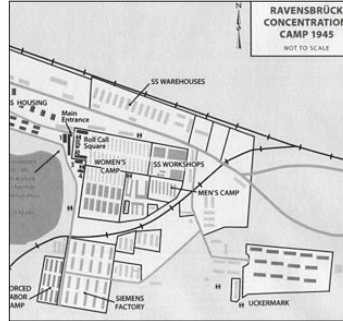


The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum
ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933-1945

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THE UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM

Encyclopedia of CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

VOLUME I

Early Camps, Youth Camps, and Concentration
Camps and Subcamps under the SS-Business
Administration Main Office (WVHA)

Part B

Volume Editor **Geoffrey P. Megargee**

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Published in association with the **United States Holocaust Memorial Museum**

INDIANA UNIVERSITY PRESS • Bloomington and Indianapolis



SACHSENHAUSEN SUBCAMP SYSTEM

The “concentration camp of the Reich capital city” (KZ der Reichshauptstadt) Sachsenhausen was established in 1936 as a model and main camp in Oranienburg to the north of Berlin. The first subcamps were established as bases for future main camps—Neuengamme (1938–1940), Ravensbrück (1938–1939), Gross-Rosen (1940–1941), and Wewelsburg (1940). With the beginning of the war against the Soviet Union, the first regular subcamps were established in Berlin (Kastanienallee and Lichterfelde), in Oranienburg (Heinkel and Klinkerwerk), as well as at SS bases (Prettin, Hohenlychen, Drögen, Brandenburg); 5 of the first 7 subcamps lasted until the end of the war. In 1942, a subcamp was established at an SS position (Glaw) and another for a future main camp in Kiev (Ukraine) and at a secret research station for the Reichspost (Kleinmachnow Hakeburg). The first Construction Brigade or Baubrigade (“West”) was attached to Sachsenhausen. In 1943, the number of subcamps increased to 26. The system now ex-

panded geographically. In the area around Berlin, many camps were established that were connected to backup quarters for the Nazi Party, SS, and Reich authorities. In the area of the SS bases or SS-Standorte Bad Saarow and Jamlitz (“Kurmark”) there were established in 1943 2 larger camps (Bad Saarow and Lieberose), and in the following year, 4 other subcamps. Beginning in 1943, 5 camps were established at private armaments firms, a direction that reached its climax in 1944 when there were 32 subcamps. In 1944, Sachsenhausen had 59 subcamps. Almost all of the subcamps, which ultimately held the majority of Sachsenhausen prisoners, were located in the immediate vicinity around Berlin or in Berlin itself.

In the early subcamps, there were mostly German criminal and political prisoners. Later, the number of foreign prisoners increased. Until 1942, with the exception of Drögen, there were no Jewish prisoners in any of the Sachsenhausen subcamps. From 1944, more and more subcamps were established with Jewish prisoners. The Sachsenhausen concentration camp system of subcamps is closely connected with the history of National Socialism in Berlin, the area around Brandenburg, and the genocide of the European Jews. There were in Berlin-Brandenburg around 90 Sachsenhausen camps holding between 1,000 and up to 10,000 prisoners. The largest camp, with almost 10,000 prisoners, was the Heinkelwerk in Oranienburg. Lieberose, the second largest, was also the largest Jewish subcamp. Camps established in 1944 were mostly located near Berlin armaments producers. From the summer of 1944, increasing numbers of Jewish prisoners were brought from Berlin/Brandenburg to Auschwitz. It is known that Jewish prisoners were in 26 camps. At the beginning of 1945, there were 11,079 Jewish prisoners, of whom one-third alone were held in the Lieberose subcamp. No new camps were formed in 1945. What is important is that at the end in 15 subcamps, mostly the so-called SS-Baubrigaden, there were more than 7,000 prisoners cleaning up rubble, mostly in southern areas of the Reich. Sachsenhausen was in charge of these subcamps. In the confusion of marches and dissolutions shortly before the end of the war, Pölitze near Stettin was transferred from Stutthof to Sachsenhausen. The Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) subcamps at the troop training grounds in Döberitz and Hermsdorf appear only briefly in SS statistics. The small camps completely disappear from the statistics. The current state of research indicates that there were 92 sites for Sachsenhausen subcamps.

There were 21 subcamps for females as part of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. All of them were either created or transferred in 1944 from the Ravensbrück concentration camp to Sachsenhausen. More than 13,000 women were held in the camps. On January 26, 1945, there were under the control of the Sachsenhausen concentration



Prisoners perform forced labor at the Lehnitz (Klinkerwerk) subcamp of Sachsenhausen, nd.

USHMM WS #32063, COURTESY OF AG-S

camp 55,541 prisoners, of whom 32,347 were held in the subcamps, that is, almost 60 percent.

The degree of difficulty of labor in the camps varied according to the nature of the work. In the Berlin subcamps, the work was mostly in armaments and was performed under extremely difficult conditions. Noteworthy is that the majority of subcamps at SS sites from 1943, where mostly buildings and barracks were constructed (there were also heavy earth-works), were connected to backup quarters.

Until 1944, the majority of deaths in the subcamps were caused by mistreatment by the SS, and in many cases, the SS intentionally murdered the prisoners. Noteworthy of these camps is the Klinkerwerk subcamp, which also functioned as a punishment camp. From 1944, above all in the camps with Jewish prisoners, there were mass deaths, caused by intentionally insufficient food supplies, a lack of medical care, and the generally poor quality of the buildings. A good example is the Lieberose subcamp, where from the autumn of 1944 more than 60 percent of the prisoners died. During an extermination action at the beginning of February 1945, 1,242 prisoners were shot in this subcamp. Around 1,000 sick prisoners had already been taken to be killed in Auschwitz II-Birkenau before they could die from the work at Lieberose.

The SS camp personnel came mostly from the main camp's command office. That is, they had mostly served in the SS-Totenkopf-Wachbataillon Sachsenhausen in the main camp, from where after a certain period they were transferred to other duties within the camp. From there, mostly as block leaders (Blockführer), or in administration, they were transferred to the subcamps. A small number of camp leaders (Lagerführer) and block leaders in the subcamps were from the Security Service (SD), the Wehrmacht, or Luftwaffe. Almost all of these SS-Führer had served as SS soldiers at the front. A large number were wounded and were no longer fit for active service and for this reason served in the concentration camps. Many block and camp leaders served consecutively in different subcamps. Beginning in 1943–1944, more and more ethnic Germans from Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Romania were deployed as guards. The Lieberose subcamp had its own SS-Wachbataillon 4 “Kurmark,” consisting mostly of Yugoslavian and Romanian ethnic Germans, who answered not to the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) but directly to the SS-Leadership Main Office (FHA).

Prisoner solidarity was stronger when there were large national groups in a subcamp (such as the Norwegians in Bad

Saarow). Such solidarity could be instrumental in ensuring the survival of individual prisoners. Solidarity was weaker where the SS was able to prevent prisoner solidarity, such as by installing criminals as prisoner-functionaries. The effectiveness of the solidarity was also heavily affected by the degree of brutality by the camp personnel.

Although the source material is scant, escapes were made from all camps. Relatively little is known about sabotage in armaments firms. In Lieberose, Jewish prisoners who defended themselves during the mass murder of 1,300 prisoners by the camp leaders suffered life-threatening injuries.

Almost all of the 72 subcamps in 1945, for which there is documentary evidence, were dissolved between February and April 21, 1945, when they were pulled back into the main camp. The exceptions were Wulkow and Schwarzheide, which were evacuated in the direction of the Theresienstadt ghetto, or cases such as Königs Wusterhausen, Falkensee, and Belzig, which were liberated either in part or wholly by the Red Army.

SOURCES To date there has been no systematic research on the subcamps. The Sachsenhausen Memorial has sponsored a diploma thesis, which for the first time attempts to order known knowledge about the subcamps: Uwe Hofschläger, “Funktion und Bedeutung der Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Sachsenhausen” (Diplomarbeit, Freien Universität Berlin, 1997), held under file listing AG-S, D.A. 5147. Each year, the memorial organizes workshops on the subcamps in which historians and local people take part, such as the Tagungsmappe Workshop, SBG, ed., “Die Aussenlager der Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen und Ravensbrück” (Internationale Jugendbegegnungsstätte Ravensbrück, October 17–18, 2003). For most of the larger subcamps, essays and sometimes brochures and monographs have been published. Dissertations have been written on the Klinkerwerken Oranienburg and Lieberose. A short text was recently published that gives an overview of the Sachsenhausen subcamps in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006).

Source material comes for the large part from the AG-S, research material from local sources, the BA-L, court archives, and local archives. There are scarcely any primary documents other than the Veränderungsmeldungen in the AG-S. Other important new sources are the increasing number of interviews held since the 1980s with camp survivors.

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

BAD SAAROW

In the summer of 1943, the SS-Main Command Office (Führungshauptamt [FHA]) began to relocate its offices from the German capital Berlin. At the same, it began, in the area of Bad Saarow, a major construction program of building a subterranean Intelligence Center (Nachrichtenzentrale) in the Rauener Mountains to the south of Fürstenwalde.

Following the removal of Admiral Canaris as chief of the Abwehr (Counterintelligence), Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler ensured that the overflow subcamp for the SS, which had been in development from the autumn of 1943, was linked to the reorganization of the German secret service.

The project "Relocation of SS Offices" (*Verlagerung von SS Dienststellen*) from the capital, which was endangered by bombs, operated from the end of July 1943 under the code name "Siegfried."¹ Project SS-*Nachrichtenkunker* (Intelligence Bunker) operated under the code names "Fuchsbau" (fox den) and "Dachsbau" (badger den).²

The areas administered by the SS garrison offices at Bad Saarow included, from 1943 on, these Sachsenhausen subcamps: Bad Saarow (also known, incorrectly, as Ketschendorf), Fürstenwalde, Storkow, Spreenhagen, and Kolpin.

The first record of the "SS-Branch Office Bad Saarow" is at the end of May 1943.³ On August 4, 1943, the head of the SS-FHA, Jüttner, ordered the transfer of Amtsgruppe B (Office Group B) to location I in Radlow; Amtsgruppe C to location I in Radlow, Lindenberg, Glau, and Pieskow; and Amtsgruppe D to Sellendorf/Golsen. Amtsgruppe A had already been relocated.⁴ Located in the overflow quarters were villas for Himmler's deputy Gürtler as well as Gestapo Chief Heinrich Müller and Sepp Dietrich, the commander of the Leibstandarte "Adolf Hitler." These buildings were also constructed by prisoners in the Bad Saarow area.⁵

Planning for the SS-Intelligence Project "Fuchsbau" began in July 1943. The SS-FHA negotiated with the State Forestry Administration over land for "Fuchsbau," including barracks in the Dubrow Mountains, to the south of Langewahl near Fürstenwalde. The subcamp would be named "Waldlager Führungsamt der Waffen-SS" (Forest Camp Waffen-SS Command Office). For the remainder of the war, the area was a restricted security zone.⁶ In March 1944, the site became officially known as "SS-Führungs-Nachrichten-Abteilung, Ketschendorf" (Command Intelligence Section, Ketschendorf).

Construction was probably completed by the end of the war, with only the technical equipment not yet installed. According to the Military Information Office (Wehrmachtsauskunftsstelle [WASi]), the site was known as "Führungs-Nachrichtenkunker, Alt-Golm" (Command Intelligence Bunker, Alt-Golm).

From August 2, 1943, on, Bad Saarow functioned as the Construction Administration (Bauleitung) center. The Bad Saarow Central Construction Administration (Zentralbauleitung) was responsible for both the overflow quarters and the "Fuchsbau" intelligence center projects.

Officially, Bad Saarow, like Kurmark in Jamlitz, operated as a central Construction Administration within the Reich Nord Building Inspectorate. As of May 1944, the Bad Saarow Zentralbauleitung was in charge of the Bad Saarow, Fuchsbau, Storkow, Kolpin, and Trebnitz Construction Administrations.⁷ The Spreenhagen construction site also reported to the Bad Saarow Zentralbauleitung. While the Building Administration of Bad Saarow, Storkow, Kolpin, and Trebnitz functioned as SS overflow quarters, the Fuchsbau Bauleitung was in the first instance responsible for the construction of the SS-Intelligence Bunker.

Beginning on January 2, 1944, the Bad Saarow SS-Zentralbauleitung in Bad Saarow was under the command of SS-Untersturmführer Hans-Gustav Bauer, who was born in Nürnberg in 1912.⁸ SS-Oberscharführer Ernst Rapp, born in 1912 in Stuttgart,⁹ was supervisor of the Bad Saarow Construction Administration. SS-Unterscharführer Paul Pörschmann,¹⁰ SS-Rottenführer Heinrich Liese,¹¹ Meynke,¹² and SS-Sturmabführer König have also been named as local construction superintendents in Bad Saarow who were also said to be in charge of the guards.¹³

The Bad Saarow subcamp was close to the site of the Intelligence Bunker "Fuchsbau." As early as October 1943, a detainee camp with three barracks,¹⁴ in the immediate vicinity of Fürstenwalde in the Rauener Mountains south of the Berlin-Frankfurt (on the Oder) Autobahn, had been established for Fuchsbau.

The most important building site, however, was the SS-Intelligence Bunker, which was to be constructed in the Rauener Mountains.

By the end of October 1943, the prisoners had constructed 5 accommodation barracks for the SS and a building for the Intelligence Command Operation in the immediate vicinity of the camp. The construction of a further 18 buildings had been approved, and an additional 12 were planned for a later date. The subcamp was located right at the Frankfurt/Oder Autobahn in the area known as Ketschendorf.¹⁵ It was constructed for 900 prisoners. The highest number of prisoners, 950, was recorded for October 1944.¹⁶

The subcamp commandant was SS-Sturmscharführer Willy Nurrek, born in 1898 in Scherpingen near Danzig. Nurrek's deputy was SS-Unterscharführer Willy Bonowski, born in 1911.¹⁷ Other block leaders were SS-Rottenführer Heinrich Liese and SS-Unterscharführer Paul Pörschmann. Oberscharführer Karl Leukel, born in 1899 in Eiserfeld, was the supervisor of the guards.

In the end, the subcamp consisted of four barracks for prisoners. The prisoners came from 22 countries. There were Ukrainians, Serbs, Russians, Poles, Lithuanians, French, Norwegians, Danes, Germans, and others, including 100 young people and 200 Norwegians. It is said that there was also a half-Jewish Hungarian who had arrived as an "Aryan" at Bad Saarow via Auschwitz.¹⁸

The camp had four watchtowers and was enclosed in a charged double barbed-wire fence.¹⁹ The SS daily deployed

100 SS men, who arrived each morning at the subcamp to guard the prisoners.

Survivors have reported several murders arising from the sadism of the guards and from attempts to escape. The Czech potter Fuchs, about 45 years of age, is said to have been shot because he washed himself at a spring after work.²⁰ A Ukrainian inmate is said to have fled in December 1944 and to have been hanged at the Bad Saarow subcamp, under the supervision of SS-Obersturmführer Höhn from Sachsenhausen.²¹

Sick prisoners were treated in barracks four by a Polish doctor and Polish dentist.²² Each week 20 to 30 sick prisoners were returned to Sachsenhausen. The camp elder was reportedly Malchow;²³ the cook, the prisoner Wangelin, was from Hamburg.²⁴

At the end of December 1944, there were 729 prisoners²⁵ in the Bad Saarow subcamp. On February 12, 1945, there were only 169 prisoners.²⁶ From January 1945 on, the guards at the subcamp gate were armed with hand grenades, which hung from their belts.²⁷

The subcamp was dissolved on April 15, 1945, when the prisoners were evacuated on foot in the direction of the Erkner railway station. About one-third of the prisoners fled during a bombing raid upon their arrival at a Berlin station. This possibly occurred on April 16 and 17, 1945. According to prisoner reports, only about 70 prisoners from the Bad Saarow subcamp arrived at Sachsenhausen.²⁸

In October 1945, the British Military Government investigated a probable member of the SS, Will Thormann, interned in the British occupation zone for the mistreatment of prisoners, especially Poles, in Bad Saarow between January 1944 and January 1945.²⁹ For unknown reasons, a former Bad Saarow prisoner, Franz Herich, was interned after the war in the British internment camp Esterwegen.³⁰ Also interned by the British was Adam Engelmann. It is not known whether he was an inmate or a member of the SS.³¹

Beginning in 1969, the Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland began investigating camps at Fürstenwalde and Bad Saarow.³²

SOURCES The only published source on Bad Saarow is the memoirs of Lars To, *Vi Ventet—Wir warteten . . . Nachrichtenbunker "Fuchsbau"* (Fürstenwalde, 1996).

Details of the prehistory of the subcamp and the SS-FHA are located in the BA-B, Bestand NS 33 and NS 3; and BLHA. Memoirs are kept in the AG-S and in Potsdam BLHA. Individual documents about the subcamp and SS guards can be found in the PRO and in the AG-S. The original Veränderungsmeldungen are in the CAFSSRF. Copies of them can be accessed at the AG-S.

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 33/107, p. 224.
2. See Lars To, *Vi Ventet—Wir warteten . . . Nachrichtenbunker "Fuchsbau"* (Fürstenwalde, 1996).

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3. BA-B, NS 33/107, p. 229, which deals with the transfer of SS members of the SS-Nachrichten-Ausbildungs-und-Ersatz-Regimentes from Nürnberg to Bad Saarow.

4. BA-B, NS 33/107, p. 223, Order of the SS-FHA dated August 4, 1943, "Verlegung des SS FHA in Ausweichunterkünfte."

5. AG-S, P3 Possekehl, Gustav, Report from 1971.

6. BLHA, Pr. Br. Rep. 1, 2004, file note of the SS-FHA dated August 2, 1943.

7. BA-B, NS 3/1072, p. 139.

8. BA-B, NS 3/1130, pp. 12–14.

9. BA-B, NS 3/1130, p. 9.

10. To, *Vi Ventet—Wir warteten*, pp. 58, 59, 125. The author describes him as the building superintendent and camp commandant.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 125. He is said to have survived the war.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

13. AG-S, LAG, XI/9, p. 15.

14. BLHA, Pr. Br. Rep. 1, 2004. Plan of the Fuchsbau Camp, Scale 1:2500, prepared by the Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei Bad Saarow, October 26, 1943. The plan had been in preparation since September 24, 1943.

15. BLHA, Pr. Br. Rep. 1, 2004. Plan of the Fuchsbau camp dated October 26, 1943.

16. AG-S, Bestand CAFSSRF, N-19092, vol. 100.

17. BA-DH, ZM 1564, A.13, p. 8; former political prisoner Willy Kühne attested to Bonowski's "correct, human behavior." He attempted to obtain extra rations for the prisoners. AG-S, Bestand BLHA, Pr. Br. Rep. 35H, vol. 12/2, Collection D 30 A/12/2 B, p. 68; see also AG-S, LAG XI/9a, p. 3, Zeugenvernehmungsprotokoll of Józef Zientarski, Chojnice, Poland, August 20, 1969.

18. To, *Vi Ventet—Wir warteten*, p. 95.

19. AG-S, LAG XI/9a, p. 2, Zeugenvernehmungsprotokoll of Józef Zientarski, Chojnice, Poland, August 20, 1969.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

21. To, *Vi Ventet—Wir warteten*, p. 72.

22. AG-S, LAG XI/0, p. 15.

23. AG-S, Bestand BLHA, Pr. Br. Rep. 35H, vol. 10/2, Bestand D 30 A/10/2 B, p. 37, questionnaire of the former Bad Saarow subcamp prisoner Heinrich Deichmann.

24. AG-S, LAG XI/9, p. 15.

25. AG-S, Bestand CAFSSRF, N-19092, vol. 100.

26. AG-S, Bestand CAFSSRF, N-19092, vol. 101.

27. To, *Vi Ventet—Wir warteten*, p. 90.

28. AG-S, P3 Possekehl Gustav, Report from 1971.

29. PRO, WO 309/438 and WO 309/853.

30. List of former members of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp headquarters interned in the British CIC Esterwegen, probably from 1945, in different versions, but see AG-S, LAG X/3.

31. PRO, WO 353/1, Card Index.

32. AG-S, LAG XI/9a.

BEERFELDE

The Beerfelde subcamp was located in the district of Lebus to the northeast of Berlin. It existed from the summer of 1943 and was connected with an SS duty station. There are said to have been about 50 male prisoners in the camp.¹

Based on Belgian sources, the International Tracing Service (ITS) first made reference to this subcamp in its 1949 catalog.

The Committee of the Anti-Fascist Resistance Fighters in the German Democratic Republic (Komitee der Antifaschistischen Widerstandskämpfer in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, KdAW-DDR) referred to Beerfelde in the list of work detachments and subcamps in its 1967 publication on Sachsenhausen.

Subsequent investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations, in Ludwigsburg in the Federal Republic of Germany did not reveal any other details about this camp.²

SOURCES Secondary source references for this camp begin with its entry in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 264; and DaW-DDR, ed., *Damals in Sachsenhausen* (Berlin, 1967), p. 60.

The primary sources for this subcamp begin with the ZdL investigation, now BA-L.

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NOTES

1. According to the conference binder for the workshop, SBG, ed., “Die Aussenlager der Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen und Ravensbrück” (Internationale Jugendbegegnungsstätte Ravensbrück, October 17–18, 2003).

2. BA-L, IV 406 AR 2702/66, pp. 12–13, Concluding Report, January 20, 1972.

BELZIG

In 1934, the Treuenbrietzen metalware factory (Gebrüder Kopp, Berlin) began to build the Roederhof munitions factory in Belzig. From 1935 on, it manufactured infantry rifle munitions; from 1938 on, 2cm anti-aircraft munitions as well. The existence of the factory all but eliminated unemployment in the region, even before a two-shift system was introduced, and from 1937 on, involuntary workers from the Rhineland, and later from Austria and the Sudetenland, came to Belzig.

When World War II began in 1939, the demand for munitions rose, and so foreign workers were also ordered to Belzig. In 1942, 1,250 forced laborers and 150 prisoners of war (POWs) were put into a labor camp. Soon the camp next to the munitions factory was being expanded.

In late 1943, construction began on a new barracks camp next to the existing one; the two were separated by an electrified barbed-wire fence. In August 1944, approximately 750 women were transported 140 kilometers (87 miles) from the Ravensbrück concentration camp. They were housed in four wooden barracks. Within the fence there was also an infirmary, a working barracks with a punishment cell (known as

the death cell), and a combination latrine and washroom. The SS barracks stood outside the fence.

The roughly 750 prisoners included approximately 250 Poles, 200 Soviet citizens, 140 Belgians, 75 French, 7 Czechs, 6 Yugoslavs, 3 Germans, 2 each Italians and Hungarians, and 1 prisoner from Britain.¹

The imprisoned women had to work 12-hour shifts every day except Sundays and holidays. The Roederhof factory paid the Ravensbrück administration 0.70 Reichsmark (RM) per prisoner per day. Under the supervision of female SS overseers and German master workers, the prisoners had to carry out all the work of munitions production. They received beatings and curses for trivial things, from the guards and the German factory personnel as well. The prisoners could only use the toilets after the SS overseer sounded a whistle.

The women reported that the German overseers, such as Otto Haseloff and Hermann Gericke, also found opportunities to supply the prisoners secretly with food, medicine, and information.

The SS leadership's goal was the systematic physical and psychological annihilation of the concentration camp prisoners. The prisoners experienced inhuman living conditions and hard labor for 12 hours per day in the munitions factory. They wore striped uniforms that they received in Ravensbrück. In the barracks they slept in extremely close quarters, on straw sacks on two-tiered bunks. The rations were meager to begin with, decreased steadily, and would be withdrawn as punishment. Other punishments could include beatings with whips, punishment assemblies that lasted until prisoners collapsed, and individual punishments of the most inhuman sorts; all of this served to terrorize the victims. If a prisoner collapsed under punishment, she would be revived with ice-cold water. In winter, prisoners were also punished by being made to stand for hours in the cold. The result of all this was emaciation to the point of appearing skeletal, sickness, and depression. There was seldom any medical treatment. Assignment to the infirmary usually meant death.

Bans were announced: The arrogance of the SS guards went so far that the prisoners were not allowed to look them in the face. If it happened anyway, the prisoner was immediately punished with blows of every kind. There was no information about the world outside, although every now and then the locals could secretly slip them a newspaper.

No exact count of deaths in Belzig is possible. The commandant, SS-Oberscharführer Gerhard Lehmann, said in his last interrogation on May 5, 1965, that 50 to 60 prisoners died of exhaustion and sickness.

The transport manager for the factory, Mrs. Zimmermann, could remember very well that from the autumn of 1944 until early 1945 a wagon would come from the Ravensbrück Fürstenberg subcamp every three weeks with new prisoners to replace those who had died. In Belzig the wagon would be loaded with the dead and sent to the crematorium at Brandenburg (Havel). There is no documentary evidence on this point, but one can assume that the number of dead was significantly higher than Lehmann indicated.

From the beginning of 1945 on, the deceased prisoners were buried in the Gertraudten cemetery in Belzig. For this point, too, there is no documentation.

The SS command at Sachsenhausen provided Belzig with its commandant, 6 SS men, and 20 female SS overseers.

On November 1, 1944, Lehmann, who had the nickname “Crooked Neck” (Schiefhals), arrived. Earlier he had been in the Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, and Lieberose concentration camps, and he brought the necessary “experience” with him. His brutality in dealing with the prisoners is perceptible in the available event reports. Belgian prisoner Auguste Lambrecht, prisoner number 10218, reported that Lehmann shot six women during the death march.

In the book, . . . und Nachts Kartoffelschälen, SS overseer Margot Kunz maintained that Belzig was only an “education camp” and that there was no factory work, only labor in the forest. This was, however, only valid for the months of March and April 1945, when there was neither material nor power for armaments production in the factory. Marie Berthier (prisoner number 10025) contradicted Kunz’s statement that she had interacted affectionately with the prisoners and that “there was only one box on the ears.” Berthier stated that, among others, her comrade Madam Sudaqua, because she was Jewish, was beaten in the forest.

On April 24, 1945, at 11:30 A.M., the city commandant of Belzig gave the order that the camp was to be evacuated in the direction of Görzke, Ziesar, Plaue, and Görden (perhaps the psychiatric clinic). The day before, armored units of the Red Army had taken Treuenbrietzen, only 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) away, and so the alarm was raised in Belzig.

That afternoon, the prisoners were briefly informed that the punishment for attempting to escape was death. Some 600 women began the march under SS guard, while 72 ill prisoners were left to themselves in the camp. By the time darkness fell, the column had traveled only 9 kilometers (5.6 miles), to the town of Dangelndorf, short of Görzke. For 6 women, this was a death march; the SS commandant shot them and left them in the ditch.

On the second day the prisoner column reached the military exercise grounds in Altengrabow. They found emergency quarters in the old sheep farm. The SS guard force diminished little by little; several overseers put on prisoner clothing and left in the direction of the Elbe River.

On May 1, 1945, the prisoners, together with other female forced laborers and POWs, declared their self-liberation.

U.S. troops arrived in Altengrabow from Zerbst on May 3, cared for the prisoners, and took the first women away. Of the 72 women who remained in Belzig, 8 died, and a French woman was shot by the guards. The survivors were freed by the Red Army on May 3, following the peaceful surrender of the city of Belzig.

Preliminary proceedings against Commandant Lehmann led nowhere. No former prisoners were called as witnesses, and the German court released him.

Kunz was sentenced to death by a Soviet military court; later a German Democratic Republic (DDR) court sentenced

her to 10 years’ imprisonment. In the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), she was recognized as a “victim of Stalinism” in 1993 and received recompense for her imprisonment in the sum of 64,350 deutschemark (DM). Because of protests, however, especially in the media, the recognition was later canceled. The guard Frieda Werner was sentenced to 3 years’ imprisonment by the state court in Halle on April 27, 1948. Of the other guards, it is only known that they managed to get over the Elbe into western Germany before May 1, 1945, and so escaped any punishment in the East.

SOURCES Information on Belzig may be found in the following sources: Gerhard Dorbritz, *Schicksale—Dokumentation über das Zwangsarbeiterlager Roederhof in Belzig* (Belzig: 2001); the brochure by Dorbritz, *Rüstungsbetriebe Kopp & Co. (1924–1945)* (Belzig, 2003); Elfi Hartenstein, . . . und Nachts Kartoffelschälen: *Verfolgt, Verschwiegen, Verdrängt; Frauen berichtet aus Nachkriegslagern; Annäherung an ein Kapitel DDR-Vergangenheit* (Berg am Starnberger See: Verlagsgesellschaft Berg, 1992); and the brochure in Flemish by Rene Motmanns, “Mijn belevenissen tijdens de tweede wereldoorlog—Augusta Lambrecht” (n.p., n.d.).

Gerhard Dorbritz
trans. Geoffrey Megargee

NOTE

1. Figures compiled by the author from interviews with survivors. All figures are approximate.

BERLIN (ARADO)

In the fall of 1944, a subcamp of Sachsenhausen was established at the main offices of the Arado-Flugzeugwerke (Arado Aircraft Works) company in Berlin. While there has been some analysis of the Arado-Flugzeugwerke and the Sachsenhausen subcamp in Wittenberg and elsewhere, sources on the Berlin branch of this firm and the camp slave laborers it employed are generally scarce.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) entry for Berlin (Arado), women prisoners were incarcerated in the camp.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on the Berlin (Arado) subcamp of Sachsenhausen. For a basic outline of the camp, on which this entry is primarily based, see the entry for Berlin (Arado) in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979). Although not always consistent with other sources, the ITS catalog provides brief statistical information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, type of prisoner work, and so on.

Few relevant primary source materials were found. In the AG-S, there are some file groupings that mention an “Arado” camp, although the information provided in these documents is not necessarily related to the Berlin office, and it is rather vague. See especially file groups D 30 A/8/4 C; D 30

A/7/8, Teil 1; D 30 A 7/14; D 30 A 9/1, Teil 1. Sources that mention Arado at the USHMM primarily focus on the Wittenberg subcamp. There is one oral history with survivor Irene Fleming, who was taken from Ravensbrück to work at “Arado.” Her testimony does not specify which camp or “Arado” plant this was. However, late in the interview she speaks about being in the vicinity of the Elbe, which would place her most likely in the Wittenberg camp. A history of the Arado company was also consulted at the Library of Congress, and there was no mention of any use of labor from the camps. Most analyses of Arado focus on the history of the development of aircraft, and these focus on the plants in Wittenberg, Potsdam, and Warnemünde but rarely on the Berlin office.

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BERLIN (FRIEDRICH-KRAUSE-UFER)

The Friedrich-Krause-Ufer subcamp existed from the end of 1943 as a labor detachment of the Berlin-Lichterfelde subcamp. It was situated close to unused land owned by the Auer-Gesellschaft on the Friedrich-Krause-Ufer near the Moabiter Westhafen. Former prisoner Emil Kamke stated that he was held in Lichterfelde from the middle of 1942 to the end of 1943. In 1943 he was ordered to the Friedrich-Krause-Ufer subcamp.¹

In the change reports (*Veränderungsmeldungen*), the camp is given a separate entry to that of the Lichterfelde camp for the first time on April 21, 1944, and is described as “external detachment Berlin” (Aussenkommando Berlin) with 300 prisoners. On May 20, it had 459 prisoners. The camp is mentioned for the last time on January 10, 1945, with 289 prisoners.²

The prisoners were accommodated in converted ships. The prisoners in the “Berlin” labor detachment removed rubble. The reclaimed building material was transported on the Spree River from the Müggelheim labor camp to Köpenick, where it was used to build emergency accommodations. There was therefore a direct functional connection between the Berlin labor detachment and the Müggelheim labor camp. Former prisoner Hans-Christian Witt stated that he worked not only at the Friedrich-Krause-Ufer but also with the SS-Baubrigade II (Construction Brigade II) in Berlin-Müggelheim, in the office for SS settlement policy (*Siedlungswesen*).³

According to the Sachsenhausen *Veränderungsmeldungen*, the Friedrich-Krause-Ufer subcamp with 278 prisoners was put under the control of the SS-Baubrigade II on January 11, 1945, as the sublabor detachment “IIa Berlin.” Shortly after that, it was relocated to southern Germany.⁴ Eleven SS men from the detachment at Friedrich-Krause-Ufer remained, and their leader was probably SS-Sturmscharführer Otto Dittmar.⁵

The *Veränderungsmeldungen* refer once again to a Sachsenhausen subcamp on March 29, 1945. They refer to a subcamp on the abandoned grounds on the Friedrich-Krause-Ufer, the site of the Berlin labor detachment until the middle of January 1945. The Friedrich-Krause-Ufer subcamp with 100

prisoners existed for only a short time and is last mentioned on April 9, 1945, in the surviving *Veränderungsmeldung*.⁶ It is not known when it was dissolved.

The prisoner numbers in the SS-Baubrigade II remained constant for the spring of 1945. This means that the second camp on the Friedrich-Krause-Ufer was not populated by the relocation of the Baubrigade IIa from southern Germany. The empty space on the Spree, the result of moving the Baubrigade detachment to southern Germany, was used again as a subcamp. It is not known what the prisoners were used for, but it is likely to have been to remove rubble.

According to prisoner statements, one SS-Hauptscharführer Skopnik was the camp leader (Lagerführer) of the Berlin labor detachment. It was thought that at Christmas he procured sweets for the prisoners in return for money, for which act SS block leader (Blockführer) Gustav Sorge wanted to denounce him to the camp command; Sorge had prisoners in Sachsenhausen questioned about the matter.⁷ This could in fact have been SS-Oberscharführer Hermann Skopnik, who was camp leader in the Drögen subcamp and who was, in fact, convicted of assisting prisoners.

According to his own statements, SS-Oberscharführer Emil Rieder also claimed to have been camp leader in the Friedrich-Krause-Ufer subcamp. In 1941–1942, he had been stationed in the Glau subcamp and later in Schönefeld.⁸ SS-Oberschütze Georg Schneider, among others, guarded the camp. He was captured by the Americans in 1945. He admitted the prisoners were guarded by police while they were working.⁹ Other guards in the subcamp were SS-Schütze Hermann Kopfinger (September 25, 1944, to March 26, 1945) and SS-Oberscharführer Walter Schwank (September 15, 1944, to January 30, 1945); after the war, both were interned by the British in Esterwegen.¹⁰

SOURCES There is no secondary literature on the Friedrich-Krause-Ufer subcamp. Just about all sources are located in the AG-S and a few in the ZdL (now the BA-L).

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. AG-S, JD 21, Bd. 20, p. 16, Aussage Emil Kamke, July 13, 1961.
2. AG-S, JSU 1, Bd. 100 and 101.
3. AG-S, D 30 A/10/2B, p. 137.
4. AG-S, JSU 1, Bd. 99 and 101.
5. BA-L, UdSSR, 245 Ac, Bd. I, p. 148.
6. AG-S, JSU 1, Bd. 101.
7. AG-S, JD 2, Bd. 38, p. 166, Aussage Wilhelm Rehmsch, April 17, 1957.
8. BA-L, IV 406 AR 2488/66, pp. 82–103, Vernehmung Emil Rieder, March 15, 1961; see also AG-S, JD 7, Bd. 4, Bl. 132, Aussage Emil Rieder, August 17, 1961, in which he maintained that he had simply been a guard.
9. AG-S, LAG, XI/1, Schreiben der ZSSSta-K, May 29, 1970.
10. AG-S, D 30 A, Bd. 15, Esterwegenliste.

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BERLIN (KASTANIENALLEE)

There is limited information about the subcamp of Sachsenhausen on the Kastanienallee in Berlin. A work commando was sent there to work for a police administration office from September 29 to December 31, 1941, but the work may have extended into April or June 1942.¹ Scholars have estimated that about 50 prisoners were sent to this commando.² Ludwig Herwig was a prisoner foreman in the camp from October 1941 until June 1942.³

SOURCES The main source of secondary information for this entry is an essay by Stefanie Endlich and Wolf Kaiser, “KZ-Häftlinge in der Reichshauptstadt: Aussenlager in Berlin,” *DaHe* 12 (1996), which provides an overview of subcamps in Berlin and its environs. Further information about the Kastanienallee commando of Sachsenhausen may be found in Klaus Drobisch et al., *Sachsenhausen. Mahnung und Verpflichtung* (Oranienburg: Nationalen Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Sachsenhausen, 1989). There is no record of the camp in the catalog of the ITS.

Further information about the origins of the prisoners, the kind of work they did for the police, life in the camp, or which police service employed the prisoners may be uncovered in the AG-S. Primary source material may be found at the archives of the AG-S, files D 30 A/2, 8-83; D 30 A/10/2 A, 22 A; D 30 A/10/2 B, 5, 84-85; and D 30 A/7/4, 29-32.

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NOTES

1. Fragebogen des Sachsenhausen-Komitees an alle Sachsenhausener (Richard Bräutigam), AG-S, D 30 A/10/2 A, 22 A. See also Zeugenaussage von Wilhelm Epting vor der Kriminalpolizei Frankfurt/Main, D 30 A/7/4, 29-32.

2. Stefanie Endlich and Wolf Kaiser, “KZ-Häftlinge in der Reichshauptstadt: Aussenlager in Berlin,” *DaHe* 12 (1996): 230n.21.

3. Fragebogen des Sachsenhausen-Komitees, D 30 A/10/2 A, 22 A.

BERLIN (KOMMANDOAMT DER WAFFEN-SS)

From May 2 to December 31, 1941, a subcamp of Sachsenhausen was created in Berlin for the Kommandoamt der Waffen-SS, an office within the SS-Main Command Office (Führungshauptamt, FHA). The subcamp held male prisoners.

SOURCES There are virtually no sources that chronicle any information about the subcamp in the Berlin Kommandoamt. For brief information about the Berlin Kommandoamt subcamp, see ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933-1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979). Although not always consistent with other sources, the ITS catalog provides brief statistical infor-

mation about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, type of prisoner work, and so on.

Similarly, listings of Sachsenhausen subcamps and work commandos in the indexes at the AG-S—for example, file group I/4—provide no further information about this subcamp.

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BERLIN-HAKENFELDE

The SS established Hakenfelde, a subcamp of Sachsenhausen, in the southern region of Berlin's Spandau district in July 1943. Its function was to house forced laborers. The barracks, which had the capacity to hold 1,000 inmates, stood on Streitstrasse 5-10 across from the Luftfahrtgerätewerk (Aircraft Equipment Works, LGW) firm, a subsidiary of Siemens-Schuckert-Werke (SSW) and Siemens & Halske (S&H).

Siemens, the largest electrical company in Europe, transitioned much of its business efforts to armaments production during World War II. After the Allies bombed and destroyed the major Siemens production plant in the fall of 1943, the company replaced output lost in the air raids by establishing factories near major concentration camps, such as Ravensbrück, to take advantage of forced labor from the camp inmates. Siemens also used laborers from various subcamps and outside work details (Aussenkommandos). Like other subsidiaries of Siemens, the Luftfahrtgerätewerk firm had its own personnel and organizational infrastructure. The factory used forced labor from the Hakenfelde camp, and it also employed outside work details in other sites in the Sudetenland.¹

In the Berlin-Hakenfelde subcamp of Sachsenhausen, all of the inmates were women, and they worked at the nearby Luftfahrtgerätewerk factory. The prisoners assisted in producing aviation equipment for rearmament efforts. In the Siemens firms that employed prisoner workers, both civil personnel from the company and SS overseers generally supervised the inmates. In firms that used women as workers, female SS auxiliaries supervised the prisoners' work. This was most likely the case in the Luftfahrtgerätewerk factory. There are few, if any, accounts from former inmates about treatment by the guards at work or in the camp.

Further information about the subcamp in Hakenfelde is lacking. The camp was closed in April 1944. However, there is no information about the fate of the Hakenfelde inmates, especially with regard to possible survivors.

SOURCES For a general overview of the Sachsenhausen subcamp of Berlin-Hakenfelde, see Stefanie Endlich and Wolf Kaiser, “KZ-Häftlinge in der Reichshauptstadt: Aussenlager in Berlin,” *DaHe* 12 (1996); and Karl-Heinz Roth, “Zwangsarbeit im Siemens-Konzern (1938-1945): Fakten—Kontroversen—Probleme,” in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939-1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienberg (Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 1996). See also Hans-Rainer Sandvoss, *Widerstand in Spandau* (Berlin: Gedenkstätte Deutsche Wid-

erstand, 1988), for a brief description of the subcamp. The entry for the Berlin-Hakenfelde subcamp in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979), provides brief statistical information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, type of prisoner work, types of prisoners, and so on. For similar information on Berlin-Hakenfelde (for example, its location and opening and closing dates), see Rainer Kubatzki, *Zwangsarbeiter- und Kriegsgefangenenlager: Standorte und Topographie in Berlin und im brandenburgischen Umland, 1939 bis 1945* (Berlin: Berlin Verlag, 2001). *Siemens 1918–1945* by Wilfried Feldenkirchen, the former Siemens archivist, describes the economic history of Luftfahrtgerätewerk in relation to Siemens & Halske, although there is no analysis of the use of forced labor specifically by Luftfahrtgerätewerk. For a general overview of forced labor used by Siemens and its subsidiaries, as well as information about postwar compensation to former slave laborers, see Benjamin Ferencz, *Less Than Slaves: Jewish Forced Labor and the Quest for Compensation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002); as well as the USHMM Benjamin B. Ferencz Collection, 1919–1994, RG 12.004.19*14, “Report on the Employment of Slave Labor by the Siemens Concern during World War II, 1961 Feb. 24,” and RG 12.004.19*16, “KZ-Häftlinge bei Siemens und Osram, 1983.”

There is scarce primary source material on the Berlin-Hakenfelde camp; however, testimony, official reports, and documentation are most likely contained at the AG-S (LAG, XI/4). See especially the research of Klaus Drobisch et al., “Sachsenhausen. Mahnung und Verpflichtung” (R 62/1). According to Kubatzki, construction files for Berlin-Hakenfelde are stored at the BA, (R4606, 4006). Various oral history and survivor testimony repositories, such as YV or the VHF, may contain witness accounts that would provide additional information about the camp.

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NOTE

1. USHMM, Benjamin B. Ferencz Collection, RG 12.004.19*16: KZ-Häftlinge bei Siemens und Osram, 1983; by Klaus Drobisch for the Hauptkommission zur Untersuchung der Naziverbrechen in Polen Internationale Wissenschaftliche Session zum Thema: Naziverbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit in Polen und Europa, 1933–1945.

BERLIN-KÖPENICK

The Berlin-Köpenick camp was established in August 1944 as a subcamp to Sachsenhausen. The SS created the camp to house women imprisoned in Ravensbrück who had been brought to the Berlin suburb of Köpenick to work in cable factories. Accounts from former inmates and other witnesses from Berlin-Köpenick vary, and many seem to have combined information about the men's and women's sections. Perhaps because it only existed for about eight months, there is little specific information about the Köpenick subcamp.

Two to four watchtowers as well as barbed wire or electrical fencing surrounded the Köpenick camp, which was located in a suburb of Berlin on the Spree River. There were five barracks in the camp complex altogether, although only the women's barracks were used for the Sachsenhausen subcamp. There is no information about exactly how many barracks were used for the female and the male prisoners. Regina Chmielecka-Zych was transferred to Köpenick from Ravensbrück. She was originally deported from Warsaw to Ravensbrück at age 23. In her testimony after the war, she emphasized that there was no contact between women and men.¹ Although witness reports on the use of the barracks vary, some witnesses have noted that there was a barracks for ill inmates and another for punishment.² According to one former inmate's testimony, men were sent on work commandos to remove unexploded shells and to clear rubble from the streets after air raids. However, some of the men's barracks may have been located in Müggelheim, a different slave labor camp in another area of the Köpenick district.³

In the late summer of 1944, women who were formerly prisoners in Ravensbrück were transported to the Köpenick camp. The women were mostly from Poland but also from Czechoslovakia, France, Greece, the Soviet Union, and Belgium. Roma and Sinti (Gypsies) women from various countries were also among the inmates. Although there is no specific demographic information about prisoners, including decreases, increases, and death rates, one study has found that the subcamp held as many as 500 women.⁴ After the Berlin-Niederschöneweide subcamp of Sachsenhausen was destroyed during an air raid in late February 1945, some of those prisoners were absorbed into the Köpenick camp.⁵ Henryk Cierznichowski, a former prisoner in the men's camp, has estimated that about 400 women were brought into the camp at this time; however, no further specific numbers were found.⁶

The women imprisoned in the Berlin-Köpenick subcamp were used as slave laborers by the Carl J. Vogel Draht- und Kabelwerke Company located at Friedrichshagener Strasse 11. Izabella Wotek, a former Polish inmate, has reported that some of the women from the subcamp were also sent to work at the large AEG-Kabelwerke Oberspree factory, which employed thousands of slave laborers from other camps in Köpenick.⁷ Some women reported that they were taken to work on a small ship on the Spree. They generally worked in two 12-hour shifts.

There is little information about prisoner culture, such as coping mechanisms or daily life, or about key events in the history of the camp, such as resistance or escape attempts. Living conditions at the Köpenick subcamp were generally poor. The barracks were crowded, dirty, and infested with vermin. The inmates received little food with virtually no nutritional value, such as unsweetened black coffee, small portions of bread, thin soup (sometimes replete with worms), and sporadically, a bit of margarine. Their clothing was dirty (with no possibility of washing) and too thin for the cold weather, and they wore only wooden shoes without socks, even during the winter months. The inmates endured hunger

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and daily beatings by the guards, and some were killed during air raids. Jadwiga Nowicka-Stankiewicz, a survivor transported to the camp at age 50, testified that she was forced to sleep out in the open, despite the freezing temperatures, because she had not made her bed to the satisfaction of the guards.⁸

The guard staff was composed of SS men and women hired as SS overseers (SS-Aufsehrinnen). The SS guard post leadership consisted of Oberscharführer Ernst Drews (Postenführer in Köpenick from January 1 to May 2, 1945), Oberscharführer Otto Wilke (in Köpenick from January 24 to April 18, 1945), Unterscharführer Richard Strahl (January to April 1945), and guard duty officer Unterscharführer Wilhelm Knitter (January 1 to May 2, 1945). Some of the guard staff included Rottenführer Otto Schwaz (December 7, 1944, to May 2, 1945), Rottenführer Michael Edling (September 1, 1944, to April 1, 1945), Sturmman Hans Sorembe (December 16, 1944, to April 1945), Schütze Wilhelm Bormann (January 12 to May 2, 1945), and Schütze Paul Donath (January 24 to May 2, 1945).⁹ Witness protocols also named two other individuals associated with the guard staff, Wilhelm Fichtorn and Hermann Polz. There are no details about the names or origins of the female SS overseers.

Sources on the dissolution of the Köpenick subcamp vary. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the Berlin-Köpenick camp was closed in early April 1945. The Red Army occupied the area, including the C.J. Vogel Draht- und Kabelwerke Company, on April 23, 1945. Cierznia-chowski has recalled that the men were evacuated from the camp on April 21, 1945, and that the women remained and were evacuated separately. Chmielecka-Zych has noted that sometime in April the camp was bombed, and the women were transported to Sachsenhausen. They remained there for a few days and were then evacuated again. Driven out in columns of 500, American and Soviet troops liberated them on May 3, 1945. Nowicka-Stankiewicz's testimony supports this assertion: the women were transported to "a large camp" in April and were evacuated again before they were liberated on May 3. There is no further information about the number of survivors from the Köpenick subcamp.

SOURCES The most complete information on the Berlin-Köpenick subcamp in secondary sources can be found in Stefanie Endlich and Wolf Kaiser, "KZ-Häftlinge in der Reichshauptstadt: Aussenlager in Berlin," *DaHe* 12 (1996). The entry for the Berlin-Köpenick subcamp in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979), provides brief statistical information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, type of prisoner work, types of prisoners, and so on (although these are not always consistent with other sources). For further information about the history of Carl J. Vogel Draht- und Kabelwerk, but not specifically the company's use of female slave laborers from the Sachsenhausen subcamp, see Bruno

Scholz and Ludwig Turek, *Es wächst die Kraft. Aus der Geschichte des Kabelwerkes Köpenick* (Berlin: Verlag Tribüne, 1964).

There is scant primary source material on the Berlin-Köpenick camp; however, testimony and official reports and documentation are stored at the AG-S (LAG, XI/4). See German translations of the testimony from the Hauptkommission zur Untersuchung von Hitlerverbrechen (Poland, Szczecin) in file XI/14 of Henryk Cierznia-chowski (Bezirkskommission in Gdańsk), Regenia Chmielecka-Zych, Jadwiga Nowicka-Stankiewicz, Stefania Rapkowska, as well as Izabella Wotek at the AG-S (R 47/8); she was a Polish slave laborer who reported on prisoners' labor in AEG-Kabelwerke Oberspree. See also file D30 A-15 Blatt 1–41: Liste mit Name von ca. 700 SS-Leuten und 8 Häftlingen aus dem KZ Sachsenhausen, Arbeitsstellen, Aussenlagern. According to Rainer Kubatzki's *Zwangsarbeiter- und Kriegsgefangenenlager: Standorte und Topographie in Berlin und im brandenburgischen Umland 1939 bis 1945* (Berlin Verlag, 2001), documents and official reports on the Berlin-Köpenick camp can be found in the BA (R4606, 4020).

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NOTES

1. Regina Chmielecka-Zych, testimony to the Hauptkommission zur Untersuchung von Hitlerverbrechen in Polen (24.11.1968), AG-S, LAG XI/14. "Chmielecka-Zych" represents Chmielecka née Zych.

2. Regina Chmielecka-Zych, Jadwiga Nowicka-Stankiewicz, Stefanie Rapkowska, testimony to the Hauptkommission zur Untersuchung von Hitlerverbrechen in Polen (1968), AG-S, LAG XI/14.

3. See the testimony of Henryk Cierznia-chowski, German translation of the witness protocol to the Bezirkskommission zur Untersuchung von Hitlerverbrechen in Gdańsk (29.7.1968), AG-S, LAG XI/14. See also Stefanie Endlich and Wolf Kaiser, "KZ-Häftlinge in der Reichshauptstadt: Aussenlager in Berlin," *DaHe* 12 (1996): 250.

4. Ibid., p. 250.

5. Gabriele Layer-Jung and Cord Pagenstecher, "Vom vergessenen Lager zum Dokumentationszentrum? Das ehemalige NS-Zwangsarbeiterlager in Berlin-Schöneeweide," *GeRu* 111 (March 2003): 3–13.

6. Cierznia-chowski, testimony, AG-S.

7. Izabella Wotek, Bericht (Archiv Sachsenhausen, R 47/8). As cited in Endlich and Kaiser, "KZ-Häftlinge," p. 250.

8. Jadwiga Nowicka-Stankiewicz, AG-S.

9. Blatt 1–41: Liste mit Name von ca. 700 SS-Leuten und 8 Häftlingen aus dem KZ Sachsenhausen, Arbeitsstellen, Aussenlagern, AG-S, D 30 A-15.

BERLIN-LICHTENRADE

The Berlin-Lichtenrade camp was established in August 1943 as a subcamp to Sachsenhausen. Like other subcamps, the Berlin-Lichtenrade camp was formed in part to spare the cost and time it would take to transport prisoners to and from various work details outside the main camps. The Lichten-

rade camp barracks structure had already been in use from 1941 to incarcerate Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) from the Ukraine. Until the SS took over the administration of the camp in August 1943, it was not so strictly guarded. Soviet POWs circulated among the population, as they were forced to work on farms and in factories; in turn, they sometimes earned a small amount of extra food.

When the SS took over Lichtenrade, the structure absorbed inmates from the Berlin-Marienfelde subcamp of Sachsenhausen who had survived the British bombing of Marienfelde on August 21 and 22, 1943. Because Marienfelde had been totally destroyed, a new holding facility was needed for the surviving prisoners. The Lichtenrade camp consisted of six or seven wooden barracks and one additional barracks that served as living quarters for the camp guards and housed the camp kitchen.¹ Lichtenrade became 1 of 21 subcamps in the Berlin area. It is unclear if the Soviet POWs remained at the Lichtenrade camp with this new addition of prisoners.

Before the arrival of the 400 to 450 Marienfelde prisoners, a triple-thick barbed-wire fence was erected around the Lichtenrade camp. Watchtowers were also constructed along the camp's perimeter, and their spotlights illuminated the grounds, except during air raids when they were shut off. Most of the prisoners who were transferred from Marienfelde to Lichtenrade in August 1943 were political prisoners from Germany, the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Norway, the Netherlands, France, Spain, and Luxembourg. There are few sources that list the exact number, names, and origins of the inmates. Most sources indicate that the prisoners were men; and testimony files indicate that they ranged in ages from 18 to 51.²

Living conditions at the Lichtenrade camp were poor, and neither the inmates' meager diet—which consisted of ersatz coffee, bread, and beet soup—nor their thin clothing prepared them for the grueling and dangerous work they had to perform.³ Lichtenrade was not a killing center; however, many inmates died from starvation, exhaustion, maltreatment from the guards, and the otherwise harsh living conditions. No exact number of prisoner deaths is available. The prisoners suffered daily cruel treatment, including long roll calls outside in inclement weather and verbal and physical abuse from the camp guards. Many inmates were sent for punishment for any slight reason to the Sachsenhausen main camp, where they were jailed, sentenced to punishment details (*Strafkompanies*), beaten with whips or sticks, or hanged.⁴

The prisoners in Lichtenrade were forced to work in detachments that performed various kinds of hard labor throughout the Berlin area. According to one former prisoner, work details, always supervised by camp guards, reached their destinations in trucks or streetcars.⁵ Work detachments constructed air-raid shelters in Berlin, and they were sent to Mahlow, a village just south of Lichtenrade, to rebuild a destroyed military hospital. After air raids, Lichtenrade inmates were forced to clear rubble from the streets, and special details were sent to dismantle unexploded bombs.⁶ Prisoners were also deployed to help residents who lived on the out-

skirts of the camp and who needed laborers to reconstruct and repair parts of their homes damaged by bombing attacks. Although it was forbidden, witnesses have asserted that some members of the Nazi administration used prisoners in their private gardens or to construct private residences.

The camp administration was under the jurisdiction of the SS, and the camp commandant, who arrived from his post at Sachsenhausen, was Oberscharführer Daida. His deputy in Lichtenrade was Unterscharführer Hans Zöllner, who came to Lichtenrade in February 1945 from the Lieberose subcamp. Both men not only supervised the administration of the camp but also assisted in punishments and conducted executions, especially of escapees. The officer in charge (Lagerführer) of the camp who directly oversaw the prisoners was Hauptscharführer Höhn, and the block leaders (Blockführers) were SS men Meierhofer, Meier, and another nicknamed "the Bone Breaker."⁷ The Kommandoführer, who directed prisoner work details, was Hauptscharführer Theodor Mussmann. One of the SS guards on staff was Schütze Hans Bitto.⁸

While the SS directed the camp, the guard companies in charge of daily surveillance and supervision of work commands consisted of reserve police battalions from Berlin-Spandau. The guards who oversaw the work commands that were sent outside the camp were reported to have been less stringent and brutal toward the prisoners than their colleagues within the camp. Two notable officers were Richard Henneberg and Rudolf Liedtke, who allegedly had antifascist sympathies (Henneberg was a member of the German Social Democratic Party [SPD] prior to 1933).⁹ As in other camps, some inmates, called Kapos, were selected to act as security police and carry out punishments; one particularly relentless and cruel Kapo was Johannes Puhlmann. Other prisoners who held administrative roles in the camp were camp elder (Lagerältester) Franz Szymalla (or Schimalla), who had worked in the Sachsenhausen crematorium; Alfred Bringmann, a political prisoner and foreman from the fall of 1943 on; Johann Baudisch, a political prisoner and kitchen foreman; and Martin Kuhnert, who worked in the infirmary office.¹⁰

There is little information about postwar trials of any of these individuals. Henneberg was active in local government, and Liedtke eventually ran a business after the war. In accounts of the 1947 trial of the Sachsenhausen camp administration conducted by the military tribunal of the Soviet Military Administration in Germany (SMAD) Daida does not appear on lists of accused individuals.¹¹ Zöllner was tried by the Düsseldorf Regional Court (Landgericht), although no information about the outcome of that trial could be found.¹²

Presumably due to the camp's close proximity to Berlin-Lichtenrade residential areas, as well as the opportunities presented by forced labor conducted outside the camp, several inmates attempted to escape. Two Polish prisoners fled from a work commando in the fall of 1943 and were later caught and executed in Sachsenhausen.¹³ Fritz Reuter, a German political prisoner active in the Communist underground,

and another inmate, Herbert Tschäpe, fled the camp in June 1944. Tschäpe was caught in July and executed in the Gestapo prison at Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse in Berlin.¹⁴ Three other prisoners attempted to escape in October 1944. Soon after, they were caught, brought back to the Lichtenrade camp, and executed by hanging in front of the rest of the inmates.¹⁵

The circumstances and timing of the dissolution of the Lichtenrade camp vary according to former prisoners' testimony. In April 1945, as enemy troops closed in, about 350 prisoners were forced to march to Sachsenhausen. About 50 to 80 prisoners remained behind. The evacuated group was sent on a death march from Sachsenhausen to Schwerin, where the SS shot many of the prisoners.¹⁶ Other witnesses contend that the camp began to evacuate prisoners in early 1945 and that many were transferred to another camp at Muggelheim in Köpenick.¹⁷ It is unclear if the Red Army liberated Lichtenrade or if the camp was already evacuated by the time they arrived in late April 1945.

SOURCES Most of the information for this entry comes from Ruth Zantow's essay "'Das sind doch Verbrecher . . .'" Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen Aussenlager Lichtenrade," in *Direkt vor der Haustür: Berlin-Lichtenrade im Nationalsozialismus*, by Andreas Bräutigam et al. (Berlin: Aktion Sühnezeichen/Friedensdienste, 1990). Zantow provides a concise overview of the Lichtenrade subcamp, as well as reproductions of testimony from former prisoners archived at the Sachsenhausen Memorial (see below). For further information about slave laborers—including Soviet, Czechoslovakian, and other prisoners—in Berlin-Lichtenrade, see "Die waren doch nicht freiwillig hier! Zwangsarbeiter in Lichtenrade," by Thomas Quilitzsch, in the same volume.

The most extensive primary source material is located in the AG-S. See especially file XI/15, which contains testimony from former prisoners gathered by the Hauptkommission zur Untersuchung von Hitlerverbrechen in Polen, the Bezirkskommission zur Untersuchung von Hitlerverbrechen in Szczecin, the Bezirkskommission zur Untersuchung von Hitlerverbrechen in Gdańsk, and the Öffentliche Sitzung der Strafkammer des Kreisgerichts Magdeburg; these provide broad information, details on daily camp life, and personal histories of prisoners in Berlin-Lichtenrade. The AG-S also contains general reports on the subcamps in LAG, FB 653, "Sachsenhausensammlung der 'Lagerarbeitsgemeinschaft Sachsenhausen,'" as well as letters from former prisoners sent to family members. It is unclear what kinds of reports or to which camps these reports correspond; research on-site is most likely needed to clarify this. For further information on the service record of SS officers Daida and Zöllner, see the NARA holdings of the BDC, SS Officer Personnel files, series SSO.

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NOTES

1. Władysław Walczak, testimony to Hauptkommission zur Untersuchung von Hitlerverbrechen in Polen, AKT.Z.: II Ds 63/68/ZR, 30 September 1968, AG-S, XI/15.

2. See Sachsenhausen file XI/15, AG-S.

3. Ibid.

4. Fritz Reuter, written testimony to Staatsanwalt Wieland, June 1969, AG-S, XI/15.

5. Eugeniusz Dulęba, testimony to the Bezirkskommission zur Untersuchung von Hitlerverbrechen in Szczecin, 19 October 1968, AG-S, XI/15.

6. Henryk Cierznichowski, testimony to Bezirkskommission zur Untersuchung von Hitlerverbrechen in Gdańsk, AKT.Z.: IIDs 63/68/ZR, 16 October 1968, AG-S, XI/15.

7. Wilhelm Hollein, testimony to the Öffentliche Sitzung der Strafkammer des Kreisgerichts Magdeburg, Stadtbezirk Nord, 31 October 1969, AG-S, XI/15. Hollein does not specify whether Hauptscharführer Höhn is the same August Höhn who was the second Lagerführer in Sachsenhausen and who was tried and sentenced to life imprisonment by the Soviet Military Tribunal.

8. "Liste mit Namen von ca. 700 SS-Leuten und 8 Häftlingen aus dem KZ Sachsenhausen, Arbeitsstellen, Aussenlagern," AG-S, Bestand D 30 A/15, Blatt 1–41.

9. Reuter, to Staatsanwalt Wieland, June 1969.

10. Letter from Staatsanwalt Pfeufer to Staatsanwalt Wieland, Zentralstelle für die Bearbeitung von NS-Verbrechen bei dem Generalstaatsanwalt der DDR, 15 July 1969, AG-S, XI/15, pp. 2–3.

11. If "Höhn" is the same August Höhn who was the second Lagerführer in Sachsenhausen, then he was tried by the Soviet Military Tribunal and sentenced to life imprisonment.

12. Vernehmungsniederschrift vor Untersuchungsrichter Landgericht Düsseldorf für Hans Zöllner, AG-S, Bestand D 30 A 4/5, pp. 65–66.

13. Reuter to Wieland, June 1969.

14. Ibid.

15. Cziernakowski, in Ruth Zantow, "'Das sind doch Verbrecher . . .'" Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen Aussenlager Lichtenrade," in *Direkt vor der Haustür: Berlin-Lichtenrade im Nationalsozialismus*, by Andreas Bräutigam et al. (Berlin: Aktion Sühnezeichen/Friedensdienste, 1990), p. 344.

16. Wilhelm Hollein, testimony to the Öffentliche Sitzung der Strafkammer des Kreisgerichts Magdeburg, Stadtbezirk Nord, 31 October 1969, AG-S, XI/15. See also Vernehmungsniederschrift vor Untersuchungsrichter Landgericht Düsseldorf für Hans Zöllner, AG-S, Bestand D 30 A #4/5, pp. 65–66.

17. Reuter, to Staatsanwalt Wieland, June 1969.

BERLIN-LICHTERFELDE

The SS established the first Sachsenhausen subcamp in Berlin in 1942, in the suburb of Lichterfelde. Until its liberation, it housed over 1,400 prisoners. The prisoners had to work in more than 40 work detachments for the SS-Building Administration "Reich Nord." They mainly had to perform forced labor at SS stations, including the administration buildings for the centers for terror and persecution. The prisoners regarded Lichterfelde as a relatively "privileged subcamp" because of the living and working conditions.¹ The numerous work detachments gave the prisoners contact to the outside world, and some were able to escape with the help of civilians.

In 1941, what was then the SS-Main Office for Budget and Buildings (Hauptamt Haushalt und Bauten, HHB), under the command of SS-Oberführer Hans Kammler, began planning a subcamp for Lichterfelde that was on the Teltow Canal.² An SS construction site, housing for SS guards, and a service barracks for the Berlin Waffen-SS Building Administration were all located outside the subcamp. A residential estate for members of the “SS-Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler” was located very close to the subcamp. A number of SS leaders lived on the estate.³

The first prisoners were most likely transported from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp to Berlin-Lichterfelde by the SS on June 23, 1942.⁴ Initially, the SS wanted to transfer only German prisoners to the subcamp who did not come from Berlin and who were skilled tradesmen. By 1943, Lichterfelde held about 40 percent Germans and 40 percent Poles. The remaining inmates were Belgians, French, Greeks, Luxembourgers, Norwegians, Austrians, Russians, Czechs, and Ukrainians. There are also said to have been German Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) among the prisoners,⁵ as well as seven Russian youths between about 14 and 18 years of age.⁶ The subcamp was expanded in March 1943. Until that expansion, according to the SS, there were between 500 and 700 prisoners there. At the beginning of April 1945, there were 1,414 prisoners in the camp.

Punishment was meted out in the subcamp. The forms of punishment included penal standing, the so-called *Sachsen Gruss* (Saxon greeting; squatting for hours with the arms crossed at the back of the head or with the arms stretched out in front), and beatings.⁷ There was one execution. Several prisoners died from consuming drinks that the SS contaminated by adding methyl alcohol.⁸

There were seven known escape attempts. Two failed. The first escape attempt from the Lichterfelde subcamp took place at the beginning of July 1942.⁹ Austrian Communist Franz Primus was able to escape in May 1944 with the help of civilians.¹⁰ Rudi Wunderlich succeeded in escaping in June 1944 from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). On the other hand, the escape attempt by 22-year-old Wilhelm Novak from the Spinnstoffwerke (Spinning Mill) work detachment failed. Novak was hanged in front of the other subcamp prisoners in August 1944. In 1943, in the inner courtyard of the WVHA, two prisoners were hanged for “looting.”

In August 1943, two camp barracks caught on fire during a bombing raid, threatening to incinerate the prisoners who had sought shelter in a shrapnel trench. The SS guards cut the barbed wire, enabling the prisoners to escape the fire.¹¹

The subcamp inmates were taken daily by truck, special trams, or the city railway, or marched, to the work detachment sites where work was to be done.¹² The detainees had to construct and maintain SS buildings,¹³ construct bunkers for the SS, and increasingly, clean up after air raids.

They worked at the WVHA in Berlin-Lichterfelde; the SS-Main Command Office (Führungshauptamt, FHA) in Berlin-Wilmersdorf; the SS-Main Hospital (Sanitätshaupt-

lager) in Berlin-Lichtenberg; a number of different Waffen-SS food depots in the districts of Wedding, Spandau, and Steglitz; the SS-Race and Settlement Main Office (Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt); the Reich Criminal Police Office (Reichskriminalpolizeiamt); and the SS-Leibstandarte “Adolf Hitler” located in the former Prussian Main Cadet Academy. They also worked in the Nazi Party Chancellery Office, the Reich Security Main Office (Reichssicherheitshauptamt, RSHA) and its Foreign Espionage Department (Auslandsspionage), which was located in a Jewish old-age home that had been confiscated after the deportation of the inhabitants and their nursing staff in 1941, as well as in the “Neue Reichskanzlei” (New Reichs Chancellery), Hitler’s base.¹⁴

During a bombing raid on May 7, 1944, on the “terror center,” the offices of the RSHA, where they were working as forced labor, 29 prisoners from Lichterfelde died.¹⁵

Subcamp inmates had to renovate the private apartments of senior SS commanders such as Ernst Kaltenbrunner, the head of the RSHA, who had moved into an apartment in Berlin-Charlottenburg previously occupied by a Jewish person who had been deported.¹⁶ They also had to construct air-raid shelters for Oswald Pohl, Hans Kammler, and Gustav Lörner.

The Alexanderplatz and Cicerostrasse detachments installed the electrical wiring and connections in the air-raid bunker on the Kurfürstendamm. The Spanische Allee detachment converted a former Jewish sanatorium in Berlin-Zehlendorf into an apartment for “ethnic Germans.”¹⁷

Prisoners from Lichterfelde were also used by private companies and research institutes: for example, in construction work at the Spinnstoffwerken Zehlendorf, which, among other things, produced parachutes and uniforms for the Wehrmacht.¹⁸ Some 300 female subcamp inmates worked to produce these items. They had been transported to Zehlendorf from Ravensbrück at the end of August and the beginning of September 1944.¹⁹ In November 1944, the women were transferred to Berlin-Niederschöneweide, where they were forced to work at Pertrix, a manufacturer of batteries. There is no other known case of such a transfer of a subcamp of Sachsenhausen.

Lichterfelde subcamp prisoners constructed barracks for Lankwitz, a company in Berlin.²⁰ They were also said to have worked on construction projects for the electronics company Telefunken²¹ as well as in the Reich Mail Research Institute (Forschungsanstalt der Reichspost) at Kleinmachnow, which was developing night-vision devices for military purposes.²² For the Hotel Adlon, near the Brandenburg Gate, they had to remove rubble.²³ The Unter den Linden detachment transported exhibits out of Berlin museums.²⁴

An open area for research is the role of other work detachments, such as Jungfernstieg in Berlin-Lichterfelde,²⁵ where inmates probably did construction work for an RSHA branch office.²⁶ Another open research topic is the use of inmates for the German Reichsbank in Berlin-Mitte.²⁷

SS-Hauptscharführer Gustav Sorge was one of the subcamp commandants. He was known as Eiserner (Iron) Gustav

for his countless sadistic excesses also on prisoners in the main camp, for example, beating them with iron bars.²⁸ Sorge was dismissed for suspicion of corruption and returned to the Sachsenhausen main camp. He was later transferred to Latvia. He was replaced by SS-Untersturmführer August Höhn, who led the camp until August 1943. Höhn later advanced to become commander of the Labor Deployment Administration (Arbeitseinsatz-Verwaltung) at Sachsenhausen. He administered the total deployment of prisoners in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.

SS-Untersturmbannführer Alfred Sorge, commandant of SS-Bauleitung (Building Administration) "Reich-Nord," is alleged to have beaten subcamp inmates when inspecting construction sites.²⁹ Sorge had previously led the construction of the "Small Crematorium," the "Shooting Barracks," and "Station Z" in Sachsenhausen concentration camp's industrial area.³⁰

At the beginning of 1945, some of the Lichterfelde prisoners were combined with concentration camp prisoners transferred from Hamburg to Berlin to the SS-Baubrigade II to form the Eisenbahnbaubrigade. Upon dissolution of the camp between April 16 and April 21, 1945, the remaining prisoners were transported by the SS from the city railway station at Lichterfelde-West to Oranienburg. Lichterfelde subcamp prisoners were still arriving in Oranienburg on April 21, and they were probably the last of the prisoners who were sent on the death march toward the Baltic.³¹

SOURCES Important details on the history of the Lichterfelde subcamp have been published since the 1980s by local historians and the VVN as well as by Christan Simon, Doris Fürstenberg, and Dieter Fitterling. In 1985, Hans-Peter Sandvoss published "Widerstand in Steglitz und Zehlendorf," a contemporaneous photo that shows the barracks and possibly Rudi Wunderlich. In 1992, the Berlin-Steglitz Bezirksamt published the collection *Steglitz im Dritten Reich. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus in Steglitz* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1992). Klaus Leutner published the brochure *Die Geschichte der Wismarer Strasse 26/36 oder das Aussenlager Berlin-Lichterfelde des Konzentrationslagers Sachsenhausen: Mit einem Vorwort des ehemaligen Regierenden Bürgermeisters Klaus Schütz* (Steglitz, 2001). Through the auspices of the AG-S, Rainer Potratz has published a biography of Rudi Wunderlich as part of the permanent exhibition *Die Baracke 39* and on CD, "Gegen das Vergessen." This subcamp is also listed in ITS, *Vorläufigen Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1: 211.

The LA-B and private archives, like Leutner's, hold files on the history of the Lichterfelde subcamp. The AG-S holds reports by former prisoners as well as the bequest of Wunderlich. In 1957, in the GDR, author Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich published a novel, *Jan und Jutta* (Berlin [East]: Tribüne, 1957), which was based on her own life. It depicts the relationship between a young woman and an inmate from the Lichterfelde subcamp who was able to escape with the help of the woman, who later became his wife. The following

memoirs were published in East Berlin: *Zwischen Karneval und Aschermittwoch*, by the artist Hans Grundig (Berlin [East]: Deitz, 1957); and Karl Pioch's *Nie im Abseits* (Berlin [East], 1978). Franz Primus's memoirs are included in the volume published under the title *Niemand und nichts vergessen: Ehemalige Häftlinge aus verschiedenen Ländern berichten über das KZ Sachsenhausen* (Berlin: Elefanten Press, 1984). Wunderlich's memoirs, part of which were prepared underground, were published in 1997 by Joachim Hohmann and Günther Wieland under the title *Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen bei Oranienburg 1939 bis 1944—Die Aufzeichnungen des KZ-Häftlings Rudolf Wunderlich* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1997).

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NOTES

1. See Report by Rudi Wunderlich, "Flucht aus dem KZ," p. 39, AG-S, LAG XXXV 13; Statement by Gustav Klingbeil, July 31, 1961, AG-S, Kaiser-Verfahren (Kaiser Proceedings), vol. 20.
2. Lichterfelde Camp Plan (Sketch) 1:1000, LA-B, B Rep. 212, Acc. 2568, Nr. 4532.
3. Armin A. Woy, "Die Siedlung der 'Leibstandarte SS Adolf Hitler,'" in *Steglitz im Dritten Reich. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus in Steglitz* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1992), pp. 105–112.
4. Joachim Hohmann and Günther Wieland, *Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen bei Oranienburg 1939 bis 1944—Die Aufzeichnungen des KZ-Häftlings Rudolf Wunderlich* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1997), p. 43.
5. Details by Gerard de Ruiter (the Netherlands), April 2000, and Rene Kerschen (Luxembourg), March 2001, in Private Archive of Klaus Leutner, Berlin.
6. Letter from the commandant of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp to SS-WVHA of February 17, 1944. Anzahl und Einsatz der jugendlichen Russen im KL Sh., USHMM, RG 006.025*26, File 1732.
7. Statement by Franz Schramm from December 18, 1946, in BStU (Branch Halle), MfS BV Halle Ast Nr. 6632, 81.
8. Letter by Rene Kerschen, January 8, 2001, in Private Archive of Klaus Leutner, Berlin.
9. Veränderungsmeldung Sachsenhausen concentration camp, from July 10, 1942.
10. Franz Primus, "Meine Flucht aus dem KZ," in *Niemand und nichts vergessen: Ehemalige Häftlinge aus verschiedenen Ländern berichten über das KZ Sachsenhausen* (Berlin: Elefanten Press, 1984), pp. 129–133.
11. Karl Pioch, *Nie im Abseits* (Berlin [East], 1978), p. 138.
12. Letter from ITS to the Steglitz Abteilung Bauwesen des Bezirksamt Steglitz in Berlin, January 23, 1984, Re.: Bauungsplanverfahren für die Grundstücke Wismarer Str. 20 und 36, AG-S, Slg. Irmer, File Lichterfelde.
13. ITS, *Vorläufigen Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1: 211.
14. Rudi Wunderlich, "Flucht aus dem KZ," AG-S, LAG XXXV 13.

15. Sachsenhausen Stärke- und Veränderungsmeldungen, May 7, 1944, and May 8, 1944, AG-S, Stärke- und Veränderungsmeldungen; Pioch, *Nie im Abschieds*; AG-S, R 57/35.

16. Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich, *Jan und Jutta* (Berlin [East]: Tribüne, 1957).

17. Letter from ITS Arolsen to the Abteilung Bauwesen des Bezirksamt Steglitz Berlin, January 23, 1984, Re.: Bebauungsplanverfahren für die Grundstücke Wismarer Str. 20 und 36, AG-S, Slg. Irmer, File Lichterfelde.

18. Statement by former prisoner Jan Religa, August 12, 1966, Sta. Bonn 8 Ks 1/58 (Sorge/Schubert), AG-S, JD 2/58.

19. The strength report from September 5, 1944, refers to 301 women, AG-S, Stärke- und Veränderungsmeldungen.

20. Details from Juliusz Brniak (Poland), February 2001, in Private Archive of Klaus Leutner, Berlin.

21. Letter from ITS Arolsen to the Abteilung Bauwesen des Bezirksamt Steglitz in Berlin, January 23, 1984, Re.: Bebauungsplanverfahren für die Grundstücke Wismarer Str. 20 und 36, AG-S, Slg. Irmer, File Lichterfelde.

22. Karl Höfer, "Aussenlager Lichterfelde, Aussenkommando Reichspostforschungsanstalt Klein-Machnow," AG-S, LAG XIII 6.

23. Details from Gerard de Ruiter (Netherlands), April 2000, in Private Archive of Klaus Leutner, Berlin.

24. Christian Simon, "Ein Gefangenenerlager in Lichterfelde-Süd," *StegL-A*, no. 24/25 (1984); as well as Letter from ITS Arolsen to the Abteilung Bauwesen des Bezirksamt Steglitz in Berlin, January 23, 1984, Re.: Bebauungsplanverfahren für die Grundstücke Wismarer Str. 20 und 36, in AG-S, Slg. Irmer, File Lichterfelde.

25. Statement of the former prisoner Franz Jäckel, April 9, 1957, Sta. Bonn 8 Ks 1/58 (Sorge/Schubert), AG-S, JD2/58; as well as Pioch, *Nie im Abschieds*, p. 140.

26. On RSHA offices, see Christoph Ernst: "‘Unsere Ehre heisst Treue’—die ‘Schutz-Staffel’ in Steglitz," in *Zeitsplitter: Steglitz im Dritten Reich*, ed. Kulturamt Berlin-Steglitz (Berlin, 1992), p. 34.

27. Forderungsnachweis Nr. Shn. 02646 of April 1, 1945, about the use of detainees by the German Oberwallstrasse, March 1–31, 1945, in AG-S, Slg. Thomas Irmer, Aussenlager Lichterfelde.

28. For Lichterfelde, see statement by Paul Waldhorst from May 5, 1956, Sta. Bonn 8 Ks 1/58 (Sorge/Schubert), in AG-S, JD 2/16, p. 196; and see statement by Gustav Klingbeil from July 31, 1961, in AG-S, Kaiser-Verfahren, vol. 20.

29. Hans-Eberhard Schultz, "150 KZ-Häftlinge bauten den Bunker: Zeuge der Arbeiten am Fichtenberg berichtet," *BM*, November 26, 1967; statement Ernst Gartlgruber, November 3, 1965, AG-S, Kaiser-Verfahren, Bd. XLIII.

30. Thomas Irmer, "‘Die Station Z’—Zur Bau- und Funktionsgeschichte der Vernichtungsanlagen auf dem Industriefeld des KZ Sachsenhausen 1939–1945," in *Auslobung Realisierungswettbewerb Zentraler Gedenkort ‘Station Z’*, ed. SBG (Oranienburg, 1998).

31. Pioch, *Nie im Abschieds*, p. 153.

BERLIN-MARIENFELDE

Berlin-Marienfelde was established as a subcamp of Sachsenhausen in late 1942 or early 1943.¹ The SS opened the camp as

a satellite from which to dispatch inmates to various work details in the immediate Berlin area. One former prisoner noted that the Marienfelde subcamp was previously used as a slave labor camp for the Telefunken Company and was reconstructed as a concentration camp in mid-1943.²

According to testimony from surviving inmates, the camp was situated about 4 kilometers (about 2.5 miles) from Berlin-Lichtenrade (see Sachsenhausen/Berlin-Lichtenrade) and about 500 to 800 meters (about 0.3 to 0.5 miles) from the Lichtenrade train station.³ The camp consisted of six or seven wooden barracks surrounded by barbed wire. Watchtowers stood at the perimeter of the camp. An SS barracks with an underground bunker was located near the gated entrance.

The 500 to 600 prisoners in Berlin-Marienfelde came from various countries, including the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Norway, the Netherlands, France, Spain, and Luxembourg, as well as German political prisoners. Some were transferred from Sachsenhausen or its other subcamps, including Berlin-Lichterfelde. A group of about 150 mainly Polish and Soviet prisoners were transferred from Sachsenhausen in the summer of 1943.⁴ This number was augmented by 450 prisoners from Lublin-Majdanek shortly thereafter.⁵ Most secondary sources and primary accounts have noted that all of the inmates were men.

The prisoners were sent to work in the surrounding Berlin area, clearing the streets and retiling roofs after air raids, building air-raid shelters, removing unexploded bombs, and constructing artificial ponds that were used to extinguish fires (*Feuerlöschbassins*). They were brought to their work details in automobiles or streetcars under the surveillance of reserve police battalions from Berlin-Spandau (see Sachsenhausen/Berlin-Spandau).

The prisoners were generally starved. They were fed 0.75 liters (3.2 cups) of beet soup and 250 grams (8.8 ounces) of bread daily. The Berlin city administration, rather than the Sachsenhausen main camp, provided food for the camp. The inmates endured long roll calls, and there were many incidents of abuse and beatings from the guards. Some prisoners were sent for punishment to Sachsenhausen; many of them died in the main camp.

SS men oversaw the daily administration of the camp. It is unclear who the commander of the Berlin-Marienfelde camp was, but one former inmate, Fritz Reuter, recalled that this commander was a master baker who had his private residence near the camp. Reuter also noted that the commander used materials collected by prisoners from their missions to clear bombed-out Berlin streets to build a new home for himself.⁶ One member of the SS staff was Oberscharführer Daida, who later became the commander of the Berlin-Lichtenrade camp. An especially cruel SS officer, Unterscharführer Otto Keiser, who came from a post at Sachsenhausen, constantly abused the prisoners and hit them with the end of his pistol. The guard staff of the camp and work commandos were reserve policemen from Berlin-Spandau. Two notable officers, said to have had antifascist sympathies, were Richard Henneberg,

who had been a member of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) prior to 1933, and Rudolf Liedtke.⁷

A few months after it opened, on August 21 or 22, 1943, the Berlin-Marienfelde camp was evacuated because of an Allied bombing that completely destroyed the camp. According to Henryk Cierznichowski, a former inmate, the air raid set many of the camp buildings in flames. The prisoners panicked and ran to find shelter beyond the gates of the camp. The guard staff took shelter in their underground bunkers. The SS men, including Keiser and another guard, Unterscharführer Karl Meier, prevented the prisoners from reaching shelter by shooting at the group. One witness estimates that nearly 36 inmates were killed during the air raid, most from the shootings.⁸ At least 4 died in the fires that ensued after the bombing, and many others were wounded with severe burns.⁹

After the air raid, the surviving prisoners were driven into an open field, where they stayed until the early morning of the following day. The SS block leader (Blockführer) from Sachsenhausen, Seifert, came to oversee the situation and ordered one part of the group to be transferred to the Berlin-Lichtenrade camp. The prisoners were marched there under police surveillance. Much of the police and SS staff was transferred to Lichtenrade, including SS-Oberscharführer Daida.¹⁰ The other prisoners from Marienfelde, mainly Polish inmates, were transported to a work camp on Greifswalderstrasse.

There is little or no information about postwar trials of any of the SS administration or police guard staff. After the war, Henneberg was active in local government, and Liedtke eventually ran a business. In accounts of the 1947 trial of the Sachsenhausen camp administration conducted by the Military Tribunal of the Soviet Military Administration (SMAD), Daida, Keiser, and Meier do not appear on lists of accused or tried individuals.

SOURCES Both primary and secondary sources that describe the history of the Berlin-Marienfelde camp are scarce, most likely due to the camp's relatively short-lived existence. Most information for this entry comes from Ruth Zantow's essay "Das sind doch Verbrecher . . ." *Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen Aussenlager Lichtenrade*, in *Direkt vor der Haustür: Berlin-Lichtenrade im Nationalsozialismus*, by Andreas Bräutigam et al. (Berlin: Aktion Sühnezeichen/Friedensdienste, 1990). Although Zantow focuses predominantly on Berlin-Lichtenrade, she has reproduced several written testimonies from former prisoners of both the Lichtenrade and Marienfelde subcamps of Sachsenhausen in the appendix. For a concise overview of the Marienfelde camp and a broad examination of the subcamps in Berlin (of both Sachsenhausen and Ravensbrück), see Stefanie Endlich and Wolf Kaiser, "KZ-Häftlinge in der Reichshauptstadt: Aussenlager in Berlin," *DaHe* 12 (1996). For brief statistical information, such as opening and closing dates and type of prisoner work, see the entry for Berlin-Marienfelde in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland*

und deutsch besetzten Gebieten, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979), although it is not always consistent with other sources.

Primary source material on the Berlin-Marienfelde subcamp is stored at the AG-S. Testimony from former prisoners gathered by the Hauptkommission zur Untersuchung von Hitlerverbrechen in Polen, the Bezirkskommission zur Untersuchung von Hitlerverbrechen in Szczecin, the Bezirkskommission zur Untersuchung von Hitlerverbrechen in Gdańsk, and the Öffentliche Sitzung der Strafkammer des Kreisgerichts Magdeburg, which provide some information, details on daily camp life, and personal history of prisoners in Berlin-Marienfelde, can be found in file XI/15, "Ermittlungsverfahren über das Aussenlager Berlin Marienfelde bzw. Berlin-Lichtenrade." (They are also published in Ruth Zantow's essay.) See also AG-S, file D 30 A/10/2 A, 131, for a letter from former prisoner Wilhelm Hollein, which details his experience in the camp. The AG-S also contains general reports on the subcamps in LAG, FB 653, "Sachsenhausensammlung der 'Lagerarbeitsgemeinschaft Sachsenhausen,'" as well as letters from former prisoners sent to family members. More information on the SS officers Daida, Keiser, and Meier may be located in service records in the NARA holdings of the BDC, SS Officer Personnel files, series SSO.

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NOTES

1. Ermittlungen wegen NS-Verbrechen im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen, Nebenlager Berlin-Marienfelde und Lichtenrade, from Staatsanwalt Pfeufer to Staatsanwalt Wieland, Zentralestelle für die Bearbeitung von NS-Verbrechen, 15.7.1968, AG-S, XI/15.

2. Fritz Reuter, written testimony to Staatsanwalt Wieland, June 1969, AG-S, XI/15.

3. Władysław Walczak, testimony to Hauptkommission zur Untersuchung von Hitlerverbrechen in Polen, AKT.Z.: II Ds 63/68/ZR, 30 September 1968, AG-S, XI/15.

4. Reuter, to Staatsanwalt Wieland.

5. Rainer Venke, "Aussenlager des KZ Sachsenhausen auf dem heutigen Territorium von Berlin (West)," in *Niemand und nichts vergessen. Ehemalige Häftlinge aus verschiedenen Ländern berichten über das KZ Sachsenhausen* (Verlag für Ausbildung und Studium in der Elefanten Press, 1984).

6. Ibid.

7. Reuter, to Staatsanwalt Wieland, June 1969.

8. Henryk Cierznichowski, testimony to Bezirkskommission zur Untersuchung von Hitlerverbrechen in Gdańsk, AKT.Z.: IIDs 63/68/ZR, 16 October 1968, AG-S, XI/15.

9. Wilhelm Hollein, testimony to the Öffentliche Sitzung der Strafkammer des Kreisgerichts Magdeburg, Stadtbezirk Nord, 31 October 1969, AG-S, (H) AS 71/69. Reproduced in Ruth Zantow's essay "Das sind doch Verbrecher . . ." *Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen Aussenlager Lichtenrade*, in *Direkt vor der Haustür: Berlin-Lichtenrade im Nationalsozialismus*, by Andreas Bräutigam et al. (Berlin: Aktion Sühnezeichen/Friedensdienste, 1990), pp. 349–351.

10. Wilhelm Hollein, testimony to Kreisgerichts Magdeburg, AG-S D 30 A/10/2A, p. 131.

BERLIN-NEUKÖLLN ("KRUPP")

[AKA BRAUNAUERSTRASSE]

A subcamp of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp existed in the Berlin district of Neukölln from late August or September 1944 to April 1945. It held around 500 female prisoners, the majority of whom were Polish Jews. They worked as forced laborers in the armaments factory of the National-Krupp-Registrierkassen GmbH (National Krupp Cash Registers, NCR).

Most of the inmates at Neukölln had been detainees in the Litzmannstadt (Łódź) ghetto. Five or six of them were from Prague, and there were others from Slovakia, Hungary, Austria, Romania, France, the Soviet Union, the Netherlands, and Germany. German Romanies were also held in the camp. Most of the women were between 18 and 42 years of age.

After the dissolution of the ghetto, the detainees were transported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau, where most of them were murdered. Those who ended up in Neukölln remained only a few days in Auschwitz before they were transported directly to Berlin, arriving there possibly on August 26, 1944, but more likely on September 1.¹ On their arrival in Neukölln, they were assigned three-digit numbers.

The SS operated the subcamp under the name "Krupp." Sachsenhausen's Berlin-Lichterfelde subcamp assumed responsibility for the Neukölln subcamp. SS members from Lichterfelde occasionally inspected the Neukölln camp.² A few organizational matters, such as food for the SS, were done through Lichterfelde.

The barracks camp was located at 181–189 Braunastrasse (later known as Sonnenallee). Until 1944, it held foreign forced laborers. It was surrounded by a fence, interwoven with thin, pliable cane, which according to some prisoners was electrified. The camp was visible from nearby apartment buildings. The prisoners were housed in three barracks, each of which was divided into separate rooms. They were awakened and called to roll each morning at 4:00 A.M. A 10-minute march took them to the factory, the entrance of which had above it a sign with the word "Krupp."

NCR used the inmates for heavy labor in the armaments industry. They had to work two shifts a day, each 12 hours long, electro-galvanizing aircraft parts. The workers suffered from the heat and burns from flying sparks. On several occasions, there were work accidents in which women lost fingers from the presses. Civilian personnel supervised the forced laborers. The prisoners recall in particular the brutal supervision of one German foreman.

No work was done on Sundays, but the women were required to work in the camp. Some of them worked in the camp administration. These women were mostly from Czechoslovakia.

The prisoners were guarded by a group of around 20 female German guards. Some had worked at the Dräger factories in Lübeck where they had been recruited by the SS. Several women had volunteered. Some said that they had been forced to work at the camp by the Government Employment

Office (Arbeitsamt) or by their employers. After a training course at Ravensbrück, the majority of them were sent at first to the Berlin-Zehlendorf subcamp. After its dissolution in September 1944, they were transferred to Neukölln. The average age of the known female SS guards was 28 years. The female guards were housed outside the camp in Krupp's former sports building. The female senior guard at the Neukölln subcamp was 39-year-old former factory worker Margarete Trampenau. Several survivors have stated that Oberaufseherin Trampenau treated the prisoners properly and took steps to prevent the female guards from mistreating them.³

The camp commandant was SS-Unterscharführer Bruno Kreibich. He had been a member of the Sachsenhausen Totenkopf-Wachbataillon (Death's Head Guard Battalion) from 1940 to 1944. Two of the women who worked in the camp office stated that he was not particularly interested in the camp and was just glad not to be at the front.⁴ He was in charge of four or five SS men, three of whom were ethnic Germans from Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. The SS men were housed in barracks close to the camp entrance.

Daily life for the prisoners in Neukölln was marked by hunger and inhumane living conditions. One of the barracks was equipped with washing facilities, and the women were allowed to shower once a week using cold water. Breakfast consisted solely of bread that was taken from their previous day's bread ration of 125 grams (4.4 ounces). The food was collected from a kitchen barracks outside the camp grounds by the inmates under the supervision of the female guards. Female civilian forced laborers worked in the kitchen. Additional rations were available for the women in the factory. In rare cases, local inhabitants are said to have thrown food over the subcamp's fence.⁵ The detainees were dressed in work overalls and also wore pieces of clothing that had been handed out in Auschwitz.

Two women prisoner doctors worked in the barracks' infirmary, which was used for less serious illnesses. Sick and weakened inmates were transported to a medical station for forced laborers at Berlin-Siemensstadt or transported back to Ravensbrück.⁶ Twice there were selections by the SS for larger prisoner transports. The survivor Helen G. stated that one night "nine sick women were selected who were in physically poor condition. . . . These detainees were transported away. I can remember to this day their terrible screams. They knew, just as we did, that they were going to be gassed."⁷ The 9 prisoners were transferred on March 3, 1945, from Neukölln to Ravensbrück.⁸ Another selection of 26 women followed, but it was not completed because the camp was dissolved. At least 1 inmate died from tuberculosis in the camp.⁹

During air raids prisoners were injured and probably several were killed.¹⁰ Prisoners who were in the camp during an air raid could only seek shelter in the trenches. The cellars in the factory served as air-raid shelters.

During the last weeks of the war, the barrack camp was destroyed during bombardments, and the prisoners were held in the nearby cinema. After this was destroyed by bombs,

they were held in a cellar on the factory grounds. The order to evacuate the camp was given by the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL). On April 18, the prisoners had to walk to a nearby S-Bahn (metro railway) station where a train took them to Oranienburg. They remained one night in Sachsenhausen and were taken the following day by goods train to Ravensbrück. The prisoners remained there for a week. The Polish women, who formed the largest group, were under the care of the Swedish Red Cross and arrived on April 29, 1945, in Sweden. The non-Polish Jewish women left Ravensbrück at the end of April and were driven by the SS in a northwesterly direction. Two prisoners were able to escape.¹¹

The commandant of the Neukölln subcamp, Kreibich, was held after the war by the British as a prisoner of war (POW) and remained interned until April 1948. Frieda Schweinhardt was the only female SS guard to be taken prisoner—she was taken by Soviet troops in Berlin and held in a Soviet internment camp until 1950. The Chemnitz State Court (Waldheim) sentenced her to 20 years' imprisonment for mistreating prisoners. She was released early in 1955 and settled in the Federal Republic of Germany. The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg began investigating her in 1969 for crimes she was suspected of committing in the Neukölln subcamp, but the investigations stopped in 1971.

SOURCES Jochen Spielmann's essay "Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen, Aussenlager Neukölln, Braunauer Str. 187/189," in *Zehn Brüder waren wir gewesen: Spuren jüdischen Lebens in Berlin-Neukölln*, ed. Dorothea Kolland (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1988), and Harald B. Ramm's essay "NCR—ein KZ-Aussenlager in Berlin-Neukölln," in *Zur Arbeit gezwungen, Zwangsarbeit in Deutschland 1940–1945*, ed. Rimco Spanjer (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1999), both provide concise overviews of the subcamp and incorporate testimony from former detainees and their coworkers. For the history of the NCR in Neukölln before, during, and after the war, see Udo Gösswald's "Memories—Eine Unvollständige Geschichte," in *Sand im Getriebe: Neuköllner Geschichte*, ed. Dorothea Stanić (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1990). Benjamin B. Ferencz's work *Less Than Slaves: Jewish Forced Labor and the Quest for Compensation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002) provides a history of his persistent efforts, along with the Claims Conference, to gain reparations for former slave laborers who worked for Krupp during World War II.

Primary source material can be found in various archives, including at the KaN-AHm, which contains interviews from former fellow employees of the slave laborers in the NCR factory. Testimony from former Neukölln detainees, a postcard from a former detainee in Neukölln to a relative in Vienna, and documents related to postwar restitution issues in relation to slave laborers in Neukölln can be found at the YVA. The BA-L contains statements from the former camp commandant, Bruno Kreibich, as well as testimony from former detainees. The Benjamin B. Ferencz Collection at the USHMM contains correspondence and notes regarding the administration of the NCR factory, its use of forced laborers, affidavits that describe daily life in the camp, and a list of for-

mer detainees in the Neukölln camp who sought restitution from Krupp for forced labor. The sentence of a former SS guard by the Chemnitz District Court can be found in the BStU.

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NOTES

1. The Stärke- und Veränderungsmeldungen contain contradictory details on the date that the camp opened. It is mentioned for the first time on August 25, 1944, but no further information is available after that date until September 1, 1944. From that date on, it remains in the reports, AG-S, D 9A.
2. Statement, Bruno K., August 10, 1969, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR 645/69.
3. Statement, Květa H., October 13, 1971, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR 645/69.
4. Statement, Edita C., June 10, 1971, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR 645/69.
5. Harald B. Ramm, "NCR—ein KZ-Aussenlager in Berlin-Neukölln," in *Zur Arbeit gezwungen, Zwangsarbeit in Deutschland 1940–1945*, ed. Rimco Spanjer (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1999), p. 76.
6. Entry lists, Ravensbrück concentration camp, USHMM, RG.04-006M, Reel 20, pp. 23, 32; and Statement, Edita C., June 10, 1971, in BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR 645/69.
7. Statement, Helen G., January 26, 1971, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR 645/69.
8. Stärke- und Veränderungsmeldungen, 1945, AG-S, D 9A.
9. Statement, Bruno K., August 10, 1969, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR 645/69.
10. Statements, Hertha B., April 28, 1970, and Anna M., November 21, 1969, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR 645/69.
11. Statements, Edita C., June 10, 1971, and Květa H., October 13, 1971, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR 645/69.

BERLIN-NIEDERSCHÖNEWEIDE (PERTRIX)

Niederschöneweide is part of the Berlin southeastern district of Treptow-Köpenick. A women's subcamp of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp was located there. The subcamp was named after the Batteriefabrik (Battery Factory) Pertrix, in which the prisoners worked for seven months starting in October 1944. The 500 mostly Polish and Belgian women who were brought to Schöneweide from Ravensbrück were first housed in a converted boat shed on the Spree River bank and later in barracks on Köllnische Strasse that are now a Documentation Center on Nazi Forced Labor.

The Pertrix Chemische Fabrik AG established itself in Berlin-Niederschöneweide in 1928. It was a subsidiary of the Akkumulatoren-Fabrik AG (Battery Manufacturing Corporation AFA). The AFA group of companies was established in 1887 in Hagen by agreement between AEG and Siemens & Halske (S&H) and soon monopolized the production of bat-

teries. During World War II, under Director of Defense Economy (Wehrwirtschaftsführer) Günter Quandt, the AFA produced batteries for submarines, trucks, and the Luftwaffe in Hagen, in Hannover, in Berlin, in Posen, and with the help of concentration camp prisoners, also in Hannover-Stöcken.

The Pertrix factory located at 53a Sedanstrasse in Berlin-Niederschöneweide (present-day Bruno-Bürgel-Weg) had around 1,300 workers and produced batteries, flashlights, and from 1934 on, cartridge cases. In 1937 it was designated a defense industry; in 1939, it changed its corporate status from a public corporation (AG) to a limited liability company (GmbH) but remained a subsidiary of the AFA group of companies. Günter Quandt's son Herbert, who was manager (Betriebsführer) of the AFA-affiliated company in Oberschöneweide, was recorded in the Reich's business card index as owner or director of the Pertrix GmbH. The manager was Viktor Werner.

The use of Jewish forced labor began as early as 1938.¹ They were followed by French prisoners of war (POWs) and civilian forced laborers who were mostly from the Soviet Union. Pertrix was then producing mainly lead batteries for aircraft. Within the so-called Fighter Program (*Jägerprogramm*), Minister for Armaments and War Production Albert Speer gave absolute priority to the manufacture of aircraft batteries in April 1944. In the autumn of that year, the production of batteries reached its peak.

The prisoners in the subcamp were initially housed in a boat shed on the Spree River. The boat club at 101 Berliner Strasse (present-day Schnellerstrasse) was owned by the former restaurant and dance hall "Loreley" that itself housed forced laborers working at the company L'Orange Motorzubehör (car accessories; later owned by DaimlerChrysler AG).² In 1971, a former female prisoner drew a sketch of the fenced-in subcamp. The Belgian and Polish concentration camp prisoners stayed there from September 20, 1944, until February 26, 1945, when an air raid took place. The boat shed was partially hit during the air raid and could no longer be lived in.

After the air raid, the prisoners were accommodated in camps in the nearby area. Some of them, mostly Belgian women, were taken by the SS to a camp in Köpenick. Here the women had to dig trenches for the German Home Guard (Volkssturm). Although the women were no longer working for Pertrix, the Sachsenhausen concentration camp probably continued to administer them under the name "Pertrix."

About 200 women, mostly Polish women, were taken by the SS to a nearby so-called Italian Camp. The camp in Köllnische Strasse consisted of 13 stone barracks. A central administration barracks divided the site in two. Two barracks that stood empty were used by the women as housing. The subcamp, as with the boat shed, was in the middle of a residential area and could be seen by the surrounding houses.

There were always around 500 prisoners in the Niederschöneweide subcamp.³ They were mostly from Belgium and Poland, but there were also inmates from other countries.

Before they arrived at Ravensbrück, most of them had spent a few years in police jails or concentration camps. The suffering the Belgian women had to go through differed from that of the Polish women. The Belgian women came directly from police arrest to the Ravensbrück women's concentration camp. From there they were transported, in several transports, at the end of September 1944 directly to Schöneweide.⁴

The Polish women had also been held in police prisons, but from there they were transported to the concentration camp at Auschwitz II-Birkenau and then to Ravensbrück. Finally, the Polish women arrived at the subcamp at the Zehlendorf Spinning Mill (Spinnstofffabrik). Here they were supervised by SS female guards from Ravensbrück and then transferred to Schöneweide.⁵ The women were between 16 and 49 years of age. They included "protective custody" prisoners, "foreign civilian workers" (Ausländische Zivilarbeiter, AZA), "asocials," and professional criminals.⁶ Although the subcamp was subordinate to Sachsenhausen, prisoners who were seriously ill were taken back to Ravensbrück.⁷

Even though the AFA management had been provided with medical opinions that undernourished humans were especially susceptible to lead poisoning, the malnourished non-German labor force mainly had to work with poisonous materials without any protection.⁸ The hygienic conditions in the camp were poor. There was no soap. There was, however, a surplus of vermin. There was no infirmary. The prisoners wore black-and-white-striped clothes with a cross on the back and wooden clogs. Each of the wooden platforms that served as beds was shared by two women.

