makeup of his prisoner group, Cheim states that they could turn knobs and see the amount of workers or doctors that were in the group. This allowed the Nazi’s to assign prisoners to certain jobs. Cheim reported that the machines organized every aspect of Nazi genocide. This source was extremely helpful in communicating that idea.

Report on Conditions of I.B.M Affairs in Germany, Sept./Nov. 1945, Series I, Box I, Folder 20, IBM European Business Archive ca. 1915-1960, New York University Fales Library and Special Collections, New York City, United States.

This report gave more detail on Dehomags revenue throughout 1941-1945. It reported damages on IBM property and spoke of the state of shareholders. This source allowed me to find the exact percentages of ownership, and the three German directors. It also informed me on how IBM reclaimed the German subsidiary.

“Reich to Take Census of her 80 million.” *The New York Times*, May 17, 1939.

In a report to the *New York Times*, this article described the 1939 census and the questions surveyed to German citizens. I used this to describe how the census needed to get the information before it could be processed through the Dehomag D-11 tabulators. This article also provided information how the census was being proctored, the questions asked in the census, and why it is significant.

“Reich Census on May 17.” *The New York Times*, April 4, 1939.

This article was written prior to the 1939 census, and I used it to find out how many census takers were fielded to run the job. It also provided the date of the census, and why it was taking place. This article was prior to the 1939 census, and provided some speculation to the upcoming census.

“Reich Census Shows Reduction of Jews.” *The New York Times*, April 14, 1940.

This source held the results from the 1939 census. It reported a diminishing population of Jews in Germany. It also showed how the media reacted to this statistic, and what it means for the future of Jews in Germany. I used this as a transition into the section where I talked about the machines use in concentration camps.

Report to Dehomag Board of Directors, July 25, 1935, IBM Files, quoted in Black, Edwin. *IBM and the Holocaust*.

In this report, Watson stated how IBM would receive profits through royalty payment added as expenses. It was extremely useful because a good amount of profit was made through this method, and it is a prime reason to why IBM avoided Reich tax regulation. This report validated that money was flowing to New York, and proving that IBM was claiming profit.

“Thomas J. Watson is Decorated by Hitler for Work in Bettering Economic Relations.” *The New York Times*, July 2 1937.

This report gave information on the award Mr. Watson won and the significance of it. I used this source to write about how important the award was to IBM’s relationship with Germany. The award is the second most prestigious award a foreigner may receive, and in a celebratory dinner Watson talked with Hitler and gave him his full support. The award Watson won is a prestigious award bestowed upon foreigners. American business giant Henry Ford also received his reward. Unlike Mr. Ford, who kept his German Eagle, Watson returned his in 1940 when America entered the War.

“Workers, Wages Sales Increased.” *The New York Times*, March 17, 1934.

This article was about IBM’s impressive corporate performance in 1933. It also provided information on were the company’s equity was spent, and percentages and indicators of the company’s employee total, average wage, and net income.

“Watson sends Hitler notes of gratitude.” *The New York Times*, July 6, 1937.

This source contained a message to Hitler from Watson. Watson seemed to be in full support of Hitler, and said how honored he was to receive the German Eagle. I used this source to exhibit the strengthening bond in time for the 1939 census.

Watson, Thomas. “Capitalism: Nothing is Superior Except by Comparison.” *Evening Star*, December 17, 1950, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1950-12-19/ed-1/seq6/>.

In this short essay, which was marketed like an advertisement, Thomas Watson expresses his gratitude for the capitalistic free-market state of America. This article gave me insight to Watson's political beliefs, in which I discovered he is a firm believer in capitalism (which doesn't surprise me). In the article I also discovered that Watson is a fervent American, this may have been a persona played for marketing purposes, but in the essay he expressed patriotism and pride for his country. This article provided substantial information on Watson's political beliefs and personality, two things that I have not found elsewhere.

Secondary Sources

Austrian, Geoffrey. *Herman Hollerith: Forgotten Giant of Information Processing*, Columbia University Press, 1982.

Austrian's book helped me understand the origins of punch card technology and gave me context to the life of the inventor: Herman Hollerith. Hollerith was not willing to submit his technology to salesmen, and even thought that salesmen are not necessary. This book guided me to Hollerith's patent and the Geoffrey D. Austrian bibliography, which I used to obtain primary sources about IBM and the punch card machine's early life.

Black, Edwin. *IBM and the Holocaust: The Strategic Alliance between Nazi Germany and America's most Powerful Corporation*, Dialog Press, 2001.

Black's *IBM and the Holocaust* is the genesis of research on IBM's business with Germany. Black poured countless hours into researching this book, and it is filled with full images of letters, accounts, and reports. This source helped me find other primary and secondary sources, and contained detailed reports on the correspondence between IBM and Dehomag. This source also led me to the Hagley archives, which was useful in obtaining primary sources about the development of the punch card machine. Black's investigation is the only book addressing the topic, and was very useful in research.

Black, Edwin. "The Nazi Party: IBM & 'Death's Calculator'." The Jewish Virtual Library <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/ibm-and-quot-death-s-calculator-quot-2>.