Statements by witnesses suggest that the food was distributed at the camp. It consisted mostly of ersatz coffee, watery soup, and very little bread. Sometimes there was cheese.⁹ One Belgian witness wrote that there was nothing to eat during the night shift. Another witness stated that "we stopped working because they gave us nothing to eat," although they had been promised food. Several prisoners mention a strike that is said to have taken place in February 1945. The SS female guards had the women on a particular shift stand at roll call for hours to find out who the leaders were. Three women were punished by beating following orders from the SS at Sachsenhausen.¹⁰ Now and then there were escapes from the subcamp. According to the daily variation reports (*Veränderungsmeldungen*), the last group escape attempt occurred on March 31, 1945, when eight Polish women escaped from the subcamp in Köllnische Strasse.

Neither the daily variation reports nor the statements of witnesses enable the reconstruction of murders in the Niederschöneweide subcamp. On the other hand, witnesses' statements consistently refer to shootings on the death marches. "Many people collapsed from exhaustion. They were then fatally shot by the SS men."¹¹

On the basis of a later investigation by the West German judicial authorities, a few details on the guards have been provided. There was a woman name Hesse; an SS female guard, Käthe Bechler, who died in 1966; and the camp leader,

SS-Unterscharführer Conrad Adolf Schreiber, who was born in 1896 and whose place of residence the then-German Democratic Republic's (DDR) Ministry of State Security was unable to identify until 1971.¹² The former salesman was described by Polish female former prisoners as a pigeon breeder. Schreiber is said to have been particularly brutal. He beat without hesitation and "never spoke quietly but was always screaming."¹³ The SS women also guarded the prisoners while they were working at Pertrix.

The subcamp was dissolved over a three-day period; 23 prisoners left the camp on April 18 in the direction of Sachsenhausen; another 134 and 114 women, respectively, left over the next two days.¹⁴ The women remained for one to three days in Sachsenhausen and were then sent on a death march in the direction of Lübeck and Schwerin. Some of the prisoners said they escaped during the march; others were liberated by the Red Army on May 2, 1945.¹⁵

The Zentralstelle der bundesdeutschen Staatsanwaltschaften (Central Office of the Federal German State Prosecutors) in Ludwigsburg began investigations in the 1970s on the subcamp at Niederschöneweide. Witnesses' statements made to the Polish Main Commission for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes and the Belgian Criminal Department of Military Courts did not turn up any "prosecutable crimes" in the Pertrix subcamp. The German investigations therefore ceased on June 30, 1972.¹⁶

SOURCES Two recent publications at the Documentation Center on Nazi Forced Labour give further details on the camp's history: "NS-Lager entdeckt": *Zwangsarbeiterlager Schöneweide wird historischer Lernort*, ed. Förderverein für ein Dokumentations- und Begegnungszentrum zur NS-Zwangsarbeit in Berlin-Schöneweide e.V. (Berlin, 2006); and *Das and Dokumentationszentrum NS Zwangsarbeit Berlin-Schöneweide. Zur Konzeption. Eine Veröffentlichung der Stiftung Topographie des Terrors*, ed. Andreas Nachama, Christine Glauning, and Katharina Sophie Rürup (Berlin, 2006).

The most important archival sources are the files of the ZdL (today BA-L). The relevant witness statements were made between 1968 and 1971 and, given the period of time, are often inaccurate. The CAFSSRF holds the Veränderungsmeldungen on the women's camp at the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. The Projekt Gedenkbuch der MGR has collected the transfer lists (*Überstellungslisten*) to and from Niederschöneweide. The ASVG-B holds the documents from the questioning of the German civilian population by the BTS immediately after the war. The interviews, made between 1946 and 1951, provide a subjective, at times, exculpatory view but nevertheless provide an overview. Research in address books, on location, and in scattered files in the former NS archive of BStU complement the knowledge base.

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NOTES

1. <http://www1.jur.uva.nl/junsv/ddr/files/ddr1209.htm>.
2. <http://www.lorange.de>.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

3. CAFSSRF, R 22 MI 42, p. 125.
4. ASVG-B, Dienst Archiv und Dokumentation, Anhang Nr. 83 des Endberichts Nr. 20, R 149/Tr. 76662, without title, n.p.
5. BA-L, IV 406 AR 1886/68, o. Bl.
6. CAFSSRF, R 22 9-MI 42 S 125, pp. 7, 27, 52, 76, 79, 94.
7. Rücküberstellungen (Retransfers), September 27, 1944, November 22, 1944, and January 18, 1945, MGR, Projekt Gedenkbuch, Zugangslisten (Entry Lists) Nr. 01121001, 01141201, 01152001.
8. LA-B, 250-03-04 AFA, Nr. 49/2, Confidential Documents 1939, n.p.
9. BA-L, IV 406 AR 1886/68, n.p.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. BStU, HA IX/11, RHE West 609, p. 30.
13. BA-L, IV 406 AR 1886/68, n.p.
14. CAFSSRF, R 22 9 MI 42 S 125, 99.
15. BA-L, IV 406 AR 1886/68, n.p.
16. BA-L, IV 406 AR 1886/68, p. 4.

BERLIN-REINICKENDORF (*ARGUS*) [AKA BERLIN-SCHÖNHOLZ]

The Sachsenhausen subcamp at Reinickendorf was mentioned in 1949 by the International Tracing Service (ITS). A list published in the German Democratic Republic refers to the subcamp as a "repair works" in Berlin. It is listed with many other Sachsenhausen subcamps. An inventory by the Brandenburg Memorials Foundation refers to the camp as "Reinickendorf-Schönholz." It is supposed to have existed from the summer of 1944 to April 1945 for use by the Argus Motorenwerke GmbH. According to some sources, the camp existed from July 1944 to April 20, 1945.¹ It is also possible that the camp was established on August 18, 1944. According to SS files, on September 5, 1944, there were 800 women in the subcamp at Reinickendorf.² They arrived in August and consisted of mostly Hungarian Jewish women from Ravensbrück, plus a few Polish women. There was a female doctor among the prisoners. The camp was located close to the Argus company at 28–42 Flotten Strasse. Survivors have also called the camp "Berlin-Schönholz." The camp, consisting of six prisoner barracks and an administration barracks, was clearly visible from the S-Bahn (metro railways) to Tegel and Oranienburg. It was situated in the triangle between the railway stations at Alt-Reinickendorf and Schönholz and between Wilhelmsruh and Schönholz. "The Argus Motoren GmbH was one of the most important companies in the German aircraft industry."³

The women worked in two shifts of 12 hours each. They had to do heavy physical work. If they did not fulfill work targets, they were threatened with a transfer back to the main camp. The food was completely inadequate. However, in acts of solidarity forced laborers in the camp were able to supplement some of the women's food. Nevertheless, the women suffered from hunger edema.

In the final weeks, they mostly worked in the vicinity of the camp, digging trenches. They were guarded by members of the Organisation Todt (OT). Some of the women had previously worked at the company Armag.

According to Sachsenhausen change of status reports, there were still 748 women in the Reinickendorf subcamp on March 30, 1945.⁴ On April 18, 1945, the women had to march to the Sachsenhausen main camp on foot. Some of them were taken by truck. SS-Oberscharführer Max Bergholz, who had been detachment leader of the camp at Potsdam-Babelsberg until the end of 1944, later admitted that he had been “detachment leader” at “Schönholz” for two weeks from April 21, 1945. It is possible that he accompanied the evacuation to Sachsenhausen.

The camp leader was SS-Unterscharführer Andreas Vollenbruch. One of the SS overseers was Hildegrad Wenke. She beat the women in the most brutal manner. Other women overseers were Richter and Emilie Kalisch. As the war came to an end, the brutality increased. It can be documented that 15 women, including a non-Jewish Polish woman, died in the camp; 9 female Jews were transferred back to Ravensbrück.

Shortly after the war, the Waffen-SS assistant Hilde Mehner from Hohenstein-Ernstthal, who had been an overseer in the Reinickendorf subcamp from August 22, 1944, to April 22, 1945, was arrested by the British Military Administration in Berlin-Spandau. She was interned at Fallingb. Prior to Reinickendorf, she had been stationed at the Oranienburg subcamp at Auer.

Following a report made to the authorities by former inmate Margarete Farkas, the State Justice Administration in Cologne began investigations in 1960 into former camp commander Vollenbruch. They were still unfinished in 1964. The result of the investigations was inconclusive because the “investigations were complicated and time-consuming.” The Hungarian Jewish women had mostly moved back to Hungary. The accused could not be arrested because the statements by 30 witnesses “were too vague.” Vollenbruch was accused of having sent 30 Jewish women to Ravensbrück to be gassed and of having shot women who were digging trenches. He is also said to have ordered female guards to beat a pregnant woman to death. A Hungarian Jewish woman, Bozsi Keller, was said to have been badly mistreated by him and then forced to approach the electrified fence, where she died. Vollenbruch was also accused, together with female guards, of forcing women prisoners to stand under the water pipes as a punishment measure. Some of these women died. In winter, women had to carry snow from one place to another using their eating utensils. Another punishment, shaving the heads of the women bald, was infamous among the prisoners. Witnesses reported that during the trench-digging works a young girl, Lili Fischer, was shot by a member of the OT who was guarding the women.

SS-Oberscharführer Max Bergholz, who on his own admission was a detachment commander in Schönholz from April 21, 1945, was arrested in 1945 and interned in the British internment camp at Esterwegen.⁵ His fate is unknown.

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg in the Federal German Republic began investigations in 1969, but they ceased in 1972 after the death of Vollenbruch, the chief suspect. Other suspects could not be identified because the witnesses’ statements were too vague. Nevertheless, it was determined that Helene Borkowsky, an overseer accused by the women, had hanged herself in Soviet custody after the end of the war. The camp elder, a Hungarian Jewish woman named Gyözo Kalocsai, was accused by her comrades of beating an exhausted woman to death.⁶

SOURCES The only known article on the subcamp is the essay by Horst Helas and Henning Müller, “Das KZ-Aussenlager Argus in Berlin-Reinickendorf,” in *Zwangsarbeit in Berlin 1938–1945*, ed. Helmut Bräutigam, Doris Fürstenberg, and Bernt Roder (Berlin, 2003), pp. 269–279. This subcamp is listed in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 262; and Komitee der Antifaschistischen Widerstandskämpfer in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, ed., *Damals in Sachsenhausen* (Berlin [East], 1967), p. 60.

Archival sources are located in the BA-L, AG-S, and YVA.

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NOTES

1. AG-S, D.A. 5147: Uwe Hofschlänger: “Funktion und Bedeutung der Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Sachsenhausen” (unpub. Diplomarbeit, Free University Berlin, 1997). April 20, 1945, is confirmed by a witness statement by Klara König, BA-L, IV 406, AR 503/60, n.p., Statement September 23, 1964.
2. AG-S, JSU 1, vols. 100–101.
3. Horst Helas and Henning Müller, “Das KZ-Aussenlager Argus in Berlin-Reinickendorf,” in *Zwangsarbeit in Berlin 1938–1945*, ed. Helmut Bräutigam, Doris Fürstenberg, and Bernt Roder (Berlin, 2003), p. 269.
4. AG-S, JSU 1, vol. 101.
5. List of former members of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp command office interned in the British CIC Esterwegen, probably 1945; various texts used here: AG-S, LAG X/3.
6. BA-L, IV 406, AR 862/69, letter from the Zentrale Stelle, Köln, October 2, 1972, n.p.

BERLIN-SIEMENSSTADT

[AKA HASELHORST, BERLIN-HASELHORST]

By the end of 1943, ambitious armaments targets contrasted with a sharply deteriorating labor supply. The spring of 1944 brought increased air raids culminating on the night of February 15, 1944, in massive damage to just about all the Siemens factories in Berlin. It was not possible to do without one of the most important suppliers for the navy (including submarine engines and switching devices as well as torpedo-firing

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mechanisms) and the air force (aircraft armaments, radar, remote control guidance mechanisms, etc.). The Einsatzstab (Operations Staff) Benkert was established immediately after the bombing raid. It was headed by a director at Siemens, Hanns Benkert, and was charged with “the reconstruction of the Siemens factories and the damaged electronics industry in Berlin.”¹ Benkert negotiated from the end of June with SS-Standartenführer Gerhard Maurer of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) for more than 2,000 Hungarian Jews—thus relying on the use of prisoner labor. There was a requirement not only for 2,000 male prisoners for construction work but also for 1,000 women, as Siemens wanted to eliminate the chronic labor shortage in its factories at the same time.²

The forced labor camp “Haselhorst-Nord,” which was located on Paul Stern Strasse, was converted into the Berlin-Siemensstadt subcamp. Technicians from the construction firm Röling & Co, Charlottenburg, which had been contracted by Siemens, and the first contingent of 200 prisoners, which arrived on July 17, 1944, constructed five barracks and a fence. The fence was most likely electrified. The SS area, with its command office, accommodations for guards and prisoners, and SS kitchen, was located in the so-called Pipe just in front of the actual camp. The camp leader was a former German army captain who had been transferred to the SS, SS-Hauptsturmführer Karl Lietsch. Under his command were the roll-call leader Oberscharführer Heinrich P. and his deputy Unterscharführer Gustav S., as well as other SS noncommissioned officers as block leaders. The guards initially comprised 20 older SS men. Later the numbers rose to probably around 50.³

Living conditions in the camp were poor. There were initially only improvised washing facilities; later facilities, such as the toilets, were never anything more than extremely basic. The quarters were separated into two large “wings,” one for the prisoners and a smaller one for prisoner-functionaries such as the block elder, foremen, and orderlies. The buildings were extremely cold and were not suitable for human habitation in winter. There were heaters, but they were only effective in the prisoner-functionaries’ room. The barracks were equipped with three-level wooden bunks. Straw sacks were provided for each bunk. The inmates of the barracks varied as the number of prisoners in the camp fluctuated.⁴

The number of prisoners quickly increased. On August 10, 1944, an additional 500 men arrived from the Sachsenhausen main camp, and the first 500 women from the Ravensbrück main camp arrived on August 27, 1944.⁵ The men were then moved to another part of the camp consisting of three barracks. The women occupied the first two barracks that had been built. Numbers continued to increase rapidly—on August 29, 1944, another 199 women arrived, and on August 31, 1944, another 316 men arrived in the camp.⁶ There were more transports in the following months. On December 24, 1944, the camp reached its maximum number of 2,454 prisoners. There were 1,767 men and 687 women. The plans of the Einsatzstab Benkert in the summer of 1944 had envisaged that

most of the prisoners would be male and female Hungarian Jews. Despite these plans, the prisoners came from just about every German-occupied country. Survivors have said that there were prisoners, often of both sexes, from Bulgaria, France, Italy, Yugoslavia, the Netherlands, Poland, Russia, Czechoslovakia, and Ukraine. There were probably also a small number of German prisoners.⁷ The transport that arrived just before Christmas probably consisted of 751 men, mostly Hungarian Jews. They were accommodated as a group, crowded into one of the wings in barrack 4, which previously had held only 400 prisoners.⁸ With the arrival of the female prisoners, there came female SS overseers. Some reports speak of 8, others of 30. This is probably a reflection of the fluctuating camp numbers.⁹

The use of prisoners was of such significance for Siemens that the company took over responsibility not just for the construction of the subcamp but also for supplying food. Two of its employees were attached to the subcamp for accounting and organizational tasks. Systematic misappropriation by SS and prisoner-functionaries and the endemic corruption in the camp meant that the food supplies were inadequate for the heavy physical labor performed by the prisoners. Despite being aware of the problems, the company management did not interfere. It was only when “of hundreds of people only a few were able to work” (Benkert) and the success of the operation was endangered that Siemens intervened. It did so using a double strategy; first, it ensured that prisoners who could not work were promptly returned to the main camps without bureaucratic hindrance using Siemens’s own trucks because “the SS was incapable of handling the situation.”¹⁰ Those prisoners who could achieve at least 30 percent of the “normal” work quota were issued extra food in their workshops. The return transfers are mirrored in the change of status reports. They show a constant reduction in the prisoner numbers in the camp between transports, a trend that increased markedly with the onset of frost in the winter of 1944–1945. Indeed, the onset of this cold period correlates closely with the return of prisoners to the main camp.¹¹ The fragmentary source material makes it difficult to determine the consequences of this action. This practice hardly led to any deaths at the Siemensstadt camp¹² since fatalities were effectively “exported” back to the main camps at Sachsenhausen and Ravensbrück. This policy meant that a stay in the Siemensstadt infirmary was dangerous for the prisoners.

There was also a close and amicable relationship between the company and the SS in organizing the use of the prisoners in work. The prisoners were usually selected by an employee of the firm based in the subcamp.¹³ The prisoners had to do construction and cleanup work; they worked in the production of cables and switching gears and in electrical assembly. As early as August 24, 1944, 250 prisoners were digging “blast trenches” for the Einsatzstab Benkert, with the numbers finally reaching a total of around 750.¹⁴ Work was done in the open air. This was difficult for the prisoners who were undernourished and whose clothing was inadequate for the weather. Indeed, the detachments Deckungsgraben I and II (covered

trenches) and Kahnentlader (barge unloading) were regarded as punishment detachments. Prisoners who had committed a “theft” or were accused of some other infraction, and above all Russian prisoners, were placed in these “punishment detachments.”¹⁵ Further bombing on October 6, 1944, again caused severe damage at Siemens. For the next two weeks, even those prisoners working in production were used to remove rubble from Siemens factories. In general, managers at the firm expressed their satisfaction with the work done by the exhausted prisoners.¹⁶

The operation that used the largest number of prisoners, 1,250 at the beginning of January 1945, was the cable factory Siemens-Kabel-Gemeinschaft (SKG) in Gartenfeld. The first 900 prisoners (650 women and 250 men) were quickly deployed here,¹⁷ the women working as “operators on mechanical calculating machines; examiners of lacquered cables; spinners; washers; and working on drills and assembly lines; and trimming off rubber,”¹⁸ while the male prisoners were busy “trimming, mixing rubber, pressing synthetic resins, sheathing and stranding cables together, lacquering and tin-plating wire.” The work was done in two shifts each of 12 hours and was described by the prisoners as heavy labor. Siemens attempted to keep a check on each individual’s work and introduced a bonus system. There was a “performance food bonus” for good work, while for insufficient work the prisoners were beaten by the SS or Siemens employees or were reported to the camp, which resulted in punishments such as removal of food rations, standing for hours, or being beaten.¹⁹ The successful escape of a prisoner at the start of the work deployment in the cable factory resulted in a series of measures: in the event of any further escapes, the “Engineer on Duty” was to report immediately to the camp command and mobilize the internal plant security and auxiliary factory security to surround the factory and search it. In addition, columns of prisoners on the move were escorted by electric carts on which searchlights were mounted—it was hoped that these devices would make escape more difficult during the darker months of the year. The extra efforts made were worthwhile: by using concentration camp prisoners, Siemens was able to introduce a second shift, thereby better utilizing the machines in accordance with the contract orders.

The demand for labor diminished in the spring of 1945 because of shortages of energy and material, prompting Siemens to want to remove the compromising presence of the concentration camp prisoners from its factories. The use of prisoners at the factory was cut back, and the prisoners were made available to clean up the city. An air raid during the night of March 27, 1945, destroyed the camp and killed a large number of guards as well as three female prisoners. The prisoners were at first taken to a nearby forced labor camp and then returned to Sachsenhausen and Ravensbrück.²⁰

The Berlin Sachsenhausen Trial was preceded by comprehensive investigations by British and Soviet military authorities and was eventually conducted exclusively by the Soviets from October 23 to 31, 1947. It had the characteristics of a Stalinist show trial. There was no mention of what had oc-

curred in Siemensstadt. For this reason the decision of the court is of little benefit to historical research. Of more value is the material used during the trial. This material, which included the files of the camp administration and the investigation files of the British Judge Advocate General that had been handed over to the Soviets, disappeared for decades into the Committee on State Security (KGB) archives. The sources that are relevant for Siemensstadt are above all the fragmentary surviving change of status reports from the political department and stores, which permit a calculation of the number of prisoners in the subcamp.

The conditions in Siemensstadt and the use of the prisoners by Siemens were, however, the subject of detailed examination in the denazification proceedings of Siemens director Hanns Benkert. They are kept in the Berlin State Archive (LA-B). For reasons of data protection a special application to the Justice Senator needs to be made via the archive to inspect the files. The files may only be inspected for academic purposes.

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) investigated Siemensstadt in the mid-1960s.²¹ The matter was then handed over to the Cologne State Attorney, which continued with the investigations.²²

SOURCES Under contract from Siemens, Arne Hengsbach collated a detailed survey of all buildings associated with the company in Siemensstadt and at numerous other camps; Arne Hengsbach, “Barackenlager Haselhorst-Nord” and “Die Siemens Baracken-Lager im Auftrag der Zentral-Abteilung für Bauten u. Anlagen der Siemens A.G.” (unpub. MSS, Berlin, [1979]). In many ways a supplement to this work is the overview of forced labor camps and concentration camps in Berlin by Rainer Kubatzki, *Zwangsarbeiter- und Kriegsgefangenenlager: Standorte und Topographie in Berlin und im brandenburgischen Umland 1939 bis 1945: Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin, 2001). Karl Heinz Roth evaluates a number of prisoner work detachments for the Siemens concern in “Zwangsarbeit im Siemens-Konzern (1938–1945): Fakten—Kontroversen—Probleme,” in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft, 1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Opladen, 1996), pp. 149–168. Of particular importance is Roth’s structured typology of the use of inmate forced labor for the company. The author verified its validity in the case of Siemensstadt in his “Zwangsarbeit von Konzentrationslagerhäftlingen in der letzten Phase des Zweiten Weltkrieges: Das Beispiel Siemens unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Aussenlager Siemens-Haselhorst und ‘Siemenslager’ Ravensbrück” (Master’s thesis, Technische Universität Berlin, 1997). Roth, however, makes the false assumption that prisoners were already being used in the Gartenfeld cable factory as early as 1943. The monograph by the former director of the AS-M appeared on the 150th anniversary of Siemens AG: Wilfried Feldenkirchen, *Siemens 1918–1945* (Munich, 1996). Worth highlighting here, as well as the monograph’s unmistakable apologia, is the detailed reference section that includes references to Siemens archives marked as “uncatalogued temporary archive” and otherwise not accessible to the public. Modernization and technical and social rationalization are of great relevance to the theme of the integration of forced, unskilled labor in modern capitalist

industries. These standard works deal with the indispensable previous history of the use of prisoners' forced labor in production at the main German electrical companies and explicitly deal with the status of female labor: Heidrun Homburg, *Rationalisierung und Industriearbeit: Arbeitsmarkt, Management, Arbeiterschaft im Siemens-Konzern Berlin 1900–1939* (Berlin, 1991); Carola Sachse, *Siemens, der Nationalsozialismus und die moderne Familie: Eine Untersuchung zur sozialen Rationalisierung in Deutschland im 20. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg, 1990); Tilla Siegel and Thomas von Freyberg, *Industrielle Rationalisierung unter dem Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991); and Rüdiger Hachtmann, *"Industriearbeit im Dritten Reich": Untersuchungen zu den Lohn- und Arbeitsbedingungen in Deutschland 1933–1945* (Göttingen, 1989). The AS-M is believed to contain an extensive collection of documents. However, the documents are held for the most part in the "uncatalogued files in the temporary archive" and are not available to independent researchers. A number of sources relating to the use of prisoners at the cable factory in Siemensstadt have recently been released and have been referred to in the text. Researchers are therefore forced to rely on the state archives. In addition to the trial files in LA-B, there are the bequests of Bruno Baum (a former concentration camp prisoner); and other important materials are in the BPASD-B(O), which were gathered for the Sachsenhausen Trial and the campaign that was undertaken to denazify and nationalize the "war crimes-implicated Siemens company." In particular there are to be found here numerous statutory declarations by Siemens employees that cannot be seen in the AS-M. The KGB's archival material at CAFSSRF has only recently become available for researchers on microfilm in USHMMA. The denazification proceedings against Benkert are held at BA-B. For reasons of data protection, a special application to the Justice Senator needs to be made via the archive to inspect the files. The files may only be inspected for academic purposes. The Cologne investigation records are held in NWHStA-(D) ZA-K. The material seized by U.S. authorities at the end of the war relating to the administration of concentration camps was in large part—in particular, the material relating to personnel—handed over to ITS. Some of the material was microfilmed by U.S. authorities before it was handed over (NARA) and is therefore accessible at USHMMA, AG-S, and BA-B. Other important documents were collected by the Compensation Treuhand GmbH, which, beginning in the 1960s, began to pay compensation from the larger German companies to Jewish survivors and which required the companies' management files for this purpose. Extracts from these files are to be found in the investigation files of the ZdL (now BA-L). These probably very valuable files are now in Collection M32 at the YVA. The author was denied access to these files on the basis they contained confidential personal information. Other smaller archival collections have been referred to in the text. Shortly after the end of the war, Jewish concentration camp prisoner Erich Altmann compiled a detailed report about his imprisonment in the concentration camps at Auschwitz, Auschwitz/Bobrek, Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, and Siemensstadt: *Im Angesicht des Todes: Drei Jahre in deutschen Konzentrationslagern; Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Oranienburg* (Luxembourg, 1947).

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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

NOTES

1. Referat des Direktors Leifer zur Vorstandssitzung der S&H, April 22, 1944, BA-MA, RL3/4497; Kriegstagebuch Rüstungskommando I (Berlin) 01/1944, particularly the entry for February 16, 1944, BA-MA, RW 21-2/7.
2. Protokolle Einsatzstab Benkert v. June 13, 1944, and July 11, 1944, AUB-ISG; Siemens-Konzern, Protokoll der Werksleiterbesprechung, August 21, 1944, Berlin, LA-B, FDGB 276.
3. Statutory Declaration Paul Werner P., February 24, 1947, LA-B R 7200; Abschlussbericht betr. Nebenlager Siemens-Haselhorst/Berlin—KL Sachsenhausen, BA-L, ZdL IV406AR-Z185/71; Statement by Julia W., January 21, 1970, ZdL *ibid.*, p. 139.
4. Baubeschreibung für Behelfsbauten der "Bauweise Oswalt" [from Family Stadler-Bimsbau], March 24, 1944, LA-B, R7200, Bauzeichnung Behelfsbau Typ RAD/6 Übersicht, Stadler-Bimsbau Berlin, May 12, 1944, 1:100 LA-B, R7200; as an example, the report by Fritz E., December 30, 1946, LA-B/BPA, IV-L/15/052; Statement Antoni P., October 11, 1971, ZdL IV406AR-Z185/71, p. 530; Statement Helena Sch., December 15, 1969, ZdL *ibid.* For the causes of the cold, see statement by [Foreman] Friedrich R. v. March 14, 1947, LA-B, R7200; Statement Paul Werner P. v. March 18, 1947, LA-B, R 7200; Statutory Declaration Paul Werner P., February 24, 1947, LA-B *ibid.* For the out-fitting, see statement by Irena H., née Szy., April 17, 1971, ZdL IV 406 AR-Z185/71, S. 229; Statement by Helena Sch., December 15, 1969; "Siemens-KZ-Haselhorst" (Besprechung mit Herrn [Paul] W. aus dem Vorstand des FDGB, ehemaliger Häftling), December 2, 1946, BPA, IVL-2/6/270/1.
5. Veränderungsmeldungen Sachsenhausen [Männer], August 11, 1944, Film RG-006.025*26 2286, p. 26; Veränderungsmeldung Sachsenhausen "Konz.-Lager Sachsenhausen Häftlinge Geld- und Effektenkammer" [Frauen], August 28, 1944, USHMMA, RG-006.025*26 2287, p. 219.
6. Veränderungsmeldung KL Sachsenhausen Effektenkammer [Frauen], August 28, 1944; Veränderungsmeldung KL Sachsenhausen, August 31, 1944, USHMMA, RG-006.025*26 2286(54), p. 256.
7. Minutes of "Einsatzstab Benkert," July 11, 1944, BPA, FDGB 276; Management Meeting, August 28, 1944, *ibid.* G; Record of Interview Vera Gregorejwna S., January 13, 1970, ZdL IV406AR-Z185/71; Statement by Helena Sch., December 15, 1969, ZdL *ibid.*
8. "Freie Gewerkschaft" "Siemens-Konzentrationslager Haselhorst," LA-B, BPA IVL-2/15/052; Report Franz F. February 5, 1947, *ibid.*; Statement Paul W. of March 18, 1947, LA-B, R7200.
9. Statement by Julia W., January 12, 1970, ZdL IV406AR-Z185/71; and Final Report Re Subcamp Siemens Haselhorst/Berlin—Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp, ZdL *ibid.*
10. Report Wilhelm V., March 10, 1947, LA-B, R7200; see Benkert in the interview of Paul W., March 18, 1947, LA-B, R7200; also the report by Franz F., February 5, 1947, LA-B, BPA IVL-2/15/052.
11. For example, see the Veränderungsmeldungen [Männer] between September 1, 1944, and September 24, 1944, and between September 25, 1944, and December 29, 1944.

12. There are hardly any reliable reports about deaths. Investigations by ZdL concluded on the basis of verifiable witnesses reports that three female prisoners died as a result of the bombing raid of March 28, 1945. In the surviving, incomplete change of status reports, the deaths of four other women in the camp are noted. There are no details about male prisoners. ZdL, Abschlussbericht Siemens-Haselhorst, IV406AR-Z185/71, p. 7; Veränderungsmeldung (Effektenkammer), September 27, 1944, January 9, 1945, March 13, 1945, March 31, 1945, and April 1, 1945.

13. Statement Paul W., March 18, 1947, LA-B, R7200.

14. Minutes of Meeting of "Einsatzstab Benkert," August 24, 1944, and September 10, 1944, LA-B, BPA, FDGB 276.

15. Paul Werner P. in denazification proceedings Hanns Benkert, ZdL IV406AR-Z185/71, p. 163; Statement Paul Werner P., March 18, 1947, LA-B, R7200; Report Fritz Ei., December 30, 1948, LA-B, BPA IVL-2/15/052, S.4; Statement Danuta Maria Szy., née Zd. April 9, 1970, ZdL, *ibid.*

16. Dr. Mühlbauer of S&H and the responsible record keeper of the cable factory. See Minutes of Meeting "Einsatzstab Benkert," September 10, 1944, LA-B, BPA, FDGB 276; SKG Weekly Report, October 7–10, 1944, and October 8–October 14, 1944, AS-M, 4947; Justification Report Siemens [October 1, 1945] AS-M: XXXIX/2, p. 30.

17. SKG Weekly Report, August 27–September 2, 1944, AS-M, 4947.

18. For the following citation, see "Rechtfertigungsschrift Siemens" [October 1, 1945], p. 29.

19. Statement Helena Sch., December 15, 1969, ZdL IV406AR-Z185/71, pp. 209, 210; Statement Melania Elzbieta No., née. Z., October 7, 1969, ZdL *ebenda*, p. 315; Record of Interview Vera Gregorejewna S., January 13, 1970, ZdL *ibid.*, p. 231; Record of Interview Bruno M., March 18, 1947, LA-B, R7200; Statement Bruno M., March 12, 1947, *ibid.*; Record of Interview Paul W., March 18, 1947, *ibid.*

20. Final report of the Subcamp Siemens-Haselhorst/Berlin—KL Sachsenhausen, ZdL IV406AR-Z185/71; as well as the already cited report by Nicholas Rosenberg.

21. Ermittlungsverfahren gegen Unbekannt betr. Nebenlager Siemens-Haselhorst/Berlin—KL Sachsenhausen, ZdL IV406AR-Z185/71.

22. StA Köln: Ermittlungsverfahren gegen Unbekannt wg. Verdachts des Mordes (Nebenlager Siemens-Haselhorst d. KL Sachsenhausen, Männerlager); StA Köln: Ermittlungsverfahren gegen Unbekannt wg. Verdachts des Mordes (Nebenlager Siemens-Haselhorst d. KL Sachsenhausen, Frauenlager); both: 130Js35/73 Z (Ger.Rep.118 Nr. 2167–2170).

BERLIN-SPANDAU

The Spandau subcamp was located in the middle of a large industrial area on Pichelswerder Strasse in Berlin-Spandau. The camp buildings consisted of one or two single-level factory units converted for use as lodgings; similar buildings close by had already been in use to accommodate foreign civilian workers and prisoners of war (POWs) since 1942.

The inmates, who were exclusively women, came from the Ravensbrück concentration camp. However, administratively, the subcamp was under the command of the Sachsenhausen

concentration camp. The prisoners were employed by the Deutsche Industrie-Werke AG (DIWAG) in the production of munitions. DIWAG was a state-controlled metal-processing company. Erich Purucker was head of operations. He was a senior bureaucrat in the Armaments Ministry with the rank of SS-Standartenführer.

It is reported that the prisoners were at least occasionally employed at the neighboring armaments factory Spreewerk GmbH, a concern closely related to DIWAG. At its subcamp in Kratzau in the Sudetenland, prisoners were also forced to work for DIWAG. Both companies played an important role in keeping armaments production going in the Berlin area in the last phase of the war.¹

The first reliable record of prisoners at the DIWAG factory, who were presumably from a concentration camp, is dated Monday, October 2, 1944. A Belgian civilian forced laborer recorded in his diary on this day the presence of political prisoners.² Polish prisoners corroborate this date. According to their statements, they arrived in the Spandau camp at about this time in a transport of about 300 women.

Initially, Polish women made up most of the prisoner contingent; they had been arrested and deported in the course of the Warsaw Uprising in the summer of 1944. From about December 1944, a second large group of prisoners arrived in the camp: Hungarian Jewish women deported in the autumn of 1944 from Budapest and other parts of Hungary and destined for the Ravensbrück concentration camp. There were also non-Jewish Hungarian women arrested for political reasons as well as Serbian women, women from Yugoslavia, Poland, and a few women from the Soviet Union, France, Italy, and Germany. According to a number of Hungarian prisoners, the German prisoners were classified as "asocials," although they included political prisoners.

The different prisoner categories were held separately, the Jewish prisoners being kept apart from the others. The usual system of prisoner "self-administration" existed in the camp. Only the name of the female camp doctor is known—a Polish doctor named Irena Kononowicz (1910–1969). Another female camp doctor, probably from Hungary, is supposed to have died in the camp. Prisoner doctors from Sachsenhausen are also thought to have been deployed to provide medical attention. One pregnant Polish woman was returned to the Ravensbrück concentration camp after medical examination by a number of doctors.

From the end of 1944, there were on average between 1,030 and 1,040 prisoners in the Spandau subcamp.³ The prisoners were mostly young women in their early twenties. There was little variation in the prisoner numbers. The subcamp received allocations of prisoners either from Ravensbrück or the Auer subcamp at Oranienburg. Those who left the camp were mainly sent to Auer. A DIWAG bookkeeper calculated the cost to his company of deploying the prisoners in January 1945 at 88,119.30 Reichsmark (RM) and in February at 88,682 RM.⁴

The subcamp's change of status report for 1945 recorded the deaths of eight women, aged between 18 and 37. No

reference is made to the causes of death. Survivors stated that the prisoners wasted away and died due to lack of medical attention and exhaustion. There are no documented cases of killings by guards. The dead were taken to Sachsenhausen. Hungarian Kató Gyulai told of a young woman who died a week before liberation and of corpses that were brought to Sachsenhausen around April 21, 1945. Another woman died of exhaustion on that transport. Other prisoners are said to have died soon after they were liberated from illnesses contracted during their imprisonment. The first documented death was on December 16, 1944; most deaths occurred in the months of March and April—a clear indication of the prisoners' increasing exhaustion. As the records are incomplete, it must be assumed that there were deaths in the Spandau subcamp other than those documented. All the documented cases relate to Hungarian women; all who died were categorized as Jews other than one "protective custody" prisoner. One can therefore conclude both that this group of prisoners was not in good condition when it arrived at the camp and that in the camp they were exposed to worse conditions than the other prisoner groups. These deductions are supported by the statement of a Polish prisoner.

The camp was primitive and makeshift. In a large hall there were three-level wooden bunks. The bunks were covered by cardboard mattresses and pillows, which were filled with wood shavings. There was also a blanket. Connected to the dormitory were washrooms and latrines, some of which were still being constructed when the prisoners arrived. The prisoners were clothed in worn-out, thin prisoners' garb and shoes with wooden soles.

Some prisoners had hoped that the assignment to the work details would improve their situation. They were quickly disappointed. The prisoners suffered in the cold rooms. Hygienic conditions were completely inadequate, and the camp was full of lice. The inadequate and extraordinarily poor food inflicted rapid weight loss and deterioration on the already weakened women. According to the prisoners, they received daily about 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread, beet soup, a few potatoes, a little substitute coffee, and every now and then some jam, artificial honey, or a piece of sausage. When liberated, many prisoners weighed only about 30 kilograms (66 pounds).

Unlike with other firms that employed concentration camp prisoners, the prisoners in the factory were not strictly separated from the German and foreign civilian workers. There were two shifts, each of 12 hours. After instruction by German and foreign workers, the prisoners had to work on gun molds, which weighed between 7 and 20 kilograms (15 and 44 pounds), lathes, drills, and grinding machines and accomplish related activities. Some prisoners benefited from their contact with the civilian workers because they occasionally gave them food and other necessary items.

It was difficult for prisoners to develop informal structures within their community since most had only been imprisoned

for a short period of time. It was easier for the political prisoners because of their common political beliefs and because of experiences gained during previous imprisonments. One Hungarian-Yugoslavian group aimed to organize assistance and food but also the exchange of political and military intelligence. Those who were racially persecuted, unless they had family members or friends in the camp, initially had to rely on themselves. Communication was relatively easy, as most of the prisoners came from Hungary. Cultural activities were organized as part of the survival strategy. Poems were recited, songs were sung, or there were attempts to organize "cabaret evenings." However, the demoralizing daily prisoner grind gradually put an end to such activities. Thefts also undermined solidarity.

There were apparently conflicts between the prisoners who worked in the kitchen, who were mostly "asocials" and prostitutes from Germany but who also included some Polish political prisoners. The other camp prisoners regarded them as the camp "elite," as they were able to obtain extra food and profit from barter.

There is a record of two prisoners escaping in February 1945. One of the prisoners was a woman from the Soviet Union. She was categorized as "AZA" (foreign civilian worker). The other was a German. She was categorized as "Aso" (asocial).

Little is known about the camp personnel. The female overseers were assessed in an especially negative light by the surviving prisoners. They commonly used physical violence and shouted at and insulted the prisoners. Some witnesses describe mistreatment of prisoners by guard dogs. One girl is supposed to have suffered serious bite wounds.

Former prisoners were usually able to catch names of guards only in passing. In the first weeks, an SS-Führer aged about 40 was commandant; he was called "the red dog" by Polish women prisoners because of his red hair and strict manner. He was succeeded as Lagerführer—probably as early as October 1944—by SS-Unterscharführer Eitel Faenger (1903–1950), who had previously been commandant in the Glau-Trebbin subcamp. Jewish prisoners recall a certain "Peter," who was addressed this way by a female SS overseer. This "Peter" was identified as being Faenger by Hungarian prisoners—who spoke his name phonetically as "Finger," identifying him as "Peter Finger."

Of the SS female overseers, many witnesses name a certain "Anni" who was a senior overseer and whose surname was perhaps "Roth." She was about 25 years old, dark blonde, and attractive and is described as a cruel woman. Other female overseers known for their brutality were called Helga, Hilde, and Grete. Only two SS guards could be identified by name after the war. Friede Emma B. was recruited as an SS overseer together with other female workers from the Arado factory in Wittenberg. She was sent from Wittenberg to Berlin-Spandau. According to her own statements, she was popular among the prisoners; however, the regional court in Halle sentenced her in 1949 to two years' imprisonment for crimes against humanity committed in the camp in Wittenberg. Incidents in

Spandau did not form any part of the judgment at that time. Another SS overseer known by the name Ursula K. could not be traced by the authorities.

The camp was dissolved between April 21 and 22, 1945, at the time when the Red Army began to enter Berlin. The sick prisoners and those who could no longer walk were transported by truck to Sachsenhausen. A day later, the SS drove the majority of the prisoners by foot in a northwesterly direction. These prisoners were finally liberated on either April 23 or 24, 1945, near the small Brandenburg town of Nauen.

After the war in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the state attorney made investigations into the Spandau subcamp. These were dropped in 1973 since there were no reliable statements that could form the basis of a prosecution against named individuals.

SOURCES In 1990, the Spandau Council published a brochure: Helmut Bräutigam, *Aussenlager Spandau. Das Konzentrationslager bei der Deutsche Industrie Werke Akiengesellschaft* (Berlin-Spandau, 1990). This subcamp is also listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, vol. 1. (Arolsen, 1979).

The concentration subcamp Spandau at the DIWAG is one of the subcamps whose existence is barely documented. The pretrial documents of the ZdL (at BA-L) 1968 to 1971 and its investigation, which was based on these documents and dropped in 1973 by the ZSSa-K, contain only a few witness statements collected from Hungarian Jewish and Polish women as well as information about the second Lagerführer, Eitel Faenger, who had been dead since 1950. The Spandau Youth History Project (Jugendgeschichtswerkstatt Spandau) holds, besides a German translation of Kató Gyulai's memoirs, interviews from 1988 and 1989 with former Hungarian prisoners Kató Gyulai, Rosi Hazai, Blanke Horowitz, Iren Kása, Ibolya László, and Marianne Pinter. The AG-S holds copies of the Veränderungsmeldungen of the female section of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. The originals are held by the RGVA (Call Number R 22.9 M I 42). These reports contain details of the numbers including fluctuations, nationality, prisoner categories, and deaths (Stärke- und Veränderungsmeldungen im Frauenlager des KZ Sachsenhausen from December 31, 1944, to April 18, 1945, D 1 A 1/26). The Bezirksamt Spandau holds the building files of DIWAG and the Spreewerk, which, while they do not contain any direct reference to the subcamp, are useful in reconstructing the location of the subcamp, the immediate surroundings, and living conditions (Bezirksamt Spandau, record group Bauaufsicht, records of Strasse "Freiheit"). The BA-BL holds DIWAG internal files; they contain only two minor references to the existence of the Spandau subcamp (BA-B, R 121, File Nr. 1016; to the Kratzau subcamp, No. 1035). Other documents are held by ITS. The diary of Belgian civilian worker Jan van der Avoort from Oud Turnhout, Belgium, contains notes about the concentration camp prisoners; a copy of the diary is held by ASMS. The memoirs of the Hungarian, Gyulai, written as a MSS in 1947, were published in German in 2001: Kató Gyulai, *Zwei Schwestern: Geschichte einer Deportation*, ed. Linde Apel and Constanze Jaiser (Berlin, 2001). Mrs.

Gyulai, who lives in Budapest, Hungary, has the original MSS.

Helmut Bräutigam
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 121/1035
2. Dairy of Jan van der Avoort, Oud Turnhout, Belgium, entry dated October 2, 1944. A copy of the diary is in ASMS.
3. AG-S, D 1A 1/26, Report on the number of prisoners in the female section of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp between December 31, 1944, and April 18, 1945; the original is located in RGVA, Call Number: R22.9 M I 42.
4. BA-BL, R 121/1016.

BERLIN-TEGEL

There is scarce information about the Sachsenhausen subcamp that was located in the Tegel suburb of Berlin in the Reinickendorf administrative district. Most evidence suggests that the Berlin-Tegel subcamp was distinct from the slave labor camp associated with the Rheinmetall-Borsig factory in Tegel. The subcamp existed for only a few months, from November 1944 until February 1945.

The Berlin-Tegel subcamp held about 40 to 50 men who were prisoners transported from the Sachsenhausen main camp. There is no further information about the demographics of the prisoners, but one source has noted that they were primarily foreign prisoners.¹ The second commando leader (Kommandoführer) of this group was SS-Rottenführer Alfons Knirsch.

The Borsig factory used the prisoners in the Berlin-Tegel subcamp to search for and sweep unexploded bombs. The work was extremely dangerous, and the mortality rate for the prisoners was high. However, because the food rations were relatively plentiful—they were the same supplied to the local police—there were numerous volunteers brought daily from the main camp at Sachsenhausen for this work.

The Berlin-Tegel subcamp was liquidated in February 1945.

SOURCES Sources on the Berlin-Tegel subcamp of Sachsenhausen are generally scarce. The main secondary source of information on this camp is the Berlin-Tegel entry in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979). Although not always consistent with other sources, the ITS catalog provides brief statistical information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, type of prisoner work, and so on.

Primary source material is stored at the AG-S in Oranienburg. Limited information can be found in file group I/4, Index der Aussenkommandos und Aussenlager; III/6, Petitjean, Kleine Geschichte des Lagers; Bestand D 30 A/8/1, 52–54,

1290 SACHSENHAUSEN

Hellmut Bock, Bericht über das Konzentrationslager; and D 30 A/15, Blatt 1-41: Liste mit Namen von ca. 700 SS-Leuten und 8 Häftlingen aus dem KZ Sachsenhausen, Arbeitsstellen, Aussenlagern.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTE

1. Unknown author, "Chronik und Bericht über Sachsenhausen," AG-S, I/4, p. 72.

BERLIN-WILMERSDORF

There is scant information about the subcamp of Sachsenhausen established in the southwestern Berlin suburb of Wilmersdorf. The few sources that do note the creation of a subcamp in Wilmersdorf provide varying information about when the camp existed. Some sources mention that from the beginning of January until early July 1943 a subcamp for male prisoners existed in Wilmersdorf, although the exact location of the camp, the company or office that used the prisoners for labor, and the number or origins of the prisoners are unknown.¹ However, documents at the Sachsenhausen Memorial Archives (AG-S) place the subcamp earlier, from August 1941 to an unknown date—possibly August 1943. It is unclear if the differences in the dates signify two different subcamps in Berlin-Wilmersdorf.

According to the witness statement former inmate Martin Schmidt provided to the Staatsanwaltschaft in Bonn, a contingent of about 100 men was brought from the Sachsenhausen main camp to Berlin-Wilmersdorf, where they were forced to construct offices for the SS-Leadership Main Office (Führungshauptamt) for SS-Obergruppenführer Plebsch in August 1941. The inmates were housed in a former Jewish-owned business. Schmidt recalled that SS-Oberscharführer Schröder supervised the group, although he could not remember any other details about Schröder.²

The guard staff consisted of members of the SS, including SS-Unterscharführer Emil Bentrup (September 1941 to August 1942); SS-Rottenführer Albert Hoppe (December 21, 1941, to an unknown date); and Kommando leader SS-Unterscharführer Otto Jöhnk (August 21, 1941, to August 16, 1943).³

SOURCES There are few sources, either primary or secondary, on the Berlin-Wilmersdorf subcamp of Sachsenhausen. A brief mention of the camp can be found in Rainer Venske, "Aussenlager des KZ Sachsenhausen auf dem heutigen Territorium von Berlin (West)," in *Niemand und Nichts Vergessen. Ehemalige Häftlinge aus verschiedenen Ländern berichten über das KZ Sachsenhausen* (Verlag für Ausbildung und Studium in der Elefanten Press, 1984). See also the entry for Berlin-Wilmersdorf in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979). Although not always consistent with other sources, the ITS catalog provides brief

statistical information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, type of prisoner work, and so on. Hans Gräfer's "Die Slaven sollen für uns arbeiten. Zwangsarbeiter in Wilmersdorf," in *Wilmersdorfer Bruchstücke. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bezirkes Wilmersdorf*, ed. Arbeitskreis Geschichte Wilmersdorf, vol. 1 (Berlin: Omnis, 1997) may yield additional information.

Primary source materials on Berlin-Wilmersdorf are mostly located at the AG-S and the ZDL-L. In the AG-S, see especially file groups D 30 A 10/2 A; D 30 A 15; JD 2/17; and JD 21/28. Files that may be useful at the ZDL-L include IV 419 AR 3322/65 and IV 406 AR 759/69.

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NOTES

1. See Rainer Venske, "Aussenlager des KZ Sachsenhausen auf dem heutigen Territorium von Berlin (West)," in *Niemand und Nichts Vergessen. Ehemalige Häftlinge aus verschiedenen Ländern berichten über das KZ Sachsenhausen* (Verlag für Ausbildung und Studium in der Elefanten Press, 1984), p. 189. See also the entry for Berlin-Wilmersdorf in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979).

2. "Zeugenvernehmung von Martin Schmidt im Ermittlungsverfahren gegen Gustav Sorge und Wilhelm Schubert wegen Mordes, Staatsanwaltschaft Bonn," AG-S, JD 2/17, pp. 117–125. See also Zeugenaussage Martin Schmidt, Staatsanwaltschaft beim Landgericht Köln, AG-S, JD 21/28, pp. 79–82.

3. Liste mit Name von ca. 700 SS-Leuten und 8 Häftlingen aus dem KZ Sachsenhausen, Arbeitsstellen, Aussenlagern, AG-S, D 30 A 15, pp. 1–41.

BERLIN-ZEHLENDORF

With 301 female concentration camp prisoners, the Sachsenhausen Berlin-Zehlendorf subcamp was established in the autumn of 1944 on the grounds of the firm Spinnstofffabrik Zehlendorf AG, a spinning mill company in the southwest Berlin district of Zehlendorf. It was probably the only subcamp in the Berlin-Brandenburg region to have been transferred to another company within a few weeks of its opening.

The establishment of the camp on the grounds of the Spinnstofffabrik Zehlendorf AG on 3 Wupperstrasse followed a long struggle over the use of labor between the company and the Berlin Armaments Inspectorate III. A group of 189 Polish female forced laborers had been withdrawn from the spinning mill even though this resulted in production shortages that the company had warned about.¹ The relevant employment office was not in a position to replace the lost labor. Even the establishment of a substitute "labor education camp" (*Arbeitererziehungslager*) at the spinning mill did not, from the firm's point of view, have the desired effect. The reason for this was that there was a high prisoner turnover, meaning the prisoners could only be used for basic tasks. Besides, the ad-

ditional expenditure required for the guards was regarded as too high when the low number of useful, trained prisoners was taken into account. The solution was to construct a subcamp: "The Oranienburg Gestapo has stated that it will make available around four hundred political prisoners who are to remain in custody for a lengthy period and who, as a result, are suitable candidates for basic work training."²

However, commencement of operations at the subcamp was delayed since, according to the war diary of the Armaments Inspectorate III, "the necessary guards (forty to fifty women) must be raised from volunteers among the existing factory workforce. In the meantime the required accommodation has been arranged."³ In arranging accommodation, supplies, and the training of the prisoners as well as in negotiating with the responsible authorities, the company was able to draw on its existing experience and infrastructure gained from its previous use of forced laborers: "work-conscripted" Jewish men and women from Berlin, Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), Polish civilian workers of both sexes, Italian military internees (IMIs), and male Sachsenhausen concentration camp prisoners from the Lichterfelde subcamp.

The Sachsenhausen concentration camp kept change of status reports (*Veränderungsmeldungen*) for female prisoners from the end of August 1944. On September 1, 1944, these reports list the Zehlendorf spinning mill as having 301 prisoners.⁴ At that point in time, Zehlendorf was the smallest of the Sachsenhausen women's subcamps, having just 6 percent of the total prisoners registered. It is probable the numbers remained constant until the relocation of the camp.

The prisoners working at Zehlendorf were non-Jewish Polish women; 4 of the former prisoners, from whom statements survive, were originally arrested in various locations in Poland between 1940 and 1942 and transferred to Auschwitz. From there they were transferred in the summer of 1944 to Ravensbrück; 2 of the survivors remember that they arrived in Ravensbrück on July 24, making it most likely that they left Auschwitz on a transport on July 22, 1944, which comprised 998 women.⁵ Another survivor has stated that she only arrived in Ravensbrück from Auschwitz at the end of August.⁶

The SS guards were women with an average age of about 25 years. Of the nine SS overseers whose names are known, two volunteered, as did a great many others, while a third, according to the Kassel labor office, was "conscripted" to SS duty.⁷

The guards whose names are known did not come from Berlin. After a four-week training period in the Ravensbrück women's concentration camp, the female SS overseers were first deployed as escorts for the transfer of the Polish prisoners to Zehlendorf. After their arrival there, they became part of the guard.

According to Polish survivors, the SS commandant at the subcamp was a 35-year-old SS man by the name of Michael.⁸ Survivors remember that he once set his dog on a female prisoner and then beat her. The reason for the attack may have been a strike by the prisoners.⁹ The former prisoners are not

aware of deaths in the Zehlendorf subcamp; neither do the change of status reports give any indication of fatalities.

According to the survivors, the work conditions exposed them to a special risk: the Spinnstofffabrik Zehlendorf AG manufactured, among other things, parachutes from synthetic silk for the armed forces. In the spinning department, the threads ran through basins that were filled with sulfuric acid and water. The prisoners often had to put their hands into the basins to reconnect broken threads and to fetch the so-called *Kapillar*, a small golden tube that fell into the water when the threads broke. In doing so the women injured their unprotected arms and their eyes. The women were threatened with beatings if one of the tubes was lost.¹⁰ Other prisoners did less dangerous work such as weeding on the factory grounds. The work shifts were of 12 hours. The women were guarded by Germans while they worked, but it remains unclear whether the guards were SS or internal plant security.

Living conditions in the Zehlendorf subcamp were characterized by malnourishment and accommodation beneath human dignity. The subcamp consisted of a wooden barracks surrounded by barbed wire. It bordered a camp for IMIs and was separated from it by a tall wooden fence. All 301 women were held in one barrack, which was therefore very crowded. The women slept in three-tiered beds on sacks filled with sawdust. According to Janina P., "There was great hunger in the camp."¹¹ The food consisted of rotten winter vegetables and small portions of bread, margarine, jam, and horse sausage. The women were dressed in striped prisoner clothes and wore wooden clogs. Several survivors have stated that they suffered from the filthy conditions. There were only limited washing facilities.

According to Lydia R., a committee of SS men arrived in the camp one day and ordered the removal of the women. The Armaments Inspectorate's war diary reveals that partial damage to the factory by an Allied air raid prompted the committee's visit and the subsequent decision to move the prisoners: "As a result the three hundred female prisoners who had been deployed to increase production could no longer be effectively used and were again made available for reassignment by the deployment office."¹² However, the women did not return to the Sachsenhausen deployment post but were sent to the Pertrix-owned Akkumulatorenfabrik (Battery Factory) AG Hagen in Niederschöneweide in the Berlin district of Köpenick. The Niederschöneweide (Pertrix) subcamp first appears in the change of status reports on September 20, 1944, with the notation "formerly Zehlendorf." This leads to the conclusion that the transfer of the women to the subcamp at Niederschöneweide was not merely the transfer of a group of prisoners but of the whole subcamp to a new location. Those SS overseers known by name, however, were transferred to another subcamp. Most of them ended up at the Neukölln subcamp in Berlin. Only the senior guard among the SS overseers accompanied the prisoners to Niederschöneweide.

As a result, Zehlendorf was the most short-lived of the Sachsenhausen subcamps: according to the SS files, the camp at the spinning mill existed for just under three weeks.

The SS overseers at the Zehlendorf subcamp twice preoccupied German courts after the war. The SS overseer Frieda Schweinhardt was taken prisoner by Soviet units at the end of the war and interned in many different Soviet special camps (*Sonderlager*) until her trial in 1950. In one of the “Waldheim Trials” held in the German Democratic Republic, she was charged as one of the main accused and sentenced to 20 years’ imprisonment and confiscation of property.¹³ She was released early from prison in 1955 and moved to the Federal Republic of Germany, where she was not the subject of any further charges.

In 1971, the State Attorney in Cologne investigated the guards of the Sachsenhausen subcamps. As part of the investigation, assistance was sought from the People’s Republic of Poland in interviewing survivors. However, the investigations did not result in any proceedings, as there was no evidence of any homicides.

SOURCES This contribution is based on archival documents found in five archives. Of particular importance are the Veränderungsmeldungen for female prisoners of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. Copies are to be found in the AG-S. The originals are located in the CAFSSRF. The war diary of the Armaments Inspectorate III is held in BA-MA and provides details on the history of the formation of the Zehlendorf subcamp. The BA-L (formerly ZdL) holds the results of the investigations by the Sta. Köln into the subcamp’s former overseers. The collection contains witness statements by former Polish prisoners and by former overseers. The only court judgment relating to the subcamp was made by the LG Chemnitz and is held in the BStU.

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NOTES

1. Erlass (Decree) No. 98781440, May 13, 1944, KTB der Rüstungs-Inspektion III (Rüln III Ib), April 1, 1944–June 30, 1944, BA-MA, RW 20-3/B.
2. Ibid., p. 27.
3. Ibid., p. 30.
4. Stärke- und Veränderungsmeldung 1944, AG-S, D 9A.
5. Statements Cecylia-Martha B., September 24, 1971, and Janina P., June 11, 1971, BA-L, ZdL, IV 406 AR 1886/68. For the transport of July 22, 1944, see Danuta Czech, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau 1939–1945* (Reinbek, 1989), p. 861.
6. Statement Janiana W., August 12, 1971, ZdL, IV 406 AR 1886/68. On August 24, 1944, a transport of 434 prisoners left Auschwitz for Ravensbrück. See APMO, Mat. RO., vol. VIIIId., p. 62.
7. Statement Frieda Schwerter, divorcée, Schweinhardt, May 21, 1970, ZdL, IV 406 AR 645/69.
8. Statement Janiana W., 7.6.1971, ZdL, IV 406 AR 1886/68.
9. Ibid., Statements Janina P. and Lydia R.
10. Ibid., Statement Cecylia-Marta B.
11. Ibid., Statement Janina P.
12. BA-MA, RW 20-3/B, p. 114.
13. Judgment of LG Chemnitz, June 2, 1950, BStU, HA IX/11, RHE West 609, p. 40.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

BERNAU

According to a schedule held at the Sachsenhausen Memorial Museum, there was a work detachment at the SD-Führerschule (Officer School) Bernau from the summer of 1943 to the spring of 1945. Bernau is about 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) from Berlin. There were up to 150 male prisoners located at Bernau. However, neither the initial list prepared after the war nor a master’s thesis written on the Sachsenhausen subcamps refers to the camp at Bernau. The camp commandant’s office does not refer to the Bernau camp in the change of status reports (*Veränderungsmeldungen*).

SS-Obersturmführer Carl Rathgeber was in command of the Sipo and SD-Führerschule in Bernau from 1942 to 1944. While stationed in Bernau, he was made a police inspector. He died in 1964. The purpose of the school was to train SD noncommissioned officers for service in special detachments in the East.

There was a Sachsenhausen work detachment in Bernau as early as the autumn of 1941. Prisoners were sent to work in a large park that included orchards and gardens; there they picked and stored apples. During bad weather the prisoners had to do demolition work at a summer residence, which was located on an island in a small lake in the park and was said to have belonged to an Englishman. There were 10 prisoners based here. They were guarded by three to four SS men. The prisoners were brought to Bernau from Sachsenhausen every day by truck. Another report stated that in 1941–1942 there was a bakery detachment (Kommando Bäckerei) in Bernau. German prisoner Karl Kunz was the foreman. At the end of 1942, there is a record of Polish prisoner Stefan Obłucki from the Bernau work detachment being treated in the Sachsenhausen infirmary.

A political prisoner has stated that he was based at the Bernau Supply Office (Versorgungsamt in Bernau) from mid-1943 to the end of March 1944. He also referred to that detachment as the Bernau construction yard (Bernau Bauhof). Most probably, the detachment had by this time become a subcamp to accommodate the prisoners at their workplace. In the summer of 1943, another prisoner arrived at Bernau. There were by this time 25 prisoners in the Bernau Castle Park (Bernau Schlosspark). They were accommodated on the first floor in the old castle.¹ The whole castle area was surrounded by barbed wire and mesh. The prisoners worked in the castle nursery, glassing a hothouse and cleaning the fishpond and the park. The guards were supplied by the SD-Führerschule. Head of construction was Josef Decker, a so-called Bible student (Bibelforscher, i.e., a Jehovah’s Witness) prisoner. The SS block leader Gustav Sorge stated that about a hundred prisoners were used as construction labor at the SD-Führerschule in Bernau,² Germans, Poles, Dutch, and Russian prisoners were deployed there. Later the same detachment worked at Schloss Friedenthal, another Sachsenhausen work detachment.

A Norwegian prisoner stated that there was a carrier pigeon detachment based in Bernau from the beginning of

October 1943. A German prisoner also talks of “a carrier pigeon farm” at Bernau.

There was apparently a group of Communist prisoners in Bernau. At the beginning of May 1944, a special commission of the Gestapo carrying out investigations in Sachsenhausen placed a prisoner agent in the Bernau subcamp to watch over the Communists who “were forming a cell and holding informal meetings.”³

As late as the beginning of January 1945, there is a record of the prisoner Johann Idzikowski of the Bernau work detachment being treated in the infirmary at Sachsenhausen.

According to the few statements by former prisoners, there were no deaths and no mistreatment of prisoners at Bernau. Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) ceased for this reason.

SOURCES There are no secondary sources on Bernau. All the sources are in AG-S or BA-L.

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NOTES

1. BA-L, IV 406 AR 523/67, p. 46, Statement Georg Brinkmann, March 24, 1969.

2. AG-S, JD 2, Bd. 43, p. 88, Statement Gustav Sorge, May 7, 1957.

3. AG-S, D 30 A, Bd. 7, p. 6, Sonderkommando Aktennotiz, May 4, 1944.

BIESENTHAL

Biesenthal was registered as a subcamp of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp as early as 1949 in a listing of the International Tracing Service (ITS). However, the sources are unknown.

According to lists at the Sachsenhausen Memorial from July 1, 1944, there was an outside detail of 150 men at a provisional police camp in Biesenthal, 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) northeast of Berlin.¹ In addition, the prisoners were also deployed at a training area. The former commandant of Sachsenhausen said after the war that 100 to 150 men had been deployed by the police at Biesenthal.²

A former prisoner of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp declared after the war in an undated document on Biesenthal: “construction detail police school, approximately eighty men, adequate food initially, later bad.”³

In the documents of the East German General State Attorney’s Office, the SS office in Biesenthal is also referred to as a police training camp. Some 100 prisoners were supposedly deployed there.⁴ This information originates from a publication of the East German Anti-Fascist Committee that had been drafted by former prisoners.

According to the change of status reports of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, 110 male prisoners were present in Biesenthal at the end of December 1944; on February 12, 1945, there were 147. The Biesenthal subcamp is mentioned

for the last time in the daily statistics of the main camp on April 9, 1945. The number of prisoners then in Biesenthal was 129. Around this time, the subcamp must have been closed.⁵

As the chief of staff to the command of the Berlin Municipal Police, SS-Brigadeführer and Generalmajor der Polizei Walter Abraham was in charge of the police school at Biesenthal.

The leader of the camp from November 1944 was SS-Unterscharführer Oskar Hoffmann, originally born in Rehau and a porcelain painter by profession. According to his own account, he had previously been leader of the Werder and Ketschendorf subcamps, probably between January 1941 and March 1943. [We were unable to find any record of a subcamp in Ketschendorf.—Ed.]

Hoffmann was first detained after 1945 in the British internment camp of Esterwegen. In a written procedure in accordance with the Law Concerning the Liberation from National Socialism and Militarism of March 6, 1946, he was ranked as “minimally incriminated” (*Minderbelasteter*) in January 1948 by the camp denazification court at the U.S. internment camp Nürnberg-Langwasser. He was sentenced to a half-year’s probation and ordered to make a 500 Reichsmark (RM) reparations payment.⁶ He also received written confirmation of the conclusion deduced from information from former prisoners that as a detail leader he had not committed any crimes against humanity, including in Biesenthal. The court released Hoffmann from the internment camp with immediate effect. Hoffmann died in 1961 in Wunsiedel.

From 1967, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg investigated possible crimes in the Biesenthal subcamp, but investigations were closed without result in 1972.⁷ East Germany also processed a judicial assistance request from the ZdL in Cologne with no results.⁸

SOURCES There is no literature concerning the Biesenthal subcamp. The subcamp is listed in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 261.

Most of the records can be found at the BA-L and at the AG-S, and a few can be found at IfZ, BA-B, and BLHA.

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NOTES

1. AG-S, D.A. 5147: Uwe Hofschläger, “Funktion und Bedeutung der Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Sachsenhausen” (Diplomarbeit, Freie Universität Berlin, 1997). See also Liste Nationale Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Sachsenhausen, n.d.

2. BA-B, Film 42053, NI-280, statement by Anton Kaindl, June 15, 1946; see also Zusammenstellung, n.d., BLHA, Pr-Br. Rep. 35H Nr. 8/1.

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3. Zusammenstellung, n.d., Walter Nowak, IfZ, Ed 106/77.
4. BA-B, DP 3/2015.
5. AG-S, JSU 1, vol. 99–101.
6. AG-S, LAG X/3, Esterwegen list of the interned SS members of Sachsenhausen concentration camp.
7. BA-L, IV 406 AR 734/67.
8. BA-B, DP 3/2015.

BRANDENBURG (HADEL)

The subcamp of Brandenburg (Havel) was first recorded in the SS daily reports with 30 prisoners on July 9, 1941, and 25 prisoners on October 29.¹ As of February 1944, between 50 and 65 prisoners were regularly deployed at Brandenburg, and in February 1945, between 75 and 85 were reported there. The camp was last mentioned in the daily reports on April 9, 1945.² According to prisoners' statements, they were not transferred to the main camp after the subcamp was closed but rather were marched from Brandenburg directly to Mecklenburg in the direction of Wittstock. The Red Army liberated them at Rathenow.

Other sources record that the camp existed between May 13, 1941, and April 18, 1945, at the SS-Military Depot (Zeugamt) in Brandenburg and that it had 30 prisoners.³ The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) at Ludwigsburg indicated in its investigation documents that the camp was first mentioned on March 13, 1941, with 30 prisoners.⁴ The former commandant of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, Anton Kaindl, stated during an interrogation by the British that 50 to 70 prisoners were deployed at the SS clothing depot in Brandenburg.

The prisoners worked in the captured materials store of the SS Brandenburg military depot and had to organize the stock, draw up lists of the existing materials, and prepare them for delivery. This included SS uniform equipment. Initially, this work was carried out on the upper floors of a cell-block wing in the Old Prison, which was the transfer and storage location for all equipment and clothing for the Waffen-SS and SS offices in Berlin.

The site of the subcamp had a long history. One of the earliest SS concentration camps had existed in the Old Prison from as early as August 1933 until February 2, 1934. About 600 prisoners had been imprisoned there in inadequate, unhygienic conditions. Communists were the principal victims of this camp. Some of them died under torture. Between February and October 1940, over 9,500 people were murdered in a gas chamber on the Old Prison grounds during the "euthanasia" operation (*Aktion T4*) that operated under the cover name State Care Institute (Landes-Pflegeanstalt) Brandenburg on the Havel.

Around 1943, a new SS clothing depot was opened half an hour's march away in a silo on a peninsula of the Havel.

French, Polish, German, Dutch, and Soviet prisoners as well as Luxembourg policeman Norbert Karels, who was killed at the beginning of 1945 in Sachsenhausen, were de-

ployed at Brandenburg. One of the German prisoners was Jewish. In August 1942, a group of Dutch prisoners from the Speer detail from Sachsenhausen was brought to Brandenburg. The SS released the prisoner Martinus Tettero from Brandenburg on February 2, 1945, and the prisoner Joh. Szi-zhinsky on March 19, 1945.

In February 1944, Polish prisoner Zygfried Siminisc tried to break into a nearby camp where a winter aid and captured goods depot was housed; on February 10, 1944, he was sent for half a year to the "shoe-testing" (*Schuhläufer*) punishment detail at the main camp. On July 28, 1944, German prisoner Heinrich Busch was also assigned for unspecified reasons to the Schuhläufer punishment detail at the main camp in connection with the investigations of the Gestapo special commission at the Sachsenhausen camp.

The prisoners' food was supplied by the clothing depot and possibly also by the Brandenburg-Görden Prison. Sick prisoners were treated in the main camp's infirmary. The living conditions were described as pleasant compared to Sachsenhausen. It is reported that soccer and boxing were allowed on Sundays. The prisoners were allowed to grow their hair and wore good shoes. The senior prisoner at the camp was German Willi Franz Rojek.

The prisoners were housed at their workplace on the first floor of the Old Prison in Brandenburg. Two prisoners slept in each cell.

Detail leader of the Brandenburg camp was SS-Oberscharführer Paul Samorey; his staff included SS-Unterscharführer Otto, SS-Unterscharführer Heinz, SS-Schütze Josef Becker, SS-Unterscharführer Kurt Einecke, SS-Sturmmann Josef Pay, and SS-Schütze Josef Mörtelbauer or Würtelbauer.

There are no reports of abuse by those responsible for the concentration camp prisoners. Prisoners confirm that the camp leader Samorey treated them correctly. A Dutch prisoner was supposedly punished for an act of theft by being made to go up and down a staircase repeatedly while carrying a sandbag. However, in March 1945, the leader of the clothing depot, SS-Hauptscharführer Edwin Fritz, a musician by trade, shot seven Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) in the neck in front of the concentration camp prisoners in the yard of the Old Prison because they had stolen food after an air raid. For a time the leader of the newly constructed SS clothing and equipment factory in Brandenburg was SS-Scharführer Friedrich Bloos.

After the war, guards SS-Rottenführer Ludwig Pella and SS-Unterscharführer Otto Schlenker, photographer SS-Hauptscharführer Bernhard Walter, and detail leader SS-Unterscharführer Paul Samorey were imprisoned in the British internment camp Esterwegen.⁵ Samorey had been taken prisoner by the Soviets on May 3, 1945, but he had managed to escape. The British released him at the end of December 1947.⁶

The chief of the clothing depot, Fritz, was also imprisoned in the British internment camps at Fallingbommel and Sandbommel, and he died while still under investigation on January

5, 1948.⁷ Another guard, Albert Andree,⁸ and a member of the clothing depot, Kurt Einecke,⁹ were also interned in British camps.

Former member of the SS clothing camp Anton Grössing was briefly in Soviet captivity, from which he was released due to his inability to work; he was rearrested in the American zone. He was granted amnesty in April 1948 by the Fürstendfeldbruck denazification court after being interned for 11 months in the Dachau concentration camp.¹⁰ The temporary leader of the newly constructed SS clothing and equipment factory in Brandenburg, Bloos, was also interned after the war, first in the U.S. internment camp Ludwigsburg, then in Moosburg until 1947.

The ZdL investigated possible crimes in the Brandenburg subcamp without result from 1967 until 1972.¹¹ In 1968, East Germany processed without result a request of judicial assistance from the main office in Cologne.¹²

SOURCES Except for the cited volume from the Brandenburg records archive, there is no literature specifically on the Brandenburg subcamp. Almost all archive sources are from the BA-L, the AG-S, the PRO, and BA-B.

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NOTES

1. AG-S, D 30 A, T. 2, pp. 60, 73.
2. AG-S, JSU 1, vols. 100–101.
3. AG-S, D.A. 5147: Uwe Hofschläger, “Funktion und Bedeutung der Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Sachsenhausen” (Diplomarbeit, Freie Universität Berlin, 1997).
4. BA-L, IV 406 AR 732/67, presents results of the investigation concerning the subcamp Brandenburg (Havel) from August 10, 1968, n.p.
5. List of the former members of the headquarters staff of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp interned in the British camp CIC Esterwegen, probably 1945, different records; AG-S, LAG X/3.
6. BA-L, IV 406 AR 732/67, p. 35, Statement Paul Samorey, November 26, 1968.
7. BA-L, IV 406 AR 732/67, p. 37, Statement Paul Samorey, November 26, 1968.
8. PRO, London, WO 309/1759.
9. PRO, London, WO 309/1764.
10. BA-L, IV 406 AR 732/67, B1. 43, Statement Anton Gössing from March 2, 1969.
11. BA-L, IV 406 AR 732/67.
12. BA-B/SAPMO, DP 3/1968.

BRIESEN [AKA FALKENHAGEN]

The National Socialist authorities opened the camp of Briesen on October 26, 1943. It was a subcamp of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp whose prisoners had to work at a large construction site nearby. The regime planned an underground factory for the production of the poison gas Sarin. The industrial complex received the name Turon. However,

the mass production of poison gas failed because of a shortage of raw materials. Therefore, the newly built factory produced alternative chemical products necessary for the German armaments industry.

A company called Luranil-Baugesellschaft GmbH-Baustelle Falkenhagen, Briesen (Mark) was the builder of the planned factory building. Luranil was a subsidiary company of IG Farben with headquarters in Ludwigshafen am Rhein and assigned the construction project to two regional operating companies, Dyckerhoff & Widmann and Heinemann & Busse.

The construction site and the subcamp were placed in a forest next to a country road connecting the Brandenburg villages of Briesen and Falkenhagen, east of Berlin and close to the towns of Fürstenwalde an der Spree and Frankfurt an der Oder. Some sources called the subcamp Briesen, others Falkenhagen. An explanation for this variation can be found in the number of inhabitants of both communities: although closer to the small village of Falkenhagen, Briesen was larger and therefore better known.

The prisoners had to work under the supervision of foremen and were led by skilled workers. The authorities at the construction site subdivided them into 14 commandos (Kommandos)—13 construction commandos and 1 commando for metalworking. SS guards including two dog handlers observed the daily 500-meter (547-yard) march of the prisoners between the construction site and subcamp.

The camp was made up of two parts: one area was occupied by the SS, and another area was allocated to the prisoners. Both parts were divided by a wire-mesh fence. In addition, the prison camp was surrounded by two electric barbed-wire fences and secured with four watchtowers. A footpath ran between the two fences, enabling the guards to patrol. Furthermore, the whole forest was surrounded by a fence that was 2 meters (6.6 feet) high.

The prisoners lived in five to seven wooden huts—German and Jewish prisoners in separate huts—and slept in wooden bunk beds. They used a shower room with 25 to 30 shower facilities, as did the guards.

The part of the camp used by the SS had an orderly room, living space for the guards, some working areas, and the camp kitchen. The Sachsenhausen concentration camp delivered food once a week.

The SS counted about 500 prisoners on February 7, 1945. A maximum number of prisoners was reached with 700 to 800 persons.¹ Most of them were Soviets, Poles, southern Slavs, and French. There were about 13 Jewish, 10 Dutch, and a minimum of 7 German prisoners. The German prisoners were in most cases so-called prisoner-functionaries (*Funktionshäftlinge*). They represented a connecting link between the subcamp command and the other prisoners.

The first chief of the subcamp was SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Hermann Heidrich, who was transferred to the subcamp Oranienburg (Heinkel-Werke) at the beginning of 1944. His successor was SS-Untersturmführer Helmut Sturmhövel. He was transferred to the subcamp Berlin-Lichterfelde

on March 1944. The only ranking SS member who stayed in the Briesen subcamp during the whole period of its existence was SS-Unterscharführer Alfred Braun. He was the labor service leader (*Arbeitsdienstleiter*).

The 30 to 40 guards—including two dog handlers—were part of the 2nd SS-Wachkompanie Oranienburg and later part of the 7th SS-Wachkompanie Berlin-Lichterfelde.² They evacuated the subcamp after the Red Army had started an offensive near the town of Küstrin at the beginning of February 1945. The first deportation train, with about half the prisoners, left Briesen on February 4, 1945, and reached Sachsenhausen on February 7. The last deportation train changed direction and brought prisoners to the Buchenwald concentration camp at the beginning of February 1945. A truck transport with sick prisoners left the Briesen subcamp with the same destination at the end of January 1945.³ Finally, the authorities evacuated the whole area on April 30, 1945.

Eyewitnesses remembered the murder of a young Sinti (Gypsy) because of his escape attempt in December 1944.⁴ There was only one interviewed person by the German fact-finding committee who talked about more than one murder at the subcamp. His name was Doose, and he was a former guard. However, further investigations could not find indications of more than one murder. German authorities suspected Doose of being a liar.⁵

SOURCES Primary documentation on the Briesen subcamp is located in AG-S, especially in the Briesen box, which contains a collection of testimonies collected by ZdL (available at BA-L), under file IV 406 AR-Z 40/71.

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NOTES

1. BA-L, ZdL Bd. I, pp. 66, 162, 366, *Ergebnis der Vorermittlungen betreffend das Nebenlager Briesen/Falkenhagen (KL Sachsenhausen)*, March 24, 1971 (IV 406 AR-Z 40/71).

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 66, 158.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 695.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 21–22.

DAMMSMÜHLE

Dammsmühle Castle is located in Schönwalde in the district of Niederbarnim. According to documents, 25 prisoners from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp were located there in a labor detail on January 2, 1943; by July 3, 1943, there were only 20.

The camp Dammsmühle-Schönwalde is mentioned in the book on the Sachsenhausen concentration camp published in 1967 in East Germany by the Antifascist Resistance Fighters' Committee. The number of prisoners is estimated at 25. The Sachsenhausen Memorial indicates January 2, 1943, as the date of the establishment of the subcamp and July 3, 1943, as the closing date with 27 male prisoners supposedly housed at

the subcamp, which served the SD officer school in Dammsmühle Castle.

An older list held by the Sachsenhausen Memorial indicates August 1942 as the date of establishment, with 25 male prisoners deployed to do construction and excavation work.

According to the recollections of prominent former Sachsenhausen concentration camp prisoner, Communist Willy Sägebrecht, he arrived in Dammsmühle at the beginning of 1943 with 35 other prisoners.¹ Some 28 of his group had been imprisoned in Sachsenhausen for membership in the Communist Party, another 4 as criminal prisoners.

The former guard at Dammsmühle, Romanian-German Viktor Halicki, also confirms that about 40 prisoners were under guard in Dammsmühle.

At the time of the Nazi Party's seizure of power, Dammsmühle Castle belonged to British industrialist Harry Goodwin Hart, who was married to a Jew. During the absence of its owners, the Berlin Supreme Court awarded the castle, then designated as "enemy property," to a new owner, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, who acquired it after a forced sale. The chief of the Security Police and of the SD, Reinhard Heydrich, was supposedly based there while he planned and led the faked attack on the Gleiwitz radio transmitter station.

The prisoners were deployed exclusively in the maintenance of the castle grounds and the garden. They ran a garden business with greenhouses and a small farm of 8 to 10 hectares (20 to 25 acres). Due to a lack of modern equipment, they worked mainly by hand. The farm produce was intended for the SS-Main Office in Berlin. At times individual prisoners would be deployed in ditch-clearing work in Basdorf and at the Schönwalde sawmill.

Rumors in Dammsmühle and the vicinity incorrectly associated the subcamp with the counterfeiting workshop in Sachsenhausen.

The food was delivered once a week from Sachsenhausen. The prisoners had to cook themselves.

The SS in Dammsmühle seem to have refrained from the otherwise usual harassment of the prisoners. The group around the Communist Sägebrecht supposedly even sang Communist songs and the "Moorsoldatenlied" (an anti-Hitler song written by a prisoner) on the occasion of a cabaret evening they had organized.

Initially, the prisoners were housed in an old building in an area that had been deforested years before; later they put up new accommodation barracks there. Sägebrecht acted as foreman. Together with Heinz Junge and Otto Heyer, he is supposed to have founded a party group among the Communist prisoners, enabling them to enlist the criminal prisoners in resistance work and to fend off the camp leader's attempts to divide the inmates. They also seem to have managed to obtain newspapers as well as other news about the situation in Germany through contact with certain guards. The group around Sägebrecht also supposedly threw their own anti-Hitler leaflets from a truck while driving through Bernau.

Heyer took over the position of foreman after Sägebrecht was transferred to the infirmary in Sachsenhausen for treatment in April–May 1943.

The camp was guarded by members of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), mostly SS noncommissioned officers. The leader of the detail was an SS-Obersturmführer. Only three guards are known by name—Mathias Roth, Erich Dräger, and Viktor Halicki, who said that he did his service in Dammsmühle and then was ordered to go to the front on the Oder River.

The date when the camp was finally closed is not documented. There is proof that office employees of the “RSHA Berlin, Dammsmühle subcamp” were still working at the Dammsmühle Castle until October 1944.

The Central Office in Cologne investigated possible crimes in the Dammsmühle subcamp and requested judicial assistance from East Germany. Investigations were carried out, and it was concluded that the Dammsmühle subcamp had been established for the commander of the SD-Officer School in Bernau, SS-Obersturmführer Karl Rathgeber, and that he had apparently already died. The former prisoners Erich Plumenbohm, Heinz Junge, Johann Petri, and Klaus Pieper characterized Dammsmühle as an especially good detail in which there had been no ill-treatment of prisoners.²

SOURCES There is little literature dealing directly with the Dammsmühle subcamp except for the booklet by Horst Hup, *Schloss Dammsmühle* (Bernau, n.d.). The subcamp is listed in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 576; in KaW-DDR, ed., *Damals in Sachsenhausen* (Berlin [East], 1967), p. 61; and in the older Gedenkstätte Sachsenhausen, *Übersicht über die Entwicklung der Aussenkommandos des KZ Sachsenhausen 1940–1945* (Sachsenhausen, n.d.).

Most of the primary sources come from the archive of the AG-S and from the BA-L. Willy Sägebrecht published his memoirs of Dammsmühle as *Nicht Amboss, sondern Hammer sein: Erinnerungen* (Berlin, 1968).

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NOTES

1. Willy Sägebrecht, *Nicht Amboss, sondern Hammer sein: Erinnerungen* (Berlin, 1968), p. 277. His statement “in early 1944” is a mistake.

2. BA-B, DP 3/2015.

DÖBERITZ

The Döberitz subcamp of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp was first mentioned in 1949 in a catalog of the International Tracing Service (ITS). The information relied on the details provided by the Belgian Tracing Service. A document published in 1969 by the ITS mentions that prisoners were

deployed in the construction and maintenance of military facilities.¹ According to the details held at the Sachsenhausen Memorial, the subcamp was established on June 1, 1944. About 100 prisoners were deployed at an SS military depot, at a depot of the Luftwaffe, and at the Wehrmacht camp at Dallgow.² The former commandant of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp stated after the war that the prisoners from Döberitz, about 50 to 100 men, were deployed working for the Luftwaffe. A former prisoner of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp referred to labor deployment at the Döberitz subcamp as follows: “some kind of SS military depot, camp work, only forty-five men.”³ A Dutch document lists 150 prisoners working at the army facilities.

Among the prisoners there appear to have been French, Polish, Soviet, and possibly Belgians. Sick prisoners were transferred to the infirmary at Sachsenhausen. This is documented, for example, in the cases of French prisoner Georges Tessiers and Polish prisoner Stefan Czajkowski in January 1945.

According to the change of status reports of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, there were 60 prisoners by mid-January 1945 and 50 prisoners by the end of March in Döberitz. The subcamp, by then containing 40 prisoners, was closed on April 5, 1945.⁴ Shortly before this date prisoner Wladimir Maschenski, registered as a “BV” prisoner (*Berufsverbrecher*—a classification meaning a criminal under “preventive arrest”), escaped on March 23, 1945.

From 1967 the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) at Ludwigsburg investigated the Biesenthal subcamp for possible crimes, but it closed the proceedings without result in 1972.⁵ East Germany processed a request of judicial assistance from the Central Office in Cologne, also without result.⁶

SOURCES This subcamp is listed in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 261.

Besides the information from the ITS lists from 1949 and 1969, there exist only a few sources held at AG-S. Other sources for this camp are held at BA-L, BLHA, and IfZ.

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NOTES

1. BA-L, IV 406 AR 735/67, p. 11; see also Zusammenstellung, n.d., BLHA, Pr-Br. Rep. 35H Nr. 8/1.

2. Conference folder workshop SBG, ed., “Die Aussenlager der Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen und Ravensbrück” (Internationale Jugendbegegnungsstätte Ravensbrück, October 17–18, 2003); see also AG-S, D.A. 5147: Uwe Hofschläger: “Funktion und Bedeutung der Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Sachsenhausen” (Diplomarbeit, Freie Universität Berlin, 1997); and Liste Nationale Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Sachsenhausen, n.d.

3. Zusammenstellung, n.d.; Walter Nowak, IfZ, München Ed 106/77.

4. AG-S, JSU 1, Vols. 99–101.

5. BA-L, IV 406 AR 735/67.

6. BA-B, DP 3/1916.

DRÖGEN

In the spring of 1941 a subcamp of Sachsenhausen was established close to Ravensbrück, near Fürstenberg/Havel, at Drögen. In 1949, the International Tracing Service (ITS) put the date of the establishment of the camp, based on official documents, as May 2, 1941. The number of prisoners was reported to be 156. A former prisoner, however, has stated that he was transferred on April 1, 1941, from Sachsenhausen to Drögen. The Sachsenhausen change reports (*Veränderungsmeldungen*) refer to the camp for the first time on April 15, 1941, with a complement of 160 prisoners.¹ On August 1, 1941, there were 230 prisoners; at the end of October, 270; and at the end of December, 253.² The camp, which eventually held up to 350 male prisoners, only existed as a Sachsenhausen subcamp until November 30, 1942; then it was subordinated to Ravensbrück.³ According to an overview of all Sachsenhausen subcamps issued in 1990 by the Sachsenhausen Memorial, the concentration camp prisoners in Drögen were used to construct a Security Service (SD) school.

Originally, it was planned to establish an explosives factory in Drögen, for which a forced labor camp would be built. In February 1941, it was half complete. The explosives factory, however, was never finished. During the same period, there were plans for an SS and SD school for the Security Police (Sipo) in the same location. The first building and facilities originated from the expansion and new construction in the new project. The prisoners constructed, for example, a command office, an entrance area, a roll-call square, typical brick buildings for housing, as well as schoolrooms, a sports field, a shooting range, and remodeled garages. A few prisoners worked in the officers' mess and as barbers in the police school. Others had to work for SS officers on their private property, working in and tending to the gardens.

Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) were also used in the police school, but they were not held as prisoners in the Drögen subcamp. It is thought that a few of them were shot by SS men in the police school, in a sand pit, not far from the laundry, which functioned as a shooting range.⁴ Another, a Russian civilian, was shot by an SS-Hauptscharführer after escaping and being recaptured close to the camp. Before being shot, he was held for days in a cellar in the police school.⁵

In the summer of 1941, the personnel from the Border Police School (Grenzpolizeischule) Pretzsch were transferred to Drögen. The expansion of the school by the prisoners continued.

When the prisoners were constructing the sports field, they had to carry 3 cubic meters (106 cubic feet) of sand each hour in tipcarts. Accidents often occurred as a result of the

excessive work demands. For example, when removing gravel from a nearby gravel pit, prisoners were occasionally buried alive under the gravel and died. While working, the prisoners were guarded by members of a police unit under the command of an SS officer. The SS was said to have treated Poles and Jews in a particularly brutal manner.

The prisoners, mostly German political prisoners, Czech students, Soviet civilians, and Dutch, were accommodated in five permanent houses on the police school grounds. The accommodation was fenced in with barbed wire. It is thought that there may also have been foreign Jewish prisoners in Drögen. If so, they were few in number and were later transferred to the main camp. A few Jewish Germans were also prisoners in Drögen; they were, possibly with other Jewish prisoners, transferred in October 1942 to Auschwitz. In September 1942, prisoners were transferred from the Ravensbrück concentration camp to Drögen to work inside the school, for example, laying tiles (as well as cleaning and other jobs in the school).

The food was described as "relatively good." It was delivered from Ravensbrück and cooked in the police school's kitchen. Sick prisoners were transferred to the main camp for treatment.

Around 180 prisoners, which probably included all Jewish prisoners, were transferred in October 1942, possibly as a result of the camp's dissolution, to Auschwitz. Around 40 remained in Drögen.⁶

The camp leader (Lagerführer) was initially SS-Oberscharführer Hermann Skopnik. He was replaced in June 1941 by SS-Hauptsturmführer Richard Bugdalle. He later returned to Drögen. He was arrested at the end of 1942 for theft and giving favors to prisoners and was sentenced in 1943 by the SS and Police Court (SS- und Polizeigericht) Berlin-Dahlem to three years' penal servitude. For a time, SS-Unterscharführer Erwin Seifert was sent to Drögen as camp leader. Bugdalle's successor was SS-Führer Schröder.

The head of the police school was SS-Oberscharführer Dr. Hans Trummmler. The camp was guarded by a police unit, led by SS-Oberscharführer Bauer. The camp elder (Lagersältester) was a criminal, probably Eduard Besch. Political prisoner Hermann Felix was Kapo. Felix had developed a poor reputation when he was in the main camp and was called "Mad Felix." From March 1942, he was an official orderly in the guards' rooms and was permitted to wear a uniform without markings. After 1945, he remained in the Soviet occupation zone, was convicted in 1946 for making anti-Soviet statements, and was held in a number of camps in the Soviet occupation zone, finally being released from a camp in the Soviet Union in 1953.⁷ Another prisoner foreman was political prisoner Curt Fiesel, who was well known as someone who liked to hit others. According to others, the prisoners Felix, Besch, and Schmitz alternated as camp elder.

Although there were many cases of mistreatment, especially by the Kapo Felix, there were no deaths caused by the SS. However, one prisoner, a Pole, died after being mistreated

by SS-Unterscharführer Seifert with the broken shaft of a pick axe in the camp's office. The Polish prisoner had been reported by the construction company Riechling in Neustrelitz for unsatisfactory work and was severely beaten by Seifert. The prisoner died the next morning.

It is also reported that the temporary camp leader, Bugdalle, mistreated the prisoners, especially Poles and Jews, by beating them. A Neustrelitz firm claimed that he reported the prisoners who had not worked satisfactorily to the Kapo, who then beat them.

At the end of 1942, there was only one area left on the site to be built. Once the school for 500 to 700 trainees commenced operations, around 30 concentration camp prisoners remained in Drögen to work in the kitchen and the gardens and to undertake repairs. It was now under the control of Ravensbrück. (The camp may have operated as a subcamp of Ravensbrück until May 8, 1945. There is no information about the fate of this smaller group of inmates.)

The first camp leader, Skopnik, fell into British hands at the end of the war and at the end of 1945 returned to his family in Fürstenberg/Havel. He was arrested by the Soviets and questioned as to who was responsible for the Sipo school. He was later deported and in 1949 sentenced to 25 years in the Soviet Union for membership in the SS and espionage but not for crimes committed in Drögen. He returned from the Soviet Union in 1955.⁸

The head of the police school, SS-Oberscharführer Trummel, was executed on October 22, 1948, in Landsberg.⁹ The occasional camp leader, Bugdalle, was sentenced in 1960 by the München I Schwurgericht (Court of Assizes) to life imprisonment for homicides committed in Sachsenhausen.¹⁰ In 1968, the former camp leader Seifert was charged with the murder of a Polish prisoner in May 1942 in Drögen. He was arrested and in the so-called Kaiser Proceedings was sentenced to life imprisonment on April 20, 1970, in Munich.¹¹

Between 1969 and 1972, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg investigated Drögen as a Ravensbrück subcamp. The investigations ceased as there was a lack of evidence to support the prosecution of any crimes. The German Democratic Republic assisted the Central Office in Cologne, at its request, but without any noteworthy results.

The ZdL also investigated the murder of the Soviet POWs. The results were handed over in 1970 to the Frankfurt am Main State Prosecutor.

SOURCES There have been no specific publications on the Drögen subcamp except for the essays by Jens Banach, "Die Rolle der Schulen der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD: Einführung" (pp. 58–81), and Florian von Buttlar, "Entstehungs- und Baugeschichte" (pp. 88–93), both published in Florian von Buttlar, Stefanie Endlich, and Annette Leo, eds., *Fürstenberg-Drögen: Schichten eines verlassenen Ortes* (Berlin, 1994). The subcamp is listed in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951;

repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 576.

The primary source material is mostly held in the BA-L and AG-S.

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NOTES

1. AG-S, D 30 A, Bd. 2, p. 9.
2. BA-L, IV 406 AR 2949/66, p. 60, Veränderungsmeldung des KZ Sachsenhausen, August 1–2, 1941; AG-S, D 30 A, Bd. 2, p. 75; BA-L, IV 406 AR 2949/66, p. 237, Abschlussverfügung, September 30, 1968.
3. AG-S, D.A. 5147: Uwe Hofschläger: "Funktion und Bedeutung der Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Sachsenhausen" (Diplomarbeit, Freien Universität Berlin, 1997). See also Tagungsmappe Workshop, SBG, ed., "Die Aussenlager der Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen und Ravensbrück" (Internationale Jugendbegegnungsstätte Ravensbrück, October 17–18, 2003).
4. BA-L, IV 406 AR 2949/66, p. 191, Vernehmung Paul Schneider, February 16, 1968.
5. Ibid., p. 321, Vernehmung Otto Krause, March 18, 1970.
6. Ibid., p. 36, Vernehmung Otto Krause, March 30, 1967. See also AG-S, D 30 A/10/2A, pp. 38, 112.
7. BA-L, IV 406 AR 2949/66, p. 85e, Auszüge aus der Entschädigungsakte von Hermann Felix.
8. Ibid., p. 149, Vernehmung Hermann Skopnik, December 1, 1967.
9. Ibid., p. 190, Vernehmung Paul Schneider, February 16, 1968.
10. Ibid., p. 237, Abschlussverfügung, September 30, 1968.
11. Ibid., p. 367, Abschlussverfügung, July 8, 1974.

FALKENSEE (WITH STAAKEN)

At a meeting on March 4, 1943, between representatives of the Reichsbahnbaudirektion (German National Railway Construction Directorate, RBBD) Berlin and the Deutsche Maschinenfabrik (Demag) Fahrzeugwerke Falkensee GmbH (Demag Vehicle Factory Falkensee), a subsidiary of Demag AG Duisburg, the Demag representatives stated, "Demag intends as quickly as possible to use a large number of prisoners from the Oranienburg concentration camp for urgent work . . . and to accommodate them at the Reichsbahn camp at Staaken [Nennhauser Damm]."¹ For this purpose, Demag leased the Staaken Reichsbahn camp from the Deutsche Reichsbahn until its concentration camp at its Falkensee factory was completed in July 1943. Demag paid the Deutsche Reichsbahn a total of 30,800 Reichsmark (RM) in rent.

As early as March 11, 1943, the prisoner administration office at the Sachsenhausen main camp accounted for 302 prisoners at Falkensee.²



In a caricature by an unidentified artist, Ludwik Zuk-Skarszewski conducts the camp orchestra at Falkensee, 1944. Represented in this sketch are Ludwik Zuk-Skarszewski, conductor; Eugene Lacoste, accordion; Tadeusz Glinksi, Helicon; Zygmunt Paloszewski, trumpet; Roman Chrzanowski, trombone; Feliks Radomski, banjo. The names of the other four musicians are unknown.

USHMM VWS #27634 COURTESY OF ALEXANDER KULISIEWICZ

The detail was commanded by SS-Obersturmbannführer Kurt Ludewig, formerly in command of the outside detail “Klinkerwerk.” He had been a member of the SS since 1932 and in 1940 began his career with the SS-Totenkopfverband (Death’s Head Unit). The first prisoners, mainly from Norway and the Soviet Union, arrived in March 1943. The prisoner-functionaries were exclusively German. Ludewig deliberately chose them from the ranks of prisoners classified as “professional criminals” or “asocials.” Only the Norwegians, regarded as “Aryans,” were quartered together as a group in one room, and only they could appoint an agent from among their own number.

By May 10, 1943, there were 1,254 prisoners in the camp. In April and May, additional prisoner transports arrived from France and Poland. There were German prisoners (always in the minority and estimated to number about 150), primarily “professional criminals” and “asocials,” but also “politicals,” Jehovah’s Witnesses, and “Gypsies.” There were 2 Jehovah’s Witnesses who worked in the clothing depot; they were always polite and approachable to their non-German fellow sufferers in the camp. Many male members of the Romany “Weiss” family labored in Demag’s work column number seven, which manufactured shells. They maintained a strong bond with each other.

During this period, the prisoners, working in 12-hour shifts and under the most primitive conditions, built the stone barracks of the future Falkensee concentration camp as well as a camp for forced laborers in the Falkensee district of Falkenhöh. Making the task even harder was a 3-kilometer (1.9-mile) march both to and from the building site. It was not only Demag’s construction bosses but also smaller building

firms from Falkensee that made money from hiring the concentration camp prisoners’ labor (charged per day and per prisoner).³

The death rate was high due to the hard working conditions and the inhuman regime presided over by the camp commandant, Ludewig, his roll-call leader Fritz Ficker, and their criminal henchmen, the prisoner-functionaries. The infirmary was infamous—there were only two beds. The foreman of the infirmary tortured prisoners to death, and a Polish prisoner doctor examined prisoners looking for any as-yet-undiscovered Jews.⁴

Prisoner statistics for the period March to July 1943 record strong fluctuations. However, since deaths were only recorded through the main camp at the Oranienburg civil registry office, there is no documentation of death rates specifically for Falkensee. (According to accounts of Norwegian and French prisoners, the death rate for the period of almost four months in Staaken was 40 percent.)

The Staaken camp was handed back to the RBBB Berlin on July 10, 1943. One can assume that no later than this date the newly built Falkensee subcamp on the Finkenkruger Weg, not far from the Demag factory, was in use. At first the wooden barracks were occupied. They later served as barracks for the SS guards and Hitler Youth flak crews. Solidly built prisoners’ barracks were first occupied on October 17, 1943.⁵

One of the earliest of the prisoners’ recollections, especially among French prisoners, is the murder of Polish prisoner Anton Krupa on Bastille Day, July 14, 1943. Krupa had hidden in the foundations of one of the unfinished barracks at Falkensee. He intended to flee once the prisoners had marched off from Staaken. He was betrayed and arrested. In Sachsenhausen he was interrogated for about a week. He was then hanged at the Falkensee camp during a prisoner roll call.

After the prisoners arrived at the Falkensee camp, they were put to work in various Demag assembly lines, building vehicles and manufacturing shells. They were brutally exploited in 12-hour shifts.

Some prisoners were trained to use the machines.⁶ The company management was particularly interested in preserving the skills of these trained prisoners. Others had to do very heavy physical work in the foundry; the Kapos confiscated the extra rations prisoners were given for such work (sausage and so on) for themselves.

Column 11 was formed at the beginning of 1944. Following partial destruction of the factory, it was allocated separate barracks within the camp to repair infantry weapons.

It was at this time that column 13 was also formed. It comprised about 20 workers who were strictly isolated from the other prisoners. They were accommodated in the factory cellars. Their task was to complete the *Aggregat 4* (A4) rocket (for propaganda purposes, its name was changed to *Vergeltungswaffe* [revenge weapon, V-2]) with electrical switches. On April 22, 1944, the prisoners of this detail, mostly electricians or skilled metalworkers, were transferred to the Dora concentration camp.⁷

Since the days of the Staaken subcamp, an illegal organization among the political prisoners had been trying to occupy important “prisoner self-administration” posts. Their goal was to “eliminate” the influence of the “green and black triangles” (criminal and asocial prisoners).⁸ Barrack one in Falkensee, whose barrack foreman was Christian Mahler, a Communist from Hamburg, was an “oasis”⁹ for the prisoners because of its “human” atmosphere.

Especially prisoners from the other barracks, who had experiences with German criminal prisoners regarding themselves as part of the “master race,” spoke with respect of the atmosphere in Mahler’s barrack. In contrast to Mahler, other barrack foremen or room foremen stuffed themselves with the special rations intended for those prisoners in their barrack doing heavy physical labor. Later on, the political prisoners took control of the infirmary, resulting in improved conditions.

In the summer of 1944, Demag lodged a complaint with the responsible SS authority about the poor condition of the leased prisoners, which was causing low rates of production. As a result, the worst slave drivers, commandant SS-Obersturmführer Ludewig and block leader SS-Oberscharführer Ficker, were removed. From then on, the prisoners were spared roll calls at night and similar harassments by the camp leadership.

The new commandant was Hauptmann Ernst Kannenberg of the Wehrmacht, posted for service on the “home front,” who was appointed on June 1, 1944. Kannenberg also held the rank of an SS-Hauptsturmführer,¹⁰ a fact that he would later deny. This manager, of German nationalist outlook, constantly hoped that he would be demobilized because of a war wound. A new work column (860 men for the RBBD Berlin-Grunewald) was formed in August 1944.¹¹

The camp’s eight prisoner barracks held 880 prisoners on May 31, 1944. On November 22, 1944, there were 2,475 prisoners.¹² On average, 77 people were crammed into each room. For every two rooms, there were eight washbasins and as many latrines.

In August 1944, a large number of Polish prisoners, survivors of the Warsaw Uprising, arrived at the camp. In November 1944, the Alkett firm took over the armaments factory.