This article is an informative analysis of how IBM machines were used in the late stages of the Holocaust. It is written by Edwin Black, writer of *IBM and the Holocaust*, and it contains many images of the punch cards and tabulators used in concentration camps. I used it in my appendix as a useful image, and I quoted the article by referring to IBM machines as the "Death Calculator."

Black, Edwin, interviewed by Harry Murphy, Telephone, Jan. 10, 2019.

In my interview with Edwin Black, author of *IBM and the Holocaust*, I discussed IBM's intent in Germany and how helpful it was to the company's development. We spoke about Watson, and Black told me that Watson was never about the antisemitism, it was all about the money, as Business is IBM's middle name. He asked me questions on my research, and guided me to useful sources. This brief interview was very helpful to my research, as Black is the largest contributor of research in IBM's business with the Holocaust.

British Library. "Anti Jewish Decree." Learning Voices of the Holocaust <http://www.bl.uk/learning/histcitizen/voices/info/decrees/decrees.html>.

This article about anti semitic laws was a timeline on legislation promoting the hatred of Jews in Germany. I used this to cite the fact that Jews were evicted from homes and businesses.

Cortada, James. *Before the Computer: IBM, NCR, Burroughs, & Remington Rand & The Industry They Created*, Princeton University Press, 1993.

This book was helpful to understand the development of the data processing industry in America. A brief section was written about international trade, and IBM competing with another corporation called Powers Tabulating Company for the 1933 German Census. This book was helpful because it gave me insight on how competitive the tabulating industry was.

CQ Press. "Economic Controls in Nazi Germany." CQ Researchers Archive <https://library.cqpress.com/cqresearcher/document.php?id=cqresrre194011010>.

In this research journal, Nazi corporate restrictions and taxes were covered. It went over the exact tax percentages taken on profit dividends and how Germany froze profits into bank accounts so they only could be claimed in Germany. This journal was important for showing the enormous taxes IBM was able to evade, and it taught me about Germany's controlled economy.

Facing History and Ourselves. "Kristallnacht": The November 1938 Pogrom." Facing History.org <https://www.facinghistory.org/resource-library/video/kristallnacht-november-1938-pogroms>.

This informative video by the Facing History organization held oral histories and pictures about the events of Kristallnacht. I used this video to find the date of Kristallnacht, and connect it as an underlying tragedy during IBM's profits in Germany.

Francis R. Nicosia and Jonathan Huener, *Business and Industry in Nazi Germany*, HD 3616.G42 B87 2004, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives, Washington, DC.

This journal is a coalition of leading scholars in the field of Holocaust business studies. The journal features work about many American corporations colluding with the Third Reich, and trade policies implemented by the Nazis. There was a brief page and a half on IBM, in which I found no new information. But I did find a large passage on Ford Motor Companies business with the Nazis, as well as J.P. Morgan and General Motors. The collection of journals was very helpful because it allowed me to understand Reich trade legislation, and how is affected American corporations.

Hilberg, Raul. *The Destruction of The European Jews*, Holmes & Meier, 1985.

The Destruction of The European Jews is a monumental piece on Holocaust studies. It explores the ghettoization, marginalization, and annihilation of Jews in the Third Reich territories. This source had a useful appendix containing charts and statistics of the Holocaust. Hilberg goes into depth on Hitler's plan to solve the "Final Solution", and elaborates on every step used to commit the potential genocide. This source helped me understand the Holocaust at a deeper level.

International Business Machines. "Thomas J. Watson Jr.," IBM Archives https://www.ibm.com/ibm/history/exhibits/chairmen/chairmen_4.htm.

This source gave me information on Thomas Watson's son, Thomas J. Watson Jr. I learned that he served in the United States military for five years and played a significant role as an executive of IBM. Watson's son serving in the military during World War II may have been an incentive for Watson to pull out of Germany, and more importantly served a moral question: Which is more important, family or profit?

Kauflin, Jeff. "America's top Companies 1917-2017." *Forbes* <https://www.forbes.com/sites/jeffkauflin/2017/09/19/americas-top-50-companies-1917-2017/>.

In this *Forbes* article, it lists the companies holding the highest value in the years 1917, 1967, and 2017. I used it to stress how large IBM was in the mid 20th century, and the impact the company had on the American business world.

Kistermann, Friedrich. "The Dehomag D11 Tabulator - A Milestone in the History of Data Processing." In *The First Computers, History and Architectures*, MIT Press, 2000.

Kistermann wrote about the significance of the Dehomag D-11 Machine, and how it was a pioneer in tabulating. I quoted his piece in my third section and used it to learn about the hardware upgrades the D-11 received. It also led me to pictures of punch cards and tabulators.

Kisterman, Friedrich. *Locating the Victims: The Nonrole of Punched Card Technology and Census Work*, *Annals of the History of Computing*, ISEE, 1997.

This source is a journal about the history of tabulating, and it had in-depth research on Dehomag tabulators in the German 1939 census. I got information on the amount and rate of punch cards being processed through Dehomag. This allowed me to say that the 1939 census was a large job for Dehomag.