In February 1945, the prisoners got a taste of what could lie ahead for them: the arrival at Falkensee of “more dead than alive” Jewish prisoners from the evacuated subcamp of Lieberose who had survived a murderous eight-day march, sleeping in the open (in February!). They were given some warm soup and slept in the buildings. Norwegian prisoners were able to make contact with the Jewish prisoner Wolfberg. Disguised, he was added to the list of prisoners to be handed over to the International Red Cross. The Scandinavian prisoners from Norway and Denmark left the camp in the direction of the main camp in February–March 1945 as part of *Aktion Bernadotte*.

The concentration camp commandant, Kannenberg, who was influenced by his cook Max Reimann, a Communist, delayed and finally prevented the evacuation of the camp in the

chaotic month of April. He secretly fled the camp during the night of April 25, 1945. The camp administration was then taken over by a camp committee chosen by the prisoners.

On April 26, 1945, a unit of Red Army soldiers appeared at the camp. The camp was evacuated within two hours, as around the camp persistent fighting was taking place with Wehrmacht and SS troops.

In 1947, Kannenberg was sentenced for war crimes to 25 years in a labor camp by a court of the Soviet military administration in Potsdam. Investigations by the Senior State Attorney’s Office in Cologne on the “subcamp Staaken-Falkensee” and the role of Ludewig and others did not result in any prosecutions.¹³

SOURCES Former prisoner Kristian Ottosen has published in Norwegian a history of the Falkensee subcamp: *Liv og død: Historien om Sachsenburg-fangene* (Oslo: Ascheburg, 1995). The book has an addendum listing all the names of the Norwegian prisoners in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.

The AG-S holds the original of the barrack book of barrack one of the Falkensee subcamp. Christian Mahler, the barrack foreman, kept the book, recording a list of the prisoners in alphabetical order including details of their nationality, prisoner number, prisoner category, surname, first name, birth date, place of birth, profession, date of arrival (the departure date was struck through), room, and work detail. In addition, there is a collection of reports of former prisoners, mostly prepared for the Lagerarbeitsgemeinschaft Sachsenhausen, a section of the Komitees der antifaschistischen Widerstandskämpfer in der DDR. The reports were to assist in court proceedings against National Socialist perpetrators and serve as an educational tool. They contain details about the German political resistance and SS crimes. Fritz Bredemeier, Gustav Buttgereit, Christian Mahler, Bruno Schulz, Herbert Simon, and Karl Stenzel have written about their experiences in Falkensee. This group of records also contains a “seit-heriges Ermittlungsergebnis betr. die Nebenlager Staaken-Falkensee Demag zu Hermann-Göring Werken,” with the results of the investigation by Osta. Köln by 1969. In the 1980s, a comprehensive questionnaire with 30 questions was sent to surviving French prisoners. About 100 replies can be viewed in AG-S. Since the middle of the 1990s, the AG-S has collected copies of documents relating to Sachsenhausen held by other archives—there are the below-mentioned daily *Veränderungsmeldungen* for the prisoners’ money and personal effects administration held at the USHMMA and the Falkensee survivors’ accounts (Peter Farun) from the YVA. The verdict of the LG Münster in the trial of Dr. Baumkötter, Dr. Gaberle, and Dr. Adam discusses the public hanging of Pole Anton Krupa at Falkensee on July 14, 1943. At the USHMMA, in Record Group RG-06 War Crimes Investigations and Prosecution, .025 CAFSSRF, are records of war crimes trials held in the Soviet Union between 1939 and 1992 (bulk dates 1945–1947), and *26 Sachsenhausen, 1939–1951 (N-19092, vol. 100), and daily *Veränderungsmeldungen* on the money and personal effects administration from the years 1944 and 1945. The BA-BL holds details on the perpetrators, particularly the commandants of the Falkensee subcamp. The

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details are to be found in the Collection BDC, SS Personnel Card Index—Kurt Ludewig and Ernst Kannenberg. The BA also holds records of the Reich Corporate Index; Collection R 3101 of the RWM includes the card index “Demag-Fahrzeugwerke G.m.b.H. Falkensee” and the card index “Alkett-Altmarkische Kettenwerk G.m.b.H. Werk Spandau.” The BA-DH contains some of the records of Section IX/12 of the BStU: Ernst Kannenberg’s personnel files (Negative No. P89,A 5; ZB 2969, Obj. 4 with a denazification certificate in Russian, Polish, and German; MM 1367-1-114; StVE K.220, A.12); and Kurt Ludewig’s personnel files (ZB II 1103, A.1, p.96; ZB 150/56, Obj.5; ZM 1514, A 1, S. 177; Negative No. P93 D9; MM 1367-1-121; ZR 924, A. 1, S.58; sowj. DAL; ZM 1502, A.24, S.21). The HM-F holds a bundle of documents on the subcamp. It contains building drawings of the camp barracks and the construction instructions of Frickel Architects, Hannover, dated March 24, 1943. There is also a copy of an almost contemporaneous report by Hermann Stickelmann, a political prisoner, dated April 20, 1947, and a copy of the diary of political prisoner Bruno Schulz, relating to the history of an infirmary for seriously ill former concentration camp prisoners established after the liberation in Falkenhöh. The LA-B, Collection RBBD Berlin, SU 18663, contains the building file for the Staaken camp for the period March to June 1943. It also contains the lease between Demag and the DR for the lease of the camp. This collection also contains the building files for the RAW, Falkensee (12 volumes), classification SU 18669. Demag’s firm archives are now held in the archives of the MA-M. The Alkett archives are now in possession of ZAR-D. These documents contain slivers of information about the history of the factory. The Markali family holds some documents, including a hand-illustrated songbook from Falkensee written by Norwegian songwriter Dagfin Rimestad. The author holds videos of interviews with Sigurd Syversen (Norway); Karl Stenzel (Germany); Leo Van Deene (the Netherlands); Jean Sabut, Robert LaGorce, Andre Izaguirre, Guy Lesimple, Yves Parranaud, all from France; and the written memoirs of Sofus Tofte (Norway). The memoirs of French-speaking author Roland Picart (prisoner number 65478) have been published as *Falkensee*, 2 vols. (Vaucluse: Imprimerie Meffre, Vaison-la-Romaine, n.d.); they contain a list of the French prisoners in the Falkensee camp. Also noteworthy is AOS, *Sachso: Au couer du système concentrationnaire nazi* (Paris: Minuit, 1982).

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NOTES

1. LA-B, RBBD, SU 18663.
2. ITS, Ia, Extract from a report on prisoner numbers, Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp.
3. HM-F, Binder KZ.
4. AG-S, Memoirs of Gustav Buttgereit, Document R-44-37, p. 1.
5. AOS, *Sachso: Au couer du système concentrationnaire nazi* (Paris: Minuit, 1982), p. 206.
6. Memoirs of Sigurd Syversen, in the possession of the author.
7. AG-MD, New Arrivals from the Falkensee labor camp on April 22, 1944.

8. Memoirs of Karl Stenzel, in the author’s possession.

9. AOS, *Sachso*, p. 206.

10. BA-BL, BDC, SS Personnel Card Index, Kannenberg, Ernst.

11. Memoirs of Leo van Deene, in the author’s possession.

12. USHMMA, RG-06.025*26. Sachsenhausen.

13. AG-S, VVN, LA-B XI 8a.

FALLERSLEBEN

The history of the short existence of this camp remains somewhat vague but is closely connected to the construction of the Volkswagen (VW) factory in Fallersleben in 1942. Hitler issued an order to the SS in January 1942 to “complete, extend and start the operation of a light metal foundry at the Volkswagen factory in Fallersleben.” Professor Porsche, the head of the operation, considered the task of the SS to be the “provision of a work force and related material.” The Volkswagen works promised the Waffen-SS the preferred delivery of light field cars (*Kubelwagen*) in return. The work detail Fallersleben was at this time still subordinated to the Neuengamme concentration camp.¹

It seems that the first prisoners came from Neuengamme, possibly shortly before or at the same time as the ones who arrived from Sachsenhausen on April 26, 1942 (or already on April 8).² More prisoners were transferred from Buchenwald to Fallersleben on June 23, 1942. The camp was mentioned in the letter exchange with the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) as the “KL Arbeitsdorf.” The task was supposed to have been the construction of a large factory.

It is not easy to throw light on the relationships between the different camps. Although the first prisoners came from Neuengamme and they considered the camp to be a subcamp of Neuengamme, other former prisoners stated clearly that the camp was subordinated to Sachsenhausen. The release of prisoner Gustav Thorun on May 22, 1942, can count as an indisputable support for this fact: the prisoner had been transferred from Sachsenhausen to Fallersleben in April 1942. “The release documents were issued by the KL Sachsenhausen.”³

It has been determined that the labor leader of the subcamp was SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Hecht, who was born in 1909 in Leese, in the district Nienburg. Before that Hecht was block leader and later head of the mail censorship office in Sachsenhausen. The prisoners confirm that he “beat prisoners inhumanely and that he often deprived them (especially the Jewish prisoners) of food.”⁴

SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Schitli, born in 1912 in Osnabrück, was named the SS leader of the camp. He is recorded as missing from the end of March 1945. He was possibly also the camp leader. SS-Obersturmführer Walter Ernstberger from Pforzheim was probably the deputy or acting camp leader. SS-Oberscharführer Thieme, who was deployed at Fallersleben, was accused of “physical and psychological torture.”⁵ August Kolb was promoted in No-

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vember 1941 to SS-Obersturmführer and was deployed on March 1, 1942, at “Concentration Camp Fallersleben near the City of the Strength through Joy Car” (KL Arbeitsdorf b. Stadt der K.d.F. Wagen Fallersleben).

The prisoners’ camp is supposed to have been located “in the foundry within the factory premises in Wolfsburg.”⁶ Mainly German prisoners, but also Polish, Dutch, and French prisoners, were housed here. A total of 500 to 600—although according to other sources, only 200—prisoners were deployed at Fallersleben, among them Jewish prisoners.⁷

The camp had at least nine prisoners’ huts, a former prisoner reported. However, three other former prisoners have testified that the prisoners were supposedly not housed in huts on the premises of the light metal foundry that was under construction but in underground air-raid shelters.

All working sites for the prisoners were located within the VW factory premises. The prisoners in the metal buckling detail and the concrete labor detail were engaged in excavations and the erection of an enormous factory building for the light metal foundry. The work was suspended and “the work detail transferred to Sachsenhausen”⁸ because of the frost that started in October 1942.

The prisoner Houber from Cologne was supposedly shot and killed by a guard during outside work as a punishment for illegal trafficking with cigarettes and food. This supposedly happened when he was chased outside the guards’ duty line by another SS man. However, only one former prisoner has testified to this.

There are also reports of harassment and brutal acts committed by SS-Hauptscharführer Hecht during work, including testimony that he left “five Gypsies” “to die” completely exhausted after he had subjected them to protracted labor accompanied by his slave driving. An SS man called Sachse supposedly punished prisoners with 25 blows after suspecting them of planning to escape. In addition, one Sunday prisoners were made to landscape a garden 200×150 meters (656×492 feet) in size under blows from SS-Hauptscharführer Hecht and Kapos. The overall mortality in the camp was apparently high.

The Fallersleben subcamp was supposedly closed with the transfer to Sachsenhausen of 85 prisoners on October 5, 1942, and of other prisoners to Buchenwald on October 11, 1942.⁹ Most of the prisoners brought to Sachsenhausen were immediately transferred to the Berlin-Lichterfelde subcamp.

One of the SS men in charge of the Sachsenhausen subcamp, SS-Obersturmführer Walter Ernstberger, became a prisoner of war (POW) or was interned in a Soviet camp. He committed suicide in the POW camp in Sagan, Poland, or in the penal camp Workuta in the USSR in the summer of 1945.

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in West Germany investigated the subcamp Fallersleben as early as 1967.¹⁰ A second procedure was handed over to the State Attorney’s Office in Braunschweig in July 1975. It was closed without result in March 1976.¹¹

SOURCES There is no literature concerning the subcamp Fallersleben as a branch of Sachsenhausen. For the opening and closing dates of the Sachsenhausen subcamp, see *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), pp. 257, 485, 493, 628.

The archives for Sachsenhausen/Fallersleben can be found mainly at BA-L and AG-S.

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NOTES

1. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 138/75, p. 17, protocol of a discussion between Professor Porsche and SS-Gruppenführer Pohl on January 29, 1942.
2. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 138/75, p. 20; Franz Grünewald, April 10, 1942, p. 28; Heinrich Hesshaus, April 1942, p. 36; Wilhelm Hesshaus, mid-April 1942, p. 10; Julius Mlynarczyk, end of April–beginning of May 1942.
3. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 138/75, p. 72; interrogation Gustav Thorun from February 13, 1969.
4. AG-S, D 30 A/12/2 B, p. 68, report Willy Kühne.
5. Ibid.
6. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 138/75, sheet 28, interrogation Heinrich Hesshaus from June 20, 1968.
7. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 138/75, p. 2, entry from July 29, 1968, to the procedure IV 404 AR 1401/67; Conference folder workshop “Die Aussenlager der Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen und Ravensbrück” (Internationale Jugendbegegnungsstätte Ravensbrück, October 17–18, 2003), ed. Brandenburgische Gedenkstätten.
8. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 138/75, sheet 38, interrogation Wilhelm Hesshaus from June 25, 1968.
9. *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951, repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 628.
10. BA-L, IV 406 AR 1401/67.
11. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 138/75, p. 117.

FÜRSTENBERG (ODER)

From the outbreak of war in 1939, an armaments industry based on forced labor developed in the town of Fürstenberg/Oder. The Sachsenhausen subcamp there existed from the summer of 1944 to the beginning of February 1945. It stood on the grounds of an abandoned glass factory, the Neue Hütte (New Glass Factory), which had ceased production in 1930. The site can be found on present-day Beeskower Strasse at the corner of Oderlandstrasse.

The prehistory of the camp is still somewhat vague. According to information from the company Rheinmetall-Borsig AG Berlin, it took over from Degussa AG a facility for the manufacture of airplane gun mountings and automatic

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weapons in the district of Schönfliess, which manufactured for a branch of a factory based in Guben.¹ However, Degussa at this time did not own a factory in Fürstenberg/Oder.

The bombing of the Reich capital prompted Rheinmetall to find alternative sites outside Berlin. In August 1943, the aircraft armaments division of the Frankfurt/Oder Armaments Command (Military District III) allocated to “Rheinmetall-Borsig AG Berlin-Tegel” the site known as “Neue Glashütte, Vereinigte Glashüttenwerke AG” Werk F, Fürstenberg/Oder” (United Glassworks), located immediately to the north of the Degussa site. Once production was relocated from the capital to Fürstenberg/Oder, Rheinmetall also relocated the manufacture of *Maschinengewehr-131* (MG-131) parts from Litzmannstadt (Łódź), which was under threat from the Red Army, westward to the city on the Oder River.

Also in 1944, production from the Guben factory was relocated to Fürstenberg/Oder. It was in this factory at Schönfliess that Rheinmetall began to use concentration camp prisoners, from September 30, 1944, at the latest. That female concentration camp prisoners were used, as in Guben, is revealed in a situation report from the Guben factory for the period July 1, 1944, to September 30, 1944, which records the transfer of production from Fürstenberg/Oder. The report, however, does not state exactly when in this period the female concentration camp prisoners began production in Fürstenberg/Oder. The formerly Guben-based production in Fürstenberg/Oder was carried out under the trade name Oder-Gerätebau Aktiengesellschaft (Oder Tool Manufacturing Company Ltd.) and involved the manufacture of parts for the MG-131 machine gun and small parts for the *Maschinenkanone-103* (MK-103). The site consisted of barracks and warehouses. Organisation Todt (OT) built many permanent structures for storage and production purposes for Oder-Gerätebau on land put up for sale by the Fürstenberg/Oder municipality and that Oder-Gerätebau wanted to buy from OT after completion of construction.

The female concentration camp prisoners were put to work dismantling and sorting airplane scrap. Aircraft wrecks were stored at the Neue Glashütte. The roughly 150 to 350 Jewish female prisoners from the Ravensbrück concentration camp had to extract raw materials and scrap metal from airplanes that had either been shot down or crashed. The raw materials and scrap metal were melted down at the nearby aluminum smelter at Finkenheerd. According to an undated report of the German Democratic Republic’s Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes (Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime, VVN), an external detail of 350 mostly female Jewish concentration camp prisoners from Sachsenhausen were at Fürstenberg/Oder. Their task was to “reclaim raw materials, scrap metal, aeroplane parts.” It was “heavy work.”²

Other groups of prisoners were apparently put to work building a power station on the Oder River for the state-owned Märkische Elektrizitätswerke. It is possible that male prisoners were involved in this project. However, this has not been substantiated.³

The use of male concentration camp prisoners at Fürstenberg is documented solely by their inclusion in the death lists

drawn up for the change of status reports in Sachsenhausen. Records of the deaths of male prisoners in the Fürstenberg/Oder subcamp start at the beginning of 1945 and list four Hungarian prisoners (who died on January 3, 4, and 12, 1945), two Dutch Jews (January 8 and 23, 1945), as well as a Latvian (January 25, 1945) and three Poles (January 7, 10, and 17, 1945), the latter being political prisoners. However, there is no separate reference to a male camp at Fürstenberg/Oder in the change of status reports.

The women were apparently quartered in the Neue Glashütte, the evacuation site for the Guben-based Rheinmetall operations. Plans for a camp for about 400 female concentration camp prisoners on the site of the Neue Glashütte dated from the beginning of November 1944. In December 1944, the Fürstenberg company Wilke & Streckebach, working on behalf of the Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Baugeschäfte Fürstenberg/Oder (Working Cooperative of Fürstenberg/Oder Building Firms) carried out extensive conversion work on a half-timbered building. The building had previously been used by the Oder-Gerätebau as a storage depot. The documents recording the costs for the “penal camp” or “concentration camp” for “female prisoners” indicates that the quarters were equipped by Oder-Gerätebau with beds, stools, and other pieces of furniture that were the property of the firm. Toilets were built, a kitchen was put in, and six large stoves were installed in the open-plan rooms. The windows were made compatible with blackout regulations, and 30 windows were nailed across with barbed wire. The building was surrounded by a 2.6-meter-high (8.5 feet-high) barbed-wire fence. In addition, barbed-wire barriers were put in place. The roll-call area was in an open warehouse on the site.⁴

The first mention of the Fürstenberg/Oder prisoners in the Sachsenhausen change of status reports is on October 30, 1944, when a record of 50 prisoners appears. At the end of December 1944, following the apparently successful conversion of the storage depot building into lodgings, the number of prisoners rose considerably to 200. At the end of January 1945, the SS statistics recorded the highest number of prisoners—650.⁵ At the end of November 1944 and the beginning of January 1945, the SS transferred 3 Latvians and 4 other prisoners, most probably sick female concentration camp prisoners, to the Ravensbrück concentration camp.

Anton Knirsch was a member of the camp guard. He was born in 1905 in Pirkelsdorf. Following the dissolution of the camp, he was transferred to Ravensbrück.⁶ Willy Schenk, born in 1892 in Vieselbach, was also a member of the guard. Prior to Fürstenberg/Oder, he was stationed as a guard at the Sachsenhausen/Briesen subcamp.⁷ Both were interned after 1945 in the British occupation zone.

The Fürstenberg/Oder subcamp is last mentioned in the Sachsenhausen change of status reports on January 29, 1945. The camp was dissolved on February 1, 1945, and the prisoners were marched to Sachsenhausen. According to records of the VVN, the camp “was evacuated in February 1945. Survi-

vors of the march were liquidated in the Sachsenhausen crematorium.”⁸

On either February 18 or 20, 1945, 149 prisoners of unknown gender from the Fürstenberg/Oder subcamp were shot in Sachsenhausen. SS-Unterscharführer Horst Hempel, the roll-call leader at Sachsenhausen, participated in the shootings. In 1946, a Soviet military tribunal became interested in the transport of the prisoners from the Fürstenberg/Oder subcamp to Sachsenhausen. An accused SS leader at the main camp, Emil Sauter, confirmed that he was aware that the prisoners from Fürstenberg/Oder had been exterminated in the crematorium.⁹ Although Hempel admitted his participation in the crime to the Soviet secret service, the People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD),¹⁰ the murders were mentioned neither in the indictment nor in the verdict of the Soviet Sachsenhausen Trial in Berlin in 1947. Neither were the murders of the Jewish prisoners from the Fürstenberg/Oder subcamp taken into consideration when Hempel was sentenced to five years’ imprisonment by the regional court in Düsseldorf for crimes committed in Sachsenhausen.¹¹ The execution squad in Sachsenhausen was under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Otto Moll, who was condemned to death by a U.S. military court in 1946 and hanged in Dachau.

SOURCES The only work specifically about Fürstenberg/Oder is the recently published essay by Thomas Irmer, “Spuren nach Sachsenhausen. KZ-Häftlinge, Kriegsgefangene und Zwangsarbeiter in Fürstenberg/Oder,” *Eisenbüttelstadt. Erste sozialistische Stadt Deutschlands*, ed. Arbeitsgruppe Stadtgeschichte (Berlin-Brandenburg, 1999), esp. pp. 39n.21, 40–42. The topic is also mentioned by Joachim Hübner, “Rüstungsbetriebe in Fürstenberg,” in the same volume; in Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Thüringen (Bonn, 1999); as well as in Andreas Ludwig, *Eisenbüttelstadt: Wandel einer industriellen Gründungstadt in fünfzig Jahren* (Potsdam, 2000). On the transfer of Jewish women from Ravensbrück, see Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus*, 2:260.

There are relatively few archival sources. A description of the camp drawn up in the DDR is to be found in the SAPMO collection at BA-BL. Individual reports about the hunt for the perpetrators are found in the PRO and in the AG-S (copies are from the CAFSSRF), and the daily reports are in the AG-S. The SM-E holds references to the construction of the camp in the Wilke & Streckebach collection in the file “Kostenvoranschläge für die Fa. Rheinmetall-Borsig.”

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Joachim, “Rüstungsbetriebe in Fürstenberg,” in *Eisenbüttelstadt. Erste sozialistische Stadt Deutschlands*, ed. Arbeitsgruppe Stadtgeschichte (Berlin-Brandenburg, 1999), p. 28,

where there is a reference to a letter from Rheinmetall Berlin AG in 1996.

2. BA-BL, SAPMO, Dy 55/V278 5/14, Card Index Fürstenberg/Oder.

3. Andreas Ludwig, *Eisenbüttelstadt: Wandel einer industriellen Gründungstadt in fünfzig Jahren* (Potsdam, 2000), p. 16, but no source is given.

4. SM-E, Collection Wilke & Streckebach, Kostenvoranschläge für die Fa. Rheinmetall-Borsig, For these points, thanks go especially to Barbara Schulz and Axel Drieschner, who in 2003 arranged an exhibition on the Fürstenberg/Oder Stalag.

5. AG-S, Collection CAFSSRF, N-19092, vol. 101.

6. PRO, WO 309/1771.

7. PRO, WO 309/1779.

8. BA-BL, SAPMO, Dy 55/V278 5/14, Card Index Fürstenberg/Oder.

9. AG-S, JSU 17, Collection FSB-Archive Moscow, N-K509975 BD, p. 52 (Interrogation on 8 September 1946).

10. AG-S, Decision of the Soviet Military Tribunal, December 27, 1946, File 1593, p. 149. Hempel admitted the deed on the same day; see *ibid.*, File 1594, p. 164.

11. Verdict of the LG Düsseldorf, 8 Ks 2/59.

FÜRSTENWALDE

In July 1942, in an unused joinery at 31 Lindenstrasse, the SS established a subcamp in Fürstenwalde for the SS company Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke (German Equipment Works, DAW). At first the camp was administered by the Buchenwald DAW and therefore came under the auspices of the Buchenwald concentration camp.¹ According to another source, the camp was founded on January 2, 1943. From April 15, 1943, the Fürstenwalde subcamp fell under the control of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.² The initial 10—and, by July 1943, 79—prisoners were accommodated in a barrack. They made windows for bomb-damaged houses in Berlin and windows for a number of concentration camps as well as kitchen furniture and lockers for prisoners in the Lieberose subcamp.³ The working day for all concentration camp prisoners in DAW factories was increased from December 3, 1943, from 10 to 11 hours.⁴ There were German, Polish, Ukrainian, Norwegian, French, and Belgian prisoners in Fürstenwalde. The German prisoners consisted of political, criminal, and so-called asocial prisoners.⁵

The detail leader was at first SS-Unterscharführer Willi Riemenschneider (born in 1905 in Hannoversch Münden) and from January 1944, SS-Obersturmführer Büttner. In the DAW factory at Fürstenwalde, Herr Saeger was the sales manager, and Herr Heuhausen was the foreman. Herr Kropp was also employed as a technical salesman.⁶ The guard was under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Karl Leukel (born 1899 in Eiserfeld). The head of the kitchen was SS-Rottenführer Toni Feisthammer. Both of these men were dismissed in the spring of 1943 for corrupt dealings.⁷ The successor detail leader was SS-Sturmscharführer Willy Nurrek (born 1898 in Scherpingen near Danzig). The roll-call

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leader was SS-Unterscharführer Willi Bonowski. SS-Rottenführer Emil Klatt, Walter Hempel, Paul Weisner, Georg Mayer, Franz Wennemoser, Ferdinand Lindtner, and Kurt Wenzel were all members of the guard. Lindtner, Weisner, Wennemoser, and Wenzel were transferred to the Briesen [aka Falkenhagen] subcamp on the dissolution of the camp.⁸ According to Klatt, he served with the SS-Nachrichten-Regiment 500 in Ketschendorf following the dissolution of the Fürstenwalde subcamp.⁹

Other SS functionaries were SS-Rottenführer Alfons Knirsch, Hartmann Blasius Schrittwieser, Herbert Kopiska, Mücke,¹⁰ SS-Unterscharführer Neuhaus, Schmidt, and SS-Scharführer Oskar Hofmann.¹¹

Knirsch was interned after 1945 in the British internment camp at Esterwegen. He admitted that from January 7 to May 22, 1943, he had been a guard at the Fürstenwalde and thereafter at the Glöwen subcamp. SS-Sturmmann Ferdinand Lindtner, who from May to June 1944 was a member of the guard at the Fürstenwalde subcamp, was with him at Esterwegen, as was SS-Unterscharführer Oskar Hofmann, who was first stationed in the Sachsenhausen subcamps of Werder and Biesenthal, and from March 1943 was in Fürstenwalde as detail leader of that camp.¹² Klatt, Mayer, Weisner, Wennemoser, and Wenzel were also interned after 1945 in British internment camps. While in the British internment camp at Neuengamme, Walter Hempel was registered as a war criminal for serving with the SS-Totenkopfverbände (Death's Head Guard Battalion).¹³

Prisoner numbers remained relatively constant. In the middle of May 1944 there were 80 prisoners in the Fürstenwalde subcamp. Survivors stated that rations were 300 grams (10.6 ounces) of bread per day, 0.75 liters (3.2 cups) of white cabbage or Swede soup per day at the noon meal, and 0.25 liters (1 cup) of coffee each morning and evening.

The foreman from the end of 1943 or the beginning of 1944 was Fritz Busching, a criminal prisoner.¹⁴ Political prisoner Karl Schmellentin was foreman from March 1944 to the dissolution of the camp, when he was returned to the main camp.¹⁵ Schmellentin stated that in addition to Poles, French, and criminals, there was one other German prisoner in the camp apart from him. This man worked in the outside detail in the hall of the "Reichshallen" entertainment center where, under guard, he painted kitchen cupboards and was even allowed to meet his wife.¹⁶

In June 1944, a significant contract for prisoner lockers for the Lieberose subcamp was completed. The wooden lockers were delivered unpainted and untreated.¹⁷

Criminal prisoner Ernst Pfeiffer, who escaped and was recaptured near Halle, was hanged in the industrial yard of Sachsenhausen on July 7, 1944. A Czech prisoner who fled with him was also recaptured near Halle; his fate is unknown.¹⁸

The completion of the work was part of the reason for the dissolution of the camp on July 31, 1944. Some of the prisoners were then transferred from Lindenstrasse to the Sachsenhausen main camp and others to the Bad Saarow (Fuchsbau) subcamp, which had existed since 1943, with SS-

Führer Nurrek and Leukel accompanying the Bad Saarow contingent.

SOURCES The secondary sources on this camp consist of the work of student Claudia Bär: "Recherchen zum KZ-Aussenlager Fürstenwalde/Ketschendorf," in *InBe*, ed. Regionalarbeitsstelle für Ausländerfragen, Jugendarbeit und Schule e.V. (Brandenburg, 1995). Henrike Hoffmann recently wrote "Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen—Die Aussenlager in Fürstenwalde" (unpub. Diplomarbeit, Freie Universität Berlin, 2001), which is available at the library of the Sachsenhausen Memorial, Collection 6320.

The BA-B (Collection NS 3) holds documents on the DAW. Memoirs of former prisoners and perpetrator details are to be found in the AG-S and the PRO. Also available are the memoirs of political prisoner Karl Schmellentin: *Arbeiter Schutzhäftling Staatsfunktionär* (Berlin, 1986).

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NOTES

1. AG-S, R 49/25.
2. Ibid.
3. BA-B, NS 3/463.
4. BA-B, NS 3/845, p. 18.
5. See Claudia Bär, "Recherchen zum KZ-Aussenlager Fürstenwalde/Ketschendorf," in *InBe*, ed. Regionalarbeitsstelle für Ausländerfragen, Jugendarbeit und Schule e.V. (Brandenburg, 1995), p. 6.
6. BA-B, NS 3/118.
7. AG-S, LAG XI/9, p. 3.
8. PRO—all references are from the Collection WO 309.
9. PRO, WO 309/1771.
10. Possibly Hartmann Mücke; see AG-S, LAG XI-9a, letter from GKBZHWp to DDR Sta., January 13, 1970.
11. AG-S, LAG XI-9, p. 4.
12. AG-S, LAGX/3, Esterwegen list of interned Sachsenhausen concentration camp SS members.
13. PRO, WO 309/1768.
14. AG-S, LAG XI/9, p. 7. Busching was convicted in 1952 in the FRG and then moved to the GDR.
15. Henrike Hoffmann, "Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen—Die Aussenlager in Fürstenwalde," (unpub. Diplomarbeit, Freie Universität Berlin, 2001), p. 13; see Karl Schmellentin, *Arbeiter Schutzhäftling Staatsfunktionär* (Berlin, 1986), p. 188.
16. Schmellentin, *Arbeiter Schutzhäftling Staatsfunktionär*, pp. 189, 192.
17. Ibid., p. 193.
18. AG-S, LAG XI/9, letter from the ZLNW-K to the Gsta. DDR, November 7, 1968. See Hoffmann, "Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen—Die Aussenlager in Fürstenwalde," p. 15.

GENSHAGEN

As early as 1934, the board of Daimler-Benz AG planned to build a plant for the mass production of engines, in the ex-

pectation that its establishment would place the company in the leading role for engine manufacturing for the German military. In 1935, Daimler-Benz and the Reich Air Ministry decided to establish a factory for the mass production of aircraft engines in the Genshagen Heath, a forested area 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) south of Berlin. The factories, spread over a 4-square-kilometer (1.5-square-mile) area, were designed so that in the case of war production they could quickly be stepped up to mass-produce aircraft engines for fighters and bombers.

The 6,828 “workforce members” in Genshagen produced 1,427 aircraft engines in 1938. In 1939 an increase to only 6,860 workers was enough to raise output to 2,249 engines. In 1940 the Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German Labor Front, DAF) awarded the factory the Goldene Fahne (Gold Flag), its highest award. It was a National Socialist model factory. At the same time, the first prisoners of war (POWs) and laborers from occupied countries in Western Europe were brought to Genshagen. At the end of 1942, among the 13,146 factory employees in Genshagen were 6,011 foreigners of whom 2,778 were Russian forced laborers. Annual production had increased to 4,920 engines. Production was further increased enormously and in the spring of 1944 reached a monthly output of 1,000 units—and this with a slightly reduced labor force.

British historian Neil Gregor has described this process of production increase, carried out above all at the expense of civilian forced laborers, as factory work was increasingly made to resemble work in a concentration camp. In the fall of 1944, the managers at Daimler-Benz obtained female prisoners from the concentration camp for women at Ravensbrück as forced laborers for work in their National Socialist model factory.

In early 1944, the threat of air raids to the Genshagen factory and the government designation of air armaments as a priority prompted the relocation of a substantial part of the facilities to southern Germany, specifically the caverns of the gypsum mine “Friede” at Obrigheim am Neckar. A heavy bombing raid on Genshagen on August 6, 1944, which caused 150 deaths and the destruction of several factory buildings, resulted in the evacuation of further sections of the factory with their skilled labor forces and expensive and, in wartime, irreplaceable special machinery. All that remained in Genshagen were the more basic engine assembly lines, which were equipped with more simple machinery. Production on these lines was so piecemeal that although the high speed at which these repetitive tasks had to be performed left the prisoners exhausted, the work could quickly be learned by people who had never had any experience with factory work or even skilled metalwork. The workers could be women and even young girls; neither did they have to be fluent in German. Indeed, it was of advantage to peace on the home front if the few remaining German foremen and skilled tradesmen in the factory buildings could not communicate with their subordinates and discuss how they had ended up in this forced labor, where they

came from, and what they had experienced at the hands of German occupying troops and special detachments at home.

So the Daimler-Benz Genshagen factory management acquired female labor from one place where it was still to be found in abundance in the last year of the war: in the fall of 1944 representatives of Daimler-Benz combed the female concentration camp at Ravensbrück for the strongest and healthiest candidates. The most suitable women appeared to be those that had most recently arrived, in special transports from Warsaw and Budapest, where they had been abducted just a few weeks before from their homes, schools, and streets. Between September and December, Daimler-Benz selected more than 700 Poles, 125 French women, 80 Hungarian Jewish women, about 50 “criminal” or “asocial” German prisoners, a group of Ukrainian women, and a few Russian, Serbian, Belgian, and Greek women from the roll-call square at Ravensbrück to assemble its famous aircraft engines, which for years had powered the Messerschmitt (Me) fighters and Heinkel (He) bombers that had brought death to the homelands of these same women.

A total of 1,100 women from Ravensbrück had to work as forced laborers from the fall of 1944 in the largest aircraft engine assembly line in Europe, proudly called the Deutschlandhalle, or Great Hall of Germany, by the people at Daimler. About 30 SS female overseers accompanied the women from Ravensbrück: some of whom had themselves previously worked in armaments factories and had undertaken a two-week training course in Ravensbrück to prepare them for their new assignment. An electric fence was installed around the factory. Eight SS men provided external security. They had undergone a short training course in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, a shorter course (two weeks) than the SS women in Ravensbrück. The camp commander was 32-year-old SS-Unterscharführer Friedrich August Wilhelm Mantzel. He had served in the business administration of the Waffen-SS between 1940 and 1944. On January 29, 1944, he was transferred to the SS-Totenkopf-Wachbataillon in Sachsenhausen.

The outside detachment was placed under the command of the closest main concentration camp, Sachsenhausen. This had become the practice from September 1, 1944, irrespective of the origin and gender of the prisoners. Driven on by the SS women overseers, the prisoners initially had to work a 12-hour day. This was later increased to 16 and then 24 hours, and if by the end of the month the production targets had not been reached, the prisoners had to work 36 hours without sleep. The dormitories were air-raid shelters and cellars located under the factory buildings. They were equipped with several-tiered bunk beds. The result was that the women did not see daylight for months. It was a concentration camp in a factory.

Those who thought of escape were stopped by the electric fence. Once the women were made to march past a section of fence in which hung the charred body of a Russian woman holding a pair of pliers in her hand. Whether this was an

escape attempt or a scene staged by the SS remains unclear. The effect on the prisoners was nevertheless the same.

It certainly made it easier for the women to survive Genshagen that they could see ever more signs that the end of Nazi rule was getting closer and that it would only be for a relatively short time that they would have to live and work in concentration camp conditions. However, although production began to fall due to the failure to deliver parts from Obrigheim or from power cuts, this did not mean that the women were able to get any more rest. On the contrary, they were tormented even more by being made to do senseless cleanup work on the site even in the bitter cold.

Another factor helping the women to survive was that among their number were women who had been in the resistance in their home countries and that the camp clerk, Frieda Franz, a German Communist, had been in camps for years and had experience in subverting the system. All the surviving women thankfully tell how important assistance from Franz was.

Hungarian Jewish woman Edit Bán, later Edith Kiss, a sculptress and painter from Budapest, was saved by Franz from being transported back to Ravensbrück even though Bán had been placed on the retransfer list because she was so undernourished that she could no longer work. Franz, who had to type the list, changed Bán's name to "Banke," the name of a German woman who had recently died. In doing this, she saved unique testimony to the feelings of the women throughout their abduction, concentration camp imprisonment, and sufferings in forced labor: within a few weeks of Bán's return home, she painted the 30 gouaches of her "deportation album."

After the SS had burned all the camp files on April 19, 1945, the evacuation of the Genshagen subcamp to the Sachsenhausen main camp began. The Jewish women were not, unlike the other Genshagen prisoners, driven on a death march but were transported to Ravensbrück in closed rail wagons. The intention was to murder them in the camp's gas chambers. However, when they arrived in Ravensbrück, the SS had already murdered the prisoners in the gas chamber detachment and blown up the gas chambers so that the advancing Red Army would not find any traces.

In April 1947, a mass grave was found near Ludwigsfeld on the Berlin Ring Autobahn. It contained the corpses of 500 "Eastern workers" and 19 female concentration camp prisoners. Witnesses to the exhumation say they were probably Czech women. Some had clearly been shot in the nape of the neck. Despite years of research as part of a project at the Ravensbrück Memorial, these women have not been identified.

SOURCES The Genshagen subcamp essay is based on the research the author has done over the course of two decades and the books and films that have appeared in this time. The results of that research will come together in his work "*Innerer Bilder wird man nicht los.*" *Edit Kiss und die Frauen im KZ-Nebenlager Daimler-Benz-Genshagen* (Berlin: Metropol-Verlag, 2007). The Genshagen factory was first comprehensively described in *Das Daimler-Benz-Buch* (Nördlingen,

1987); and the accompanying file and documentary publication *Die Daimler-Benz AG 1916–1948* (Nördlingen, 1987). Originally, his dissertation at the Georgia Institute of Technology, Bernard P. Bellon's book appeared as *Mercedes in Peace and War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990). As a result of the facts that appeared in these books on Daimler's role in the war and the use of forced labor, the Daimler-Benz concern commissioned its own research through the GUG, which after several years of research and interviews published its results in 1994 under the title "Zwangsarbeit bei Daimler-Benz," *ZfU* 78 (1994). This volume remains today the most comprehensive analysis of the forced labor system in a German armaments company. One failure in the book is that survivors from Eastern and Central Europe are insufficiently represented even though they made up by far the largest proportion of slave laborers at the Daimler-Benz enterprise. The MBAG-A (now DCAG-UA) commissioned a work on the Genshagen factory, *Daimler-Benz-Motoren-GmbH-Genshagen: Eine Flugmotorenwerk bei Berlin* (Stuttgart, 1990). This work was not designed for public presentation; however, it uncritically reproduces the depiction of the factory in the German Labor Front's (DAF's) *Leistungsbericht* 19 (1940). There are two copies of this volume in the DCAG-UA and one copy in the NARA. Neil Gregor in *Daimler-Benz in the Third Reich* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), German title *Stern und Hakenkreuz* (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1997), focuses on economic developments and company decisions that cumulatively barbarized the treatment of the Russian forced laborers between 1942 and 1944. Between 1997 and 1999, the Ravensbrück Remembrance and Memorial Site (MGR) ran an exhibition on the Genshagen factory and history of its concentration camp prisoners and forced laborers under the title "Wir waren ja Niemand." Two young German researchers have published the following works: Linde Apel, "Zwangsarbeit jüdischer Frauen im Aussenlager Genshagen"; Apel, *Jüdische Frauen im Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück 1939–1945* (Berlin, 2003); pp. 276–280; Doreen Eschinger, "Ungarische Jüdinnen in Ravensbrück am Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs—Überlebenschancen und Überlebensstrategien im Lageralltag" (master's thesis, Humboldt University Berlin, 2003), pp. 87–95. Since 1990, the author has interviewed women who once worked as forced laborers in Genshagen and has followed them in their struggle for moral and material recompense. Seven documentary films have appeared as a result by 2004, including, with Rainer Burmeister, *Für Lohn und Würde: Zwangsarbeiterinnen klagen gegen DaimlerChrysler* (30 minutes; BRD, 1999).

The author's private archive holds an extensive collection of memorabilia, photos, pictures, documents, and recordings of interviews (both sound and film). The other most important archival collections are the DCAG-UA (Collections Kriegswerke 1, Forstmeier, GUG-Interviews, Leistungsbericht Goldene Fahne, vol. 19); and the IWM (Speer Collection on the Relocation from Genshagen to Obrigheim/Neckar). The AG-R and AG-S hold little material. The transfer lists "Oktober 1944 KZ Ravensbrück—Aussenlager Genshagen" are of particular importance as they contain the names of 900 prisoners transferred to Genshagen as well as the list of the transfers back, the names of the sick, and

those women who could no longer work, some of whom died in Ravensbrück or were murdered. The file collection NL Genshagen/KL Sachsenhausen 406 AR-Z 21/71 of the ZdL at BA-L contains a collection of files relating to investigations into prisoner deaths in the Genshagen subcamp. The files of the proceedings against former Genshagen factory security officer William Knoll (born October 25, 1899) at the Bergedorf denazification tribunal are held at the BA-K (Z 42 III/3781).

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GENTHIN

The Silva GmbH, a branch of the Magdeburg-based Poltewerke, was the owner of a camouflaged ammunition factory. It was hidden in a forest near Genthin, a village that is about 120 kilometers (74.6 miles) west of Berlin and 29 kilometers (18 miles) west of the town of Brandenburg. The factory building was located close to Reichsautobahn Nr. 1 connecting the towns of Magdeburg and Brandenburg.

The Genthin subcamp, whose prisoners were forced to work in the production of ammunition for tanks and anti-aircraft guns, existed from March 16, 1943,¹ to May 6, 1945. At the beginning about 300 prisoners,² most of them women and girls from the Soviet Union and Poland, made up the permanent workforce at the ammunition factory. In September 1944 and following the Warsaw Uprising, SS authorities deported another 300 to 400 Polish women to the Genthin subcamp. At first it was a subcamp of the Ravensbrück concentration camp whose authorities handed over command to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp on October 29, 1944.

Although the command changed, neither prisoners nor guards were affected by this measure. The number of prisoners continued to increase, and SS guards counted about 1,000 prisoners in 1945, who were not only Polish and Russian by origin but also Czech, French, Yugoslav, and Ukrainian. They were guarded by 10 SS female and 10 SS male members. SS-Scharführer Steffen was the first Truppen-Kommandoführer of the subcamp and led it between March 1943 and December 1944. His successor was Unterscharführer Otto Wahl, who commanded guards and prisoners from January 1945 till the liberation of the subcamp in May 1945.³ He was supported by Hermine Braunsteiner, a Vienna-born Lagerführerin of the subcamp who worked in Genthin from the beginning of 1944 until the day of the subcamp's liberation.

The prisoners were surrounded by a wooden fence that was secured with electrified barbed wire. Moreover, the guards used two watchtowers for better control and guarded the prisoners on their 10-minute walk from and to the nearby factory building. The SS Unterscharführer Wahl drew a plan of the subcamp. The prisoners slept in two-story or three-story plank beds and were forced to work in 12-hour shifts in a factory building that produced ammunition for the Wehrmacht until May 5, 1945.

The SS authorities decided to evacuate the Genthin subcamp on May 6, 1945, after the U.S. Army had reached the Elbe River. The destination of the forced march was the Sachsenhausen concentration camp more than 100 kilometers (62 miles) away. However, the convoy was stopped about 3 kilometers (almost 2 miles) outside Genthin by a group of higher SS members who argued that the prisoners would hinder military traffic on the roads. They sent them back to the subcamp, where the guards left them alone.⁴ One day later, on May 7, 1945, a group of Red Army soldiers reached the subcamp and liberated the prisoners.

There were no murders reported in the subcamp itself. However, one woman was deported from Genthin to the Ravensbrück concentration camp and hanged because of sabotage.

On November 22, 1949, a Vienna court gave SS-Lagerführerin Hermine Braunsteiner a prison sentence of three years because of her strict and brutal regime at the Ravensbrück concentration camp. After her release in April 1950, she made friends with U.S. soldier Russell Ryan. They emigrated to Canada and in October 1958 to the United States. Due to the so-called Majdanek Trial, she was extradited from New York to the Federal Republic of Germany in May 1973, where the trial ended at a Düsseldorf court in 1981. Braunsteiner was sentenced to double life imprisonment. Johannes Rau, the prime minister of North-Rhine Westphalia, pardoned her, and she was released in April 1996. She died three years later, on April 19, 1999, in the town of Bochum.

SOURCES For further information relating to Lagerführerin Braunsteiner, see Deutsches Historisches Museum at www.dhm.de/lemo/html/biografien/BraunsteinerRyanHermine.

Primary documentation on the Genthin subcamp is located in AG-S, especially in the box Genthin, which contains a collection of testimonies collected by ZdL (now BA-L).

Alexander Jossifidis

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZdL Aktenvermerk, January 24, 1968 (IV 409 AR-Z 468/66).

2. Ibid.

3. Aussage des ehemaligen Truppen-Kommandoführers Otto Wahl bei seiner Vernehmung durch das Staatliche Kriminalkommissariat Darmstadt, May 20, 1970.

4. Ibid.

GLAU

As with Lieberose, the Glau subcamp centered on the use of prisoner labor by the Waffen-SS. Since December 1941, the Waffen-SS had maintained SS-Artillery Targeting School I near an artillery practice range at Glau, near Trebbin, in the district of Teltow. In the Glau Mountains there was an SS gunnery school and a facility to jam radio transmissions. A prisoner-of-war (POW) camp was located at the southern

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edge of the Glau Mountains.¹ A photo of the camp shows seven barracks along a camp road.²

Glau was also an SS garrison administrative center, headed by an SS-Obersturmführer from Austria.³ The center was owned by Reinhold Ludwig, born in 1909 in Eisenach. He was interned by the British after 1945.⁴ The Glau project was identified by the Nazi Party leadership with the code number "RFSS 2431."⁵

The subcamp, which was established either at the end of 1941 or 1942, was next to the POW camp (a prisoners' barrack⁶ was separated from it only by barbed wire),⁷ between the villages of Glau and Blankensee. In 1935, the SS compulsorily acquired land owned there by Josef Weissberg's Christliche Siedlungsgesellschaft (Christian Settlement Society), after Weissberg had been convicted and banished.⁸ The camp's external security was a double barbed-wire fence. There were no guard towers.⁹

The prisoners were put to work on expanding the practice grounds by constructing roads and barracks for between 200 and 300 men, a shooting range, a sewer system, and a 1.5-kilometer (almost 1-mile) entrance road to the barrack, as well as on transport operations.¹⁰ Here there is a further parallel with Lieberose. The work had to be completed double-quick. At times, the prisoners had to work on the building site, standing in water with bare feet.¹¹ The prisoners also had to pull dummy tanks, which were fired at as part of the training exercises.¹² There was a construction office at the Glau troop training area. It consisted of an SS-Hauptscharführer, SS-Untersturmführer, two or three SS-Unterführer, as well as a number of civilians.¹³ Prisoners were also said to have been put to work in the garages of the SS school. The prisoners constructed a tower for anti-aircraft defense on a hill in a forest. The work detachments were under the command of "professional criminal" prisoners, who are described as the "worst sort."¹⁴ The prisoners probably also worked on a rabbit farm.¹⁵

The conditions, including the food, are said to have been better in Glau than in the main camp. The prisoners possessed two blankets each.¹⁶ However, it was reported that the German prisoner cook, Hansen, sold meat from the prisoners' kitchen to the detail leader.¹⁷

SS-Scharführer Krämer took command of the detachment prior to May 1942.¹⁸ He acted humanely.¹⁹ From May to the end of August 1942, SS-Oberscharführer Martin Knittler was in command of the Glau subcamp. During this period there were about 50 Soviet, Polish, and Czech prisoners in the camp.²⁰ (The Soviet Union sentenced Knittler to lifelong forced labor. In 1958, he committed suicide in prison.) After Knittler, the detachment leaders were frequently changed. They were SS-Oberscharführer Albrecht Djuren, described as "the most rabid persecutor of intelligence,"²¹ missing and presumed killed since 1945; SS-Unterscharführer Wilhelm Rett from Kaiserslautern (killed in action on January 4, 1944); SS-Oberscharführer Grossman; SS-Scharführer Schneider; SS-Scharführer Mussmann; SS-Oberscharführer Emil Rieder; and SS-Unterschar- or Oberscharführer Fänger.²² SS-

Sturmscharführer Georg Müller stated that he was in command from July 11, 1944, until the dissolution of the camp. In 1945 he was interned by the British in Esterwegen.²³

There were between 15 and 18 guards, mostly young German SS but later ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche), who were based at the Glau troop training ground as part of the SS training unit. The names of the brothers Klein, who came from Batschka in Hungary (possibly Josef and Jakob), are known. Survivors described them as being brutal and barbaric. It is claimed that they shot a Dutch prisoner named Jan van der Klein and two Russian prisoners on the way to work. The shootings were condoned by the detachment leader,²⁴ Fänger. Another Hungarian ethnic German, Hack, also a member of the SS personnel, is said to have mistreated the prisoners for no reason while they were working and also to have shot two Russian prisoners.²⁵ Valentin Jaromir, born in 1918 in Kobier, Upper Silesia, was also a member of the guard. He had previously served at Dachau and the Sachsenhausen subcamps at Potsdam and Rathenow. He claimed, however, to have served primarily as a gunner. He was interned in 1945 in the British occupation zone.²⁶

The former head of the SS-Bauleitung Berlin and later head of the SS-Bauinspektion Reich Nord, SS-Hauptscharführer Alfred Sorge²⁷ was a frequent visitor to the Glau subcamp. Sometime in the summer of 1944 while he was at Glau, a Russian prisoner, Wladimir Sikorskij, was shot by the detail leader (SS-Sturmscharführer Müller) because he had stolen potatoes from the cellar of an SS dormitory.²⁸

The camp elder was a German political prisoner, Will Rutat, who had previously fought in Spain and later worked in the Ministry of National Defense in the German Democratic Republic. The camp clerk was until the spring of 1944 Georg Stein from Luxembourg, followed by René Trauffer, also from Luxembourg.²⁹ It is likely that Trauffer was returned to Sachsenhausen in November 1944.³⁰ Paul Koch then became the camp clerk, and Hermann Bertram became foreman.³¹ Polish prisoner Sbiczek Kajie worked as an assistant clerk in construction management, and Polish prisoner Tadeusz Kowalski was used as a technical draftsman.³² The prisoner Stein is said to have obtained an illegal radio, which could receive Allied news broadcasts, which he passed on to the main camp.³³

A list of names of 65 prisoners working on the Glau building site on August 5, 1942, has survived.³⁴ At the beginning of 1943, the Glau work detail included 177; in the middle of February 1944, 139 prisoners. In the spring of 1944, half of the detail was transferred to the Sachsenhausen/Grünheide subcamp.³⁵ In the summer of 1944, no more than 180 prisoners were put to work at the troop training ground in Glau. On February 12, 1945, there were still 31 prisoners at the Glau subcamp.

It was reported that the detail leader intended to shoot the prisoners before they were evacuated but that the Sachsenhausen main camp commandant decided otherwise.³⁶

In 1968, the Central Office in the State of North Rhine-Westphalia in Cologne (ZLNW-K) investigated the homicides in the Glau subcamp. The Polish-based Main Commission

for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes also investigated these homicides. The investigations did not result in any prosecutions.³⁷

SOURCES The only work specifically written on Glau is a school paper by Nadine Sachse, “Das Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen mit seinem Aussenkommando Glau bei Trebbin” (unpub. MSS, Luckenwalde, 2003). Photographic evidence may be found in Helmut Bräutigam, “Fremdarbeiter in Brandenburg in der NS-Zeit,” *InBe* 17 (1996): 71.

Memoirs of former prisoners and details about the perpetrators are to be found in the AG-S, BLHA, and PRO. A published prisoner testimony on Glau is Georg Stein, *Die Cäsar der Entscheidung* (Luxembourg, 1946).

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NOTES

1. Nadine Sachse, “Das Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen mit seinem Aussenkommando Glau bei Trebbin” (unpub. MSS, Luckenwalde, 2003), p. 8.
2. Helmut Bräutigam, “Fremdarbeiter in Brandenburg in der NS-Zeit,” *InBe* 17 (1996): 71.
3. AG-S, LAG XI/10, p. 2.
4. PRO, WO 309/1773.
5. BA-B, NS 4-2451.
6. According to some sources, there were two prisoners’ barracks and an SS barracks. See AG-S, LAG XI/10, p. 9, Record of interview of the Polish prisoner Jerzy Fiodorow in the Glau subcamp.
7. AG-S, LAG XI/10, p. 2.
8. Sachse, “Das Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen mit seinem Aussenkommando Glau bei Trebbin,” p. 8.
9. AG-S, LAG XI/10, p. 6, Record of interview of the Polish prisoner Jan Zbigniew Karczewski in the Glau subcamp.
10. Sachse, “Das Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen mit seinem Aussenkommando Glau bei Trebbin,” p. 9.
11. AG-S, LAG II/10, Report by the former Glau subcamp prisoner Gerg Heinzmann.
12. Sachse, “Das Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen mit seinem Aussenkommando Glau bei Trebbin,” p. 10.
13. AG-S, LAG XI/10, p. 2.
14. AG-S, LAG II/10, Report of the former German prisoner Heinzmann in the Glau subcamp.
15. AG-S, Collection BLHA Pr. Br. Rep. 35H, Collection D 30 A/8/2A, p. 295, Report by Georg Heinzmann. Peter Gregoire has also mentioned working on a manor. See Sachse, “Das Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen mit seinem Aussenkommando Glau bei Trebbin,” p. 11.
16. AG-S, LAG XI/10, p. 9, Interrogation of the former Polish prisoner Jerzy Fiodorow in the Glau subcamp.
17. AG-S, LAG XI/10, p. 11, Interrogation of the former Polish prisoner Jerzy Fiodorow in the Glau subcamp.
18. AG-S, LAG XI/10, p. 2.
19. Georg Stein, *Die Cäsar der Entscheidung* (Luxembourg, 1946), p. 163.
20. AG-S, Interrogation of Knittler by the Soviet Military Tribunal, December 20, 1946, File 1560, p. 257.
21. Stein, *Cäsar*, p. 164.

22. AG-S, LAG XI-10, p. 2.
23. AG-S, LAG X/3, Esterwegen list of Sachsenhausen concentration camp SS members.
24. AG-S, LAG XI/10, p. 3.
25. AG-S, LAG XI, p. 6, Interrogation of the former Polish prisoner Jan Zbigniew Karczewski in the Glau subcamp.
26. PRO, WO 309/1769.
27. BA-K, Z 42 IV/5891. Sorge was sentenced by the denazification court in 1948 to 10 years’ imprisonment.
28. AG-S, LAG XI, p. 10, Interrogation of the former Polish prisoner Jerzy Fiodorow in the Glau subcamp.
29. AG-S, LAG XI/10, p. 3.
30. Sachse, “Das Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen mit seinem Aussenkommando Glau bei Trebbin,” p. 9.
31. AG-S, Collection BLHA Pr. Br. Rep. 35H, Collection D 30 A/8/2A, p. 295, Report by Georg Heinzmann.
32. AG-S, LAG XI/10, p. 3.
33. Stein, “Das Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen mit seinem Aussenkommando Glau bei Trebbin,” p. 166.
34. AG-S, LAG XI/10, p. 12.
35. AG-S, Collection BLHA Pr. Br. Rep. 35H, Collection D 30A/10/2, p. 141, Report of Karl Witt.
36. AG-S, LAG XI, p. 11, Interrogation of the former Polish prisoner Jerzy Fiodorow in the Glau subcamp.
37. AG-S, LAG XI/10.

GLÖWEN

The Glöwen subcamp was one of six Sachsenhausen subcamps to which only Jews were transported in 1944. It was only in Glöwen that there existed a number of larger groups that together numbered more than 770 male and female Jewish prisoners. The subcamp was established in the summer of 1944 at a munitions and machine storage area of the Dynamit Aktien Gesellschaft (DAG). It was located between Berlin and Magdeburg, not far from Havelberg.

The DAG installation, originally known under the name of “Roland” for security reasons and located in a 500-hectare (1,236-acre) forest, was planned as a large facility for the production of nitrocellulose. Construction began in October 1938, and around 50 construction firms from the region were involved in the work. Some 175 foreign laborers and 50 German Jews, as part of the “self-contained labor deployment” (*Geschlossenen Arbeitseinsatz*), were used as forced laborers.¹ French prisoners of war (POWs) were also used.

In 1942, the camp was converted to a regional storage facility for captured weapons and machines and was known as “Lager Glöwen.” A disassembly installation (*Entlaborierungsanstalt*) was established for the Cologne explosives factory Meissner & Söhne, to recycle explosives from munitions left over from World War I and from captured munitions.² The production of detonators was planned.

The buildings erected at the facility were covered with earth for camouflage purposes. The earth in turn was planted with fir trees. Aircraft buildings were painted with camouflage paint, and when they were used as munitions stores, they were surrounded by earthen walls.

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Glöwen had a rail connection, and railway equipment was located on the site. At the beginning of 1945, around 10 to 12 cars were turned around daily. It was planned to increase that rate to between 50 and 70 cars.

At times it was planned to relocate other facilities to Glöwen: for example, the Deutsche Maschinenfabrik AG (Demag) tank tracks assembly from Falkensee and the Arado aircraft factory from Rathenow in Brandenburg, both of which used prisoners from Sachsenhausen.³

In August 1944, around 300 Polish Jewish men and women were transported from the Pionki forced labor camp near Pionki in the direction of Glöwen. In Pionki, they worked as forced laborers for the largest explosives factory, which after the occupation of Poland had been taken over by the Westfälisch-Anhaltinische Sprengstoff AG (WASAG). Around 3,000 Jewish prisoners from Radom were held on the factory site as forced laborers. Many of them were held there after the evacuation of both Radom ghettos in August 1942.

When the Red Army pushed into the Radom area in July 1944, it was decided by the armaments factory and the Armaments Ministry's Main Committee for Gunpowder and Explosives (Hauptausschuss Pulver und Sprengstoff) to relocate the gunpowder factory to Glöwen.⁴ Once the factory had been disassembled, the majority of the Jewish forced laborers were deported to Auschwitz. Raul Hilberg has pointed out that, as in Pionki other Jewish forced laborers in German occupation industries, such as Steyr-Daimler-Puch (SDP), or Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG), were pulled out and deported.⁵

Around 300 Jewish forced laborers from Pionki, including 30 women, were transported in four rail cars via Tschenschau (Częstochowa) to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. They were to rebuild the factory in Glöwen. They were chosen largely because of their tradesmen's skills, but some were arbitrarily chosen. Eventually, the SS transferred the women to the Ravensbrück concentration camp. The men were first held in "quarantine" in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp and only later were they taken to Glöwen.

On August 16, 1944, 499 Hungarian Jewish women were transported from the Stutthof concentration camp near Danzig to Glöwen.⁶ The women had been arrested after the occupation of Hungary and transported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau. From there the SS transported them to the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp and, when that was evacuated, then to the Stutthof concentration camp.

The male and female prisoners at Glöwen were taken to the subcamp's barracks, which in part were located in a "community camp" (*Gemeinschaftslager*) constructed for German civilian workers. The barracks were surrounded by an electrified barbed-wire fence. There were four watchtowers. The subcamp included a camp kitchen that was supplied by DAG, an infirmary, and a workshop. The prisoners made sure that a fellow prisoner, aged 10, worked in the kitchen and repairing the prisoners' wooden shoes. They wanted to protect him from the more physically demanding work.⁷

The men and women were separated. If they made contact through the barbed wire that separated them, they could be

punished by being forced to stand for prolonged periods or by being beaten. Survivor Abraham B. recalled, "It was not only forbidden to speak with other inmates but also to look out of the camp. I was punished because while on the way to work I had said to the women who were marching by 'good morning.' I had to stand the whole day at attention for several hours wearing a rucksack filled with stones."⁸ Nevertheless, the prisoners were able, for example, to make their own candles and a cloth bag. They exchanged these outside the camp for Sabbath candles. The women had asked the men for candles, which the men had made from paraffin that was available in the camp. In return, the women sewed the cloth bag.

Hunger, the cold in the particularly cold winter of 1944–1945, and the persecution by a number of SS men were the greatest dangers in the Glöwen subcamp. The SS man who was the camp's economic officer and in charge of supplies for the camp is remembered by survivors as being a particularly brutal SS man. It was he who implemented the punishment of 25 blows with a cane.⁹ Another method was used to make the prisoners comply. This was the threat to return the prisoners to the Sachsenhausen main camp. "Transport back to the main camp at Sachsenhausen was always a threat that we heard from the SS men: 'If you continue like that you'll be back in Sachsenhausen.'"¹⁰ Survivors have stated that four male prisoners died in the Glöwen subcamp through exhaustion and hunger.¹¹ At least two prisoners who could no longer work and who were ill were taken back by rail to Sachsenhausen. Three female prisoners became ill from typhus, and one of them died.¹² In the spring of 1945, a woman gave birth, and she and her infant were taken back to Ravensbrück where they were probably murdered.

There were 16 SS male guards at the Glöwen subcamp¹³ and around 10 young SS wardresses. Investigations carried out in 1967 by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg into the former camp leader and other members of the guard at the Glöwen subcamp were stopped because it was not possible to prove any homicides.¹⁴

Inside Glöwen, the prisoners for the most part were supervised by DAG factory security officers.¹⁵ At the beginning of 1945, the factory and work security supervisor noted that factory security had "become more lax with the Jews, especially the Jewesses." The factory security officers "should not be allowed to engage in any form of conversation or transaction with the Jewesses. Regardless of the position of anyone involved the matter will be immediately reported to the police."¹⁶

Inside the camp grounds, the concentration camp prisoners were divided into work groups. Some of the groups were supervised by German engineers who had previously been based in Pionki.

The male prisoners, dressed in inadequate clothing, basically did unloading work without tools. At first they had to unload the machines from Pionki and later machines from other firms. Some prisoners did carpentry and electrical installation work. In addition, work was to be done on extracting gunpowder.¹⁷

The female prisoners also had to work on disassembling munitions and manufacturing detonators. The head and chief engineer of the DAG technical department, Heinrich Schindler, planned to produce 150 million detonators each month.¹⁸ However, the requisite production facilities were never finished. Instead, the women worked in a variety of work detachments, working in the fields, gardens, or small workshops such as a bakery in the area.

In September 1944, the “Special Gunpowder Committee” (Sonderausschuss Pulver) of the Main Committee, Gunpowder and Munitions (Hauptausschuss Pulver und Munition), which consisted of representatives of the munitions firms, called a meeting of the committee representatives in Glöwen.¹⁹ As a result, the Pionki factory facilities were divided between the munitions’ firms.

In October 1944, the DAG Berlin construction office, which had been relocated to the town of Glöwen, demanded an additional allocation of 15 accommodation barracks, as it was possible that the use of prisoners to manufacture detonators would be expanded.

On December 16, the SS administration in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp indicated to DAG that a withdrawal of prisoners from Glöwen was planned for January 15, 1945.²⁰ This was objected to by the Army High Command (OKH), which wanted the prisoners to remain to work on transporting machines and goods and in production.²¹ A demand was also made that the male concentration camp prisoners, who were still formally part of the Pionki Gunpowder Factory, transfer to the DAG.²² The DAG wanted to continue to use the concentration camp prisoners in the production of detonators, which was supposed to begin in February 1945. Planning envisaged the use of prisoners in a DAG factory in Allendorf²³ or in two other factories in Thüringen.²⁴

Most probably the SS dissolved the male camp on February 14 and then the female camp on April 14, 1945.²⁵ In mid-February 1945, the SS divided the male prisoners into three groups. More than 100 were transported to the Sachsenhausen subcamp at Rathenow. There, they riveted aircraft wings at the Arado aircraft factory. The factories were located above-ground and had no protection against air raids. Working with air pressure devices in 12-hour shifts in such facilities meant that the prisoners often suffered from frostbite. The concentration camp prisoners were not allowed to enter the underground production facilities that would have offered protection from the cold and air raids. The SS guards fled in April 1945 shortly before the arrival of the Red Army.

The second group was transported to Bergen-Belsen, where most of them died from starvation. The third group was transported back to Sachsenhausen in February 1945 and, following its dissolution, was sent on a death march in the direction of the Baltic.

The female prisoners remained in Glöwen until its dissolution in mid-April 1945. They then set out on a weeklong march to the Ravensbrück subcamp at Malchow. A DAG factory was also located here. They were freed in Malchow by the Red Army on May 2, 1945.

SOURCES The history of the Sachsenhausen subcamp at Glöwen was researched by the author for the GMS exhibition “Die Baracke 38—Jüdische Häftlinge im KZ Sachsenhausen 1936–1945” and described in the following two essays. “Zwangsarbeit im Beutelager—Das KZ Aussenlager Glöwen,” in *Havelberg: Kleine Stadt mit grosser Vergangenheit*, ed. Stadt Havelberg (Havelberg: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 1998), pp. 169–187; and “Zwangsarbeit von jüdischen KZ-Häftlingen in der Rüstungsproduktion in der Region Berlin-Brandenburg in der Schlussphase des Zweiten Weltkrieges—Die Aussenlager Glöwen und Schwarzheide des KZ Sachsenhausen,” in *Zwangsarbeit während der NS-Zeit in Berlin und Brandenburg—Formen, Funktion und Rezeption*, ed. Winfried Meyer and Klaus Neitmann (Potsdam: Verlag Berlin-Brandenburg, 2001), pp. 163–175. Earlier research did not follow the Pionki transports beyond Tschenschow. See Sebastian Piatkowski, “Oboz pracy przymusowej dla Żydów w Pionkach,” *Nazag* 21 (n.d.): 14.

The SS was supposed to destroy the “Lager Glöwen” files at the beginning of 1945. Dynamit Nobel AG states it no longer has the relevant files. During the author’s research, he located handwritten documents of the factory and work security supervisor for the “Lager Glöwen,” which had been discovered by the Bundeswehr when removing ordnance and which are now located in the BLHA (Bestandsnummer: BLHA Pr. Rep. 75 Dynamit AG). The AG-S holds seven files of documents that are the results of research the author did in the BA-B, BLHA, WWA-D, IPN, AMS, and APR, as well as research done on location in Pionki, Havelberg, and Glöwen. The AG-S holds the interviews that the author’s colleagues Eva Brücker, Maike Leffers, Anneke de Rudder, and Monika Schmidt and he made in 1996 with the Glöwen survivors Irachmil Bahir, Jizack Flekier, Abram Lancman, Amek Mandel, Joseph Rotbaum-Ribo, Mordechai Rozenczaig, Morris Rubinstein, and Marika Weinberger. The interviews were made in Israel, the United States, Britain, and Australia. Survivor Abraham Lancmann published his memories of Pionki, Glöwen, and Rathenow in *Młodość w czasie Zagłady*, trans. Anna Przedpelska-Trzeciakowska (Warsaw: “Rytm,” 2002).

An initiative by local pupils in 2005 to erect a monument at the former subcamp is documented in Thomas Irmer/Ulla Seeger, *Erinnerung an eine “geliebte Zeit”* (Berlin, 2007).

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NOTES

1. BLHA, Schreiben an das Kommando des Rüstungsbezirks Potsdam, August 13, 1940, BLHA Pr. Br. Rep. 75 Dynamit AG.

2. Sprengstoff-Erzeugungsmeldung vom Februar 1945, BA-B, R3/3053, Bl. 94. The report reveals that production in Glöwen was not great in comparison to other sites.

3. BLHA, Jahresbericht 1944 der Tätigkeit des Lagers Glöwen, January 17, 1945, und Anlage Schreiben des OKH an die DEMAG-Fahrzeugwerke, Falkensee, v. 29.6.1944, in Mitteilung des OKH an die B-Gutverwaltung der DAG in Glöwen, o.D., BLHA Pr. Br. Rep. 75 DAG.

4. Schreiben an den Hauptausschuss Munition und Pulver, September 12, 1944, BA-B, R3, Nr. 3054, Bl. 362. The

letter indicates that it was intended to relocate a munitions factory from Bromberg in the same manner as the Pionki relocation. The letter includes the following: "Selbstverständlich soll gewahrt bleiben, dass die Mehrzahl der Produktionsanteile in den Händen der Stammfirmen des zu räumenden Werkes ist, sofern die militärischen Forderungen dieses vertretbar lassen" (Naturally, the majority of the production facilities will remain in the ownership of the firms being evacuated unless military requirements dictate otherwise).

5. Raul Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden*, 3 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1990), 2:567.

6. Befehl Nr. 55 des Kommandanten des KZ Stutthof, August 16, 1944, AMS. Documents in the Stutthof State Museum include the transport list with the names of 499 women.

7. Interview with Joseph Ribo by Thomas Irmer, AG-S, Bestand B 38.

8. BA-L, ZdL, IV 406 AR 745/67 Aussage A.B.

9. ZdL IV AR 745/67d., pp. 233–234, Aussage N.G., and pp. 292–295, Aussage Jakob H.

10. Ibid., pp. 233–234, Aussage N.G.

11. ZdL IV AR 745/67, Schreiben von Abram W. of March 18, 1950; see also Lancmann, Abraham.

12. ZdL IV AR 745/67, Aussage von Gerda Z.

13. See Aufstellung SS-Wachmannschaft, AG-S, LAG X 3.

14. ZdL, AZ. IV 406 AR 745/67; see also IV 406 AR-Z 141/1971 (Rathenow).

15. BLHA, Vgl. Namensliste Werkschutz, BLHA Pr. Br. Rep. 75 DAG.

16. BLHA, Vermerk des Betriebs- und Werkschutzleiters Otto Adams, February 22, 1945, BLHA Pr. Br. Rep. 75 DAG.

17. Schnellbrief des OKH an den Hauptausschuss Pulver und Sprengstoff, December 18, 1944, Betr.: Umsetzung von 268 Juden (Häftlinge) von Pionki z.Zt. Glöwen, in BLHA, BLHA Pr. Br. Rep. 75 DAG.

18. See IWM, CIOs-Report Item No. 2, File No. XXXII-38, "Explosives: Summary of Capacity and Production in Germany," July 1945.

19. Schreiben des Sonderausschuss Pulver an das OKH, September 12, 1944, BA-B, R3, Nr. 3054, Bl. 365. For a corresponding meeting in Glöwen, the following were notified: Direktor Dr. Marquard, WASAG; Dr. Langmesser, DSC; Dr. Kühne, Verwertchemie; Direktor Ehringfeld, Eibia; Direktor Dr. Schulz, Wolff & Co.; Dr. Ott, Hauptausschuss Pulver und Sprengstoff; as well as Herr Stürk vom Sonderausschuss Pulver. See also BA-B, R3/3054, Bl. 331, Schreiben des Sonderausschuss Pulver an den Hauptausschuss Pulver und Sprengstoff of September 28, 1944, Betrifft Sitzung in Glöwen 28.9.1944, Vorgang: Verteilung von Maschinen etc. des Werkes Pionki.

20. Schreiben des OKH an die Waffen-SS des KZ Sachsenhausen of January 6, 1945, Betr.: Arbeitseinsatz der Häftlinge in Glöwen, in BLHA, BLHA Pr. Br. Rep. 75 DAG.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Anlage zum Rundschreiben Nr. 14/45g., p. 3, in BLHA Pr. Br. Rep. 75 Dynamit AG.

25. Angaben nach Bundesgesetzblatt Nr. 64/1806, Teil 1, 1977.

GRÜNHEIDE

The Grünheide subcamp located on the eastern edge of Berlin, not far from Erkner, is not mentioned in the International Tracing Service's (ITS) catalog of camps and prisons published in 1949.¹ A 1960s publication on Sachsenhausen lists the camp with the notation "barracks building."²

According to a listing by the Stiftung Brandenburgische Gedenkstätten, the camp existed from the spring of 1944 to January 1945. Around 70 male prisoners were deployed as a construction detail at an SS station.³

A diploma thesis, prepared under the auspices of the Sachsenhausen Memorial, lists the camp as existing from the summer of 1944 to the beginning of 1945. The prisoners were used by the SS or the Wehrmacht.⁴ Following the listing "according to camp statistics," there were as many as 180 prisoners in the camp.⁵ In an overview of all subcamps produced by the Sachsenhausen Memorial before 1990, it stated that the use of the prisoner labor was: "Barracks construction for SS war reporters, Wehrmacht buildings."⁶ A committee of former prisoners compiled a postwar list that mentions Grünheide as having 180 prisoners working at the "2. SS-[Bau]-Brigade."⁷ Another document prepared by a former prisoner states the following: "Grünheide: Small detachment thirty-five men. Barrack construction for SS war reporters. Center for propaganda reports."⁸

It is said that in the summer of 1944 a transport of around 50 men from the Glau subcamp was sent to Grünheide.⁹ The prisoners at first had to camp under the open sky before they established their first accommodation barrack in a forested area. The barrack was surrounded with barbed wire. SS-Unterscharführer Rausch of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) was in charge of construction.

It is thought that later another 100 prisoners were transferred from the Sachsenhausen main camp to Grünheide.¹⁰ The Sachsenhausen change of status reports state that on June 1, 1944, there were 50 prisoners in the Grünheide subcamp. The highest number of prisoners is recorded for the end of October 1944 when 70 prisoners are registered at the camp. On February 12, 1945, there were still 65 prisoners at Grünheide.¹¹

The prisoners went on to erect three more barracks, an air-raid bunker for the SS, and trenches made out of prefabricated slabs. The site was said to be overflow quarters for war reporters, where women also worked, although only one of the finished barracks is supposed to have been used.

The prisoners were Germans, Russians, Ukrainians, French, Belgians, and Norwegians. The camp elder was for a short time the criminal prisoner Curt Reuter. He was chosen

because he spoke French. He was a barrack elder in the main camp and from September 1943 worked on operations in the prisoners' infirmary.

The prisoners saw the camp at Grünheide as a subsidiary camp of the Berlin-Lichterfelde subcamp—they were supplied from there, and inspections were made from that camp. The camp was also controlled by the camp command in Lichterfelde through SS-Oberscharführer Erwin Seifert and SS-Obersturmführer Ludewig.

Security at the camp was provided by 12 to 15 SS from the RSHA. The camp leader was SS-Unterscharführer Rudolf Finger, who admitted to being the only SS man from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp based in Grünheide. He had been based at Sachsenhausen from the beginning of 1941, followed by three years at the Berlin-Kaiserallee commando and, from the end of August 1944, at the Berlin-Lichterfelde subcamp. He was transferred on August 28, 1944, to Grünheide, where according to his own statement he remained until February 1945.

There are no known instances of prisoner mistreatment in Grünheide, and no accusations were later made against the construction chief, the camp leader, and the SS guards. Finger, who later lived in the German Democratic Republic, denied being the camp leader in Grünheide when questioned by the General State Prosecutor of the German Democratic Republic. He stated that he was only a member of the guard. Finger was a member of the Seventh Sachsenhausen SS-Totenkopfwachbataillon, which was stationed in Berlin-Lichterfelde.

As the front approached, the whole Grünheide prisoner detachment was evacuated to Lichterfelde. In April 1945, some of the prisoners were sent via the Heinkel subcamp and then on the death march from the main camp to Mecklenburg.¹²

All that is known about criminal proceedings against those in charge is that the supposed camp leader, Finger, was interned as a "guard" in 1945 in the British internment camp at Esterwegen and was, according to his own statement, convicted by a jury in Bielefeld in December 1947.¹³ His sentence was considered already served because of the time he spent as an internee in Esterwegen and Eselsheide.

Investigations begun in 1967 by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg ceased in 1971, as there were no grounds for any charges in respect to crimes of violence at Grünheide.¹⁴ A request for legal assistance by the Zentralstelle in Cologne to the German Democratic Republic resulted in the former camp leader, Finger, being questioned in the German Democratic Republic. He was not a member of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) or any community organization but was nevertheless given a certificate of good character. He was said to be quiet, industrious, and willing to help. The West German investigating authorities were merely told that Finger had only been a member of the guard. The file was then closed.

SOURCES There are no known secondary sources on the Grünheide subcamp. The archival sources are found in the

BA-L and AG-S. There are a few archival sources in the BA-B and PRO.

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990).

2. KaW-DDR, ed., *Damals in Sachsenhausen* (Berlin [East], 1967), p. 61.

3. SBG, Workshop Conference Binder "Die Aussenlager der Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen und Ravensbrück" (Internationale Jugendbegegnungsstätte Ravensbrück 17. und 18. Oktober 2003).

4. AG-S, D.A. 5147: Uwe Hofschläger, "Funktion und Bedeutung der Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Sachsenhausen" (Diplomarbeit, Freien Universität Berlin, 1997).

5. BStU, RHE-West 330/1, p. 237.

6. AG-S.

7. BLHA, Pr. Br. Rep. 35 H, Nr. 8/1, p. 459.

8. IfZ, Ed 106/77, Aufstellung des ehemaligen Häftlings des KZ-Sachsenhausen Walter Nowak, n.d.

9. BA-L, IV 406, AR 2361/67, p. 10, Record of interview Wilhelm Fischer, October 24, 1967.

10. BA-L, IV 406, AR 2361/67, p. 63, Record of interview Curt Reuter, July 2, 1970.

11. AG-S, JSU 1, vols. 99 and 101.

12. BA-L, IV 406, AR 2361/67, p. 13, Record of interview Wilhelm Fischer, October 24, 1967.

13. PRO, WO 309/1765, List of Former Members of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp command office interned in the British CIC Esterwegen, probably 1945, various lists; here: AG-S, LAG X/3; BA-L, IV 406, AR 2361/67, p. 75, Schreiben der Gsta. DDR an die ZSSSta-K, June 9, 1970.

14. BA-L, IV 406, AR 2361/67.

HENNIGSDORF

The Sachsenhausen subcamp at Hennigsdorf was established in October 1944 near the Hennigsdorf factories of the second-largest German electrical concern, the Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (AEG). About 650 female concentration camp prisoners, most of them Polish women, were used for forced labor in the armaments production at Hennigsdorf, located to the northwest of Berlin. The first use of concentration camp prisoners in an industrial firm in the Berlin-Brandenburg region was probably planned in Hennigsdorf in 1940.

By 1940–1941, between 20 and 45 male prisoners from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp worked in a rolling mill of the Mitteldeutschen Stahl- und Walzwerke (Central German Steel and Rolling Mill) in Hennigsdorf. The company had been a part of the Flick concern since 1926. In May 1940, the board of directors of the rolling mill negotiated with SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Burböck of the Inspectorate of

Concentration Camps (IKL) in Oranienburg about details regarding transport, food, accommodation, and payment.¹

The concentration camp prisoners were taken daily by truck to Hennigsdorf. On top of the work, which was physically demanding and done in 12-hour shifts, the prisoners had to unload scrap metal as well as clean the melting pots and change the fire clay stones in the blast furnaces.²

The Hennigsdorf factories of AEG to the northwest of Berlin, established in 1909–1910, produced in 1934–1935 some 10 percent of the total production of all AEG factories.³ They manufactured products such as electric locomotives and industrial ovens and household devices such as refrigerators and insulation. With the beginning of the war, Hennigsdorf supplied components for air armaments, munitions, and tank construction. In Hennigsdorf the AEG used countless foreign workers from Western and Eastern Europe, as well as French and Soviet prisoners of war (POWs).⁴ As part of the 1942–1943 “camp construction project” (*Lagerbauaktion*), around 20 barracks for more than 4,000 people were built to the west of the Hennigsdorf factory on the Hohenzollern Canal.

In July 1942, representatives of the AEG Hennigsdorf insulation material factory and the German occupation administration at the Łódź ghetto agreed on the use of 200 ghetto inmates for the process used to separate glimmer. The AEG representatives in Łódź stated: “As this work is a very simple process needing neither technical skill nor strength, children and youths can be used.” Glimmer, a mineral composition found in rocks deep under the earth, was used in the electrical industry as an insulation material. The glimmer supplied by AEG Hennigsdorf had to be cut by the ghetto inmates with knives and molding tools into three different sizes. The ghetto administration informed AEG that “in view of the specificities of the Ghetto and due to measures for the solution of the Jewish question no responsibility could be assumed for the actual use of the labor.” At the beginning of August 1942, an AEG skilled tradesman from Hennigsdorf taught 150 ghetto inmates how to separate glimmer. According to details from the Elder’s Council, there were 650 ghetto inmates at the end of 1942 and 500 in April 1943 involved in the production of glimmer, 45 percent of whom were youths. When production stopped because of AEG delivery problems, the ghetto administration threatened to withdraw the Jewish forced labor. It was reduced in June 1943 by about 50 percent, and in November 1943, AEG terminated the production contract supposedly because “the use of machines in cutting glimmer had progressed to such an extent that it was no longer profitable to split glimmer by hand and no longer responsible to use labor for such purpose, especially given the importance of labor for the war economy.”⁵

The Hennigsdorf subcamp, as with another subcamp at the AEG operations in Berlin-Köpenick, was one of the last subcamps established by the Sachsenhausen concentration camp in 1944 at an industrial enterprise. The majority of the 650 female concentration camp prisoners, who were transferred on October 10, 1944, from Ravensbrück to Hennigs-

dorf,⁶ were Polish women arrested after the Warsaw Uprising. At the end of 1944, Hungarian Jewish women were transferred to Hennigsdorf.⁷ There were probably also female prisoners from the Soviet Union,⁸ as well as from Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and France. During that same time period between September 28 and October 9, 1944, around 680, mostly Polish female prisoners, were transferred to the subcamp established at the AEG-Kabelwerk Oberspree in Berlin-Köpenick.⁹

The Hennigsdorf subcamp was surrounded by two barbed-wire fences. It was located in former barracks for foreign workers located to the west of the AEG factory grounds. It included an infirmary, kitchen barracks, washing and toilet facilities, as well as rooms for the female SS guards.¹⁰ “Hennigsdorf,” according to the then-25-year-old Janina Krafczyk from Warsaw, who together with her mother had been transported to the subcamp, “appeared luxurious in comparison to Ravensbrück because everyone had their own bed.”¹¹

The SS initially gave the women civilian clothes, which were marked with a white-painted cross. The clothes probably originated from Jewish women who had been deported.¹² At the beginning of 1945, prisoner overalls were handed out to the women.

For some of the women, daily religious observance in the camp gave them a reference point for sticking together. Krafczyk stated, “We made a beautiful altar between the windows. . . . An altar with little flowers made from cable and a small cross. We turned to it when we prayed or sang.”¹³

The altar was constructed by the women out of bits of cable and plastic that they smuggled out of the factory. Some scratched into leftover materials drawings depicting, for example, the daily march to work. Those pieces were used as jewelry items to make presents or else for barter purposes.

While SS men guarded the external camp from the outside, inside the camp the female prisoners were watched by 32 SS women. The female SS also guarded the women on their daily 3-kilometer (1.9-mile) march to the factory and while working. They divided the women into different work detachments. It is said that some female SS treated the women brutally.¹⁴

Kept separately in a specially constructed building of the screw factory, the female concentration camp prisoners did skilled work in a variety of departments. They had to produce the mechanical detonators for mines and flak grenades, assemble aircraft engines, and execute drill and soldering work. The women were also involved in the production of gramophone records and processing glimmer.¹⁵ They were taught by AEG civilian workers during the weekly, alternating 12-hour day and night shifts. The civilian workers treated the women differently: Krafczyk recalled that she “was drilling deep holes into the metal plates. . . . At one moment I lowered my head too low. The foreman jumped over to me, grabbed my head and pulled me up from behind. Apparently my hair had come very close to the drilling machine. When he saw that . . . he was very attentive, he seized me by the head. . . . He did not talk a great deal, indeed I never heard him talk. I

never saw him talk with the wardresses. But now how he scolded the wardress! Why did we not have scarves! The next day we all had scarves, which we wore only when in the factory.”¹⁶ There were other AEG civilian workers who would not get involved: “There were two engineers, one for each shift. One hardly looked at me. Once the other noticed that the pistons were smoking because tin residue had made them filthy. . . . It was only he who would clean the pistons for me and would be friendly to me. The other one did nothing. I could have fallen over dead and he would not have noticed.”¹⁷

At the beginning of 1945, the shifts were reduced to eight hours because of material shortages. When the factory buildings were severely damaged during an air raid on March 18, 1945, the forced labor stopped completely. Instead, the female prisoners had to clean up rubble and later work on fortifications.¹⁸

When the subcamp was dissolved in April 1945, the women were forced on a death march to the Ravensbrück concentration camp. Some of the prisoners, including Krafczyk and her mother, remained at the village of Sommerfeld and were later liberated by a Polish detachment of the Red Army.¹⁹ Others died along the way from exhaustion or were shot by the SS.²⁰ The remainder of the prisoners were forced to march to Ravensbrück.²¹

SOURCES Due to only fragmentary sources being available, all the more valuable are the details supplied by former female prisoners. The biography of Janina Krafczyk was put together by the author for the Sachsenhausen Memorial permanent exhibition “Die Baracke 39—Der ‘Alltag’ der Häftlinge des KZ Sachsenhausen” and the CD-ROM *Gegen das Vergessen*. For forced labor and AEG, see Thomas Irmer, “. . . eine Art Sklavenhandel—Zwangsarbeit bei AEG/Telefunken in Berlin und Wedding,” in *Zwangsarbeit in Berlin 1938–1945*, ed. ABR (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2003), pp. 154–166. On Berlin-Köpenick, see Irmer, “Zwangsarbeit von jüdischen KZ-Häftlingen in der Rüstungsproduktion in der Region Berlin-Brandenburg in der Schlussphase des Zweiten Weltkrieges—Die Aussenlager Glöwen und Schwarzeiche des KZ Sachsenhausen,” in *Zwangsarbeit während der NS-Zeit in Berlin und Brandenburg—Formen, Funktion und Rezeption*, ed. Winfried Meyer and Klaus Neitmann (Potsdam: Verlag Berlin-Brandenburg, 2001), pp. 163–175. On forced labor in Hennigsdorf, see Helmut Fritsch, *Zwangsarbeit in Hennigsdorf 1940 bis 1945: Eine Dokumentation* (Hennigsdorf, 2001).

Documents on forced labor at AEG Hennigsdorf are kept in the ASt-Hen, the BLHA, and BA-L. The AG-S contains the interviews with former female prisoners from the Hennigsdorf subcamp, including that of Krafczyk. YVA holds the correspondence with the Łódź ghetto administration.

Thomas Irmer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Aktenvermerk der Direktion der Mitteldeutschen Stahl- und Walzwerke Friedrich Flick KG, May 28, 1940, Betr.: Arbeitskräfte aus dem Konzentrationslager Oranienburg, ASt-Hen, Te VI/5/8.

2. BA-L, ZdL, Abschlussverfügung des Ermittlungsverfahren 24 AR 1/62.

3. Bericht AEG-Fabriken, BA, Deutsche Bank, P3362, p. 15.

4. For forced labor and AEG, see *ibid.*

5. All quotations from Korrespondenz Getto- Verwaltung/Ältestenrat/AEG Fabriken Hennigsdorf 1942/43, YVA, JM 919.

6. Überstellungsliste von K.L. Ravensbrück nach K.L. Sachsenhausen Arbeitslager Hennigsdorf, October 6, 1944, IPN.

7. Details from Erös Andor and Sandor Pal, Budapest, July 20, 1945, YVA, 015/2359, The Jewish Agency for Palestine, Abteilung für Dokumentation, Hennigsdorf, Protokoll Landeskomitee für die Fürsorge der Deportierten, Budapest, July 20, 1945. See also Veränderungsmeldung (Frauen-Lager), March 27, 1945, AG-S, Stärke- und Veränderungsmeldungen.

8. Veränderungsmeldung (Frauenlager), April 9, 1945, AG-S, Stärke- und Veränderungsmeldungen.

9. KZ Ravensbrück, Arbeitseinsatz: Arbeitslager Oberschöneweide (KZ Sachsenhausen), 1. Überstellung, September 28, 1944; Überstellungsliste von KL Ravensbrück nach KL Sachsenhausen, Arbeitslager Berlin-Oberspree (AEG), I. Überstellung: 300 Häftlinge, October 2, 1944; Überstellungsliste vom KL Ravensbrück nach KL Sachsenhausen, Arbeitslager Berlin-Oberspree (AEG), II. Überstellung: 400 Häftlinge, October 9, 1944, IPN.

10. Interview with Janina Krafczyk by Eva Brücker, 1996, AG-S, Bestand B’38/39.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*

14. Aussage Fritz Witt, BA-L, ZdL Ermittlungsverfahren IV 406 AR 1846/68; and Interview with Janina Krafczyk, in AG-S, Bestand B’38.

15. Aussage von Dorothy P., April 20, 1950, ZdL, Ermittlungsverfahren IV 406 AR 1846/68.

16. Interview with Janina Krafczyk by Eva Brücker, 1996, AG-S, Bestand B’38/39.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Details from Erös Andor and Sandor Pal, Budapest, July 20, 1945, YVA, 015/2359, The Jewish Agency for Palestine, Abteilung für Dokumentation, Hennigsdorf, Protokoll Landeskomitee für die Fürsorge der Deportierten, Budapest, July 20, 1945.

19. Interview with Janina Krafczyk by Eva Brücker, 1996, AG-S, Bestand B’38/39.

20. Aussage Dorothy P., ZdL, Ermittlungsverfahren IV 406 AR 1846/68.

21. ZdL, Abschlussbericht Ermittlungsverfahren IV 406 AR 1846/68.

KIEW

From July 1942 to spring 1943, a subcamp of Sachsenhausen was created in the city of Kiev, which was then part of the Soviet Union (today it is in the Ukraine). There is little information about this camp, perhaps because there were only four

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or five prisoners transported to Kiev for work. According to the International Tracing Service entry for this camp, the inmates, all men, were brought to Kiev to assist in the opening of safes that belonged to Soviet authorities. They were employed for this activity by the Higher-SS and Police Leader (Höherer-SS und Polizeiführer, HSSPF).

SOURCES There are few primary and secondary sources on the Kiev subcamp of Sachsenhausen. Information for this entry comes from the Kiev entry in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979). Although not always consistent with other sources, the ITS catalog provides brief statistical information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, type of prisoner work, and so on.

The Kiev subcamp is mentioned in one primary source stored at the AG-S in Oranienburg, in file group I/4, Index der Aussenkommandos und Aussenlager. However, no additional information, besides the fact that there was a work commando sent to Kiev, is provided.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

KLEINMACHNOW

In the summer of 1944, a subcamp of Sachsenhausen concentration camp for female prisoners was established at Kleinmachnow, near Berlin. It was located right on the factory premises of the Dreilinden Maschinenbau GmbH, a subsidiary of Robert Bosch GmbH. Organizationally, it reported to the main Sachsenhausen camp. The women in the camp were from the Ravensbrück concentration camp and had been selected by employees of the Dreilinden Maschinenbau GmbH to do forced labor for the armaments factory.

About 800 female prisoners, mostly young women, were transferred in September and October 1944 in two transports from the Ravensbrück women's concentration camp to the Kleinmachnow subcamp. As of March 30, 1945, precisely 749 prisoners, who with very few exceptions came from Poland, were interned there. They had been brought to Germany after the German occupiers crushed the Warsaw Uprising by the Home Army (Armia Krajowa). Among the prisoners were a number of Jewish women from Poland. They lived and survived in the camp using pseudonyms, revealing their Jewish origin only to a few fellow prisoners.

The subcamp consisted of an approximately 6,700-square-meter (72,118-square-feet) large factory floor, which was separated from the rest of the works by a double fence of barbed wire, the inner one of which was electrified. The air-raid shelter below the floor served as accommodation for the prisoners. At any given time, about 30 women had to stay in each of the unheated, dark and damp rooms. Working around the clock in 12-hour shifts, they carried out primarily precision work. What exactly they produced, the prisoners did not know; they were only told that they were making aircraft engine parts for Bosch. Their sole employer was the Dreilinden

den Maschinenbau GmbH, which had been founded on behalf of the Reich Air Ministry and produced fuel injection pumps, magneto ignitions, starters, and other equipment especially for aircraft engines, all in accordance with Bosch designs.

As a rule, survivors reported that the German foremen and overseers treated them well, although the female SS guards hit them and tortured them, with roll calls lasting hours. Gynecological experiments were carried out on some of the prisoners at the Sachsenhausen main camp (according to other statements, also at Ravensbrück); one woman is said to have died from them. Other deaths are not known. One pregnant woman was sent back to Ravensbrück, and from there she was taken to Bergen-Belsen, where she gave birth to a child that died a few days later. Numerous survivors had gynecological problems after the detention, which they ascribed to a drug that had been added to their food to prevent menstruation.

The commandant of the Kleinmachnow subcamp was Walter Dankworth from Berlin, born April 4, 1903, who belonged to the Seventh SS-Wachbataillon Sachsenhausen. From 1941 to the end of the war, he was a member of the SS-Totenkopfverbände (Death's Head Units). Before that he had worked at Siemens as an engineer and had then volunteered to provide technical assistance to the police. After three months of military training, he was assigned to the guard company of Sachsenhausen and held guard duty in various subcamps. In December 1944, having been promoted in the meantime to SS-Unterscharführer, he took over the Kleinmachnow subcamp, which he ran up until its evacuation to the Sachsenhausen main camp. Eight guards were assigned to him, probably likewise members of the Seventh SS-Wachbataillon Sachsenhausen, as well as the camp's female guards.

Evidently there existed in the camp a small-scale barter system through which some women were able to get additional clothes and food. They sewed shopping bags from cleaning rags for the machines and also made jewelry from metal shavings. They exchanged these articles with some of the foremen and fitters for bread.

In April 1945, as the Red Army approached, the Kleinmachnow subcamp was evacuated, and the women were sent back to the Sachsenhausen main camp. Paul Vogelgsang, a manager at the Dreilinden Maschinenbau GmbH, had a train of streetcars made available for the transport, escorted by the female guards and watched by camp leader Dankworth. On April 22, 1945, the women, together with all other prisoners of Sachsenhausen, were driven to the infamous death march in the direction of Schwerin.

SOURCES Very little is known about the approximately 170 concentration camp subcamps in Berlin and its surroundings. The first study of the subcamp Kleinmachnow, Angela Martin, *"Ich sah den Namen Bosch." Polnische Frauen als KZ-Häftlinge in der Dreilinden Maschinenbau GmbH* (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), contains a substantial chapter about the previously unknown history of Dreilinden Maschinenbau GmbH and its deployment of forced laborers.

For Martin's report, 45 survivors were interviewed, while other eyewitnesses have recorded their memories of forced labor and relocations in writing. These sources can be seen at the Berliner Geschichtswerkstatt e.V. Preliminary Inquiry Files in the Sta. Köln, part of an effort to prosecute unidentified SS members suspected of murder and provide additional information about the living and working conditions in the camp and can be found in NWHStA-(D), Rep. 118/2109,2110. They contain numerous testimonies from survivors as well as records of depositions of the camp leader and a female guard. The proceedings were abandoned in May 1972 because the suspicion of violent crimes at the Kleinmachnow subcamp was impossible to prove even after all of the investigatory possibilities had been exhausted. The AG-R and AG-S have only lists of intakes and transfers that give indications of the occupancy of the Kleinmachnow subcamp and the prisoners' origins.

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KOLPIN

Alongside the establishment of the SS military training camp "Kurmark" in the Jamlitz region, only 100 kilometers (62 miles) from Berlin, the density of SS duty stations in the area surrounding the capital of the German Reich increased further from the summer of 1943 on with the emergence of the SS garrison headquarters Bad Saarow.

It was likewise in the summer of 1943 that the SS-Leadership Main Office (SS-Führungshauptamt, FHA) started two related projects in the Fürstenwalde/Bad Saarow/Scharmützelsee area east of Berlin.

Simultaneously with the relocation of its offices to the Bad Saarow area from Berlin, which was in danger of bombardment, the FHA began a large building project, the construction of an underground intelligence center in the Rauener Mountains south of Fürstenwalde.

The two projects were apparently connected. Both an overflow camp for SS duty stations and a large intelligence bunker were built in the space, which was in use from the second half of the year 1943 onward.

The project "relocation of SS duty stations" (*Verlagerung von SS-Dienststellen*) out of the Reich capital was carried out from the end of July 1943 under the code name "Siegfried."¹

The SS garrison headquarters that was established for these two projects, Bad Saarow, encompassed an area from Fürstenwalde to south of Beeskow as well as from Storkow to the Schlaubetal (Schlaube valley).² As of August 9, 1943, there also existed an "SS-Standortverwaltung Bad Saarow." Several subcamps of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp—Bad Saarow (also mistakenly called Ketschendorf), Fürstenwalde, Storkow, Spreenhagen, and Kolpin—were located from 1943 on within the jurisdiction of this garrison headquarters.

The Kolpin subcamp was closely connected with the Bad Saarow subcamp. The SS-Zentralbauleitung Bad Saarow was

headed by SS-Untersturmführer Hans-Gustav Bauer, who had been born in Nürnberg in 1912. As of May 1944, project offices for the central construction administration were located adjacent to the main building sites at Bad Saarow, as well as at Storkow, Trebnitz, and Kolpin,³ each of which was also a subcamp of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.

The camp leader was SS-Unterscharführer Karl Jüngling, who had previously been briefly in command of the Lieberose subcamp.⁴ After 1945, while in the British internment camp at Esterwegen, he stated that he held this position from October 20, 1944, to February 2, 1945.⁵ The camp was guarded by 25 to 30 ethnic Germans.⁶

One SS-Hauptscharführer Müller, said to have been responsible for Kolpin, reported "good and friendly treatment" of the prisoners. He also claimed to have tried to get additional food for them. His actual role, however, is unknown.⁷ The block elder in block one was political prisoner Wilhelm Kottkamp.⁸ The foreman in Kolpin is said to have been the prisoner Blutschuth.⁹

According to German ethnologist Hellmut Draws-Tychsen, who was roll-call clerk at the Bad Saarow subcamp until April 1944, the subcamps at Bad Saarow, Storkow, Spreenhagen, and Kolpin were considered one unified labor camp. SS records term Bad Saarow a work camp, and Trebnitz, Storkow, and Spreenhagen as labor details.

The Kolpin outside detail, however, was not listed separately in the SS records. It may have been a sublabor detail of the Bad Saarow subcamp.

According to accounts given by former prisoners, the camp was established in the summer of 1944 and accommodated between 150 and 400 prisoners. Other sources, however, suggest that the Kolpin subcamp was set up only in the fall of 1944.¹⁰

It is documented that the prisoners were deployed in the building of overflow quarters for the Office of Foreign Affairs/Counterintelligence of the Wehrmacht, later absorbed in the Military Office of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA).

The camp was dissolved on February 15, 1945.

SOURCES Scant documents on the prehistory of the camp are found in the BA-B (Collection NS 33). Memoirs of former prisoners and information on the perpetrators are preserved in the AG-S and at BLHA.

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NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 33/107, fol. 224.
2. BA-B, NS 33/107, fol. 189, Map of the SS-Standortverwaltung "Bad Saarow," n.d.
3. BA-B, NS 3/1072, fol. 139R.
4. AG-S, LAG XI/9, fol. 8.
5. AG-S, LAG X/3, List of the former SS members at the KZ Sachsenhausen who were held at the British internment camp at Esterwegen.
6. AG-S, LAG XI/9, fol. 8.

7. According to former political prisoner Willy Kühne, AG-S, Collection BLHA Potsdam, Pr. Br. Rep. 35H, vol. 12/2, shelf mark D 30 A/12/2 B, fol. 68–69.

8. AG-S, Collection BLHA Potsdam, Pr. Br. Rep. 35H, vol. 10/2, shelf mark D 30 A/10/2 A, fol. 138, confirmation of Wilhelm Kottkamp's detention by the VVN Essen.

9. AG-S, Collection BLHA Potsdam, Pr. Br. Rep. 35H, vol. 10/2, shelf mark D 30A/10/2 B, fol. 37, questionnaire of the former prisoner Heinrich Deichmann at the Bad Saarow subcamp.

10. AG-S, LAG XI/9, fol. 8.

KÖNIGS WUSTERHAUSEN

“Besides the clearance detail, which remained in Łódź until it fell to the Russians, there are also other people who survived for much stranger reasons. With the help of Biebow and his deputy Seifert, about five hundred Jews, mostly foremen and their families (there were even thirty children among them) were kept in a tailor's shop under the pretext that they had to dismantle the workshops. This enabled the five hundred to remain in Łódź until October 20, 1944, at which point the women were taken to Ravensbrück, while the men followed the workshops to Königs Wusterhausen, a labor detail of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.”¹

Thus reads the concise history of the origins of the Sachsenhausen subcamp at Königs Wusterhausen, as recorded by Gerald Reitlinger.

In connection with the large-scale deportation of Jewish and non-Jewish forced laborers to the so-called Old Reich to strengthen the struggling National Socialist war economy, a subcamp of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp was established in the fall of 1944 in the Brandenburg city of Königs Wusterhausen, southeast of Berlin.²

Its origin can be traced back directly to the Führer's decree to the German Housing Relief Service (Deutsche Wohnungshilfswerk, DWH), from September 9, 1943. Reichswohnungskommissar Robert Ley was in overall charge of the DWH, the last of the emergency housing programs in National Socialist Germany, intended to create temporary homes to accommodate “national comrades” who had been bombed out.³

On November 19, 1943, Reichsminister Albert Speer, in his dual capacity as commissioner for the Four Year Plan and plenipotentiary for the building industry, issued for the Berlin firm Kelterborn & Stenvers the “War Contract No. 160—Urgency level domestic 43 Y w 1,” for the construction of 4,500 temporary homes made of light concrete in the Litzmannstadt (Łódź) ghetto.⁴ Although production hardly advanced beyond the testing and preparation phase in the time remaining prior to the evacuation of the ghetto in August 1944, the number of Jewish men and women sent there to do the work grew constantly.⁵

When the approaching Red Army made the liquidation of the ghetto unavoidable, the German ghetto administration

official responsible for the construction of temporary homes, Franz Seifert, searched for a production site in the Old Reich and finally decided on Königs Wusterhausen.⁶

As Reitlinger suggests, it is in fact unusual that a large number of the prisoners (approximately 500 Jewish men, women, and children) working to produce temporary homes in the Litzmannstadt ghetto, after dismantling and loading production facilities and raw materials onto freight trains, were taken directly to the Old Reich, thus avoiding the more usual—and life-threatening—selection process at the Auschwitz concentration and extermination camp.⁷ However, the information available suggests that pragmatic rather than humanitarian motives were at play here. Both the ghetto official Seifert, who was pressing ahead with the relocation of the temporary homes factory, and Fritz Stenvers, the partner at the Berlin firm Kelterborn & Stenvers responsible for the construction of the temporary homes, were very interested in utilizing the experience and knowledge of the Jewish prisoners already working in the Litzmannstadt ghetto producing temporary homes. They were joined by the head of the labor department in the ghetto, Aron Jakubowicz, who was the deputy of the Jewish elder there, Mordechai Chaim Rumkowski.

Whereas the men were first taken to the so-called quarantine at Sachsenhausen, women and children were brought to the Ravensbrück women's camp. Eventually, they were transferred to Königs Wusterhausen in what appears to have been a total of three transports. In November 1944, after civilian construction workers had prepared the terrain, a first group of approximately 150 men from Sachsenhausen was brought to Königs Wusterhausen to erect the buildings on the site. A second transport followed just before Christmas 1944, and finally, on February 27, 1945, approximately 250 women (among them several Hungarian Jews) were transferred from Ravensbrück to Königs Wusterhausen. As a result, families that had initially been separated by the transport from the dissolved Litzmannstadt ghetto were reunited at Königs Wusterhausen. Still, due to the chaotic conditions, the effective production of temporary homes was no longer possible. Instead, the prisoners were used to do other jobs such as manufacturing ammunition boxes and fieldwork outside the camp.

Statements collected in Israel in 1971 from former prisoners unanimously contend that there were no intentional murders in the Königs Wusterhausen subcamp. Nevertheless, even here at least four women and a small child died due to the inhumane conditions, lack of hygiene, poor nutrition, and insufficient medical care. There are additional indications that others died from exhaustion or were murdered on the death march from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp to Rostock following the evacuation of the camp in April.

The camp commandant at Königs Wusterhausen was Willi Seifert from East Prussia. He was in command of about a dozen SS supervisors from the Seventh SS-Wachbataillon Sachsenhausen, who were responsible for guarding the camp. The supervision of the female prisoners was the responsibility

of three female SS guards, one of whom was accused of particular cruelty in several witnesses' statements.

The evacuation of the camp by the SS guard forces in April 1945 apparently could not be carried out as planned. It had been intended to be accomplished in several stages, but it seems that only the first group (about one-third of the prisoners) was taken to Sachsenhausen and then forced to take part in the infamous death march toward Schwerin. After the SS guard forces had fled the camp in haste, the remaining prisoners were freed by the Red Army on April 26, 1945. Because of the confusion, however, the camp appears to have been shelled mistakenly by Soviet tanks, resulting in further deaths.

The subcamp was not the only forced labor camp in Königs Wusterhausen. Several other camps of different kinds for foreign workers existed in the city and the surrounding area. This was revealed through investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg in 1966. During the course of these investigations, the former camp commander, Seifert, declared himself insane in order to avoid prosecution. In June 1971, the case was closed, as the depositions of former prisoners in Israel did not allege any homicides, which at this time were still within the statute of limitations and therefore would have been legally pursuable.⁸

SOURCES The only historical account of the Sachsenhausen subcamp at Königs Wusterhausen is Frank Stier, *Kriegsauftrag 160: Behelfsbeimbau im Ghetto Litzmannstadt (Łódź) und im KZ-Aussenlager Königs Wusterhausen durch das Deutsche Wohnungshilfswerk* (Berlin, 1999). This article is based on Stier's book. According to Stier, the city council of Königs Wusterhausen commissioned research into the history of the subcamp 50 years after the end of the war, acting on the initiative of David Grünstein, who as a young man had been held prisoner at Königs Wusterhausen. For the earliest reference to the Königs Wusterhausen subcamp, see Gerald Reitlinger, *Die Endlösung: Hitlers Versuch der Ausrottung der Juden Europas 1939–1945*, German trans. by J.W. Brügel, 4th ed. (Berlin, 1961), p. 342n., citing Bendet Herschkovitch, "The Ghetto in Litzmannstadt," *YAJS* 5 (1950): 85–122.

The few primary sources discovered to date on the Königs Wusterhausen subcamp are preserved at the ASt-KöW, AG-S, APŁ, BA-B, as well as ZdL (now BA-L) and others. They are cited in the above-mentioned publication. Probably the most important of them are the testimonies of former prisoners, recorded at Tel Aviv in the early 1970s and now held in BA-L.

Frank Stier
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Quotation in Gerald Reitlinger, *Die Endlösung: Hitlers Versuch der Ausrottung der Juden Europas 1939–1945*, German trans. by J.W. Brügel, 4th ed. (Berlin, 1961), p. 342n., citing Bendet Herschkovitch, "The Ghetto in Litzmannstadt," *YAJS* 5 (1950): 121.

2. Anhang, Schreiben des Stellvertretenden Bürgermeisters von Königs Wusterhausen an den Landrat von Teltow, September 21, 1944, BA-B, DP 3 V 43/70.

3. Dr. Fischer-Dieskau, legislative measures of the Reichswohnungskommissar, BA-B, NS 41 RAM 1515, fol. 170–172.

4. Reichsminister Speer, Kriegsauftrag 160, APŁ, 554 Reichsminister Speer DWH, fol. 6.

5. Beschäftigtenberichte, Aktennotizen Auskämmungsaktion APŁ, GV 219, fol. 16–17.

6. Telegram from Stenvers to Seifert, September 5, 1944, APŁ, GV 557, n.p.

7. BA-L, ZdL NL Sh IV AR/2704/66.

8. Ibid.

KÜSTRIN

According to a survey on the subcamps of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, there was one at Küstrin-Fasterheide from May 16, 1943, to April 30, 1945, for 300 male prisoners who were deployed at the Deutsche Zellwerke AG, Phrix-Werke, IG Farben.¹ Likewise, the former commandant of Sachsenhausen, Anton Kaindl, stated while interned in a British camp that there were approximately 300 prisoners at Küstrin.² Similar details were published by the Antifakomitee (Anti-Fascism Committee) of the German Democratic Republic, which speaks of 300 prisoners at the "labor camp Fasterheide, cellulose factory (Phrix-Werke) IG Farben."³ The Sachsenhausen Memorial, on the other hand, lists a total of 500 prisoners for the camp.⁴ A list put together by former prisoners, meanwhile, gives the number as about 400 prisoners, who they state were used for the erection of army buildings.⁵ Another prisoner recalled immediately after the war: "Building project (armaments factory), approximately four hundred men, mostly French, physical condition satisfactory, as the French frequently received care packages from the ICRC (International Committee of the Red Cross). Evacuated to Buchenwald in February 1945."⁶ The French survivors' organization for the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, however, only gives the names of 18 French prisoners for Küstrin. In the official list of the International Tracing Service (ITS), the Küstrin subcamp is referred to as "labor camp Fasterheide." It was mentioned on May 17, 1943, for the first time as having 30 prisoners, but on May 25, 1943, that number was already put at 300.⁷ Whatever the case, there were still 282 prisoners in Küstrin in early July 1943.⁸ The name Fasterheide was not actually known to the prisoners because the same camp had previously accommodated foreign forced laborers and was then called Fasterheide. The forced laborers, like the later concentration camp prisoners, were deployed at the Zellulose- & Zellwolle AG. It is possible that the concentration camp prisoners were accommodated in two separate camps because a number of the eyewitnesses do not recall any Soviet prisoners or a deployment in the tank factory. The camp was located about 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) north of Küstrin, directly at the mouth of the Warthe River. The factory was 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) from the camp. A Soviet prisoner-of-war (POW) camp also existed close by the subcamp.

According to SS records, the number of prisoners remained relatively constant between July 1943 and July 1944 at just under 300. The camp reached its highest occupancy, probably with 373 prisoners, in early September 1944, whereas in early October 1943, there were only 283 prisoners at Küstrin. The camp must have been dissolved between January 13 and February 12, 1945.⁹ In fact, a survivor later stated he had been held prisoner at Küstrin from June 1943 to January 1945.¹⁰ Wachmann Eduard Weigelt mentions January 30, 1945, as the end of his assignment at Küstrin.¹¹ When the camp was dissolved, one group of prisoners was evacuated on foot to Sachsenhausen. Whether or not prisoners were killed during this march is a controversial question among the survivors. Other prisoners were brought to Buchenwald upon evacuation from Küstrin. No evidence exists to prove the assumption of the Zentralstelle in Cologne that the prisoners had to march to Lübben, perhaps to the Sachsenhausen subcamp there, from which point they were taken on trains to Buchenwald.

Apparently, there existed two additional labor details beyond the deployment of prisoners in a paper mill of the Zellwerke AG, where the prisoners, divided into four groups, were assigned to concrete work and occasionally to the construction of temporary homes outside the factory.

For one, according to an account by Soviet prisoner J.F. Potapow, the prisoners worked with the most primitive means, even for building a tank factory and for the repair of vehicles and tanks in a small mechanical workshop. The erection of the tank factory was stopped in the summer of 1944. Repair of the tanks was sabotaged. It seems that prisoners were also used for unloading wood at the port. The camp, consisting of four barracks and a kitchen, was secured by barbed wire and guard towers. One of the block elders was named Stephan. The camp elder was political prisoner Erich Czechor, who enjoyed the confidence of the camp command and was even allowed to go on leave to the town of Küstrin with an escort. He helped the Soviet prisoners get additional food, shoes, and cigarettes. The cigarettes made it possible to put the guards in a lenient mood. Within the camp, perhaps in a separate part of it, there were Ukrainians, Russians, and Poles alongside the Germans. The working conditions were particularly bad for the Russians, and the guards were cruel to them. A bond of solidarity existed among Soviet and German political prisoners in the camp, which the camp elder Czechor called the "illegal camp committee." There were also French, Belgian, and Dutch prisoners at Küstrin.

Czechor was the camp elder from the late summer of 1943 to 1944 and also served this duty later at the subcamp Briesen. In his capacity as block elder at the main camp, he behaved sadistically toward Polish prisoners. It is believed that he had been an SS member earlier and was demoted because of his Communist activities and brought to the concentration camp. According to his statements, he was Obertruppführer at the Reich Labor Service and was suspected of maintaining contacts with subversive persons in Kassel. Ac-

cording to a 1933 document from the Hannover Police, Czechor, who joined the Nazi Party in the same year, stated that he went undercover as "Commander of the anti-fascists at Hann[ersche] Münden" in order "to gain valuable elements from the communist movement for the National Front."¹² Within the Nazi movement, he belonged to the group around the Strasser brothers. In Küstrin, he appointed at first only Germans as block elders and foremen but eventually also allowed Russians as barracks elders and foremen. Later, Paul Wolf of Magdeburg is said to have been camp elder. According to his own account, Karl Heinz Lorenzen was camp elder for six to seven weeks immediately after the departure of Czechor. He said he later acted as foreman of the temporary home building detachment in Küstrin.

In December 1944, a group of prisoners left Küstrin and marched south on foot, ostensibly in the direction of Lübben, where they were allegedly brought to Buchenwald in railroad cars.¹³

The camp's first leader, from the summer of 1943 to the turn of the year 1943–1944, is supposed to have been SS-Sturmbannführer Wilhelm Hermann Heidrich, who was born in 1886 in Idar-Oberstein. He is also referred to as commander of a guard detachment and later became leader of the Briesen subcamp. One SS-Unterscharführer Möckel, who has not been precisely identified, demonstrably acted as "detachment commander" at the "Küstrin labor camp" at the end of 1944. Various prisoners testified that he did nothing that deserves particular blame. A prisoner, who was at Küstrin from December 1943 to December 1944, named a certain Novotny, who hailed from the Sudetenland, as camp leader. On the other hand, he identified SS-Führer Ernst Möckel as head of the labor detail at Küstrin.

Several other SS leaders are known by name, including the chief of the guards, Gustav Berndt, who stated he served at Küstrin from May 1943 to February 1, 1945; the Wachmänner Hans Bitto, who claimed he was at Küstrin until March 1945; Willi Dalügge; Eduard Weigelt, who specified his exact dates for Küstrin as May 28, 1943, to January 30, 1945; Rottenführer Hans-Eduard Poppe; Josef Fells; and a cook, the ethnic German SS-Oberschütze Johann Kriks. Some 25 to 30 privates belonged to the guard forces.

Wachmann Poppe was denazified in 1948 in Bielefeld in a court proceeding and fined 500 Deutsche Mark (DM) because of his affiliation with the SS. He had previously been interned in the British-occupied zone, as were the Wachmänner Dalügge, Weigelt, Berndt, and Bitto.

The presumed first leader of the camp, SS-Sturmbannführer Heidrich, probably died in 1946 in a British internment camp.

From 1967 to 1970, the Central Office in Ludwigsburg and Cologne inconclusively investigated those responsible for the camp. The investigators considered the excesses associated by a Soviet survivor with Küstrin to have been confused with the motor pool detachment Wald of the Sachsenhausen main camp.¹⁴ The German Democratic Republic also processed a

request for judicial assistance from the Central Office in Cologne, but their investigations did not result in any evidence of the killing of prisoners.¹⁵

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg also briefly investigated accusations against the former camp elder Czechor for abusing prisoners at the main camp.¹⁶

SOURCES Aside from the occasional mention in more general surveys, there is no specific literature on this subcamp. Documents are to be found above all at the BA-L and AG-S. The memoirs *Die unsichtbare Front*, and Karl Heinz Lorenzen, *Haltungen haben einen Preis* (Flensburg, 2002), contain references to Küstrin.

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NOTES

1. AG-S, D.A. 5147: Uwe Hofschläger, “Funktion und Bedeutung der Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Sachsenhausen” (Master’s thesis, Freie Universität Berlin, 1997). See also the list at AG-S, n.d.

2. BA-B, film 42053, NI-280, deposition of Anton Kaindl, June 15, 1946.

3. KaW-DDR, ed., *Damals in Sachsenhausen* (Berlin, 1967).

4. Conference papers of the workshop SBG, ed., “Die Aussenlager der Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen und Ravensbrück” (Internationale Jugendbegegnungsstätte Ravensbrück, October 17–18, 2003).

5. Compilation, n.d., BLHA, Pr-Br. Rep. 35H No. 8/1.

6. Compilation, n.d., Walter Nowak, IfZ, München Ed 106/77.

7. *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 268.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 577.

9. AG-S, JSU 1, vol. 101.

10. AG-S, D 30 A/10/1B, fol. 74.

11. PRO, WO 309/1784.

12. BA-L, IV 406 AR 218/67, supplement, n.p.

13. BA-L, IV 406 AR 218/67, fol. 263, deposition of Georg Brinkmann on August 15, 1969.

14. AG-S, LAG XII/5, final decree of the Central Office in Cologne, July 6, 1970.

15. BA-B/SAPMO, DP 3/1965.

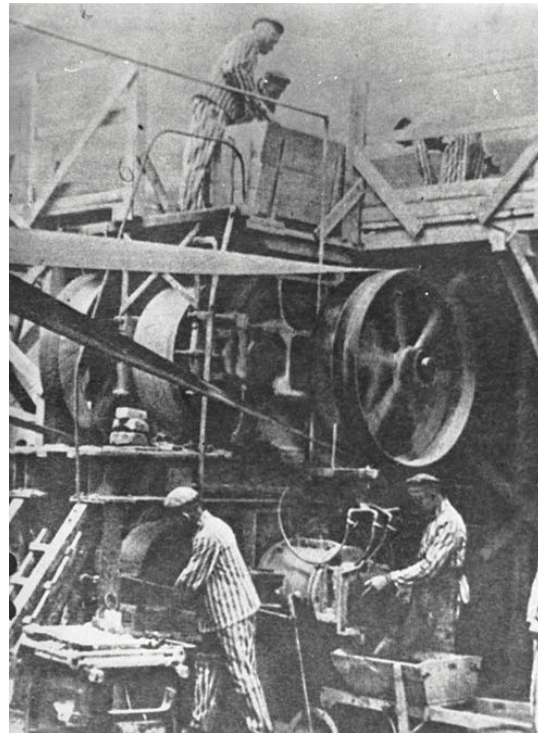
16. BA-L, IV 406 AR 218/67, supplement, decree of July 24, 1967, n.p.

LEHNITZ [AKA KLINKERWERK]

Beginning in August 1938, the SS assigned prisoners from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp to build what was to be the world’s largest brickworks (*Klinkerwerk*), close to a lock just north of Lehnitz, near Oranienburg. The location was chosen both for its proximity to the main camp, which provided the labor, and because it was possible to transport the bricks at low cost on the Hohenzollern Kanal (the

present-day Oder-Havel Kanal), which was part of the Gross-Schiffahrtsweg Berlin-Stettin (main Berlin-Stettin shipping route). A section of the site had already been in use since 1936 as a firing range by the SS-Totenkopfstandarte (Death’s Head Regiment), which was stationed at Oranienburg Castle.

The rationale behind the project was the National Socialist desire to promote its image through monumental architecture, particularly the redevelopment of Berlin into the projected world capital of “Germania.” There was to be a north-south axis leading to a “Great Square” with a “Great Hall” that was to have a capacity of 180,000 people, the creation of which would have destroyed all of the historic fabric in its path. Responsible for the realization of Hitler’s megalomaniac ideas was Albert Speer in his capacity as Generalbauinspektor für die Reichshauptstadt Berlin, an authority created in 1937. The necessary bricks were to have been produced at the Lehnitz brickworks. To this end, the SS founded the Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke GmbH (German Earth and Stone Works, Ltd., DESt) The clay came from a pit at nearby Zehlendorf. The large-scale brickworks with its modern tunnel kilns and drying presses was to have been a model SS enterprise with the highest economic and technical stan-



Undated photograph of prisoners performing forced labor at the Lehnitz (Klinkerwerk) subcamp.

USHMM WS #19179, COURTESY OF AG-S

dards. However, since the wrong clay was chosen for this process, the project turned out to be an expensive mistake, demonstrating the inability of the SS to achieve efficient production in their concentration camp enterprises. To cover up the fiasco, they switched to the traditional wet-press method with artificial drying for the bricks. The rebuilding effort, which dragged on for years, was managed by the engineer Erduin Schondorff, whom the SS subsequently entrusted with running all of the brickworks throughout the German Reich and in the occupied countries. The prisoners had to rip out the tunnel kilns with their hands. In 1942, a policy was adopted for the whole German Reich—not least because of this experience—to bring the prisoners to the factories rather than, as in the early phase of the concentration camp system, to bring the factories to the concentration camps.

In the early years, about 1,500 prisoners marched daily from the Sachsenhausen main camp to the wooded area at the Klinkerwerk for construction of the enormous workshop halls, laying out the docks, and erection of the pertinent factory buildings and dwellings. They had to do the construction work in a primitive manner, with only wheelbarrows and shovels. The Klinkerwerk outside detail was seen as a particularly frightening punishment and even a death sentence. “Every prisoner would rather accept any other labor detail than being sent to the brickworks. . . . The fact is that the brickworks has gotten a bad reputation among the prisoners, because the wastage of human lives is so huge. . . . As the prisoners are available in unlimited numbers and are so incredibly cheap (after all, a dead man costs nothing more than a telegram to his mother or some other person), it really doesn’t matter if today there are only three dead bodies and tomorrow thirty. Indeed, in the end the brickworks is little more than a regular execution site.”¹

The average survival time for the deployment at the Klinkerwerk was estimated at six months. Every day prisoners died there from exhaustion or committed suicide. They were shot dead “while attempting to escape” if they crossed the chain of sentries in their despair. They sank into the moor or the ditches, fell into the water while unloading barges, or were dragged to their death by the carts. “A turning platform was intentionally prepared so that the carts overturned and it was impossible for the four members of the crew to lift it up again. Many prisoners were beaten to death with clubs while doing this job. The so-called chain of sentries was drawn so tight that no prisoner was able to take more than two steps from the cart. Those who collapsed from exhaustion and hunger were killed by sharpshooters standing by with shots in the head.”²

It was a place of suffering, particularly for Jews, Sinti and Roma (Gypsies), homosexuals, Jehovah’s Witnesses, and those individuals classified as asocial who had been arrested in 1938 as part of the operation “Arbeitsscheu Reich” (Reich work-shy) but also for political prisoners rated as “recidivist,” prisoners from occupied regions, and all other groups of prisoners that were supposed to be subjected to particularly oppressive measures and disrespect. After 12 hours of work, which in

principle had to be done at double time, the returning prisoners pulled a cart with the day’s deceased and injured back to the main camp. In particular, among the workers in the clay pits, there were hardly any survivors. According to the reminiscences of prisoner Harry Naujoks, one of the camp commandants, SS-Obersturmbannführer Hermann Heidrich, was fond of repeating the phrase: “People here are either healthy or dead.” On the firing range, SS privates used prisoners who had to do construction and earthworks in adjacent areas as living targets. “We had soon found out that the SS privates were far less interested in shooting at the targets than they were at us prisoners, and directly ‘hunted’ individuals pushing wheelbarrows.”³ In one 1942 massacre, between 180 and 200 homosexuals were killed.

In 1941, the Klinkerwerk was given the status of an independent subcamp of Sachsenhausen, with its own administration. The prisoners had to build a barrack complex southeast of the workshop hall, which was surrounded by an electrified fence. After its completion in April 1941, only the prisoners of the Speer detachment came each day from the main camp. The stone-processing works, which was constructed by this detachment from 1940 on, was to hew Swedish granite and other valuable stones in order to produce clinker stones. It was, however, never completed, because the planning for the monumental “Germania” was deferred due to war developments. Instead, beginning in 1942, the prisoners of the Speer detachment had to disassemble salvaged material such as cables and mines from the occupied countries and to load any precious metals of military importance regained onto ships.

In 1942–1943, the brickworks was partly adapted for arms production. By the middle of 1944, 10,000 mortar shell slugs were produced in Lehnitz every day. To achieve that, a foundry was built, where the prisoners had to carry the molten metal in so-called bags from the smelters to the molds. This “bag carrying” resulted in horrible burns and was also calculatedly used to murder prisoners. The brick laboratory, which had initially developed alternative methods of processing clay to replace the failed dry-press concept, experimented now—in the interest of Speer, who since 1942 was also armaments minister—with the use of ceramics for explosives in order to save steel.

The exact number of prisoners at the Klinkerwerk subcamp, and likewise the number of deceased, is unknown. At the beginning, 1,600 to 2,000 prisoners worked in the factory and in the clay pit. About 80 prisoners were deployed in the bakery, established in 1939 next to the brickworks, which produced bread and baked goods for the SS troop camp and the SS duty stations in Oranienburg and the surrounding area, as well as for the Sachsenhausen and Ravensbrück concentration camps. These prisoners were also housed in the Lehnitz barracks. In 1944, the SS counted 3,600 prisoners in Lehnitz. The camp had been planned for 1,500 people. In 1943, however, about 3,000 prisoners were crowded together in the 10 lodging barracks. Early in 1944, a two-story brick building was added to the camp for the prisoners working in the mortar-shell foundry.

In the Cologne Trial against SS-Oberscharführer Otto Kaiser (1963–1965 and 1967–1970), it was established that there were two to three deaths every day in Lehnitz, although the dying who could still be carried back to the camp were not included in this figure. Many victims were buried on the spot; however, most of the corpses were cremated in the crematory of the main camp. Following an order issued in December 1944, stating that all traces of the cremated remains around the crematory were to be hidden, in late January 1945, 8 to 10 tons of human ashes were scattered into the canal in front of the brickworks. On April 10, 1945, an Allied bombing raid destroyed most buildings at the brickworks. More than 200 prisoners, perhaps even more than 270, lost their lives that day; the dismembered bodies in the bomb craters were never recovered. For this reason, the site of the brickworks became a large cemetery.

Following the bombing raid, the SS dissolved the Lehnitz subcamp and sent the prisoners back to the main camp. Upon its evacuation on April 20 and 21, 1945, the prisoners were forced to set out on a death march; the weak and sick remained behind and were liberated by the Soviet and Polish Army on April 22.

In the October 1947 Berlin Sachsenhausen Trial before the military tribunal of the Soviet military administration in Germany, the former commandant of the Lehnitz subcamp, Heinrich Fresemann, was sentenced to life imprisonment, together with 13 other principal defendants. They were sent to the Soviet Union, to Workuta on the Arctic Ocean, and used as forced laborers in the coal pits. Fresemann died there in the spring of 1948.

SOURCES The most intense research on the Lehnitz Klinkerwerk subcamp has been done by Joachim Müller. In the book that he and Andreas Sternweiler edited, *Homosexuelle Männer im KZ Sachsenhausen* (Berlin, 2000), one of the contributions deals with the cruel events at the brickworks: Müller, “‘Unnatürliche Todesfälle’: Vorfälle in den Aussenbereichen Klinkerwerk, Schiessplatz und Tongrube,” pp. 216–258. In two editions of the *GeRU*—10–11 (2001): 103–104—Müller summarized the results of his research: “Das Klinkerwerk Oranienburg: Aussenlager und Vernichtungsgelände des Konzentrationslagers Sachsenhausen.” There is also brief information in the pamphlet offered by the Sachsenhausen Memorial, Kerstin Engelhardt, *Strafkommando und Aussenlager Klinkerwerk 1938–45* (Sachsenhausen, 1997). It is based upon the investigations by Müller. An open-air documentary prepared by Bernd Graff and sponsored by the Sachsenhausen Memorial, shown 2000–2001 in the courtyard of the Oranienburg Castle, presented the history of the Klinkerwerk in text and image; it will be shown at the memorial as *Geschichtspark KZ-Aussenlager Klinkerwerk*. Further information is to be found in Heinz Heger, *Die Männer mit dem Rosa Winkel*, 3rd ed. (1973; Gifkendorf, 1989); Albert Christel, *Apokalypse unserer Tage: Erinnerungen an das KZ Sachsenhausen*, ed. Manfred Ruppel and Lothar Wolfstetter (Frankfurt am Main, 1987).

Documents on the Klinkerwerk, both originals and copies, as well as eyewitness reports, were collected by the AG-S. Important documents are to be found above all at the BLHA. A

published prisoner testimony on the subcamp is Harry Naujoks, *Mein Leben im KZ Sachsenhausen 1936–1942: Erinnerungen des damaligen Lagerältesten* (Cologne, 1987), chapter 24.

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NOTES

1. Report by the political prisoner Emil Büge on the situation in 1940, AG-S, I/3, p. 105.
2. Kurt Müller and Karl Raddatz, report from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, written on May 15, 1945, AG-S, D 30 A/34, p. 12, copy of the original at the BLHA.
3. Heinz Heger, *Die Männer mit dem Rosa Winkel*, 3rd ed. (1973; Gifkendorf, 1989), p. 52.

LIEBEROSE [AKA “LIRO”]

Documents show that in June 1943 plans for four new training grounds were developed for the Waffen-SS. With a local garrison administration and headquarters in Jamlitz, a village with 300 inhabitants and the Lieberose state railway station, the SS training area “Kurmark” was only about 100 kilometers (62 miles) from Berlin.¹ According to his own account, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler wanted to set up the new SS garrison this close to Berlin so that in the event of a coup he would have been able to arrive quickly at the center of power of the SS troops.

A provisional SS development camp had existed since November 9, 1943, in a dance hall in Jamlitz. Technically, it reported to the section for “Häftlingseinsatz bei SS-Dienststellen”—deployment of prisoners at SS duty stations in the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). In practice, however, it reported to the SS-Standortkommandant (garrison commander) and thus to the SS-Führungshauptamt (Leadership Main Office, FHA). The first prisoners arrived there from Sachsenhausen and were mostly German or foreign political prisoners and so-called professional criminals (BVs).² From the very beginning, the prisoners worked under the command of the Zentralbauleitung der Waffen-SS (Central Construction Administration of the Waffen-SS, ZBL) “Kurmark,” which reported to the SS-Standortverwaltung (Garrison Administration). The first project, completed by the end of March 1944, was to build 6 lodging barracks, a kitchen, and an infirmary between the railway station and the village. By December 1944, there were 18 barracks built. On April 12, 1944, the SS transferred 400 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) and Polish political prisoners from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp to the camp, now called the Lieberose labor camp.³ The prisoners called Lieberose “Liro.”⁴ On June 5, 1944, the first transport of Jewish prisoners from Auschwitz arrived at Jamlitz, consisting of 2,400 Hungarian Jews.⁵ Within the six months leading up to December 1944, an estimated 6,000 to 10,000 Jewish prisoners from more than 10 European countries were taken to Jamlitz, either directly or via Sachsenhausen. They were joined there by a total of

about 1,000 non-Jewish prisoners. They had to build roads, railway embankments, air-raid shelters, barracks, and firing ranges. Among their other tasks, they were also put to work at an SS-owned estate at Leeskow, in the fishery, at the sawmill, or with farmers. In the final stages of the war, they worked on the camp grounds and at an SS contractor's yard in a small workshop, manufacturing electronic products. The biggest labor detail, Unterkünfte Ullersdorf (Ullersdorf lodgings), meant walking about 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) north every day. The work, which had to be done with the most primitive tools and without proper rations, was lethal. The method of killing was "extermination by work." For example, the prisoners had to march barefoot to the construction site, carrying a hollow block on their shoulders. Survivors also reported that hangings took place in the roll-call area as punishment for turning cement sacks into underwear. The sick prisoners were gathered in recovery wards and periodically taken to Auschwitz II-Birkenau, where they were exterminated. Lists exist with the names of about 1,000 Hungarian Jews who suffered this fate.⁶ It is estimated that 80 percent of the Jewish prisoners had lost their lives by the time the camp was dissolved, either because of exhaustion from work or at the gas chambers of Birkenau.

Prisoners from the Waffen-SS detachment at Jamlitz were deployed by companies from Berlin (Elektrolux Ltd., Hans Lautenbach Betonbau, Otto Quade Strassenbau, Bims- und Faserstoffbetonwerke Anton Racz), Cottbus (Richard Reckmann Gleis- und Tiefbau, Hermann Kircher Elektrotechnische Spezialwerkstätten, Hans Thiemann Sanitär und Heizung), Guben (Arno Schaefer Ingenieurbüro für Licht, Kraft und Radio), and Lieberose (Kölling Elektrikermeister, Wunderlich Bauingenieur), as well as by the firm Schnepfer & Isphording in Hamm/Westphalia. Those in Jamlitz viewed the Reckmann company as a "death detail." In the spring of 1944, the same company built the "ramp" for the arrival of the Hungarian Jews at the extermination camp Birkenau.⁷

In the Lieberose camp, the prisoners were subject to the whims of the camp leader, SS-Hauptscharführer Wilhelm Kersten, and his block leaders, whereas during work they reported to the ZBL and therefore to the FHA. SS block leaders as well as members of the ZBL supervised both the camp guards and the work of the individual detachments. The camp guards from the SS-Guard Battalion 4 Kurmark were recruited mostly from ethnic Germans in the Banat, who had been drawn to the SS-Freiwilligen-Division "Prinz Eugen." The guard force also reported to the Standortkommandant SS-Standartenführer Alexander Fick.⁸

The functionary positions among the barrack elders were divided roughly equally between political prisoners and professional criminals. The infirmary was dominated by the political prisoners and the kitchen by the BVs.

The activities of a small group of political prisoners at the infirmary created an element of solidarity. The group consisted of the Soviet camp doctor Dr. Viktor Brashnikow; the block elder Siegmund Sredzki, a German

Communist; the writer Gunther R. Lys; and a Jewish doctor, Dr. Hans Landshut. Among other things, they made an effort to limit the influence of the criminals on the camp leader. Improvement of the conditions for the Jewish prisoners was only partially possible (getting medicine from the main camp or letters attesting that prisoners were unfit for work and the double-edged establishment of the above-mentioned recovery wards in the summer of 1944, which for the SS were a collecting point for extermination transports to Birkenau). Some of the Jewish prisoners celebrated forbidden religious holidays. Singing and services for Shabbat, as well as a Sukkoth, are documented. Survivors reported that on Jewish holidays the SS block leaders were meaner and more cynical.

According to the accounts of former political prisoners, an attempted escape by Soviet prisoners was prevented by the activists around Sredzki, above all because the mass of Jewish prisoners would have suffered from the additional terror by the SS. On July 20, 1944, for fear of a mass jailbreak, the SS surrounded the camp with flamethrowers.⁹

A special case of solidarity among the Jewish prisoners was the so-called bread association (Brotbund), which consisted above all of Polish Jews who were brought to Jamlitz from the mason's school (*Maurer Schule*) at Auschwitz I in December 1944. These young people had complained about the unjust distribution of bread, and some of them got 25 lashes on their backs. Schmuël Cohn was almost beaten to death. He was able to survive only with the help of the group, which now shared their bread with him. The bonds among the members of the mason's school still exist.

Upon the camp's dissolution on February 2, 1945, about 1,200 convalescent prisoners began to be murdered. In an act of desperation, a Jewish ear specialist from Budapest, Dr. Erdösz, managed to seriously injure the camp leader, Kersten, with a spoon handle.¹⁰

Hugo Gryn, who later became a rabbi in London, reported that a small group of Jewish prisoners at Jamlitz killed an SS private from the guard force during their work.¹¹

On February 2, 1945, approximately 1,600 prisoners were forced to march to Sachsenhausen. At least 40 weakened prisoners were killed by Rottenführer Erich Schemel, and dozens more died from exhaustion.¹² Of the about 1,200 Jewish prisoners who arrived at Sachsenhausen, the murder of 400 is documented.¹³ In the course of the month, some Jewish prisoners from the Lieberose subcamp were taken from Sachsenhausen above all to the Mauthausen concentration camp in Austria but also to Bergen-Belsen, Neuengamme, Flossenbürg, and Dachau.

The approximately 1,350 sick prisoners that had been left behind in Jamlitz were shot dead on the camp grounds between February 2 and 4, 1945, by SS guards, block leaders, and members of the SS-Bauhof, as well as camp leader Kersten and garrison commander Fick.¹⁴ A mass grave with the bones of 577 dead bodies was found in 1971 a few kilometers east of Jamlitz in a gravel pit. The skeletons were exhumed and cremated, while the gold in their teeth, which

the SS had not been able to recover in 1945 in their rush, was then extracted by authorities of the German Democratic Republic.

Eight judicial inquiries were made on the Lieberose subcamp, both in the West German zones of occupation and in the Federal Republic of Germany. These resulted in five judgments from the denazification court and three at the regular court. Poland twice made petitions for extradition, which were refused, and once investigated on its own. The German Democratic Republic responded to two requests for information by the Federal Republic of Germany, and after the discovery of the mass grave, the Ministerium für Staatssicherheit (Ministry for State Security, MfS) investigated between 1971 and 1975. There were five proceedings altogether against camp leader Kersten. For 22 months, he was held in the British internment camp Neuengamme, and in 1954 in Lübeck, he was sentenced to 7 months on probation. A second trial resulted in his acquittal in 1965, but he died during a procedure in 1970. At a trial in 1965 in Fulda, it was possible to sentence Corporal Schemel to four and a half years' imprisonment; however, he was released early. Even the investigations by the State Attorney's Office in Cottbus since 1998 could not solve the murder of about 1,200 Jewish prisoners at the Lieberose subcamp in Jamlitz.

In late 1945, the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD) arrested the electrician Otto Maass from Cottbus, an eyewitness to the shootings between February 2 and 4, 1945, and interned him at Jamlitz and Buchenwald, although he had stood up for the persecution of the murderers by the Cottbus antifascism committee. In 1946–1947, at the Sachsenhausen Trial in front of a Soviet military tribunal in Berlin, Lieberose played almost no role. On the contrary, the prosecution of the perpetrators was neglected, although the NKVD knew several of the murderers by name and the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal was interested in the crimes committed at Jamlitz.

SOURCES The following secondary sources recount the history of the Lieberose subcamp of Sachsenhausen: Cordula Kappner: *Von Burgpreppach über Auschwitz in das Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen: Der Weg des Kindes Gerhard Eckmann; eine Spurensuche* (Hassfurt, 2001); Andreas Weigelt, "Die Asche der jüdischen Häftlinge auf 'Galgenberg' in Lieberose," in *Helden, Täter und Verräter: Studien zum DDR-Antifaschismus*, ed. Annette Leo and Peter Reif-Spirek (Berlin, 1999), pp. 37–64; Weigelt, *Zur Geschichte des jüdischen "Arbeitslagers Lieberose": 1943–1945 in Jamlitz, einem Nebenlager des KZ Sachsenhausen; ein Bericht* (n.p., 1997); Weigelt, "'Die Juden sollen zittern!': Zur Geschichte des jüdischen 'Arbeitslagers Lieberose' 1943–1945 in Jamlitz, einem Aussenlager des KZ-Sachsenhausen sowie zur gleichnamigen Wanderausstellung," *GeRu* 82 (1998): 14–20; Weigelt, "Jüdischer Häftlingseinsatz für das SS-Führungshauptamt: Der SS-Truppenübungsplatz 'Kurmark' und das KZ-Nebenlager 'Arbeitslager Lieberose' in Jamlitz 1944–45," in *Zwangsarbeit während der NS-Zeit in Berlin und Brandenburg: Formen, Funktion und Rezeption*, ed. Winfried Meyer and Klaus Neitmann (Berlin, 2000), pp. 177–189; and Weigelt, "Konspirativ gesteuertes Gedenken:

Das Beispiel des KZ-Aussenlagers Lieberose," at www.buergerkomitee.org/hug/h54-dateien/weigelt.html.

Primary sources for the Lieberose subcamp of Sachsenhausen may be found in BA-B; AG-S; APMO; and Sta. Düsseldorf, Fulda, and Nürnberg/Fürth. An unpublished testimony is Gunther R. Lys, "KZ-Liro" (MSS, Haifa, 1976); and a published testimony is Hugo Gryn, *Chasing Shadows: Memories of a Vanished World* (London, 2000).

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NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 19/1373.
2. Report by Andrej Sarapkin.
3. List of transports, AMGR.
4. Gunther R. Lys, "KZ-Liro" (MSS, Haifa, 1976), n.p.
5. AG-S, CAFSSRF, N-19092, vol. 99.
6. AG-S, CAFSSRF.
7. APMO, D-2.Bau/2480.
8. BA-B, BDC, SSO-file Bruno Thurm.
9. Lys, "KZ-Liro," n.p.
10. Ibid.
11. Hugo Gryn, *Chasing Shadows: Memories of a Vanished World* (London, 2000).
12. Sta. Fulda, Ks 2/65.
13. Sta. Düsseldorf, 8 Ks 2/59.
14. Sta. Nuremberg/Fürth, 13 Js 21/65.

LÜBBEN

The Lübben subcamp was established in April 1944. At the time, there were five prisoner-of-war (POW) camps known by name in the city. French prisoners were accommodated at inn Zum Wendenfürsten, while two POW camps for officers were located on the grounds of the state hospital and at Frauenberg Mountain. Soviet POWs were lodged in camps at the Südbahnhof (south railway station) and at the Wendt ammunition factory.¹

Beginning in April 1944, the concentration camp prisoners of the Lübben subcamp were deployed at the Spiegelberge Mountains in Ostergrund, where they had to do heavy construction and concrete work for the Wehrmacht. They built bunkers for overflow bases of the headquarters, including a series of bunkers in the Bergstrasse in Lübben. In 1945, the bunkers were blown up by the Red Army, but their remnants still exist.

The subcamp itself, however, was located in Lubolz, about 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) from Lübben. By late April 1944, 60 concentration camp prisoners were accommodated there,² a number that remained relatively constant until October 1944. According to other statements, the subcamp was established only on July 1, 1944.³ It appears that 200 prisoners at most were deployed in Lübben. In a later card index, the Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime (Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes, VVN) in the German Democratic Republic termed the food provided by the Wehrmacht as

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“tolerable.”⁴ On April 25, 1944, the construction officer of the army personnel branch petitioned the industrial inspection board at Cottbus for a raise for heavy work, which was granted on the grounds that it was a matter of “prisoners of war.” In doing so, the army personnel branch suppressed the fact that the prisoners reported to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp and were administered from there. The June 8, 1944, letter of approval from the industrial inspection board at Cottbus to the army personnel branch based at Lübben, Jägerkaserne (Huntsmen’s Barracks), referred to the 60 concentration camp prisoners as Russian POWs who had to do concrete and earthworks as part of a special duty (z.b.V.) company.⁵

In November 1944, work on the bunkers at Lübben was included in the “minimum building program” of the Defense Ministry, which promised the delivery of 300 tons of cement in order to complete the bunkers as soon as possible. This was communicated by Armaments Minister Albert Speer to SS-Obergruppenführer Hans Jüttner on November 9, 1944.⁶

The guards probably were supplied by the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. In September–October 1944, 17 SS privates were transferred from the SS-Standortzug Lübben to the Waffen-SS Totenkopf-Wachbataillon Sachsenhausen at the main camp, while another group was transferred in the opposite direction from Sachsenhausen to Lübben.⁷ It is not known whether this refers to members of the camp guard. On September 29, 1944, two Soviet prisoners escaped from the camp. Another Soviet prisoner, who managed to get away on October 2, 1944, was picked up again on October 3.⁸

It is not unthinkable that concentration camp prisoners were also deployed for the expansion of the branch office of the Göring Research Office (Forschungsamt). Located in the Postbauten in Lübben, not far from the Lieberoser Strasse, the office was part of the intelligence service for reconnaissance of enemy and neutral (nonmilitary) radio communications. The “B” and “C” offices had existed in Lübben since 1933 and intercepted Soviet radio transmissions in particular. In 1943, one of the main divisions of the Research Office was transferred from the Schillerstrasse in Berlin-Charlottenburg to Lübben. Early in 1944, they were searching for a site in Lübben to build the new main office of the Research Institute, and allegedly 130 barracks for it, a project that was not finished by the end of the war. In late 1944, Lübben was considered the most important radio reconnaissance office for the surveillance of the United States and Japan.

On February 12, 1945, there were still 45 prisoners at the Lübben subcamp.⁹ The camp was dissolved on April 23, 1945, shortly before the Soviet Army entered the city.¹⁰

In the course of numerous judicial inquiries conducted in the Federal Republic of Germany on various subcamps of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, it was only determined that little was known about the Lübben subcamp.¹¹

SOURCES Sparse archival documents on the history are located in the BA-B, ASt-Ctb, and AG-S. Records with infor-

mation on escapes and daily reports are preserved at the AG-S (CAFSSRF).

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NOTES

1. BA-B, SAPMO-DDR, Dy 55 V 278, 5/14, letter from the VVN district council of Lübben to the VVN state federation at Potsdam, June 23, 1950.
2. ASt-Ctb, A II, 7.3., vol. 22, Hk 494/6, NL bonus cards, Letter from the OKH/Bauoffizier to Gewerbeaufsichtsamt Cottbus, April 25, 1944.
3. AG-S, CAFSSRF, N-19092, vol. 100.
4. BA-B, SAPMO, Dy 55 V 278, 5/14.
5. ASt-Ctb, A II, 7.3., vol. 22, Hk 494/6, NL bonus cards.
6. BA-B, R 3/1584, Folio 141, Letter from Speer to the Chef der Heeresrüstung und Befehlshaber des Ersatzheeres, SS-Obergruppenführer Jüttner, November 9, 1944.
7. BA-DH, ZM 1514, File 1, Collective File fol. 21, 38, 58, and 62.
8. AG-S, CAFSSRF, N-19092, vol. 100.
9. AG-S, CAFSSRF, N-19092, vol. 101.
10. AG-S, CAFSSRF, N-19092, vol. 99.
11. AG-S, LAG XI/12, Letter from the ZLNW-K to Gsta. DDR, June 29, 1970.

NEUBRANDENBURG

The 1949 International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog of SS camps listed a Sachsenhausen subcamp for male prisoners at Neubrandenburg, based on Belgian and German postwar accounts. According to a list drawn up by the Sachsenhausen Memorial, the subcamp existed between the summer of 1943 and the spring of 1945 and held about 300 male prisoners who were deployed at the Mechanische Werkstätten GmbH Neubrandenburg (MWN) armaments factory.¹ According to other information, though, the camp had already existed in 1942.² An investigating authority, meanwhile, determined that the camp was not established until December 1944;³ however, the daily variation reports of the Sachsenhausen concentration camps for the years 1944 and 1945 do not mention the subcamp.

A subcamp of the Ravensbrück concentration camp for female prisoners at Neubrandenburg had already existed since the late fall of 1942. These women, up to 2,500, worked—as did other female forced laborers since 1939—at the MWN, which had been relocated from Berlin-Britz to Neubrandenburg in 1934. In March 1944, Heinrich Himmler intended to increase the number of prisoners to 4,000 women, but this goal was only partially met. Both groups of prisoners, the men from Sachsenhausen and the women from Ravensbrück, were held in the overcrowded barracks camp east (Barackenlager Ost) about 800 meters (875 yards) from the camp. The subcamp for women was in existence until April 27, 1945.

The workshop hall for the women adjoined the one for the men.

A transport of between 100 and 150 male prisoners is documented from the Ravensbrück concentration camp to Neubrandenburg in the late fall 1944.⁴ It is possible that this was the first transport. Likewise, a transport from Sachsenhausen is documented for December 1944.⁵ In late 1944, about 30 prisoners from Buchenwald arrived at the Neubrandenburg subcamp of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, apparently all metalworkers.⁶ According to statements by the former commandant of the Ravensbrück concentration camp, Suhren, a total of 500 or 600 men were deployed at Neubrandenburg.

The prisoners were held day and night in two factory buildings near the east entrance, which they were permitted to leave only to receive supplies or for a short walk in the yard during the midday eating break. According to other statements, there were additional lodgings outside the workshop halls. This could refer to the former laundry next to the factory's east entrance.

The prisoners produced aircraft parts in several manufacturing halls. Allegedly, these included parts for the retaliatory weapons V-1 and V-2. According to a survey, bomb-release devices and "Fz. G. 76" were produced at Neubrandenburg. The work was done daily in two 12-hour shifts. Certain prisoners, particularly Jews, were also deployed at the metallography division in a chemical laboratory.

Except for 1 Czech, the prisoner-functionaries were Germans. There were prisoners of diverse nationalities and also Jews. Around January 10, 1945, 120 prisoners arrived at Neubrandenburg, mostly Polish and Soviet prisoners as well as Hungarian and Romanian Jews from Buchenwald, some of whom had previously been in Auschwitz.⁷ At an unknown date, 65 of them were selected and then transported to an undetermined destination. By this time, there were apparently between 100 and 200 French, Dutch, Italian, and Belgian prisoners at the camp.⁸ Some of the Poles who arrived there from Buchenwald had taken part in the August 1944 Warsaw Uprising.

In March 1945, one detachment disassembled metalworking machines at the MWN and reassembled them at the Ravensbrück subcamp for female prisoners at Neubrandenburg. This appears to have functioned as an alternative manufacturing site for a new program to produce control and regulator systems for the Fi 103 (piloted V-2). Construction had already started on it before June 1944.

Also in March 1945, a last transport arrived at Neubrandenburg, probably from Gross-Rosen.⁹

The block elder was German political prisoner Georg Flohr. He abused prisoners and stole food. Some of the foremen were Poles. A Sudeten German criminal who arrived from Gross-Rosen in March 1945 became first Kapo. He is likewise described as a sadist. It is said that he whipped Soviet prisoners who had tried to escape. It is possible that his name was Hans Wolfe. Through the barbed wire, women observed that as a punishment, on Sunday mornings, prisoners were drilled to the point of exhaustion.

It seems that the SS camp leader, who held the rank of Sturmbannführer, was simultaneously head of production at the aircraft factory.

It is said that the guards were supplied by the Wehrmacht, but it has not been possible to confirm this. The factory building was surrounded by an electrified barbed-wire fence and guard towers. According to other accounts, the guard force consisted of SS privates who originated from Croatia, Bessarabia, and Moldavia. They seem to have been particularly cruel to the prisoners.

Compared with Auschwitz and Buchenwald, the prisoners who arrived in January 1945 in particular regarded the conditions in Neubrandenburg as bearable, considering that there were heated accommodations and short roll calls. However, the food provisions, which were delivered from the women's camp, were insufficient even though civilian employees in the kitchen tried to give the men additional food. The barracks had bunk beds.

A Jewish prisoner died from stomach cramps in the sleeping area set up in the workshop hall after the guards had refused to help, even though there was a small infirmary in a factory building where a French prisoner served as orderly. Seriously ill prisoners seem to have been transferred to Ravensbrück.

Shortly before the camp was dissolved, the deputy camp leader punched and kicked a Russian who was bound with barbed wire. Because of the lack of health care, the prisoners fell ill with typhoid and phlegmon. It is believed that every week, about four prisoners died from the hardship of the work.

A few days before the dissolution of the camp, a Soviet officer and a Polish prisoner made plans to escape but were betrayed and arrested. However, nothing was done to them. Before the camp was evacuated, the Jewish prisoners appear to have been taken away.

On April 27, 1945, the male and female prisoners were forced by SS guards, who had just arrived, to march in the direction of the town of Lübz in Mecklenburg. Numerous prisoners were shot dead along the way, but some managed to escape. Prior to the march, the prisoners had been ordered to destroy the chemical laboratory and all of the documents in the factory. On May 6, 1945, the march was liberated by the Red Army in the area of Malchow.¹⁰

Hugo Zahn, born in 1904 in Erfurt, was interned in the British zone of occupation after 1945 and stated that he had been a concentration camp guard in the Neubrandenburg guard battalion.¹¹

Criminal investigations in the early 1970s by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg in the Federal Republic of Germany brought no convictions, first, because it was not possible to identify the camp personnel, and, second, because no murders had been ascertained.¹²

SOURCES The only literature known specifically written about the Neubrandenburg subcamp is a pamphlet published in the DDR: Heinz Barche, *Mahnung und Verpflichtung: Leben,*

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Ausbeutung und antifaschistischer Widerstandskampf weiblicher Häftlinge in den Konzentrationslagern Neubrandenburgs (1943–1945), *Dokumente Berichte Kommentare* (Neubrandenburg, n.d.). Neubrandenburg is listed in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 265.

Primary sources are located mostly at the BA-L and at the PRO.

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NOTES

1. SBG, ed., “Die Aussenlager der Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen und Ravensbrück” (workshop papers of a conference held at the Internationale Jugendbegegnungsstätte Ravensbrück, October 17–18, 2003).
2. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 10/1972, Folio 162, deposition of Zenon Miodynski on June 30, 1971.
3. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 10/1972, Folio 185, closing remark on January 17, 1972.
4. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 10/1972, Folio 170, deposition of Jozef Motylewski on August 30, 1971.
5. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 10/1972, Folio 106, deposition of Johannes Jacobus van Nieukerken on August 21, 1969.
6. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 10/1972, Folio 155, deposition of Edward Czarniecki on June 15, 1971.
7. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 10/1972, Folio 5, “prisoners’ office KZ Buchenwald, Weimar-Buchenwald, on January 10, 1945, transport Neu[branden]burg.”
8. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 10/1972, Folio 36, deposition of Kazimierz Kasprzak on June 26, 1968; Folio 50, deposition of Mieczyslaw-Jan Lenartowicz on August 20, 1968.
9. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 10/1972, Folio 51, deposition of Mieczyslaw-Jan Lenartowicz on August 20, 1968.
10. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 10/1972, Folio 162, deposition of Zenon Miodynski on June 30, 1971.
11. PRO, WO 309/1785.
12. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 10/1972.

NEUDAMM

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog, a subcamp of Sachsenhausen was created in Neudamm (formerly Kreis Königsberg/Neumark), which was then located in Germany. Today “Neudamm,” or Dębno, is located in Poland, south of the city of Szczecin (Stettin).

SOURCES There are virtually no sources that chronicle any information about the subcamp in Neudamm. The listing for Neudamm in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Ausenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979), provides no additional information except that a subcamp of Sachsenhausen existed in the town.

Similarly, listings of Sachsenhausen subcamps and work commandos in the indexes at the AG-S, for example, File

Group I/4, also provide no further information about this subcamp.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NEUHAMMER

The Neuhammer subcamp is not listed by the Sachsenhausen concentration camp as one of its subcamps. Nevertheless, it did exist, albeit for a short period of time. The Sachsenhausen change reports (*Veränderungsmeldungen*) refer to the camp for the period between January 20 and February 18, 1944. There were 54 prisoners, but on February 11, there were 63 recorded prisoners.¹

Neuhammer in Silesia, not far from Sagan, was the site of the Wehrmacht troop training ground. Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler delivered a speech there on January 11, 1944, in the Führerheim Westlager to the commanders of the 13th SS-Freiwilligen-Gebirgsdivision (Kroatien) shortly before its deployment to Croatia.² It is possible that the prisoners were somehow connected with construction work for this or other SS units.

A few publications refer to the training ground as an SS troop training ground. After Himmler took over the Reserve Army following the failed assassination attempt on Hitler on July 20, 1944, Ukrainian and Hungarian SS divisions gathered there. They were reorganized, and from there they were sent to the front until the site was closed in the middle of February 1945.

There were many forced laborers and prisoners of war (POWs) working on the troop training ground. There is a report on the liberated POW camp in Neuhammer. On February 15, 1945, the Red Army discovered in a forest close to Neuhammer two graveyards for Soviet POWs. It found out that the graveyards held 18,000 Soviet soldiers. The prisoners had been shot. They included officers of the Red Army. An investigating commission exhumed bodies and questioned witnesses. Photos are included in the report. One shows a wooden fence at one of the cemeteries on which there is a large sign. The sign written by the Germans has the words: Russian Cemetery (Russen Friedhof). The Red Army added in Russian the following words: “The Fascists tortured here thirteen thousand Soviets to death.” Other photos show Soviet soldiers inspecting the cemetery and the exhumation and reinterment of Soviet soldiers. The material gives no clue how the investigations proceeded against the perpetrators.³

The International Tracing Service (ITS) refers to Neuhammer, Kreis Sprottau, Lower Silesia, for the period from June 9, 1944, to the beginning of March 1945. The camp is referred to as a subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. The prisoners were used by the 13th Gebirgsdivision and at the beginning of March 1945 were evacuated to Stolzenthain near Karlsbad. A later ITS catalog does not refer to Neuhammer.

SOURCES There is no specific literature on the Neuhammer subcamp. The subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeich-*

nis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1: 120; but not in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990).

The only sources are held in AG-S.

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NOTES

1. AG-S, JSU 1, Bd. 101.
2. BA-B, NS 19/4012, p. 6.
3. GARF, f. 7021/115, d. 2, l. 127.

NIEMEGK

The subcamp at Niemegek, about 60 kilometers (37 miles) southwest of Berlin, was established in the summer of 1944. Initially, the prisoners were temporarily accommodated in a village gymnasium, but later a wooden barrack was built for them.¹ It appears that at the beginning between 40 and 50 prisoners were deployed at Niemegek, including 20 Norwegians as well as Dutch, Poles, French, and Czechs (including 1 “Gypsy”), Russians, and Germans (including 1 Jehovah’s Witness). Homosexual prisoners were held captive at Niemegek as well. A peculiarity among the prisoners was the British pilots who had crashed between Magdeburg and Genthin and who were imprisoned for a short time at the gymnasium and the Niemegek subcamp.² It seems that they were later shot in the forest.

Criminals and “asocials” served as prisoner-functionaries. The camp elder, Georg Pfriem, was transferred to the Kolpin subcamp in January 1945. Other prisoners termed him a “slave-driver” who would beat them. The camp recorder was a criminal from Berlin, Arthur Sasse, who stated that he had been in Niemegek since May–June 1944. The foremen were Rudolf Nawrotzki, an asocial prisoner, and Alfred Berger, a Jehovah’s Witness. A homosexual prisoner, Leo Classen, was the doctor.

In late August 1944, the camp was recorded for the first time in the main camp statistics as having 50 prisoners.³ It reached its highest occupancy, with 60 prisoners, shortly before Christmas 1944.⁴ This number remained constant until mid-February 1945.⁵ Half of the prisoners were political, while others were Sinti and Roma (Gypsies), and 1 was a Jehovah’s Witness. There were also many petty or even dangerous criminals. According to statements made by their fellow prisoners, the Norwegians shared their Red Cross packages with the other inmates.

Between January and March 1945, there were 10 to 20 Polish children at Niemegek, the youngest of whom was seven years old. They were accommodated in a barrack that was separated from the subcamp by barbed wire. They were to be “Germanized” and adopted by German families.

The task of the Niemegek subcamp was to construct an overflow camp for the SS-Hauptamt (Main Office). Of 24 projected barracks, 12 were built, but only half of them were ever ready for occupancy. The barracks were set up in the forest behind the then sports field, and at this point the prisoners were also held there. Food was stored in 2 completed barracks, while in 3 others relatives who belonged to the Hitler Youth, or women in SS uniform, were accommodated as well as members of the so-called Germanische Legion of the SS. In 2 other barracks, regular SS members were quartered, possibly while recovering after various inpatient treatments. The leader of this overflow quarters appears to have been a certain SS-Obersturmführer Clausen. It is also reported that members of the “Vlassov” Army were transferred to this base for training purposes.

Due to the heavy labor, which included woodcutting, there occurred numerous injuries and illnesses. One Norwegian, Bergkvist, had an accident while felling trees and died from his injuries because the SS provided help too late. Of the 20 Norwegians, altogether 8 had to be taken to the infirmary at Sachsenhausen during the first months. From time to time, the camp elder ordered big piles of wood to be shifted from one place to another and then back again. He beat the prisoners as they did this work.

The camp leader was SS-Unterscharführer Johann Herfurth, who was born in Koblenz in 1902. He was shot dead at the end of the war by U.S. soldiers in Grieben.

The head of the SS training camp was SS-Hauptsturmführer Brockmann, who was also in charge of the German soldiers defending Niemegek.

Another officer belonging to the camp command is said to have been a former captain of the Wehrmacht from Hamburg who was transferred to the SS and who in 1946 was sentenced to death by a Soviet court.⁶ This could refer to Hauptmann Gattermann, who was shot in Grieben on May 8, 1945, together with the camp leader, Herfurth. His adjutant was Hans Georg Schmidt, a factory owner from Pforzheim who held the rank of an officer. The guard force consisted of 30 SS privates, Hungarians, and Romanian Germans from the Banat region. The only prisoner barrack was secured with barbed wire and two guard towers.

According to statements from survivors, there were no abuses by the SS in the camp. A Polish child who was accommodated nearby, however, witnessed the killing of a prisoner at work by an SS-Untersführer with the first name of Hubert. This same child also observed that during a roll call eight Russians and Ukrainians were hanged on gallows.⁷

According to statements from the camp recorder, the camp was dissolved on April 25, 1945, as the front approached. The prisoners were released with papers that had already been issued two days earlier by SS guards who led them across the German front line and let them go.⁸ The above-mentioned document was signed by the foreman Rudolf Nawrotzki. According to other accounts, April 22 was the last day the camp existed. Only on May 2, 1945, did the Red Army take over Niemegek. In the meantime, the prisoners

either tried to get through with the release certificates or hid themselves.

Beginning in May 1945, the camp barrack was used for the imprisonment of alleged and actual former National Socialists. Responsible for this camp were the former foreman of the subcamp Niemegk, Nawrotzki, who also served as chief of police, and the former camp recorder (and by this time mayor), Sasse. It was planned that the camp would house up to 2,000 German prisoners.⁹

The preliminary investigations on the Niemegk subcamp by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) at Ludwigsburg were handed over after three years to the Central Office at Cologne, on April 30, 1970, for further action. But because of the “lack of sufficient factual evidence” and the death of the main suspect on October 14, 1970, the case was dismissed.¹⁰ A corresponding request for assistance to the attorney general of the German Democratic Republic did not lead to any inquiries there.

SOURCES The only known publication on this subcamp is the report by Pierre van Kraay, in *Niemegk meldet Panzeralarm*, ed. Siegfried Dalitz (n.p., 1995).

Archival documents are located primarily at the BA-L and at AG-S.

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NOTES

1. BA-L, IV 406 AR 2966/66, Folio 59, deposition of Arthur Sasse on November 28, 1968.

2. Ibid.

3. AG-S, JSU 1, vol. 100.

4. Ibid.

5. AG-S, JSU 1, vol. 101.

6. BA-L, IV 406 AR 2966/66, Folio 95, final remark dated April 27, 1970.

7. BA-L, IV 406 AR 2966/66, Folio 75, deposition of Tadeusz Tabor on May 20, 1968.

8. BA-L, IV 406 AR 2966/66, Folio 58, deposition of Arthur Sasse on November 28, 1968; and Folio 63, deposition of Wiktor Szabelski on May 13, 1968.

9. Chronicle of the city of Niemegk, vol. 7, supplement to Pierre van Kraay, *Niemegk meldet Panzeralarm*, ed. Siegfried Dalitz (n.p., 1995), n.p.

10. BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 51/67, note of dismissal by the Central Office at Cologne 24 Js 59/70 (Z) on October 14, 1970.

ORANIENBURG (AUER-WERKE)

The Auer-Werke was the owner of two large factory buildings in the town of Oranienburg, 35 kilometers (22 miles) north of Berlin. One property was located close to Oranienburg's main station, and the other one was situated near Lake Lehnitz and close to a railroad track at the southeastern outskirts of the town. Initially organized as a limited liability company (GmbH) and led by the Jewish family Koppel, who

fled from Germany to Switzerland during the National Socialist era, Auer-Werke became a subsidiary of the Frankfurt am Main-based Degussa AG in 1933.

During World War II, scientists of the Auer-Werke were involved in a project to develop an atomic bomb. Nevertheless, their main products were military equipment for the navy and Luftwaffe as well as gas masks for civilians and the Wehrmacht.

The SS authorities connected the factory near Lake Lehnitz, the “Auerwerk II Seegelände,” with a subcamp of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. This subcamp on the grounds of the factory existed from July 1, 1943, to March 15, 1945. At first it was under the administrative control of the Ravensbrück concentration camp but only provided with Sachsenhausen prisoners. Sachsenhausen took command of the Auer-Werke subcamp in October 1944.

An electrified barbed-wire fence, about 2 meters (6.6 feet) high and under voltage, prevented escape attempts out of the camp, which was made up of about 10 wooden huts, including a separate hut for Jewish prisoners. The prisoners lived in 7 or 8 of these huts and slept in bunk beds of plain wood with shavings instead of mattresses. The subcamp also had a hut that was used as a kitchen and a laundry. In September 1944, workers built an infirmary with a capacity of 100 beds, where a Russian doctor, a Polish doctor, and a Russian first-aid attendant were on duty.

The first prisoners, about 50 in number, arrived from the concentration camps of Sachsenhausen and Ravensbrück. Most of them were women and girls from the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. The number of prisoners increased steadily: the guards counted 1,841 prisoners in February 1945. They were not only from Eastern Europe but also from France, Italy, Yugoslavia, and the Netherlands—only a few prisoners were German by origin.

The first chief of the approximately 20 female guards, who stayed in a separate hut outside the camp, was a woman called Gertraud Steisslinger, whose maiden name was Schöber.¹ She gave orders until July 1944, when she was relieved by her successor, a woman called Hesse who was chief of the female guards until the destruction of the Auer-Werke and parts of the neighboring subcamp by an Allied air raid on March 15, 1945. Hesse led the subcamp together with the Oberscharführer Karl Meinhardt, who commanded six to eight male guards.²

The prisoners had to work 72 hours a week, mainly in the production of gas masks. After the destruction of the Bygk-Guldenwerke chemical factory, which was situated nearby, SS authorities forced subcamp prisoners to help with clearing-up operations. They classified the work the prisoners were forced to do as easy manual work and underlined the reason why most prisoners were girls or physically weak women.

Eyewitnesses remembered 5 deaths in the subcamp until March 1945.³ More than 300 prisoners died during the air strike of March 15, most of them because they did not have permission to leave their places of work during the attack. The Polish doctor and eyewitness Irena Cirsinska counted 60

dead and 120 injured prisoners.⁴ Some women and girls tried to escape from the factory buildings and the subcamp area after the air strike had destroyed parts of the industrial and housing complex. SS guards collected survivors who could not flee and led them to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, which was about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) away. The prisoners were sent to an area of the camp called “Kleines Lager,” which had previously been used for the isolation of Jewish prisoners until the end of 1942.

On April 21, 1945, SS authorities decided to evacuate the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, whose 3,000 unmovable sick prisoners—including a few women from the Auer-Werke subcamp—were liberated one day later by Red Army soldiers. The SS forced about 33,000 prisoners, including the majority of the former Auer-Werke subcamp, to march toward the Baltic Sea. This undertaking cost the lives of about 6,000 prisoners. On their march to the coastline, SS guards constructed a provisional camp in a forest near the town of Wittstock. Finally, they disbanded the camp and released the prisoners on April 29, 1945, because of dominant Allied military operations in this area. Within the following days and weeks, Soviet and U.S. soldiers picked up former Sachsenhausen prisoners from a territory stretched over the rural districts of the Mecklenburg towns of Parchim and Schwerin.

SOURCES Secondary references useful for this essay are Monika Knop, “Jüdische Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern 1944 bis 1945,” in Günter Morsch and Susanne zur Nieden, eds., *Jüdische Häftlinge im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen 1936 bis 1945* (Berlin, 2004), for an updated overview of the status of research on the subcamp and with a focus on Jewish prisoners.

Primary documentation on the Auer subcamp is located in the AG-S, especially in the Box Auer, which contains a collection of testimonies collected by the ZdL (now at BA-L), and also in Sammlung Thomas Irmer, Inhalt Auer. Ordner No. 9.

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NOTES

1. ZdL, Bd. III, p. 113 (Arbeitsdienstpass mit Lichtbild), Abschlussvermerk betr. Frauennebenlager Auer-Oranienburg, Ludwigsburg, September 27, 1972 (IV 406 AR-Z 200/72).

2. ZdL, Bd. III, pp. 38R, 42, 47, 53, Abschlussvermerk betr. Frauennebenlager Auer-Oranienburg, Ludwigsburg, September 27, 1972 (IV 406 AR-Z 200/72).

3. ZdL, Bd. III, p. 384, Abschlussvermerk betr. Frauennebenlager Auer-Oranienburg, Ludwigsburg, September 27, 1972 (IV 406 AR-Z 200/72).

4. ZdL, Bd. III, Bl. 380, p. 400, Abschlussvermerk betr. Frauennebenlager Auer-Oranienburg, Ludwigsburg, September 27, 1972 (IV 406 AR-Z 200/72).

ORANIENBURG (HEINKEL-WERKE)

The Heinkel-Werke GmbH had its headquarters in the town of Rostock at the Baltic coastline. But there was also a branch in the town of Oranienburg, about 35 kilometers (22 miles)

north of Berlin, which was established in 1937. The Oranienburg branch constructed two aircraft factories called “Werk I” and “Werk II” in the southeastern districts of the town. In the autumn of 1941, Heinkel Oranienburg was the first German aircraft company to start a close cooperative association with the SS. The SS sent small groups of prisoners from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp as temporary workers to the factory buildings. At first, the prisoners were forced to work during the day at the Heinkel factories and returned every evening to the concentration camp.

During the summer of 1942, authorities constructed a prison camp on the grounds of the Heinkel factory Werk I and ordered 15 SS members to guard its prisoners. The number of SS guards increased over time and reached 130 in the spring of 1943. Responsible for the guarding of the prison camp was the SS-Totenkopfsturmbann Sachsenhausen with Sturmbannführer Johannes Hassebroek as the first subcamp’s chief. He led the prison camp from August 29, 1942, to October 10, 1943, and was relieved by his successor Sturmbannführer Wilhelm Hermann Heidrich, who led the camp until its evacuation.

The increasing number of guards corresponded with the increasing number of prisoners: the Heinkel statistics included a count of 800 prisoners in September 1942; 1,900 prisoners in December 1942; 3,707 prisoners in March 1943; 5,479 prisoners in June 1943; 6,012 prisoners in September 1943; 6,026 prisoners in December 1943; 6,240 prisoners in March 1944; and 6,966 prisoners in June 1944. The Heinkel camp thus developed into the biggest of the approximately 96 Sachsenhausen subcamps and Kommandos that were all founded between 1938 and 1945.

The first prisoners had to live temporarily in the basement of a former dining hall near factory building number 8 and in converted changing rooms. Later, huts were built next to the factory buildings, each with a capacity of 500 prisoners. Most prisoners originated from the Soviet Union, Poland, and France, with fewer coming from Norway and Germany.

The prisoners were forced to work in the construction of the Heinkel (He) 177 fighter plane. They worked together with German workers and about 600 foremen. On December 31, 1943, the number of prisoners reached 43.8 percent of the whole workforce.

An Allied air strike destroyed the factory buildings on April 18, 1944, and killed 400 to 500 prisoners. From this time on, the SS authorities forced about 1,000 survivors to work at the so-called Klinkerwerk, a large brickworks that produced bricks for Albert Speer’s building projects in Berlin. Furthermore, the Heinkel subcamp developed into a reception camp for evacuated camps from the eastern regions. Most prisoners were first penned up in assembly shop number 8. The SS started a selection and an execution campaign aimed at those persons who were sick and worthless in the eyes of the authorities and guards.¹

A huge number of prisoners were murdered, but it is not possible to give exact numbers. When Sturmbannführer Johannes Hassebroek was chief of the subcamp till October

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1943, acts of sabotage were rare and punished with a minimum of three executions.²

On April 20, 1945, the SS organized the so-called evacuation³ and led the prisoners to the communities of Kremmen, Löwenberg, Reinsberg, Buetzow, Parchim, and Krywitz, where the prisoners were liberated by Soviet soldiers on May 4, 1945.

SOURCES Primary documentation on the Heinkel subcamp is located in the AG-S, especially in the Box Heinkel, which contains a collection of testimonies collected by the ZdL (now at BA-L). For a broad overview of the SS cooperation with German aircraft companies, see Lutz Budrass, *Flugzeugindustrie und Luftreueistung in Deutschland 1918–1945* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1998); and Rainer Fröbe, “Der Arbeitseinsatz von KZ-Häftlingen und die Perspektive der Industrie, 1943–1945,” in *Europa und der “Reichseinsatz”: Ausländische Zivilarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene und KZ-Häftlinge in Deutschland 1938–1945*, ed. Ulrich Herbert (Essen: Klartext, 1991).

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1. Zeugenaussage des ehemaligen Gefangenen Heinrich Hesshaus, wonach ca. 120 jüdische Häftlinge getötet wurden, LKA-N-W (Protokoll: Düsseldorf, September 21, 1967) [LKA-N-W Dez. 15].

2. Zeugenaussage von Erich Köpf, LKA-B-W (Protokoll: Kislau, October 5, 1967) [I/7 (NSG)-18-158/67].

3. Zeugenaussage des ehemaligen Gefangenen Heinrich Hesshaus, LKA-N-W (Protokoll: Düsseldorf, September 21, 1967) [LKA-N-W Dez. 15].

POTSDAM-BABELSBERG

The International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog from the summer of 1949 states that the Potsdam-Babelsberg subcamp was assigned to Berlin and cites the Belgian Tracing Service as a source, thereby suggesting that Belgians were held there. According to information supplied at the time by the Berlin Office for the Registration of War Victims (Amt für die Erfassung der Kriegsoffer), the subcamp was described as a “camp for political.”¹

A list of subcamps of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp prepared after the war describes Potsdam-Babelsberg as follows: “Red Cross, eighty men, bunker construction, weakened prisoners often brought to the camp in exchange for stronger ones, accommodation adequate, food the same.”² Other records estimate up to 200 prisoners.³

The existence of this subcamp can only be confirmed as of August 1944. At the end of August 1944, 100 prisoners were assigned to the camp, a number that did not change until the end of 1944. In mid-February 1945, only about 90 prisoners remained in the camp.⁴ In addition to working at the headquarters of the German Red Cross (Deutsches Rotes Kreuz, DRK), prisoners also worked in the studios of Universum Film AG (Ufa) Babelsberg. Both had contracted the private

construction company Bunkerbaufirma Polensky from Berlin to build bunkers. The prisoners were housed on the grounds of the German Red Cross depot, located at the intersection of the Berlin-Potsdam and Wetzlar railway lines.

A former German Red Cross employee has reported on the camp inmates’ work for the German Red Cross. Prisoners fared “relatively well,” guards did not interfere when they took food from the German Red Cross kitchen, and they “also all emerged well” from the camp.⁵

On September 8, 1944, German prisoner Otto Schenk was sent for six months to the “shoe-runner” (*Schubläufer*) punishment detail of the main camp. Though part of the detachment working at the German Red Cross, he had stolen items from a camp barracks.

According to German prisoner Walter Heinold, “Foreman Kurt as well as certain criminal prisoners” particularly stood out, in that they “beat Poles, Ukrainians, and political prisoners.”⁶ This report underscores the tensions that existed between different groups of prisoners.

German prisoner Paul Felder was released on March 16, 1945. A few weeks thereafter, on April 27, 1945, the camp is thought to have been finally disbanded.⁷ In the daily reports, the last reference to the camp dates from April 9, 1945, when it held 88 prisoners.⁸

The SS, who were in charge, are said to “have helped all prisoners who fell ill and needed food” inasmuch “as the [higher camp] administration had not fairly distributed [the supplies].”⁹

The names of the following SS camp personnel are known: SS-Oberscharführer and Kommando leader Max Bergholz (June to December 31, 1944); and the guards SS-Schütze Karl Bischof (May 1944 to March 1944), SS-Sturmmann Lorenz Bittenbinder (May 1944 to April 1945), SS-Schütze Anton Belt (October 1944 to April 1945), Rottenführer Michael Edling (June 1 to August 1, 1944), SS-Rottenführer Alexander Kiss (July 22, 1944, to May 3, 1945), Rottenführer Emil Offenhammer (November 12, 1944, to May 2, 1945), SS-Sturmmann Johann Schramm (July 1944 to March 1945), Johann Glatz, Valentin Jaromin, Erich Offenhammer, and Wilhelm Wiest. SS-Oberscharführer Bergholz, who served as Kommando leader of the Potsdam-Babelsberg subcamp until the end of 1944, later stated that he was commando leader of Schönholz, a subcamp located at the Argus Motorenwerk in Berlin-Reinickendorf, for two weeks starting on April 21, 1945. He may have accompanied the evacuation from that camp to Sachsenhausen.

While in British internment, former SS-Rottenführer Kiss, a Romanian guard at the subcamp in Babelsberg, said he had been a member of the Babelsberg Honor Company (Ehrenkompanie) from July 22, 1944, to May 3, 1945. Guards Bischof, Schramm, Glatz, Jaromin, Erich Offenhammer, and Wiest were also interned by the British.

In 1971 and 1972, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg undertook an investigation of Babelsberg. However, even the ITS was unaware of the names of any prisoners. As a result, the investigation was dropped in 1972.

SOURCES An unpublished study that mentions Potsdam-Babelsberg is Uwe Hofschläger, “Funktion und Bedeutung der Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Sachsenhausen” (Diplomarbeit, Freien Universität Berlin, 1997), and is available in AG-S, D.A. 5147. This subcamp is listed in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 262.

Archival material is mostly to be found at AG-S. Prisoner Paul Wittig is interviewed in the film *Missbrauchte Helfer: Das Deutsche Rote Kreuz 1921–1945*, Ein Film von Wolfgang Bergmann (45 minutes), at www.lichtfilm.de.

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NOTES

1. *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 262.
2. IFZ, Ed 106/77, Aufstellung des ehemaligen Häftlings des KZ-Sachsenhausen Walter Nowak, n.d.
3. Uwe Hofschläger, “Funktion und Bedeutung der Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Sachsenhausen.” (Diplomarbeit, Freien Universität Berlin, 1997), available at AG-S, D.A. 5147.
4. AG-S, JSU 1, Band 99 und 101.
5. Paul Wittig, in *Missbrauchte Helfer: Das Deutsche Rote Kreuz 1921–1945*, Ein Film von Wolfgang Bergmann (45 minutes), at www.lichtfilm.de.
6. AG-S, D 30 A/10/1 B, p. 104.
7. According to Hofschläger, “Funktion und Bedeutung der Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Sachsenhausen.”
8. AG-S, JSU 1, Band 99 und 101.
9. AG-S, D 30 A/10/1 B, p. 104.

PRETTIN (LICHTENBURG)

The Lichtenburg camp in Prettin on the Elbe (Saxony-Anhalt), established at the sixteenth-century Lichtenburg Castle, was originally one of the first early camps in the German Reich. Established in June 1933, the early camp had held male prisoners in “protective custody” until it was dissolved in 1937. A women’s protective custody camp (*Frauenschutzhaftlager*) was created in Lichtenburg from December 1937 to May 1939 (see Early Camp/Lichtenburg). A subcamp of Sachsenhausen was established there in early October 1941.¹ [For additional information on the evolution of the concentration camp system and the early camps, see Karin Orth’s introduction “The Genesis and Structure of the National Socialist Concentration Camps.”] The number of prisoners allocated to the subcamp was relatively low, and although it remained in operation for nearly three years, there is little official documentation pertaining to the subcamp.

Prior to its use as a camp during the Nazi era, the Prettin Lichtenburg Castle had a long history of serving as a deten-

tion facility. Plans for the castle date from the fourteenth century, and by 1582, it was fully constructed. During the Napoleonic wars, the French built a prison cell for about 800 prisoners on the grounds of the castle; another cell block was erected there in the late 1870s. Later, during the political turmoil of the 1920s, hundreds were imprisoned at the castle for their participation in left-wing armed uprisings in the district.

Prior to its establishment as a Sachsenhausen subcamp, Lichtenburg Castle operated as an early camp for political prisoners, homosexuals, Jews who had committed “race defilement” (*Rassenschande*) crimes, and other “enemies of the state.” In 1937, during the Nazi government’s attempts to reorganize and consolidate the camp system, they transferred the inmates from the men’s camp to Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald. Following this liquidation, women, mostly Jehovah’s Witnesses, were brought to Prettin from a camp in Moringen. The women were transferred to Ravensbrück in 1939, and the camp remained empty until 1941.

The Second Replacement Battalion (Ersatzbataillon) of the SS-Death’s Head Formations (Totenkopfverbände), elite units of the SS that guarded the camps, was then stationed at the Lichtenburg Castle. The unit remained there until it was summoned to Prague to prepare for combat on the Eastern Front in the winter of 1941. About 10 SS men stayed behind to staff the clothing production camp (*Bekleidungslager*) that had been established for the troops at the castle.² In early October 1941, the SS were allotted 15 prisoners from Sachsenhausen to work at clothing production. Independent from the clothing plant, there were 40 more SS officers stationed at the castle in the main administrative Arsenal Office (Hauptzeugamt).

By March 1942, an additional 50 inmates from Sachsenhausen were transported to the Lichtenburg Castle to be used for labor in the Arsenal Office. The inmates were housed in the *Zellenbau*, a cell block on the grounds of the castle located near the SS quarters. Most testimonies from former prisoners from the Sachsenhausen Memorial Archives (AG-S) have emphasized that they received decent treatment. The prisoners were permitted to circulate around the Lichtenburg area throughout the day, and at night they were locked in the block. The same kitchen that provided for the SS men also supplied the inmates’ food. The prisoners were occupied with loading and unloading work, workshop, and office duties. One exception to the general reports of fair treatment can be found in the testimony of former inmate Oskar Blömer, who recalled that during an inspection of the camp, SS-Scharführer Otto Kaiser beat a prisoner to death. Kaiser was tried in 1967.³

There is little information about the prisoner culture or demographics of this camp’s population, if it changed over the course of the camp’s three-year existence. From a short list in the judge’s final injunction (*Abschlussverfügung*) in the AG-S, many of the prisoners were from the German Reich and ranged in ages from 35 to 45.⁴

Moreover, there is scant information about individual SS men who staffed the clothing production camp and the

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armaments office. The chief of the clothing camp was Obersturmführer Germann Cristel, who was appointed in September or October 1941. After he was transferred to another SS division on an unknown date, Cristel was replaced by Sturmführer Hans Koch. Hauptscharführer Ludwig Viehmeyer acted as adjutant to the chief of the armaments office; he also supervised the prisoners' living quarters. Rottenführer Willi Thiessen oversaw the prisoner work division of the armaments office. Sturmscharführer Kaspar Wallner was appointed head of the clothing production camp, and he remained in this position until the end of the war. Unterführer Anton Blobner oversaw the prisoners' work in the clothing production camp; he died in January 1945. Rottenführer Josef Echle, who died in June 1948, and Fritz Pedeyn also guarded the prisoners while they worked. The SS guard staff at the Prettin subcamp ranged in ages from 31 to 46.

The subcamp at Lichtenburg Castle functioned until late April 1945, when the Soviet Army invaded the area and the SS guards retaliated and were forced to evacuate. The remaining prisoners escaped, although there is no record of how many inmates survived this ordeal.

SOURCES The main secondary source of information for this entry is Klaus Drobisch, *Konzentrationslager im Schloss Lichtenburg* (Wittenberg: Kreisverwaltung Wittenberg, 1997), which focuses predominantly on the history of the castle and its uses as an early camp. Drobisch also provides a brief overview of the subcamp. For similar broad information and a brief description of the subcamp, see also Stefanie Endlich, "Das Konzentrationslager Lichtenburg," in *Verfolgung, Terror und Widerstand in Sachsen-Anhalt, 1933–1945: Ein Wegweiser für Gedenkstättenbesuche* (Berlin: Metropol, 2001); and the Lichtenburg entry, this volume. Further analysis of the shift in administration and restructuring of the Lichtenburg camp prior to World War II can be found in Charles W. Snyder Jr., *Soldiers of Destruction: The SS Death Head's Division* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990); and Jan Erik Schulte, *Zwangsarbeit und Vernichtung: Das Wirtschaftsimperium der SS: Oswald Pohl und das SS-Wirtschaftsverwaltungshauptamt 1933–1945* (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 2001). Information about the opening and closing dates of the Prettin subcamp, the types of prisoners, and nature of prisoner work can be found in the (ITS), *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*. *Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979).

Primary source material about the Lichtenburg concentration camps and the Sachsenhausen subcamp is located in the archives of the AG-L in the Museum Schloss Lichtenburg (Prettin). Photographs from these archives are reprinted in the accounts of both Drobisch and Endlich. Information about the WVHA, which most likely administered the work in the clothing production camp, can be found in the records of the BA-K—for example, File Group 415, Verwaltungschef SS: "Neubau des FKL-Ravensbrück—Anregungen des Direktors des FKL Lichtenburg, March 1939." The LHSA-Ma

contains files related to the establishment of a concentration camp at Lichtenburg Castle. Other primary documentation can be found in the AG-S, especially in the general reports on the subcamps in LAG FB 653, "Sachsenhausensammlung der 'Lagerarbeitsgemeinschaft Sachsenhausen,'" in particular, File XII/9, which contains partial copies of investigations conducted by the ZdL.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. The ITS catalog lists the opening date of the subcamp as October 3, 1941. Klaus Drobisch, in *Konzentrationslager im Schloss Lichtenburg* (Wittenberg: Kreisverwaltung Wittenberg, 1997), has cited the date October 4, 1941.
2. Abschlussverfügung des Kölner Staatsanwaltes Pfeufer (n.d.), reproduced in the AG-S, LAG XII/9, p. 1.
3. Ibid., pp. 4–5.
4. Ibid., pp. 3–4.

RATHENOW

The town of Rathenow an der Havel is situated about 60 kilometers (37 miles) west of Berlin. A subcamp of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp existed there between September 20, 1944, and April 25, 1945. The prisoners—at first about 500 in number—worked in the nearby Arado airplane factory. The company was founded in Warnemünde at the Baltic coast in 1917 and established a branch in the town of Brandenburg in 1934. The National Socialist authorities nationalized the whole company one year later. A new headquarters in the town of Nowawes (present-day Babelsberg) and a factory building in Rathenow/Heidefeld were founded in the fall of 1936. Workers of the Rathenow factory manufactured Heinkel aircraft under license. The Rathenow branch specialized in the construction of wings for fighter planes up to 1944. During World War II, the Arado company established 24 new production centers all over Europe.

After the evacuation of more than 2,000 prisoners from the Herzogenbusch concentration camp (Dutch: Kamp Vught) in the Netherlands to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp at the beginning of September 1944, SS authorities deported nearly 300 of these prisoners to the Rathenow subcamp, who then made up the majority of the subcamp prisoners. Most Rathenow prisoners had a Dutch, Belgian, or French background, although there were also prisoners from Poland, the Soviet Union, Norway, and Germany. On February 20, 1945, about 150 to 200 Polish Jews from the evacuated Glöwen subcamp were deported to Rathenow, and guards counted nearly 1,000 prisoners altogether. About 50 of the 250 Dutch prisoners were Jehovah's Witnesses, and between 12 and 15 prisoners were German. The average number of prisoners was between 500 and 800, while a maximum figure was reached with about 1,000 to 1,200 prisoners in February 1945. The Jewish prisoners were housed in a separate hut. They also had to work under extremely hard conditions: the SS au-

thorities did not allow them to work inside the factory building, which had an underground production center. Even during the cold winter, the Jewish prisoners had to rivet wings with air pressure outside the factory building.

Authorities usually transported sick prisoners to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp or created so-called Kartoffelschälkommandos in the subcamp, where sick persons had to do the housework instead of working in the factory.

The subcamp included about 4 hectares (10 acres) and was located south of the town of Rathenow in a district called Heidefeld. The subcamp was made up of one large hut, eight medium-sized huts, and two small buildings placed in a five-cornered area. They included a hut for the prisoner-functionaries (*Funktionshäftlinge*)—mostly Germans who represented a connecting link between other prisoners and the subcamp command as well as the kitchen hut. The subcamp was surrounded by two electrified barbed-wire fences with a footpath 4 meters (13 feet) wide between the fences. Five wooden watchtowers marked the corners of the subcamp. Two huts outside the camp were reserved for the guards.

The prisoners were forced to work in two 12-hour shifts. They had to work not only in the construction and planking (*Beplankung*) of wings for fighter planes but also in the construction of wings for rockets of the “revenge weapons” (*Vergeltungswaffen*) and in the production of screws.

About 30 to 50 SS guards controlled the camp as well as the prisoners on their way from and to the factory building, which was 500 meters (547 yards) away. The chief of the subcamp was Otto Schulz (other sources said that the chief of the subcamp was a man called Vahle).¹

An Allied air strike destroyed large parts of the factory building on April 18, 1945. Up to this time, camouflage battle dresses were produced there until the liberation of the subcamp by Red Army soldiers on April 26, 1945.²

Eyewitnesses reported the murder of 12 prisoners, but beyond all doubts, 2 prisoners from Belgium were shot dead because of sabotage,³ and about 40 prisoners died because of malnutrition in the last weeks of the subcamp's existence.

SOURCES For an updated overview of the status of research on the subcamp with a focus on Jewish prisoners, see Monika Knop, “Jüdische Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern 1944 bis 1945,” in *Jüdische Häftlinge im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen 1936 bis 1945*, ed. Günter Morsch and Susanne zur Nieden (Berlin, 2004).

Primary documentation on the Rathenow subcamp is located in AG-S, especially in the Box Rathenow, which contains a collection of testimonies collected by ZdL (now at BA-L).

Alexander Jossifidis

NOTES

1. ZdL, pp. 268, 270, 321, 456, 467, 483, 493, Abschlussvermerk betr. Nebenlager Rathenow (KL Sachsenhausen), Ludwigsburg, October 4, 1971 (IV 406 AR-Z 141/71).

2. ZdL, pp. 128, 171, 433, 434, 442, Abschlussvermerk betr. Nebenlager Rathenow (KL Sachsenhausen), Ludwigsburg, October 4, 1971 (IV 406 AR-Z 141/71).

3. ZdL, pp. 169, 538, Abschlussvermerk betr. Nebenlager Rathenow (KL Sachsenhausen), Ludwigsburg, October 4, 1971 (IV 406 AR-Z 141/71).

SCHÖNEFELD [AKA AL HENSCHEL]

The Schönefeld subcamp with about 600 female prisoners existed from July 1944 to April 1945 on the grounds of today's Berlin-Schönefeld airport. The women had to do forced labor in the Henschel-Flugzeug-Werke (HFW), a company founded by Oskar R. Henschel in 1933. The site of the main aircraft works and test runway were at Schönefeld, then a suburb located at the southeastern outskirts of Berlin.

After Allied air raids in the fall of 1943 had led to losses in production, the central goal of National Socialist armaments policy became to redouble efforts and force increased production, particularly in aircraft armaments. In the summer of 1944 and as part of this effort to compensate for production losses caused by the air raids, the HFW asked for female prisoners from the Ravensbrück concentration camp in order to deploy them in the Schönefeld works.

In July 1944, part of the Schönefeld factory was converted into a Ravensbrück subcamp.¹

Under the supervision of SS-Scharführer Fritz Giese, a group of 12 male concentration camp prisoners set up a kitchen, washroom, and living quarters in Production Hall No. 7. Prisoner quarters, initially with 150 beds but later increased, were located on the first floor of the factory building (No. 7a). It would eventually be surrounded by an electrified fence, and in addition, a detention cell was installed in September 1944. The SS took over the new camp on July 26, 1944, once the installation was complete.

Soon thereafter, about 500 female prisoners were transported by truck to the subcamp from the Ravensbrück concentration camp.² At the end of August, another group of 120 female prisoners was brought by the SS from the Ravensbrück subcamp at Barth near Rostock, arriving at Schönefeld on September 1, 1944.³ On the same day, Schönefeld came under the jurisdiction of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp and was thenceforth called the “Henschel external camp” (AL Henschel) in the SS.⁴ When, on March 1, 1945, 14 more women were brought from Ravensbrück to Schönefeld, the total number of prisoners employed at HFW reached its high point of 634. Most of them came from France, Poland, and Russia, though there were also German Roma (Gypsies), Yugoslavs, a Belgian, a Latvian, and a German woman labeled by the SS as “asocial” and “political.” There may have been at least 7 Jews among the women prisoners.⁵

The first SS-Lagerführer, Giese, aged 34 in 1944, was ordered to Eberswalde to again assume command of the construction of a Ravensbrück subcamp soon after the female prisoners arrived. He was replaced by 45-year-old SS-Oberscharführer Emil Rieder.⁶ He was replaced in January 1945 by SS-Oberscharführer Schulz, who was about 35.

The SS guard staff consisted of about 10 SS men, most of whom were said to have been ethnic Germans from Romania and Hungary.⁷ Most of the female SS guards, in the summer of 1944, had been assigned to do service with the SS by the companies for which they previously worked. In all, there were at least 15 female SS guards who saw service at the Schönefeld subcamp, under the command of a senior female guard, of whom 12 are known by name. SS personnel were probably accommodated in a barracks outside the camp proper.⁸

The female prisoners primarily produced wings for the Messerschmitt (Me) 109 aircraft. Half the women were awakened around 5:00 A.M. and had to work a 12-hour shift. According to survivors, those women who had to work the night shift from 7:00 P.M. to 7:00 A.M. hated it more because of the cold.⁹ The survivor Henriette Cartier-Worms described her working conditions in a statement she made for the trial against the major war criminals that was held at the International Military Tribunal in Nürnberg: "My work involved drilling eight-mm holes in steel or hardened aluminum with a heavy, seven kilo [15.4-pound] steam hammer. I had to use this steam hammer for the entire shift, which means twelve hours long. . . . We worked on an assembly line whose output was continually being increased. At the beginning, the line came around every three hours, but at the end of our stay, it was every forty minutes, which left hardly a free moment. . . . I was forbidden to sit down in the factory. . . . We could only go to the latrines at fixed times. That was especially bad for us, because we all suffered from diarrhea."¹⁰ A duralumin alloy was applied to harden the airplane wings, which ate into the skin on the women's hands and caused abscesses. Cartier-Worms also mentioned that while at work the women prisoners suffered at the hands of the German civilians who worked for Henschel.

By the end of 1944, much of the production in other areas of the HFW Schönefeld had either stopped or had stagnated, but the "camp in assembly hall 7 was a last bastion of what could be called conventional industrial production."¹¹ In its report for the month of October 1944, the HFW notes how "good has been the production of Me 109 wings by concentration camp prisoners."¹² However, according to survivors, production ceased in mid-January 1945 due to breakdowns in energy supply and the lack of raw materials and was not resumed. From then on, the women were used for heavy and dangerous physical work outside the camp, including cleanup work in Berlin and digging antitank ditches to defend the city.

Rations sank dramatically once production at HFW ceased in January 1945. The hygienic conditions also dramatically deteriorated, as the water supply system broke down.

"Many young women died very quickly of tuberculosis. Usually the ill, and those whose performance at work was insufficient, were sent back to the camp and I subsequently learned of their deaths,"¹³ Cartier-Worms reported. There was a sick ward in Assembly Hall 7, attended to by two women prisoners, but it only dealt with minor illnesses and injuries.

The seriously ill were taken at first to Ravensbrück and, beginning in 1945, to the women's subcamp of Sachsenhausen called Oranienburg (Auer-Werke).

There were probably multiple deaths on the grounds of the Schönefeld subcamp, and a former female guard remembers at least one. The SS change of status reports noted that on March 6, 1945, 21-year-old German Roma Anna Baramysi had died in the subcamp. Those who had died were to be cremated at the Baumschulenweg crematorium in Berlin-Treptow.

The total number of inmates in the subcamp sank dramatically in its last weeks, as larger groups of female prisoners were either evacuated or escaped. A female Polish prisoner was transferred to Sachsenhausen on April 8, 1945, and from there she and 5 other prisoners were released two days later. On the same day, 2 female Soviet soldiers whose prisoner-of-war (POW) status the SS had converted into concentration camp detention, managed to escape from the subcamp. On April 18, 1945, 65 women prisoners were taken to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.¹⁴

When the Red Army reached the Berlin city limits on April 21, 1945, the SS camp commander ordered the subcamp dissolved. That afternoon, the remaining 537 women were divided into several groups and forced to head in the direction of Oranienburg. The first stage involved a night march through bombed-out Berlin. According to a French survivor, prisoners who during the march remained behind out of exhaustion were shot by the SS. Close to Nauen, the SS abandoned the majority of the women, and it is here that they were liberated by Soviet soldiers on April 24, 1945.¹⁵

At least four SS members of the Schönefeld subcamp were interned by the Allies after the war. They were all released by 1947. A former female SS guard was extradited to Poland and sentenced to a three-year prison term for being a member of the SS.¹⁶ The only sentence that was explicitly related to crimes committed in the subcamp was handed down on December 22, 1949, by a French military court in Rastatt. The former camp guard Hildegard Glimpel was sentenced to a three-month jail term for mistreating prisoners.¹⁷ Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg ceased investigating in 1971, as there was no evidence of the premeditated murder of camp inmates.

SOURCES The principal secondary source of information for this entry is an essay by Lutz Budrass and Manfred Grieger, "Die Moral der Effizienz: Die Beschäftigung von KZ-Häftlingen am Beispiel des Volkswagenwerks und der Henschel Flugzeug-Werke," *JWg* 2 (1993): 89–136, which provides a brief overview of the camp and an in-depth analysis of the history of HFW, its use of slave labor, and a history of its administration in relation to the Nazi government.

Primary source materials about the Schönefeld subcamp of Sachsenhausen are stored at the AHFW and at AG-S. For a detailed account of life in the Schönefeld camp complex, see the second volume of Christian Bernadac's *Le camps des femmes: Ravensbrück*, vol. 2 of *Mannequins nus* (Paris: France-

Empire, 1971–1973), which is based on the unpublished manuscripts of two former inmates. Testimony from another former inmate, Henriette Cartier-Worms, has been published in Peter Neitzke and Martin Weinmann, *Konzentrationslager Dokument F321 für den Internationalen Militärgerichtshof Nürnberg* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1988); however, Cartier-Worms's testimony is edited and separated under thematic headings, and therefore it is not a straight narrative about her experience in the Schönefeld camp (she was also interned in Ravensbrück). For detailed information about work conditions at the HFW factory, see the USHMMA, RG-02.038, J.H., "Montluc-Ravensbrück: A Record of Imprisonment Testimony" (October 15, 1945). This is a memoir written by an anonymous survivor who, although she did not necessarily live in Halle 7 at Schönefeld, performed slave labor for Henschel and describes the work conditions there.

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NOTES

1. The factory topography and the camp can be seen in Allied air photographs taken on February 22, 1944, and in two sketches by a former supervisor. The photos can be seen at www.bvbb-ev.de/assets/images/Schfd1944-beschriftet-2.jpg (September 16, 2003); the sketches at Preliminary Investigation by BA-L, ZdL, October 10, 1969, IV 406 AR 645/69.

2. J. H., "Montluc-Ravensbrück: A Record of Imprisonment Testimony" (October 15, 1945), USHMMA, RG-02.038/1, p. 10. Lutz Budrass and Manfred Grieger estimate the arrival of the prisoners as being between July 26 and 31, 1944: "Die Moral der Effizienz: Die Beschäftigung von KZ-Häftlingen am Beispiel des Volkswagenwerks und der Henschel Flugzeug-Werke," *JWg* 2 (1993): 122. Another 80 women reached the camp on September 7, 1944: Stärke und Veränderungsmeldungen, September 7, 1944, AG-S, D 9A.

3. The transfer lists hold the names and prison numbers of the transferred women; see USHMMA, RG-04.006M, Reel 20.

4. Stärke und Veränderungsmeldungen 1945, AG-S, D 9A.

5. Preliminary Investigation Result, BA-L, ZdL, October 10, 1969, IV 406 AR 645/69.

6. Bernhard Strebel, *Das KZ Ravensbrück: Geschichte eines Lagerkomplexes* (Paderborn, 2003), p. 447.

7. Preliminary Investigation Result, BA-L, ZdL, October 10, 1969, IV 406 AR 645/69.

8. Marquardt [*8.1916 in Wolfenbüttel], May 12, 1969, in Clausthal-Zellerfeld, BA-L, IV 406 AR 645/69, p. 34.

9. J. H., "Montluc-Ravensbrück," p. 11.

10. See the statement by Henriette Cartier-Worms, in Peter Neitzke and Martin Weinmann, *Konzentrationslager Dokument F321 für den Internationalen Militärgerichtshof Nürnberg* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1988), p. 105.

11. Budrass and Grieger, "Die Moral der Effizienz," p. 131.

12. Technical Report, Entry 2.10./b, MB October 1944, AHFW, cited in *ibid.*, p. 132.

13. Cartier-Worms, in Neitzke and Weinmann, *Konzentrationslager Dokument F321 für den Internationalen Militärgerichtshof Nürnberg*, p. 112.

14. Stärke und Veränderungsmeldungen 1945, AG-S, D 9A.

15. J.H., "Montluc-Ravensbrück," p. 18

16. BA-L, IV 406 AR 2488/66, p. 227.

17. Record of Interview Hildegard Glimpel [*5.1923 in Säbischdorf], May 12, 1969, in Leverkusen, ZdL, 406 AR 2488/66, p. 69.