Maney, Kevin. *The Maverick and His Machine*, John Wiley & Sons, 2003.

I used this book to learn more about Watson and his involvement with IBM. Maney chronicles the Watson history with IBM, and covers everything from family relations to business practices. In Chapter 7, Maney discusses the bestowal of the German Eagle. In his account, I found an excerpt from Hjalmar Schacht's speech about Watson, stating, "In your work for the International Chamber of Commerce...you have also worked for Germany."

Michael J. Bazylar and Amber L. Fitzgerald, *Trading With The Enemy: Holocaust Restitution, the United States Government, and American Industry*, 28 *Brook. J. Int'l L.* (2003).

This law journal had a short segment on legal matters regarding IBM's business with the Third Reich. The journal studied the legality of Edwin Black's lawsuit on IBM. It reviewed many fundamental aspects of IBM's trade with the Third Reich, and also issued an analysis on IBM's response. The journal provided legal commentary on the topic, and allowed me to think about the topic in a legal mentality.

Pugh, Emerson. *Building IBM: Shaping an Industry and its Technology*, MIT Press, 1998

This book gave me insight into IBM's corporate history and Thomas J. Watson's early position as an executive. Pugh also wrote descriptively about the origin of tabulating machines and IBM's early foreign business partners. This source was important because I read about the early 20th-century through the perspective of IBM's business. In this source, I learned about the establishment of Dehomag and how IBM claimed 95 percent of the German tabulating market.

Seltzer, William. *Population Statistics, the Holocaust, and the Nuremberg Trials*, *Population and Development Review*, 1998

This journal gave me information on the 1933 census. I quoted the work in the beginning of my paper, and it also gave me information on why the census was implemented. This source also discussed the Nuremberg Trials, which I did not discuss in my paper, but was interesting and relevant to my topic.

Tedlow, Richard. *The Watson Dynasty*, HarperCollins, 2003.

This book gave me insight into the business culture of IBM. It contained IBM anthems, slogans, and even the dress code. Watson ran his business in a very authoritarian manner, and held his employees accountable for each of their actions. The songs praised Watson, saying, "T.J. Watson - you're a leader fine, the greatest in the land." This source allowed me to learn more about IBM's business practices and guided me to other primary sources.

Tedlow, Richard. *Giants of Enterprise*, HarperCollins, 2001.

Tedlow's book studies seven industrial American leaders. He wrote about Thomas J. Watson as one of the businessmen. On pages 244-245, Tedlow briefly addresses the business with Hitler. He claimed Watson was not an antisemite, but just saw an opportunity for profit. He made a comparison with Henry Ford, who was well known for writing in antisemitic journals and supporting the Nazi regime. These pages gave me a different way to think of Watson moving forward.

Tedlow, Richard, interviewed by Murphy, Harry, Telephone, Jan. 5, 2019.

I interviewed Richard S. Tedlow, author of *The Watson Dynasty* and *Giants of Enterprise*. He spoke to me about Thomas Watson, and his opinions on the trade with Germany. Mr. Tedlow told me that it was never about the antisemitism, it was all about the money. Mr. Tedlow also gave me a quote in which I used to conclude my point. He led me to his own book, *Giants of Enterprise*, and suggested more people to reach out to.

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. "Nazi Camps." Holocaust Encyclopedia <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/nazi-camps>.

This article by the United States Holocaust held information on the origin and development of Nazi concentration camps. It held interviews, pictures and maps of Nazi concentration camps. I used it to display the amount of main Nazi concentration camps to transition to Hollerith technology and its application to the Holocaust.

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. "Hitler Announces Nuremberg Race Laws." History Unfolded, U.S. Newspapers and The Holocaust. <https://newspapers.ushmm.org/events/hitler-announces-nuremberg-race-laws>.

This article from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum has a brief description of how the Nuremberg Laws affected Jews in Germany, and it describes the impact the legislation ultimately had on humanity. I quoted this article in my background, and used it to fully understand the German version of the Nuremberg Laws in the National Archives.

Wladawsky-Berger, Irving, interviewed by Harry Murphy, Email, March 24 2019.

Dr. Wladawsky Berger was the VP of IBM's Technology and Strategy Group, in which he served the company for 37 years. He described his position as responsible for "identifying emerging technologies and marketplace developments that are critical to the future of the IT industry." Irving Wladawsky-Berger also held advisor positions on Innovation and Digital Strategy at Citigroup, Mastercard, and HBO. When I was watching the documentary "The Corporation" by Mark Achbar, Irving Wladawsky-Berger was an interviewee on the segment about IBM and their corporate involvement in the Holocaust. The documentary was released prior to Black's *IBM and The Holocaust*, and the section was heavily based on his work. In the documentary, Dr. Wladawsky-Berger said "I really do believe that the accusations are greatly discredited as a *serious* accusation...how [Germany] got it or how much [of IBM] they got, or if there was any kind of collusion..." As a top executive at IBM and a Jewish person, I reached out to Dr. Wladawsky-Berger to hear his perspective in search of an objective understanding of the documentary and both arguments presented at the time of the lawsuit.



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