SCHWARZHEIDE

In the summer of 1944, the SS set up a subcamp of Sachsenhausen at Schwarzheide, close to the Dresden-Berlin autobahn. It held 1,000 Czech Jewish prisoners from Auschwitz, and they worked at the Braunkohle-Benzin AG (Brabag) lignite hydrogenation factory. It is likely that less than half of the prisoners survived the Schwarzheide subcamp and the subsequent death marches.

The Schwarzheide factory was located in southern Brandenburg at the edge of the Lausitz coal-mining district. It was the third of four hydrogenation plants built by Brabag, an enterprise founded in 1934 at the request of the Reich Economics Ministry but with the compulsory cooperation of the coal and mineral oil industry. The conversion of lignite into gasoline, into diesel oil, and in particular into high-octane aircraft fuel was to be forced so as to reduce dependence on imported oil, the key raw material needed to arm for war.

According to Fritz Kranefuss, the spokesman for the Brabag board of directors, plans were laid by the end of 1943 to use concentration camp prisoners as forced laborers in the hydrogenation plants.¹ Production was to be relocated underground, but the expertise provided by Prof. Carl Krauch, IG Farben director and designated specialist for chemistry, concluded it was technically impossible.²

In June 1944, the Armaments Ministry, following increased Allied air raids, established a working group to coordinate the reconstruction of those hydrogenation works that had been destroyed.³ Concentration camp prisoners did the work.⁴ After May or June 1944, about 10,000 concentration camp inmates, mainly Hungarian Jews, were forced to do the cleanup and construction work just at the four Brabag plants.⁵

By the end of 1944 or the beginning of 1945, the Schwarzheide works had become the most important supplier of fuel to the Wehrmacht's Army Group Center, hence also a "main strategic target" in Brandenburg for Allied long-distance bombers.⁶ The first air raid on the Schwarzheide works took place on May 28, 1944. After six additional raids during the summer of 1944, production at Schwarzheide fell by 30 percent, according to the Armaments Ministry.⁷ By early 1945, shortly before Germany's defeat, it was thought about 75 percent of the works had been destroyed.

In June 1944, the SS disbanded the "Theresienstadt Family Camp" in Auschwitz II-Birkenau. This block of the camp

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was in sector B II b, an area where Czech Jews from the evacuated Theresienstadt ghetto were held. Several thousand men and women under 40 were selected to do forced labor; the remaining 10,000 or so (comprising older men, women, and children under 16) were murdered in the gas chambers. Some 1,000 Czech Jews were sent, in boxcars, to Schwarzhöhe to do forced labor and arrived on July 1, 1944.

The Schwarzhöhe subcamp was established in a former housing barracks near the Dresden-Berlin autobahn. In May 1944, the SS transferred an advance work detail to it, composed of non-Jewish prisoners, mainly German Communists, who had been held at the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. They assumed leading positions among the prisoners, including camp elder and chief of the infirmary.

The SS camp leader and certain SS men were deemed particularly brutal. One SS man wanted to shoot a concentration camp prisoner who had been injured outside the grounds of the camp during an air raid. A prisoner foreman was shot by a different SS man because he interceded on behalf of weakened fellow prisoners in his work detail.⁸ Another concentration camp prisoner was beaten to death by an SS man because he had picked up a cigarette butt off the ground.

Approximately 20 different work Kommandos were employed at the Schwarzhöhe works, constructing bunkers and production facilities as well as a power plant. The work included lugging 50-kilogram (110-pound) cement sacks or loading and unloading trucks. Each Kommando worked a 12-hour shift, either day or night, and per shift were allowed only one half-hour break.⁹ To shield weaker prisoners, camp elder Paul Bergmann assigned those of a stronger constitution to the more physically demanding work.¹⁰ Prisoners were also used to clear rubble and do repair work after air raids, with one Kommando laying new cables and lines. There were bomb disposal details that had to disarm many of the 113 duds among the approximately 3,000 bombs dropped on the works, and each detail consisted of 10 concentration camp prisoners.¹¹

In addition to persecution by the SS and the exhausting or deadly dangerous work, air raids themselves also endangered prisoners, as they were wholly unprotected and not allowed to enter the air-raid shelters. Instead, they were locked in the subcamp's barracks. Aerial photos taken by the Royal Air Force at the beginning of March 1945 clearly show that during the carpet bombing of the grounds, efforts were made to spare the nearby subcamp.¹² Nevertheless, it was hit once.

Yet prisoners had ambivalent feelings about air raids, for though they were dangerous, they also were a symbol of coming liberation. Survivor Pavel Stransky said: "We looked forward to the next air raid! It meant a sweet rest for us. We had reached a point where we no longer feared the bombs. It was more important to have a break from the work, though we underestimated the danger. . . . Shrapnel bombs were dropped at the time, and a few prisoners were injured by them in the legs."¹³

At times, as many as one-third of the prisoners were in the subcamp's infirmary, though it had no medical equipment. Prisoner doctor, and gynecologist, Herbert Lewin later said: "We had to carry out emergency amputations with a disinfected carpenter's saw, and instead of an anesthetic, we held the prisoners down."¹⁴ Lewin was one of the few Berlin doctors active in public health matters during the Weimar Republic and was particularly concerned to improve the basic health care and nutrition of underprivileged women.¹⁵ Lewin founded the Association of Jewish Workers (Bund Jüdischer Arbeiter), though it would be banned by 1934. In 1941 he was deported from Cologne, where he had worked since 1937 as head of the Jewish Hospital's Gynecology Department, to the Łódź ghetto and from there, in 1944, to Auschwitz. That same year, Lewin was moved from Auschwitz to the Sachsenhausen Heinkel subcamp and from there to the Schwarzhöhe subcamp.

The SS transported the corpses of 114 concentration camp prisoners to the city crematorium at Dresden-Tolkewitz.¹⁶ Dead prisoners also had been hurriedly buried in mines and bomb craters. It is possible that the SS began, as they probably also did at the Falkensee subcamp, to construct a crematorium on the grounds of the subcamp. Survivors suspect it could also have been a gas chamber.

At the beginning of February 1945, the SS had the concentration camp prisoners begin constructing tank traps in the area around the Brabag works and transferred certain prisoners to other work assignments at the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. At the end of February or the beginning of March 1945, about 300 Jewish concentration camp prisoners "incapable of working" were transported to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp and were replaced by about 300 non-Jewish prisoners from the Heinkel subcamp. It is also alleged that exhausted concentration camp prisoners were brought from Schwarzhöhe back to Auschwitz and to Bergen-Belsen in February and March 1945.

In March 1945, SS-Gruppenführer Hans Kammler ordered the former commander of the SS-Central Construction Administration (Zentralbauleitung, ZBL) Auschwitz, SS-Sturmbannführer Karl Bischoff, to implement Special Measure (*Sondermassnahme*) I/7 (Schwarzhöhe).¹⁷ This special project probably had something to do with the use of prisoners by Bischoff for construction, though it never came to pass.

During the disbanding of the Schwarzhöhe subcamp, 40 concentration camp prisoners who could no longer walk were taken in two buses, on April 17, 1945, to Sachsenhausen—and then forced on the death march from there; 1 inmate who remained behind in the Sachsenhausen infirmary was freed by the Red Army on April 22.¹⁸

The remaining 500 prisoners from the Schwarzhöhe subcamp, Jews and non-Jews alike who could still walk, were forced from Schwarzhöhe on a death march in the direction of Theresienstadt. Prisoners marched in rows of five and to begin with; those in the outside positions had to carry a

fence made of palings and rope.¹⁹ During this death march, which went via Kamenz, Sebnitz, and the mountainous region of the Sächsische Schweiz, about 80 men died either from exhaustion or at the hands of SS men who shot prisoners who tried to escape or who could no longer walk.²⁰

When the SS seized a starving French prisoner who had stolen food, they shot—as “punishment”—4 other prisoners.²¹ In the Czech town of Varnsdorf, the SS hanged a Polish prisoner after he unsuccessfully tried to escape into a factory building.²² On April 28, 1945, in Varnsdorf, Jewish and non-Jewish prisoners were separated, and the non-Jewish prisoners later were freed near Langenau. The Jewish prisoners had to climb into open freight cars that otherwise transported coal and were taken, standing, to Leipa (Česká Lípa in Bohemia). Along the way, some exhausted prisoners even drowned in the water that had pooled at the bottom of the cars after several days’ rain;²³ 17 prisoners starved to death during the two days the train stood in Leipa, as they were given no food to eat.²⁴ From Leitmeritz (Litoměřice), on May 7, 1945, the prisoners had to march in the direction of Terezín, though a few kilometers before reaching it, the SS guards fled.²⁵ About 227 concentration camp prisoners had at this point survived the death march;²⁶ 3 former prisoners would still die between May 8 and 10, after liberation, due to the aftereffects of the death march.²⁷

SOURCES The author researched the history of the Schwarzheide subcamp and a number of individual concentration camp biographies to prepare the permanent exhibits at the Sachsenhausen Memorial titled “Die Baracke 38—Jüdische Häftlinge im KZ Sachsenhausen 1936–1945” and “Die Baracke 39—Der ‘Alltag’ der Häftlinge des KZ Sachsenhausen 1936–1945.” Some of this work appeared in the essay “Zwangsarbeit von jüdischen KZ-Häftlingen in der Rüstungsproduktion in der Region Berlin-Brandenburg in der Schlussphase des Zweiten Weltkrieges—Die Aussenlager Glöwen und Schwarzheide des KZ Sachsenhausen,” in *Zwangsarbeit während der NS-Zeit in Berlin und Brandenburg—Formen, Funktion und Rezeption*, ed. Winfried Meyer and Klaus Neitmann (Potsdam: Verlag Berlin-Brandenburg, 2001), pp. 163–175.

The AG-S holds interviews with the survivors Jacov Tsur and Jiri Lom as well as five ring binders containing the results of the author’s research. They include biographical documents and survivors’ letters to the research group “Internationale Spurensucher,” detailing the death march. Other documents can be found in the AG-T and at Beit Terezín in Israel. Documents on the Brabag-Werk Schwarzheide are held in the BHLA and the A-BASF (BASF is the owner of the former Brabag factory). An unpublished memoir by Tsur and Richard Svoboda, “Das Aussenlager Schwarzheide des KZ Sachsenhausen,” can be found in USHMM, Schwarzheide Collection, Acc. 2001.214. The archival collection was put together in the A-VEB-S in the DDR. In *The Book of Alfred Kantor: An Artist’s Journal of the Holocaust*, preface by John Wykert (1971, repr., New York: Schocken Books, 1987), Auschwitz and Schwarzheide survivor Alfred Kantor shows in impressive colored drawings, completed

after liberation while he was in the Deggendorf DP camp, the persecution and everyday life in Theresienstadt, Auschwitz, and Schwarzheide. Former Schwarzheide prisoner Jiri Fränkl published his account *Der brennende Himmel* (Prague, 1995), which concentrates on Auschwitz. The autobiography of Pavel Stransky, *Als Boten der Opfer: Von Prag durch Theresienstadt, Auschwitz, Schwarzheide und zurück. Tschechisch-jüdische Schicksale 1939–1997* (Konstanz, 1997), gives a forceful depiction of Schwarzheide. Tsur’s biography also figures in the CD-ROM the author compiled for the AG-S, titled *Gegen das Vergessen—Der Alltag der Häftlinge im KZ Sachsenhausen 1936–1945*. Tsur also published the report “Der Transport” about the transport from Theresienstadt to Auschwitz; it can be found in the narrative written by Nea Wiessberg-Bob and Thomas Irmer, *Heinrich Richard Brinn (1874–1944): Fabrikant-Kunstsammler-Frontkämpfer. Dokumentation einer ‘Arisierung,’* with Michel Friedman, Hermann Simon, and Jacov Tsur (Berlin: Lichtig Verlag, 2002), pp. 214–219.

Thomas Irmer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Schreiben Fritz Kranefuss an SS-Obersturmbannführer Brandt, December 21, 1943, BA-B, NS 19/1677, p. 2.
2. Schreiben GBChem Prof. Krauch an Himmler, December 18, 1943, BA-B, NS 19/1677, p. 3.
3. Rundschreiben RMfRK June 8, 1944, Betr.: Generalkommissar für die Sofortmassnahmen, BA-B, NS 19/3592.
4. Schreiben Edmund Geilenberg/Arbeitsstab an SS-Standartenführer Gerhard Maurer/SS-WVHA, July 10, 1944, BA-B, R 3112/179.
5. Tobias Bütow and Franka Bindernagel, *Ein KZ in der Nachbarschaft: Das Magdeburger Aussenlager der Brabag und der ‘Freundeskreis Himmler’* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003).
6. Olaf Groehler, “Der Luftkrieg gegen Brandenburg in den letzten Kriegsmonaten,” in *Brandenburg im Jahr 1945. Studien*, ed. Werner Stang and Kurt Arlt (Potsdam, 1995), pp. 9–37.
7. Aufstellung Produktion der Werke in Prozentsatz der Normalproduktion, November 20, 1944, BA-B, NS 19/1677.
8. Statement by Frantisek Glückner at the Kolin District Court, September 9, 1969, in AG-S, LAG XIII/16.
9. Statement by Richard Meisl at the Tabor District Court Tabor, September 10, 1969, AG-S, LAG XII/16; Aussage von Pavel Kubie vor dem Kreisgericht Prag-Ost, October 21, 1969, AG-S, LAG XII/16.
10. Interview with Jacov Tsur by Eva Brücker and Thomas Irmer, AG-S, Bestand B 38.
11. The numbers come from the A-BASF.
12. LVerMA Brandenburg Luftbild Schwarzheide, Film Nr. 046, Bild-Nr. 4036, March 24, 1945.
13. Pavel Stransky, *Als Boten der Opfer: Von Prag durch Theresienstadt, Auschwitz, Schwarzheide und zurück. Tschechisch-jüdische Schicksale 1939–1997* (Konstanz, 1997), p. 31.
14. Prof. Dr. Herbert Lewin, “Erlebnisse 1933/45” (Bericht von Herbert Lewin vom März 1955, aufgenommen von

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H.G. Adler), IfZ, MZS 1/7 (Wiener Library P III Au [Lodz-Theresienstadt] Nr. 8).

15. Lewin worked in the Reichsverein für Volksernährung and was a member of the SPD.

16. Einäscherungsregister 1944/45 Urnenhain Krematorium Dresden-Tolkewitz.

17. Schriftstück "Vollmacht Nr. 7," March 26, 1945, BA-B, NS 3/457, Bl. 5.

18. Report by Oldrich Stransky, AG-S, R 66/22.

19. Stransky, *Als Boten der Opfer*, p. 33.

20. The numbers are based in part on the lists of prisoner orderly Heinrich Roeder who kept notes during the death march. See the statements by the brothers Jiri und Richard Meisl before the Tabor District Court on August 28 and September 10, 1969, AG-S, LAG XII/16.

21. Statement by Pavel Kubie at the Prague-East District Court, October 21, 1969, AG-S, LAG XII/16.

22. Statement by Frantisek Glückner before the Kolin District Court, September 9, 1969, AG-S, LAG XIII/16.

23. Statement by Pavel Kubie before the Prague-East District Court, October 21, 1969, AG-S, LAG XII/16; Bericht über den Marschweg des Todesmarsches von Schwarzheide nach Terezin by Marek Poloncarz, AG-S, R 61/25.

24. Report by Karel Karlovsky, Prag 1996, AG-S, Sammlung Thomas Irmer.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. Bericht über den Marschweg des Todesmarsches von Schwarzheide nach Terezin by Marek Poloncarz, AG-S, R 61/25.

SPREENHAGEN

Beginning in the summer of 1943, the network of SS duty stations in the area around the German capital became more dense, both through establishing the SS garrison headquarters at Bad Saarow and with setting up an SS troop training area called "Kurmark" in the Jamlitz region about 100 kilometers (62 miles) from Berlin. That same summer, the SS-Leadership Main Office (Führungshauptamt, FHA) also began two institutionally interconnected projects in the Fürstenwalde/Scharmützelsee area east of Berlin.

One of the FHA projects was to relocate SS offices out of the bomb-endangered capital city and move them to the region of Bad Saarow. The other was to begin building a large subterranean intelligence center in the Rauen Mountains south of Fürstenwalde. The two projects were apparently linked. In the second half of 1943, in this area, an overflow camp for SS duty stations was established as well as a large intelligence bunker. As of the end of July 1943, the project to relocate the SS duty stations out of the capital city of the Reich was known by its cover name "Siegfried."¹

The SS garrison headquarters Bad Saarow was established for these two projects and included the area from Fürstenwalde to south of Beeskow, as well as from Storkow to the Schlaubetal.² The SS garrison administration Bad Saarow existed as of August 9, 1943, and the Sachsenhausen subcamps of Bad Saarow (also known as Ketschendorf), Fürstenwalde,

Storkow, Kolpin, and Spreenhagen fell within the area this garrison headquarters administered.

The Spreenhagen subcamp was closely connected to the Bad Saarow subcamp. The administrative office Bad Saarow for SS construction was headed by SS-Untersturmführer Hans-Gustav Bauer (born 1912) from Nürnberg. Administrative suboffices for construction were located at Storkow, Trebnitz, Kolpin, and Spreenhagen, as well as at the main location near Bad Saarow. These were also subcamps of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. SS statistics show Bad Saarow as a labor camp, while Trebnitz, Storkow, and Spreenhagen are reported as labor Kommandos. According to German ethnologist Hellmut Draws-Tychsen, who recorded roll calls at the Bad Saarow subcamp until April 1944, the Bad Saarow, Storkow, Kolpin, and Spreenhagen subcamps were called a "unified labor camp."

The Spreenhagen subcamp was probably established in May 1944, initially with 50 prisoners, though by August this number had nearly doubled, and by the end of 1944, 133 prisoners were housed at Spreenhagen.³ The prisoners were employed to construct the SS overflow duty stations. In the autumn of 1944, the SS-First Armored Infantry Training and Reserve Battalion (Panzergrenadier-Ausbildungs- und Ersatzbataillon) was stationed in Spreenhagen.⁴ On September 23, 1944, 2 Soviet prisoners and a Polish prisoner successfully escaped from the camp.⁵ By February 12, 1945, the camp was no longer mentioned in the SS statistics.

Labor Kommandos that most likely came from this camp worked to build SS provisional quarters, following three designs, on Spreenhagen communal land during 1944–1945. In part, however, construction could not be completed.⁶

SOURCES A few archival documents are held at the BA-B (Collection NS 33) and at BLHA. Documents giving the number of inmates as well as escapees can be found at AG-S (CAFSSRF).

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 33/108, p. 224.

2. BA-B, NS 33/107, p. 180, Map of the SS-Standortverwaltung, Bad Saarow, n.d.

3. AG-S, CAFSSRF, N-19092, vol. 100.

4. BA-DH, ZM 11514, File 1, Sammelakte, p. 35.

5. AG-S, CAFSSRF, N-19092, vol. 99.

6. BLHA, Pr. Br. Rep. 204A, Nr. 2286a.

STORKOW

Beginning in the summer of 1943, the network of SS duty stations in the area around the German capital became denser, both through establishing the SS garrison headquarters at Bad Saarow and with setting up an SS troop training area called "Kurmark" in the Jamlitz region about 100 kilometers (62 miles) from Berlin. That same summer, the SS-Leadership

Main Office (Führungshauptamt, FHA) also began two institutionally interconnected projects in the Fürstenwalde/Scharmützelsee area east of Berlin.

One of the FHA projects was to relocate SS offices out of the bomb-endangered capital city and move them to the region of Bad Saarow. The other was to begin building a large subterranean intelligence center in the Rauen Mountains south of Fürstenwalde. The two projects were apparently linked. In the second half of 1943, in this area, an overflow camp for SS duty stations was established as well as a large intelligence bunker. As of the end of July 1943, the project to relocate the SS duty stations out of the capital city of the Reich was known by its cover name "Siegfried."¹

The SS garrison headquarters Bad Saarow was established for these two projects and included the area from Fürstenwalde to south of Beeskow, as well as from Storkow to Schlaubetal.² The SS garrison administration Bad Saarow existed as of August 9, 1943, and the Sachsenhausen subcamps of Bad Saarow (also known as Ketschendorf), Fürstenwalde, Storkow, Kolpin, and Spreenhagen fell within the area administered by this garrison headquarters.

The Storkow subcamp was closely connected with the Bad Saarow subcamp. The administrative office Bad Saarow for SS construction was headed by SS-Untersturmführer Hans-Gustav Bauer (born 1912) from Nürnberg. Administrative suboffices for construction were located at Trebnitz, Kolpin, Spreenhagen, and Storkow,³ as well as at the main location near Bad Saarow. These were also subcamps of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. SS statistics show Bad Saarow as a labor camp and Trebnitz, Storkow, and Spreenhagen as labor Kommandos. According to German ethnologist Hellmut Draws-Tychsen, who recorded roll calls at the Bad Saarow subcamp until April of 1944, the Bad Saarow, Storkow, Kolpin, and Spreenhagen subcamps were called a "unified labor camp." Former prisoners have estimated the number of prisoners at the Storkow subcamp at 250.

The Storkow subcamp existed as of April 1944. As with Spreenhagen, it was first intended as a branch of the Bad Saarow subcamp and only later became an independent subcamp.⁴ In mid-April 1944, the subcamp held 120 prisoners, though that number continued to be reduced until there were only 69 left by the end of the year.⁵ Prisoners worked to build the SS overflow duty stations. One of the offices known to have been relocated to Storkow was Department XVII of Office Group D of the SS-FHA.

From March 15, 1944, to February 2, 1945, SS-Unterscharführer Karl Schlote (born 1912), a member of the SS-Totenkopf-Wachbataillon Sachsenhausen, commanded the Storkow subcamp.⁶ After war's end in 1945, Schlote was held by the British at the Esterwegen internment camp together with former SS-Rottenführer Josef Kranebitter, who admitted to having been a guard at the Storkow subcamp between September 6, 1944, and February 3, 1945.⁷ His statement suggests the camp may have been established already on March 15, 1944, and one must assume the camp was closed on February 2 or 3, 1945, inasmuch as the subcamp is no longer men-

tioned subsequently in the Sachsenhausen change of status reports.

In the 1960s, West German judicial authorities investigated crimes potentially committed at the Storkow subcamp.⁸

SOURCES A few archival documents may be found at the BA-B (Collection NS 33) and at the BLHA. Documents giving the number of inmates as well as escapees can be found at AG-S (CAFSSRF).

Andreas Weigelt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 33/107, p. 224.
2. BA-B, NS 33/107, p. 189, Map of the SS-Standortverwaltung, Bad Saarow, n.d.
3. BA-B, NS 3/1072, p. 139R.
4. AG-S, LAG XI/12, Letter from the ZLNW-K to the Gsta.-DDR, June 29, 1970.
5. AG-S, CAFSSRF, N-19092, vol. 100.
6. BA-DH, ZM 1564, A.13, p. 8, AG-S, LAG X/3, List of former SS members of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp held in the British internment camp at Esterwegen.
7. AG-S, LAG X/3, List of former Sachsenhausen concentration camp members interned in the British internment camp at Esterwegen.
8. AG-S, LAG XI/12, Letter from ZLNW-K (Az. 24 AR 186/68 (Z)) to the Gsta.-DDR, June 29, 1970. The camp is not mentioned in the memoirs of a Storkow Communist—Franz Becker, *Vom Berliner Hinterhof zur Storkower Kommandatura* (Berlin, 1985).

STRAUSBERG

A camp for female prisoners existed in Strausberg, Oberbarnim District, Brandenburg Province (present-day Märkisch Oderland District in the State of Brandenburg), between November 15, 1944, and April 20, 1945. It was administered from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, and the prisoners worked at the Märkische Walzwerk GmbH (Mark [Brandenburg] Rolling Mill, Ltd.) in Strausberg.

The Fritz Werner AG machine factory in Berlin-Marienfelde had been founded in 1914 and developed out of a small firm that primarily manufactured technical equipment for munitions factories. Once the arms limitations imposed by the Versailles Treaty were lifted, the company specialized in making machines that manufactured light arms, as well as machine-tool and munitions machines. In 1934, Fritz Werner AG complied with a request from the Army Armaments Office that it build its own munitions factory. The Berlin machine company established a subsidiary with the cover name Märkische Walzwerk GmbH and by the end of 1934 began building a munitions factory at the southeastern edge of Strausberg, on Hegermühlenstrasse. Between 1935 and 1939, this became an efficient factory, producing ammunition for 7.92mm-caliber guns as well as munitions parts up to 2

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centimeters (0.8 inches) in length. Modern munitions machines built in the Berlin-Marienfelde plant were used for this production, and the Strausberg munitions factory served as a testing ground for these newly developed munitions machines.

During World War II, the Märkische Walzwerk substantially increased its production. Foreign forced laborers particularly from the Netherlands, Poland, Italy, and the Soviet Union began to be used by 1941 to help manufacture munitions. By the fall of 1944, the works employed approximately 1,500 foreign forced laborers, 720 of whom were women; by the end of 1944, a total of about 3,200 workers were employed in the munitions factory.

The ever-increasing demands for ammunition led to an expansion of the production plant at the works. After mid-1943, the Märkische Walzwerk took over the property and the manufacturing building of the neighboring shoe factory Wilhelm Reichenwallner KG. This shoe factory had been acquired in 1931 by Berlin manufacturer Herman Diamant and, until 1938, operating under the name Herman Diamant-Schuhfabrik (HEDIA), had made evening and luxury shoes for women partly for the domestic but primarily for the export market. Diamant was a Jewish entrepreneur, however, and the Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German Labor Front, DAF) of the Gau administration Kurmark forced him to sell his factory to the Wilhelm Reichenwallner KG, with SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Reichenwallner, from Munich, taking over control of the enterprise. Herman Diamant emigrated in 1939 to the United States, via Copenhagen.

The Märkische Walzwerk established a materials depot and quarters for foreign female forced laborers in the former shoe factory. The lower floors were converted into a production area, used after mid-1944 for the manufacturing of 7.92mm short ammunition for the Sturmgewehr 44 (assault rifle). However, neither German nor foreign forced laborers were available for this new production area, so Fritz Werner AG demanded female labor from a concentration camp through the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA).

The Sachsenhausen concentration camp established a subcamp for 100 women in the Märkische Walzwerk in mid-November 1944.¹ The prisoners had begun to arrive by transports from the Ravensbrück concentration camp beginning in April 1944 and, by the beginning of November, were transferred to the administrative control of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.

The national composition of the prisoners cannot be definitively established, though on the basis of available information, the Strausberg subcamp held prisoners from the Soviet Union, Germany, and Poland.

Within the complex of the munitions plant, the prisoners were housed in the main building of the former shoe factory. The munitions and loading machines had been installed on the lower two floors of the shoe factory; a room where the prisoners slept was located immediately above the production halls. The prisoners' kitchen was located on the first floor,

right next to the munitions machines. Prisoners did not need to leave the building to get from their quarters to the munitions machines or to eat. Most workers at the plant were not allowed to enter this production area, so as a result what went on in the former shoe factory remained hidden to them as well as to the inhabitants of Strausberg. Only foremen, suppliers, and technicians were permitted to enter this isolated part of the munitions factory.

The commander of the Strausberg subcamp was SS-Oberscharführer Hellmut Stahl (born 1892), a clerk from Berlin. In May 1944, he was transferred from the Wehrmacht to the Sachsenhausen SS-Totenkopf-Wachbataillon and, after training, was appointed leader of the Kommando.

Beginning in 1943–1944, the most important production sections of the Strausberg munitions factory worked two 12-hour shifts a day, and one can assume the female prisoners in the subcamp were not exempt. However, the production targets for the Märkische Walzwerk in the old shoe factory evidently were not met, inasmuch as additional labor was called for. On March 10, 1945, the Sachsenhausen concentration camp transferred an additional 52 prisoners from the Oranienburg (Auer-Werke) subcamp to the Strausberg subcamp, which now held 150 prisoners.²

One contemporary witness reported on the extreme lack of medical care for the women. He recalled that a makeshift sickroom had been installed next to the dormitory where the prisoners slept. The room also served to isolate patients so as to prevent the spread of infection and thereby to avoid losing further working hours. A female prisoner had the task of providing care but had no medical equipment or medicine at her disposal; the factory doctor forbade the SS from providing any sort of medical care for the prisoners. The woman prisoner charged with providing care built her own electric cooker from bits of electrical material lying around the factory so as to be able at least to prepare hot tea for the sick women. The female guards would not enter the sickroom because, in their opinion, "the plague" raged there.³

By April 1945, the front was getting closer to Strausberg every day. The munitions factory had removed some of its machines to Berlin, but munitions production continued in Strausberg. The order to evacuate the city was given on April 19 or 20, 1945. No reliable information remains on what then happened to the 150 female prisoners. According to statements by the director of the munitions factory, the Nazi administration at Eberswalde gave orders to march the women to Wandlitz, north of Berlin. The Strausberg subcamp is last mentioned on April 19, 1945, in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp reports of total daily strength.

SOURCES In the literature, one finds the camp mentioned but without further information. There are brief mentions of the Strausberg subcamp in Rolf Barthel's *Geschichte der Stadt Strausberg* (Berlin, 1987), p. 198; and in Günter Matthes's "Zwangsarbeit in Strausberg während des zweiten Weltkrieges," *VRDA* 12 (2002): 6–7.

There is very sparse primary information about the Sachsenhausen subcamp at Strausberg. No surviving prisoners have contacted the AG-R or AG-S. No former prisoners have written their memoirs. No postwar trials are known in which male or female guards were charged, or in which former prisoners at Strausberg gave statements. There are no surviving written records of the former Märkische Walzwerk in Strausberg. Only scattered references to the existence of the subcamp or to individual, mostly foreign prisoners can be found in the museums and at the memorials at Sachsenhausen and Ravensbrück.

Günter Matthes
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. AG-S, R 229 M 142.
2. Ibid.
3. Details from witness G. Leske, Strausberg, November 20, 1998.

TREBNITZ

Beginning in the summer of 1943, the network of SS duty stations in the area around the German capital became more dense, both through establishing the SS garrison headquarters at Bad Saarow and with setting up an SS troop training area called "Kurmark" in the Jamlitz region about 100 kilometers (62 miles) from Berlin. That same summer, the SS-Leadership Main Office (Führungshauptamt, FHA) also began two institutionally interconnected projects in the Fürstenwalde/Scharmützelsee area east of Berlin.

One of the FHA projects was to relocate SS offices out of the bomb-endangered capital city and move them to the region of Bad Saarow. The other was to begin building a large subterranean intelligence center in the Rauen Mountains south of Fürstenwalde. The two projects were apparently linked. In the second half of 1943, in this area, an overflow camp for SS duty stations was established as well as a large intelligence bunker. As of the end of July 1943, the project to relocate the SS duty stations out of the capital city of the Reich was known by its cover name "Siegfried."¹

The SS garrison headquarters Bad Saarow was established for these two projects and included the area from Fürstenwalde to south of Beeskow, as well as from Storkow to the Schlaubetal.² The SS garrison administration Bad Saarow existed as of August 9, 1943, and the Sachsenhausen subcamps Bad Saarow (also known as Ketschendorf), Fürstenwalde, Storkow, Kolpin, and Spreenhagen fell within the area administered by this garrison headquarters.

While not part of the SS garrison administration Bad Saarow, the Trebnitz subcamp in the Seelow district was part of the project to relocate SS offices to locations east of the capital city. The Trebnitz subcamp was closely connected with the Bad Saarow subcamp.

The administrative office Bad Saarow for SS construction was headed by SS-Untersturmführer Hans-Gustav Bauer

(born 1912) from Nürnberg. As of May 1944, administrative suboffices for construction were located at Storkow, Trebnitz,³ Kolpin, and Spreenhagen, as well as at the main location near Bad Saarow. These were also subcamps of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. SS statistics show Bad Saarow as a labor camp, while Trebnitz, Storkow, and Spreenhagen are reported as labor Kommandos.⁴

The subcamp was probably established in May 1944. As of the end of March 1944, 120 prisoners were put to work at Trebnitz, a number that had increased to 301 by the beginning of October 1944.⁵ A few prisoners had been transferred from the Fürstenwalde subcamp to Trebnitz.⁶ In forested areas, the prisoners had to construct alternative quarters for an SS office. They were housed in a camp surrounded by four guard towers. One of the barracks contained a two-room infirmary as well as a storeroom. The kitchen and toilets were in two, separate wooden buildings.

Many Norwegians, who were used as workmen or craftsmen, were among the prisoners, along with Poles, Germans, and Soviets. One of the prisoner foremen was Erich Reuter, probably there as a Special Detachment Wehrmacht (Sonderabteilung Wehrmacht, SAW) prisoner.⁷ According to other sources, three barracks for the prisoners existed inside the camp, and a guards' barracks and the camp office were located outside the camp. A Polish prisoner doctor and medical orderly were also said to have worked in the camp.

After September 1, 1944, the leader of the camp was SS-Untersturmführer Albert Dallwitz.⁸ According to survivors, he was in command of about 20 SS men, ethnic Germans from Yugoslavia, Romania, and Hungary.⁹ Known names of guards include SS-Schütze Wilhelm Gutermuth, Alfred Minker, and Josef Padberg; Oberschütze Andreas Rutter-schmidt and Julius Schiff; Sturmmann Karl Assmuss and Johann Pelger; Rottenführer Heinrich Philipp and Daniel Rossmann;¹⁰ as well as Jakob Grag, Jakob Sumser, Martin Trontch, and Johann Zink.¹¹ Other guards included Franz Heist, Paul Marzahn, Mathias Schäfer, and Franz Steiner.¹²

At the end of December 1944, there were still 264 prisoners in the Trebnitz subcamp. Once the Red Army broke through German defenses at Küstrin at the beginning of February 1945, the camp was evacuated to Sachsenhausen. According to statements by the SS guards held after 1945 at the British internment camp at Esterwegen, the last date for the Trebnitz subcamp most often mentioned was February 1.¹³ The prisoners were to have been marched by foot, but after one day they were brought by train to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.¹⁴ The Sachsenhausen daily reports no longer mention the Trebnitz subcamp after February 12, 1945. For the most part, by then the prisoners had been moved to the Heinkel Works subcamp in Oranienburg.¹⁵

On March 15, 1945, one prisoner was transferred from Trebnitz to the SS-"Dirlewanger" Division in Jamlitz for training. This was the location of the Lieberose subcamp that had been dissolved at the beginning of February 1945. That prisoner saw action at the front at the Oder River and was captured and imprisoned by the Soviets until 1949.¹⁶

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After the war, the Bielefeld denazification court investigated camp commander Dallwitz. However, there was insufficient evidence to start a prosecution.¹⁷

Investigations by the Central Office in the State of North Rhine-Westphalia in Cologne carried out from 1968 to 1970 in Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Soviet Union remained unsuccessful. No grounds were found to suspect that prisoners had been killed.¹⁸

SOURCES A few archival documents are held at the BA-B (Collection NS 33) and in the BLHA. Documents giving the number of inmates as well as escapees can be found at AG-S (CAFSRF) and at the PRO.

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NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 33/107, p. 224.
2. BA-B, NS 33/107, p. 180, Map of the SS-Standortverwaltung, Bad Saarow, n.d.
3. BA-B, NS 3/1072, p. 139R.
4. AG-S, CAFSRF, N-19092, vol. 100.
5. Ibid.
6. BStU, RHE-West 458-463 (alt RHE 105/68 and RHE V 102/68), pp. 461-463.
7. AG-S, LAG II/12, p. 1, Letter from NWZS-K to Gsta.-DDR, October 10, 1968.
8. AG-S, LAG II/12, p. 5, Letter from the NWZS-K to Gsta.-DDR, June 25, 1970.
9. BStU, RHE-West 458-463 (alt RHE 105/68 and RHE V 102/68), p. 463.
10. AG-S, LAG X/3, List of former SS members of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp interned in the British internment camp at Esterwegen.
11. PRO, all references from Collection WO 309.
12. AG-S, LAG II/12, p. 6, Letter from the NWZS-K to Gsta.-DDR, June 25, 1970.
13. AG-S, LAG X/3, List of former SS members of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp interned in the British internment camp Esterwegen.
14. AG-S, LAG II/12, p. 3, Letter from the NWZS-K to Gsta.-DDR, October 10, 1968.
15. Ibid.
16. AG-S, Collection BLHA Pr. Br. Rep. 35H, Collection D 30 A/14/1B, pp. 107-188, Prisoner confirmation for Willy Jaeger 1950/51.
17. AG-S, LAG II/12, p. 5, Letter from the NWZS-K to Gsta.-DDR, June 25, 1970.
18. AG-S, LAG II/12, p. 7, Letter from the NWZS-K to Gsta.-DDR, June 25, 1970.

USEDOM

From January 15, 1945, to April 23, 1945, a subcamp of Sachsenhausen was established in the northern Pomeranian town of Usedom, on the coast of the Ost-See. The subcamp or Kommando may have also been known as the Kommando

Ongart, although it is unclear if this refers to a specific locality, company, street, or person.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on the Sachsenhausen subcamp established in Usedom. The principal source of information for this essay is the Usedom entry in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933-1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979). Although not always consistent with other sources, the ITS catalog provides brief statistical information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, type of prisoner work, and so on. For brief mention of the "Kommando Ongart," see *Sachsenhausen: Dokumente, Aussagen, Forschungsergebnisse und Erlebnisberichte über das ehemalige Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen* (Berlin [East]: VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1986), p. 74.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

VELTEN

Soon after the National Socialists took power in 1933, the SA set up a torture center at the Meissnershof, an uninhabited manor lying between Velten and Hennigsdorf in the Hohenschöpping forest district. To hide the brutal treatment of prisoners, it was given the cover name "SA Driving School." It was one of the early concentration camps established by the SA that later became part of the Oranienburg concentration camp. The Meissnershof center lasted only from March until December 1933, at which point the remaining prisoners were transferred to the Oranienburg concentration camp.

By April 1943, 14 camps housing forced laborers from throughout Europe existed in Velten. They had been established as part of the program to support armaments production during World War II. In the summer of 1941, an additional camp was set up next to the Velten Maschinenbau GmbH Ikaria to house approximately 1,000 forced female laborers from the Soviet Union.¹

The latter Velten subcamp, a women's camp, was first under the control of Ravensbrück, but control was later transferred to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. Depending upon the source consulted, this camp was set up either in March 1943 or only in October 1944 and was located between Berliner Strasse and the Hohenschöpping commuter railroad station, close to the Velten Maschinenbau, an armaments producer.

Female prisoners were used at this plant to assemble airplane parts, and they also manufactured the aircraft cannon Oerlikon for the Heinkel airplane works in Leegebruch.² Prisoners worked in Hall G, right next to the street, and were supervised by female SS guards.³ Another place prisoners worked, according to the literature, was the Havelschmelzwerk GmbH on Berliner Strasse 8. Prisoners worked 12-hour days.⁴

About 125 women were crammed together in a single barracks.⁵ Between 500 and 800 women are said to have been in the camp, and they came from the Soviet Union, Romania,

Hungary, France, and Germany.⁶ The camp elder was a Pole named Wanda.⁷

A Communist resistance group operating inside Maschinenbau had taken up contact with the Soviet forced laborers in the Velten women's subcamp. Young women who belonged to this resistance group could listen to Radio Moscow at the home of Fritz Meissner, a Communist member, and they translated the news. Meissner, who had access to one of the concentration camp barracks, was able to pass the information on to the female inmates. In addition, the resistance group was said to have collected money and rations and brought them into the camp.⁸ The group was also supposedly successful in helping a woman named Lydia to escape, either in March or April 1945.⁹

At the beginning of October 1944, the Sachsenhausen records showed 669 women at the Velten subcamp.¹⁰ On March 30, 1945, it held 709 women.¹¹

SS-Unterscharführer Loose headed the Kommando; his deputy was a certain de Ries.¹² At least in part, the guards were ethnic Germans. One of them was SS-Schütze Hans Bitto (born 1900 in Julwes, Romania), who served at Velten from August 1943 to September 1944 and then at the Sachsenhausen subcamps at Briesen [aka Falkenhagen] and Berlin-Lichtenrade.¹³ Siegfried Schubert was part of the Kommando and remembers serving with Rottenführer Paul Bloss, Balzer, and Bürger, men named Wlepinski and Grawschewski, and an ethnic German from Croatia, Robert.¹⁴

The prisoners are said to have been evacuated on April 20, 1945, in the direction of the Lübeck Bight. They were liberated by the Soviet Army on May 11, 1945.

SOURCES The secondary sources are contained in the essays in Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Thüringen (Bonn, 1999); and Siegfried Katzorreck and Günter Wehner, *Der illegale Kampf in den Jahren 1933–1945 auf dem Territorium des heutigen Kreises Oranienburg* (Oranienburg, 1973).

The few archival sources dealing with the history of the camp are in BA-B (Collection NS 33). Other documents relating to the perpetrators and with details of the daily rates are in the AG-S (CAFSSRF) and in the PRO.

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Siegfried Katzorreck and Günter Wehner, *Der illegale Kampf in den Jahren 1933–1945 auf dem Territorium des heutigen Kreises Oranienburg* (Oranienburg, 1973), p. 44.

2. Ibid., p. 42.

3. Ibid., pp. 44, 58.

4. AG-S, CAFSSRF, N-19092 BD. K 500571, p. 36, Record of interview of the accused Siegfried Schubert, October 28, 1946.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Katzorreck and Wehner, *Der illegale Kampf*, p. 45.

9. Ibid., p. 58.

10. AG-S, CAFSSRF, N-19092, vol. 100.

11. Ibid., vol. 101.

12. Ibid., BD. K500571, p. 37, Record of interview of the accused Siegfried Schubert, October 28, 1946.

13. PRO, WO 309/1760; AG-S, LAG X/3, List of former Sachsenhausen concentration camp SS interned in the British internment camp Esterwegen.

14. AG-S, CAFSSRF, N-19092 BD. K 500571, p. 37, Record of interview of the accused Siegfried Schubert, October 28, 1946.

WERDER

The Werder subcamp was one of the smallest of the Sachsenhausen subcamps. It was first identified in the International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog of 1949. The subcamp is first mentioned in contemporary records on March 20, 1943, with 4 prisoners, and the same information also appears in a Sachsenhausen daily report of March 22, 1943. A publication assembled by former prisoners also refers to only 4 prisoners at Werder. The Sachsenhausen Memorial states that Werder was an outside Kommando with 10 male prisoners and that it existed from March 20, 1943, to June 27, 1944.¹ The Sachsenhausen change of status reports for the period between May and June 1944 always refer to 6 male prisoners at Werder, though the camp is no longer mentioned in these reports by the end of August 1944.²

Local inhabitants say the prisoners were housed in the so-called Lichau-Keller on the Friedrichshöhe and on a barge on the Havel River.

The camp leader was SS-Unterscharführer Oskar Hoffmann (born 1908 in Rehau), a porcelain painter. According to his statement, at other times he also had been detachment leader of the subcamps at Biesenthal and Fürstenwalde.

After 1945, Hoffmann was at first held at the British internment camp at Esterwegen. In 1948, pursuant to the Law on the Liberation from National Socialism and Militarism (Gesetz zur Befreiung von Nationalsozialismus und Militarismus) of March 6, 1946, a denazification court at the U.S. internment camp at Nürnberg-Langwasser categorized him as “less incriminated” (*Minderbelasteter*), fined him 500 Reichsmark (RM) in reparations, and gave him a six-month sentence on probation.³ It stood in his favor that former prisoners attested that as head of various Kommandos, and in Werder as well, he had not committed any crimes against humanity. Hoffmann was immediately released from the internment camp by order of the court.⁴ He died in Wunsiedel in 1961. No court proceedings were ever conducted against those responsible for the Werder subcamp.

SOURCES The Werder subcamp is mentioned only in Regina Scheer's *Der Umgang mit den Denkmälern. Eine Recherche in Brandenburg* (Potsdam, 2003); and *Das nationalsozialistische*

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Lagersystem (CCP), ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 62. For the number of prisoners, see KaW-DDR, ed., *Damals in Sachsenhausen* (Berlin, 1967).

The few other details here came in part from BA-L and from the AG-S.

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NOTES

1. SBG, ed., Tagungsmappe Workshop “Die Aussenlager der Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen und Ravensbrück” (Internationale Jugendbegegnungsstätte Ravensbrück, October 17–18, 2003).

2. AG-S, JSU 1, Band 99–101.

3. AG-S, LAG X/3, Esterwegen-Liste der internierten SS-Angehörigen des KZ Sachsenhausen.

4. BA-L, IV 406 AR 734/67, pp. 11–13.

WITTENBERG

By the summer of 1944, the Arado Aircraft Works had a severe labor shortage. Many of the men had been called up to serve in the Wehrmacht, and 20 percent of the civilian women had quit because the work was too heavy. Management decided to replace them with about 1,200 prisoners from Ravensbrück, the women’s concentration camp. However, 30 women already working at Arado had to be recruited first to serve as guards for the concentration camp prisoners; once selected, they were sent to Ravensbrück and there were trained for about 14 days.

Two barrack camps were set up in August 1944. One camp, directly next to the factory, was fitted out for 750 prisoners. Beforehand, it had held forced laborers who were transferred to another camp. The second camp, intended for about 500 prisoners, lay in an open field about half an hour away by foot. A nearby housing development had a good view into the camp, and residents would have seen from there how a woman was found on the electrified perimeter fence. Both camps were encircled by two electrified fences. The three prisoner barracks in the camp on the open field had no flooring, just bare earth. There was only one toilet and one sink for 500 women.

Ernst Schmaedig, the National Socialist works manager at Arado, was in overall command and determined what work the women did. Life in the subcamp itself was determined by its commandant, Rudolf Schneider.

In September 1944, about 750 prisoners arrived at the Arado subcamp; in October, 500 more, about 250 of whom were Jews. Kurt Kummer, the Arado Aircraft Works’ doctor, selected the women himself at the Ravensbrück roll-call grounds, though administratively this camp was under the control of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. The daily reports on the numbers of prisoners, arrivals and departures, and reports of deaths were sent to Sachsenhausen.

The approximately 250 Jews came overwhelmingly from the Łódź ghetto, having been sent to Ravensbrück after the ghetto was disbanded. They arrived in August 1944 and were then sent on to subcamps. The other prisoners came from Germany and 12 other nations, mainly Eastern Europeans, though some Western Europeans as well.

Under the direction of a civilian foreman, the women worked in a large production hall, assembling aircraft parts, or they dug trenches as protection against shrapnel during bombing raids. Shifts were 12 hours long, the day shift lasting from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M.

Regardless of the weather, a group of about 120 female prisoners was forced to march the 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) to the Faserfabrik (Fiber Factory) Mühlang. There, they worked on aircraft parts machine presses; one female German prisoner lost three fingers while working here. She was taken to Dr. Kummer at the works’ infirmary, where, without anesthetizing the woman, he gave the orderlies he was training (young anti-aircraft artillery helpers) a didactic presentation in first aid.

Camp prisoners included those labeled political, criminal, “asocial,” and Gypsy. (There was no underground organization within the camp itself.) The prisoners’ only thought was to survive, and in that they were encouraged by a few of the civilian workers who would keep whispering, “Hold out—the Russians are coming!” to the exhausted prisoners, a message that was a great boost to their morale. Survivors have said that a few civilian workers even secretly helped them by hiding food or socks or underwear in the aircraft parts at the factory.

As was generally the case in the subcamps, a great deal of mistrust existed between the prisoners, as the women barely knew one another. The strongest solidarity existed between the Jewish prisoners, as they were acquainted from their time in the ghetto. On one occasion, the SS accused the Jews of having stolen something and as punishment deprived them of food for a whole day. Two of the women who spoke a little German were chosen, in the name of all the Jewish prisoners, to complain to the head engineer in the factory building they labored in, for without food they would be completely unable to work. The engineer thereupon ordered a ration of soup to be served, and because of the complaint, the SS guards did not punish the workers on that day. The engineer in charge was responsible for meeting production targets for Arado, Heinkel, Junker, and Messerschmitt aircraft, and he did not care to have unproductive workers simply because they were being punished. On the part of a courageous skilled worker, this example indicates that prisoners could have been helped more often than they were.

However, prisoner solidarity at Arado was made difficult due to the system of informers the concentration camp leaders had put in place. Franziska Belrich, a woman convicted several times for engaging in fraudulent marriages, had assumed the role of camp elder, among other things administering punitive beatings in the evenings to those prisoners the female guards indicated. Belrich also was accused of em-

bezzling prisoners' money, did a lively trade in laundry and clothing, and organized the informers among the criminal prisoners. Even in 1994, Bellrich was still being sought by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg for the crimes she had committed against the prisoners; she went underground after 1945 in West Germany and was not located.

The camp commandant Schneider and head guard Margarete Kässner also regularly administered punishments in the evenings. The female guards also took the opportunity to punish the women brutally during the day for the slightest misbehavior, such as drinking water in the toilet room or talking while at work. The female guards reported such infringements in the evenings, or after the night shift, so prisoners were then often punished a second time. Collective punishments for all prisoners, such as standing at roll call regardless of the weather or being deprived of food, were also common.

One shooting, of a Russian prisoner who tried to escape, also took place while the camp was in existence, though it occurred outside its grounds. Another prisoner died as a result of a beating he received from Dr. Kummer. No exact death statistics exist, though the Sachsenhausen concentration camp files show 10 deaths between January and April 1945. My own research showed 18 deaths, overwhelmingly through exhaustion. The files also indicate that small groups of two to five women were periodically being sent back to Ravensbrück, with new women replacing them.

In January 1945, a truck transport took 23 women to Ravensbrück, where they were murdered in the gas chamber. Deaths were not to take place in the subcamp, however, since for every dead prisoner, forced laborer, or prisoner of war (POW), the Arado management had to pay 16 Reichsmark (RM) to the mortuary. To keep payments at a minimum, a mobile crematorium was built at Arado. It was discovered after liberation, though it never went beyond the experimental phase. The subjects of the experiments were dead Jews and maltreated Russian POWs; their bodies showed signs of mistreatment.

The Arado camp had another peculiarity. The works' medical doctor, Dr. Kummer, was also the doctor for the forced laborers, POWs, and concentration camp prisoners. He established an infirmary but did not treat any of the Jews. To ensure that the prisoners would remain productive, he selected a Polish Jew, the pediatrician Dr. Miriam Litwin (born January 1, 1914), as the camp doctor. She had to work in the infirmary and took responsibility for caring for the sick and in that manner could also help the Jewish prisoners.

By the end of April 1945, the Red Army was getting close to Wittenberg. By this time, the managers had fled, and the aircraft works had shut down. Before he fled, camp commandant Schneider discharged the concentration camp personnel, and only a few guards remained to watch over both camps.

The water was turned off in both camps, but the electrified fences remained live. There was nothing left behind to eat. On April 21, the camp in the field was liberated by the

Red Army. They found three dead prisoners in the camp. All the barracks were taken over by the Russian soldiers, who needed to use them either as a hospital or as a base of operation. The women were ordered to make their way east, into liberated territory, though they did so under constant attack by the Wehrmacht, as it still believed Wittenberg could be defended successfully.

The camp immediately next to the Arado works liberated itself. A courageous skilled tradesman from the factory was permitted by a guard to disconnect the electrified fence so that the prisoners could seek their freedom. A few prisoners remained in the camp, as they did not know where they should go. In August 1945, these women lodged complaints with the Wittenberg police against the concentration camp personnel.

Interrogations of the female concentration camp guards, to the extent they could still be found in the Wittenberg area, began in early 1946. In 1949, the so-called Wittenberg Concentration Camp Guards Trial was held before the Halle District Court. The accused at this trial included camp commandant Rudolf Schneider (born January 5, 1891), head guard Kässner (born June 5, 1904), and seven other female guards. Schneider, a fish merchant by trade, was married with two children and had been transferred as a guard on May 14, 1943, to Sachsenhausen and then to Wittenberg, where he was promoted to *Sturmscharführer* on February 1, 1944. According to the Berlin Document Center, he had no blemishes on his service record and was described as a good leader. Though charged in 1949, the search for him proved unsuccessful.

Kässner, a housewife, had been employed at the Arado Aircraft Works and was a member of the SS. She was sentenced by the court in 1949 to two years' imprisonment for beating the prisoners. The other seven female guards on trial were given lesser sentences, and one was acquitted, as she had behaved properly toward the prisoners.

Supervisor Margot Kunz (born June 21, 1921), charged with administering aggravated beatings, was tried by a Soviet military tribunal in Berlin and given a 25-year sentence. She remained in jail for 10 years during the German Democratic Republic and was released following an amnesty.

Kunz subsequently married, becoming Mrs. Pietzner, and following German reunification in 1990, she sought to be formally recognized as a victim of Stalinism. In 1993, this rehabilitation was granted by then German Justice Minister Kanther. Mrs. Pietzner was thereupon granted compensation amounting to 63,000 Deutsche Mark (DM). Ongoing protests in Germany and abroad forced a rescinding of this rehabilitation by 1996, when she was again declared guilty. She died in 1998.

Camp doctor Kummer (born December 1, 1910) had become a member of the SS in 1937. He fled Wittenberg in 1945. The Soviet Military Administration found him living in a village; he was taken to the jail at Bautzen and died there.

Works manager and engineer Schmaedig (born July 2, 1900) was unmarried and lived in a hotel. Witnesses at the

trial said “Schmaedig was a pig” whom even the civilian workers feared. In 1945, he fled to the West and committed suicide.

SOURCES There is one book by Renate Gruber-Lieblich, “. . . und morgen war Krieg. . .”: *Arado Flugzeugwerke GmbH Wittenberg, 1936–1945; Ein KZ-Lager entsteht* (Wittenberg: Self-pub., 1995). This subcamp is listed in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 573.

The author worked up the history of the subcamp between 1991 and 1995, the first time it had been researched. The ZdL (now BA-L) had the protocols of 36 interviews with Jewish survivors—IV 40 6 AR 857/67 (November 5, 1970). The BA-B holds the files that formerly were part of the BDC. Here one can find the SS personnel files for those who served at the Arado factory and the concentration camp. The archive also contains documents about the armaments production at the Arado Flugzeugwerke GmbH. The BA-B holds the papers of MfS, and there one can find documents related to the trial of supervisor Kunz/Pietzner as well as the files of the 1949 Wittenberg Concentration Camp Guards Trial before the Halle District Court. The AG-S has a list of arrivals and departures from the Wittenberg subcamp as well as lists of the deaths. The AG-R has lists of those recruited as female guards as well as the movements of the prisoners. The private archive of Renate Gruber-Lieblich has records of interviews with Dr. Miriam Litwin, the camp doctor, who lives in Israel, and the prisoner Genia Zonabend, who worked in the factory and lives in Sweden. Both women came from the Łódź ghetto, and the interviews were conducted in 2000.

Renate Gruber-Lieblich
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

WULKOW

At different times, two subcamps existed near Wulkow, a village close to the Oderbruch, former marshlands about 50 kilometers (31 miles) to the east of Berlin. From 1942 on, a subcamp that was probably part of the Sachsenhausen complex existed on the road to Hermsdorf. Prisoners held there had to load and unload airplanes at the nearby Neuhardenberg airfield.

A second camp was established in March 1944 in the forest between Wulkow and Neuhardenberg. Starting in April 1944, a group of about 40 Jewish prisoners from the Theresienstadt ghetto was used to construct a secret, partly subterranean barracks complex for the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA).¹ The RSHA administrative offices were to be relocated and secret documents stored here. One of these offices was Adolf Eichmann's Gestapo bureau. At his trial in Jerusalem, Eichmann testified that he took “a whole group of engineers, architects and workers with [him] from Theresienstadt to the Mark Brandenburg in the summer of 1944, when it became

necessary to build an overflow office for the Gestapo (Amt IV).”²

Eichmann was known to the Wulkow prisoners, though one can assume they were unaware of the full extent of his activities. He was seen a few times together with the camp leader, Stuschka, and spoke with prisoners, using Yiddish expressions only the initiated would know. “One part of the camp, with its additional buildings, was soon called just ‘Eichmannsdorf.’”³ The project, initially planned as Gestapo overflow quarters, later was expanded to be able to accommodate the Führer's headquarters, as a replacement for the “Wolf's Lair” (Wolfsschanze) located in East Prussia.⁴ The project was known by its cover name “Barracks' Construction Zossen” (*Barackenbau Zossen*), even though Zossen itself lay south of Berlin.⁵

Two Wehrmacht sites also existed near the RSHA alternative quarters and the prisoners' camp. One was a secret building site for a subterranean bunker, located to the south of the RSHA overflow quarters, probably intended for the Wehrmacht. Workers at this site were prisoners from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. The other site, north of the prisoners' camp, was constructed in the winter of 1944–1945.

On March 2, 1944, the first group of 50 male prisoners was brought to Wulkow, via the Trebnitz railway station, from the Theresienstadt ghetto. These were German and Czech Jews; some accounts put their number at 200 or 235. The men had volunteered to work in the Reich proper. The talk in Theresienstadt had been of working at “Zossen,” with assurances given that dependents of these workers would not be deported. According to witnesses, the Gestapo kept its promise. The Czech engineer E. Kosiner was the leader of this group of prisoners, and it is said that these workers brought a tractor, a field kitchen, and parts of barracks with them from Theresienstadt.⁶

The camp was finished in five and a half weeks, and when completed, an additional 40 men were then sent from Theresienstadt.⁷ Altogether, 235 workers, mostly skilled tradesmen, were said to have been brought from Theresienstadt to Wulkow in three transports. According to other reports, the high point was reached in August 1944, when the camp held 360 men and 20 women.⁸ In the summer of 1944, 25 women arrived from Theresienstadt; their task was to keep the barracks clean and wash the prisoners' clothes. The first prisoners apparently enjoyed a degree of freedom and even guarded themselves.

SS-Obersturmführer Franz Stuschka (born 1910), from Graz, Austria, and a member of the SD, was the brutal camp leader and building foreman. Oberscharführer Stiasny, Hanke, and Proschek and an SS-Unterscharführer were in charge of security; all four of them came from Vienna.⁹

Camp leader Stuschka persecuted the prisoners above all on their free Sunday afternoons, granted only once a fortnight. The men had to carry tree logs from one part of the camp to the other, and the women were forced to carry rocks for no purpose. Stuschka would have the prisoners stand for

hours, and for no reason, at the roll-call area. He later placed a metal cage in the shape of an egg here and would punish prisoners by locking them in it, regardless of the weather. On one occasion, using only their bodies and without implements, women were forced to clear the mud from the roll-call area. Stuschka had about 45 prisoners sent to Berlin and to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp for punishment. About nine youths, apprehended for stealing food, were first imprisoned in the bunker and mistreated by Stuschka, then transferred to Sachsenhausen in late November 1944, and shot there.

The prisoner Leo Neumann was also murdered at Sachsenhausen. As an adolescent, he had forged his documents in order to pass as an "Aryan" and later joined the Waffen-SS. A chance inspection of the records showed discrepancies, and he was dismissed from the SS and sent as a Jew to Wulkow, via Theresienstadt.

It is also reported that Stuschka, angered at being denied a promotion, took it out on the prisoners on November 9, 1944, and there was mourning for the "dead and the many injured."¹⁰ Stuschka had a room, known as the "Chamber of Laughter," located in one of the barracks near his command office, and he mistreated prisoners there. Stuschka also shot a Berlin Jew, Horst Prinz, whom he had first beaten because Prinz had defied Rafaelsohn, the camp elder. Prinz overpowered Stuschka while he was being tortured and fled the room; Stuschka shot him down, in full sight of the other prisoners. Stuschka also had an earthen bunker constructed next to his barracks, and there he imprisoned up to 20 half-naked prisoners for more than a week.

SS-Oberscharführer Hanke, on the other hand, was described as the complete opposite, never verbally abusing prisoners or modifying the word "Jew" with any vile descriptors. He addressed prisoners formally ("Sie") rather than the informal "Du") and indirectly saved their lives.¹¹ It is said that he later committed suicide out of a sense of guilt and shared responsibility for the crimes perpetrated by the SS.¹²

There were 10 SS guards, ethnic Germans from Romania (Siebenbürgen). They were commanded by SS-Obergefreite Schmidt.¹³

There were successful escapes from Wulkow. In the winter of 1944–1945, two men and a woman escaped, during a heavy frost, and were successfully hidden by friends in the Niederlausitz region until the end of the war. A Jew from Stettin who had escaped was recaptured and taken to Sachsenhausen. He did not survive. Other prisoners killed themselves on the electrical fence.¹⁴ It is thought that of all the prisoners brought to Wulkow, a total of 50 died, whether through murder, suicide, as a result of being transferred to Sachsenhausen, or during escape attempts.¹⁵

Prisoners were brought supplies by a freight car that came twice a month from Theresienstadt. Average rations were said to be 10 percent higher in Wulkow than at Theresienstadt. Flour was brought at least once from nearby Letschin. There was occasional contact, arranged by private firms, between prisoners and relatives from Berlin or the surrounding area.

Initially, the SS deployed a camp guard composed of prisoners, and they were first commanded by Georg Einstein, a nephew of Albert Einstein. Perhaps partly due to this, prisoners were not fearful of "being transported to Auschwitz." Einstein was later succeeded by Willy Görner. The Wulkow guard staff was augmented, in April 1944, by a troop of Theresienstadt ghetto guards. In the fall of 1944, Paul Rafaelsohn, from Gelsenkirchen, was appointed head of the prisoner guards; he had been living in a "privileged mixed marriage." He became Stuschka's assistant, and for that reason, he was condemned to death in Prague in 1947.

In the first days of August 1944, a second construction site, known as "Building Site Z—Intelligence," was opened by the SD, using a "Jewish work detail."¹⁶ The Nazi Party Chancellery had issued the construction order to build this alternative site for the Berlin office. Intelligence-gathering equipment was to be housed here, and intelligence gathering was to continue unabated: "This site was to ensure as high a degree of protection from incendiary bombs and near misses as possible." It was surrounded by an earthen wall, and the roof was protected by a layer of sand. The site itself consisted of living, working, and kitchen barracks, as well as a bunker for the files and an intelligence bunker made entirely of concrete.

The central construction here was the intelligence barracks called "Bärau," also known as "alternative camp Bärau." The firm Max Treder & Co, Berlin-Charlottenburg, was the main contractor for the electric installations.¹⁷ The Building Site Z is said to have been occupied by October 1944, among others by a Berlin architect named Zeichner.¹⁸ A Berlin police unit assumed the responsibility to guard this construction site by the beginning of October 1944.¹⁹

The RSHA began to transfer its offices, in part, to Wulkow in the fall of 1944 but never completed the transfer due to the advance of the Red Army. SS-Obergruppenführer Heinrich Müller, head of the Gestapo, is said to have commanded from here. One prisoner who had to repair exterior blackout coverings described Müller's quarters as a room with a large writing table in the middle, a life-size picture of Hitler behind it, and numerous paintings with Jewish religious themes. Martin Bormann, head of the party Chancellery, inspected Building Site Z on numerous occasions.

Work apparently ceased for the Wulkow prisoners by the end of 1944, and the SS were withdrawn from Building Site Z. On January 10, 1945, the thunder of the artillery on the front at the Oder River could be heard in Wulkow.

On January 18, camp leader Stuschka gave the order to nail the windows of the prisoners' barracks shut. Prisoners now could only leave the barracks to relieve themselves. On January 19, all the prisoners were forced to march into a section of the forest, where an execution squad awaited them. But at that moment, a Wehrmacht unit appeared, and the planned massacre could not be carried out. The prisoners had to march back into the camp.

In the night from February 2–3, 1945, 198 male and 17 female prisoners were sent back to Theresienstadt in railway

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cattle cars, via Trebnitz, Jüterborg, Halle, and Würzburg. They arrived on February 10, 1945.

SOURCES The Wulkow subcamp is listed in BPB, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Thüringen (Bonn, 1999), p. 374.

Unpublished memoirs about Wulkow can be found at YVA. The BA-B holds documents dealing with the construction at Wulkow. The following memoirs have been published: Klaus Scheurenberg, *Ich will leben: Ein autobiographischer Bericht* (Berlin, 1982) and Walter Grunwald, *Drei Vergangenheit: Autobiographie eines jungen Menschen. Erster Teil 1919–1947* (n.d.). Former prisoners have also published a brochure titled *Das Konzentrationslager Wulkow 1944–1945* (Prague, 1995). Excerpts of the Eichmann Trial quoted in this essay are from Jochen von Lang, *Das Eichmann-Protokoll* (Vienna, 1991).

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NOTES

1. Klaus Scheurenberg, *Ich will leben: Ein autobiographischer Bericht* (Berlin, 1982), pp. 179–180.

2. Jochen von Lang, *Das Eichmann-Protokoll* (Vienna, 1991), p. 164.

3. Scheurenberg, *Ich will leben*, p. 196.

4. Ibid., p. 195.

5. BPB, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Thüringen (Bonn, 1999), p. 374.

6. Walter Grunwald, *Drei Vergangenheit: Autobiographie eines jungen Menschen. Erster Teil 1919–1947* (n.d.), p. 70.

7. Ibid., p. 71.

8. Scheurenberg, *Ich will leben*, p. 180.

9. YVA, 02/443, Report by Willy Groener, 1949, p. 10.

10. Scheurenberg, *Ich will leben*, p. 184.

11. Ibid., p. 185.

12. Grunwald, *Drei Vergangenheit*, p. 78.

13. YVA, 02/443, Report by Willy Groener, 1949, p. 10.

14. Scheurenberg, *Ich will leben*, p. 223.

15. Ibid., p. 288.

16. YVA, 02/443, Report by Willy Groener, 1949, p. 10.

17. BA-B, NS 6/59.

18. Scheurenberg, *Ich will leben*, p. 192.

19. YVA, 02/443, Report by Willy Groener, 1949, p. 12.

SS-BAUBRIGADEN AND SS-EISENBAHNBAUBRIGADEN



SS-Baubrigade II prisoners remove debris from the destroyed residence of a Nazi Party leader in Bremen after an Allied bombing raid, 1944.
USHMM WS #29406, Courtesy OF BPK

1354 SS-BAUBRIGADEN AND SS-EISENBAHNBAUBRIGADEN

The SS-Baubrigaden and SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigaden should be viewed as particular types of subcamps. First established in the autumn of 1942, they were the first larger prisoner detachments deployed in major cities of the German Reich, thus exposing for the first time the living conditions of the concentration camp prisoners to a broader German public. As a rule, an SS-Baubrigade consisted of 1,000 prisoners, while an SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade consisted of around 500 prisoners, each having SS leaders and guards. Table 1 (p.1357) lists all 13 Baubrigaden existing at the end of the war. There were around 9,500 prisoners in the Baubrigaden before the evacuation transports and death marches began in the spring of 1945. The total number of those who went through the Baubrigaden between 1942 and 1945 is estimated to be at least 17,000 male prisoners.

Prisoners and SS personnel came mostly from the Buchenwald, Neuengamme, and Sachsenhausen concentration camps. While administratively the SS-Baubrigaden remained subordinated to these three camps, in the early summer of 1944 four of the five existing SS-Baubrigaden at this time were concentrated in the area around what was to become the Mittelbau [aka Dora] concentration camp. The SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigaden, which were established in the late summer of 1944, utilized prisoners mostly from Auschwitz and Dachau. The transfer of control of all Baubrigaden to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp in the summer of January 1945 was of a purely formal nature and did not alter the relationships between the main camps and the subcamps.

The conceptual origins for the Baubrigaden can be traced back to planning in the SS office "Haushalt und Bauten" (budget and buildings) at the end of 1941. Heinrich Himmler, in view of the successful war of conquest in the East, gave the order to develop a plan for a peace-building program (*Friedensbauprogramm*), with a view to supporting his plan to "Germanize" the East.¹ The SS would largely rely on its own resources when constructing SS and Police bases, including settlements, camps, and supply depots in the conquered territories. On February 10, 1942, the head of the Amtsgruppe C-Bauwesen in the recently formed SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), doctor of engineering and later Generalleutnant der Waffen-SS Hans Kammler, submitted his "Suggestions for the Establishment of SS Construction Brigades" (*Vorschlag für die Aufstellung von SS-Baubrigaden*). According to this paper, an SS-Baubrigade, each consisting of 4,800 "prisoners, prisoners of war [POWs], Jews and foreign auxiliary labor," would be established in each area under the control of a Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF). Kammler assumed a construction volume of between 20 and 30 billion Reichsmark (RM) and the need for 175,000 prisoners, which as mobile labor detachments would be dispatched to construction sites.²

As a result of developments in 1942—the Wehrmacht's advance in the East had come to a halt, the murder of the European Jews had begun, and the armaments industry had started to prepare itself for a long war of attrition and demanded prisoner labor—the SS construction program had to

be changed radically. In light of the intensified bombing of German cities, reaching its first climax in the summer of 1942, Himmler changed the nature of the SS-Baubrigaden project for defensive purposes. At the end of August 1942 and the beginning of September 1942, he personally inspected the extent of the destruction. Convinced of the threatening crisis of legitimacy for the National Socialist regime, he ordered that SS-Baubrigaden be put together, to be deployed in cities targeted by aerial attacks.³

The establishment of prisoner detachments to clean up the destroyed cities was closely coordinated with Reich Minister for Armament and Munitions (Reichsminister für Bewaffnung und Munition) Albert Speer, who had been in office since February 1942. On September 15, 1942, under Speer's chairmanship, high-ranking representatives from the Armaments Ministry and the WVHA discussed the year's pressing problems: the destruction of the Jews, the increase in armaments production, and the management of the damage in the bombed cities. A day later, Speer's representatives worked out with the chief of the WVHA, Oswald Pohl, the details for the establishment of an initial three SS-Baubrigaden, each with 1,000 prisoners.⁴ Speer kept both Adolf Hitler and Himmler constantly informed about the plans. Until the end of the war, Speer repeatedly intervened in the use of the Baubrigaden.

Starting in September 1942, the first Baubrigaden, each with 1,000 prisoners, were sent to Bremen, Osnabrück, Düsseldorf, Duisburg, and Cologne. Close cooperation between the cities' administrations and the SS became the camps' characteristic element. The cities not only supplied the necessary infrastructure; in addition, "leaders of the immediate measures" (*Leiter der Sofortmassnahmen*) attached to the municipal construction administrations coordinated the rubble removal and the use of the prisoners. In so doing, the cities accepted the visible brutality with which the SS treated the laborers and at times expressly praised the SS terror. The Bremen construction senator (*Bausenator*) wrote to the WVHA in January 1943: "I will not miss the opportunity to state my recognition of the extraordinary work done by the Baubrigade in removing the air-raid damage in Bremen. I especially would like to emphasize the appropriate work deployment, which I attribute in the first instance to the strict supervision by the SS leaders and men."⁵ The strong demand by mayors and regional party leaders (*Gauleiter*) for prisoner laborers resulted in the deployment of the Baubrigaden being extended several times and the establishment of the first subcamps in larger cities.

The SS-Baubrigaden were commanded by SS officers, who for the most part had the rank of Obersturmführer and who had similar powers to those of camp commanders. These SS-Führer were mostly trained architects or engineers and had worked already for a long time in SS construction projects, reporting to the Amtsgruppe C. Additionally, there was a Lagerführer, 5 SS noncommissioned officers (*Unterführer*), and 25 men from the Amtsgruppe D who acted as guards. They were complemented by guards from the local police and Auxiliary Police and, from 1943 on, by Wehrmacht soldiers.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945



SS-Baubrigade III, Köln, takes a break from clearing rubble in October 1943, taken by Josef Fischer. The annotation reads: "View from our kitchen window. A work column takes a rest. They are inmates from one of the concentration camps, which were erected en masse. Ca. Oct. 1943."

NS-Dok

The prisoner detachments moved into the cities for up to a week at a time. They mostly did heavy physical labor such as breaking up and transporting away the rubble, loading and unloading, and recovery of reusable materials, or they constructed bunkers or emergency accommodations. They were often assigned to the physically demanding Corpse Detachments (*Leichenkommandos*) that had to recover bodies from the rubble and place them in coffins. Work in the bomb detonation detachments (*Bombensprengkommandos*) was feared because many prisoners were killed while recovering unexploded bombs. With inadequate tools and poor clothing, working up to 12 hours a shift, lack of food, and almost nonexistent medical care, the prisoners in the Baubrigaden were also subject to a high degree of terror from the SS guards and *Kapos*.

In 1943, the emphasis for the Baubrigaden shifted from working for the cities' administrations to benefiting German industry. Indicative of this transformation was the establishment of the SS-Baubrigade IV, which was sent in August 1943 to Wuppertal following an aerial offensive against the Ruhr. The Armaments Ministry had determined that it was less the

damage than the absence of workers after bombing raids that caused a decline in armaments production. The SS-Baubrigade IV would create dwellings for the workers in the Ruhr as well as reestablish the companies' infrastructure.⁶

Since the autumn of 1942, shootings and execution of concentration camp prisoners for real or supposed escape attempts or for looting took place increasingly under the eyes of the German public. The Düsseldorf poet Emil Barth is one of the few to document in writing the prisoner columns. He noted in his diary on December 7, 1943, on the prisoners in an SS-Baubrigade: "Out of the silence of those rooms built almost air-tight into the social structure and to which Dostojewsky in his time gave the name of the charnel house . . . already for a long time a gloomy army has been drawn into our cities to clean up the rubble: a cursed shadow people, dishonored, enslaved, lost, like figures in the twilight of the underworld, swaying on the rubble and stones, almost melting into the colorless mass of the ruins."⁷ The surrounding community reacted with a mixture of disgust, fear, and withdrawal to the SS-Baubrigaden camps, which were mostly established in the center of the cities. To be sure, there were gestures of sympathy vis-à-vis the prisoners, such as secretly giving them food. However, substantial help during an escape or direct intervention during visible acts of violence was an exception. The attitude toward the SS-Baubrigaden shows that the city population had to a large degree accepted the concentration camp system, thereby providing a basic factor for the preservation and expansion of the central instruments of National Socialist rule.

Nevertheless, the prisoners regarded the majority of the SS-Baubrigaden as better camps. The work in the deserts of rubble was difficult to guard and gave the prisoners an opportunity to find food, which was of central importance to survival. In addition, in the largely destroyed cities there were better opportunities to escape, especially during bombing raids. Information on events at the front was easier to gather, and illegal communication much easier to organize in the Baubrigaden than in the main camps, due to outside contacts. Escape attempts were supported by those who were determined opponents of the regime, above all by male and female foreign forced laborers who would organize false papers or refuge.

The SS-Baubrigaden consisted as a rule of male non-Jewish prisoners. An exception is the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade X, which consisted overwhelmingly of Hungarian Jewish men who had escaped destruction in Auschwitz II-Birkenau. Based on the system of prisoner self-administration (*Häftlingselbstverwaltung*) in the main camps, German prisoners usually formed the thin layer of leaders as prisoner-functionaries, while the large majority of the prisoners were of Polish or Soviet nationality. There were often internal struggles in the SS-Baubrigaden, lasting for months, over who would occupy one of the functionary positions. To the extent that the prisoners were able to act with solidarity and to remove violent or especially collaborative functionaries, they managed to limit abuses and lower the death rate.

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An analysis of the death rate in the SS-Baubrigaden shows that at times it was higher than the death rate in the main camps. There were also considerable differences between individual SS-Baubrigaden camps. At one extreme was the subcamp of the SS-Baubrigade II in Osnabrück, where 86 out of 250 prisoners died within six months; the other end of the scale was the SS-Baubrigade IV in Wuppertal with only 1 recorded death within a nine-month period, out of 600 prisoners.⁸ Diverse death rates resulted from the behavior of the SS leadership, the type and length of the work, the prisoners' food supply, the internal relationships of violence, and the behavior of the outside community.

The more the German Reich was pushed into a defensive position, the more the SS-Baubrigaden were deployed in areas crucial to the war effort. The SS-Baubrigade I took the lead in March 1943, when it was relocated to the occupied British Channel Island of Alderney. Hitler had ordered that the Channel Islands, the westernmost German outpost facing Great Britain, were to be converted into unconquerable fortresses. The prisoners worked with Wehrmacht soldiers, Organisation Todt (OT) units, and forced laborers on the inhabited island in converting it into a fortress. The first plans were developed here to murder all prisoners in the event of an Allied advance. In August 1943, Himmler instructed the leaders of the SS-Baubrigade I: "If during an attack the prisoners give the slightest indication of creating difficulties, you are to intervene immediately and shoot the guilty ones. If turmoil persists, then without a moment's hesitation you are to shoot all the prisoners."⁹

In the spring of 1944, Kammler relocated just about all SS-Baubrigaden to his new areas of responsibility, the V weapons construction program and the underground relocation of the armaments industry. From March 1944, 2,500 prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade I and IV had to build sites for the V weapons at various locations in northwestern France,

under the direction of the Army and Luftwaffe. Beginning in May 1944, the SS-Baubrigaden III and IV, and later the SS-Baubrigaden I and V after being recalled from the West, worked on relocation projects in the Harz Mountains and were subordinated to the Dora concentration camp, which became independent in October 1944.

In the autumn of 1944, Kammler appointed the commander of the SS-Baubrigade V, SS-Sturmabführer Gerhard Weigel, as Inspector of All Baubrigaden (Inspekteur sämtlicher Baubrigaden), as Kammler was no longer capable of fulfilling this role due to his many special tasks. At this time, the Allied offensive had substantially damaged the rail network, especially the marshaling yards. The Amtsgruppe C with its SS-Baubrigaden was in a position to react quickly. In close cooperation with the Armaments Ministry and the local railway directorates, the SS established nine SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigaden by the end of the war, whose prisoners had to live in converted goods wagons. In these concentration camps on rails, the prisoners were sent to strategically important railway junctions to restore destroyed facilities. The guards included a range of railway employees who underwent a short training course in Dachau.

The first signs of the dissolution of the SS-Baubrigaden appeared with the last phase of the evacuation of the concentration camps in the Reich, although the functioning of the SS-Baubrigaden was to be maintained until the end. Kammler directed the SS-Baubrigaden to the area of the planned Alpine Fortress (Alpenfestung), where the Germans meant to make a last stand to hold Bavaria, Upper Italy, and Upper Austria. The objective of the weeks-long evacuations, which began in March 1945 and were marked by shootings and mass escapes, was the Mauthausen subcamp system, but not all of the 10 SS-Baubrigaden sent there would reach their destination. The dissolution of the remaining 3 SS-Baubrigaden occurred as part of the evacuation of Mittelbau (III, IV) and Neuengamme (V).

None of the SS leaders commanding SS-Baubrigaden were convicted after the war. They argued, successfully, that as architects or engineers they had only been in charge of technical matters. Some convictions occurred as part of denazification proceedings for membership in the SS. For crimes committed in the SS-Baubrigaden, mostly lower SS ranks or a few prisoner-functionaries were sentenced in cases in which their direct involvement could be proven.

SOURCES Before becoming the subject of a dissertation—Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft und KZ: Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005)—the SS-Baubrigaden were, for the most part, only referred to briefly in monographs on concentration camps. Only a few construction brigades have been dealt with in regional studies; for the SS-Baubrigade I: Andreas Kussmann, *Ein KZ-Aussenlager in Düsseldorf-Stoffeln* (Düsseldorf: Landeshauptstadt Düsseldorf, Bezirksverwaltungsstelle 3, Stadtarchiv, 1988); SS-Baubrigade III: Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln. Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne: Emons, 1996); for a few SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigaden: Bernd Boll, "Konzentrationslager auf



SS-Baubrigade II removes corpses from the Hammerbrook section of Hamburg, following the Allied bombing raids of July 1943.
USHMM WS #79113, StA-HH

Schienen. Eisenbahn-Baubrigaden der SS in Offenburg 1944/45," *Ortenau* (1993): 480–514; and Gerhard Köhn, "Das Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme bei Hamburg in Soest und Bad Sassendorf (11. SS-Baubrigade) 1945," *SoZe* 98(1986): 101–124. Little attention was paid to early survivor memoirs, such as by Willy Kreuzberg, *Schutz-häftlinge erleben die Invasion* (Weimar: Thüringer Volksverlag, 1947); or Fritz Bringmann, "Häftlinge in der 2. SS-Baubrigade Osnabrück," in *KZ Neuengamme. Berichte, Erinnerungen, Dokumente*, by Bringmann (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg, 1981), pp. 38–50. Further references are included in Ursula Fisser-Blömer, "Zwangsarbeit in Osnabrück. SS-Baubrigade, Kriegsgefangenen- und 'Arbeitserziehungslager,'" *Antifa-Be-Ös* 6(1982): 23–29; Rainer Fröbe, "Hans Kammler. Technokrat der Vernichtung," in *Die SS. Elite unter dem Totenkopf. 30 Lebensläufe*, ed. Ronald Smelser and Enrico Syring (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2000), pp. 305–319; T.X.H. Pantcheff, *Alderney. Fortress Island-The Germans in Alderney, 1940–1945* (Sussex: Phillimore & Co., 1981).

In addition to the fact that subcamps became the subject of research only relatively late, and that local camps were taboo topics for local city histories for a long time, the poor state of

research is largely due to the extreme lack of primary sources. In the absence of a coherent central collection on the SS-Baubrigade, there are only a few conceptual sketches and reports in the BA-B (NS 19/14, NS 19/771, NS 19/1572, NS 19/2065, NS 4 Buchenwald). In the archives at German memorial sites one can find only memoirs of former prisoners of the SS-Baubrigaden. For the Buchenwald concentration camp, the THStA-W holds a relatively detailed contemporary report (KZ Buchenwald und Haftanstalten). One of the most important sources comprises the investigation files and court proceedings at the BA-L, which holds not only problematical interrogation records but sometimes also diary sketches by former prisoners or copies of prisoner lists. The files in the former BDC as well as the files of the denazification proceedings (*Spruchgerichts-* or *Entnazifizierungsverfahren*) in the BA or in German state archives are of importance in reconstructing administrative relationships. Also useful are holdings of city archives, especially those dealing with building construction as referred to in the notes to this entry.

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Table 1
The SS-Baubrigaden and SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigaden

Name	Date Created	Prisoners from/Subordinate to Main Concentration Camp	Locations
SS-Baubrigade I (SS-BB I)	October 1942	Sachsenhausen	Düsseldorf, with a camp in Duisburg
		Neuengamme (March 1943)	Alderney (March 1943)
		Buchenwald (August 1944)	Kortemark (July 1944), with a camp in Proven
		Mittelbau (October 1944)	Sollstedt (September 1944), with a camp in Hohlstedt
SS-Baubrigade II (SS-BB II)	October 1942	Neuengamme	Bremen, with camps in Osnabrück and Wilhelms-Haven
			Hamburg (August 1943), with a camp in Bremen
		Sachsenhausen (April 1944)	Berlin (April 1944)
SS-Baubrigade III (SS-BB III)	September 1942	Buchenwald	Nürnberg (February 1945, as an Eisenbahnbaubrigade)
			Landshut (March 1945)
		Mittelbau (October 1944)	Cologne, with camps in Duisburg, Düsseldorf, Essen, and Bensberg
SS-Baubrigade IV (SS-BB IV)	August 1943	Buchenwald	Wieda (May 1944), with camps in Nüxei, Osterhagen, and Mackenrode
			Wuppertal
		Mittelbau (October 1944)	Ellrich (May 1944), with a camp in Günzerode

(continued)

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Table 1 (continued)

Name	Date Created	Prisoners from/Subordinate to Main Concentration Camp	Locations
SS-Baubrigade V (SS-BB V)	March 1944	Buchenwald	Amiens, Aumale, Doullens, Hesdin, Lille, Rouen, as well as additional camps in the French Departements Haute-Normandie and Nord-Pas-de-Calais Returned to the Mittelbau camp in Nordhausen (September 1944)
		Mittelbau (October 1944)	Shared out to various subcamps, then formation of SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade V
SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade V (SS-EBB V, created from Baubrigade V)	September 1944	Buchenwald	Sangershausen
SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VI (SS-EBB VI, created from SS-EBB I)	September 1944	Mittelbau (October 1944) Buchenwald	Osnabrück Berga-Kelbra
		Mittelbau (October 1944)	Bingerbrück Cologne Karlsruhe
SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VII (SS-EBB VII, created from SS-EBB II)	September 1944	Auschwitz	
		Buchenwald (October 1944) Mittelbau (October 1944)	Stuttgart
SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VIII (SS-EBB VIII, created from SS-EBB III)	November 1944	Mittelbau	Heringen
			Stuttgart Offenburg Darmstadt
SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade IX (SS-EBB IX)	November 1944	Sachsenhausen	Stuttgart
			Offenburg Darmstadt
SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade X (SS-EBB X)	December 1944	Buchenwald	Offenburg Haslach

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Name	Date Created	Prisoners from/Subordinate to Main Concentration Camp	Locations
SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade XI (SS-EBB XI)	February 1945	Neuengamme	Soest
SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade XII (SS-EBB XII)	December 1944	Sachsenhausen	Bad Sassendorf Kamp am Rhein
SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade XIII (SS-EBB XIII)	January 1945	Dachau	Bad Kreuznach Reichertshofen Neuhof bei Fulda Oberlahnkreis

Source: Compiled from Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft und KZ: Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004).

NOTES

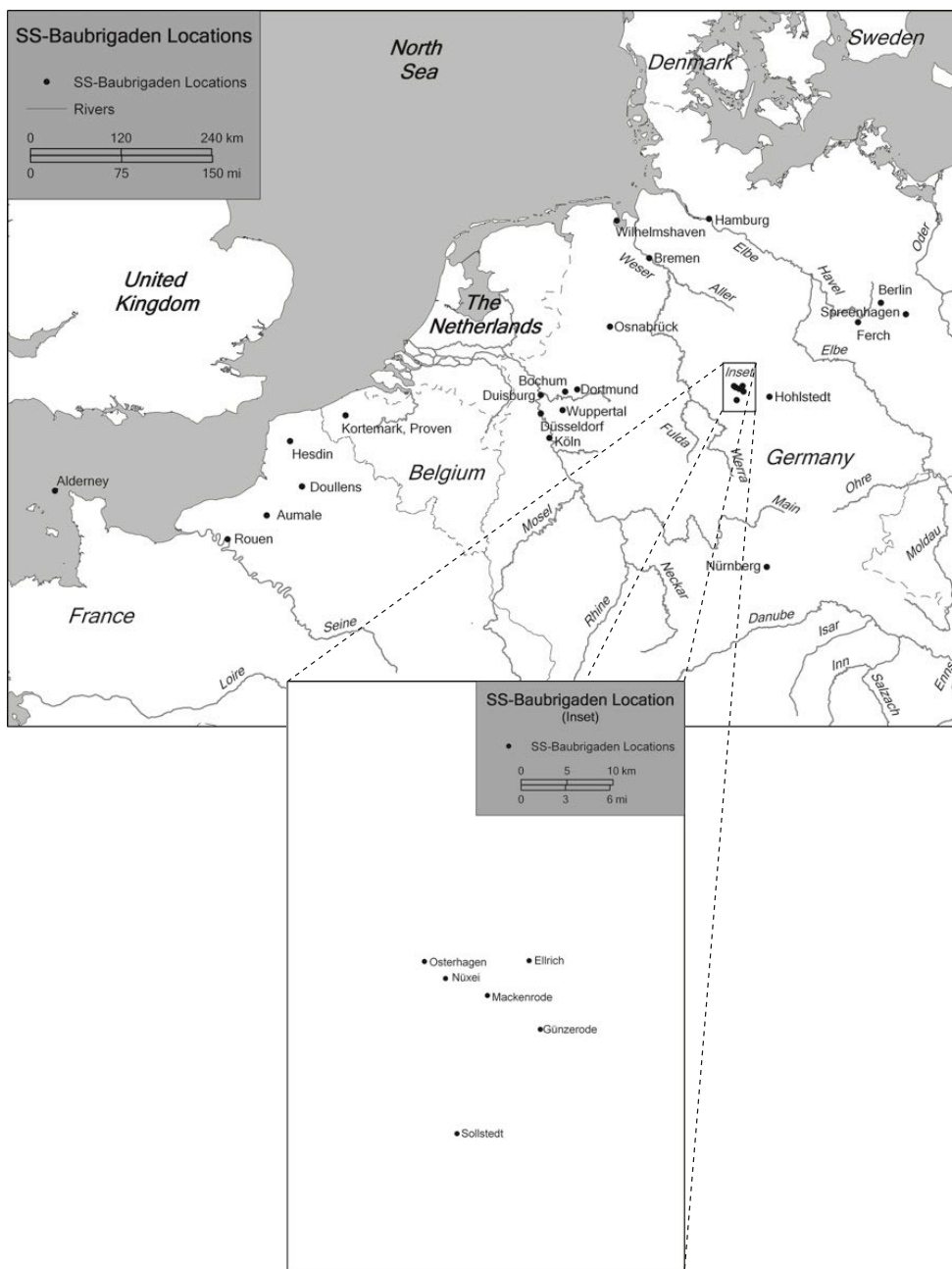
1. Reichsführer-SS, January 31, 1942, BA-B, NS 19/2065, pp. 8–9.
2. SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt Amtsgr. Ch. C 65/Sei., February 10, 1942, BA-B, NS 19/2065, pp. 20–33.
3. Reichsführer-SS, September 9, 1942, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 11.
4. See Protokoll der Sitzung: Der Chef des SS-WVHA Ch. Po./Sa. VS-3314/42, September 16, 1942, *ibid.*, pp. 131–133.
5. Der Senator für das Bauwesen, January 13, 1943, in StA-Br, 4, 29/1-1307.
6. SS-Gruppenführer Dr. Ing. Kammler, Bericht Nr. 6, February 14, 1944, to SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt

re “Einsatz der SS-Baubrigaden,” BA-B, NS 19/14, pp. 33–36 (quoted: p. 33).

7. Emil Barth, *Lemuria. Aufzeichnungen und Meditationen* (Hamburg: Claassen & Goverts, 1947), p. 85.

8. Figures for Osnabrück from “Totennachweis Häftlinge,” May 4, 1942, to December 16, 1942; December 17, 1942, to February 27, 1943, FGNS-H, Hans-Schwarz-Archiv; Ast-Os, Heger Friedhof; Russisches Ehrenfeld 1939–1945, Gräberliste dated January 7, 1971, AG-NG; BA-B (also at HSTA-W), NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a, Nr. 160, Nr. 161.

9. Reichsführer-SS, Tgb. Nr. 1722/43, August 19, 1943, quoted from T.X.H. Pantcheff, “Britain’s Only SS Concentration Camp,” *WWII-I* (May 1988): 31–35.



ALDERNEY (KANALINSEL) (SS-BB I)

The only concentration camp on British soil existed between March 1943 and June 1944 on the Isle of Alderney, one of the Channel Islands lying off the coast of Normandy. The Wehrmacht occupied these islands at the end of June 1940, and Alderney was the base for the SS-Baubrigade I. Adolf Hitler paid special attention to the military fortifications of the islands and ordered that they should be made into impregnable fortresses as part of the "Atlantic Wall."

The SS-Baubrigade I was assigned to Alderney as a result of an agreement between Hans Kammler, head of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) construction bureau, and Xaver Dorsch, head of the Organisation Todt (OT) and under Albert Speer.¹ The background to the use of concentration camp prisoners was the decision made in mid-1942 that, if possible, only those foreign workers would be deployed on the Channel Islands who could be placed under particularly close guard, thereby eliminating the possibility of sabotage or espionage. As it was, the harsh living and working conditions on Alderney meant that many forced workers from the East soon died or became incapacitated and had to be replaced.

Alderney, which is only eight square kilometers (three square miles) large, is the third largest Channel Island after Jersey and Guernsey. Other than a handful of locals, all 1,500 inhabitants had been evacuated to Great Britain before the German troops occupied the island. In the spring of 1943, around 3,800 Wehrmacht soldiers and 4,000 workers from the OT lived on Alderney. Of the latter, as many as 3,000 were foreigners, most of them Soviet forced laborers, and they were quartered in four barracks camps distributed across the island. Each camp was named after an island in the North Sea.

Sylt, one of these barracks camps, was constructed in August 1942 for workers from the East and was occupied by the prisoners of SS-Baubrigade I. They had been sent from Düsseldorf on February 22, 1943, in a transport holding 730 prisoners from Sachsenhausen and 270 from Neuengamme, and they arrived on the island on March 5, 1943. The barracks camp construction, located on the grounds of the former British airfield, was not completely finished, so many prisoners had to live outside for a longer time. In the first months, the water supply was very inadequate.

When the SS took control of the Sylt camp, they strengthened the security measures, enclosing the interior of the camp, which included the prisoners' barracks, with an electrified barbed-wire fence. Around that was a fenced-in exterior ring, and the SS barracks and offices were in the western part of this exterior ring.

Camp commandant Maximilian List lived in a newly constructed building outside the fences. More than 60 SS men were assigned to guard the construction brigade, half of them Germans from the Reich, the other half SS men recruited from Alsace, Croatia, Poland, the Sudetenland, and Slovakia.

Dr. Otto Panzer, the OT-Frontführer and head of construction administration for the OT-Section "Adolf," coordinated the work deployment of the forced laborers and thereby also the deployment of concentration camp prisoners on the island. The engineer Leo Ackermann, an OT construction supervisor, replaced him, most likely in September 1943. Such supervisors allocated the prisoners to the work sites, while the SS was responsible only to guard them.

Concentration camp prisoners had to work 12 hours a day and once a month had a half-day on Sunday off. They were almost exclusively employed in heavy physical labor, building tunnels or roads, and excavating material used for construction purposes. When they worked on building fortifications during 1943, their work was supervised directly by OT companies.

The prisoners were terrorized at their work by the SS, certain violent Kapos, workers of the OT, and Wehrmacht officers. In a November 1943 report from Kammler about the SS-Baubrigade I, one reads: "During the construction of the fortifications, there was a sixty percent increase in productivity during the first nine months of 1943 as compared to 1942. This was accomplished with the concerted and combined efforts of all participating parties."² Kammler attributed this to the high productivity shown by the concentration camp prisoners, in which he had a vested interest, though it is also true that the presence of these prisoners increased the pressure on the other forced laborers. The OT used the Sylt camp as a labor education camp (*Arbeitservziehungslager*) once the sub-camp was in place.

The SS-Baubrigade I was Germany's westernmost sub-camp and, in the case of an invasion, would have fallen into the hands of the British and the Americans. Already in August 1943, Commandant List was given directions from Heinrich Himmler personally on how he was to deal with the prisoners to avoid this eventuality at any cost. A secret order of August 19, 1943, reads: "In the event of an attack, if there are prisoners who give the slightest signs of making difficulties, you are immediately to intervene and shoot the guilty parties. If this does not quell the disturbance, then you are to shoot all the prisoners without hesitation."³

The situation for the concentration camp prisoners was oppressive on this island, occupied as it was solely by military personnel and members of the paramilitary OT. Aid to prisoners was expressly forbidden, and one could not even consider trying to flee from this heavily mined island. Poor hygienic conditions, malnutrition, and heavy physical labor led to the quick spread of disease. A number of sick prisoners are said to have been taken out of the infirmary by SS men and shot dead. In June 1943, 200 prisoners were classified as unfit for work, and on instruction from the military commander of the island, List ordered that they be returned to the Neuengamme concentration camp.⁴ In early July 1943, about 150 prisoners were taken to Cherbourg, and several of them were able to escape once they reached French soil. Himmler opened disciplinary proceedings against List, as well as

against Kurt Klebeck, head of the guard troop, but dropped them again by October 5, 1943.⁵

List and Klebeck were replaced in the spring of 1944, as they were needed for other tasks, and SS-Obersturmführer Georg Braun took command of SS-Baubrigade I in March 1944.⁶ Braun was 32 at the time, a surveyor by profession, and had served at the French and Polish front before being transferred for a 4-month stint at the central construction office in Lublin. In April 1942, he was transferred to Oranienburg (Amtsgruppe C), where he worked in various departments, including for 10 months as adjutant to Hans Kammler. A former prisoner described Braun as an unpredictable, mostly drunken SS officer who remained a fanatical Nazi to the very end.⁷

At the end of 1943, the construction brigade was assigned to help build launching ramps for the V-2 rocket at St. Omer and, to that end, was transferred on December 17, 1943, to the "Rommel Barracks" in Cherbourg on the French mainland. However, Dorsch successfully intervened with Himmler, and the construction brigade was transferred back to Alderney on January 7, 1944.⁸

When, during the night of June 24–25, 1944, the SS-Baubrigade I was finally withdrawn from the island, only 636 of the 1,000 original prisoners remained.⁹ Some 54 had escaped during the transport to Alderney, and about 210 prisoners had been selected to be transported back to Neuengamme. About 100 deaths can be reconstructed from the surviving records, many of which can be ascribed to malnutrition and epidemics. But other killings can be identified as the result of violent crime: numerous prisoners were shot.¹⁰ Among the dead, one also finds the victims of a "prisoners' war" that raged on Alderney. Several prisoner-functionaries turned out to be particularly brutal and corrupt; some were murdered by other prisoners, others by the SS.

After an odyssey through the English Channel lasting several days, the construction brigade reached St. Malo on July 1, 1944.¹¹ From there, they continued on by train on July 4, 1944. As rail transport in France had come almost to a standstill due to precision bombing attacks, the train had to make a wide detour around Paris and travel via Rennes, Nantes, Angers, Tours, Dijon, Nancy, Toul, Namur, and Ghent to its final destination at Kortemark, Belgium. The SS officers in charge, Georg Braun and Otto Högelow, showed ruthless severity during this flightlike relocation. Will Kreuzberg wrote of the evacuation: "Yes, we got to know the bloodhound and his sidekick in their naked form during the following weeks."¹²

Högelow threatened that for every Russian who escaped he would shoot another Russian, and for every escaped German, another German. Yet the prisoners were encouraged in their resolve to escape by the openly sympathetic French population they encountered. In Angers, where the train rolled slowly through and where a prisoner who had died was buried at a railway embankment, the French had yelled out to the SS: "You murderers! Take your corpses with you!"¹³ When the train finally arrived at Kortemark on July 28, 1944, only 572

prisoners of the original 634 remained; 27 had managed to escape, 9 had died during the trip, and 26 had been shot, 17 of them during an escape attempt in the Toul area on July 26, 1944.

Because Alderney was "the only concentration camp on British soil," speculation about unimaginable acts of cruelty, even of gas chamber killings, that might have taken place on this Channel Island began in Great Britain soon after the war. T.X.H. Pantcheff, a military intelligence officer, was sent by the British War Office to the liberated Channel Islands already in May 1945 to investigate, and his subsequent publications indicated the subcamp was not an extermination camp. In fact, a comparison of the Düsseldorf and Alderney locations is particularly instructive, as the key members of the SS were identical in both places, and the replacement of List and Klebeck did not lead to any qualitative changes at Alderney. Every sixth prisoner died in Düsseldorf, while it was every tenth prisoner who died on Alderney. That means significantly fewer prisoners died in a relatively closed-off area populated only by German military units than did in a camp in the middle of a large German city.

After the war, not a single SS member was convicted for crimes committed on Alderney. List lived on, undisturbed, in the Federal Republic of Germany, into the 1980s.

SOURCES T.X.H. Pantcheff published a study that paid particular attention to the Alderney subcamp: *Alderney, Fortress Island* (Sussex: Phillimore & Co., Ltd. 1981); and also an article about his subsequent research, "Britain's Only SS-Concentration Camp," *WWII-I* (May 1988): 31–35. In 1982, Solomon H. Steckoll collected a series of articles that had been published in the newspaper *The Observer* into a book, *The Alderney Death Camp* (London, 1982). It would only be 20 years later that a German publication addressed this subcamp in more detail, and this permitted some of the factual errors in earlier works to be corrected: Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft, und KZ: Himmler's SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005).

The archival sources are relatively plentiful. Former prisoner Willi Kreuzberg published his memoirs about Alderney just after the war, *Schutzbäftlinge erlebten die Invasion* (Weimar: Thüringer Volksverlag, 1947). In addition to the reminiscences collected by Pantcheff after the war, the ZdL (now BA-L) also holds numerous eyewitness reports (IV 404 AR-Z 57/67 and 410 AR 63/77). Other reports are held at the Hans Schwarz Archive in the FGNS-H, and here one can also find the originals of the reports of prisoner deaths. This information and a list of burials, which can also be found at the ASM and the AG-NG (which contain data on deceased prisoners), provide important sources of information.

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NOTES

1. SS-WVHA, Report No. 5 about the deployment of the SS-BB, November 9, 1943, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 24; and telegram from Kammler to the RFSS, Persönlicher Stab, in *ibid.*, NS 19/1572, 1.

2. SS-WVHA, Report No. 5 about the deployment of the SS-BB, November 9, 1943, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 26.

3. RFSS, Tgb. Nr. 1722/43, 19.8.43, cited in T.X.H. Pantcheff, "Britain's Only SS-Concentration Camp," *WWII-I* (May 1988): 35.

4. Discipline Proceeding Files of Maximilian List, born February 9, 1910, in BA, BDC/SSO.

5. Letter from the RFSS Adjutant, October 7, 1943, *ibid.*

6. See the files in *ibid.*, BDC/SSO Georg Braun, born November 15, 1911.

7. Report by Erich Frost, April 17, 1950, in *ibid.*; BA-L, ZdL IV 404 AR-Z 57/67, p. 248.

8. Report by Curt Hille, March 10, 1950, in BA-L, ZdL IV 404 AR-Z 57/67, p. 250f; and SS-WVHA, Report No. 6 about the deployment of the SS-Baubrigaden, February 14, 1944, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 33.

9. Calculations by Fings based on the literature referred to in the source essay, trials, and death lists.

10. Interview by Manfred Faust and Karola Fings with Roman Melnyk on December 15, 1999, ASt-Hü; Report by Helmut Knöller, AG-NG, Nr. 1317; ZdL, IV 404 AR-Z 57/67, p. 265, and IV 404 AR-Z 57/67, p. 27.

11. See diary entry in the Marinekommando West Ktb., July 1, 1944, BA-MA, RM 35 II/64, p. 4.

12. Willi Kreuzberg, *Schutzbeflinge erlebten die Invasion* (Weimar: Thüringer Volksverlag, 1947), p. 11.

13. Witness statement by Walter H, June 1, 1967, ZdL, 410 AR 63/77, p. 695.

AUMALE ("INGA") (SS-BB V)

Between April and August 1944, there was a subcamp for the SS-Baubrigade V stationed in Doullens in Aumale, which lies between Rouen and Amiens in northwestern France. The prisoners worked for the Luftwaffe constructing launch pads for V-1 rockets. The code name of the Aumale subcamp was "Inga."

The guards, the majority of whom were soldiers, were quartered in an abandoned castle. A barracks' camp was constructed on the grounds of the castle. In July 1944, there were 571 prisoners in the camp; in August there were 541.¹ The prisoners were taken to work daily in the surrounding forests by truck, at times traveling distances of up to 50 or 60 kilometers (31 to 37 miles).

Władysław Wikler, the prisoner's doctor in Aumale, reported that the sick from the Hesdin and Rouen subcamps were also brought to Aumale. He also stated that prisoners committed acts of sabotage so that the V-1 rockets could not be launched. A few prisoners were killed detonating the rockets, and some prisoners were hanged for sabotage.²

Numerous prisoners in Aumale, as in the other camps of the SS-Baubrigade V, tried to escape and make contact with the French resistance. Kazimierz S. remembers that as a result the SS implemented punishment actions in the camp: "I would also like to add that I often saw prisoners' bodies at the camp gate in Aumale. I heard they were the corpses of prisoners that had been shot because others had escaped from the

camp. As a result, the prisoners, fearful of being shot, kept an eye on each other to make sure no one tried to escape from the camp."³

Toward the end of August 1944 the camp was dissolved. The prisoners were transported, via Doullens, to the Harz, where, in October 1944, they were placed under the control of the newly established Mittelbau concentration camp.

SOURCES There are only a few files and survivors' reports that provide information about the Aumale camp, which can be found in THStA-W, NS-Dok, and BA-L. The Doullens subcamp's archival and secondary sources offer some starting points for further research.

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NOTES

1. SS-BB V (=Field Post Nr. 15.566), July 30, 1944, and August 25, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald, Nr. 54.

2. Władysław Wikler, n.d., in NS-Dok, Z 10.561.

3. Kazimierz S., April 7, 1970, BA-L, ZdL Ludwigsburg IV 429 AR 1938/66, p. 2194.

BERLIN (SS-BB II)

In the spring of 1944, Amtsgruppe C of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) relocated all SS-Baubrigaden to the Harz Mountains. From this point on, the emphasis was to be on the construction of subterranean armament facilities and no longer on removing rubble in the larger cities. Only SS-Baubrigade II was sent to a metropolis—to the capital of the Reich, Berlin.

Preparations for relocating this brigade began in March 1944. On March 30, Amtsgruppe D of the WVHA ordered the relocation of the SS members of this brigade from the SS-Death's Head Unit at Neuengamme to Sachsenhausen.¹ The construction brigade arrived in Berlin in mid-April 1944.

Though he was being investigated on charges of corruption in Hamburg at the time, Johannes Karger remained SS commandant of this construction brigade until at least the end of 1944.² Shortly before the brigade left Berlin on February 14, 1945, SS-Obersturmführer Karl Raab assumed command.³ The SS guard contingent was augmented by reservists made available by the city of Berlin.

The Sachsenhausen concentration camp remained responsible for the prisoners even after their transfer to Berlin, and they were assigned new numbers without having to be processed through that camp. According to the final quarterly report of the SS-WVHA, the SS-Baubrigade II comprised 1,055 prisoners at the end of March 1944.⁴

The construction brigade moved into the bombed-out administrative offices of the Auergesellschaft AG, located at 24/25 Friedrich-Krause-Ufer in the Moabit district of Berlin.⁵ SS-Oberscharführer Anton Stockmeier was head of the Kommando, and his room and the guards' office were on the ground floor.⁶ Prisoner dormitories were on the first floor,

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and accommodation for the guards was on the second. Windows facing the street or the Berlin-Spandauer-Kanal were bricked up to prevent escapes.⁷

From this location, prisoners were taken into the city, under guard and by tram, to remove piles of corpses and to clean up rubble, principally at the Hansa-Ufer (embankment) on the Spree River. Prisoners pulled down buildings that had been destroyed and reinforced walls that were threatening to collapse—dangerous and difficult work, according to survivors. Stones or bricks that could be reused were sorted from the rubble, cleaned, and then loaded onto ships. Pawel Wasiljewitsch Pawlenko remembered the advertising slogans he had read in the Berlin trams even more than 50 years later: “Respecting others in traffic reduces your cares” and “Well lathered is half-shaved.”⁸

Gradually, more and more prisoners were transferred to a construction site at Müggelheim, and by October 1944 at the latest, the SS-Baubrigade II was divided. Some prisoners, the so-called Auer Kommando, remained at the building of the Auergesellschaft AG and were formally designated as SS-Baubrigade IIa, while others were part of the Müggelheim Kommando, formally designated as SS-Baubrigade IIb, under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Christan Thode. Two smaller subcamps existed at Ferch and Spreenhagen.⁹

Müggelheim lies in the Köpenick district of Berlin, and according to survivors, prisoners had to build makeshift housing and small apartments for soldiers and SS members, and their dependents, who had been bombed out of their homes. Thus, one can conclude that this construction brigade was acting on behalf of the Berlin SS-Bauinspektion. In June 1944, the SS-WVHA (Amtsgruppe C) had issued an order, following a directive from Heinrich Himmler, according to which the Waffen-SS and Police Construction Inspection Offices were to build makeshift housing for bombed-out or evacuated members and dependents of the Waffen-SS, the general SS, and other “loyal followers.”¹⁰ To save on men and matériel, such housing was to be self-constructed when at all possible, and the use of prisoners was only permitted if “important war-related construction programs” would not thereby be hindered.¹¹ Amtsgruppe C apparently intended to employ this particular construction brigade for its own purposes.

Prisoners in this brigade lived in Müggelheim in a barracks camp, lit at night, that was encircled by barbed wire and guard towers. Food was brought from Sachsenhausen, and the guards lived in small houses around the camp, some of which were still under construction. Even civilians lived in these small houses.¹² Smaller groups of prisoners were continually deployed for special projects, including building a bunker at Gosen or doing carpentry work at a shipyard.¹³

But the main work of the brigade was to build houses, using stones or bricks reclaimed from the rubble as construction material. These were brought from the Hansa-Ufer down the Spree River. Some prisoners used what strength they had left to sabotage this work that was being done for the benefit of SS families. According to a report by Georg M., his work

detail diverted so much cement and lime that the work almost came to a standstill for a prolonged time period.¹⁴

According to statements from former prisoners and SS guards, the small Müggelheim detachment grew from around 100 to around 800 prisoners and became the largest subcamp of the SS-Baubrigade II. While no definitive figures about the Berlin construction brigade exist, reports on arrivals and departures of SS men in early 1945 allow one to conclude that the Friedrich-Krause-Ufer detachment must have had several hundred prisoners. In January 1945, almost the entire guard was replaced, with those born after 1900 replaced by men born in the 1880s and 1890s who had been drafted by the SS at the end of 1944 and had attended a short training course in Oranienburg. At the end of January, 59 SS men were standing guard at the Friedrich-Krause-Ufer, and 71 at Müggelheim.¹⁵

Around mid-February 1945, some of the prisoners in SS-Baubrigade II were transferred to Sachsenhausen. Others, some from the camp in Müggelheim and some from the Friedrich-Krause-Ufer camp, were combined with prisoners from the Lichterfelde subcamp to create a group of 504 men.¹⁶ The prisoners were carted to Köpenick in a construction train and left Berlin on February 25, 1945, as “2. SS-Baubrigade (E).”

While the members of the SS were not called to task after the war, their victims often suffered for decades from the terrors they lived through. Pawel Wasiljewitsch Pawlenko, who survived the SS-Baubrigade II in Bremen, Wilhelmshaven, Hamburg, and Berlin, said in a 1992 interview:

I dream most of all about the roll call parade grounds, and lining up. I dream in particular about how they led us to the work squads, but hundreds of people who had fallen were lying there. Or how they deliberately threw a cap beyond the boundary, and shot people just to get three days' leave. When I dreamt that, I screamed: “Come back! Don't go there!” That was what I dreamt at first, but then the dreams began to lessen. I still dream even today, once about how I crawled over corpses when we worked in Berlin, that something exploded, I fell, and it ripped into me. I awoke and was still whole. In those first years, I dreamt of how I was strung up by the Gestapo.¹⁷

SOURCES The SS-Baubrigade II in Berlin was first researched as part of a larger study of all the SS-Baubrigaden: Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft, und KZ: Himmler's SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005). Before this, data could only be found in the more general studies of the Sachsenhausen subcamps or of the Berlin camp system. They did not go much further than what could be found in the lists compiled by the ITS.

Contemporary records that could provide more detail about the construction brigades have hardly survived. Lists of the guards may be found at the RTKIDNI, Collection 1367, Concentration Camps and Prisoner of War Camps in Germany. Of special importance are the investigations by the

ZdL (now BA-L), IV 406 AR 594-596/73, which include testimony by former prisoners and guards, as well as the reports by prisoners that are held at the AG-NG and at the Hans Schwarz Archive at the FGNS-H.

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NOTES

1. Neuengamme Kommandantur, May 3, 1944, RT-KIDNI, 1367/1/143, p. 23.
2. SS-WVHA, Verdict, November 15, 1944, BA-B, BDC/SSO.
3. Note, February 11, 1974, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR 595/73, p. 433.
4. SS-WVHA, April 29, 1944, BA, NS 19/14, p. 41.
5. Alexander P., March 28, 1973, ZdL, IV 404 AR-Z 159/73, p. 109.
6. Sachsenhausen concentration camp, 2. SS-BB Berlin, January 10, 1945, RTKIDNI, 1367/1/14, p. 32.
7. Otto M., September 12, 1973, ZdL, IV 406 AR 594/73, p. 329.
8. Pawel Wasiljewitsch Pawlenko, May 19, 1992, AG-NG, Interview Nr. 1576.
9. Note, February 11, 1975, ZdL, IV 406 AR 595/73, p. 433; and SS-WVHA, II. SS-BB, March 20, 1945, February 20, 1945, January 25, 1945, RTKIDNI, 1367/1/14, pp. 36–41.
10. SS-WVHA, June 10, 1944, BA-B, NS 3/3124, pp. 6–13.
11. Ibid., p. 12.
12. Heinrich D., September 1, 1937 (*sic*), ZdL, IV 406 AR 595/73, p. 224; and Alexander P., March 28, 1973, in *ibid.*, p. 109.
13. Richard G., September 12, 1973, in *ibid.*, p. 228.
14. Georg M., June 30, 1962, FGNS-H, 13-7-0-2.
15. SS-WVHA, II. SS BB March 20, 1945, February 20, 1945, January 25, 1945, RTKIDNI, 1367/1/14, pp. 36–41.
16. See Note, February 11, 1974, ZdL, IV 406 AR 595/73, p. 433; and Bureau de Renseignements de la Croix-Rouge néerlandaise, La Haye, 1952, *Étude sur le sort des prisonniers hommes évacués le 5/6-9-44 du KL Herzogenbusch au KL Sachsenhausen*, p. 17, CEGESOMA, Rap. 435, Tr. 91.823.
17. Pawel Wasiljewitsch Pawlenko, May 19, 1992, AG-NG, Nr. 1576.

BOCHUM (*SPRENGKOMMANDO*) (SS-BB III)

On June 19, 1943, 40 prisoners from the SS-Baubrigade III at the Duisburg subcamp were transferred to Bochum. There they were assigned to a Luftwaffe demolition squad (*Sprengkommando*).¹

The transfer of prisoners from Baubrigade III, stationed in Cologne, to the demolition squad was the result of a directive from Heinrich Himmler. Faced with a high death rate among firefighters and the members of security and auxiliary services who were engaged in defusing unexploded bombs, Himmler had issued a directive on November 3, 1942, stating that

“in all cases, insofar as the situation permits,” prison inmates or concentration camp inmates were to be used for the dangerous work of uncovering and disposing of unexploded bombs. This followed a directive Adolf Hitler issued in October 1940.

Commanders of the Ordnungspolizei (Order Police) were made responsible for their quarters, food, and security.² A few days after this directive was issued in November 1942, the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Amtsgruppe D instructed the concentration camp commandants to prepare suitable prisoner details. In those concentration camps where construction brigades already existed, prisoners were to be selected from the brigade.³ An additional factor was that in the early summer of 1943 the Royal Air Force was increasingly using time-delayed fuses in the bombs it dropped over the Rhineland and Westphalia, and their removal was regarded as particularly dangerous.

It is not known where the prisoners were quartered, though it is possible they were held in a prison. In the above-mentioned directive, Himmler had stated: “To save on guard units, concentration camp prisoners used for this work are to be kept in police prisons for the duration.”

Until August 12, 1943, regular reports sent to Buchenwald gave the strength of the squad at 40 prisoners. After August 13, there were only 26, but by December 13, it had risen to 29.⁴ In the extant Baubrigade III reports after this date, there is no further mention of this subcamp, so one may assume it was disbanded at the end of 1943.

The drop in the number of prisoners in August 1943 can be traced back to a tragic accident. On August 12, 1943, in Bochum, SS-Unterscharführer Hans Born and 13 prisoners were killed when an unexploded bomb detonated. One severely injured prisoner survived the blast but died two days later in Bochum’s Protestant hospital.⁵ According to a political prisoner who was a member of the Kalkum detonation squad, the explosion occurred because the ordnance technician acted improperly. In a 1988 interview about the incident, Kurt Selbiger said: “[It was] a bomb with a delayed fuse as well as an additional displacement fuse. That was a major impediment to digging up such bombs: if the bomb was moved, this displacement fuse was prematurely activated. It was very, very difficult to disarm this type of fuse. And then the ordnance technician ties the bomb to a car and has a dozen prisoners grabbing the rope to help pull the bomb out of the hole. . . . And then they all went to heaven.”⁶

The bodies of the prisoners whose names are known were cremated in Cologne’s Westfriedhof cemetery.⁷

A photographic record of the Bochum Fire Brigade includes photos of concentration camp prisoners at work. One photograph, showing prisoners with a recovered bomb near the city’s car fleet park, has been published to date.

SOURCES For more information on the SS-Baubrigaden, see Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft, und KZ: Himmler’s SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005).

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Primary sources for this camp and the SS-Baubrigaden more generally may be found in the following collections: NWHSStA-(D), ASt-N, IfZ, THStA-W, ASt-Dü, and ASt-Kö. A published photograph of the SS-Baubrigade III, Bochum, at work may be found in Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln. Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne: Emons, 1996), p. 11. The photograph is reproduced from collection "Bo37" of ASt-Boc.

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NOTES

1. Statistics on Prisoners' Deployment, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald, Nr. 227, June 1943; and SS III. BB in NWHSStA-(D), Ger. Rep. 118/1183.
2. RFSS November 3, 1942, ASt-N, NG-1002.
3. SS-WHVA, Amtsgruppe D, November 9, 1942, IfZ, MA 414, 6380, cited in ASt-Dü, Collection Kussman, Nr. 34.
4. Statistics on Prisoners' Deployment, in THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 227, July, August, and December 1943.
5. SS-BB III, August 13, 1943, in *ibid.*; Buchenwald concentration camp, Nr. 9, 313, and SS III. BB, August 16, 1943, in *ibid.*, p. 309.
6. Interview with Kurt Selbiger, February 23, 1988, ASt-Dü, Slg. Kussman, Nr. 40.
7. SS-BB III, Cremation Record in Historical Archive, ASt-Kö, Collection 753-25.

BREMEN (SS-BB II)

In October 1942, the SS-Baubrigade II was assembled at the Neuengamme concentration camp and comprised 1,000 prisoners; 750 of them were sent to Bremen and 250 to Osnabrück, both of which Heinrich Himmler had visited in early September 1942 during his tour of cities destroyed during bombing raids.¹ In Bremen, heavily bombed during the night of June 25, 1942, the city administration, the Gau leadership, and the Weser-Ems Gau Chamber of Commerce all made efforts to obtain labor for the city. The manager of the latter wrote to the Reich Labor Ministry in September 1942: "We are in a war zone. You can see this when you visit Bremen. . . . The last heavy attack on Bremen caused immense damage and created a large number of new problems. One of the most important concerns labor, for what we lack above all are people who can remove the enormous amount of rubble."²

At this point, SS-Hauptsturmführer Gerhard Weigel, in his capacity as leader of the SS-Construction Brigade II, was already in negotiations with the Bremen city administration. The most important issue to be resolved was accommodation, but there were also questions about the specific deployment of labor, payment, and guarding the prisoners. Weigel inspected a barracks camp owned by the Francke Werke, located on the Warturmer-Heerstrasse, and declared it suitable.³ The 750 prisoners were moved there no later than October 14, 1942.⁴

However, the office of the Senator for Construction (Senator für Bauwesen) noted that as the camp "did not meet the

necessary requirements for guarding concentration camp prisoners," a different site had to be found.⁵ Thus, in 1942, a camp then being built for the Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German Labor Front, DAF) in the stable buildings of the Hindenburg barracks, located on Bossdorfstrasse, was requisitioned. Prisoners were quartered in the stable buildings, while barracks for the SS, lavatories, the canteen, and a kitchen still had to be built. The Senator for Construction Matters paid rent to the Bremen military administration for the use of the stable buildings and the grounds.⁶ From the Bremen registry office death notices, one can ascertain that relocation occurred between December 18 and 22, 1942, as prisoner Petris Jonis is recorded as dying at the camp on the Warturmer-Heerstrasse on December 18, 1942, while the address of Alexej Trubatsch, who died on December 22, is given as Bossdorfstrasse.⁷

The SS-Baubrigade II remained in Bremen until April 1944, though their numbers shrank continually. Some prisoners went with the SS-Baubrigade I to Alderney in February 1943, a larger detachment went to Wilhelmshaven, and the greatest part of the prisoners, and thus the main camp of SS-Baubrigade II, was transferred to Hamburg after August 1943. At this point, only 272 prisoners remained in the camp.⁸

SS-Hauptsturmführer Weigel was a notable early member of Nazi organizations and had considerable experience in responsible positions in concentration camps as well as at SS construction offices. Born on February 23, 1908, in Flöha, Saxony, Weigel joined the Hitler Youth when he was 16, then the SA in Bautzen in 1929, and switched to the SS in 1930. Trained as a heating engineer, he only became firmly established in party positions by 1933, after a longer period of unemployment.⁹ From 1934 on, he was part of the SS contingent at the Sachsenburg concentration camp, and following the dissolution of that camp, he participated as an engineer in constructing the Buchenwald concentration camp. After working at the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, at the SS administration office, and with the SS-Verfügungstruppe (Special Assignment Troops), Weigel joined the SS-Bauinspektion at the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) for Reich Süd. In January 1942, he then became head of the Bauinspektion at the HSSPF for Russland Süd in Kiev and remained there until he was transferred to the SS-Baubrigade II.

Weigel negotiated with the authorities and directed the deployment of the prisoners, but he was less visible to the prisoners than were the camp leaders in Bremen, Osnabrück, and Hamburg who reported to him. Weigel was assigned a deputy, Diplomingenieur Johann Karger, who was in command of the technical deployment, and when Weigel was ordered to take command of the SS-Baubrigade V in March 1944, Karger took over as commander of the SS-Baubrigade II.¹⁰ As of mid-October 1942, only 30 SS men were available to serve as a guard detail, so it was necessary to recruit local help to strengthen prisoner surveillance.¹¹

As in other cities, the construction administration coordinated the brigade's deployment. In Bremen this was divided

between two offices; a Director of Emergency Measures (Leiter der Sofortmassnahmen) was responsible for dealing with war damage, thus also for removing rubble. Fritz Köster, described as an “uncompromising National Socialist” and an “extremely capable organizer,” was in charge of Department III and was thus responsible for labor deployment and for setting up camps. Oberbaurat Wilhelm Wortmann directed Department IV and was responsible for damage removal and cleanup work.¹² In addition, Paul Wegener, Gauleiter of Weser-Ems, and Senator Hans-Joachim Fischer, who headed internal administration and occasionally the construction administration as well, also dealt with the concentration camp prisoners. After Wilhelmshaven had been hit by a bombing raid, it was Fischer, also Wegener’s deputy as Reich Defense Commissioner, who offered that city SS-Baubrigade II prisoners.¹³

The prisoners’ work was of great importance for Bremen. A report of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) stated that by December 1943 prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade II in Bremen had worked on more than 100 sites in the city, cleaning up rubble and undertaking rescue operations. In February 1944, there were still 346 prisoners working at 28 sites.¹⁴ The population soon became familiar with seeing prisoners in their blue-and-white-striped clothes, colloquially calling them “Zebras.”¹⁵ It did not escape the city authorities in charge that what the prisoners were able to accomplish was due to being terrorized by the SS. Fischer, the Bremen Senator for Construction Matters, wrote the WVHA on January 22, 1943: “I take this opportunity to record my recognition of the extraordinary work the construction brigade has done in removing bomb damage in Bremen. I especially want to emphasize here this valuable deployment that I regard as due primarily to the strict supervision SS leaders and men have exercised.”¹⁶

It is known that 168 men from the Bremen construction brigade camp died between October 1942 and April 1944, 123 of them in the first five months. Alexander P., a former prisoner, stated that there was “no order in the camp.”¹⁷ Prisoners were regularly and indiscriminately beaten; bread was thrown to them, and only those strong enough got some of it. Fritz Bringmann, a prisoner medic who was transferred from Osnabrück to Bremen in May 1943, reported high levels of illness and many extremely weakened prisoners. The poor state of health in his opinion was the result of a ruthless pace of work, long shifts, the many roll calls, and poor nutrition.¹⁸ The brutal behavior of SS-Rottenführer Brunken, who as roll-call leader strode about the camp with a stick or whip, hitting anyone who did not greet him correctly enough, only worsened matters. Brunken regularly mistreated prisoners in the infirmary, and in at least one case, he personally shot a recaptured prisoner.¹⁹ A number of prisoners died because they were refused access to air-raid shelters during bombing raids.²⁰ Prisoners also died after having to stand for hours at punishment roll calls imposed after unsuccessful escape attempts.²¹

The situation in Bremen eased markedly when the majority of the SS-Baubrigade II was transferred to Hamburg in August 1943, along with camp leader Gerhard Weigel.²² In the course of 1943, some of the SS personnel were also withdrawn and replaced by older guards. Pawel Wasiljewitsch Pawlenko reported: “And then the lame appeared, those who had been shot up at the front. They had been at the front for two years, and had seen what that meant. They behaved better toward us.”²³ The situation was also helped by an improvement in the supply of food. A report for the period from July to September 1943 mentions that the city of Bremen allocated additional rations to the SS-Baubrigade II “in recognition of its extraordinary work.”²⁴ In fact, former prisoners report that in 1943 supplies improved.²⁵ However, it is not possible to say to what extent this improvement can be attributed to the city. It is certain that beginning the fall of 1943, Bringmann passed on several hundred kilograms of potatoes in a sealed store-room to fellow prisoners. When the loss was discovered, Bringmann had to flee, according to him on April 4, 1944.²⁶

As in other construction brigades, when it became known that the camp was to be transferred from Bremen to Berlin, efforts to escape increased, supported in particular by the forced laborers and imprisoned opponents of the regime. At the high point of the use of forced labor in 1944, Bremen held about 200 camps with about 25,000 foreigners, both male and female.²⁷ Bringmann said:

At that time, there were tens of thousands of forced deportees who had to work in the firms. They were also used to clear rubble and as a result came in contact with our comrades. What bound them together was their similar background, that they had been violently separated from their relatives, and their common interest in returning home alive. . . . It did not take long for help to be offered in the form of forged identity papers or as permits from relatives who worked in labor camps for Eastern workers in Hannover, Braunschweig, Osnabrück, and other places. With these identity papers and often with pre-bought train tickets, good preconditions were in place for a quick departure from Bremen. We arranged and provided appropriate clothing, food, and money.²⁸

According to Bringmann, 15 prisoners were able to escape in this manner between the fall of 1943 and the spring of 1944, and only 1 was recaptured.

Neither the leaders of the construction brigades nor others belonging to the SS guard were ever prosecuted after the war for crimes committed in the Bremen camp. The dead are buried in the Osterholz cemetery in Bremen.

SOURCES As part of an investigation into the SS construction brigades, the Bremen camp has only recently become the focus of research in Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft, und KZ: Himmler’s SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh,

2005). Prior to this, it was only mentioned in passing in other works about Bremen during the Nazi era, such as Inge Marssolek and René Ott, *Bremen im Dritten Reich: Anpassung—Widerstand—Verfolgung* (Bremen: Carl Schünemann Verlag, 1986). On the history of Bremen during the Nazi era, see Herbert Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der Freien Hansestadt Bremen*, vol. 4, *Bremen in der NS-Zeit* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1995).

Primary source material for SS-Baubrigade II at Bremen is widely dispersed. The most important is the Hans Schwarz Archive in the FGNS-H (memoirs and the *Totenbücher* from Neuengamme) as well as the AG-NG (memoirs and other collections of material). Another source is the files of the Senator für Bauwesen in the StA-Br (Collection 4,29/1) and the files at the ZdL (IV 406 AR 245/69), available at BA-L.

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NOTES

1. RFSS, September 9, 1942, BA, NS 19/14, p. 11.
2. Dr. Karl Kohl, September 23, 1942, A-HkBr, SZ I 15, vol. 9.
3. Senator für Bauwesen, October 7, 1942, StA-Br, 4, 29/1-1307.
4. The first documented death occurred on this day. See Prisoner Death Notifications from May 4, 1942, to December 16, 1942, FGNS-H, Hans Schwarz Archive.
5. Senator für Bauwesen, August 31, 1942, AG-NG, Material Collection, Ng. 6.4.92.
6. Ibid.
7. Data Bank of the AG-NG; and Prisoners' Death List in FGNS-H.
8. SS-WVHA, November 9, 1942, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 26.
9. See BA, BDC/PK./RS./SSO for the information referred to here.
10. BA, BDC/SSO.
11. Senator für Bauwesen, October 7, 1942, StA-Br, 4, 29/1-1307.
12. Herbert Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der Freien Hansestadt Bremen*, vol. 4, *Bremen in der NS-Zeit* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1995), pp. 530, 594.
13. For details on Wegener and Fischer see Inge Marssolek and René Ott, *Bremen im Dritten Reich: Anpassung—Widerstand—Verfolgung* (Bremen: Carl Schünemann Verlag, 1986), pp. 365; as well as File Note November 5, 1942, ASt-Wil, 4600/6.
14. SS-WVHA, February 14, 1944, BA, NS 19/14, p. 34.
15. Marssolek and Ott, *Bremen im Dritten Reich*, p. 358.
16. Senator für Bauwesen, January 20, 1943, in StA-Br, 4, 29/1-1307.
17. Alexander P., March 28, 1973, BA-L, ZdL IV 404 AR-Z 159/73, p. 108.
18. Fritz Bringmann, December 20, 1977, AG-NG, Report Nr. 150.
19. Fritz Bringmann, June 2, 1946, AG-S, IV/26.
20. Prisoner Death Notifications and Subcamp Death Notifications in FGNS-H; and Marssolek and Ott, *Bremen im Dritten Reich*, pp. 358, 417.

21. Interview with Pawel Wasiljewitsch Pawlenko, May 19, 1992, AG-NG, Nr. 1576.

22. Fritz Bringmann, November 20, 1949, BA, BY 5/V 279/74.

23. Interview with Pawel Wasiljewitsch Pawlenko, May 19, 1992, AG-NG, Nr. 1576.

24. SS-WVHA, November 9, 1943, BA, NS 19/14, p. 27.

25. Interview with Pawel Wasiljewitsch Pawlenko, May 19, 1992, AG-NG, Nr. 1576.

26. Report Fritz Bringmann, March 25, 1984, AG-NG, Nr. 141; and Interview with Fritz Bringmann, July 29, 1981, AG-NG, Nr. 153.

27. Marssolek and Ott, *Bremen im Dritten Reich*, p. 413.

28. Report Fritz Bringmann, December 20, 1977, AG-NG, Nr. 150.

DORTMUND (*SPRENGKOMMANDO*) (SS-BB III)

On order of the Higher-SS and Police Leader West, the Cologne-based SS-Baubrigade III sent 40 prisoners to Dortmund on May 31, 1943. There they were assigned to the Luftwaffe bomb disposal squad (Sprengkommando).¹ This transfer can be traced back to a directive of Heinrich Himmler.

Faced with a high death rate among firefighters and the members of security and auxiliary services who were engaged in defusing unexploded bombs, Himmler had issued a directive on November 3, 1942, stating that "in all cases, insofar as the situation permits," prison inmates or concentration camp inmates were to be used for the dangerous work of uncovering and disposing of unexploded bombs. This followed a directive Adolf Hitler issued in October 1940.

Commanders of the Order Police were made responsible for the accommodation, rations, and security of the prisoners.² A few days after this directive was issued in November 1942, Amtsgruppe D instructed concentration camp commandants to prepare suitable prisoner details. In those concentration camps where construction brigades already existed, prisoners were to be selected from the brigade.³ An additional factor was that in the early summer of 1943 the Royal Air Force was increasingly using time-delayed fuses in the bombs it dropped over the Rhineland and Westphalia, and their removal was regarded as particularly dangerous.

It is possible that the SS-Baubrigade's inmates were held in a prison. In the above-mentioned directive, Himmler had stated: "To save on guard units, concentration camp prisoners used for this work are to be kept in police prisons for the duration."

There is little data, and only a few prisoner names are known, about the Dortmund bomb disposal squad. At the beginning of July 1943, the SS-Baubrigade III reported that there were 75 prisoners in the squad, and by July 20, there were only 34. These 34 remained there until August 23, 1943, when the subcamp was closed.⁴

The names of the first 40 prisoners are in the above-mentioned SS-Baubrigade III document, dated May 31, 1943. The 5 prisoners killed on June 9, 1942—the Yugoslav Hermann Bobeck, the Poles Stanisław Affek and Edward Kapłóński, and the Ukrainians Petro Jajez and Michailo Saloid—when an unexploded bomb detonated in Derne, near Dortmund, were probably among them and were probably also part of the Dortmund bomb disposal squad.⁵

SOURCES The Dortmund bomb disposal squad was cited only in one publication that dealt with the SS-Baubrigade III, Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln: Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne: Emons, 1996), p. 112.

The THStA-W (NS 4 Buchenwald and KZ Buchenwald) has a few records on the SS-Baubrigade III, Dortmund. There are no known survivors' reports.

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NOTES

1. SS-BB III, May 31, 1943, NWHStA-(D), Court Report 118-76.
2. RFSS, January 3, 1942, ASt-N, NG-1002.
3. SS-WVHA, Amtsgruppe D, November 9, 1942, IfZ, MA 414, 6380, cited in ASt-Dü, Collection Kussman Nr. 34.
4. SS-BB III, July 2, 1943, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR 85/67, p.2; KL Buchenwald Statistics—Deployment of Prisoners, THStA-W, NS Buchenwald Nr. 227, July 1943; *ibid.*, August 1943.
5. SS-BB III, June 15, 1943, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald Nr. 9, 342.

DOULLENS (BUCHENWALD) [AKA SS-BAUBRIGADE WEST] (SS-BB V)

The SS-Baubrigade V, also known as SS-Baubrigade West, existed from March to October 1944 and, with its complement of about 2,500 prisoners, was the largest of all the SS construction brigades. Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler ordered it formed on December 29, 1943. It was tasked with building V-weapon sites in the northwestern part of occupied France.¹

Prisoners for the new brigade initially were selected from the Cologne SS-Baubrigade III, which was expanded on January 17, 1944, with the addition of 1,000 prisoners from Buchenwald. In March, further transports included prisoners from Buchenwald and from the Neuengamme SS-Baubrigade.² In selecting prisoners, care was taken to ensure none among them spoke French, to make it difficult for them to be in contact with the civilian population. However, a number of prisoners hid their linguistic abilities, as they hoped to escape once they were in France.

Some 60 percent of SS-Baubrigade V were Soviet citizens, 30 percent were Poles, and the remainder were Germans, Czechs, or Yugoslavs.³ The construction brigade left Cologne in four transports between mid-March and early April 1944,

the first (with 500 prisoners) going to Liques, the second (with 576) to Hesdin, the third (with 750) to Rouen, and the fourth (with 700) to Aumale. However, a total of 2,518 prisoners arrived in France, as 4 prisoners had managed to escape from each of the last two transports. The first two transports were directed to the area west of St. Omer and south of Calais, where they were to construct V-2 sites for the Army. The 1,442 prisoners on the other two transports were to construct V-1 sites for the Luftwaffe further south, in the area around Aumale and Rouen.⁴

The SS-Baubrigade V was commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Gerhard Weigel, previously leader of the SS-Baubrigade II, who upon being appointed to lead SS-Baubrigade V also was promoted to SS-Sturmabführer, effective June 21, 1944.⁵ Weigel accompanied the first prisoner transport and organized the quarters for the next transports. He also conducted the initial negotiations with the military offices of the LXV Army Corps, and together with Colonel Zimmermann of the Supreme Command—West (Oberbefehlshaber West), he determined the sites of the deployment.⁶ 95 SS men were assigned to guard duty, and 26 men were sent to deal with administrative and technical matters, all of them having come from Buchenwald. The Army and Luftwaffe, respectively, made 61 and 213 soldiers available.⁷

In order to have prisoners quartered as closely as possible to the construction sites, the brigade gradually set up at least 14 camps in the Haute-Normandie and Nord-Pas-de-Calais départements. Several hundred prisoners were quartered in the large halls of the citadel at Doullens, often referred to as the “main site.” Weigel is supposed to have directed the activities of the construction brigade from there.⁸ Larger subcamps existed for a long period of time in Aumale, Hesdin, and Rouen. Other locations of deployment listed are Amiens, Arras, Beauval, Bergueneuse, Cassel, Mimoyecques, Montdidier, St. Omer, and Vignacourts. Prisoners were allocated to camps and construction sites according to need. In July 1944, there were four large camps, given the cover names “Lisa I,” “Lisa II,” “Inga,” and “Heilag,” and by August there were 8.⁹

In the main, prisoners worked at “special construction sites” of the LXV Army Corps, building launch sites as well as bunkered supply depots. Heavy physical labor was required and included excavation, laying concrete, and moving building materials. In addition, prisoners were repeatedly set to work at “immediate tasks important to the war effort,” such as repairing roads or rail lines after bombing raids. They also built bunkers, and after the Allied invasion of Normandy, they dug trenches, removed unexploded bombs, and repaired the damage to fortified positions.

The heavy physical labor was immensely difficult for prisoners, some of whom weighed less than 50 kilos (110 pounds). In June 1944, the head of the SS-Business Administration Main Office's (WVHA) Amtsgruppe C, Hans Kammler, wrote that because of the time pressure, prisoners were constantly “kept working at a furious pace.”¹⁰ Tomasz Kuryłow, a survivor, has described what this really meant: “Piotr grabbed

the wheelbarrow, yanked it forward and stumbled. The SS man hit him in his chest with his rifle butt. Piotr protected himself with his arms and pulled back, his eyes filled with horror. I liked him. I had to watch how he tried to turn away from the blows of the SS whip. Blood ran from the wounds on his head. Finally, he pulled himself up and tried to move. ‘Stop!’ an SS man screamed, aimed his machine gun and fired. Piotr Majcenko turned his face to his murderer, took a few steps forward, and then sank to the ground.”¹¹

The situation in Normandy meant that, for the first time, a construction brigade was working in an occupied country. That meant the SS was surrounded by an overwhelmingly hostile civilian population, and it was nearly impossible to prevent contacts between prisoners and the French population. Right in front of the SS guards, and apparently without fear, French men and women approached the prisoners, asked them questions, and gave them food. When prisoners were taken to work by truck, they were helped in the villages they passed through. The SS men became increasingly nervous, as resistance fighters targeted these transports.

It was difficult terrain for the SS, particularly since the increased bombing raids on the French Atlantic coast made it harder and harder for guards to know what was going on. Prisoners also had become more and more restless and refractory after D-Day. Given the military situation, Weigel had considerable difficulties maintaining discipline among the SS men, with Army and Luftwaffe guards in particular accused of lapses in duty. In one detachment, either May or June 1944, there must have been a mass breakout after a Wehrmacht post was attacked and overrun.¹² Prisoners were now threatened with random reprisal: for every prisoner who escaped, some of those left behind would be shot indiscriminately.

Yet despite this draconian threat of punishment, escapes remained common. At the end of June 1944, 91 prisoners were reported as having escaped, and 11 had been shot either while escaping or while trying to escape.¹³ The high number of successful escapes was due to the great willingness of the French population to render assistance; only 2 prisoners who had fled in France were recaptured.

As a result, Commander Weigel was even more determined to break the link between prisoners and the surrounding population. On July 7, 1944, he put together a large transport of 350 prisoners suspected of planning escapes or of being in contact with the French, to be sent to Buchenwald.¹⁴ He also ordered further disguising measures: the SS-Baubrigade V was renamed the “SS-Baubrigade VII,” and some of the prisoners were given civilian clothes and permitted to grow out their hair so as not to be recognized as concentration camp prisoners.¹⁵

Initially, Weigel actually was able to slow the prisoner exodus. However, before the SS-Baubrigade V was to be transferred back to Germany, the number of escapees increased again—many prisoners not wishing to return under any circumstances. In fact, in the statistics kept by the Buchenwald

concentration camp, the Normandy numbers stick out: during 1944, no other subcamp had so many prisoners successfully escaping in such a short time. Almost 20 percent of the escapees noted in these Buchenwald records until mid-September were from the SS-Baubrigade V.¹⁶

The actual use of V-weapons, on whose launching sites prisoners had worked, only began after the Allied landing in Normandy with a June 11, 1944, order from the LXV Army Corps. There were initial difficulties, but by the end of July, some 5,000 V-1 rockets had been launched against Great Britain. Anti-aircraft Artillery Regiment 155 was in charge of firing the rockets, but the Allied advance forced the LXV Army Corps to order this regiment to retreat on August 12, 1944. The Allied advance probably also prompted the SS-Baubrigade V to begin preparing to evacuate.

During August 1944, prisoners from the Aumale, Hesdin, and Rouen subcamps were gathered together in Doullens; the SS-Baubrigade V returned to Germany by rail via Lille. During a bombing raid in Lille on August 31, 27 prisoners died.¹⁷ Survivors said that among these victims were prisoners wounded in an earlier bombing raid and being cared for by the French in their homes. The next day, the SS are said to have collected 10 to 15 of the wounded, stuck them in a bunker, and killed them with hand grenades.¹⁸

Between August 30 and September 11, 1944, 1,824 prisoners arrived at the Harz Mountains, in three large groups with about 550 prisoners each and in three smaller groups with less than 100 prisoners each. As no appropriate accommodations were available, they were divided up among SS-Baubrigaden III and IV, as well as the camps of the Mittelbau complex.¹⁹ Despite this, SS-Baubrigade V continued to exist in an administrative sense through September, the number of hours they worked (on projects B15 and B17) being calculated by Special Inspectorate II.²⁰ Mittelbau, which had become an independent concentration camp by this time, assumed responsibility for 648 prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade V by the end of October—though by this time the construction brigade itself was in Osnabrück and had been renamed as an SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade.²¹

SOURCES It was only late in the research into the SS-Baubrigaden that this particular brigade was examined in Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft, und KZ: Himmler's SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005).

Documentation of the SS-Baubrigade V is very spotty. In addition to contemporary reports, which are in the BA-B (NS 19/14, pp. 51–58), there are also collections of material titled “NS 4 Buchenwald” and “KZ Buchenwald und Haftanstalten” to be found at the THStA-W. The ITS Sachdokumenten collection holds documentation on the administrative continuation of SS-Baubrigade V. Of particular significance are the trial documents of the former ZdL held at BA-L (IV 406 AR-Z 207/73). Here one can find copies of the transport lists which permit an almost complete reconstruction of the names of the prisoners in SS-Baubrigade V. There are references to the SS-Baubrigade V as well in the interviews with former forced laborers archived at NS-Dok. KiryHow, who success-

fully escaped from the Hesdin camp, has also written an impressive memoir, Tomasz Kuryłow, *“Und ihr werdet doch verlieren”: Erinnerungen eines polnischen Antifaschisten* (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1985).

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NOTES

1. SS-WVHA, December 29, 1943, BA-B, NS 19/2065, p. 57.
2. Transportmeldungen, January 17, 1944, March 9, 1944, March 25, 1944, April 12, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a.
3. SS-WVHA, July 29, 1944, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 53.
4. Ibid., p. 52.
5. Gerhard Weigel, born February, 23, 1908, BA-BL, BDC/RS.
6. SS-WVHA, July 29, 1944, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 37; and SS-WVHA, July 29, 1944, in *ibid.*, p. 52.
7. Ibid.
8. Kurt D., February 15, 1973; Karl J., September 17, 1972; Hans H., April 4, 1952, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, pp. 242, 250, 491.
9. SS-BB V (Feldpost Nr. 15566), July 30, 1944, August 25, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 54.
10. SS-WVHA, July 29, 1944, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 55.
11. Tomasz Kuryłow, *“Und ihr werdet doch verlieren”: Erinnerungen eines polnischen Antifaschisten* (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1985), p. 134.
12. SS-WVHA, July 29, 1944, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 55.
13. Ibid.
14. Transportmeldung, July 7, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a; Pawel Potockij, May 1989, in NS-Dok, Z 10.547.
15. Hans Groth, February 29, 1964, in FGNS-H, Archive Hans Schwarz, 13-7-3-7.
16. Fluchtstatistik, September 15, 1944, in THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 143.
17. Namentliche Aufstellung, October 9, 1944, in *ibid.*, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 54.
18. Felix L., September 6, 1973; Günter R., August 13, 1973; Günter R., March 20, 1974, in BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, pp. 632, 683, 823.
19. KL Mittelbau, Abt. Arbeitseinsatz, October 11, 1944, in *ibid.*, p. 7.
20. Abrechnung, September 1944, ITS Sachdokumenten—Ordner Buchenwald 54, p. 25.
21. Transport Report, October 29, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a.

DUISBURG (BUCHENWALD) (SS-BB III)

Between February 1943 and May 1944, there was a subcamp of the Cologne SS-Baubrigade III in Duisburg. The prisoners' main task was to clear the city from rubble. The prisoners were accommodated in a barracks camp on the corner of Korn Strasse and Emmerich Strasse, in the suburb of Meiderich. The SS-Baubrigade I from Sachsenhausen was previously quartered here.

A few days after the SS-Baubrigade I was transferred to Alderney on February 21, 1943, the commander of the Cologne camp, Karl Völkner, took control of the remaining 342 prisoners. During the transfer, the commander of the guard detail of SS-Baubrigade I and four unknown members of the Duisburg city administration were present.¹ The commander of the camp in Duisburg was SS-Oberscharführer Franz Janitschke. Prior to this appointment, he had been a security guard in Cologne. Völkner had all the prisoner-functionaries transported back to Buchenwald and replaced them with other prisoners.

Völkner instigated a thorough selection of the Sachsenhausen prisoners now registered in Buchenwald. On the day he took control, 59 of the 342 prisoners were in the infirmary and 5 were in the hospital. In his report, sent to Buchenwald on the takeover, he wrote: “The condition of the prisoners is so bad that on Monday, February 22, 1943, only fifty prisoners could go to work. . . . The condition of their dress (Zebra), underwear and shoes is the worst imaginable.”² During the course of the day he forced another 100 prisoners to work, although their ability to function was limited. In order to keep numbers high for the work details, Völkner, on March 6, 1943, returned all weakened or sick prisoners to Buchenwald.³ On March 13, the Duisburg camp received a transport of 270 prisoners from Buchenwald.⁴

The barracks camp was completely destroyed during a bombing raid on the night of April 26–27, 1943. The prisoners had no chance to seek refuge during the raid; 30 prisoners died, and another 28 were severely injured. The Diakonen Institute at Kuhlenwall 64 was selected as the new quarters. The buildings of the Institute had been severely damaged in the summer of 1942 and had partially been reconstructed by the autumn so as to accommodate “workers from the East.” The SS took over the building in April 1943.⁵ During the next few weeks, the prisoners had to finish the repairs to the Diakonie building. Once that was done, they were accommodated in the infirmary.⁶

Engelbert Oberhauser, who with another prisoner was transferred from Buchenwald to Duisburg in the summer of 1943, reported that

[t]he camp was in a hospital, burnt out during a bombing raid, a former convent of the Zisterzensier Order. It had extremely strong walls. Completely burnt to the ground, it stood in the ruins of the city centre. The Duisburg concentration camp was situated in the remaining commercial buildings. As an emergency measure the prisoners' accommodation was covered with paper maché and boards. The truss was completely burnt. The prisoners were dressed in Zebra and to a large extent in civilian rags. Among them were several German prisoner-functionaries; mostly the prisoners were Soviet and Polish SS slaves. . . . Full of lice, dirty and half-starved we learned the evening roll call. The buttocks of many were exposed; for most, only their knees stuck out of

their ripped trousers. They returned from work—demolition, cleaning up and defusing bombs. As we two lined up for roll call, we looked like lords among beggars with our new Zebra clothes, given to us before the transport left Buchenwald.⁷

For months, the conditions in the Diakonen Institute remained catastrophic. A report prepared in September 1943 indicates that the camp was being extended. A bombing raid again heavily damaged the building. The camp became plagued with lice, and a delousing chamber was built. There was a lack of washing facilities, and the kitchen was equipped with the bare minimum.⁸ The catastrophic conditions did not prevent Völkner from asking for an additional 500 prisoners.⁹

Numbers in the camp varied considerably. Prisoners were often transferred to other detonation squads, to Buchenwald or to other camps. During the summer there were just under 400 prisoners; in October 1943, there were 1,018, the highest-known number; and in the spring of 1944, there were just over 800.¹⁰

The Duisburg “Office for Immediate Measures” (Amt für Sofortmassnahmen) was a special authority located within the city’s Building Administration. The prisoners worked at the request of the office in cleaning up and repairing damage caused by bombing raids. In March 1944, on instructions from the city, the prisoners were required to work additionally on Sundays and recycle bitumen roof sheeting so that the small allotment holders had roof sheeting to repair the buildings on their garden sheds.¹¹ Occasionally, the prisoners had to work for private companies, including August Gähringer, between September 1943 and the end of January 1944, and the German General Electric Company (AEG). The largest prisoner detachment worked at Franz Münnemann; 40 prisoners are documented as working there daily between October 1943 and January 1944.¹²

Many prisoners were seconded over a period of weeks from Duisburg to detonation squads in the Ruhr, which were under the control of the Higher-SS and Police Leader West. In June 1942, 120 prisoners were brought to the SS-Baubrigade III subcamp in Düsseldorf on Kirchfeld Strasse. These prisoners operated as a detonation squad until at least August 1943.¹³ Other prisoners were sent to Bochum and Essen to retrieve unexploded bombs.¹⁴

During the spring of 1943, the number of deaths in the Cologne camp decreased significantly. The death rate remained high in Duisburg, however. Camp commandant Franz Janitschke was responsible for the conditions in the Duisburg camp. According to the prisoners, he was autocratic. Janitschke was born on March 1, 1897, in Oberglöckau (Upper Silesia). By trade he was a carpenter and had joined the SS in 1935.¹⁵ In 1939, he joined the SS-Death’s Head Storm Unit at the Buchenwald concentration camp, where he remained until September 1942, when he was transferred as a guard of the SS-Baubrigade III to Cologne.

The prisoners in Duisburg were guarded by 10 SS men. While they were working, they were guarded primarily by local police.¹⁶

There were at least 49 other deaths at the SS-Baubrigade III subcamp in Duisburg, in addition to the above-mentioned 30 victims of the bombing raid. Of these, 15 died while defusing bombs; 2 were killed while cleaning up; for 20 the cause of death was said to be “Lungs—TB” or “Cachexy” (excessive loss of weight); 4 are said to have been shot while “trying to escape”; and 1 is alleged to have “committed suicide” by hanging.¹⁷

At the end of March 1944, 400 prisoners were withdrawn from Duisburg to help form the newly created SS-Baubrigade V.¹⁸ The subcamp was finally dissolved on May 9, 1944: the remaining 131 prisoners were taken to Cologne, where a day later they were taken with prisoners from Cologne to Wieda in the Harz Mountains.¹⁹

Following preliminary inquiries by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) regarding crimes committed against prisoners in the SS-Baubrigade III, the Cologne State Prosecutor began investigations in 1968. Janitschke was one of the three accused; based on survivors’ statements, he was suspected of taking two French prisoners to Cologne, where they were killed, and of shooting two Russian prisoners in the nape of the neck during a bombing raid. The State Prosecutor could not prove Janitschke’s involvement, and the proceedings ceased in 1975.²⁰

SOURCES Details about the events in the Duisburg subcamp were first published in 1996 in a monograph on the Cologne SS-Baubrigade III: Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln. Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne: Emons, 1996). See also Eric Hannoschöck et al., *Initiative wider das Vergessen: KZ Aussenlager Duisburg-Ratingsee. Das Lager und die Entstehung des Mahnmals* (Duisburg: Stadt Duisburg, 1986). Earlier publications by men and women of Duisburg only dealt with the period up to the destruction of the barracks camp in Duisburg-Meiderich: Rolf Ingerfurth and Andrée Wolff, “Ein Gefangenlager in Duisburg-Meiderich (Ratingsee) zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus” (MSS, Duisburg, 1981), in *AST-DU*, 41/302.

The AST-DU holds the files of the Building Office as well as a few documents on the use of the concentration camp prisoners (Collection 600, Nr. 794, 865, 866). The most important collections of documents are the THStA-W (Collections NS 4 Buchenwald as well as the Buchenwald Concentration Camp and Prisons, in particular Nrs. 9 and 10); the ZdL (IV 429 AR 1304/67), now BA-L; and NWHStA-(D) (Court Rep. 118/1174–1190 and 118/1338–1349). The Ruhr Museum, Essen, has six photographs taken by Willy van Heekern that show concentration camp prisoners removing rubble in Duisburg in 1943.

Karola Fings
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NOTES

1. SS-BB III, February 24, 1943, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald Nr. 9, p. 383.

2. Ibid.
3. Transport List from-to Duisburg, in NWHStA-D, Court Reports 118/1177.
4. SS Camp Doctor Schiedlauský, March 19, 1943, HStA-W, KZ Buchenwald and Haftanstalten (Prisons), Nr. 9, pp. 53–56.
5. Street Directory, Duisburg, 1939; Diakonen-Anstalt (Institute) Duisburg, June 12, 1951, HStA-K, Acc. 606/19, p. 446.
6. Hans P., February 6, 1959, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, p. 516; and Werner B., October 1, 1969, in *ibid.*, IV 429 AR-Z 16/73, p. 123.
7. Engelbert O., June 29, 1971, AG-B, 62–86–1.
8. Buchenwald Camp Doctor, September 6, 1943, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 9, p. 290.
9. SS-BB III, August 19, 1943, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 213, p. 111.
10. See HStA-D, Court Rep. 118–1177; and Numbers' Reports, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 227, Nr. 136a, Nr. 210, Nr. 161.
11. Building Office, March 17, 1944, ASt-DU 600/794.
12. Building Office (Debit Ledger of the Office for Immediate Measures), *Ibid.*, 600/866.
13. See Prisoners' Numbers' Lists, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 227.
14. Building Office, Debit Ledger of the Office for Immediate Measures, ASt-DU 600/866, Entry Nr. 805735–805739.
15. BDC/RS, BA-B; and Franz Janitschke, January 31, 1973, BA-L, IV 429 AR 1304/67, pp. 150–154.
16. Waffen-SS Doctor Weimar-Buchenwald, May 31, 1944, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald Nr. 10, p. 242; as well as Mychailo S., January 28, 1972, BA-L, IV 406 AR 85–67, pp. 171–172.
17. See tables in Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln. Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne: Emons, 1996), pp. 224–235.
18. SS-BB III, March 29, 1944, NWHStA-D, Court Rep. 118/1177.
19. Monthly itemization in THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 230, pp. 77–78.
20. ZLNW-K, January 30, 1975, BA-L, IV 429 AR 1304/67, pp. 160–191.

DUISBURG (SACHSENHAUSEN) (SS BB I)

On October 15, 1942, 400 of the 1,000 prisoners made available to the SS-Baubrigade I by the Sachsenhausen concentration camp were sent to Duisburg to perform cleanup work after bombing raids. The Duisburg camp itself was administered from the headquarters of SS-Baubrigade I in Düsseldorf, though it had its own command structure as well as its own SS and police guards.

Local Nazi Party (NSDAP) functionaries and police are reported as having taken part in discussions over a suitable location for this subcamp. According to one set of memoirs, an NSDAP member suggested Sterkrade, a city district of Oberhausen, as a site, since locating a camp there would also intimidate the surrounding population. The counterargu-

ment was that Communists living in Sterkrade might hide prisoners who managed to escape. For that reason, Duisburg was chosen instead.

A fenced-in camp with four housing and one “commercial” barracks was built for the prisoners in the Meiderich district of the city. According to the recollection of a nearby resident, the camp at the corner of Korn and Emmerich Strassen was erected “overnight,” and in the ensuing months, four or five barracks were added to it.

Prisoners were put to work following directives issued by the city administration’s “Office for Immediate Action,” headed by Duisburg’s Mayor Freytag.¹ Invoices between the city and the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) for food, lodging, and the labor performed were handled by the Düsseldorf construction brigade.²

The prisoners’ main task was to clear rubble from the city. The city administration was so pleased with their work that the mayor personally requested that the WVHA extend the prisoners’ time beyond the planned two months.³

Neighboring residents could look directly into the camp. Nevertheless, by the 1980s memories of the camp were vague. One eyewitness tried to explain it this way: “You could see into the camp from a few apartments, but most people in Meiderich did not know what kind of a camp it was. To begin with, most thought it was a labor camp, and no one had any idea that this was a subcamp of a concentration camp. National Socialist indoctrination meant hardly anyone gave a thought to what was going on inside the camp.”⁴

The reason for this limited view was the widespread belief that concentration camp prisoners were in any case “criminals” and opponents of the regime, whose imprisonment and tough handling were therefore justified. This is reflected in Walter Ring’s city chronicle of Duisburg, published soon after the war: “Passers-by on the street could see the work [of rubble removal] being done by the closely guarded prisoners in their zebra-striped clothing, but could not get closer to them. It was said that they were professional criminals and anti-socials (*Asoziale*).”⁵

The torments and arbitrary brutality typical of the SS could be seen in Duisburg as well: “On the Sundays when prisoners did not have to work, the SS ordered them into the courtyard. Prisoners had to collect small rocks in buckets, but when a bucket was full, it was dumped out and the whole process began again. Those who didn’t work quickly enough risked a beating.”⁶ Inside the camp, the only protection against bombing raids was a trench dug out of the earth, with a make-shift cover over it. According to residents in the area, the SS even hindered prisoners from using these trenches. These neighbors themselves felt the camp endangered them, since during night bombing raids, the camp remained brightly lit in order to prevent escapes.⁷

The prisoners also were punished for acts committed by corrupt SS who enriched themselves on goods retrieved from the rubble. In cleaning up the rubble from a Duisburg *Gymnasium* (state-maintained secondary scheme), for example, bottles stored in the city’s wine cellar underneath it

disappeared—according to a former prisoner, they were stolen by SS men. However, a police officer investigating the loss accused three Russian prisoners of the theft, and they were sent back to Sachsenhausen and were said to have been hanged there.⁸

Three members of the SS-Baubrigade I, all German, are buried in Duisburg.⁹ There are no exact numbers for others who died. The SS-Baubrigade I began withdrawing from Duisburg during February of 1943. One small group of prisoners was taken to Düsseldorf on February 19 and, together with prisoners already there, left three days later in freight cars heading to the British Channel Island of Alderney. Some 342 prisoners remained in Duisburg-Meiderich and were then integrated into the SS-Baubrigade III on February 21 in Cologne, thus coming under the control of the Buchenwald concentration camp.¹⁰

The first systematic investigations began in the 1970s, though the State Prosecutor in Ludwigsburg responsible for the investigations found insufficient evidence to justify a prosecution. Only the camp elder from Duisburg, Adolf Fehrenbacher, was sentenced to a multiyear jail term for the crimes he committed later in the war.

SOURCES In the early 1980s, a trade union youth group composed of Gymnasium pupils drew attention to the fact that a subcamp of a concentration camp had existed in Duisburg during World War II. That initiative led to a publication in 1986 of their research and survey results, though this long remained the only (and difficult to obtain) information about the SS-Baubrigade I camp: see Eric Hannoschöck, et al., *Initiative wider das Vergessen: KZ Aussenlager Duisburg-Ratingsee. Das Lager und die Entstehung des Mahnmals* (Duisburg: Stadt Duisburg, 1986); Annelie Kloth, “Wider das Vergessen: KZ Aussenlager Duisburg,” in *Tatort Duisburg 1933–45. Widerstand und Verfolgung im Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Rudolf Tappe and Manfred Tietz (Essen: Klartext, 1993), 2:634–637. It would only be much later that a proper examination of the camp history, correcting some previously incorrectly interpreted data, would follow: Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft und KZ: Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005).

The ASt-DU hold only a few sources (Bestand 600, Bauverwaltungsamt). As the Duisburg subcamp was only a subsidiary camp of the SS-Baubrigade I in Düsseldorf, it did not feature significantly in postwar investigations by the ZdL (IV 404 AR-Z 57/67 and 410 AR 63/77), now BA-L.

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NOTES

1. See Verfügungen des Amtes für Sofortmassnahmen 1942–1945, ASt-DU, 600/794.

2. See Sollbuch des Amtes für Sofortmassnahmen 1943, in *ibid.*, 600/865.

3. SS-WVHA Ch. C 10/10Dr. Ka/Sei., November 25, 1942, in BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 16.

4. Statement by Mr. N., an eyewitness, in Eric Hannoschöck et al., *Initiative wider das Vergessen: KZ Aussenlager Duisburg-Ratingsee. Das Lager und die Entstehung des Mahnmals* (Duisburg: Stadt Duisburg, 1986), p. 14.

5. Heinrich Averdunk and Walter Ring, *Geschichte der Stadt Duisburg*, new ed. by Walter Ring (Ratingen: Aloys Henn Verlag, 1949), p. 343.

6. Statement by Mrs. W., an eyewitness, in Hannoschöck et al., *Initiative wider das Vergessen*, p. 9.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

8. Report by Reinhold M., April 24, 1966, in BA-L, 404 AR-Z 57/67, p. 133.

9. List of Concentration Camp victims buried in Duisburg, ASt-DU, 607/266.

10. SS-BB III, Übernahmemeldung vom 24.2.1943, in ThHStA-W KZ Buchenwald, Nr. 9, p. 383.

DÜSSELDORF (BUCHENWALD)

(SS-BB III)

On July 19, 1943, 120 prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade III were brought from the Duisburg subcamp to Düsseldorf in order to be deployed by order of the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) West to retrieve unexploded bombs.¹ The deployment of prisoners for demolition squads by the SS-Baubrigade III stationed in Cologne was due to an order by Heinrich Himmler. In the face of the high number of fatalities of firemen and members of the security and rescue services in defusing unexploded bombs, Himmler advised the offices responsible for the removal of unexploded bombs on November 3, 1942, to follow an order by Adolf Hitler dating back to October 1940. According to that order, the dangerous exposure and removal of unexploded bombs was “in all cases as far as possible” to be done by inmates from prisons or concentration camps. The senior commanders of the Order Police were responsible for the quarters, food, and further security of the prisoners.² A few days later, Amtsgruppe D instructed the commanders of the concentration camps to hold appropriate groups of prisoners ready. In those concentration camps that had organized construction brigades, prisoners were to be taken from these camps.³ Another factor in the decision was that the Royal Air Force, in the early summer of 1943, had dropped an increasing number of bombs with delayed fuses in the Rhineland and Westphalia. The removal of these fuses was extremely dangerous.

The prisoners were accommodated in a school building at Kirchfeldstrasse 74–80 in that part of the city known as Friedrichstadt. A month earlier, 50 prisoners from the “Kalkum” detonation squad had been quartered there. On June 30, 1943, Wasil Bliznjuk (born in 1921) and Semjon Plushnikow (born in 1911) were killed while digging out unexploded bombs.⁴ The remaining 118 prisoners remained at Kirchfeldstrasse until August 23, 1943.⁵ Thereafter, the camp appears to have been dissolved—presumably the prisoners were returned to the Duisburg subcamp of the SS-Baubrigade III.

SOURCES There is no available research into this camp, which existed for only five weeks. The prisoners of this bomb search squad have not been given any attention because the buildings at Kirchfeldstrasse 74–80 were used for a long time

to accommodate the Buchenwald subcamps Kalkum and Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke (German Earth and Stone Works, DESt).

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NOTES

1. Statistics—Prisoner Deployment, June 1943, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 227, June 1943.
2. Reichsführer-SS, November 3, 1942, StA-N, NG-1002.
3. SS-WHVA, Amtsgruppe D, November 9, 1942, IfZ, MA 414, 6380, cited in ASt-Dü, Collection Kussman, Nr. 34.
4. SS-BB III, July 1, 1943, BA-L, IV 406 AR 85/67, p. 34.
5. Statistics—Prisoner Deployment, August 1943, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 227.

DÜSSELDORF (SACHSENHAUSEN) (SS-BB I)

The SS-Baubrigade I was one of the first generation of construction brigades, sent by Heinrich Himmler into the destroyed cities of western and northwestern Germany. On October 13, 1942, 1,000 prisoners marched from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp to the Oranienburg railway station. Two days later, they arrived at Duisburg. There the detachment was divided: 400 prisoners remained in Duisburg, while 600 prisoners on October 20, 1942, proceeded to Düsseldorf.

The SS-Baubrigade I took up quarters in an undeveloped area at Stoffeler Kapellenweg, district Stoffeln, Düsseldorf. There the Düsseldorf Road Construction Authority had already commenced construction of barracks for the accommodation of prisoners. Next to where the hotel present-day Haus Kolvenbach is to be found was the barracks camp. Housing did not adjoin the site, but a public park used frequently for recreation was not far away, and next to the camp, there were the Stoffeln Cemetery and small garden plots.

The commander of the SS-Baubrigade I was Maximilian List.¹ He was born on February 9, 1902, in Munich, where he graduated in 1930 from the Higher Technical College as a building engineer. In February 1937, he began his career with the SS-Construction Office. From August 1941 he commanded the SS-Building Inspectorate (Bauinspektion) Ostland at the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) Riga, until September 25, 1942 when he was recalled to take command of the SS-Baubrigade I. List is seldom mentioned in surviving prisoners' reports; instead, SS men from Amtsgruppe D under his command are emphasized. Admittedly though, a former prisoner holds List responsible for the terror at work that reigned in the construction brigade: "On instruction of Hauptsturmführer (Captain) List, they [the prisoners] were forced to the workplace by all means possible, including beatings. Those who could not walk were beaten, as were the comrades who suffered from diarrhea. When these frail prisoners were driven into the camp in the evening, the SS, with

Hauptsturmführer List at the head, had only a smile to spare for them."²

List administered the construction brigades' camps in Düsseldorf and Duisburg with a staff structured in a way similar to the concentration camps' headquarters. Deputy Commander and head of both camps was SS-Obersturmführer Kurt Klebeck, who was in charge of prisoner security, accommodations, and supplies. At both locations, additional camp leaders, work commanders, and commanders of the guards were instrumental in determining the atmosphere of the camps. In Düsseldorf there were SS-Unterscharführer Roland Puhr (the camp's deputy commander), SS-Hauptscharführer Otto Högelow (commander of the guard), and Kurt Wittwer (commander of the labor detachments). All three remained with the construction brigade when it was transferred in February 1943 to Alderney. All three, as well as Klebeck, were charged on numerous counts of unlawful killing after the war. Wittwer, by trade a bricklayer and builder of stoves and a member of the SS since 1932, was feared in his role as construction foreman: "Everyone trembled when he came. He was ruthless with the prisoners and did not even spare the sick."³ After the war, Wittwer in turn described Puhr, who was the subject of investigations regarding a number of murder charges, as a totally brutal and scheming person.⁴ Högelow was repeatedly described as a "political fanatic" who mistreated prisoners for slight reasons and who also participated in shootings.⁵ The SS guards were reinforced by local police working in the field.

The prisoners, most of them Soviet and Polish nationals, had to march daily into the city, where they had to clear rubble from the city. More than 100 deaths are known. Notwithstanding the deaths, there must have been a constant supply of new prisoners because the brigade's strength, at the time of its withdrawal from the city, was stated as 600.⁶ The use of the prisoners was under the direction of the city's Air Protection Office, Labor Assignment Department. It was responsible for the "recruitment of German and foreign laborers of every type" and for their distribution, accommodation, food, and payment.⁷ The importance of the quota of prisoners for cleaning up the city is apparent, because the prisoners represent nearly one-fifth of the 3,300-strong labor force that was available for this work in January 1943.⁸

Germans living in the vicinity of the camp could see how the prisoners, under blows, shifted earth from one place to another and back again. The neighborhood could see how the SS men threw rocks at the prisoners and how prisoners were pushed from the roof of a barrack, and the residents could hear screams and shots at night. It was soon generally known that after work the prisoners were punished in the camp by the SS men. Repeatedly, residents in the neighborhood saw dead prisoners.

To see the debilitated prisoners became an everyday occurrence also for the rest of the population. However, as Emil Pascha reported, in a few cases it seems to have generated a shocklike reaction: "As the overcrowded train slowly went past you could not help but see the faces of those miserable

yellow-tainted people, their skulls shaved close, nothing but skin and bones. Their appearance was shattering—the passengers slowly turned their faces in silence and the women wiped their tears.”⁹

Even when there was an initial desire to help, people preferred to stay away from the camp fence and the prisoners. According to Heinz Zimmermann, who was then 14 years old: “The prisoners swayed more than they were walking. They were closely guarded by SS guards. Not one of us, including our mothers, dared to give food to the prisoners. We were too scared.”¹⁰ Few bystanders registered the reality of conditions in the concentration camps. The limits of perception are reflected by Emil Barth in his diary entry on the camp: “I will never forget that human community is based on violence and suffering. But it is demoralizing to look eye to eye with the victims—victims who, not to mention the innocent, agonizingly force the question whether or not, even with the individual case of perfect guilt, guilt is acquitted with guilt.”¹¹

Heavy labor, hunger, and violence were the main causes for the 111 deaths, registered in the first five months of the existence of the SS-Baubrigade I Düsseldorf. Embezzlement resulted in minimal food rations. According to Alfons Kupka, a former prisoner, “[T]he food was extraordinarily poor. . . . Roll Call Leader Puhr with the help of the cook expropriated food so that the physical constitution of the whole detachment was very poor; almost all had degenerated to ‘Muslims’ [*Muselmänner*].”¹² Sick and enfeebled prisoners received no medical care. Despite their condition, they had to go to work. In the evenings, the weakest were mistreated and were often forced during the winter of 1942–1943 to spend the nights outdoors. Two SS members, Puhr and Wittwer, were later accused of deliberately killing prisoners.

Dr. Albermann was the SS doctor for the SS-Baubrigade I in Düsseldorf. He completed the death certificates so that the deaths could not be construed as occurring due to violent crimes. Only in 6 cases are deaths by tuberculosis or septicemia recorded in the cremation records at the Düsseldorf-Stoffeln Cemetery. In all the other more than 100 cases, deaths were recorded as being due to “circulatory weakness,” “heart seizure,” or “heart attack.”¹³ It did not escape Julian von Tempski, senior city inspector at the Stoffeln Cemetery in charge of the supervision of cremations, that the death certificates did not match reality. He stated as early as May 1946, “Among the dead were many who had been shot or hung. In most cases, death certificates were prepared stating that the relevant person had died from a weak heart or heart seizure and the like.”¹⁴

A rather large group of around 55 Jehovah’s Witnesses were assigned to SS-Baubrigade I. Some of them had been in the Sachsenhausen Punishment Detail because they had regularly gathered together in the “Bible Researchers” blocks.¹⁵ They were able to make contact with fellow female believers in the city just a few days after their arrival in Düsseldorf. The women brought them food at the construction sites, and

by this means they were able to send letters to their relatives.¹⁶ These connections were either not noticed by the SS and police guards or were silently tolerated. It was generally known that Jehovah’s Witnesses, because of their religious convictions, would not attempt to escape from concentration camps. One Jehovah’s Witness stated that in the camp they were singled out for torture by the Kapos. The Kapos soon fell out among themselves and one by one drove each other to their deaths.¹⁷ Not one of the 111 dead of the SS-Baubrigade I in Düsseldorf was a Jehovah’s Witness, which can be partly explained by the strong sense of solidarity among the Jehovah’s Witnesses and their complete isolation from camp corruption.

The SS-Baubrigade I was withdrawn from Düsseldorf on February 22, 1943. None of those responsible for crimes committed in Düsseldorf were convicted after the war.

SOURCES For his book *Ein KZ-Aussenlager in Düsseldorf-Stoffeln* (Düsseldorf: Bezirksverwaltungsstelle 3, Stadtarchiv, 1988), on the SS-Baubrigade I in Düsseldorf, Andreas Kussmann interviewed former inhabitants of the camp neighborhood. While especially these sources gave a graphic picture of the reaction of the neighborhood, the organizational connections of the subcamp to the city bureaucracy are explored in Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft und KZ: Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005).

The most important of the dispersed sources are the investigations IV 404 AR-Z 57/67 and 410 AR 63/77 in the BA-L. The ASt-Dü, inventory IV, contains records of the Building Administration. A copy of a list of the dead of the SS-Baubrigade I survived in the Düsseldorf Cemetery Administration. It is printed in Kussmann, *KZ-Aussenlager*, pp. 202–211.

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NOTES

1. BDC/RS and BDC/SSO, BA-B.
2. Cited by Andreas Kussmann, *Ein KZ-Aussenlager in Düsseldorf-Stoffeln* (Düsseldorf: Bezirksverwaltungsstelle 3, Stadtarchiv, 1988), p. 108.
3. Ibid., p. 40.
4. Ibid., p. 91.
5. Ibid., p. 20.
6. See “Darstellung der Arbeitskräfte für Sofortmassnahmen und Luftschutzbauten,” ASt-Dü, IV 877.
7. Mitteilung der Stadtverwaltung Düsseldorf 9 (1942), Nr. 12, p. 84, “Massnahmen der Stadt Düsseldorf zur Behebung von Notständen nach Fliegerangriffen,” ASt-Dü, IV 481.
8. See “Stand der Arbeitskräfte für Sofortmassnahmen und Luftschutzbauten,” ASt-Dü, IV 877 and VII 1486.
9. Cited by Kussmann, *KZ-Aussenlager*, p. 181.
10. Ibid., p. 190.
11. Emil Barth, *Lemuria. Aufzeichnungen und Meditationen* (Hamburg: Claassen & Goverts, 1947), pp. 90–91.
12. Report by Alfons Kupka, September 8, 1947, AG-S, IV/26.

13. See the list in Kussmann, *KZ-Aussenlager*, p. 202; BA-L, 410 AR 63/77, pp. 916–918.
14. BA-L, 410 AR 63/77, vol. 4.
15. See a report by a former prisoner dated April 17, 1950, BA-L, IV 404 AR-Z 57/67, p. 246.
16. Report by Helmut Knöller, AG-NG, Nr. 1317.
17. Ibid.

ELLRICH (BUCHENWALD, SACHSENHAUSEN, AND MITTELBAU) (SS-BB IV)

The SS-Baubrigade IV was stationed from May 1944 to April 1945 in Ellrich, a small village in the Harz Mountains. As with the SS-Baubrigade III, which was also at the same time transferred from the West to Wieda in the Harz, the prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade IV were to be deployed, on the orders of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) (Amt C), to construct a new railroad track. This railroad line ran through the Helme Valley. It was about 22 kilometers (13.7 miles) long and was designed to relieve the railroad connection between Osterhagen and Nordhausen. The SS-Baubrigade IV was assigned to the eastern construction zone.

The SS-Baubrigade IV, which had been transferred from Wuppertal, began work with 529 prisoners at Ellrich on May 17, 1944; 300 additional prisoners, mostly French, were transferred on June 7 from Buchenwald to the construction brigade. There were 826 prisoners on October 28, 1944, following the camp's administrative assignment to the newly founded concentration camp at Mittelbau. The camp reached a peak with approximately 1,240 prisoners on January 15, 1945, once the Sachsenhausen concentration camp assumed administrative responsibility.¹ Both changes in affiliation to a main camp did not alter the location or the type of deployment of the SS-Baubrigade IV. Mittelbau used for it the pseudonym "Erich II," distinguishing it from the camp in the same town known as Ellrich-Juliushütte (Erich I).

The rooms of the Bürgergarten Inn, once a well-known restaurant, served as living quarters. However, only a small number of prisoners were quartered there. The administration and the kitchen were located at the Ellrich camp; the largest group of the prisoners lived in a subcamp in Günzerode and were led from there to the railroad line to work. For the time being, Otto Diembt, who had been in charge at Wuppertal, remained the head of SS-Baubrigade IV. Moreover, several known SS men were part of the guard detail as well as Luftwaffe soldiers, who were taken over by the SS in the summer of 1944.

The conditions of the SS-Baubrigade IV were particularly affected by the gradual change in control to the Buchenwald subcamp Dora. From about the middle of June 1944, this camp, the largest Buchenwald subcamp in the spring of 1944, step-by-step took over the functions of the main camp. The conditions in the camps, which were controlled by the newly founded Mittelbau concentration camp in October 1944, were

significantly worse than the conditions under which the SS-Baubrigade IV prisoners had to live in Wuppertal. It is noteworthy that the camp commander, Diembt, tried to check the increased likelihood of death on the prisoners that followed the Mittelbau incorporation. Former prisoners have testified that Diembt, as in Wuppertal, also behaved properly in Ellrich, arranged for the conditions in the camp to be bearable, obtained additional vegetables for the prisoners from nearby farmers, and admonished civilians who beat the prisoners while at work.²

The SS-Baubrigade IV had an especially close connection with the Ellrich-Juliushütte camp. The Ellrich-Juliushütte camp in close proximity cast a shadow also on the lives of the construction brigade prisoners. The prisoners had heard, in part from the local population and in part from Diembt, that the conditions were very brutal in this camp.³ Emil W., who worked in the office of the construction brigade, had to enter Erich I more than once. In doing so, he saw many corpses, consisting of only skin and bones, in the filthy camp, which was on the grounds of a former factory. According to Emil W., the conditions were "difficult to describe in words" and "the most gruesome that I have ever seen in my life."⁴ There was discussion in the construction brigade that prisoners in Ellrich-Juliushütte were shot for the smallest trifling. It was made clear to the prisoners by Diembt that he distanced himself from what was happening in Erich I. Emil W. stated that "his aversion to the nearby commandships and rejecting any communication with them was generally known."⁵

It also appears that Diembt prevented prisoners of his construction brigade from being transferred to Dora. The judgment delivered by the denazification court on Otto Diembt on April 2, 1948, states: "The situation in the camp in Ellrich became even more precarious, since there was a second subcamp where prisoners were miserably treated and where severe failures were noted. Moreover, [in] nearby Nordhausen there was the infamous camp Dora. The commandant of this camp tried to prompt his superior authority to deploy the accused's prisoners, on account of their visible healthier condition, in the underground ordnance factory at Nordhausen. The accused was able to frustrate the attempt."⁶

It is not possible to verify these statements concerning the death rate in Ellrich with verifiable data. Three prisoners died prior to Mittelbau officially assuming control in October 1944.⁷ There are no reliable records after this date. Robert Rousseau, a former French prisoner, called Ellrich an "infamous camp" in which "countless French died."⁸

According to a statement made by Diembt in 1963, the dispute he had with the commandant of the Mittelbau concentration camp at the beginning of 1945 also centered on the question of a possible evacuation of the camp. He then stated that he did not want to evacuate the camp but to hand it over "after the collapse." This is said to be the reason for his removal on January 31, 1945.⁹ Officially, his removal was based on "irregularities in caring for troops and prisoners."¹⁰ Diembt was promoted the day before his dismissal to SS-Obersturmführer, posted to Mittelbau, and from there to

Neuengamme. In March 1945, he took command of a company known as Kampfgruppe (Battle Group) Dusenschön in Schleswig-Holstein.

Diembt's successor was SS-Untersturmführer Erich Scholz, who was born on May 18, 1911, in Tarnowitz, Upper Silesia. He studied architecture in Berlin and since August 1940 had been a member of the SS-Main Office of Finance and Construction. In September 1942, he was transferred from the WVHA to the Reich Ministry for Armaments and Munitions. There he was an adjutant to the Armaments Delivery Office of SS-Brigadeführer Staatsrat Walther Schieber. It was from here that he was transferred on February 1, 1945, to the SS-Baubrigade IV.¹¹ Former German prisoners explicitly described Scholz immediately after the war as well as later as very human. Of central significance for this predominantly positive assessment of the survivors was his behavior during the dissolution of the camp in April 1945.

Indeed, the evacuation of the camp of the SS-Baubrigade IV in the spring of 1945 was atypical. Former prisoners stated that Scholz discussed all questions regarding the evacuation in "a downright comradely manner" with them and tried to save their lives.¹² Scholz tried in the last days of the war to obtain the confidence of a few of the prisoners. However, his concern for the well-being of the prisoners neither included a group of about 200 Jewish prisoners, who in the last days of the war were transferred from the SS-Baubrigade III to Ellrich, nor those incapable of marching. He is said to have made these prisoners available for the infamous "Transport Brauny," which in the night of April 6–7, 1945, gathered together in the camps of Mittelbau the last prisoners incapable of marching. According to both Scholz and survivors, he was forced by the commander in charge of the city of Nordhausen to commence his decampment. In any event, Scholz delayed the evacuation as long as possible since the SS-Baubrigade IV was the last of the Mittelbau subcamps to leave its station.

After the remaining prisoners from Günzerode had marched to Ellrich, a group of roughly 1,000 prisoners and their guards set off on April 10, 1945. According to Scholz and survivors, no one was killed on the four-day march through the Harz. The SS-Baubrigade IV, its numbers decimated by escapes, reached Güntersberge on April 14, 1945. There, Scholz issued to all prisoners, who asked for it, a "Release from Protective Custody" form. He also formally discharged the SS guards. The SS-Baubrigade IV was thus dissolved. Most of the prisoners left. Scholz and a handful of SS men with a convoy of about 20 prisoners surrendered the next day to the Americans.

If one takes into consideration only the SS-Baubrigade IV prisoners forced to march, then the estimate by Joachim Neander that 50 of the 1,000 prisoners died in the Harz, immediately after the liberation, appears to be realistic. Compared with other marches in this region, the march of SS-Baubrigade IV had by far the lowest death rate. However, if one takes into account those approximately 300 Jewish or sick prisoners whom Scholz is said to have handed over to Transport Brauny and who then were massacred at Gardelegen, then every

fourth prisoner died.¹³ There is no doubt that Scholz behaved comparatively correct with the remaining prisoners; whether that was out of conviction or consideration of his impending imprisonment may be left aside. Of note is that amid the chaos in the last days of the war, it was possible to hand to the Allies alive a large group of prisoners, even if this was knowingly done only in exceptional cases.

SOURCES See especially Manfred Bornemann, *Geheimprojekt Mittelbau. Vom zentralen Öllager des Deutschen Reiches zur größten Raketenfabrik im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Bonn: Bernard & Graefe Verlag, 1994); Arbeitsgemeinschaft Spurensuche in der Südharzregion, ed., *Der Bau der Helmetalbahn. Ein Bericht von der Eisenbahngeschichte, den KZ-Häftlingslagern und der Zwangsarbeit im Südharz in den Jahren 1944–45 sowie den Evakuierungsmärschen im April 1945* (Duderstadt: Verlag Mecke Druck, 2000); and Joachim Neander, "Das Konzentrationslager 'Mittelbau' in der Endphase der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur. Zur Geschichte des letzten im 'Dritten Reich' gegründeten selbständigen Konzentrationslagers unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Auflösungsphase" (Ph.D. diss., Bremen University, 1996)—these have all rendered outstanding service to research the SS-Baubrigade IV in the Harz. Karola Fings's *Krieg, Gesellschaft und KZ: Himmels SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005) concentrates on the particular situation of the SS-Baubrigade within the context of the Mittelbau concentration camp. These works also contain references to the postwar report of Erich Scholz and reports of survivors, which, in part, are held by the AG-MD. Here are also kept copies of transport lists from Warsaw (Buchenwald Concentration Camp No. 36, Mittelbau Concentration Camp, No. 9). Jens-Christian Wagner, *Produktion des Todes. Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2000), has also made use of the records of the early Dora Trials at NARA. The BA-L (IV 406 AR-Z 69/72) holds the files of the inquiry into the SS-Baubrigade IV. Of importance are, moreover, the sources held by THStA-W (NS 4 Buchenwald, KZ Buchenwald and Prisons).

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NOTES

1. Work statistics May–July 1944, in THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 230, pp. 81, 112, 136a, 149; transport lists, June 6, 1944 (incorrectly dated July), AG-B, 59–110, vol. 2.
2. Emil W., May 23, 1967, Albert M., December 19, 1967; Richard O., January 21, 1971, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z, pp. 96–100, 104–106, 179R; Theodor E., January 29, 1947, BA-K, Z42 V/608.
3. Richard O., October 11, 1967, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 69/72, pp. 101–103.
4. Emil W., May 23, 1967, *ibid.*, pp. 99–100.
5. Emil W., February 6, 1948, BA-K, Z 42 V/608.
6. Hiddesen De-Nazification Court, April 2, 1948, *ibid.*
7. August 18, September 17, October 3, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a.
8. See the text that accompanies his drawing of the Bürgergarten Inn, 1986, printed in "Der Bau der Helmetalbahn, der Zwangsarbeiten der III. und IV. SS-Baubrigade, die KZ-Aussenlager Mackenrode, Nüxei, Osterhagen und Wieda

sowie Ellrich und Günzerode,” in *Der Bau der Helmetalbahn. Ein Bericht von der Eisenbahngeschichte, den KZ-Häftlingslagern und der Zwangsarbeit im Südbar in den Jahren 1944–45 sowie den Evakuierungsmärschen im April 1945*, ed. Arbeitsgemeinschaft Spurensuche in der Südharzregion (Duderstadt: Verlag Mecke Druck, 2000), p. 98.

9. Otto Dienst, August 29, 1963, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 69/72, p. 90.

10. Erich Scholz, May 8, 1972, in *ibid.*, pp. 301–303.

11. *Ibid.*; as well as BDC/RS, SSO, RKK, in BA-B.

12. Erich H., Erich K., Ernst Sp., Josef Sch., April 18, 1945, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 69/72, pp. 215–216.

13. See Joachim Neander, “Die Evakuierung der Lager der SS-Baubrigaden III und IV im April 1945,” in Arbeitsgemeinschaft Spurensuche, *Bau der Helmetalbahn*, pp. 134–159.

FERCH (SACHSENHAUSEN) (SS-BB II)

The SS-Baubrigade II, which was stationed in Berlin starting in April 1944, had a subcamp located in Ferch (County Potsdam-Mittelmark). It is mentioned in a list of the guards of the SS-Baubrigade II as of January 10, 1945. SS-Unterscharführer Erich Schmidt is listed as the only guard.¹ Apparently, Schmidt remained in Berlin even after the SS-Baubrigade II, including his detachment, was transferred to Nürnberg on February 25, 1945.²

Perhaps the SS-Baubrigade II prisoners were assigned to a camp of the SS-Construction Management, which is believed to have existed with 180 prisoners in Ferch in the summer of 1944.

SOURCES As investigations by the ZdL in 1973 (IV 406 AR 596/73), held at BA-L, were inconclusive, no additional information is available on this subcamp.

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NOTES

1. SS-BB II, January 10, 1945, RGVA, Moscow, 1367/1/14, pp. 32–36.

2. *Ibid.*, March 30, 1945, p. 36

GÜNZERODE (BUCHENWALD, SACHSENHAUSEN, AND MITTELBAU) (SS-BB IV)

From the summer of 1944 until April 1945, in the small village of Günzerode in the Harz Mountains, there existed a subcamp of the SS-Baubrigade IV stationed in Ellrich. While the administration and kitchen for the construction brigade were located in Ellrich, up to 800 prisoners were quartered in Günzerode to be deployed for the construction of a new railway line. This so-called Helme Valley Railway (Helmetalbahn) was a subsidiary line designed to relieve the traffic on the western line from Nordhausen to Osterhagen.

The camp was probably constructed in the middle of July 1944. René Morel, a survivor of the camp, stated in 1998:

Fifty-four years ago I was in Günzerode on the construction ground of the strategic railway line. . . . It was very heavy forced labor carried out with picks and shovels. I arrived in Günzerode on July 15 and stayed there for one hundred and twenty-four days. There were six hundred prisoners—about two hundred French, two hundred Russians, two hundred Poles, a few Czechs, and one Greek. We slept in three-level bunk beds on a sheep farm in the southern part of the village. It had been fixed up to be a small concentration camp. There were no barracks. We consisted of five work squads, each of one hundred or two hundred prisoners, and a detachment of twenty prisoners, who worked as electricians. . . . The Construction Brigade was constantly reinforced by further prisoner transports. A large number of prisoners died from diseases or mistreatment and the ranks had to be replenished.¹

The conditions of the Günzerode subcamp were clearly worse than those in Ellrich. This, in part, is due to lack of medical care and also the inferior food supply. In addition, there was the heavy and debilitating work. Morel, who was 16 when he was arrested, made a statement about the work conditions: “We walked [to work] and as we did not pass through any villages we did not have to march. . . . We rose at 5.00 am; work began at 6.00 am. . . . In the autumn of 1944 it rained every day. The Helmetal flooded until November, and therefore our clothes were always wet. As the machines got dirtier and dirtier they also ceased to function properly. I cut open my shoes as my feet were always bleeding; I was still growing.”²

The Günzerode camp commander was an SS-Hauptscharführer. The remaining guards consisted of a few SS men and Luftwaffe soldiers. Unlike at Ellrich, where a German Communist as the camp elder had tried to improve conditions to the level of being somewhat bearable, survivors comment only negatively about the prisoner-functionaries in Günzerode. Morel describes a Communist from Mainz as brutal. Paul Dubois also reports on corrupt prisoner-functionaries in Günzerode, “It is obvious that these pillars of the Nazi regime, despite the fact that they had been arrested, acted like bandits and lived like princes, well fed, while we died from hunger and cold.”³

Little is known about deaths in the Günzerode camp. This is due to the lack of research and poor documentation. It is known that immediately after liberation survivors accused Ulrich Holz, born on March 22, 1922, in Altenfließ, of murdering the Polish prisoner Edward Sokolowski. A witness describes the crime as follows: “On February 15, 1945, the prisoner fled our Günzerode subcamp. He was discovered the next day in our barn at the Flaries mill near Günzerode. The prisoner, who knelt before SS-Oberscharführer Holz with raised hands, was shot in the head by him from above (Proof: the confirmed entry wound) at a distance of about three paces. Neither had the prisoner resisted his capture nor had he tried to escape. It is noticed, as a description of Holz, that he had already previously refused to sign a notice that prisoners were no longer to be beaten.”⁴

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The camp in Günzerode was gradually dissolved between March 23 and April 10, 1945, by transferring prisoner groups to Ellrich. There, at noon on that last day, the SS-Baubrigade IV began the evacuation march.

Investigations into Holz commenced in the 1970s but were halted on October 26, 1973, by the Limburg State Court, on the basis that there was insufficient evidence for a conviction.⁵

SOURCES The following sources can serve as bases for further research on the Günzerode camp: Firouz Vladi, "Der Bau der Helmetalbahn, der Zwangsarbeiten der III. und IV. SS-Baubrigade, die KZ-Aussenlager Mackenrode, Nüxei, Osterhagen und Wieda sowie Ellrich und Günzerode," in *Der Bau der Helmetalbahn. Ein Bericht von der Eisenbahngeschichte, den KZ-Häftlingslagern und der Zwangsarbeit im Südharz in den Jahren 1944–45 sowie den Evakuierungsmärschen im April 1945*, ed. Arbeitsgemeinschaft Spurensuche in der Südharzregion (Duderstadt: Verlag Mecke Druck, 2000); and Jens-Christian Wagner, *Produktion des Todes. Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2001).

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NOTES

1. Cited in Firouz Vladi, "Der Bau der Helmetalbahn, der Zwangsarbeiten der III. und IV. SS-Baubrigade, die KZ-Aussenlager Mackenrode, Nüxei, Osterhagen und Wieda sowie Ellrich und Günzerode," *Der Bau der Helmetalbahn. Ein Bericht von der Eisenbahngeschichte, den KZ-Häftlingslagern und der Zwangsarbeit im Südharz in den Jahren 1944–45 sowie den Evakuierungsmärschen im April 1945*, ed. Arbeitsgemeinschaft Spurensuche in der Südharzregion (Duderstadt: Verlag Mecke Druck, 2000), p. 94.

2. Ibid., p. 95.

3. Paul Dubois, May 4, 1945, in NARA, M-1079 Roll 2, p. 33, cited in Jens-Christian Wagner, *Produktion des Todes. Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2001), p. 442.

4. Erich H., Erich K., Ernst Sp., Josef Sch., April 18, 1945, BA-L, IV AR-Z 69/72, p. 215.

5. Landgericht Limburg, October 26, 1973, *ibid.*, p. 372.

HAMBURG (NEUENGAMME) (SS-BB II)

Between July 25 and August 3, 1943, the Royal Air Force and the U.S. Air Force reduced the city of Hamburg to rubble during four nighttime and two daylight bombing raids. In barely a week, 34,000 people were killed, which was almost as many as had been killed to date by aerial warfare in the whole of Germany. Another 125,000 were injured, and more than half of all the homes in Hamburg were destroyed.¹ On August 7, following this series of attacks, which are known in the literature as "Operation Gomorrah," the majority of the SS-Baubrigade II was transferred from Bremen to Hamburg for cleanup operations.² Hamburg remained the main center of operations of the SS-Baubrigade II until it was transferred to Berlin in April 1944. The Bremen camp was administered as a subcamp.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945



Under SS guard, prisoners from SS-Baubrigade II clear rubble in the Hammerbrook section of Hamburg after the Allied raids of the previous month, August 1943.

USHMM WS # 79115, StAHH

Once in Hamburg, the construction brigade was reinforced so that, in August, 930 prisoners could be deployed. The prisoners came, in part from the Wilhelmshaven subcamp, directly from Neuengamme, or from a bomb explosives squad stationed at the Fuhlsbüttel prison.³ The SS commander was at first Gerhard Weigel. He was replaced in March 1944 by Johann Karger [see Bremen (SS-BB II)]. The SS guards were reinforced with local police assistants.

The SS-Baubrigade II was stationed in the "Dead Zone," which encompassed parts of the heavily destroyed city areas of Hammerbrook, Hamm-South, and Rothenburgsort, and which, in accordance with the instructions of Hamburger Gauleiter Karl Kaufmann, had been cordoned off.⁴ The largest part of the construction brigade was temporarily accommodated in a bunker at Süderstrasse 301. For a few weeks the construction brigade used the enclosed swimming baths at the corner of Süderstrasse and Heidenkampsweg as additional accommodations. The prisoners were fed at the swimming baths and left from there for work. In the evening, they returned first of all to the baths where they were fed and roll call took place. The bunker in Süderstrasse was where the prisoners slept.⁵

At a later date, the whole construction brigade was quartered in former classrooms on the first floor of the elementary school at Brackdamm 14/16.⁶ The move appears to have taken place during November 1943, as the pastor at the Stephan-Kempe-Church in the Dead Zone, Heinrich Dahmlos, made the following note on November 29, 1943: "The entire area around the Stephan-Kempe-Church is still sealed off until today. Not a soul lives in the area other than the political and criminal prisoners who are quartered in the school on Brackdamm and who store their supplies of vegetables in the public shelter underneath the church."⁷

The first task of the SS-Baubrigade II was to seal off the areas declared as part of the Dead Zone. According to a report of the SS-Business Administration Main Office

(WVHA), the prisoners erected a 650-meter (711-yard) wall and 1,900 meters (2,078 yards) of barbed wire to block the streets.⁸ The prisoners' work is recorded in three photographs, which were probably taken at the request of the Police Commissioner. Signs indicated that the restricted area could only be entered with written permission from the police.⁹

Unlike in other cities, the Hamburg building administration did not direct the use of the prisoners but was merely occupied with allocating accommodations for them.¹⁰ This is due to the particular situation in Hamburg following the mass attacks. Police Commissioner Hans Kehrl had requested 450 concentration camp prisoners from Neuengamme during the first attack, in order to deploy them for the especially unpleasant work of retrieving corpses and the dangerous task of removing unexploded bombs. As the city administration failed to retrieve corpses, the Repair Service of the Air Raid Protection Police assumed this task. The prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade II were also part of the Chief of Police's "Auxiliary Force." They are said to have been deployed in accordance with instructions of the Air Raid Protection Police.¹¹

Once the prisoners sealed the Dead Zone, they were initially occupied with the essential task of recovering corpses, which were present in their thousands in the burned-out area. In the summer heat, the prisoners recovered the already bloated corpses, pulled them from the canals, sorted the body parts, and laid them out to be taken away. This was horrible work. According to Pawel Wasiljewitsch Pawlenko, their "hair stood on end."¹² There is a series of photos that records this work. It shows the SS and Police guards supervising the work from a proper distance.¹³ The recovery of bodies remained the main task of the construction brigade for a long time. According to reports of the WVHA, by the end of September 1943 the prisoners had buried a third of the bomb victims of Hamburg. In January 1944, the Repair Service was still looking for more than 5,000 bodies under the rubble. Some 57 recovery squads were deployed to recover the bodies. The prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade II formed 37 of these squads. One month later, 40 of the 45 squads consisted of concentration camp prisoners.¹⁴ One detachment, initially consisting of 20 but later 80 prisoners, worked at the Ohlsdorf Cemetery and either dug mass graves or unloaded and transported the bodies that came from the city.¹⁵

In addition, recovery detachments were also used to secure building material and also supplies such as items of furniture and clothing and items of value. The resultant corruption and misappropriation came to the attention of the Berlin authorities.¹⁶ In the course of time, according to one survivor, 48 railway carriages, filled with cars, radios, typewriters, clothes, alcohol, furs, and other objects, were moved illegally to Berlin from Hamburg by the SS-Baubrigade II.¹⁷ This cannot have been the only case of private racketeering, but it is an example of robbery on a grand scale, protected at the highest level. A note in a report, which was sent by Hans Kammler (Head of Amt C of the WVHA) to Heinrich Himmler in April 1944, supports this conclusion. There it is stated: "Some of the valuable items recovered from the destroyed

houses and factories have been made available in the Neuengamme concentration camp to the Central Building Administration and Amt WI."¹⁸

The deployment of the construction brigade in Hamburg meant for the Neuengamme concentration camp prisoners a partial breakdown of their isolation. A report of the Neuengamme camp association states: "Many of the Neuengamme prisoners' connections with the Hamburg population originate also from the period 1943/44. During this time different resistance groups kept contact with the anti-Fascist groups within the camp. The prisoners of war and the forced laborers, above all, made contacts. Leaflets arrived at the camp, assistance was organized, news was exchanged—without which organized resistance would not have been possible."¹⁹ It was possible for individual prisoners from the construction brigade to escape. Thus, in April 1944, the camp elder, Karl W., thanks to the help of a guard and a resistance group consisting of workers from Blohm & Voss, was able to flee.²⁰

There are limited details on the number of deaths in the camp of the SS-Baubrigade II in Hamburg. In the death lists of the Neuengamme infirmary, there are 4 entries for the period from August 1943 to April 1944, which referred to the SS-Baubrigade II in Hamburg. According to this list, 23-year-old Pole Rydzard Nowak was executed there on October 1, 1943. Another Pole, Franciszek Kubiak, died from a fractured skull in November. In addition, a German and Belgian prisoner died, respectively, in December 1943 and March 1944.²¹ When compared with other camps, 4 deaths in a detachment that at least in August 1943 consisted of around 930 and for the first quarter of 1944 had an average of 772 prisoners is a small number. It is true that the "death books" are in general not a reliable source, but the numbers are supported by statements of former prisoners. The Kapos were for the most part political prisoners who "properly did their duty."²² The ability to obtain supplies from the rubble was also of considerable significance for the prisoners.

After the war, several prisoners accused SS members of the construction brigade of throwing gas bombs into the shelters with the aim of killing and robbing the occupants. Due to these accusations, preliminary proceedings were commenced in 1948 against Johann Karger in Hamburg. The results are not known as the files were destroyed by the Hamburg State Prosecutor before the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) became interested in the SS-Baubrigade II.²³ Gerhard Weigel was also never the subject of any legal proceedings. In Hamburg, there is nothing that commemorates the prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade II.

SOURCES Despite the comparatively good primary sources, it was only relatively late that the Hamburg SS-Baubrigade II became the subject of research; see Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft und KZ: Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005). Previously, a few photographs and documents as part of an exhibition had been shown in Neuengamme and printed in Ulrich Bauche et al., eds., *Arbeit und Vernichtung. Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945*.

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Katalog zur ständigen Ausstellung im Dokumenthaus der KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Hamburg: Aussenstelle des Museums für Hamburgische Geschichte, 1990), pp. 219–224.

It is true that there is no complete collection of sources, but contemporary documents are infrequently to be found in the StA-HH, above all in the collections Baudeputation (321-2), Baubehörde I (321-3-I), Architect Gutschow (322-3), Polizeibehörde (331-1), and Senatskanzlei (131-2, 131-3). The WVHA Reports on the construction brigade are held by the BA-B (NS 19/14). Of particular significance are the judicial files of the BA-L (IV 406 AR 245/69) and the reports of former prisoners in the archives of the AG-NG and the FGNS-H (Hans Schwarz Archive).

On the impact of the bombings of Hamburg, see Ursula Büttner, “Hamburg im Luftkrieg. Die politischen und wirtschaftlichen Folgen des ‘Unternehmens Gomorrah,’” in *Städte im Zweiten Weltkrieg. Ein internationaler Vergleich*, ed. Marlene P. Hiller, Eberhard Jäckel, and Jürgen Rohwer (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 1991), pp. 272–298.

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1. Geheimbericht des hamburgischen Polizeipräsidenten über die schweren Luftangriffe auf Hamburg im Juli/August 1943, StA-HH, 731-6/I.
2. SS-WVHA, November 9, 1943, BA-B, NS 19/14, pp. 26–27.
3. Wenzel W., May 20, 1957, BA-L, IV 406 AR 594/73, pp. 242–244; Günther R., March 20, 1975, *ibid.*, IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, pp. 820–822; Mieczysław M., January 19, 1970, *ibid.*, IV 429 AR 1938/66, p. 148.
4. Senatskanzlei, Protokoll, August 11 and 12, 1943, StA-HH, 131-2/B 3; Architect Gutschow, minutes of a meeting held on August 9 and 11, 1943, *ibid.*, 322-3/B 8.
5. Cemetery Administration, August 24, 1943, and September 24, 1943, StA-HH, Cemetery Administration 58; Mieczysław M., January 19, 1970, *ibid.*, IV 429 AR 1938/66, p. 148; Georg M., March 30, 1962, FGNS-H, 13-7-0-2; Baudeputation, Monatsbericht October 1943, StA-HH, B321-2/B121; Günther R., March 20, 1974, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, pp. 820–822; Antoni Papiernik, September 8–9, 1991, AG-NG, Interview Nr. 1573; Ernst B., February 28, 1946, BA-K, Y 5/V 279/70.
6. See Karl W., September 5, 1966, FGNS-H, 13-7-0-3; Mieczysław M., January 19, 1970, BA-L, IV 429 AR 1938/66, p. 148; Ernst F., April 18, 1950, in BA, BY 5/V 279/74.
7. Cited by Renate Hauschild-Thiessen, *Die Hamburger Katastrophe vom Sommer 1943 in Augenzeugenberichten* (Hamburg: Verlag Verein für Hamburgische Geschichte, 1993), p. 97.
8. SS-WHVA, report November 9, 1943, BA-B, NS 19/14, pp. 27–28.
9. P 52.858, P 52.859, P 52.860, StA-HH, 731-6, I/18 A 1 27.
10. Building Authority, monthly report October 1943, StA-HH, B 321-2/B 121.
11. Polizeipräsident, October 15, 1943, StA-HH, 331-1 I Polizeibehörde I/1144.

12. Pawel Wasiljewitsch Pawlenko, May 19, 1992, AG-NG, Interview Nr. 1576.

13. Photographs in StA-HH, 731-6, I/3a, Part 2, Annexure 9, P. 19, Pictures 3 and 4.

14. Polizeibehörde, January 3 and March 1, 1944, StA-HH, 331-I, Polizeibehörde I/650.

15. Baudeputation, September 24, 1943, *ibid.*, B321-2/B-122.

16. For more details, see Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft und KZ: Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005).

17. Karl W., September 5, 1966, FGNS-H, 13-7-0-3.

18. SS-WHVA, 29.4.1944, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 41.

19. Report in FGNS-H, Estate of Hans Schwarz, 13-7-5-5.

20. Subcamp death reports, March 31, 1943, to March 17, 1944, FGNS-H, Estate of Hans Schwarz.

21. See BA-L, IV 406 AR 245/69, p. 233. The proceedings in Hamburg had the reference 14 Js 262/48.

22. Georg M., March 30, 1962, FGNS-H, 13-7-0-2.

23. See BA-L, IV 406 AR 245/69, p.223. The proceedings were conducted in Hamburg with the reference 14 Js 262/48.

HESDIN (BUCHENWALD) (SS-BB V)

A subcamp of the SS-Baubrigade V stationed in Doullens existed in Hesdin, a small village in the northwest French region Pas-de-Calais, from March 1944 until probably August 1944. The camp housed between 500 and 600 prisoners who were to build a base for the V weapons (*Vergeltungswaffe*). They were accommodated in a Napoleonic cavalry barracks, La Frézelière, which was surrounded by a high wall and barbed wire. From here, work detachments were sent to an Organisation Todt (OT) camp in Bergueneuse and a camp in the vicinity of Mimoyecques.

A few details of the camp history are known, thanks to the memoirs of Tomasz Kuryłow.¹ Kuryłow, as a 17-year-old, was forcibly removed from White Russia for forced labor and, following an act of sabotage in a factory, was first transferred to a work education camp (*Arbeitserziehungslager*). From there he was then transported to Buchenwald. He was part of the second transport of the SS-Baubrigade V, which in March 1944 was sent to France via Cologne. As with many other prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade V, he hoped to be able to escape there. He wrote the following about the departure from Cologne: “The screaming SS men drove us into the goods wagons. As usual there was very little space. Nevertheless, we were in good humour—we were travelling to France, the land of our dreams.”²

In fact, the situation for the prisoners in France was significantly better than in Germany, because the population there openly showed their sympathy to the prisoners. On their arrival in Hesdin, during the march to the barracks, the population’s support was obvious. Upon seeing them, someone yelled: “They are indeed thin, these unfortunates.” French men and women questioned the prisoners and, once they had heard that they were political prisoners, brought them food. Kuryłow wrote, “After work we returned along

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

Rue Farée. It seemed that in this street every inhabitant was our friend. Food packages were secretly thrown from windows and doors.”³

The prisoners worked mostly in the surrounding forests, where they built bunkers and shelters. A smaller detachment was busy in a mechanical workshop in Hesdin, working with lathes and repairing vehicles. Kiryłłow described the work done in the forest as follows: “The sweat ran down my face. Above me stood an SS man. I loaded the barrow as quickly as I could, but the SS man was not satisfied. He asked me. ‘Can’t you work?’ Obviously he did not like me. . . . Before the departure from Buchenwald I weighed forty-eight kilos [106 pounds]. The barrow laden with soil weighed definitely more than that. It was only my will that kept me on my feet.”⁴ Kiryłłow was spared, but a little later the same SS man shot his friend Piotr Majczenko.

In addition to the daily struggle for survival, the prisoners were mainly occupied with how to make contact with the French resistance and organize an escape. After a few prisoners had already escaped, the controls in the camp were tightened. The SS examined the prisoners for smuggled civilian clothes or searched for secret messages written in French. Once, when a note was found on a prisoner during a search on which was written in French a plea for food, the SS men beat the man to death. The camp elder, Heinz Schäfer, a Communist prisoner, was punished by the camp commander, by being sent to a bomb search detachment. According to the Buchenwald concentration camp “Death Book,” Schäfer died on May 28, 1944, in Hesdin when a dud detonated.⁵

By this time, Kiryłłow had already escaped. He had managed to make contact with the commander of the resistance group *Francs-Tireurs et Partisans Français* in Blangy-sur-Ternoise, Marcel Huleux. In the following weeks the group tried to help more prisoners escape from the camp. After the withdrawal of the SS-Baubrigade V from northwest France, Kiryłłow remained with the partisans in the country around Hesdin.

Sometime in August 1944, the subcamp was dissolved, and the prisoners, probably via Doullens, arrived back in Germany. They were distributed among various Buchenwald camps in the Harz Mountains. In October 1944, they were taken over by the newly built Mittelbau concentration camp.

SOURCES A small camp museum was established in Hesdin. There, among other things, are kept lists of the names of prisoners. Besides the memoirs of Tomasz Kiryłłow, “*Und ihr werdet doch verlieren.*” *Erinnerungen eines polnischen Antifaschisten* (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1985), the sources on the Doullens subcamp (BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 207/73; THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald) offer starting points for further research.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Tomasz Kiryłłow, “*Und ihr werdet doch verlieren.*” *Erinnerungen eines polnischen Antifaschisten* (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1985), pp. 124–201.

2. Ibid., p. 127.

3. Ibid., p. 146.

4. Ibid., p. 134.

5. THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald and Prisons, Nr. 5, vol. 14.

HOHLSTEDT (MITTELBAU) (SS-BB I)

The camp in Hohlstedt, a subcamp of the SS-Baubrigade I stationed in Sollstedt, was constructed in October 1944. About 200 prisoners were held at first in forest bunkers until they had constructed the barracks. Among the prisoners was a large group of former members of the Wehrmacht. The prisoners worked mostly for the German railways at the Sangershausen railway junction, but from time to time, they were engaged in other tasks. The guards were not only from the SS; some were armed members of the German railways.

The survivors of Hohlstedt recall particularly bad food, mistreatment at work, nightlong roll calls in the rain, the cold, and executions, above all of Polish and Soviet prisoners.

Around April 6, 1945, the prisoners at the Sollstedt camp were sent to Hohlstedt. The evacuation of the SS-Baubrigade I to the Mauthausen subcamp Steyr-Münichholz began a day later.

SOURCES Only a few statements recorded in investigation proceedings, which are kept in the BA-L (IV AR-Z 57/67 and 410 AR 63/77), provide information about this camp. Jens-Christian Wagner has collected other widely distributed bits of information on this camp in his monograph on the Mittelbau concentration camp: *Produktion des Todes. Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2001).

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KÖLN (BUCHENWALD) (SS-BB III)

The SS-Baubrigade III in Cologne was established on September 21, 1942; it was one of the first concentration camp subcamps and was formed to clean up destroyed cities. It was stationed in Cologne prior to the SS-Baubrigade I and II and remained there until May 1944. It formed a number of subcamps in Rhineland and Westfalia.

The establishment of the subcamp in Cologne was the result of steps taken by Gauleiter Josef Grohé as well as later provisional lord mayor Robert Brandes. Following the Royal Air Force major offensive on May 30–31, 1942, both sought support in Berlin for the heavily destroyed Rhine metropolis. Grohé personally repeatedly contacted Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler and in the autumn of 1942 accompanied him, when he was on an inspection of bombed cities and stayed in Cologne.

On September 21, 1942, an advance detachment of 300 Buchenwald prisoners arrived in Cologne. They were accompanied by the camp commandant, Hermann Pister, and Karl Völkner, who was to be the commander of the construction brigade.¹ The prisoners were accommodated in the center of



SS-Baubrigade III removes corpses in Cologne in this annotated photo by Josef Fischer, July 1943. The annotation reads, "Inmates of a concentration camp carry corpses on a ladder to the truck, early July 1943." NS-Dok

the city, in the trade fair area of Cologne Deutz at the Rhine, opposite the cathedral. The prisoners began with the construction of their quarters in the northeast corner on the first floor of the Congress Hall (Kongresshalle), the present-day Rhine-Hall (Rheinsaal). On the ground floor were the canteen and a changing room. The premises immediately in front of the hall was fenced off and used as a roll-call parade ground. The only entrance to the camp was in the vicinity of the trade fair tower. At the entrance was a guardhouse. The SS guards patrolled outside the fence with dogs. The SS guards and camp administration were quartered in the trade fair tower and the neighboring buildings.

By the beginning of November 1942, the number of prisoners had been increased to 1,000. By March 1943, due to deaths, the transport of sick prisoners to Buchenwald, and the transfer of prisoners to other camps, the number of prisoners had dropped to 531. In the summer of 1943, Cologne was the subject of renewed large Allied air attacks. Thereafter, Himmler, following an agreement with Albert Speer, ordered that the construction brigades in the Rhineland be doubled in size.² By July 1943, the SS-Baubrigade III had more than 1,000 prisoners at its disposal. Between September 1942 and May 1944, all in all around 6,000 prisoners went through the camps of the SS-Baubrigade III.³

The commander of the Construction Brigade III Köln was Karl Wilhelm Völkner, who was born on February 26, 1898, in

Quedlinburg, in the Harz Mountains, had worked as a master plumber, and joined the Nazi Party (NSDAP) and the SS in 1932.⁴ Völkner, who had been decorated as an aviator several times during World War I, was called up to the Luftwaffe in August 1939. He was dismissed from service and joined an SS-Death's Head Unit and transferred in January 1940 to an SS-Guard Bataillon at the Buchenwald concentration camp. He was promoted on January 30, 1943, to SS-Obersturmführer, receiving the status equal to a commander of a construction brigade. Former prisoner Toni Fleischhauer described Völkner as follows: "He was not inclined to personally commit acts of violence. On the contrary, he was usually happy to warmly greet each prisoner. When he was drunk, he showed sentimentally accentuated comradeship. . . . To me his strongest characteristic was his pronounced desire to have possessions. He understood his function as incorporating the possibility to enrich himself. So he tried to please his superiors. That meant that he supplied, according to demand, presents or dead people."⁵

On average, 30 SS men were assigned to guard the approximately 1,000 prisoners. The largest part of the guards consisted of local police. In November 1943, 910 prisoners worked on each Sunday in Cologne guarded by 3 SS guards and 90 policemen.⁶

Daily, the prisoners were tortured by the SS men, especially during the first three months. Alexander Malofejew wrote: "They beat the prisoners and they succeeded to suppress their human dignity to such an extent that they paid no regard to age or nationality (I am thinking here of the German prisoners). You were beaten because you did not pay sufficient attention to the SS or simply because wounds in your face should not heal, because you walked too slowly in the camp, because you spoke German, because you did not speak German, because you worked too slowly, etc."⁷

It was only with an increased deployment of older policemen and auxiliary police forces that, according to former prisoners' reports, the terror receded. The worsening military situation changed the guards' mentality; as Askold Kurov notes, "They [the policemen] became human only after Stalingrad and when Köln lay in ashes."⁸

Also, the internal power structure was of considerable significance for the prisoners' conditions of survival. During the first five months, there was a power struggle between a corrupt clique of prisoner-functionaries and political prisoners. Alfred Müller, the camp elder from Buchenwald sent to Construction Brigade III Köln, called by the prisoners "Bloody Müller," was found hung in December 1942. It was not possible to clarify whether this was a targeted resistance act, suicide, or murder by another "criminal" Kapo. In February 1943, camp leader Völkner, under pressure from political prisoners, transferred the rest of the disliked Kapos to Neuen-gamme, which resulted in a marked drop of the death rate. Most of the deaths in the Construction Brigade III Köln camp from this time were the result of delayed explosions of bombs, bomb attacks, or work accidents.⁹

The city office of the Head of Emergency Measures (Leiter der Sofortmassnahmen) located in the Building Administra-

tion Office, and which had an office on the premises of the Cologne Trade Fair, was responsible for the allocation of work detachments throughout the city. The prisoners removed rubble from houses and streets; they also recovered and loaded valuables such as wood, tiles, or metal at just about every destroyed site in the city area. The prisoners rescued people trapped in the rubble after air raids, recovered corpses, and were deployed to dig graves in cemeteries. During the months of July, August, and September 1943, the Baubrigade III alone recovered 4,500 corpses and “placed them in coffins during day long operations.”¹⁰ Prisoner crews were often drawn on to assist where there were shortages: in building air-raid shelters, working on public utilities, constructing auxiliary homes, or working in “vital” war industries.

Prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade III Köln were, under the supervision of craftsmen, dispatched along with inmates from other subcamps to almost all cities in the 6th Defense District to work in the dangerous “bomb disposal squads.” For example, the detachments worked from March to September 1943 in Elberfeld-Barmen, Essen, Bochum, Dortmund, Aachen, Jülich, Mönchengladbach, Krefeld, Wesel, Gelsenkirchen, Bottrop, Mülheim an der Ruhr, Hagen, Witten, and Schwelm. Between July 1943 and March 1944, the demolition squads of the SS-Baubrigade III eliminated, according to SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) reports, around 8,000 bombs.¹¹ Most of the time, after their mission, the prisoners returned to the camp of the construction brigade. Over a longer period, bomb disposal squads were established in Bochum, Dortmund, and Düsseldorf.

The level of illness among the prisoners was permanently high. This was due to the inadequate diet and the physically and mentally demanding work. For medical care, there was only an inadequately equipped infirmary with 12 beds for the prisoners. At the same time, the prisoners had already arrived half-starved and ill from Buchenwald. Alojzy Wasilewski provides an example—he was 180 centimeters (71 inches) tall but weighed only 56 kilograms (123 pounds).¹² By transporting off selected prisoners, the SS-Baubrigade III was able to maintain productivity. The selections were done by SS-Oberscharführer Gustav Schmidt from Buchenwald and a contract doctor, SS-Untersturmführer Erich Möllenhoff, from Cologne. Between September 1942 and February 1944, more than 400 prisoners declared unfit to work were transferred to Buchenwald and replaced with other prisoners.¹³ In addition, there were transfers to Buchenwald as disciplinary measures, for example, when prisoners attempted to make contact with the civilian population. From the prisoners’ point of view, the subcamp was distinguished from the main camp in that the terrain of rubble offered better escape opportunities to the work detachments. It also appears that support especially from forced laborers and opponents of the regime, albeit only a few, was relatively high in the Cologne area.

From April 1943 the Cologne State Police used the camp of the SS-Baubrigade III to hold so-called work education prisoners (*Arbeitserziehungshäftlinge*). Some of the prisoners had been arrested on political grounds and were held there by

the Gestapo until a “Protective Custody Order” was issued. The largest group of *Arbeitserziehungslager* (AEL) prisoners were Poles or Soviets who spent a few weeks with the construction brigade and were then again released to their jobs. Several hundred Gestapo prisoners, marked with a white stripe on the exterior of their clothing, were incarcerated with the construction brigade. On May 8, 1944, a few days before the SS-Baubrigade III was transferred to the Harz Mountains, there were still 287 concentration camp prisoners and 576 Gestapo prisoners in the camp.¹⁴

In May 1944, the withdrawal of the construction brigade from Cologne began, despite the protests of the Gau Administration and the City Administration. The majority of the prisoners were assigned to the SS-Baubrigade V. On May 10, 287 prisoners from Construction Brigade III Köln and 131 prisoners from the Duisburg subcamp were transported to Wieda in the Harz.¹⁵ Other subcamps of the Buchenwald concentration camp remained: the bomb disposal squad at Kalkum, the detachment Napola at Bensberg, the German Earth and Stone Works (DESt) factory at Essen and Düsseldorf, as well as camp “Berta” at Rheinmetall-Borsig.¹⁶

None of those responsible for the Construction Brigade III Köln camp were ever put before a German court for crimes committed there. In the 1960s, a few of them were living undetected in Cologne and obviously without any fear of the judiciary: such as Karl Völkner, Erich Möllenhoff, or Josef Grohé. Following prior investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL), the Cologne State Prosecutor began a systematic investigation in 1968. In 1975, however, the investigation ceased.

The existence of the subcamp first came to the attention of the people of Cologne in the 1980s because of the committed efforts of a number of individuals. Since 1993, a memorial stone, erected on the banks of the Rhine at Deutz, commemorates the SS-Baubrigade III. Since 1990, the city of Cologne, in recognition of the responsibility it had for the deployment of concentration camp prisoners, has conducted a program enabling survivors of forced labor to visit the city.¹⁷

SOURCES Karola Fings’s *Messelager Köln. Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne: Emons, 1996) provides a monograph about Construction Brigade III Köln. In comparison with other SS-Baubrigaden, there is sufficient documentation on Construction Brigade III Köln. In addition to contemporaneous sources in the THStA-W (NS 4 Buchenwald and Prisons) as well as the investigation files of the BA-L (IV 406 AR 85/67, IV 429 AR 1304/67) and NWHStA-(D) (Ger. Rep. 118/1174-1190, 1138-1349), the most important sources are around 30 interviews with survivors of the camp, which are kept in the NS-Dok.

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NOTES

1. Heinrich Himmler, September 18, 1942, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 136; report on numbers, September 21, 1942, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 146; statutory declaration

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by Völkner, December 12, 1961, BA-L, IV 429 AR 1304/67, p. 43.

2. Oswald Pohl, July 8, 1943, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 19; Himmler telephone diary note, July 9, 1943, BA-B, NS 19/1440, p. 29.

3. See the tables in Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln. Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne: Emons, 1996), pp. 218–233.

4. BDC/SSO, RS, in BA-B; and denazification court proceedings against Völkner, BA-K, Z 42 V/3772.

5. Report Toni Fleischhauer, n.d. (November 1962), BA-L, IV 429 AR 1304/67, pp. 26–27.

6. SS-Baubrigade III, December 4, 1943, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 229, p. 115.

7. Alexander Malofejew, July 9, 1987, NS-Dok, Biographical Collection Forced Labor.

8. Askold Kurow, n.d. (ca. 1982), *ibid.*

9. See tables in Fings, *Messelager*, pp. 231–235.

10. WVHA, November 9, 1943, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 28.

11. WVHA, November 9, 1943, February 16, 1944, April 29, 1944, *ibid.*, pp. 29, 35–36, 42.

12. Alojzy Wasileski, Letters and Documents, NS-Dok, Z 10.554.

13. Fings, *Messelager*, p. 125.

14. KL Buchenwald (Work Statistics), May 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 230, p. 80.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 77–78.

16. KL Buchenwald, Prisoner Office, June 23, 1944, in NWHStA-(D), Court Reports 118/1176.

17. Karola Fings, *Begegnungen am Tatort. Besuchsprogramme für ehemalige Zwangsarbeiter/innen, Kriegsgefangene und KZ-Häftlinge. Ein Leitfaden* (Düsseldorf: Hans-Böckler-Stiftung, 1993).

KORTEMARK AND PROVEN, BELGIUM

(NEUENGAMME, BUCHENWALD)

(SS-BB I)

The SS-Baubrigade I was stationed in Kortemark and Proven, Belgium, for barely five weeks, from July 28 until September 2, 1944. When it became necessary to withdraw the SS-Baubrigade I from Alderney, due to the Allied landing in Normandy, the prisoners were to construct launching pads for V-1 rockets in Belgium. The responsible Wehrmacht Field Construction unit organized the necessary accommodations in the planned operational area in Flanders, north of Poperinge between Diksmuide and Kortemark.¹

Of the original 1,000 prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade I, only 570 made it to Belgium. Two camps were constructed to hold the prisoners: the main camp at Kortemark held about 350 prisoners in a school in the suburb of Markhove, and a group of around 220 prisoners were sent to Proven near Ypres. Due to this change, the construction brigade was now under the command of the Buchenwald concentration camp; on August 5, 1944, there followed the administratively required re-writing of the prisoner numbers.² The assumption of responsibility by Buchenwald made sense so far as the work of

the SS-Baubrigade I corresponded to that of SS-Baubrigade V. Its SS commander, Gerhard Weigel, instructed the SS-Baubrigade I in the works in Belgium.

With the stationing in Belgium the SS were confronted with a totally new situation. For the first time they and the SS-Baubrigade I were operating in hostile territory. The hostile attitude of the French population, attacks by partisans, and the fact that none of the prisoners who escaped were recaptured showed that maintaining control over the camp was much more difficult. In Belgium, the SS were confronted not only with a population openly helping the prisoners but also with armed attempts to help prisoners escape.

When the train reached Belgium, the prisoners found full sympathy on the part of the population. Willi Kreuzberg stated: “Everyone waved and greeted them! The Belgians quickly grasped who we were. Cigarettes were thrown to us. The SS became anxious and pushed those back who could be seen from the windows. We were not intimidated. We felt, that whoever managed to escape here would be accepted and hidden.”³ The contrast to the situation in Germany was almost unbelievable for the prisoners. Helmut Koeller remembered: “We prisoners in Flanders had perhaps a life; it was the best of all times in the concentration camp! The Belgian people brought us prisoners everything; tobacco in abundance (many of us had hoarded whole pillows of it!), bread and fruit, sweets, sugar, milk, etc. In addition, the Belgian Red Cross brought us three times a week sweets, fruit and tobacco!”⁴

Since the supply lines broke down due to acts of sabotage, the workload of the prisoners was to a certain extent bearable. Targeted acts of sabotage, destruction from air raids, and the advance of the Allied forces caused 10 of the 12 landing ramps built by the prisoners never to become operational. Belgian farmers, who supplied the water needed to set the concrete at the sites and who were overwhelmingly part of the Belgian resistance, also helped prisoners to escape. The brazenness with which the escapes were organized almost on a daily basis was a clear indication to the SS that they were operating in enemy territory. Once a detachment with three prisoners and two Wehrmacht guards drove with a truck to a building site, a car followed them, giving the prisoners a signal to jump and to flee. When the prisoners hesitated and pointed to the guards, the civilians in the car drew a machine pistol and directed it at the guards.⁵

Searches for escaped prisoners were not only fruitless, but the SS guards had to consider that they could be killed by resistance fighters when searching for the prisoners. Therefore, if there was an indication of an escape, the guards made rigorous use of their weapons. The former prisoner Heinrich Dick described how, from a 10-man detachment that worked at a building site in Poperinge, no one was left:

Once when we delivered cement on a lorry to a building site six Russians escaped. The SS guard ran after them, fired at them, but returned unsuccessfully. He then shot the remaining three Russians with a pistol. I was the only survivor of ten men. . . .

Hoegelow (chief of the SS-guards) learned of this incident shortly thereafter, when we returned to the camp. We were not permitted to go out the next day because the guards were searching for the escapees. They did not capture any, but one of the guards was missing. He was found in the evening—shot with his dog. Hoegelow then said that those who saw the incident would be taken away. Since I was the only survivor it could only have meant me. I therefore fled the camp the next day together with a Russian.⁶

The prisoner losses for the few weeks in Belgium were enormous. When the construction brigade was forced to withdraw due to the advancing Allied forces, there were around 130 prisoners missing. Most of them must have escaped since there were only 8 registered deaths for that period.⁷ Many prisoners fled on the day on which they were to be transferred. Under no circumstances were they going to be transported to Germany in view of the imminent liberation. On the morning of September 1, 1944, a group of 39 prisoners overran the SS post inside the walled-in schoolyard in Markrove and fled in different directions. Several prisoners were shot, but most of them indeed succeeded in escaping.

The transport of the SS-Baubrigade I that followed was marked by the simultaneous retreat of German troops, the parallel flight of German civilians, and direct war activities—all through a landscape in which ammunition and food depots had been blown up and were burning, as well as bridges and railroad tracks that had been destroyed. The SS, now extremely nervous, fought with all available means through the war zone. As with the retreat from Alderney, here, too, the SS troupe had to make forced stops because of destroyed or captured areas that had to be circumvented.

Via Ghent and near Brussels, the train reached, after four days since departure, the Dutch border town of Budel. There the train was derailed since the partisans had destroyed the tracks. Wittwer, the SS Labor Service leader of the construction brigade Commander Georg Braun, and Chief of Guards Hoegelow forced civilians to search for a new locomotive and the prisoners to lay bypass railroad tracks. Wittwer returned with several captured Dutch men, who were interrogated by Braun and Hoegelow. Six of them were shot on the spot.⁸

On September 6, 1944, at about 12:30 P.M., the train reached the German border. The former prisoner Helmut Knoeller described the suddenly changed situation: “Here in Germany was a completely different picture: The civilian population cheered the soldiers.”⁹ After another four days, the SS-Construction Brigade I, comprising 441 prisoners, arrived at its new destination, Sollstedt in Thüringen.

Among the escapees from Kortemark was Robert Prokop who had reached England via France, where he had joined a Czech Brigade. He returned to Kortemark with the Czech Brigade and learned that during an escape 15 prisoners had been killed and that the SS had buried them in a ditch alongside the road. The victims were later reburied in a mass grave at the local cemetery.¹⁰

After the war, not one of the responsible SS leaders was the subject of judicial proceedings for crimes committed in Kortemark. Investigations against Braun and Hoegelow for the shooting of Dutch civilians in Budel ended without results.

SOURCES The first written report about the camp was published as early as December 1944 in Kortemark by escaped prisoner Jan Woitas: G. Krijger, *Duitschlands Folerkampen, Oranienburg-Sachsenhausen, Amersfoort, Duisburg, Dusseldorf and the Island Alderney* (Kortemark: n.p., n.d. [December 1944]). It was only 60 years later that the camp was described in a study of the SS construction brigades: Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft und KZ: Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005). Few documents on this camp can be found in files at the BA-L (410 AR 63/77 and IV 404 AR-Z 57/67), as well as in the archives of the AG-NG, AG-S, and FGNS-H (Hans Schwarz Archive).

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NOTES

1. WVHA, report on the SS-BB I and V—Construction of the Sites and Supply Facilities for V1 and V2 in the West, July 22, 1944, BA-B, NS 19/14, pp. 51–58.
2. See the Certificate of the ITS for Lang, BA-L, 410 AR 63/77; Buchenwald Concentration Camp, Head of Administration, September 26, 1944, ITS Archive, ISD-Technical Documents-Buchenwald File Nr. 184, pp. 100–111.
3. Willi Kreuzberg, *Schutzbäftlinge erlebten die Invasion* (Weimar: Thüringer Volksverlag, 1947), p. 29.
4. Helmut Knoeller, October 27, 1944, AG-NG, Nr. 1274.
5. Ibid.
6. Interview with Heinrich Dick, BA-L, 410 AR 63/77, pp. 219–220.
7. See the registration lists of SS-Construction Brigade Prisoners with numbers commencing at 88000 from August 3, 1944, to September 1, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald, Nr. 136a.
8. Proceedings in BA-L, 410 AR 63/77, pp. 13–14, 59–60, 94–95.
9. Helmut Knoeller, October 27, 1944, AG-NG, Nr. 1274.
10. Interrogation Robert Prokop, BA-L, IV 404 AR-A 57/67, pp. 260–272.

MACKENRODE (BUCHENWALD, MITTELBAU, AND SACHSENHAUSEN) (SS-BB III)

Between July 1944 and April 1945, Mackenrode, a small village in the Harz Mountains, was the site of a subcamp of the SS-Baubrigade III, which was stationed in Wieda. The prisoners were assigned to construct the 22-kilometer-long (13.7-mile-long) Helme Valley Railway, a railway stretch from Osterhagen to Nordhausen, thereby relieving the existing railway from Nordhausen to the west. On July 21, 1944, the

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first 150 prisoners were housed in a barracks camp not far from the village near present-day Federal Road (Bundesstrasse) 243. On July 30, another 150 prisoners occupied the barracks. The camp that consisted of three barracks located on Peterswiese was fenced in and had four guard towers. Mackenrode, with up to 475 prisoners, was the largest subcamp of SS-Baubrigade III. SS-Oberscharführer Walter Dotzauer was the camp commander. Directly opposite the entrance to the camp was a barrack for the guards, who were overwhelmingly soldiers from the Luftwaffe.

Aime Bonifas, who on September 2, 1944, was transferred from the external camp Laura via Dora to Mackenrode, described the peculiar closeness of the prison camp to the village as follows: "The camp was right next to the village of Mackenrode. We can recognize all the houses and the high tower of the Evangelic-Lutheran Church. The sight of the church in the days that followed was often a puzzle. It is not for me to judge and I do not know who congregated in the church, but how can one talk about heaven when you are so close to such injustices."¹ He wrote the following about the reaction of the local population: "Our construction sites were in several villages. The few locals who were seen on our way showed only contempt for us. Once a young girl spat on us."²

In order to construct the railway, the prisoners had to undertake heavy earthmoving work and clearing, mostly without the assistance of machinery or horses. The various work detachments had to walk several kilometers to the work sites. Work was often done on Sundays. Conditions in the camp deteriorated with the onset of winter. The prisoners waded through snow and mud, often without shoes, with torn clothes, without sufficient food, and without any hygienic care. From February 1945, a 150-strong prisoner detachment worked in Tettenborn; from there the existing railway line was to be connected by a branch line to the Helme Valley Railway. It is not clear whether a permanent camp had been set up for the duration of several weeks.

There are only a few reports of instances of death or acts of violence against the prisoners in the camp. An Italian prisoner, who was a stoker on a locomotive, was doused with boiling water during an accident in November 1944. He was taken to the infirmary in Wieda, where he died. In February 1945, it is said that the Belgian Josef Fruyt was beaten to death in the camp for stealing potatoes. From a report to the SS-Führungsstab (Leadership Staff) B 13, dated February 6, 1945, it is evident that two days earlier 10 prisoners from Mackenrode had been detailed for construction work, but the foreman changed the orders and had the prisoners load potatoes at a farm instead. It was here that the prisoners, including Fruyt, were said to have stolen potatoes.³

On April 6, 1945, the prisoners were taken on foot from Mackenrode to Wieda, where on April 7, 1945, the evacuation march of the SS-Baubrigade III began.

Six victims of the Mackenrode camp—a French man, a Belgian, two Poles, and two prisoners from the Soviet Union—were buried in the village cemetery. The bodies were exhumed after the war and reburied in Nordhausen.

SOURCES Further research could be based on Aime Bonifas, *Häftling 20.801. Ein Zeugnis über die faschistischen Konzentrationslager* (Berlin: Union-Verlag, 1983); and Firouz Vladi, "Der Bau der Hemetalbahn, der Zwangsarbeitseinsatz der III. und IV. SS-Baubrigade, die KZ-Aussenlager Mackenrode, Nüxei, Osterhagen und Wieda sowie Ellrich und Günzerode," in *Der Bau der Hemetalbahn. Ein Bericht von der Eisenbahngeschichte, den KZ-Häftlingslagern und der Zwangsarbeit im Südharz in den Jahren 1944–45 sowie den Evakuierungsmärschen im April 1945*, ed. Arbeitsgemeinschaft Spurensuche in der Südharzregion (Duderstadt: Mecke Druck, 2000), pp. 40–133.

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NOTES

1. Aime Bonifas, *Häftling 20.801. Ein Zeugnis über die faschistischen Konzentrationslager* (Berlin: Union-Verlag, 1983), p. 126.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

3. Firouz Vladi, "Der Bau der Hemetalbahn, der Zwangsarbeitseinsatz der III. und IV. SS-Baubrigade, die KZ-Aussenlager Mackenrode, Nüxei, Osterhagen und Wieda sowie Ellrich und Günzerode," in *Der Bau der Hemetalbahn. Ein Bericht von der Eisenbahngeschichte, den KZ-Häftlingslagern und der Zwangsarbeit im Südharz in den Jahren 1944–45 sowie den Evakuierungsmärschen im April 1945*, ed. Arbeitsgemeinschaft Spurensuche in der Südharzregion (Duderstadt: Mecke Druck, 2000), pp. 40–133.

NÜRNBERG (SACHSENHAUSEN)

[AKA 2. SS-BAUBRIGADE (E)] [SS-BB II]

The SS-Baubrigade II, last stationed in Berlin, in the middle of February 1945 was transformed into an SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade. Prisoners from the camps in Müggelheim and Friedrich-Krause-Ufer were gathered together in Berlin-Köpenick. They, together with other prisoners from a subcamp of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp in Berlin-Lichterfelde, had a strength of 504 men.

The prisoners were put on a train in Köpenick, which, as the 2. SS-Baubrigade (E), left the capital city on February 25, 1945. From February 14, 1945, the brigade was under the command of SS-Obersturmführer Karl Raab, who was born on January 6, 1895, in Atzgersdorf near Vienna. The guards, numbering between 60 and 70 men, were SS men deployed in Berlin. The destination of the construction brigade was the destroyed Nürnberg railway station, where cleanup work was to be done. As the train entered the station, the prisoners experienced a heavy bombing raid. Wenzel W. described this in his memoirs in 1957: "We prisoners experienced this attack in closed railway goods wagons. Only a few prisoners survived."¹

On March 12, 1945, following a large bombing raid on the city, around 30 starving prisoners set off on a search for food. As a deterrent, the SS instigated a horrible spectacle. Accord-

ing to a report from 1946, the prisoners were forced “to kneel with their foreheads on the ground for several hours during cold weather in fear of being shot if they moved.”² For theft, 3 of the prisoners were hanged from a railway wagon.³ According to the statement of a survivor, a prisoner did the hanging. Willy K. described the execution in March 1947 as follows: “Unfortunately one of our prisoners assumed the repulsive role as executioner for a bottle of alcohol and cigarettes. The prisoner, a German, was lynched by the other prisoners in Landshut after the liberation.”⁴

Landshut was the last destination of the construction brigade, which arrived there via Regensburg, in the middle March 1945. At night the train was shunted to Ahrain and during the day the construction brigade traveled to the Landshut Railway Station for cleaning-up work.

For the last months of the war, there are scarcely any sources, and reliable information about the 2. SS-Baubrigade (E) is not available. Details on the number of transfers of prisoners in the main camp or on escaped or dead prisoners are not possible, but it can be assumed that in the confusion of the last weeks of the war many prisoners were able to escape. A guard said in 1973: “The constant bombing raids and attacks by low flying fighters caused us to suffer losses. Prisoners and guards were killed or injured. . . . Because of the air raid alarms we only worked at night. Many prisoners used this as an opportunity to disappear.”⁵

Almost a month later, on April 27, some of the prisoners of the 2. SS-Baubrigade II (E) set off on foot from the Bavarian town of Landshut in several columns in the direction of Wasserburg. It is said that some of the prisoners remained with the train or, after the dissolution of the columns, returned to the train. On the march, the columns gradually broke up. On the way, a group of prisoners stayed in a barn, and several groups fled. Also, the SS disappeared. Survivors report that those not capable of marching were shot. Raab was last seen with the construction brigade on April 29, 1945. The remaining SS men fled from the approaching Americans on May 1. During the following night, the columns were freed. Another column is said to have been taken to Graz.⁶

Shortly after the liberation, a few prisoners returned to Landshut. They found the construction brigade’s train had been burned out.⁷ Many survivors of the 2. SS-Baubrigade (E) were marked for the rest of their lives by the many years they had spent in the concentration camps. Georg M. wrote the following in 1949: “After the entry of the Yanks I and many of my comrades from many nations celebrated in Landshut a reunion. We stayed there for six weeks recovering. I then made my way home. But I discovered that I no longer had a home. In September 1945, I lay down and almost forgot to get up. From this time my health is broken.”⁸

The State Prosecutor at the State Court in Nürnberg-Fürth investigated the hanging of three prisoners at the Nürnberg Railway Station but terminated the investigations on January 20, 1969. Later investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) on crimes com-

mitted by those in charge of the 2. SS-Baubrigade (E) did not result in a trial.

SOURCES Without the files of the Nürnberg State Prosecutor investigation (18 Js 680/67; BA-L, IV 1666/66) and the ZdL investigation (BA-L, IV 406 AR 594-596/73), it would not be possible today to reconstruct the last months of the SS-Baubrigade II, even in the outline presented here. They constitute the central source. See also Karola Fings, *Die Kommunen, der Krieg und die Konzentrationslager. Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2004).

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1. Wenzel W., May 20, 1957, BA-L, IV 406 AR 594/73, pp. 242–243.
2. Paul F., February 18, 1946, *ibid.*, IV AR 1616/66, p. 8.
3. Peter G., August 13, 1973, *ibid.*, IV 406 AR 594/73, p. 275.
4. Willy K., March 4, 1947, *ibid.*, p. 230.
5. Paul R., August 20, 1973, *ibid.*, p. 299.
6. Georg Merten, June 30, 1962, FZG, 13-7-0-2; Georg M., July 18, 1973, BA-L, IV 406 AR 594/73, pp. 239–240; Peter G., August 18, 1973, *ibid.*, pp. 274–275; Alexander P., March 28, 1973, *ibid.*, IV 404 AR-Z 159/73, p. 110.
7. Wenzel W., May 20, 1957, BA-L, IV 406 AR 594/73, p. 244.
8. Georg M., May 27, 1949, *ibid.*, IV 406 AR 595/73, p. 176d.

NÜXEI (BUCHENWALD, MITTELBAU, AND SACHSENHAUSEN) (SS-BB III)

Between May 1944 and April 1945, the SS-Baubrigade III, based in Wieda, had a subcamp in the Harz Mountains in the village of Nüxei, which consisted of only a few houses. The prisoners were to build a 22-kilometer-long (13.7-mile-long) railway line, designed to relieve the existing line between Osterhagen and Nordhausen. Probably in the middle of May 1944, 100 prisoners began fitting up a barn on a farm in Nüxei as accommodations for a camp. The SS confiscated a meadow after 2 prisoners escaped and had the camp constructed next to present-day Federal Road (Bundesstrasse) 243. An area of about 50 meters×50 meters (164 feet×164 feet) was fenced in and furnished with guard towers and searchlights. The quarters of the guards were in the immediate vicinity of the camp.

The camp is unusual because of its proximity to the village population. Wilhelm Walter, the owner of the farm, wrote in 1972:

One Sunday morning three trucks with about one hundred “Zebras” [concentration camp inmates in striped prisoner clothing] appeared on my farm. The guards seized my barn for use as a camp. . . . Immediately a mezzanine floor was constructed in

my barn to create two sleeping levels. The guards (Luftwaffe soldiers) were accommodated in the local pub and in two rooms of one of my worker's cottages. Once the beds etc. had been put in place, the camp was occupied by about three hundred prisoners. . . . Given the small area it was impossible to keep the prisoners separated from the German population and from the forced laborers.¹

After Karl Völkner, the SS camp commander of the SS-Baubrigade III, was relieved from his post in the summer of 1944, the prisoners in the Wieda and Nüxei camps were transported away and replaced with 300 new prisoners from the Buchenwald subcamp Dora. At the same time, conditions in the camp got worse. Walter reported on this as follows: "Everything changed on the evening of July 20. When the prisoners returned from work they were not allowed back into the camp. . . . All the prisoners were marched off in the direction of Wieda on the same evening. The Luftwaffe guards were immediately withdrawn. The new prisoners appeared the next day under the most severe guard of the SS."²

One of the new prisoners was Albert van Dijk, born in the Netherlands in 1924, who has described the Nüxei camp in detail in his memoirs. He wrote the following about the work: "At first we thought that we had come to a rest camp, but we soon found out that we had made a mistake. . . . The railway had to be built at an unimaginable pace, and large soil excavation was necessary which had to be done with primitive tools. . . . Soil was taken away in wheelbarrows on the run. The prisoners collapsed under the load of the railway ties and rails, which they had to carry. They were pulled up and continued to carry their load groaning. But the foremen demanded even more; the pace of work was increased excessively."³

Work on the railway ceased between the beginning of January and the middle of February 1945 because of low temperatures. During this period, the prisoners from Nüxei worked in two large underground installations in Woffleben, lengthening the grueling daily routine considerably.

The columns from the tunnel construction site marched in when we, who worked on the ramp or in the workshops, had already been standing and waiting for hours on the roll call square. We ate standing—in snow and frost. We slept without blankets; many prisoners lay on the bare floor as the stronger prisoners had taken the straw sacks from the weaker ones to use them as cover. The bread rations were constantly reduced; the small portions of margarine ceased; the soup was made from frozen and rotten rutabagas. Worn out shoes and clothes were not replaced and frostbite was very common. Hardly a day did pass without someone dying.⁴

Marcel Orset, a survivor, remembered the horrors of the last winter during the war: "Nüxei, was a slow struggle against death; I have terrible memories of the winter, frozen feet, a

serious leg injury; the danger of being transported away, the destruction, the dead comrades. The work? Not as brutal as in Osterhagen. Life in the camp? A lot of misery. In comparison to the hell in Osterhagen and if it had been summer one could have survived."⁵

Although the camp and surrounding community lived close together, it did not mean that the local population developed empathy for the prisoners and contributed something to improve the situation. On the contrary, it seemed that the situation worsened—the lack of sympathy for the starving prisoners, the pursuit of self-interest, and the missing political insight into the conditions of the concentration camp community helped in part to worsen the situation.

Van Dijk recalls a peculiar incident that occurred at Christmas in 1944. On the roll-call square Walter and representatives of the Mackenrode (Hohenstein) church had placed a large fir tree and had set a basket of presents at its base. The church choir arrived at the camp and sang Christmas carols. The would-be benefactors resented it when only the German Kapos joined in the singing. According to van Dijk:

As they refused to sing, the prisoners, as punishment, stood for longer than two hours almost like columns of ice around the Christmas tree with the barest of clothing in the frost. It was not even allowed to stamp your feet. The members of the church choir left to their houses, to the warm hearth. They took the basket with the little packages bitching about the incorrigible prisoners. Candlelight streamed from the window of the farmer's house and happy children's voices could be heard. The hands of the clock on Mackenroder church tower moved to twelve. Christmas had begun.⁶

Van Dijk describes an event that the farmer Walter left out of his report. A starving prisoner had caught a chicken that had entered the camp through the barbed-wire fence. He and a Russian prisoner were caught killing it. According to van Dijk, Walter, after the evening roll call, entered the camp in a rage and demanded punishment. A Kapo broke the wrist bones of the Russian, thrashed van Dijk, and crushed one of his fingers. Van Dijk was put on public display with a sign saying: "I am a chicken thief."

On April 5, 1945, the prisoners were taken on foot from Nüxei to Wieda, where the evacuation march of the SS-Baubrigade III began on April 7.

SOURCES The organization AgSSüHR has collected reports and documents about the Nüxei camp; see Firouz Vladi, "Der Bau der Helmetalbahn, der Zwangsarbeitseinsatz der III. und IV. SS-Baubrigade, die KZ-Aussenlager Mackenrode, Nüxei, Osterhagen und Wieda sowie Ellrich und Günzerode," in *Der Bau der Helmetalbahn. Ein Bericht von der Eisenbahngeschichte, den KZ-Häftlingslagern und der Zwangsarbeit im Südbar in den Jahren 1944–45 sowie den Evakuierungsmärschen im April 1945*, ed. AgSSüHR (Duderstadt:Verlag Mecke Druck, 2000), pp. 40–133.

Further research on Nüxei can be based on the primary and secondary sources provided for the Wieda subcamp.

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NOTES

1. Wilhelm Walter, April 1972, cited by Firouz Vladi, "Der Bau der Helmetalbahn, der Zwangsarbeitseinsatz der III. und IV. SS-Baubrigade, die KZ-Aussenlager Mackenrode, Nüxei, Osterhagen und Wieda sowie Ellrich und Günzerode," in *Der Bau der Helmetalbahn. Ein Bericht von der Eisenbahngeschichte, den KZ-Häftlingslagern und der Zwangsarbeit im Südbar in den Jahren 1944–45 sowie den Evakuierungsmärschen im April 1945*, AgSSüHR (Duderstadt: Verlag Mecke Druck, 2000), pp. 40–133.

2. Ibid., p. 127.

3. Albert van Dijk, "Das Aussenkommando Nüxei" (MSS, n.p., n.d.), cited in *ibid.*, p. 71.

4. Ibid., p. 73.

5. Marcel Orset, *Misère et mort, nos deux compagnes* (Chalons-sur-Saône: Self-published 1948), quoted in *ibid.*, p. 75.

6. Ibid., pp. 72–73.

OSNABRÜCK (NEUENGAMME) (SS-BB II)

The SS-Baubrigade II was formed in October 1942 in the Neuengamme concentration camp with 1,000 prisoners; 250 of them formed a subcamp in Osnabrück, which stayed there until May 1943. The decision to send a labor detail to Osnabrück also to remove debris from bomb damage was made on relatively short notice.¹ The city mayor, Erich Gärtner, may have had influence on the allocation of concentration camp prisoners, as in his capacity as head of both Emergency Measures (Leiter der Sofortmassnahmen) and Air Defense, he was responsible for all matters of removal of debris after bombing raids.

The prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade II arrived at Osnabrück no later than October 17, 1942, for on this day the first death is documented.² In the first few months of 1943 there was no further large bombing raid on Osnabrück. Therefore, the prisoners were withdrawn in May 1943, probably at the beginning of the month, and transferred to Bremen, Wilhelmshaven, and later Hamburg, despite the protests of the mayor.³

The labor detail occupied the Overberg School in a residential district of Osnabrück on the street of the same name. The gymnasium located between the two wings of the building served as the prisoners' accommodation. Looking from the street, the left wing had been destroyed by a direct hit of a bomb, and only its basement could be used. Here were the bath of the school, the storeroom, and the kitchen, in which students were taught cooking. In the basement of the right wing were the boiler room, the prisoners' kitchen, an infirmary, a small workroom, and a windowless partition. On the ground floor of the right wing were the quarters for the SS and the police reservists. The schoolyard was used for roll calls.⁴

Of all the construction brigade camps, the Osnabrück camp had the highest death rate; 86 prisoners died between October 1942 and March 1943 and are buried in the Heger cemetery—that is, within five months, one-third of the prisoners died. Responsible for the atrocious conditions was primarily the camp leader, who, together with a corrupt clique of prisoner-functionaries, terrorized the remaining prisoners as well as the surrounding community, which did not intervene despite the visibly dramatic conditions in the camp.⁵

Initially, the camp commander in Osnabrück was SS-Hauptscharführer Brinkmann. He was replaced in November 1942 by SS-Oberscharführer Walter Döring. Döring, born on March 1, 1906, in Eisenach, already had a career of several years as an SS man and as a concentration camp supervisor. From 1934, the trained butcher served as a member of the SS in Weimar, was then transferred to the SS barracks at the castle Lichtenburg in Prettin for disciplinary reasons, and from there went to the Buchenwald concentration camp in June 1937. In January 1941, he was sent to the Neuengamme concentration camp first as block and then as roll-call leader. Shortly before being ordered to Osnabrück, Döring is alleged to have been involved in the killing of a Soviet prisoner of war (POW).⁶ One of Döring's closest confidants within the camp community was the first Kapo, Wilhelm Leers. Leers was born in 1903 in Cologne. In February 1940, he was sent by the Criminal Investigation Department of the Police in Cologne as a "professional criminal" to Neuengamme.⁷ In Neuengamme, Leers revealed himself as a sadist, and this accounts for the criticism by political prisoners of his selection for Osnabrück. Of the remaining Kapos destined for Osnabrück, all of whom were citizens of the Reich, there were two political prisoners, Ernst Bonhoft and Fritz Bringmann, sent as orderlies.⁸ The remaining prisoners of the labor detail transported to Osnabrück were mostly Soviet citizens, but a few Poles, Yugoslavs, and Dutch are also mentioned.⁹

From January 1943, the unit of guards, besides a handful of SS men, consisted mostly of local auxiliary police, who as a rule were either self-employed or worked in the service sector, for example, as waiters or barkeepers, and the majority of them were born in the 1880s and 1890s. It is possible to conclude from the surviving personnel files that the police reservists, once they started "guarding prisoners," performed their duties without any noteworthy incident. There are no instances documented of frequent absences due to illness, of applications for transfer, or of disciplinary proceedings.¹⁰

The "Regime of Terror" established by Döring and Leers included the embezzlement of food on a grand scale, so that within a few weeks most of the prisoners lost weight in a "terrifying manner."¹¹ Iwan Andrejewitsch Slipatschenko desperately searched in the rubble for food to survive: "I could have eaten the sole of a shoe if it had been attractively packed. Goodness knows what I ate."¹² In addition to the hunger, lack of clothing and the high pace of work were the main reasons for the prisoners' visible deterioration. With Döring's arrival

in Osnabrück, the pace of work was increased, and rations were again reduced.¹³

Of the 250 prisoners, around 100 had physically wasted away by the end of 1942. On Döring's instructions, no more than 10 sick were allowed in the inadequate infirmary. When the prisoner orderlies brought up the untenable conditions with Döring, he demanded that they kill the sick with injections of gasoline, which they steadfastly refused despite mistreatment by Döring.¹⁴ As Döring wanted to get rid of the sick, he sent them to work where they were forced to work until they collapsed. Then they were doused with water and left lying in the cold until the prisoners returned to the camp. Bringmann wrote the following about this "treatment": "The majority did not survive until the return to the camp and died during the course of the day. The others got very rarely something to eat in the evening, but the cold water treatment was continued until they also met their fate."¹⁵

Leers also abused the prisoners with great brutality both on Döring's command and without. Once he chased a sick Soviet prisoner to work, beating him again and again, and when he was finally too weak to go, he hung him in the prisoners' quarters with his hands tied behind his back. Here he mistreated the helpless prisoner until he was unconscious—a torture that the prisoner did not survive.¹⁶ The 86 prisoners whose deaths are recorded in the Osnabrück camp were except for 1 all of Soviet nationality. One can conclude that the small "layer of leadership" in the camp consisting of German prisoners, which with a few exceptions belonged to Leers's clique, knew how to ensure their survival by means of brutality and corruption. The only possibility for the Soviet prisoners was to try and escape. Only a few were able to escape, and those caught had to expect to be shot. In at least two cases, Döring personally murdered the recaptured prisoners.¹⁷

Not only the guards but also the local inhabitants were daily witnesses to the brutal treatment of the prisoners. The school janitor, Fritz L., remained at his position, and the cooking courses, headed by the teacher Agnes W., continued for various groups of students.¹⁸ The violence that was meted out to the prisoners was visible. Agnes W. reported in 1950: "The schoolyard was open and the neighborhood children played there. They must have seen that the prisoners were treated badly, and they must have told their parents for the mothers complained to the SS or the Kapos. I was told by a woman, whose name I no longer remember, that she received the following reply: 'If the children are not hard yet, then they will have to become that way.'"¹⁹

The prisoners worked daily at several locations right in the middle of the city. The population could see that many of the prisoners were "completely run down, exhausted, and lacking any strength," collapsing while they labored.²⁰ They were also witnesses to the mistreatment meted out at the work sites. In 1950, a police reservist described the situation with the following words: "The prisoners were badly mistreated on the building sites. I saw countless cases. The so-called SS foremen and the Kapos committed the acts. The prisoners

were beaten on the head with wooden bars, so that they collapsed covered with blood and sometimes could not continue working for a considerable time."²¹

Comparing the change in the death rate over time with reports by surviving prisoners, it becomes clear that the systematic resistance by anti-Fascist and Communist prisoners finally led to an improvement in the conditions of the camp. Both Bringmann and Bonhoft as well as George Merten, who was deliberately sent in December 1942 from Neuengamme to Osnabrück, were instrumental in dismantling the power structure in the camp.²² With high personal risk, they resisted the instructions of Döring and repeatedly criticized his commands. Finally, they used the opportunity during his absence on leave at the beginning of March 1943 to draw the attention of the main camp to the intolerable conditions by pointing out the low efficiency of the camp. They systematically tried to weaken the front of the corrupt and brutal Kapos, fighting back against Leers in quite dangerous conflicts for months. Döring was replaced in March 1943 by an SS-Hauptscharführer Gehrts (possibly spelled Gerds or Geerds); Leers fled in April 1943 from the enraged fellow prisoners.²³

The Hamburg State Court sentenced Döring to prison for life in 1951; on appeal the sentence was reduced to two years. He was charged again in the middle of the 1950s and sentenced to a term of eight years in a penitentiary. Leers had been sentenced to death by a British military court as early as 1946, but the sentence was commuted, and in 1954 he was released from prison. Both town doctors, who issued the falsified death certificates, were questioned in the 1950s but never prosecuted.²⁴ Nothing at the Overberg School commemorates the infamous subcamp.

SOURCES The history of the Osnabrück construction brigade camp was given particular attention in a study of the SS-Construction Brigades: Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft und KZ: Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005). Before that, it had been mentioned with a marginal comment in an extremely apologetic city history, which covered up the responsibility of the city of Osnabrück for the camp and the extent of the crimes: Karl Kühling, *Osnabrück 1933–1945. Stadt im Dritten Reich* (Osnabrück: H.Th. Wenner, 1980), p. 149. Relatively early a survivor of the camp published important witness reports: Fritz Bringmann, *Häftlinge in der 2. SS-Baubrigade in Osnabrück* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1981).

Sources are to be found in the ASt-Os and the NStA-Os, Dep. 3 b XV and Dep. 3 b XIX, of which a few extracts have been published in an early volume on the Osnabrück camp: Ursula Fisser-Blömer, "Zwangsarbeit in Osnabrück. SS-Baubrigade, Kriegsgefangenen- und 'Arbeitserziehungslager,' *Antifa-Be-Os* 6 (1982): 23–29. Also relevant are the judicial files held by the BA-L, IV 406 AR 245/69, IV 406 AR 221/74, as well as the documents in the AG-NG (Interviews and Reports Nr. 141, 150, 153, 1576, 1602) and the FZG (Archive Hans Schwarz Totenbücher des KZ Neuengamme).

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NOTES

1. Senator für Bauwesen, October 7, 1942, StA-Br 4, 29/1-1307; SS-WVHA, Amt C, October 10, 1942, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 106.
2. Häftlings-Totennachweis ITS, BA-L, IV 406 AR 245/69, p. 239.
3. See statements in ZdL, BA-L, IV 406 AR 221/74, pp. 50, 54; correspondence in StA-Os, Dep. 3 b XIX 167.
4. Sketches in BA-L, IV 406 AR 221/74, pp. 38–39, 47.
5. See table of all deaths in Osnabrück in the appendix of Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft und KZ: Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005).
6. BA, BDC/RS, and Fritz Bringmann, September 3, 1948, BA-L, IV 406 AR 221/74, p. 6.
7. NWHStA-(D), BR 2034 VH I/170.
8. Fritz Bringmann, *Häftlinge in der 2. SS-Baubrigade in Osnabrück* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1981), pp. 38–50.
9. Fritz Bringmann, May 12, 1949, in BA-K, BY 5/279/74.
10. Thirteen personnel files of the reservists deployed to guard the concentration camp prisoners could be located; see StA-Os, Dep. 3 b XIX, Akz. 46/86, Nr. 9, 34, 119, 234, 257, 279, 502, 632, 664, 716, 776, 808, 830.
11. Bringmann, *Häftlinge*, p. 39.
12. Interview with Iwan Andrejewitsch Slipatschenko, AG-NG, Nr. 1602.
13. Bringmann, *Häftlinge*, pp. 42, 44–45.
14. Ibid.; and Fritz Bringmann, September 3, 1948, BA-L, IV 406 AR 221/74, pp. 6–7.
15. Report by Fritz Bringmann, May 12, 1949, in BA-K, BY 5/279/74.
16. Report by Fritz Bringmann, June 26, 1945, in BA-K, BY 5/279/70.
17. Report by Fritz Bringmann, May 12, 1949, in BA-K, BY 5/279/74; and Bringmann, September 3, 1948, BA-L, IV 406 AR 221/74, pp. 6–8.
18. Walter Döring, July 13, 1950, BA-L IV 406 AR 221/74, p. 46; Agnes W., Fritz L., Albert J., November 3, 1950, *ibid.*, pp. 65–69.
19. Ibid., pp. 65–66.
20. Josef T., July 20, 1950, *ibid.*, p. 53.
21. Heinrich K., July 20, 1950, *ibid.*, p. 50.
22. Bringmann, *Häftlinge*, p. 38; Georg Merten, March 30, 1962, FZG, 13-7-0-2.
23. Fritz Bringmann, BA-L, IV 406 AR 221/74, p. 35.
24. Ibid., pp. 90–131, 154–161; *ibid.*, BA-L, IV 401 AR 688/75.

OSTERHAGEN (BUCHENWALD, MITTELBAU, AND SACHSENHAUSEN) (SS-BB III)

Osterhagen is a small village in the Harz Mountains. Between July 1944 and April 1945, one of the three subcamps of the SS-Baubrigade III, stationed in Wieda, was located in Osterhagen. The prisoners were to construct a 22-kilometer-long (13.7-mile-long) railway designed to relieve the railway line between Osterhagen and Nordhausen. The camp, which had

previously been a brickworks, lay to the southeast of Osterhagen at the bottom of a valley. It consisted of three barracks and was surrounded by a fence with watchtowers. From July 5, 1944, 300 prisoners were detained there.

Osterhagen was the most notorious of all the SS-Baubrigade III camps. Aimé Bonifas, who was transferred from the Laura subcamp via Dora to Mackenrode on September 2, 1944, and arrived in Osterhagen on December 25, 1944, after a short stay in Wieda, described his transport to this much-feared camp in his memoirs:

The lorry carried us away quickly, I have no idea from which of the Wieda branch camps. . . . [G]uard towers loomed suddenly in a sweeping desolate landscape, a name which we could not believe to be true, which we dared not speak, which kept our mouths clamped tightly shut: Osterhagen, the infamous punishment camp. I was sent there, to this hellish camp, simply because numbers had to be kept up, because this beast had to continue consuming. . . . A real death hole, not a tree in sight, icy desolation, an area of despair. It was enough to make one howl. . . . I was more than used to the faces of prisoners, but here, more than anywhere else, I was shaken by their expressions, as if they were hunted animals. They bore the stamp of never-ending suffering.¹

The Osterhagen camp was visibly more badly equipped than all the other camps of the SS-Baubrigade III. The hygienic conditions were particularly appalling. There was no water supply, and the filthy water brought in by truck was never sufficient. The prisoners had to wash in the open air in the icy cold. The clay surface of the camp was not sealed, with the result that the prisoners were completely filthy when it rained. Disease and epidemics were widespread. According to Bonifas, “The hygienic conditions in Osterhagen are so deplorable that we were completely covered in lice. It was a real plague. Large lice, with a black cross, that quickly multiplied, ran about everywhere and laid their eggs in the tiniest folds of our clothes. . . . They sucked the last little bit of life out of us. We were the dead waiting to be called. Many comrades died because they were quite literally eaten by the lice.”²

This, the most isolated of the SS-Baubrigade III camps, was commanded by SS-Hauptscharführer Franz Choina, described as a most brutal man. Georges Pieper, the camp elder and Kapo in the SS-Baubrigade III office in Wieda, described Choina shortly after the liberation as follows: “The Osterhagen Camp under the command of Choina was particularly infamous. He had the prisoners work in complete darkness and once the food was distributed the prisoners had to eat it cold. Warm soup was delivered in a lorry in the middle of the day and was distributed at 10 p.m. The prisoners in the Osterhagen camp were also beaten more than elsewhere. It was only in the rarest of cases that sick prisoners were taken to Wieda for treatment—it was rather the case that they had to work until they dropped dead.”³

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According to Bonifas, the “law of the jungle” ruled in Osterhagen. Choina had insured the support of particularly corrupt prisoner-functionaries who tormented, humiliated, robbed, and beat the prisoners at every available opportunity. Each time the prisoners returned to the camp, there was a punishment roll call: “Each evening when you arrived at the block the green Kapo pulled out an exercise book in which he had written the numbers of the prisoners who had not worked hard enough during the day. It was often French men, mostly sick and at the end of their strength. Each was beaten five or ten times with a rubber truncheon and sometimes their soup was taken away from them. There was no quicker way to the crematorium!”²⁴

Under the Kapos’ blows, often without shoes, and in ripped clothing, the undernourished prisoners had to perform heavy manual labor. When bad weather stopped work on the railway from the beginning of January to the middle of February, the prisoners were taken in open railway wagons each morning at 4 A.M. from Osterhagen to Niedersachswerfen, 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) away. Here they had to do heavy transport work—an additional strain that resulted in many deaths before work resumed on the railway line. The longer the winter lasted, with temperatures down to minus 20 degrees Celsius (minus 4 degrees Fahrenheit), the more prisoners died. “The end of the winter in Osterhagen was a nightmare. On March 2, [1945,] my work detail had to unload soil from the wagons and shovel against the wind which was particularly strong. The temperature was very low. On this day alone six of our comrades collapsed from exhaustion, five of them French. . . . Again the dead flooded the camp. People died everywhere at any time, day and night, often without a glance or a word or a handshake with a friend.”²⁵

The prisoners’ corpses were brought to Dora and from March 1945 to the Erich subcamp in Ellrich. A few of the dead are said to have been buried in a mass grave in the Osterhagen cemetery from where after the war they were returned to their places of origin. Three corpses are said to have been exhumed from the campgrounds in the summer of 1945.

The camp was dissolved on April 6, 1945. The prisoners marched to Wieda, from where the evacuation march began a day later.

SOURCES Numerous reports and documents on Osterhagen are contained in AgSSüHR, ed., *Der Bau der Helmetalbahn. Ein Bericht von der Eisenbahngeschichte, den KZ-Häftlingslagern und der Zwangsarbeit im Südbarz in den Jahren 1944–45 sowie den Evakuierungsmärschen im April 1945* (Duderstadt: Verlag Mecke Druck, 2000). In addition to the report by Aimé Bonifas, *Häftling 20.801. Ein Zeugnis über die faschistischen Konzentrationslager* (Berlin: Union-Verlag, 1983), the Wieda subcamp’s primary and secondary sources are the starting points for further research on Osterhagen.

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NOTES

1. Aimé Bonifas, *Häftling 20.801. Ein Zeugnis über die faschistischen Konzentrationslager* (Berlin: Union-Verlag, 1983), pp. 147–148.

2. Ibid., pp. 158–159.

3. Georges Pieper, May 2, 1945, BA-L, IV 406 AR 85/67, p. 46.

4. Bonifas, *Häftling 20.801*, pp. 152–153.

5. Ibid., p. 166.

ROUEN (BUCHENWALD) (SS-BB V)

The SS-Baubrigade V based in Doullens had a subcamp in Rouen, about 97 kilometers (60 miles) to the northwest of Paris, between April and probably August 1944. A former World War I prisoner-of-war (POW) camp, located at a race-track, served as the prisoners’ accommodation. The approximately 500 prisoners lived in barracks of corrugated iron, known as Hindenburg Huts. The task of the SS-Baubrigade V was to construct launching pads for the V-1 and V-2 rockets. From Rouen, labor details were sent to the military airport at Montdidier and to Amiens.¹

Zygmunt P., who managed to flee during a bombing raid on April 25, 1944, said the following about Rouen: “Our accommodations in Rouen were the so-called ‘Corrugated Iron Barrels.’ In one such ‘barrel’ were fifty prisoners. There were no beds and we slept on the concrete foundation that was covered with dirty, rotten straw. We were driven to work by trucks to the shore of the English Channel which was sixty kilometers [37.3 miles] away. There we had to repair the defense facilities destroyed by Allied air raids. Air-defense soldiers guarded us; their supervision was easier to bear, as they did not mistreat or abuse us while we worked.”²

The camp commander was SS-Obersturmführer Stahmer. After the war, he was accused by survivors of having caused the deaths of prisoners. He was said to have ordered the prisoners to continue working during bombing raids. Indeed, on April 23 and 25, 1944, 14 prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade V died in Rouen as a result of an air raid.³

Camp elder Friedrich B. testified in a postwar investigation about the murder of a Polish prisoner. The man was injured on the upper arm during a bombing raid and because of the bombing could not be taken to a hospital. The prisoner orderly cared for him for a few days in the poorly equipped prisoner infirmary. When the arm swelled more and more, they pretended that the prisoner would be taken to a hospital, and he was put on a truck. Friedrich B. continues the story: “I heard a shot and was told to strike him from the list. He had been shot. I saw how he was thrown from the truck.”⁴

In May or June 1944, a detail of the SS-Baubrigade V attacked a Wehrmacht post, and a mass breakout ensued. Hans Kammler, head of Amtsgruppe C of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), and Gerhard Weigel, head of the SS-Baubrigade V, noted in a report to Heinrich Himmler: “As a result of the situation (invasion, air raids, etc.) the prisoners were very unwilling to work and undisciplined. In particular, measures had to be taken against the Polish prisoners as in several instances they incited the other prisoners to refuse to work and in the majority of cases they were the

instigators of escape attempts and above all, of the large surprise attack on the Wehrmacht post.”⁵

The attack on the Wehrmacht post could have happened in the Rouen camp. Karl J. has reported about a similar incident: “I remember just now that a labor detail of Russian prisoners attacked the guards wearing black collar tabs (soldiers of the Luftwaffe Construction Company) and fled. I do not know how many escaped. Nothing happened to the soldiers—they were just tied up. One of the escaped prisoners received serious injuries on the run in an exchange of fire with a Wehrmacht captain when a bullet grazed his head.”⁶

Former prisoner Walter St. has reported that after a mass escape the SS in Rouen ordered a roll call of the prisoners, selected a few at random, and shot them.⁷

The Rouen subcamp was dissolved no later than August 1944 and transferred to the Harz Mountains via Doullens and Lille. The prisoners were distributed to various Buchenwald subcamps over which the newly formed Mittelbau concentration camp took control in October 1944.

SOURCES There are only a few documents and memoirs that provide information about the Rouen subcamp—especially BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 207/73. Further research could be based on the primary and secondary sources for the Doullens subcamp.

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NOTES

1. Karl J., September 17, 1972; Friedrich B., December 14, 1972; Emil I., May 25, 1973, all BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, p. 247, pp. 646–667.
2. Zygmunt P., January 15, 1970, *ibid.*, p. 336.
3. SS-BB V (Feldpost-Nr. 15566), October 9, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 54.
4. Friedrich B., December 14, 1972, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, p. 647.
5. SS-WVHA, July 29, 1944, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 55.
6. Karl J., September 17, 1972, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, p. 250.
7. Walter St., May 19, 1972, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, pp. 379–382.

SOLLSTEDT (MITTELBAU, BUCHENWALD, AND SACHSENHAUSEN) (SS-BB I)

The SS-Baubrigade I was stationed in Sollstedt, a town in Thüringen, between September 10, 1944, and April 5, 1945. It once numbered 1,000 prisoners, but by the time it reached Sollstedt after service in the Rhineland, on the Channel Islands, and in Belgium, it only had 441 prisoners.¹ In October 1944, this unit came under the administration of the Mittelbau concentration camp, and the prisoners were assigned numbers from the 100000 series.² The assumption of control by Sachsenhausen in January 1945 did not change the relationship with Mittelbau as the main camp. At the end of the

war, the strength of the construction brigade was again almost 1,000 prisoners because of transports from Mittelbau.

In Sollstedt, the prisoners had to improve the tunnels of a potash shaft mine and pack and store items of clothing for the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Amt B (Truppenwirtschaft), and for the Luftwaffe Clothing Office Bielefeld. The prisoners were accommodated in a barracks camp located at the bottom of a valley near the shaft. They had to construct the three to five barracks themselves. The food for the camp was brought from Mittelbau. One work detail of the brigade worked in another potash shaft mine near Hainboltshausen until April 1945. At the end of 1944, the SS-Construction Brigade I established a subcamp in Hohlstedt.

The former power struggles between the different prisoner groups broke out again in Sollstedt. The dreaded Adolf Fehrenbacher assumed the role of camp elder during the transport from Alderney. In the memories of survivors, Sollstedt stands out as a place of murder of Jewish and Wehrmacht prisoners. For the first time, a larger group of Jewish prisoners, almost exclusively from Poland but also including a few Frenchmen and Hungarians, was transferred to the SS-Baubrigade I on March 21, 1945. This group, in particular, was subject to mistreatment by Fehrenbacher and by the commander of the guards, Otto Högelow.³

From December 1944 a larger group of Sonderabteilung Wehrmacht (Special Detachment Wehrmacht, SAW) prisoners were part of the construction brigade. The SAW men were without exception soldiers who, after having been subjected to various disciplinary measures by military courts, were found not fit to serve in a Wehrmacht punishment battalion. Such cases could be sent by the military to the police or the Gestapo for incarceration in a concentration camp for a limited time. As “Transitory Prisoners II,” such soldiers, if they had not been condemned to death, were sent to Buchenwald from August 1944 and from November to the Mittelbau concentration camp. An SS-Baubrigade I list named “Transitory Prisoners II (SAW) detained here” and dated March 1, 1945, shows 296 persons in this group.⁴

At least 34 deaths occurred in Sollstedt up to the middle of April 1945. Several handwritten entries give the deaths as occurring between April 5 and 13, 1945. Survivors hold the commander of the construction brigade, Georg Braun, responsible for the deaths. It is alleged that, on his orders, SAW members were forced to “run the gauntlet” as punishment for infractions. He forced these men with the words “I want to see blood” to run between the camp prisoners who were lined up in two rows and had them beaten to death; some were said to have been shot after the chase.⁵

In February 1945, the SS-Baubrigade I in Sollstedt, without changing its location or status, took on the tasks of a railway construction brigade. On February 10, 1945, Gerhard Weigel, the “Inspekteur sämtlicher Baubrigaden” (Inspector of Selected Construction Brigades), assigned SS-Commander Braun to the Reichsbahn (German National Railways) Directorate at Halle-Northeim. The main task remained that of

storing items in the mines. During an inspection of Sollstedt on February 10, 1945, Weigel praised the “good progress” of storing clothes and equipment for several divisions of the Waffen-SS.⁶

Shootings, mass escapes, and aimless transports throughout the German Reich characterized the evacuation. On April 5, 1945, the Sollstedt prisoners were forced to march 72.4 kilometers (45 miles) in 24 hours to the Hohlstedt subcamp. During the march, prisoners who were unable to continue are said to have been shot. At midday on April 7, 1945, around 900 prisoners were loaded onto a train at the Wahlhausen Railway Station.⁷

At first, the train headed north and reached Berlin-Grünwald on April 10, 1945, where it is reported to have received an order to head to Norway. Near Wittenberge on the Elbe, the transport had to retreat in front of Soviet troops. It was here at the latest that SS-Commander Braun might have received the Kammler order he mentioned in 1952 that the SS-Baubrigade I was to go to Steyr. It is possible that the construction brigade now became a railway construction brigade and was given a new order. SS-Oberscharführer Högelow stated in 1952 that the construction brigade in Hohlstedt “was reassigned again and this time as a Railway Replenishment Construction Unit” and was deployed as such until the whole transport dissolved.⁸

The train altered direction and traveled via Pirna and Prague to Pilsen, which, according to a record of a former prisoner, it reached on April 21, 1945. After a further journey, lasting a week, the construction brigade reached Steyr on April 28, 1945. At least 20 prisoners died on the journey or were shot when they sought cover under a railway wagon during a bombing raid. The train was reportedly used by more than 160 prisoners to escape and was subjected several times to bombing attacks. It is not possible to determine how many prisoners reached Steyr. From Steyr they were transferred to the Mauthausen subcamp Steyr-Münichholz. Two days after reaching Mauthausen, on May 5, 1945, American tanks freed the camp.

After the war, the commanders of the SS-Baubrigade I escaped criminal punishment. Because of his membership in the SS, Högelow was imprisoned in Esterwegen until 1949; subsequently kept in detention for trial, he was released in 1951. Later investigations against him were fruitless. The Freiburg State Court sentenced Fehrenbacher in 1955 to a term of seven years in a penitentiary.

SOURCES The camp was described in an outline for the first time by Frank Baranowski, *Rüstungsprojekte in der Region Nordhausen, Worbis und Heiligenstadt während der NS-Zeit* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Druck, 1998). Jens-Christian Wagner’s, *Produktion des Todes. Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2001) used this work in a study on the Mittelbau concentration camp. The Sollstedt subcamp received more attention in a book on the SS construction brigades: Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft und KZ: Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005).

The most important sources are the investigative files at BA-L, 404 AR-Z 57/67 and 410 AR 63/77.

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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

NOTES

1. File note dated October 10, 1944, ITS, Sachdokumenten-Ordner Buchenwald Nr. 47, p. 169.
2. See the report of the Dutch Searching Service from August 1948, AG-NG, Ng. 6.4.90.
3. See Waffen-SS-BB I, “Namentliche Liste der am 21. März 1945 vom KL Mittelbau zur hiesigen Einheit überstellten 250 Häftlinge,” March 25, 1945, SVG, Tr 184.600/31-R.429.
4. SVG, TR 184.600/21.
5. See the “Geständnis Högelows” written by prisoners dated May 1945, BA-L, IV 404 AR-Z 57/67, pp. 128–130.
6. Der Inspekteur der SS-Frontarbeiter und SS Baubrigaden, March 2, 1945, BA-B, NS 19/771, entry for February 10, 1945.
7. See Helmut Knöller’s report, AG-NG, Nr. 1317.
8. Otto Högelow, June 16, 1952, BA-L, 410 AR 63/77, p. 52R.

SPREENHAGEN (SACHSENHAUSEN)

(SS-BB II)

For a short time at the end of 1944, the SS-Baubrigade II stationed in Berlin since April 1944 had a subcamp in Spreehagen (County Oder-Spree). A list of the guards of the SS-Baubrigade II of January 1945 mentions this subcamp for the first time; SS-Rottenführer Wilhelm Kopiska is listed as its commander.¹ A report to the Kommandantur of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, dated January 25, 1945, includes a note that the Spreehagen labor detachment was reassigned to the SS-Construction Management in Bad Saarow (County Oder-Spree) on January 1, 1945.²

As the Sachsenhausen subcamp Ketschendorf in Fürstenwalde (County Oder-Spree) maintained a construction site among other places also at Spreehagen, it is likely that the prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade II had to work there too.³ The SS-Construction Management organizations “Reich Nord” and “Kurmark” maintained several sites at Bad Saarow, where prisoners of a Sachsenhausen subcamp located in Bad Saarow had to work.⁴ Therefore, it is also possible that the prisoners of the construction brigades were transferred there in January 1945.

SOURCES Reviewing the records of the investigations by the ZdL about the Berlin camps of the SS-Baubrigade II held at BA-L (IV 406 AR 594-596/73) did not yield any further information.

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. SS-BB II, January 1, 1945, RGVA, 1367/1/14, pp. 32–41.
2. Ibid., p. 41.
3. Stefanie Endlich, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus. Eine Dokumentation* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999), 2:275.
4. Ibid., 2:239.

WIEDA (BUCHENWALD, MITTELBAU, AND SACHSENHAUSEN) (SS-BB III)

The SS-Baubrigade III was based in Wieda, a small village in the Harz Mountains, from May 1944 to April 1945. The location put it in the radius of the Mittelbau concentration camp complex then being established.

Hans Kammler, head of Amtsgruppe C (Construction) in the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), was responsible for establishing this camp. After the sites for assembling the long-distance A4 (Aggregat 4) rocket (the later V-2) were bombed, Albert Speer, Adolf Hitler, and Heinrich Himmler decided in mid-August 1943 to push for the enlargement, "with the heavy utilization" of concentration camp prisoners, of an underground facility in the Harz Mountains. Himmler appointed Kammler to carry out the construction.¹ The whole project was coordinated under the so-called Mittelwerk GmbH, established in September 1943.

Kammler wanted to use the SS construction brigades to build a new rail line so the existing Osterhagen to Nordhausen line could be used exclusively for armaments industry transportation. The Mittelwerk GmbH entrusted management and construction of the rail line to the Deutsche Reichsbahn (German Railways), which in turn revived an older plan to build a 22-kilometer-long (13.7-mile-long) track (called the "Helmetalbahn") south of the existing line and through the Helme valley. The Berlin company Tiefbau AG Julius Berger undertook the major excavation work.

The construction of Helmetalbahn dominated the prisoners' life until the end of the war. SS-Baubrigade III was assigned the westernmost of the three construction zones, the section from Osterhagen to Mackenrode. The administration for this section was in Mackenrode, and the SS-Baubrigade III established three subcamps along this part of the line: at Osterhagen, Nüxei, and Mackenrode.

After the Cologne camp with its remaining 311 prisoners of the SS-BB III was dismantled, and the Wieda camp was set up, the brigade began its work on May 16, 1944. Then 700 prisoners from the Buchenwald concentration camp joined them on June 7, 1944.²

An empty clubhouse of a marksmen's association formed the center of the camp in Wieda. Around it were other buildings that served as the brigade's administrative offices, a kitchen, a laundry, and an infirmary, and the grounds were fenced in and outfitted with watchtowers. On average, about 100 prisoners were housed here. Living conditions in this auxiliary camp generally were better than in the subcamps, especially as Wieda had the central kitchen. In addition, inmates here did not have to do exhausting construction work but, instead, either remained in the camp, built barracks in Niedersachswerfen, worked for private persons, or were set to work in or by the communal administration.

Brigade guards lived in barracks built for them close to the camp. Unlike in Cologne, where police and auxiliaries had been recruited, here the SS relied on Luftwaffe soldiers, in any case available because the Luftwaffe was having difficul-

ties with its supply lines. They came under the command of the SS as of September 1, 1944. In January 1945, the SS-Baubrigade III guards included an SS leader, 42 SS noncommissioned officers, and 132 SS men.³

The integration of the Wieda camp into the system of camps centered on Mittelbau meant death loomed more sharply over the prisoners. A small infirmary was set up in Wieda for minor cases, while other cases were sent to the Buchenwald auxiliary camp Dora or, starting in May 1944, to the Ellrich-Juliushütte camp that became part of Mittelbau and after January 1945 to the Boelcke-Kaserne. After June 1944, all transports to and from the construction brigade went through Mittelbau, without exception. As of July 1944, the guard details came under the control of the "SS-Standort Mittelbau"; and by October 1944, the construction brigades in the Harz came under the control of what had become the independent Mittelbau concentration camp. The transfer of control in January 1945 to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp was pro forma.

In the first few weeks, a surprisingly strong interaction developed between the Wieda camp and the surrounding community. Soldiers serving as guards played soccer with the prisoners on the sports field, and it is said that after the game they all marched singing through the village. One female villager reported: "In the first weeks after the camp was set up, it was like the annual fair. After work, in the evenings, the prisoners sat in the cleared area in front of the marksmen's tent, and some of them, especially the Gypsies, had instruments, mandolins or guitars, and made music. Many villagers, both young and old, stopped on the main street in front of the barbed-wire fence to listen in."⁴

This apparent lack of discipline in the camp resulted in the dismissal, in June 1944, of Karl Völkner as leader of the construction brigade. He had been in command since September 1942 and was now transferred to the Flossenbürg concentration camp. Until July 20, 1944, a certain SS-Oberscharführer Freys, who had been at the Mauthausen concentration camp in Austria, temporarily replaced him. SS-Obersturmführer Fritz Behrens replaced him in turn.

Following Behrens's appointment, conditions in the camp deteriorated, and prisoners were replaced. On July 27, 1944, groups of prisoners from SS-Baubrigade III were taken away to Dora from the sites where they were working. Two days later, around 1,000 new prisoners from Dora filled the four camps. With this ruthless replacement, relationships that had developed over the course of a year and a half between at least some of the prisoners were broken. Paul Rassinier, who learned about the SS-Baubrigade III while in the Dora infirmary, accurately remarked that "in less than two months, Wieda became as hard and inhumane as Dora."⁵ Behrens remained the leader of SS-Baubrigade III until just before the end of the war but was replaced in early April 1945 by SS-Untersturmführer Karl Merkle.

Some 16 deaths are registered as having occurred up to the time the brigade came under the control of Mittelbau.⁶ During the summer, the living conditions deteriorated rapidly, so

that by the end of August 1944, 300 prisoners incapable of working were taken away to the Ellrich-Juliushütte camp.⁷ The main reason for prisoner exhaustion lay in the heavy construction work demanded of them; the pace of work dictated by Kammler and the Armaments Ministry was also repeatedly increased.⁸ According to Georges Pieper, camp elder (Lagerältester) and Kapo in the construction brigade's office and hence a good source, death rates increased markedly in the winter of 1944–1945: he recalls 74 prisoners dying between December 30, 1944, and April 7, 1945.⁹ In early 1945, the SS-Baubrigade III received Jewish prisoners for the first time: about 200 of them were transferred from Dora, though by the end of March they were transferred to the SS-Baubrigade IV.

For the most part the railway line was double-tracked, and many bridges and sections were already finished when work had to stop at the end of March 1945 due to the advancing Allied forces. In a report prepared after the war by the building department of the Reichsbahn office in Kassel, the mass use of prisoners received only scant mention: "In 1944/45, a new rail line for goods traffic from Osterhagen to Nordhausen was built to relieve the Northeim to Nordhausen line, length about thirty kilometers [18.6 miles] . . . Several thousand men (prisoners and concentration camp inmates) worked on it. Work stopped at the end of the war due to the American advance."¹⁰

On April 5, 1945, the prisoners from the Nüxei and Mackenrode subcamps were taken to Wieda, and the next day, so were the prisoners from the Osterhagen subcamp. On April 7, 1,135 prisoners were marched, in a northwesterly direction, through the Harz Mountains. A train took those who were ill, numbering somewhat more than 300.

On April 9, 1945, SS-Baubrigade III, now reassembled, left the Wernigerode railroad station in a single train: camp leader Merkle had by now disappeared. The train made it as far as Letzlingen, a village north of Magdeburg at about the same latitude as Berlin. About 900 prisoners were able to flee here during a bombing raid, though during the course of the day, 200 were recaptured and returned to the train by SS guards. The SS then forced these 200 on a march at whose end, on April 24, 1945, 50 prisoners remained to be liberated. Some in this group were able to escape en route, but most had collapsed dead by the wayside or had been shot.

A second group of around 600 prisoners who had been recaptured near Letzlingen was marched in a southeasterly direction. Here, too, there were mass escapes and shootings, whereby civilians and men from the German Home Guard (Volkssturm) particularly distinguished themselves. Around 500 prisoners of this group were liberated near Burgstall on April 14, 1945. The ill, who remained behind on the train at Letzlingen, were probably the victims of the infamous massacre at Gardelegen. According to estimates by historian Joachim Neander, of the 1,135 prisoners who left Wieda, only about 700 lived long enough to experience liberation.

SOURCES A local group, the AgSSüHR, has collected considerable material about the SS-Baubrigade III camp, in-

cluding maps, photographs, and reports by survivors and eyewitnesses. See Firouz Vladi, "Der Bau der Helmetalbahn, der Zwangsarbeitseinsatz der III. und IV. SS-Baubrigade, die KZ-Aussenlager Mackenrode, Nüxei, Osterhagen und Wieda sowie Ellrich und Günzerode," in *Der Bau der Helmetalbahn: Ein Bericht von der Eisenbahngeschichte, den KZ-Häftlingslagern und der Zwangsarbeit im Südbar in den Jahren 1944–45 sowie den Evakuierungsmärschen im April 1945*, ed. AgSSüHR (Duderstadt: Verlag Mecke Druck, 2000), pp. 40–133. Since the 1960s, Manfred Bornemann has also collected material and evidence about the camp in *Geheimprojekt Mittelbau: Vom zentralen Öllager des Deutschen Reiches zur grössten Raketenfabrik im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Bonn: Bernard & Graefe Verlag, 1994). Joachim Neander's dissertation investigated this particular death march in detail. See Neander, "Das Konzentrationslager 'Mittelbau' in der Endphase der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur: Zur Geschichte des letzten im 'Dritten Reich' gegründeten selbständigen Konzentrationslagers unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Auflösungsphase" (Ph.D. diss., University of Bremen, 1996). A recent monograph has also addressed the particular situation of the SS-Baubrigade III in Wieda and its relation to the Mittelbau concentration camp complex: Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft, und KZ: Himmler's SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005).

Sources are scattered, although the aforementioned literature provides initial guidance. Important collections of sources can be found at the THStA-W (NS 4 Buchenwald, KZ Buchenwald and Haftanstalten). The AG-MD holds copies of the transport lists from Warsaw (KL Buchenwald Nr. 36, KL Mittelbau Nr. 9), reports from survivors, and some of the files of the local building administration at Mackenrode. The investigation files of the NWHStA-(D) (Gerichte Rep.: 118/1174–1190, 1338–1349) are also of relevance, as are the holdings at the ZdL (IV 406 AR 85/67, IV 429 AR 1304/67) at BA-L.

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NOTES

1. RFSS Heinrich Himmler, August 21, 1943, BA-B, R 3/1583, 31a.
2. Stärkemeldungen, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 230, pp. 77, 112, 117; *ibid.*, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a; KL Buchenwald, Transportliste, June 6, 1944 (incorrectly dated July), AG-B, 59–110, Bd. 2.
3. Stärkemeldung SS-BB III, January 25, 1945, CChIdK, 1376–1–14, p.35.
4. Emilie Denecke, June 1963, cited by Manfred Bornemann, *Geheimprojekt Mittelbau: Vom zentralen Öllager des Deutschen Reiches zur grössten Raketenfabrik im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Bonn: Bernard & Graefe Verlag, 1994), p. 211.
5. Paul Rassiner, *Die Lüge des Odysseus* (Wiesbaden, 1959), p.145, cited by Firouz Vladi, "Der Bau der Helmetalbahn, der Zwangsarbeitseinsatz der III. und IV. SS-Baubrigade, die KZ-Aussenlager Mackenrode, Nüxei, Osterhagen und Wieda sowie Ellrich und Günzerode," in *Der Bau der Helmetalbahn: Ein Bericht von der Eisenbahngeschichte, den KZ-Häftlingslagern und der Zwangsarbeit im Südbar in den Jahren 1944–45 sowie*

den Evakuierungsmärschen im April 1945, ed. AgSSüHR (Duderstadt: Verlag Mecke Druck, 2000), p. 63.

6. Tagesmeldungen, May 13, June 7, June 29, October 10, 12, 14, 23, and 27, 1944, in THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a.

7. Change Reports, in THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald Dora Dok./K 395.

8. Reichsarzt SS und Polizei, June 23, 1944, BA, NS 48/26.

9. Georges Pieper, May 2, 1945, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR 85/67, p. 46.

10. Oberbauabteilung RBD Kassel, April 25, 1954, BA, R 5 Anh. I/46, p. 141R.

WILHELMSHAVEN (NEUENGAMME) (SS-BB II)

Prisoners from the Bremen-based SS-Baubrigade II often worked in Wilhelmshaven in 1943, and a subcamp as well as a bomb search detail existed there for a time.

Initially, this strategically important harbor city was to receive 500 prisoners,¹ as a massive area bombing on the night of September 14, 1942, had caused more damage than all of the previous attacks. In early October 1942, Walter Temp, the city's director of construction and head of its construction administration since May 1939, began the relevant negotiations. The Naval Station detail received permission to house the prisoners at Breddewarden, a work camp of the naval garrison.

November 3, 1942, saw the heaviest attack to date on Wilhelmshaven. Bremen's Senator Fischer, as Deputy Reich Defense Commissar, again offered Wilhelmshaven 500 prisoners from the SS-Baubrigade II, and Temp wanted to make them available for cleanup work to the Naval director's office and to the dockyards. But he was unable to recruit the necessary guards, as neither the Naval Station nor the city commandant wanted to make the needed forces available. In pleading tones, Temp wrote to the police president on November 12, 1942: "I am thus forced to draw to your attention that because of this failure, the possibility of removing or cleaning-up the bomb damage in Wilhelmshaven appears to be threatened, and that in a manner that is almost irresponsible. . . . It is therefore requested that the police make available sixty guards for the prisoners in 'protective custody,' possibly augmented by Luftwaffe and SS men."² But the police president could not help either. When four construction companies then occupied the quarters that had been proposed, the possibility of using the prisoners was regarded, at least for the time being, as a dead issue.

Wilhelmshaven only received a detachment of the SS-Baubrigade II in the spring of 1943, although the exact date it began its work is unknown. However, it likely began in the wake of the U.S. Army Air Forces offensive that had repeatedly carried out daylight air raids against Wilhelmshaven, starting on January 27, 1943. The city was so heavily bombed on March 22 that for the first time the district leader painted

a picture of the downfall of Wilhelmshaven. It is therefore likely that the 175-strong prisoner detachment, whose existence in Wilhelmshaven until August 7, 1943, is confirmed, was sent to the city after this March attack. It was recalled to Bremen on August 8, 1943, as the larger part of SS-Baubrigade II then was to be transferred to Hamburg.³

It has not been possible to determine in which building the prisoners in Wilhelmshaven were housed. A former prisoner stated that the camp was located at the navy harbor, but he himself was only in Wilhelmshaven in the fall of 1943.⁴

After the Wilhelmshaven camp was disbanded in August 1943, prisoners from the construction brigade did return to Wilhelmshaven as members of bomb detection squads. Since February 1943, there had been considerable problems with unexploded ordnance. From September 29 to October 21, 1943, and again from November 5 to December 22, 1943, 30 prisoners were sent each time to the city to do the dangerous work of disarming and removing unexploded bombs.⁵

There is scarcely any information about the conditions prisoners faced: no survivors' reports from the SS-Baubrigade II refer to Wilhelmshaven details. Eyewitness Wenzel W. mentions Wilhelmshaven simply as a location where they were deployed.⁶ Only Pawel Wasiljewitsch Pawlenko reports on working in the Wilhelmshaven bomb detection squad. According to him, the sites were cordoned off, and prisoners had to disarm the bombs themselves. In his time there, eight prisoners were killed while doing this dangerous work.⁷ However, none of the prisoners in this commando are listed by name in the Neuengamme death registers.⁸

SOURCES The use of the SS-Baubrigade II commando was first mentioned in a longer study of the SS-Baubrigaden: Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft und KZ : Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005). An older study on forced labor in Wilhelmshaven does not mention these prisoners: Günther Heuzeroth and Peter Szyuka, *Die im Dreck lebten: Ausländische ZwangsarbeiterInnen und Kriegsgefangene in Wilhelmshaven, Delmenhorst, Bremen und Bremerhaven; Ereignisse, Augenzeugenberichte und Dokumente* (Oldenburg: Druck und Verlagscooperative GmbH, 1994). For background on the bombing of Wilhelmshaven, see Rolf Uphoff, *Als der Tag zur Nacht wurde—und die Nacht zum Tage: Wilhelmshaven im Bombenkrieg* (Oldenburg, 1992), pp. 98–108, 128–145. For information on Temp, see Ingo Sommer, *Die Stadt der 500.000: NS-Stadtplanung und Architektur in Wilhelmshaven* (Braunschweig: Friedr. Vieweg & Sohn, 1993), pp. 29, 375; and Werner Durth and Niels Gutschow, *Träume in Trümmern: Planungen zum Wiederaufbau zerstörter Städte im Westen Deutschlands 1940–1950*, vol. 2, *Städte* (Braunschweig: Friedr. Vieweg & Sohn, 1988), pp. 1035–1051.

There are very few relevant primary sources. In addition to the above-mentioned reports of former prisoners, an exchange of letters exists in the ASt-Wil (4600/6), and there are a few references in a file from the RFSS (BA-B, NS 19/14). Other references may be found in ZdL (at BA-L), AG-NG, and FGNS-H.

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NOTES

1. File Note, October 15, 1942, ASt-Wil, 4600/6.
2. Letter, November 2, 1942; and File Note, November 5, 1942, in *ibid.*
3. SS-WVHA, November 9, 1943, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 26.
4. Alexander P., March 28, 1973, BA-L, ZdL IV 404 AR-Z 159/73, p. 109.
5. SS-WVHA, February 14, 1944, in BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 34.
6. Wenzel W., May 20, 1957, ZdL IV 406 AR 594/73, p. 242.
7. Pawel Wasiljewitsch Pawlenko, May 19, 1992, AG-NG, Nr. 1576.
8. Toten-Nachweis von Aussenlagern, March 31, 1943, to March 17, 1944, FGNS-H, Archive Hans Schwarz.

WUPPERTAL (BUCHENWALD) (SS-BB IV)

Between August 1943 and May 1944 the SS-Baubrigade IV consisting of prisoners from the Buchenwald concentration camp, was stationed in Wuppertal. The first 50 prisoners reached the city on August 24, 1943.¹ Gradually the prisoner numbers were increased—at first to 100 on September 9, then to 400 on October 13, and to 592, the highest number, at the end of November.²

The decision to establish this SS construction brigade was said to be that of Albert Speer. A Royal Air Force offensive against the Ruhr, which started in the spring of 1943, resulted in a marked reduction in armaments production. Wuppertal, on the edge of the Ruhr, had largely avoided the large air raids until 1943, although major attacks on the districts of Barmen (May 29, 1943) and Elberfeld (June 25, 1943) had caused considerable destruction. The SS-Baubrigade IV was to carry out “reconstruction in the Ruhr industrial area.” A report by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), dated February 14, 1944, states: “The SS-Baubrigade IV is being deployed in rescue operations and opening up the main streets for transport. The rubble caused by buildings which collapsed due to rain and frost is being removed. Excavation and repair of the destroyed gas and water conduits is taking place. The work is continuing so as to, in the first instance, create accommodations for workers in the Ruhr.”³

The head of the Office for Emergency Measures in Wuppertal, the city’s building councilor Hermann Kell, and SS-Standartenführer Kurt Benn coordinated the operation. Senior Administration Officer Benn as head of the Action Staff Wuppertal City Administration and as member of the Action Staff of the District had good connections to the special staffs of the police, Nazi Party, and mayor. The construction of the camp lasted until September 1943. Benn could give all offices directions to remove bomb damage, and he directed workers to particular sites for the removal of rubble.⁴ During this time the prisoners were already working for the city administration.⁵

The SS-BB IV was accommodated at Königshöher Weg 7, a Catholic school in the Elberfeld district of Arrenberg, whose

buildings had been destroyed in the summer of 1943. The advance detachment of 50 prisoners first had to establish quarters at Königshöher Weg. An inspection report prepared by the Buchenwald concentration camp doctor in September 1943 states the following: “The Wuppertal subcamp was occupied on August 24, 1943. The prisoners have been accommodated in a school, which has been badly damaged by bombs, but whose renovation is taking place with all available means. Prisoners as well as troops are accommodated provisionally in the not yet renovated school classrooms. Washing and bathing facilities are provisional and are in the process of being installed. The toilets are adequate. A kitchen is not available at this time. Food for the prisoners is cooked in two field kitchens.”⁶

The leader of the SS-Baubrigade IV was at first SS-Obersturmführer Arthur Knaust, an engineer, born on June 26, 1909, in Güsten (Sachsen-Anhalt). He was replaced in October 1943 by SS-Obersturmführer Dietrich. Otto Diembt, promoted to SS-Obersturmführer on January 30, 1945, commanded the brigade from December 1943 to February 1945. Diembt was born on March 18, 1907, in Bad Flinsberg. From 1926 to 1939 he worked as a bookkeeper in his hometown. He took part in the French campaign. After that he was a member of the SS-Fourth Death’s Head Unit in the Buchenwald concentration camp. After a six-month training course in Dachau and the SS-Junker School in Braunschweig, he was sent to the SS-Baubrigade.⁷ The guards consisted primarily of police from the 6th Police District, who were based in the nearby Arrenberg Strasse. In the school yard there was a barracks for the guards.⁸

The SS-Baubrigade IV in Wuppertal has not been widely researched. Survivors after the war stated unanimously that there was no mistreatment or violent deaths.⁹ In fact, of the 600 prisoners, there is only 1 documented death in February 1944.¹⁰ To a large extent this can be attributed to the behavior of Diembt, who after the war received an unusually positive certification from several prisoners. Richard O. said the following about him in 1971:

Otto Diembt is probably the only camp leader, who I met during my almost ten-year imprisonment who has deservedly earned that we former prisoners stand up for him and with good conscience. When I, a former protective custody camp prisoner, make such a statement for an SS officer and camp commandant, I do so as a moral duty and with gratitude, because we were treated decently by him and above all we have him to thank for our lives. Hundreds of Poles, Russians, French, Czechs, Romanians, Hungarians, and Greeks can confirm at any time that Otto Diembt always treated us prisoners as humans.¹¹

According to the former prisoner Josef Sch., Diembt had always treated him “tactfully and correctly” and that he had never forgotten that “human beings stood in front of him.”¹²

Another prisoner, Theodor E., shortly after the war raised his voice for Diembt and stated that Diembt had constantly discussed with the prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade IV the work, work hours, the prisoners' wishes, and the food supply. Theodor E. stated that Diembt, after assuming his position in Wuppertal, had first ensured that the prisoners from midday on Saturday did not have to work for the rest of the weekend and individually were even allowed to leave the camp. This freedom was only taken away when a directive was received from the Buchenwald camp commandant.¹³ Contemporary documents confirm this. Apparently, until the middle of January 1944, the prisoners had to do much less work than elsewhere. On Saturdays there was less work than on weekdays. Until May 1944, there was as a rule no work on Sundays.¹⁴ Diembt had to change this practice at the beginning of 1944—a conference on January 18, 1944, determined that “immediately work on Saturdays shall be for the same length of time as on the other weekdays.”¹⁵

Wuppertal had a particularly favorable prisoner structure and a relatively good supply of food. The German prisoners, who were the prisoner-functionaries, were for the most part political prisoners who did not encourage favoritism.¹⁶ While the supply of food appeared to have been poor, it improved over a longer period when the large detachment was deployed to the heavily destroyed slaughterhouses in Elberfeld. Richard O. stated: “After six weeks we were close to starvation. Then 250 men were deployed to the slaughterhouse. . . . We were there about a year. We recovered and were even able to get some of the food to the prisoners in the camp with the result that not one of the prisoners had to suffer from hunger. From the butchers we received sausages and meat.”¹⁷

There were also many contacts with the resistance organization and the “Eastern workers” (*Ostarbeitern*), who were in the surrounding forced labor camps. The prisoners Karl Possögel, Sergej Selkin, and Dimitrij Maksimov formed a resistance group that was to prepare an armed resistance. Pamphlets and oral propaganda were composed with the German workers and the *Ostarbeitern*, translated, and distributed. As there were many small work detachments in the city, it was difficult for the SS and police guards to stop contact with the civilian population. Diembt is said to have instructed the SS not to prevent such contact.¹⁸

The few escape attempts in Wuppertal also indicate that the conditions in the subcamp were relatively bearable. There were six escape attempts from the SS-Baubrigade IV, five of which occurred shortly before it was transferred to the Harz. All the attempts were a success, and none of the escapees were recaptured and returned to Buchenwald.¹⁹ In Wuppertal, unlike other cities, there appears to have been more help from the local population.

Noteworthy is an event that former prisoner Karl Possögel described. On a Sunday, 50 prisoners, guarded by an SS guard, demonstrated in the city. Possögel stated that in April 1945:

One Sunday the prisoners carried out a regular demonstration in Wuppertal. The police were off duty on Sundays, and so one Sunday a Kommando of approximately fifty prisoners went to work under their Blockführer alone. After doing two hours' work the prisoners in their convicts' clothes and with shaven heads marched off into the center of Elberfeld. For about two hours they went in disciplined formation through the streets singing their camp songs, and with the Blockführer following two hundred yards in the rear, so that people would not think he belonged to the procession. No action was taken against the prisoners on their return to the camp.²⁰

Although in Wuppertal there was 1 death, it should not be forgotten that between August 1943 and May 1944, 58 prisoners were returned to Buchenwald.²¹ What happened to a large transport in the middle of December 1943 is not known, as neither names nor prisoner numbers have survived. Possibly this transport followed a selection either shortly before or after the camp leader was changed and in which prisoners who were sick or who had fallen out of favor were transported away. What happened to 29 prisoners can be explained: after an average stay of three months in Buchenwald, 7 had died, 3 stayed in the camp until it was liberated, 11 were transferred to other Buchenwald subcamps, and 3 were released. There is no information as to what happened to 5 prisoners; 7 prisoners died after they were transferred to Buchenwald, including 5 who were transferred there while Diembt was the camp leader.

The dissolution of the camp began in Wuppertal on May 7, 1944.²² The SS-Baubrigade IV was sent to Ellrich, a village in the Harz Mountains.

SOURCES The Wuppertal camp has only relatively recently been researched in a study on the SS-Baubrigaden: Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft und KZ : Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005).

Primary sources for the SS-Baubrigade IV begin with the relatively complete documents in THStA-W (Collections “NS 4 Buchenwald,” “KZ Buchenwald und Haftanstalten”). There are significant gaps in the ASt-W for the period from 1933 to 1945, which makes research difficult. The files of the ZdL (IV 406 AR-Z 69/72) at BA-L and denazification proceedings against Otto Diembt (BA-K, Z 42 V/608) are of particular importance. Diembt was acquitted. Additional material may be found at ITS and NARA.

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NOTES

1. KL Buchenwald (Lagerarzt), September 6, 1943, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald Nr. 9, p. 290.

2. The numbers are recorded in *ibid.*, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a.

3. SS-WVHA Amt C, February 14, 1944, BA-B, NS 19/14, p. 36.

4. Stadt Wuppertal (Wasserwerke), November 12, 1943; and Stadt Wuppertal (Gaswerk), November 22, 1943, ASt-W, S XV 23.

5. KL Buchenwald, Forderungsnachweis, September 1943, ITS Sachdokumenten-Ordner Buchenwald Nr. 51, p. 320.

6. Buchenwald Concentration Camp (Camp Doctor), September 6, 1943, in THStAW, KZ Buchenwald Nr. 9, p. 290.

7. BDC/SSO, in BA.

8. Otto Diembt, August 29, 1963, in BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 69/72, p. 90; and Franz K., April 17, 1972, in *ibid.*, p. 287.

9. See Karl Possögel, April 30, 1945, NARA, RG 338, 000-50-009 (Buchenwald-Case), Box 442, Folder 2, as well as statement by four other former prisoners in ZdL, IV 406 AR-Z 69/72, pp. 96–98, 179, 265, 287.

10. Wuppertal, February 4, 1944, in THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a.

11. Richard O., January 21, 1971, ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 69/72, p. 179R.

12. Josef Sch., February 9, 1948, BA-K, Z 42 V/608, p. 15.

13. Theodor E., January 29, 1947, in *ibid.*, p. 9.

14. See the lists in THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 230, pp. 18, 38, 51, 81.

15. SS-BB IV, January 19, 1944, in ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 69/72, p. 7.

16. Emil W., May 23, 1967, in *ibid.*, p. 98.

17. Richard O., January 21, 1971, in *ibid.*, p. 179R; auch Bericht des Schlacht- und Tierhofes für das Jahr 1943, ASt-W, S X 25.

18. Karl Possögel, April 30, 1945, NARA, RG 338, 000-50-009 (Buchenwald-Case), Box 442, Folder 2; and Judgment of the 18. Spruchkammer des Spruchgerichts Hiddesen, April 2, 1948, BA-K, Z 42 V/608, p. 54.

19. Research on these cases is based on THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a, and compared with the database “Fluchten” (Escapes) in the AG-B.

20. Karl Possögel, April 30, 1945, NARA, RG 338, 000-50-009 (Buchenwald-Case), Box 442, Folder 2.

21. The transfers were compiled from information in THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a; and research was conducted in AG-B by Harry Stein.

22. THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 230, p. 81.

Ausrüstungswerke GmbH (DAW). About half of the railroad cars housed the prisoners. In addition, there were railroad cars for the kitchen, infirmary, equipment, commandant’s office, and accommodation for the guards. Most of the trains carried a Wehrmacht anti-aircraft detachment with two four-barreled anti-aircraft guns as protection against bombing attacks.

The SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade originated from the Buchenwald SS-Baubrigade V, which in September 1944 was transferred from Normandy to the Harz Mountains. The prisoners, who at first were distributed to various subcamps, were gathered together in Sangerhausen and on October 5, 1944, shipped to Osnabrück. The SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade was allocated 180 prisoners, who were sent from Buchenwald and the Mittelbau concentration camp to Heringen. This group was destined for the planned SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade III. However, in the end, it was not formed.¹ Administratively, the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade was originally part of the newly independent Mittelbau concentration camp from the end of October 1944 and was taken over by the Sachsenhausen concentration camp in January 1945.

The leader of the SS-EBB V was SS-Obersturmführer Helmut Landau, who was born on February 8, 1906, in Krefeld. Landau, an architect, joined the Nazi Party in 1931 and from April 1940 was part of the WVHA (Office C-Construction). In March 1944, he was ordered to the general staff of the SS-Baubrigade V and in the middle of October 1944 took command of the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade.² In December 1944, there were 62 guards.³ The largest number of the guards was railroad men, who were assigned for short periods to SS battalions in the concentration camps and then assigned to the railroad brigades. Most of them were born in the 1890s, and they were almost without exception of low SS rank; 21 names of transferred railroad men to the SS-EBB are known.⁴

The trains of the construction brigades were mostly stationed on sidings near train stations, so that the prisoners could reach their work location quickly. The SS-EBB V was quartered at the Osnabrück switching yard; a smaller detachment was based in Hasbergen.⁵ The SS-EBB works stood clearly in the context of the deployment of the V weapons. After the war, Landau stated: “The Brigade had the task to remove bomb damage at railroad facilities in this area, so that at night at least one railroad track could be used along this route. This was necessary to transport satisfactorily the V-1 weapons.”⁶

Heavy physical labor was the main work for the railroad construction brigades: filling bomb craters, removing destroyed railroad tracks, and laying them anew. In Osnabrück there was also a “city detachment” that stayed to clean up the city. This detachment was popular among the prisoners as it was notable for relatively correct prisoner foremen and SS guards and because it was possible to obtain additional food. This was also the case for the “construction field command” of the construction brigade, whose prisoners built temporary accommodations for SS people in an allotment garden.⁷ The deployment of the prisoners in the city can be traced back to

SS-EISENBAHNBAUBRIGADE V **(OSNABRÜCK) (BUCHENWALD,** **MITTELBAU, AND SACHSENHAUSEN)**

The SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade V (SS-EBB V) was the first of eight SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigaden that the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WHVA) established in the late summer of 1944 as mobile concentration camp prisoner detachments. As a rule, each of these “concentration camps on rails” consisted of 504 prisoners plus guards. Their primary task was to repair the destroyed German railroad network. The trains, which were up to 50 railroad cars long, were refitted in the factories of the concentration camps in the SS’s own Deutsche

the initiative of Osnabrück mayor Erich Gärtner, who even endeavored to be assigned the coordination of the prisoner deployments.⁸

From the autumn of 1944, SS-Sturmabführer Weigel was the Inspector of All Construction Brigades (Inspekteur sämtlicher Baubrigaden) in the WHVA. He reported to Hans Kammler (WVHA, Amtsgruppe C) after an inspection of the SS-Baubrigaden on February 12 and 13, 1945: "The performance of the SS-BB [Baubrigaden] is exemplary. According to the commanders, the Organisation Todt [OT], which is also deployed there, has not reached the same standard."⁹ This high performance was extracted from the weak prisoners only through terror. Survivors of the SS-EBB V reported that during their 10 hours of work they had barely a five-minute-long break. They were not even allowed to go to the toilet. Instead, there was a saying: "Work, don't shit."¹⁰ A survivor stated the following about the conditions of the prisoners in Osnabrück: "Just about all the prisoners were sick. Many were only skin and bones; others could barely stand on their legs. Everyone had to work. Now and then I saw that in the evenings a prisoner was carried back to the railroad car. When it was going really poorly for someone he could stay in the infirmary car."¹¹

At the end of 1944, the SS-EBB V comprised 410 prisoners.¹² Due to the lack of sources, it is difficult to determine what happened with the remaining prisoners. Probably some had been selected as "incapable of work" and sent to the nearest concentration camp, Neuengamme, and not to their assigned camp. Danish survivors reported that both in the middle of December 1944 and March 1945 some 80 prisoners from Neuengamme were sent to the SS-EBB in exchange for sick prisoners admitted from Osnabrück.¹³

There is evidence for two cases of homicide. An SS guard is said to have shot a Polish prisoner who was being removed from a work group.¹⁴ In addition, an SS man is said to have tortured to death a Soviet prisoner who had escaped. The captured prisoner was returned to the SS-EBB, abused, shot, and then finally killed at close range with several shots to the head.¹⁵ Many prisoners are said to have died during bombing raids. There are also reports of work-related deaths: one prisoner, according to Theodor S., was run over by a train in Osnabrück while fetching water.¹⁶

Exact numbers are difficult to obtain because the contemporary sources only identify one victim of the SS-EBB.¹⁷ According to survivors' statements, the construction brigade victims were thrown into a damaged building in the vicinity of the railroad lines and once a week were taken to a crematorium in Osnabrück.¹⁸ At the Heger cemetery in Osnabrück, where the prisoners of the subcamp of the SS-Baubrigade II were buried, no victims of the SS-EBB were identified other than the above-mentioned casualty.

An undated but contemporary list of 470 names of the SS-EBB prisoners shows that in addition to Soviets (193 prisoners) and Poles (172), Germans (48) were strongly represented. In addition, there were French, Yugoslavs, Italians, "Gypsies," Luxembourgers, Belgians, Dutch, and a Hungarian

Jew.¹⁹ A group of 35 Danes who were transferred via Neuengamme to the SS-EBB V survived the war.²⁰ Before their departure from Neuengamme, they received warm clothing and two packets of food from the Red Cross. At the construction brigade they lived in two railroad cars, stayed close together, and generally worked on the better assignments in the city. On April 2, 1945, the Danes could leave the subcamp as a result of the Bernadotte mission, which resulted in Scandinavian prisoners being released from concentration camps during the last weeks of the war.

At the beginning of April 1945, the remaining prisoners were evacuated by train at first to Bremen, where for three long weeks they had to load locomotives on to ferries to be transported across the Weser River. At the end of April, the prisoners were taken to Nordenham and put on the ship *Apollo*. After a two-day trip through the Kiel Canal, they reached the Flensburg Fjord at the beginning of May 1945.²¹ It is alleged that several murders were committed during the evacuation. In a statement signed shortly after the war's end, a survivor stated that an SS Rottenführer single-handedly killed 18 nontransportable Soviet prisoners with a hand grenade. Another Rottenführer was accused of shooting four Russians on May 1, 1945. Outside of Flensburg, the prisoners were loaded onto the damaged ship *Rheinfels*, crammed in with other prisoners from Stutthof and Neuengamme. On May 3, 1945, all the SS guards left their posts, and on May 5 the prisoners were liberated. While the German prisoners were taken to a recuperation camp in Flensburg, the Swedish Red Cross made a ship available to take the foreign survivors to Malmö.²²

None of those responsible for crimes committed in the SS-EBBs were convicted. Landau was able to successfully conceal his role as SS leader of the Baubrigade and was sentenced to three years' prison solely for being a member of the SS.²³ Anton Schettler, who was born on October 10, 1910, in Pestovac, and was charged with shooting the recaptured Soviet prisoner, was declared dead, with the result that no proceedings were opened against him.

SOURCES The SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade V first became a subject of research in connection with a dissertation about all of the SS-Baubrigaden, published by Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft, und KZ: Himmler's SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005). This is partly due to the fact that there are few contemporary sources, so the outline of the Eisenbahnbaubrigade V can only be reconstructed by combining widely disparate sources.

Especially important primary sources are the archives of former ZdL (now BA-L), which contains copies of contemporary sources, especially statements from the survivors (IV 406 AR-Z 182/73, IV 406 AR-Z 227/73). There is also some relevant documentation in CChIdK. A published witness testimony is Jørgen H. P. Barfod, *Helvede har mange Navne: En Beretning om Koncentrationslejre og Fngsler, hvor der sad Danskere 1940-1945* (Copenhagen: Forlaget Zac, 1969).

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1. KZ Mittelbau Camp, October 11, 1944, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, p. 7; Transportmeldungen, October 8, 1944, in *ibid.*, IV 406 AR-Z 182/73, pp. 59–62.
2. BDC/SSO RS, Helmut Landau, born February 8, 1906, BA-BL; BA-K, Z 42 VI/1536.
3. Schlussvermerk, August 16, 1973, in ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 182/73, p. 493.
4. KZ Neuengamme, Kommandantur, March 13, 1945, CChIdK.1367/1/14, p. 56.
5. Karl J., September 17, 1972, ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, p. 252; and Jørgen H.P. Barfod, *Helvede har mange Navne: En Beretning om Koncentrationslejre og Fngsler, hvor der sad Danske 1940–1945* (Copenhagen: Forlaget Zac, 1969), p. 211.
6. Helmut Landau, February 28, 1973, in ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, p. 639.
7. Josef J., August 25, 1971, in *ibid.*, p. 37; and Barfod, *Helvede har mange Navne*, p. 212.
8. Protokolle, November 10, 1944, NStA-Os, Dep. 3 b XIX, Nr. 124.
9. Der Inspekteur der SS-Frontarbeiter und SS-Baubrigaden, March 2, 1945, BA-B, NS 19/771.
10. Barfod, *Helvede har mange Navne*, p. 213.
11. Felix L., February 6, 1973, ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, p. 631.
12. KZ Mittelbau, December 31, 1944, in *ibid.*, 406 AR 85/67, p. 43.
13. Barfod, *Helvede har mange Navne*, pp. 211, 214.
14. Josef J., August 25, 1971, ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, p. 37.
15. Hans L., July 20, 1973, in *ibid.*, p. 642.
16. Theodor S., January 25, 1973, in *ibid.*, p. 572.
17. The German prisoner Hermann Enderun, identified through the Data Base of the AG-NG and documents at the Hege cemetery in Osnabrück, 1970.
18. Barfod, *Helvede har mange Navne*, p. 214.
19. “Verzeichnis der Häftlinge der 5. SS-Baubrigade (E)” (n.d.), ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 182/73, pp. 81–90.
20. Barfod, *Helvede har mange Navne*, pp. 211–214.
21. Documents of Anton A., prior to February 1947, in ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, p. 530.
22. See prisoners’ statements in *ibid.*, IV 406 AR-Z 207/73, pp. 28–30, 253, 669; *ibid.*, IV 429 AR 1304/67, pp. 37, 145–149; *ibid.*, IV AR-Z 182/73, pp. 108, 243.
23. Spruchgericht Recklinghausen, September 28, 1948, in BA, Z 42 VI/1536.

SS-EISENBAHNBAUBRIGADE VI [AKA SS-BAUBRIGADE VI (E)] (BUCHENWALD, MITTELBAU, AND SACHSENHAUSEN)

The SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VI (SS-EBB VI), one of eight mobile “concentration camps on rails,” was first established as the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade I at the Buchenwald concentration camp. On September 12, 1944, 504 prisoners stood ready to be transported at the Buchenwald Railway Station.¹ At the beginning of November 1944, the unit was renamed. Until then it had been listed under various names

(also “Mittelbau/VIth SS Construction Brigade”; “1st SS Railroad Train, Construction Brigade 6”).² On October 28, 1944, the newly independent concentration camp Mittelbau took over the 514 prisoners of the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VI. On January 1, 1945, it was taken over by the Sachsenhausen concentration camp along with all other SS-Baubrigaden.

The command of the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VI was assigned to Walter Fikeis, born in Vienna on June 7, 1914. Fikeis, an Austrian engineer, had been a member of the SA since 1932 and with his appointment as camp commander was promoted to SS-Obersturmführer. Since 1942, he had worked in the SS-Main Office for Budget and Buildings. Before 1944, he was at first a member of the Central Construction Administration of the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF), Caucasus, and subsequently was with the Central Construction Administration “Reich Süd” in Dachau.³ The guard included 65 SS members, about half of whom belonged to the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Amtsgruppe C and the other half to Amtsgruppe D.⁴ Among them was a major group of older railroad men who had been drafted into the SS battalions of the concentration camps. Hans R., a former senior Reichsbahn official, stated at the beginning of the 1970s that in November 1944, pursuant to a decree of the Reich Ministry of Transport, the Nürnberg Railway Administration registered him as a “railway construction expert” with the Waffen-SS. Accordingly, on November 24, 1944, he received training in the Dachau concentration camp and, with 15 other railway officials, was dispatched to the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VI.⁵

At first the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VI also had a functional relationship with the armaments and rocket center being established in the Harz Mountains. Its destination was Cologne, where the railway station “Köln-Eifeltor,” an important traffic connection for the transport of V weapons (*Vergeltungswaffe*) to the southwest, had been heavily destroyed. On September 12, 1944, the prisoners were loaded onto a ready construction train at the Weimar railway freight station.⁶ That same evening, the train departed and the next day reached the railroad station Berga-Kelbra near Nordhausen. The construction brigade remained there until September; at times the prisoners worked in Sangerhausen, where they had to dig trenches for the laying of telephone cables. On October 1, 1944, the SS-EBB VI left Berga-Kelbra. But it first pulled up in Bingerbrück (near Bingen on the Rhine River), where it arrived on October 2, 1944. There it repaired railway tracks on the right side of the Rhine, which also provided an important connection to the Saar River and France. Only on November 1, 1944, did the construction brigade finally arrive in Cologne. Because of the constant bombing raids on that city, the construction brigade stayed in a tunnel near Brühl. From there, the prisoners were taken daily by railroad to work at the Köln-Eifeltor railway station.

In a 1998 interview, Iwan Wassiljewitsch Werenitsch describes the work of the prisoners: “The station was always being bombed. Our main work was as follows: rebuild the

foundation, remove the destroyed rails, level the ground, lay ties, seal, screw down, that is, build new tracks.⁷ In addition, after bombing attacks the prisoners had to uncover unexploded bombs in the area of the railway station and in the immediate vicinity and retrieve the bodies.

At the end of 1944, 465 prisoners were still counted in the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VI, although up to that point at least an additional 61 prisoners had been transferred to the construction brigade.⁸ Presumably the largest portion of the approximately 100 missing prisoners managed to escape. In the fall of 1944 the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigaden, which operated in areas difficult to guard, belonged to a group of sub-camps that offered particularly good opportunities for escape. For this reason, the resistance movement in Buchenwald took care that specially endangered prisoners were located in such camps. In September 1944, it put several Soviet prisoners on the list of transports for the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VII so that they could escape. It also managed to dispatch there two “escape point coordinators.”

Already during the night of departure on October 1–2, 1943, 23 prisoners in a train car near Kassel had forced open the doors and escaped. The furious SS officers thereupon threatened as punishment to send every tenth prisoner to Mittelbau or to string him up on the gallows—not the least because the SS leaders were threatened with disciplinary proceedings if there were high numbers of escapes.⁹ Proceedings were initiated against Fikeis for failure of the guard in the field and for the negligent release of prisoners—which, however, remained pending until the end of the war.

This escape was part of a controversial decision among the prisoners. Alexander Agafonow, then a prisoner in the SS-EBB VI, writes:

A bold and, in my opinion, rash escape: in the center of Germany, near Kassel, surrounded by a fanatic populace cowed by terror, quick acting youngsters of the Hitler Youth and then escaped prisoners in striped inmates' clothing! At the first attempt to get hold of clothing or food the populace will raise the alarm and the chase will begin. No, I thought, the chances for the escapees are equal to nil. Only obsessed braves or men driven to despair act this way. Gustav and Ernst had been urged to risk the escape only near Köln, in no case earlier.¹⁰

In fact, the conditions for escape in Cologne were favorable. In November 1944, the SS-EBB VI was located only 21 kilometers (13 miles) away from the Allies; the battles could be heard.¹¹ Further, it was easily possible to escape during the confusion caused by bombing raids. Often, the SS could not determine definitely whether the prisoners had escaped or had been dismembered beyond recognition during a raid. Therefore, those that remained behind were spared the threatened punishment actions. A young Russian who was helped by forced laborers from his hometown made the first successful escape in Cologne. Agafonow, too, was able to flee

later during a bombing raid and was helped by female workers from the East located in a camp nearby.¹²

Because of the difficult transport conditions at the end of 1944, hardly any transports of individual prisoners to the political department of the concentration camps were carried out any more as punishment. Instead, a car of the SS-EBB VI was converted into a prison, in which, for instance, Russians were jailed who had been caught looting and were to be transferred from Bingerbrück to the Gestapo in Mainz.¹³ Also, often at random, forced laborers were impressed into the SS-Baubrigade. Thus, after 2 Russians had escaped during an air-raid alarm at the beginning of March 1945, Fikeis simply arrested 4 Italian workers who from then on had to stay with the construction brigade.¹⁴ However, large prisoner transports took place until the last days of the war. In the spring of 1945, SS-EBB VI sent 76 inmates to Buchenwald, for which in return it received 100 inmates.¹⁵

At this point the SS-EBB VI was already in retreat. Despite the quickly approaching Western Allies, the construction brigade was transferred as late as February 9, 1945, from Cologne to Zündorf on the right side of the Rhine.¹⁶ Work was now performed on the Gremberg railway station, until on March 1 the train traveled on to Troisdorf. On March 8, 1945, one day after American troops crossed the Rhine over the bridge at Remagen, the redeployment began toward the East. The train advanced only a kilometer (0.6 miles) at a time and reached Nordhausen on March 11, which made the prisoners fear the worst. However, the train continued moving and reached Freital via Dresden. There, until April 8, cleanup work was resumed. On April 23, the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VI reached Passau via Dresden, Chemnitz, Plauen, and Pilsen and, five days later, Salzburg, where on May 4, 1945, the prisoners were liberated.

After the war, Fikeis was presumed missing. An investigation that only was initiated in the 1970s was abandoned in 1973.

SOURCES The files of the Cologne State Attorney's Office held at THStA-(D), Court Rep. 118/2104-2106) as well as at the BA-L (IV 406 AR-Z 95/73) are among the most important sources. In addition, the journal-like chronicle of former prisoner Jules Carette, “Souvenirs de Buchenwald & de la 1e SS-Eisenbahn-Baubrigade. Einheit Bauzug” (MSS, Lille, n.d.), and the memoirs of Alexander Agafonow, *Erinnerungen eines notorischen Deserteurs* (Berlin: Rowohlt Verlag, 1993) are of particular importance. Otherwise, there are no specific publications about the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VI. It was only discussed in connection with a dissertation about all SS-Construction Brigades: Karola Fings, *Die Kommunen, der Krieg und die Konzentrationslager. Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2004).

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1. Buchenwald concentration camp, handwritten notice, n.d., ITS, Sachdokumenten-Ordner Buchenwald 47, p. 51;

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transport list dated September 1944, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 95/73, pp. 138–141.

2. Buchenwald concentration camp, Bewegungsmeldungen 12.9.–21.10.1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a; KZ Buchenwald, Anschriften der Kommandos, ca. September 1944, *ibid.*, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 229.

3. Walter Fikeis, born June 7, 1914, BA-B, BDC/SSO, RS.

4. SS-EBB VI, January 25, 1945, RGVA, 1361/1/14, pp. 61–62.

5. Statement Hans R., HStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 118/2105, p. 232.

6. Jules Carette, “Souvenirs de Buchenwald & de la 1e SS-Eisenbahn-Baubrigade. Einheit Bauzug” (MSS, Lille, n.d.).

7. Iwan Wassiljewitsch Werenitsch, September 8, 1998, NS-Dok, Z 10.664, p. 10.

8. Concentration camp Mittelbau, Stärkemeldung December 31, 1944, BA-L, IV 406 AR 85/67, p. 43.

9. Alexander Agafonow, *Erinnerungen eines notorischen Deserteurs* (Berlin: Rowohlt Verlag, 1993), pp. 186–187; Carette, “Souvenirs,” entry for October 1–2, 1944.

10. Agafonow, *Erinnerungen*, p. 186.

11. Carette, “Souvenirs,” entries from October 25 to November 3, 1944.

12. Agafonow, *Erinnerungen*, p. 189.

13. Carette, “Souvenirs,” entry for October 6, 1944.

14. *Ibid.*, entry for March 3, 1945.

15. “Nach Buchenwald wegen Feindnähe zurückgenommene Kommandos,” ca. April 1945, AG-B, 61-0-15-2; Arbeitsstatistik, February 23, 1945, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 135.

16. Carette, “Souvenirs,” entries from February 9, 1945.

scale attacks on Karlsruhe began on the day the train arrived in the city.² The train was parked on a railroad track near the newly constructed autobahn bridge at the Karlsruhe-Durlach junction. Almost a month later, the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VII (SS-EBB VII) left Karlsruhe and two days later reached Stuttgart, where it remained until almost the end of the war.³ At first, the construction train stood in the Prague tunnel, a railroad tunnel to the north of the main railroad station, with guards posted at either end. The prisoners could move within the tunnel before they were locked in the wagons after evening roll call. Other trains traveling through the tunnel during an air-raid alarm ran over 3 prisoners on October 30, 1944. As a result, the train was removed from the tunnel a few days later. The tunnel remained a refuge from the air raids, and sometimes the prisoners had to seek refuge there several times a night.⁴

Kurt Schäfer, an engineering graduate born on June 8, 1911, in Karlsruhe, was commander of the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VII. He had been a member of the Nazi Party (NSDAP) since 1931. Schäfer was ordered to Amtsgruppe C of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and was probably active in Auschwitz when he took over the construction brigade.⁵ What was unusual was that Schäfer’s wife and four-year-old daughter traveled with the concentration camp train.⁶ While Schäfer was not incriminated by survivors, his deputy is alleged to have been especially brutal. For example, he forced prisoners to hop like frogs and kicked them at the same time. Once he is alleged to have shot a prisoner tortured in this way.⁷

Nevertheless, the SS-EBB VII has been described by survivors as an “oasis among the concentration camps.” Ryszard Krosnowski and Aleksander Miziewicz wrote the following:

Naturally there was heavy labor, poor food, and some of the SS men treated us inhumanely. But in comparison to the conditions that prevailed in the last months of the war in other concentration camps, the construction train was bearable. The reason for this was probably—besides the difference to the classic concentration camp—the type of work, which allowed food to be organized, as well as the guards who supervised the prisoners. At the beginning, the SS men who guarded the construction train had been pulled from the front and had not gone through camp training. They didn’t know about how things worked in the other concentration camps, and to a certain extent behaved decently.⁸

The comparatively low level of brutality in this subcamp, in addition to the already mentioned reasons, is based on the rather unique composition of the prisoners. They consisted almost without exception of Poles (three-quarters) and Russians (a quarter). There was no group of German prisoners to take control, and until the end of 1944, as for all construction brigades, there were no Jewish prisoners. These two groups worked hard to maintain solidarity.⁹

SS-EISENBAHNBAUBRIGADE VII [AKA SS-BAUBRIGADE VII (E)] (AUSCHWITZ, BUCHENWALD, MITTELBAU, AND SACHSENHAUSEN)

The SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VII (also known as SS-Baubrigade VII (E)) was formed in September 1944 with 505 prisoners as the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade II in the Auschwitz concentration camp. The task of the railroad construction brigade, a mobile concentration camp, was the repair of railroad lines. It was to have been transferred to Buchenwald by September 19, but this only occurred on October 13, 1944.¹ On October 20, 1944, the railroad construction brigade was renamed, and on October 28, 1944, the newly independent Mittelbau concentration camp took over the 498 prisoners. The assumption of control by the Sachsenhausen concentration camp on January 1, 1945, was, as with most of the SS-Baubrigaden, merely a formality.

On September 18, 1944, the train carrying 505 prisoners left Auschwitz and reached Karlsruhe on September 26, 1944. Karlsruhe appears not to have been the planned destination but was chosen because, according to former prisoners, large-

The daily routine for the construction brigade ran as follows: Wake at 5:30 A.M., leave for work at 7:00 A.M., half an hour for lunch, workday ends at 5:00 P.M. After the evening roll call at 7:00 P.M., the prisoners were shut in the container cars. The brigade worked until 2:00 P.M. on Sundays.¹⁰

Since the original files of the SS-EBB VII have survived, it is possible to reconstruct a relatively accurate profile of this construction brigade.¹¹ Of the 505 prisoners who left Auschwitz on September 18, 1944, 107 were listed as permanently or temporarily absent by April 1, 1945. The largest group, 38 prisoners, was transferred to Auschwitz (3 prisoners), Mittelbau (19), or Sachsenhausen (16) because they were physically weak; 36 had escaped; 10 had been handed over by the SS for punishment—7 to the Gestapo and 3 to the Leonberg subcamp. Temporarily, 11 prisoners were held in hospitals; 12 men died, at least 8 by train accidents or during bombing raids, 1 from poisoning; 2 prisoners were shot by members of the SS. In the same time period, there were 54 arrivals from other camps (4 from Mittelbau, 49 from Buchenwald, and 1 from the SS-EBB VIII); 4 came back from the Gestapo, 7 from the hospital, and another 7 were recaptured after their escape. On April 1, 1945, the day of the evacuation preparation, there were 470 prisoners in the SS-EBB VII. Compared to the prevailing terrible conditions in the main camps at this time, the death rate of 12 prisoners among 569 prisoners is relatively low. However, this does not take into account the fate of the prisoners transferred back to the main camps.

Schäfer did not transfer the prisoners back to the main camp for punishment but to the local police stations in Karlsruhe or Stuttgart, for example, when the prisoners were caught with food taken from the rubble. There was usually an additional entry in the records that a prisoner had refused to work, stirred up trouble, or was planning to escape. In the last weeks of the war, the Stuttgart Gestapo no longer wanted this responsibility. The prisoners were handed back to the construction brigade. As a result, Schäfer introduced other punishment measures. A container car was stripped down to serve as a “Bunker” prison, in which prisoners were locked up for disobedience, contact with civilians, escape attempts, or other supposed infractions. In addition, Schäfer sent prisoners to the Konzentrationslager (KL) Leonberg, a subcamp of the Natzweiler concentration camp in the vicinity of Stuttgart.¹²

On February 20, 1945, Gerhard Weigel, since autumn 1944 Inspector of All Construction Brigades in the WVHA, ordered “special measures for work-shy foreigners” following a visit to Stuttgart. In connection with the SD and Gestapo, there was to be erected within the SS-EBB VII a “Work Education Camp for Foreigners in Empty Railroad Wagons.”¹³ A few days later, on February 23, 1945, the Stuttgart Gestapo transferred the first “education prisoner.” Up to 30 forced laborers were transferred to the construction brigade. The education prisoners were provided with the same living and work conditions (as the rest of the brigade); however, they could be let go after a short period of time.¹⁴

According to the accounts of survivors, the evacuation of at least a part of the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VII was unusual.

After receiving the order to leave from Stuttgart authorities, SS-Obersturmführer Schäfer decided to divide the train into two parts because of the poor transport situation. The first transport left the city on April 2, 1945, in the direction of Friedrichshafen and, according to a statement of a survivor, arrived in Aulendorf, north of Ravensburg on the upper reaches of Lake Constance.¹⁵ This group was evidently driven on a forced march, where some prisoners were killed.¹⁶

The second transport with about 200 prisoners left Stuttgart on April 3, 1945, under the command of Schäfer, also in a southerly direction. Three days later it arrived at Biberach. Because of the nearby French troops, everything was in disarray, and the SS men had to fear that they would soon be imprisoned. In this situation, according to two survivors, the prisoners recommended to Schäfer that in case Biberach was captured, he should disguise himself as an officer in the Wehrmacht, and they would give him a character reference. In exchange, Schäfer would give the construction brigade over to the French. With the exception of two SS men, Schäfer thereupon dismissed all of the guards. The prisoners continued to work in Biberach until April 23, and Schäfer continued to maintain the appearance of a functioning concentration camp.

After an order to vacate, the train started out on April 23, 1945, with a new locomotive. Near Bad Schussenried the prisoners, now in unlocked container cars, overpowered the locomotive engineer and were thus freed. The German troops had already left Schussenried, and the French soldiers, after giving the prisoners weapons, continued their advance. In the now-leaderless city, the prisoners acted as an occupation administration until a proper military administration could be installed. Survivors Krosnowski and Miziewicz wrote about the last days in Schussenried: “Two months after liberation the little town came permanently under French military occupation—and the prisoners, once they had regained their strength and become used to their freedom, dispersed, each to meet his own fate.”¹⁷

After 1945, Schäfer became a prisoner of the French but was not prosecuted because of his activities in the SS-EBB VII. Preliminary proceedings started in the Federal Republic of Germany were halted in 1972. In Schussenried the memory of the “Polish Train” remains alive. A collection of contemporaneous reports includes the following: “The people of Schussenried at first did not know what was happening. In the first few days there were hardly any French in Schussenried. The Poles seized the opportunity and took command. No one dared do anything against the Poles.”¹⁸ The people of Schussenried reluctantly accepted that “the Poles” had been given the official city halls as accommodation by the French occupying administration. Nine of the freed prisoners died in Schussenried as a result of their imprisonment in the concentration camps. There is no memorial to these victims on their gravestones.

SOURCES Records on the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VII are comparatively extensive. Ryszard Krosnowski took documents

with him when he escaped and gave them to Polish forced laborers in Stuttgart for safekeeping. From there, they reached the Polish Red Cross and the Auschwitz Memorial (APMO, D-Au-I-3, Microfilm Nr. 1960, fol. 1–80). Copies of the documents can be found in the BA-B, Bestandsergänzungsfilm Nr. 72205. In addition, the files of the above-mentioned investigation at BA-L (IV 406 AR-Z 150/72) as well as the reports of the survivors Ryszard Krosnowski and Aleksander Miziewicz (“7. SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade,” *HvA* 5[1962]) are important sources. The door of “Haus Silber,” the former Gestapo prison in Stuttgart on Dorotheen Strasse, still has the writing of a former prisoner of the 7th Construction Brigade—“Capo Michat, 7. SS-Baubrygady K. L. Auschwitz Gef.-Nr. 162262 Polak Radom Zeromskiego 3”—documented by Roland Müller, *Stuttgart zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus* (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1988), p. 628. Further sources have been made available in a dissertation on the SS-Construction Brigades: Karola Fings, *Die Kommunen, der Krieg und die Konzentrationslager: Himmels SS-Baubrigaden* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2004).

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6. Attorneys Schäfers, December 12, 1972, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 150/72, p. 244.
7. Julian R., May 18, 1975, *Ibid.*, p. 306.
8. Krosnowski and Miziewicz, “7. SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade,” p. 46.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 46–56; prisoners’ list with 488 names, BA-B, Bestandsergänzungsfilm 72205; APMO, D-Au-I-3, pp. 5–13 (369 Poles, 116 Russians, 1 Norwegian, 1 Lithuanian, and 1 stateless person).
10. Instruction Kurt Schäfer, n.d., BA-B, Bestandsergänzungsfilm Nr. 72205; APMO, D-Au-I-3, p. 67.
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13. Gerhard Weigel, March 2, 1945, BA-B, NS 19/771.
14. Krosnowski and Miziewicz, “7. SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade,” p. 52; BA-B, Bestandsergänzungsfilm Nr. 72205; APMO, D-Au-I-3.
15. Walter Hermanutz, “Die Jahre 1945–1947 in Schussenried. Der gestrandete KZ-Zug am Bahnhof Schussenried” (MSS, Schussenried, 1999), p. 1.
16. Kriminalausstellenstelle Biberach/Riss, March 8, 1972, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 150/72, pp. 129–141.

17. Krosnowski and Miziewicz, “7. SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade,” pp. 55–56.

18. Hermanutz, “Die Jahre 1945–1947 in Schussenried,” p. 2.

SS-EISENBAHNBAUBRIGADE VIII (SACHSENHAUSEN AND MITTELBAU)

The SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VIII (SS-EBB VIII), consisting of 504 prisoners, was formed on November 20, 1944, in Sachsenhausen. A few days later the prisoners were taken over by the Mittelbau concentration camp under the numbers 100504 to 101006 [*sic*].¹ As with all other SS construction brigades, from January 1945 it formed part of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. The prisoners were overwhelmingly Polish and Russian, but there were also French, Germans, Dutch, Italians, Yugoslavians, and Latvians.²

Along with the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VII, the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VIII was ordered to repair railroad tracks near Stuttgart. The Stuttgart rail network, as well as the city itself, had been severely damaged during continued bombing raids.³ The Daimler-Benz, Robert Bosch, and Heinkel-Hirth plants, important for fighter production, had already dispersed some of their production facilities, but the attacks endangered the many remaining plants important to the Luftwaffe, as well as the military supplies that were sent through Stuttgart. In September and October, additional attacks resulted in the collapse of traffic around the main railroad station as well as at many stations in the suburbs.⁴ The SS-EBB VIII was sent to Stuttgart-Cannstatt where a destroyed train tunnel was to be repaired and a sidetrack laid down. The prisoners of this construction brigade at times also worked on the Stuttgart Castle and its park.⁵

In December 1944, the construction brigade was transferred from Stuttgart to Offenburg. The Offenburg supply railroad station was located on the upper Rhine River on the Basel-Mannheim route. As a transshipment center, it was an important location due to the strategically important trade with Switzerland and Italy. On November 27, 1944, the train station was the target of a large attack, which paralyzed the transport system on the right bank of the Rhine.⁶ The SS-EBB VIII reached Offenburg on December 20, 1944.

SS-Obersturmführer Walter Becker, an architect, was in command of the construction brigade until the end of the year. He was born on September 24, 1892, in Mannheim and had joined the SA in 1929 and the SS in 1932. Starting in April 1940, he was part of what became Amtsgruppe C “Construction” of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). From 1940, he was head of construction in Breslau, and later in Posen and Nikolajewsk.⁷ Becker was followed on January 1, 1945, by SS-Untersturmführer Herbert Zoeger, a businessman born on October 14, 1901, in Fröbeln (Silesia). Until his appointment with the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VIII, Zoeger had no full-time function within the SS.⁸ Survivors agreed that Becker was a “very bad man,” and under his

leadership, hunger and terror ruled. It is alleged that in Stuttgart he personally shot a prisoner after a roll call. He is said to have volunteered for frontline service and was therefore replaced by Zoeger.⁹ Zoeger, on the other hand, is overwhelmingly described as humane. In total, the SS guards numbered 73 men, including a number of former railroad men, most born in the 1890s and almost without exception all with a low SS rank.¹⁰

The SS-EBB VIII was stationed in Offenburg on a track between a school and an inn, in clear view of the local residents. On the initiative of the city mayor, the prisoners were later transferred to a former "Camp for Workers from the East." The mayor was not concerned that the prisoners could be the victims of air raids but rather that the long train could draw the attention of the Allied bomber pilots to the city.¹¹ The train itself remained at the freight station.

Between February 21 and 23, 1945, Gerhard Weigel, the "Inspector of All Construction Brigades" in the WVHA, visited Offenburg. He reported to Berlin: "General inspection of the work at the large shunting yard. The work of the 8th SS-Construction Brigade is particularly noteworthy as within a short time the through traffic—above all supplies for front line troops—is rolling at night. I ordered night work. This, however, can only be done under difficult conditions because heavy and constant artillery from Strasburg disrupts the work. The losses suffered by the 8th SS-Construction Brigade and the 10th SS-Construction Brigade are considerable."¹²

Included in the "heavy losses" were 10 prisoners who, according to survivors, were killed during bombing raids. On February 15, 1945, the construction train at the freight railroad yard was hit and almost completely burned up.¹³ Weigel thereupon ordered that the construction brigade should move to Darmstadt to rebuild the train. The SS-EBB VIII remained in Darmstadt for just two weeks and was then deployed in the suburb of Erzhausen.¹⁴

In the middle of March 1945, the construction brigade moved with stops for cleanup work through Halle, Plauen, Pilsen, and Passau to Freilassing near Salzburg. It could not go any further, as Salzburg was about to fall. In his denazification proceedings in 1947, Zoeger stated that in the middle of April he received orders from Berlin to shoot the prisoners when he could not advance any further. He decided that on May 2, 1945, when he could not get in contact with a superior, to take responsibility for releasing the prisoners himself.¹⁵ Survivors stated that on this day Zoeger delivered a speech and declared that he would release them on his honor as a German officer. Details of the release were then negotiated with a group of prisoners.¹⁶ According to a survivor, five Soviet prisoners then tried to escape, whereupon the SS opened fire and shot one of them.¹⁷ Zoeger dismissed the SS guards in the direction of Salzburg, distributed to the prisoners official release passes, and received in return a declaration testifying in his favor from many of the prisoners. On the night of May 2–3, 1945, the train, with the help of German railroad employees traveled to Bergen near Traunstein. There, according

to a survivor, all the prisoners of the SS-EBB VIII, "including those driven to the very depths of human existence," were set free.¹⁸

Two survivors independently stated that the number of prisoners freed in Bergen was 216; a third put the number at 262. On January 1, 1945, the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VIII consisted of 436 prisoners.¹⁹ What had happened to the remaining prisoners? According to a survivor—who did office work, probably working in the administration—at least 80 prisoners had been sent to Sachsenhausen, Dachau, or other camps; around 15 had died during bombing raids or because of illness; and 100 had escaped.²⁰ Zoeger himself stated in 1972 that in Halle he sent two railroad cars full of the sick in the direction of Sachsenhausen because a military hospital had refused to take custody of them, and Zoeger did not want to travel with the sick anymore. Furthermore, according to the recollections of another prisoner, some prisoners—possibly in Passau—were transferred to the SS-Baubrigade XI and traveled with it to Ebensee.²¹ In addition to the above-mentioned shooting of 5 prisoners, 3 prisoners were believed to have been shot in Offenburg—a prisoner who had reached down to grab a cigarette butt, a mentally disturbed prisoner, and a recaptured escapee.

The SS camp leader, Becker, heavily incriminated by statements of survivors, stated in 1947 in a Nürnberg internment camp that as an architect he did not have an opportunity to be "politically active."²² By the time the Ludwigsburg State Prosecutor's Office investigated the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade VIII in the 1970s, Becker had already died. In order to credibly defend himself in front of the court during his hearing, Zoeger claimed to have experienced an inner change after taking over the construction brigade. He stated that what remained of his belief in the National Socialist leadership collapsed on the day that he first saw the prisoners. It is true that up until this time Zoeger had not had professional contact with the concentration camp system. The certificate that the prisoners gave him on May 2, 1945, the day of their release, was helpful. The text of the declaration, signed by 14 Polish and Soviet prisoners, read: "On January 1, 1945, Herr Herbert Zoeger took command of the SS-EBB VIII, which consisted of Polish and Russian political prisoners. The entire time up until the present day Herr Zoeger did all that he could to improve our living conditions and protect our health and lives. With our own free will we sign this document with gratitude."²³ Preliminary proceedings started by the Regional Court in Offenburg were discontinued in 1974.

SOURCES There is nothing at the Offenburg Railroad Station to memorialize the prisoners of the SS-EBB VIII. Bernd Boll, "Konzentrationslager auf Schienen. Eisenbahn-Baubrigaden der SS in Offenburg 1944/45," *Ortenau* 73(1993): 481–485, relied mostly on the files held by the BA-L (IV 406 AR-Z 171/73) and on the inspection report of Gerhard Weigel at the BA-B (NS 19/771), but he also found some papers in the ASt-OG (NL Rombach; 18-2-16 Plans). Scattered single sources on the SS-EBB VIII were found in a dissertation on the SS construction brigades: Karola Fings, *Die Kommunen*,

der Krieg und die Konzentrationslager. Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2004).

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2. Mittelbau-Dora concentration camp, prisoners' lists, November 30, 1944, AG-MD, Film B1, pp. 195–205.
3. Roland Müller, *Stuttgart zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus* (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1988), pp. 457–479.
4. Bundesbahndirektion Stuttgart, "Die Leistungen der Deutschen Reichsbahn im Bezirk der früheren RBD Stuttgart während des 2. Weltkrieges," Stuttgart 1954, BA-B, R 5 Anh. I/85, p. 3.
5. Walter G., April 5, 1972, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 171/73, pp. 197–199; Zenon L., March 18, 1972, *ibid.*, pp. 272–276; and Witold K., June 26, 1972, *ibid.*, pp. 407–408.
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7. Walter Becker, born September 24, 1892, BA-B, BDC/RS, SSO.
8. Herbert Zoeger, born October 14, 1901, in *ibid.*, BDC/ PK, RS, SSO.
9. Nikolaj W., November 14, 1971, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 171/73, pp. 16–19.
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11. Boll, "Konzentrationslager auf Schienen," p. 496.
12. Gerhard Weigel, March 2, 1945, BA-B, NS 19/771.
13. "Bericht über wichtige Ereignisse während des 2. Weltkrieges im Bezirk der Reichsbahndirektion Karlsruhe," BA-B, R 5 Anh. I/44, p. 36.
14. Herbert Zoeger, August 1, 1972, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 171/73, p. 304.
15. Herbert Zoeger, August 16, 1947, in *ibid.*, p. 460.
16. Zenon L., March 18, 1972, in *ibid.*, pp. 272–276.
17. Adam Z., March 16, 1973, *ibid.*, pp. 277–280.
18. Wiktor A., April 22, 1972, *ibid.*, p. 400.
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20. Nikolaj W., November 14, 1971, BA-L, IV 406 AR-Z 171/73, pp. 16–19.
21. Jerzy J., April 22, 1972, *ibid.*, p. 405.
22. Personnel file Walter Becker, *ibid.*, p. 185.
23. Declaration signed by several unnamed prisoners, May 2, 1945, *ibid.*, p. 476.

SS-EISENBAHNBAUBRIGADE IX (SACHSENHAUSEN)

The first volume of the *Catalogue of Camps and Prisons in Germany and German-Occupied Territories Sept. 1st, 1939–May 8th, 1945* of the International Tracing Service (ITS), edited in July 1945 in Arolsen, contains the following reference to the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade IX (SS-EBB IX): "CC Kdo. of Sachsenhausen, established around the end of Nov.

forty-four, of five hundred pris., this Baubrigade was employed in railway repair work in Stuttgart until end of Dec. Work was continued in Offenburg near Strasbourg, until end of Febr. 45, then the brigade moved to Darmstadt and, half an hour before the Allied troops entered Darmstadt, via Frankfurt/M., Würzburg, Nürnberg, Regensburg, Pilsen, Salzburg, and Linz, to Ebensee (Netherlands Red Cross)."¹

Based on this source, researchers, including state prosecutors, assumed that SS-EBB IX had actually existed.² However, a recent investigation indicates that the creation of this construction brigade was planned but never actually carried out.³

The basis for this conjecture is that for the SS-EBB IX in contrast to the rest of the SS construction brigades—not one contemporary source has been found. Even though the Dutch report suggests that the files of this construction brigade were completely burned at the end of February 1945 in Darmstadt during an attack on the administration car of the construction brigade,⁴ it is still remarkable that neither prisoner lists are available from the ITS,⁵ nor are there variation reports, kept in electronic format, in the AG-S that contain any reference to the SS-EBB IX.⁶ According to the Dutch report, up to 250 prisoners of this construction brigade are said to have been killed in bombing raids. However, the documents kept at the cemeteries in Stuttgart, Offenburg, and Darmstadt, the supposed sites of the brigade's deployment, contain no reference to victims of the SS-EBB IX.

Gerhard Weigel, the "Inspector of All Construction Brigades" in the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), visited Offenburg between February 21 and 23, 1945, the period in which the SS-EBB IX was said to have been stationed in Offenburg. He mentioned the SS-Baubrigaden VIII and X but not IX.⁷ In addition, the supposed evacuation goal, the Mauthausen Ebensee subcamp, has no record of the brigade—unlike the SS-Baubrigaden XI and XII.⁸ The AG-M likewise does not hold any documents on the SS-EBB IX.

Bernd Boll based his assertion that the SS-EBB IX was in Offenburg on diary entries of the mayor who wrote about "two long trains with concentration camp prisoners" on December 25, 1944. This does allow for the possibility that two construction brigades were stationed in Offenburg at that time. However, the construction brigade trains were, owing to their length of up to 50 railroad cars, often parked in two rows on different tracks, so this cannot be seen as sufficient evidence for the existence of the SS-EBB IX.⁹ Inquiries by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) have revealed no further evidence about the SS-EBB IX to date. The name of a single SS officer for the brigade cannot be ascertained.¹⁰

A comparison of lists of names eventually supplied an explanation. Five of six known Dutchmen who, after the war, were regarded as missing from the SS-EBB IX, or who—as survivors of the SS-EBB IX—were considered by the Ludwigsburg State Prosecutor as possible witnesses, are to be

found on the prisoners lists for the SS-EBB VIII from January 1, 1945.¹¹ As the sites the survivors mentioned and the details of their activities correspond to those of the SS-EBB VIII, one can now assume that the survivors' statements, which until now have been attributed to the SS-EBB IX, should be attributed to the SS-EBB VIII.

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NOTES

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2. Bernd Boll, "Konzentrationslager auf Schienen. Eisenbahn-Baubrigaden der SS in Offenburg 1944/45," *Ortenau* 73(1993): 480–514; BA-L, IV 406 AR 1122/71.

3. Karola Fings, *Die Kommunen, der Krieg und die Konzentrationslager. Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2004).

4. Studie über die "SS-Baubrigaden," herausgegeben vom Auskunftsbüro des Niederländischen Roten Kreuzes (Nationales Ermittlungsbüro), la Haye, April 1949, BA-L, Binder Collections 311h, Picture Nr. 259ff; State Prosecutor Amsterdam, April 18, 1975, *ibid.*, IV 406 AR 1122/71, p. 71.

5. ITS, 24.1.1972, *ibid.*, p. 9.

6. Statement by the AG-S to the writer, March 19, 2001.

7. Gerhard Weigel, March 2, 1945, BA-B, NS 19/771.

8. *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem*, p. 378.

9. Boll, "Konzentrationslager auf Schienen," p. 496.

10. BA-L, IV 406 AR 1122/71.

11. SS-EBB VIII, Häftlingsnamensliste, 1.1.1945, AG-S, R 122/14.

SS-EISENBAHNBAUBRIGADE X (BUCHENWALD AND SACHSENHAUSEN)

The SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade X (SS-EBB X) was the only SS construction brigade that was made up of Jewish prisoners. It was established in December 1944 with 504 prisoners from the Buchenwald concentration camp and sent on January 2, 1945, to Offenburg to repair the railroad infrastructure there. Three days later, as with the other SS construction brigades, it came under the control of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.¹ The train was stationed in the heavily damaged Offenburg train station, an important transportation center in the Southwest. In contrast to the prisoners of the SS-Baubrigade VIII, who arrived in Offenburg about two weeks earlier and who were housed in a former forced labor camp, the prisoners of the SS-EBB X had to live in the railroad cars.²

The head of SS-EBB X was SS-Obersturmführer Ludwig Petz, who was born on June 9, 1912, in Munich. He was an architect and since 1938 had worked full-time at various SS construction sites. Beginning in November 1941, he was a

member of the Construction Inspectorate "Balkan," part of the Higher-SS and Police Leader's (HSSPF) office in Serbia. On October 15, 1944, he was appointed head of the SS-EBB X.³ The guards consisted almost exclusively of railroad employees who were called up for a short time in accordance with an October 29, 1944, agreement between the German Ministry of Transport and the Waffen-SS. After a four-week training course in the Dachau concentration camp, they were assigned to the railroad construction brigade.⁴ The 60 railroad men were mostly around 45 years old. The eldest was born in 1884 and the youngest in 1905.⁵

Except for 11 prisoners, the SS-EBB X comprised Hungarian Jews as well as a smaller group of Polish and Czech Jews.⁶ The use of Jewish prisoners in a construction brigade was later stopped—whether by Heinrich Himmler personally or the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) cannot be ascertained. It was expressly ordered that only "Aryan" prisoners could be used in the construction brigades. Instructions for a transport of prisoners to the SS-Baubrigade XII in Buchenwald in February 1945 stated that "two hundred Aryans" were to be made available.⁷ The reason for this instruction is that in the construction brigades it was never possible to prevent contact completely with the surrounding community and escapes were numerous. The SS-EBB X's prisoner-functionaries were 11 non-Jewish German prisoners who were transferred from Dachau and Mauthausen to Buchenwald.⁸

One of these functionaries, Josef D., described the construction train as follows:

The Eisenbahnbaubrigade consisted of a staff of SS men (ca. six men, ca. forty to fifty SS guards, ca. twelve Kapos, and ca. five hundred Jewish prisoners). A special train was assembled at the train station at Buchenwald for them, which consisted of approximately fifty to sixty cars. The prisoners were put in cattle cars. The guards were billeted in a simple passenger car. The staff was in well-equipped saloon cars. In addition, there was a car for tools and supplies and for the prisoners' kitchen. The SS staff and guards had special cooking facilities. The car for us Kapos was equipped with wooden bunks and wood shavings. There were twelve of us in the car. The Jewish prisoners, on the other hand, were cramped together and had to sleep two or three to a wooden bunk without a straw bag. The wooden bunks were double-storied. There were a good forty to fifty prisoners in a car.⁹

At any one time, groups of 98 Jewish prisoners and 2 prisoner-functionaries were put to cleanup work on the Offenburg railroad facilities. A survivor reported as follows: "The work conditions on the construction train were very poor. The food was miserable. Many prisoners were in a terrible condition; they had hernias and other illnesses. The equipment was poor. The prisoners had to do work on the

rails with their bare hands.”¹⁰ What made conditions worse was that the prisoners had no protection during the bombing raids. In the beginning they sought protection in the surrounding compound. Then this was forbidden, according to Gerhard M.: “This type of self-protection was banned by a railroad official from Offenburg. When fighters attacked we had to seek cover under the railroad cars. However, as the cars were the targets we suffered heavy losses.”¹¹ A report after the war by the Karlsruhe Railroad Directorate on an attack on the Offenburg freight yard on February 18, 1945, stated: “sixteen prisoners from the SS-Baubrigade X were killed and thirty injured.”¹²

At the beginning of March 1945 the SS-EBB X was withdrawn from Offenburg. From March 7 to March 25, 1945, the train stood on a railroad line between Leutershausen-Wiedersbach and Schalkhausen. The prisoners had to repair railroad facilities at Ansbach, 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) away. From April 2, 1945, the train was stationed in a patch of forest about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) from Ansbach, in the direction of Munich.

A former non-Jewish prisoner stated that for the Jewish prisoners “it was not possible to speak favorably about most of the guards.”¹³ Jewish survivors have not mentioned any unusual brutality by the guards. The reports on the prisoner-functionaries do not give a clear picture. Two prisoner-functionaries are accused specifically of mistreatment, and others are said to have disapproved of mistreatment and in part prevented it.

One Jewish survivor found particularly demeaning the punishment meted out to six prisoners in the SS-EBB X for stealing food—they were whipped in Offenburg at the beginning of March 1945. He recalls that they were at first threatened that they would be shot or hanged. Finally they were whipped by a Kapo. The next day they were whipped again, and finally they had to drop their trousers and thank the “SS leadership.”¹⁴ A former prisoner-functionary said that he had personally interceded with Petz on behalf of the prisoners and prevented them from being shot.

So far as the available numbers can determine, it appears that the death rate in the SS-EBB X was not higher than in other railroad construction brigades. Of the 504 prisoners, 414 reached the evacuation destination. According to survivors, 20 or 30 prisoners were exchanged for other prisoners from Sachsenhausen.¹⁵ Altogether the survivors mention up to 40 dead from bombing raids and around another 20 deaths; 4 murder victims are mentioned: 1 or 2 prisoners are said to have been shot in Offenburg for misappropriating food—a Polish Jew was beaten to death in Ansbach, and another was hanged. During the relatively short period of time between March 8 and April 2, 1945, there were 17 victims, according to the diary of a former prisoner. However, the causes of death were not named.¹⁶

On April 2, 1945, the construction brigade left Ansbach and passed through Fürth and Nürnberg. After April 14, 1945, the train was stuck in Undorf near Regensburg—a destroyed bridge prevented it from moving. Rumors circulated

among the prisoners that they were all to be shot in a forest. An SS guard is supposed to have said that Himmler ordered that all of the prisoners on the construction trains were to be blown up with hand grenades. According to one survivor, only about 10 SS men stated that they would carry out this order. Petz is supposed to have distanced himself from those plans.¹⁷ As the train was no longer operational, Petz finally had the prisoners start walking on April 19. They marched mostly at night due to bombing raids.

Apparently a few prisoners were shot on the march, but the numbers are uncertain. Former prisoner-functionaries have stated that there was a shooting detachment that shot prisoners who could not march any further. On the other hand, a Jewish survivor has stated that no more than five or six prisoners were shot on the march. On April 27, 1945, the aforementioned 414 prisoners reached the Dachau concentration camp, where on April 29, 1945, they were liberated.¹⁸

Petz and his closest colleagues ran off near Moosburg, after going two-thirds of the way.¹⁹ By the time the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg investigated the SS-EBB X, Petz had died. The Regensburg police, which in 1974 questioned 125 people in various locations about the concentration camp prisoners, stated the following after the lack of cooperation from the local population: “It is not possible to state whether the interviewees in fact could no longer remember as in several places we were confronted with a lack of understanding and an unwillingness to cooperate. The people today did not want to have anything to do with what happened. Besides, many were afraid that they could be prosecuted for looting the construction train. Probably almost all of the interviewees looted the train.”²⁰ In 1975, the more-than-1,000-page comprehensive file was closed with a recommendation that it not be reopened.

SOURCES The SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade X was first written about in an essay on the use of Offenburg as a marshaling area: Bernd Boll, “Konzentrationslager auf Schienen. Eisenbahn-Baubrigaden der SS in Offenburg 1944/45,” *Ortenau* 73 (1993): 480–514. In consideration of the special situation of the Jewish prisoners in the SS construction brigades, a dissertation was dedicated almost 10 years later and has since been published as Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft, und KZ: Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005). For the dissertation, other widely scattered sources, almost all of which have been mentioned in this essay, were used.

The most important primary sources are the judicial files at ZdL (IV 406 AR-Z 254/72), now BA-L, with additional documentation in THStA-W, BA-B, CChIdK, and NARA.

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NOTES

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2. Josef D., March 8, 1974, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 254/72, pp. 495–500.

3. BA-BL, BDC/RS, SSO, Ludwig Petz, born June 9, 1912.
4. Reichsbahnoberinspektor B., September 27, 1948, ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 254/72, p. 462.
5. 8. SS-EBB, January 30, 1945, CChIdK, 1361/1/14, p. 29.
6. Transportliste, January 2, 1945, and Transportzettel, NARA, Buchenwald-Film 34, fr. 31208-31216.
7. Arbeitsstatistik, February 23, 1945, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 135.
8. Rapportführer des Schutzhaftlagers K.L.B., n.d., ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 254/72, p. 98.
9. Josef D., March 8, 1974, in *ibid.*, p. 495R.
10. Josef D., March 8, 1974, in *ibid.*, p. 499.
11. Georg M., June 5, 1972, in *ibid.*, p. 315.
12. "Bericht über wichtige Ereignisse während des 2. Weltkrieges im Bezirk der Reichsbahndirektion Karlsruhe," in BA, R 5 Anh. I/44, p. 36R.
13. Josef D., March 8, 1974, ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 254/72, p. 497R.
14. Jozef L., November 26, 1974, in *ibid.*, p. 455.
15. Josef D., March 8, 1974, in *ibid.*, p. 495.
16. Gerhard M., March 3, 1946, in *ibid.*, p. 46.
17. Leon S., May 10, 1972, in *ibid.*, p. 303; Josef D., March 8, 1974, in *ibid.*, p. 498.
18. Figures and dates according to the files of ITS and correspondence with the ZdL in *ibid.*, pp. 404, 411, 499, 821, 822, 1018.
19. Josef D., March 8, 1974, in *ibid.*, p. 499.
20. Polizeidirektion Regensburg (Police Command Regensburg), 15.5.1974, in *ibid.*, p. 534.

SS-EISENBAHNBAUBRIGADE XI (NEUENGAMME AND SACHSENHAUSEN)

The establishment of the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade XI (SS-EBB XI) was planned since November 1944. The railroad construction brigade left the Neuengamme concentration camp for the first time on February 13, 1945, with 504 prisoners. It did not leave prior to that date because the train to carry the prisoners and supplies was not yet completed. Its destination was the freight and switching yard at Soest, a junction for all east-west transport, which had almost been completely destroyed on December 4–5, 1944, and where the prisoners were to undertake repair work. Temporarily stopped by a bombing raid just before Lippstadt, the SS-EBB XI reached the city of Soest on February 15, 1945.¹ As with all other SS construction brigades, it was formally made part of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp beginning in January 1945.

Since the Soest train station was the target of Allied bombing attacks on an almost daily basis, the train, with its 50 cars in which the prisoners and the SS security detail lived, could not stay there. Until February 25, 1945, the train was stationed on a stretch of rail at Lippstadt in Benninghausen. This meant long marches to work, which resulted in the train being returned to Soest. On February 28, 1945, it was

almost completely destroyed in Soest. The prisoners were taken to a barn on the Schulze-Lohöfer farm near Bad Sasendorf.

Franz Heider, an engineer born on September 13, 1910, in Steinach in Thuringia, was the leader of the SS-EBB XI until March 1945.² Although Heider had been a member of the Nazi Party and the SS since 1931, it was only with this appointment that he reached the rank of SS-Untersturmführer. He had been denied promotions for two years because in 1943 he did not take the shortest route on an assignment. Heider had been a member of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) since 1942 and was the head of the SS-Construction Inspectorate "Balkan" in Serbia with the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) from July 1942 until its retreat in October 1944. Survivors described Heider as "bearable." According to the camp elder (Lagerältester), Adolf K., he banned the beating of prisoners.³ Heider himself stated that he was reassigned from the construction brigade in March 1945 to construct airfields in southern Germany and the neighboring regions of Austria. According to a report from the camp elder, with Heider's successor, Kurt Wittwer, came "for the first time the famous methods of the SS into the brigade." SS-Oberscharführer Wittwer was born on May 4, 1912, in Berlin and brought with him two years in the SS-Baubrigade I, where he was infamous among the prisoners.⁴ Wittwer and another SS-Hauptscharführer, along with two Kapos, are alleged in particular to have brutally abused prisoners who attempted to escape.

Most of the prisoners came from the Soviet Union and Poland. But there were also prisoners from Denmark, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands. Among the German prisoners, who were the construction brigade's prisoner-functionaries, there appears to have been great rivalry. It was also reported that in Benninghausen a German Kapo beat to death Dutchman Jan Derk Bunink, who was born on January 7, 1926, in Zwolle.

The SS security detachment numbered 85 men in total, most of whom were old railroad employees who were temporarily posted to SS-EBB XI.⁵ Among them was Edmund P. who at a denazification court in Regensburg in 1947 tried to create the impression that he had nothing to do with the concentration camp prisoners:

I am a career railroad man and was forcibly called up to the Waffen-SS on December 28, 1944. I was trained in the so-called SS Training Camp [Übungslager] Dachau. There I was trained as an infantryman for about six weeks. Finally, I and other railroad men were sent to a fourteen day course at the Dachau Railroad Station. On March 10, 1945, we were transferred to the Eisenbahnbaubrigade XI at Soest, Westphalia. We were immediately sent in to repair destroyed railroad stations. I was the Eisenbahn-Rottenführer and supervised the repair work. I did not watch prisoners, who were totally occupied with work. In addition there were no assaults on the prisoners.⁶

Survivors' reports show a completely different picture of conditions in the SS-EBB XI. At war's end, only 206 prisoners reached the evacuation destination. In Soest, the prisoners were mostly exposed to the massive bombing raids because they either had to continue working or were not allowed to seek protection in bunkers. A former prisoner had the following to say about the bombardments: "In the morning the guys would repair the tracks and in the afternoon the Tommies [the British] came and blew it all up again."⁷ An attack on Soest on February 28, 1945, killed 33 prisoners of the SS-EBB XI; 31 were wounded, and 33 prisoners were counted as incinerated or missing.

At the beginning of March 1945, about 30 additional prisoners died from poisoning because the guards did nothing to help them. According to a survivor, who as the detachment clerk recorded the deaths in SS-EBB XI, a railroad car with methyl alcohol was broken open in the freight yard. A large group of prisoners consumed the alcohol and soon showed symptoms of poisoning such as vomiting, diarrhea, and delirium. Because the prisoners were left to themselves, Heinrich L. stated that 24 died during the day at the railroad site and an additional 6 in camp.⁸

A survivor has stated that as a result of the poor rations only 100 to 120 prisoners were in a position to march out to work. Another survivor has stated that despite some food handouts from the population that prisoners died daily from epidemics or undernourishment.⁹ Up until the last days of the war, prisoners who could no longer work were selected and replaced with new workers. For example, on March 19, 1945, 128 sick and wounded prisoners were sent to Buchenwald,¹⁰ in exchange for 100 Soviet prisoners who had departed Buchenwald on March 13, 1945.¹¹

Due to the lack of sources, it is not possible to determine an exact number of victims of the SS-EBB XI. However, extrapolating from the death rates for various nationalities leads one to the conclusion that the death rate was relatively high. Of the 36 Danes in the brigade, 14 died—in contrast to the SS-EBB V, where all 35 Danes survived the war;¹² 3 of the Danes were victims of bombing raids, but the majority, 10 Danes, died during the evacuation. Of the 51 Dutch, 22 were repatriated, 21 died, and 8 were listed as missing.¹³

The evacuation march of the SS-EBB XI, which began on April 4, 1945, was the worst in comparison to that of other railroad construction brigades. About 30 sick and wounded prisoners and five Kapos remained in Bad Sassendorf. Prisoners who could no longer walk were shot on the three-day march via Lippstadt and Paderborn to Höxter, where a train was awaiting them. On April 7, a transport with sick prisoners was sent from Halle to Sachsenhausen. The remaining prisoners left Halle on April 15 and retreated, sometimes on foot and sometimes on a train, over Chemnitz and Plauen to Pilsen (Plzen). The prisoners tried to escape if a favorable opportunity presented itself. A few succeeded. There was another selection in Pilsen. A transport with sick prisoners went to Dachau, while a small group marched to Dachau. Again, prisoners were left dead or dying along the way. The column did

not reach Dachau but was liberated in Anzing. (Survivors named the place "Anzingen." There is an Anzing near Dornfen, to the west of Munich, and an Anzing nearer Munich. Which location is meant is not known. Both are situated on the same railroad line.) The main transport of the SS-EBB XI traveled from Pilsen to the Mauthausen/Ebensee subcamp, where on May 4, 1945, the remaining 206 prisoners were registered.

The victims of the Soest railroad construction brigade are buried in a plot at the cemetery in Bad Sassendorf.

SOURCES Comparatively early, Gerhard Köhn published an article about the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade XI in a local historical magazine: "Das Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme bei Hamburg in Soest und Bad Sassendorf (11. SS-Baubrigade) 1945," *SoeZe* 98 (1986): 101–124. Köhn relied almost exclusively on the files of the ZdL (IV 406 AR 776/67), now BA-L. He was able to supplement many details because of his local knowledge. A new monograph on the SS-Baubrigaden has made available other sources on the SS-EBB XI: Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft, und KZ: Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005). The Soest memorial to the victims, which was erected in 1945, avoided using the words "concentration camp" and neglected to describe the circumstances of death. It says: "Here rest ninety-five citizens of various nationalities, who died far from their homes in the difficult years 1941–1945." See Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager, ed., *Arbeitsgemeinschaft Neuengamme e.V.* (Hamburg: Selbstverlag, 2000), p. 205. It was only on May 7, 1995, on the initiative of the Soest archivist, that a new memorial stone was dedicated. On the registration of the Eisenbahnbaubrigade's survivors at Ebensee, see *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 378.

In addition, a chronicle of the railroad man Wilhelm Trockel (AST-So, Sj 61) was valuable, as it contained some information about the "concentration camp train." In particular, materials from the AG-NG (Ng 6.4.91; Erinnerungsbericht Nr. 518), AG-S (IV 26), CChIdK, and FGNS-H (13-7-5-5) are noteworthy. A Danish publication describes in detail the living conditions of the prisoners and provides a detailed sketch of the evacuation route: Jørgen H.P. Barfod, *Helvede har mange Navne. En Beretning om Koncentrationslejre og Fængsler, hvor der sad Danskere 1940–1945* (Copenhagen: Forlaget Zac, 1969).

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NOTES

1. Sta. Ludwigsburg, January 11, 1972, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR 776/67, p. 153.
2. BA-BL, BDC/RS, SSO Franz Heider, born September 13, 1910.
3. Adolf K., September 8, 1947, AG-S, IV 26, p. 17.
4. BA-BL, BDC/RS Kurt Wittwer, born May 4, 1912.
5. SS-EBB XI, March 20, 1945, CChIdK, 1361/1/14, pp. 64–70.

6. Edmund P., June 16, 1947, ZdL IV 406 AR 776/67, p. 287.
7. Karl N., n.d., FGNS-H, 13-7-5-5.
8. Heinrich L., July 10, 1968, ZdL IV 406 AR 776/67, pp. 91–93.
9. Jan J. Kreuwen, May 20, 1990, AG-N, Nr. 518.
10. Buchenwald concentration camp, March 22, 1945, ZdL IV 406 AR 776/67, pp. 190–192.
11. Buchenwald concentration camp, March 13, 1945, *ibid.*, p. 187.
12. Barfod, *Helvede bar mange Navne*, pp. 244–248.
13. Excerpts from a Report by the Dutch Red Cross, 1945, in FGNS-H, 13-7-5-5.

SS-EISENBAHNBAUBRIGADE XII (SACHSENHAUSEN)

The SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade XII (SS-EBB XII), consisting of 504 prisoners, was established in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. The majority of the prisoners were Soviets and Poles, but there were also French, Dutch, Czechs, Yugoslavs, Spaniards, Italians, and Hungarians. A few German prisoners were included as prisoner-functionaries. The task of the railroad construction brigade was to build and refurbish railroad lines for the Ardennes offensive, the last large German offensive in the West.

On Christmas Eve, December 24, 1944, the construction brigade left the camp and remained in Lahnstein, near Koblenz, until January 8, 1945. Then it was transferred about 50 kilometers (31 miles) up the Rhine to Bad Kreuznach, where it remained for almost two months.¹ In Bad Kreuznach the train was stationed on the “Red Ley,” a gorge on the Nahe River.² Prisoners and guards lived on the 50 cars of the train, which was provided with a supply car, a kitchen car, and a tool car. At the beginning of March 1945, the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade XII was sent to Grossen-Buseck via Mainz and Frankfurt am Main. The prisoners had to work at the nearby railroad station at Giessen, which had almost been destroyed.

The prisoners were put to work at the request of the Mainz Railroad Directorate. This is confirmed in a report by SS-Sturmabführer Gerhard Weigel, who had been the “Inspector of All Construction Brigades” (Inspekteur sämtlicher Baubrigaden) in the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) since the autumn of 1944. On February 17, 1945, Weigel inspected the construction brigade and held talks with SS-Hauptsturmführer Rudolf Goetze and the vice-president of the Mainz Railroad Directorate, Dr. Schrag, as well as senior railroad officials Steissenreuther and Dr. Kampf. On March 2, 1945, he reported to Hans Kammler, the head of Office Group C of the SS-WVHA: “There are no particular complaints at the SS-BB [Baubrigade] XII. According to the statements by the Mainz Railroad Directorate, their deployment is very worthwhile.”³

Goetze was the head of the SS-EBB XII. He was born on March 9, 1908, in Berlin and was a doctor of engineering. Goetze joined the SS in 1933 and before his assignment with

the construction brigade had worked on SS construction projects.⁴ After the war Goetze tried to play down his actions in the construction brigade. The infamous Gustav Sorge, a long-serving SS man in the construction camps, supported him. Sorge was a longtime SS member and was very familiar with the concentration camp system. He got the nickname “Iron Gustav” due to his brutality in street and hall fighting against political opponents in 1931–1932. Sorge organized the creation of the construction brigade in Sachsenhausen and was appointed as the brigade’s leader but had to resign after getting wounded in Lahnstein.⁵ Along with a handful of SS who belonged to the Leadership Staff, the guard detachment consisted of 70 SS men born in the 1890s. The overwhelming majority of these men, as with the other SS construction brigades, were former railroad workers called up to the SS for a short period of time.⁶

One of these railroad workers, Otto Stumpf from Bad Kreuznach, said the following after the war on his recruitment:

As a railroad worker I was ordered to Sachsenhausen on December 14, 1944. There, several thousand colleagues waited on their coming, difficult lot. It was all the more sad for there were only older men, between the age of forty-five and sixty, almost none of whom were party members. There were even comrades there that could hardly speak German as they came from Poland or Czechoslovakia. . . . Coming back to Sachsenhausen, I must say that it was not possible for me to get a glimpse of the concentration camp there, or to speak with anyone on the inside. Its condition first gave me cause to think that everything was not quite right with the camp. After the construction train was ready, I had the opportunity to speak with the prisoners personally about the woeful circumstances in the concentration camp. After every answer one could see the joy that they possessed, that they could now leave this camp.⁷

The conditions in the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade XII were marked by undernourishment and violence, like the other concentration camps; 37 victims of the railroad construction brigade were buried in the Jewish cemetery between Bad Kreuznach and Bretzenheim. Hunger, strict isolation, and a special brutality by the SS and Kapos, led by Sorge and the Kapo Otto Dümpelmann, stand out as the causes of the deaths. The above-mentioned guard added the following: “The SS staff was mostly young men who had not served at the front. Their sole task was hand-in-hand with the Kapos to torture us and the prisoners and to pilfer supplies and money from the construction train.”⁸

Survivors have reported many violent deaths. A drunken SS man is said to have shot the Kapo Fiete Leistner in Bad Kreuznach.⁹ Among the victims in Grossen-Buseck, where the construction brigade was stationed during the beginning of March and where 11 dead prisoners were registered

between March 12, and March 24, 1945, was a victim of an execution.¹⁰ The prisoner had escaped during a bombing raid on March 18, 1945, but was quickly caught in some nearby houses. An SS leader gave the order to hang this man. The hanging was justified on the basis that the man was wearing civilian clothes and therefore had "looted." Otto Dümpelmann carried out the execution. Dümpelmann was a former Luftwaffe soldier who was sent to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp because of numerous disciplinary punishments. Because of his healthy condition, he was known by the nickname "Fat Otto."

On April 10, 1962, during its proceedings against Dümpelmann, the Giessen jury court stated that the following events occurred:

In the meantime it was early afternoon and the prisoners had to step in front of the burned wagon. The SS also assembled. The prisoner was brought forward and after a short statement on the fate of looters the prisoner had to step onto the wagon's running board, where the accused put the rope, tied to the wagon's lamp holder, around his neck. The prisoner then had to jump or he was pushed. The rope broke. He was lifted, lifeless, from the ground, possibly by prisoners commanded to do so. The accuser took his belt off, attached it to the lamp holder, and then set the noose around the throat of the victim, and left him hanging in the noose.¹¹

The SS-EBB XII also transported large numbers of prisoners during the last days of the war. A total of 156 sick and weakened prisoners are said to have been sent to the Buchenwald concentration camp.¹² In return, 200 new prisoners arrived from Buchenwald at the beginning of March 1945.¹³

The SS-EBB XII left Grossen-Buseck on March 23, 1945, and traveled to Eisenach via Alsfeld and Bad Hersfeld. Here the train had to be evacuated, and the prisoners marched on foot to Erfurt. On April 1, 1945, the train headed to Dresden via Leipzig. It remained there for a few days and then headed for Linz via Pilsen (Plzen). Here, according to the statement of a railroad man, about 300 prisoners were released on the initiative of the railroad workers.¹⁴ The construction train with 214 prisoners reached the Mauthausen subcamp of Ebensee on May 4, 1945.

After 1945, no one from the leadership group of the SS was brought to justice for crimes committed while in the railroad construction brigade. Sorge was convicted in 1959 of a number of murders committed in other camps and sentenced to life in prison. Only the murder committed by the Kapo Dümpelmann was punished. Dümpelmann was sentenced to two and a half years in prison in 1962 as an accessory to homicide.

SOURCES The SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade XII was mentioned in detail for the first time in a dissertation, published as Karola

Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft, und KZ: Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005). Far-flung local histories also give worthwhile information: Klaus Steup, *Aufrecht geben . . . wenn alles in Scherben fällt: Busecker Alltag in der Nazi-Zeit. Erinnerungen und Dokumente* (Grossen-Buseck: Selbstverlag, 1986); "Mobiles Konzentrationslager hinterliess Blutspur: Der Heimatforscher Bernd Vorläufer-Germer hat Spuren einer 'SS-Brigade' entdeckt," *FR* (Hochtaunuskreis), November 12, 1999. The admission of the SS-EBB XII survivors to Ebensee is listed in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 378.

Important primary sources are the judicial files of the ZdL (IV 406 AR-Z 33/74) at BA-L. The judgments on Sorge and Dümpelmann were published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: University Press Amsterdam, 1978), vols. 15, 18, a collection of German judicial decisions on National Socialist crimes published in Amsterdam. Mention is made of the SS-EBB XII in THStA-W, CChIdK, and FGNS-H. Otherwise, one must tediously search other sources. A collection of letters and reports in the AVVN-D (Bad Kreuznach correspondence) gives cause for optimism that local historical research will bring further details to light.

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NOTES

1. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: University Press Amsterdam, 1978), 18: 386; File Notes State Prosecutor, June 16, 1976, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 33/74, pp. 33–36.
2. Hugo S., May 31, 1949, in AVVN-D, Schriftwechsel zu Bad Kreuznach.
3. The Inspector of SS Workers at the Front and SS Construction Brigades, March 2, 1945, BA, NS 19/771.
4. Rudolf Goetze, born March 13, 1908, in *ibid.*, BDC/RS, SSO.
5. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, 15: 420.
6. SS-EBB XII, January 30, 1945, CChIdK, 1361/1/14, 31.
7. Otto Stumpf, n.d., in AVVN-D, Schriftwechsel zu Bad Kreuznach.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Friedrich T., August 27, 1966, FGNS-H, 13-7-5-5.
10. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, 18: 389; as well as the Mayor Grossen-Buseck, March 9, 1946, in Klaus Steup, *Aufrecht geben . . . wenn alles in Scherben fällt: Busecker Alltag in der Nazi-Zeit. Erinnerungen und Dokumente* (Grossen-Buseck: Selbstverlag, 1986), p. 30.
11. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, 18: 388.
12. Hubert Salzmann, May 31, 1949, in AVVN-D, Schriftwechsel zu Bad Kreuznach.
13. Arbeitsstatistik Buchenwald, February 24, 1945, in THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 135; and File Notes, March 1, 1945, in *ibid.*, KZ Buchenwald Nr. 4, Bd. 7/1, p. 74.
14. Otto Stumpf, n.d., AVVN-D, Schriftwechsel zu Bad Kreuznach.

SS-EISENBAHNBAUBRIGADE XIII (DACHAU AND SACHSENHAUSEN)

On January 18, 1945, the last SS construction brigade was formed at the Dachau concentration camp.¹ Consisting of 504 prisoners, the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade XIII (SS-EBB XIII) first worked until the end of January in Bavarian Reichertshofen. As with all of the other construction brigades, the SS-EBB XIII was administered after January 1945 by the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. The prisoner group was very heterogeneous, consisting of over 100 Soviets and large groups of Germans, French, Poles, Italians, Belgians, Yugoslavians, and Czechs. In addition, seven other nationalities were listed on the transport list.

The SS-EBB XIII was assigned to the Erfurt Railroad Directorate and worked from February 1945 on the two railroad lines heading southwest to Frankfurt am Main and Koblenz. It operated simultaneously at four different locations: two larger groups worked at Aumeau near Limburg, building a siding at the Ennerich Tunnel, as well as at the Limburg railroad station, which was an important railroad junction with lines heading to all parts of Germany. Detachments of the SS-EBB XIII were sent for short periods of time to Fulda and Mücke, on the stretch between Giessen and Bad Hersfeld.

At the various locations it was the rule that segments of the train were put on branch lines. In Limburg, the three train sections were parked next to each other at the railroad station and were surrounded by a cordon of guards. It was from this "camp" that the prisoners were led to work.² Another part of the train stood at the Weilburg railroad station on the "Plattenkaute" on branch lines. From there the prisoners were led daily to work on the railroad lines Runkel-Aumenau and Ennerich-Eschhofen.³

Bernhard Kuiper was the leader of the SS-EBB XIII. He was born on August 30, 1907, in the East Frisian town of Möhlenwarf.⁴ Kuiper was an architect who had built concentration camps since 1934. At first he worked at Esterwegen, then at the Berlin concentration camp "Columbia," and finally in Sachsenhausen. From 1940 he was a member of the SS-Main Office for Budget and Buildings (Hauptamt Haushalt und Bauten, HHB). His professional advancement was closely connected with his membership in National Socialist organizations. He joined the Nazi Party in April 1933 and the SS in October 1934. From May 1937 to August 1939, he was part of the SS-Sicherheitsdienst. When the SS-Obersturmführer took over the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade XIII on November 15, 1944, he was directly pulled away from the advancing Red Army with the SS-Economic Unit "Russia South" and sent back into Germany.⁵ In addition to other, mostly unnamed SS members, the guards consisted of a large group of old railway men. The railroad men were temporarily recruited into the SS and took about a four-week course in Dachau.

Gerhard Weigel, the Inspector of All Construction Brigades (Inspekteur sämtlicher Baubrigaden) in the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), inspected the SS-

EBB XIII and the places where it worked on February 11, 1945. He had a discussion with the president of the Erfurt Railroad Directorate, Dr. Reabes, and praised the "very good results" that the construction brigade had achieved "despite the short period that it had been at work."⁶ At the same time he declared the construction train to be a "model train." In Weigel's opinion, this train, which had been put together in Dachau by the SS-owned Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke GmbH (German Equipment Works, DAW) using experience gained from previous trains, set an exemplary standard for hygiene and other matters.

Nevertheless, the conditions in the SS-EBB XIII were by no means "exemplary." Many prisoners died from hunger and illness, were killed in bombing raids, or were shot. In the very early days of the construction brigade, there was an outbreak of typhoid. As a result, several prisoners were sent back to Dachau on January 30, 1945, where some of them died.⁷ In Aumenau alone, 14 prisoners were killed in bombing raids.⁸

After the war, survivors accused the roll-call leader, Hans Penkowski, of being responsible for numerous prisoner deaths. Penkowski is alleged to have either shot five prisoners or given the order to shoot them in a forest near Limburg in February 1945. He has also been accused of the murder of a Romanian prisoner. A survivor stated that Penkowski had the nickname Machine Pistol (Maschinenpistole) because he had the custom of shooting aimlessly at prisoners. He died during a bombing raid on March 21, 1945.⁹ Several prisoners have stated that prisoners were shot in Limburg in the camp area "like rabbits." The SS are said to have shot at prisoners trying to escape or those who were not quick enough to get out from under cover once the bombing raids were over.¹⁰ It was reported that a Russian prisoner, who had attempted to escape and was recaptured, was forced to wear a sign that said "I am here again." After this humiliation, it is said that the Kapos beat him to death.¹¹

Due to the paucity of sources, it is not possible to determine the exact numbers of those killed in the SS-EBB XIII. Data from the International Tracing Service (ITS) put the number of Belgians at over 15; 8 of these prisoners—more than half—did not live past liberation. In February 1945, 2 died from unknown reasons, 3 died in Dachau, and 3 died in Buchenwald.¹²

On March 4, 1945, 77 prisoners were chosen in Buchenwald and sent to the SS-EBB XIII. Three days later the following entry was entered in the Work Statistics: "The SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade XIII is dissolved and all the prisoners have been put on the transport 'Desert.'"¹³ At this point, signs of the dissolution of the construction brigade were already evident. In the middle of March, the different prisoner groups at the various locations were sent to the Mücke train station, some on foot and some by train. About 230 prisoners marched from there to Wetzlar. During the march, exhausted and fleeing prisoners are said to have been shot. From Wetzlar, the prisoners were taken in a train in open cars to Buchenwald. There, 185 prisoners of the SS-EBB XIII were registered.¹⁴ It would seem that not all prisoners arrived

simultaneously at Wetzlar, as U.S. troops caught up with a group of marching prisoners at the end of March in the Wetzlar environs and freed them.

As with other construction brigade leaders, the former SS-Obersturmführer Bernhard Kuiper hid his responsibility for the SS construction brigade. In a denazification proceeding in 1948, he was successful in portraying his activities as an architect in the SS as being forced. Although there were statements that Kuiper had “emphasized his role as a member of the SS and SD during the Hitler regime” and had ruthlessly represented the interests of the Nazi Party, the court accepted Kuiper’s own statements. As was usual in denazification proceedings, Kuiper was asked what he knew about concentration camps, Jewish persecution, and the situation of forced laborers, both male and female. He denied having an inner understanding of the concentration camp system. He said: “I knew that the prisoners had to work, but I did not know in detail what they did. . . . I knew things which were relevant to the construction sector. Otherwise it was impossible to hear anything. I thought that life in the concentration camps was not pleasant. What the disciplinary punishments were in the camp, I cannot say.”¹⁵

Kuiper concealed that he was the responsible leader of the SS-EBB XIII. For the relevant period he admitted to have worked at the Erfurt Railroad Directorate. In a detailed biography, which he wrote in January 1946 while interned in Neuengamme, he even suggested resistance conduct: “In the spring of 1945 I was given my last post as part of the Waffen-SS. It was with the Erfurt Railroad Directorate as a member of the staff of the construction detail. I worked with the railroad engineers, in a democratic sense and as a result of their requests engaged in difficult negotiations with the military commander at Schleiz/Southeast Thuringia toward the end of April which prevented 250 railroad workers from being called up to the Volkssturm.”¹⁶

The prosecutors for the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg saw through Kuiper’s tactical maneuvers, as in the 1970s they were busy with the events in the SS-EBB XIII and in conjunction with which they questioned Kuiper. However, it was already too late for a successful investigation. Many witnesses had already died or could not exactly remember about the happenings of the con-

struction brigade due to the elapsed time. The State Prosecutor’s Office at the State Court in Limburg closed the proceedings on March 20, 1974.

SOURCES The SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade XIII was first mentioned in a published dissertation on SS construction brigades, Karola Fings, *Krieg, Gesellschaft, und KZ: Himmlers SS-Baubrigaden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005).

The dissertation refers to the sparse and widely held sources, almost all of which are referred to in this article. The most important source is the investigation files of the ZdL (IV 406 AR-Z 33/74) at BA-L. Additional archival sources can be found in BA-B, BA-K, AG-B, and ITS.

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NOTES

1. KL Dachau Transportliste, January 18, 1945, BA-L, ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 33/74, pp. 53–64.
2. Herbert G., March 15, 1973, in *ibid.*, pp. 245–247.
3. August B., August 23, 1972, in *ibid.*, p. 111.
4. BA-B, BDC/PK, RS, SSO Bernhard Kuiper, born August 30, 1907; BA-K, Z 42 III/1526.
5. “Im Zuge der Verlagerungsaktion beim SS-Wirtschaftler ‘Russland-Süd’ freigewordene SS-Führer,” n.d., in ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 33/74, p. 79.
6. Der Inspekteur der SS-Frontarbeiter und SS-Baubrigaden, March 2, 1945, BA, NS 19/771.
7. ITS, Bescheinigungen über belgische Häftlinge, in ZdL IV 406 AR-Z 33/74, pp. 393–397.
8. Hubert A., August 30, 1972, in *ibid.*, p. 117; and Sta. Ludwigsburg, January 25, 1974, in *ibid.*, p. 454.
9. Francois H., September 25, 1973, in *ibid.*, p. 412.
10. Sta. Ludwigsburg, January 25, 1974, in *ibid.*, p. 451.
11. Jaroslav K., May 16, 1973, in *ibid.*, p. 331.
12. ITS Bescheinigungen über belgische Häftlinge, in *ibid.*, pp. 393–397.
13. KL Buchenwald, Arbeitsstatistik, March 4 and 7, 1945, in THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 135.
14. Entry Note, April 1, 1945, in *ibid.*, KZ Buchenwald Nr. 4, Bd. 7/1, p. 10; “Nach Buchenwald wegen Feindnähe zurückgenommene Kommandos (n.d.), AG-B, 61-0-15-2.
15. Protokoll Spruchgerichtsverfahren, October 29, 1948, BA-K, Z 42 III/1526.
16. Lebenslauf Kuiper, January 29, 1948, in *ibid.*

STUTTHOF



An SS guard at the entrance to the Stutthof concentration camp, 1941.
USHMM WS #12196. COURTESY OF AMS

STUTTHOF MAIN CAMP

From September 2, 1939, until late April 1945, a concentration camp existed near the town of Stutthof (later Sztutowo), some 40 kilometers (25 miles) east of Danzig (Gdańsk). The camp lay less than 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) south of the Baltic Sea and within 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) west of the Bay of Königsberg.

From its beginnings in September 1939 until January 1942, the Stutthof camp was under the control of the Danzig SS and police authorities. In January 1942, it was incorporated into the SS concentration camp system under the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). The Stutthof camp filled a number of distinct and differing roles in the period of its existence.

First, in the initial period after September 1939, what came to be known as the Stutthof civilian prison camp (*Zivilgefangenenlager*) was used as the main point for the collection and imprisonment of Poles and Jews forcibly removed from the Polish Corridor and from the former Free City of Danzig. By the end of January 1940, the camp held 4,500 prisoners, of whom at most 400 to 500 were Jews.¹ Most of the Jews were killed by one method or another, and by mid-1941, only a handful of them remained alive.

The original guard force for Stutthof consisted of some 50 Danzig police reservists and Nazi Party activists, called the Wachsturmbann Eimann. They were men who had been hardened in their hostility to the Poles by their participation in the ethnic struggle in Danzig in the 1930s. The first commander of the camp was Obersturmbannführer Max Pauly.

Second, from 1940 on through the end of the war, Stutthof functioned as the main *Arbeitserziehungslager* (work education camp) in Danzig–West Prussia. Forced laborers—mostly Poles and Soviet citizens—who did not work as the Germans wanted them to were sent to such camps for a sentence of from 28 to 56 days, to correct their attitudes. For many, it was a death sentence.

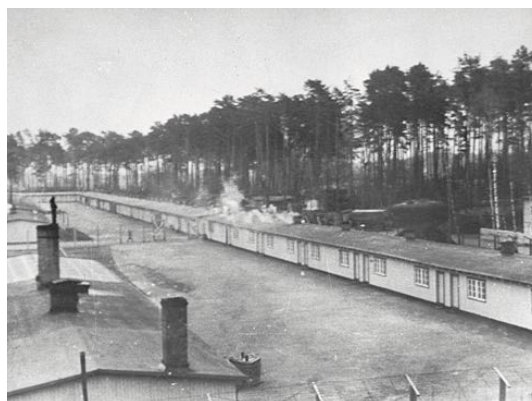
Third, after its absorption into the WVHA camp system, Stutthof grew into a regular, though lesser, member of the constellation of concentration camps. A steady flow of German prisoners—among them so-called career criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*), “asocials,” political prisoners, Jehovah’s Witnesses, and a handful of homosexuals—was added to the camp population, though overall it remained predominantly Polish until mid-1944. German prisoners were often appointed to the positions of Kapo and barracks block leaders, and a fair number of them found an outlet for their criminal tendencies in their maltreatment of the non-German prisoners.² A smattering of prisoners of other nationalities, most of whom were committed to the camp as political prisoners, added an international aspect.

Fourth, Stutthof functioned as the distribution hub for prisoners dispatched to the subcamps of the Stutthof camp

system. The sums received for the use of prisoner labor by state and private employers (1 to 3 Reichsmark [RM] per day) were crucial, for the camp had to be entirely self-financing. Among their assignments, the labor detachments from Stutthof worked on river regulation and flood prevention in the Vistula delta, excavated for water lines and sewers in the German cities of East Prussia, and labored in brickworks and gravel pits—the hardest types of physical labor. From 1941, as replacements for German workers who had been called up, smaller labor gangs from Stutthof were assigned to private workshops and to factories in and around Danzig. But these crews never numbered together more than a few hundred of Stutthof’s prisoners—until the late summer of 1944, when the influx of tens of thousands of Jews from the Baltic ghettos radically changed the nature of the camp.

In that final phase, from the summer until the fall of 1944, Stutthof acted as the great overflow camp of Eastern Europe, into which poured over 25,000 survivors of the great Baltic Jewish ghettos (Kaunas, Vilnius, and Riga). Simultaneously, more than 16,000 Hungarian Jews, overwhelmingly women, arrived in the camp from Auschwitz (as that camp had also been overloaded with prisoners). To this massive influx were added thousands of Polish Jews from the Łódź and Białystok ghettos and additional thousands of Polish civilians seized after the crushing of the 1944 Warsaw Uprising. It was thus only in the summer of 1944 that Stutthof assumed the profile that is associated with major concentration camps such as Auschwitz and Mauthausen, in terms of prisoner population and scale.

The initial transport of prisoners sent to the Stutthof site in September 1939 was housed in tents. The prisoners first



The old section of the Stutthof concentration camp. 1941.
USHMM WS #12192, COURTESY OF AMS

cleared a rectangular plot of land at the selected spot, 100 meters (328 feet) from the Danzig-Königsberg highway but screened from view by a dense stand of pines. In this clearing they erected double barbed-wire fences, barracks, latrines, a bathhouse, a kitchen, and an infirmary, as well as workshops. This complex constituted the "Old Camp." A guardhouse, warehouses, administration buildings, housing for the guard detachment, and a large brick headquarters building, the *Kommandantur*, completed the complex. Toward the end of 1941, when all this was in place, the camp held approximately 6,500 prisoners.

Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler's visit to Stutthof at the end of November 1941 marked the beginning of the camp's incorporation into the IKL (Inspectorate of Concentration Camps)/WVHA system. On his return to Berlin, Himmler instructed Oswald Pohl to enlarge the camp to a capacity of 25,000 prisoners and to establish large armaments and military repair workshops under the control of the SS-owned Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke GmbH (German Equipment Works, Ltd., DAW).³ Within weeks of Himmler's visit, the bureaucratic steps necessary to implement Stutthof's change of status were complete. The nearby brickworks and quarry, which had been operated by prison labor, were taken over by the SS-owned Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke (German Earth and Stone Works, DESt).

Construction of the "New Camp" commenced in earnest in mid-1942. Prisoners deployed in the forest detail (*Waldkolonne*) felled trees, pulled stumps, and leveled the area, using only hand tools and muscle power. This labor detail was regarded as the most punitive of those to which prisoners were assigned. In addition to constructing the barracks, guard



Prisoners eat their noon meal during Stutthof's construction, October 1939. At the time, Stutthof was not part of the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL).

USHMM WS #12190, COURTESY OF AMS

towers, and fences, the prisoners also built a crematorium for the disposal of the corpses of those who died in the camp. This facility began operation in September 1942. In 1944, the New Camp was expanded with the addition of hastily erected barracks to house the influx from the Baltic states and Auschwitz.

Along with these changes associated with expansion and incorporation into the WVHA system came a change of command. In September 1942, SS-Sturmabführer Paul Werner Hoppe replaced Pauly as commandant.

The SS-Death's Head Battalion Stutthof expanded as the camp expanded. It grew from fewer than 100 men in the camp's first year to a full battalion of some 500 men by the end of 1942.⁴ The SS guards secured the perimeter of the camp on foot and from the watchtowers, escorted labor details to and from job sites, and guarded the prisoners while at work. Prisoners attempting to escape were shot without warning; according to a former officer of the SS guards, merely to approach the warning strip inside the barbed-wire fence of the camp or the security zone established by the guards at outdoor work sites was regarded as attempted escape.⁵ As the war went on, the guard force increasingly consisted of ethnic Germans recruited in Yugoslavia, Slovakia, and Romania. The guards were assisted by up to 18 attack dogs.⁶

Topography and demography both added to the prisoners' plight. To the south and west of the camp, the terrain was alternately wooded and swampy, which made outside scrutiny impossible and escape difficult. Moreover, the local population was almost entirely German, so there was little chance that an escaped prisoner could find food or shelter anywhere in the vicinity. The camp was situated on ground that lay below the level of the Baltic. The dampness that resulted from the high-water table was a significant contributing factor to



Prisoners erect the barracks foundations at Stutthof, September to October 1939, at which time the camp was not part of the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL).

USHMM WS #51332, COURTESY OF AMS

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the camp's high mortality rate. In the winter, vicious winds blew off the sea into the exposed camp.

All told, about 110,000 registered prisoners passed through the camp, of whom at least 65,000 perished; Polish postwar sources put the death figure at 80,000, to include the number of prisoners who were never registered in the camp rolls but who died or were killed there. The most common cause of death was *Vernichtung durch Arbeit*, annihilation by work, which involved a combination of physical exhaustion, disease, malnutrition, exposure to a harsh climate, and abuse. Those too weak to work who clung to life were killed with lethal injections or, after the construction of a small gas chamber in September 1943, by gas.

Surviving records from Stutthof include the sole surviving death register (*Verstorbene VII*), which covers the period January to April 1944, the prisoner registration records (*Einlieferungsbücher*), and the records of the civil registry office of the village of Stutthof. The *Einlieferungsbuch* for the period from August 27, 1942, to January 8, 1943, contains typical examples of the fates of the prisoners. Each entry contains the prisoner's name, date and place of birth, infraction and sentencing authority, and final disposition; 3,266 prisoners were officially registered entering Stutthof in this period. The 274 prisoners in one 10-page section of the book serve as an illuminating sample. Of these, 222 were committed to Stutthof for "corrective labor," 15 were sentenced to the camp as career criminals, 7 as so-called asocials, 24 as political prisoners, 5 as Jehovah's Witnesses, and 1 as a homosexual. By national origin they included 105 Russians, 94 Poles, 35 Germans, 25 ethnic Germans, 5 Lithuanians, 1 Gypsy, 1 U.S. citizen (a political prisoner), 1 Estonian, 2 Dutchmen, 1 Czech, 1 Slovak, 2 Frenchmen, and 1 stateless person. By gender, there were 224 men and 50 women.



Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler and entourage inspect Stutthof, shortly before its transfer to IKL control, November 23, 1941. Pictured from left to right are Himmler's adjutant, Karl Wolff; commander of the SS senior district Vistula (*Oberabschnitt Weichsel*), Richard Hildebrandt; Himmler; Inspector of Concentration Camps, Stutthof commandant, Max Pauly; Stutthof camp leader, Alfred Dittmann (foreground); and Stutthof labor deployment leader, Albert Schwartz.

USHMM WS #51377, COURTESY OF IPN

After the completion of their sentences, 74 of the corrective labor prisoners were released, but 53 others were dead within two months' time. The sentences of the remaining 95 corrective labor prisoners were converted to incarceration for the duration, and 60 of these people also died in the following months; 35 corrective labor prisoners were transferred to other camps. Of the prisoners from this sample who remained at Stutthof, only 14 were shown as alive at the time of the camp's evacuation. The most frequently cited cause of death was "allgemeine Herz- und Körperschwäche" (generalized coronary and physical weakness). Other listed causes of death included "intestinal catarrh," "edema," and tuberculosis.⁷ The typhus that periodically devastated the camp was never listed as a cause of death, nor was another frequent cause: death by lethal injection, administered in the camp hospital to those too weak to work. A hint of this practice is given by the place of death shown in the records, the notation "Krbau," which stands for *Krankenbau*—the hospital.

A sample from the aforementioned register confirms this grim tale. Over the course of three days, January 27 to 29, 1943, 330 prisoners were committed to Stutthof, 298 of them for corrective labor. Within two months, 88 were dead, with another 79 perishing after another two months in the camp. By the time of evacuation in 1945, 250 were shown to have died, and the fates of the other 80 cannot be precisely determined.⁸

In addition to overwork, the cold, and constant abuse at the hands of guards and Kapos, bad diet was a key contributor to prisoner mortality. The standard fare included a breakfast of adulterated bread and grain coffee, a midday meal of thin soup, and more bread and coffee in the evening. By contrast, the guard dogs received 2 kilograms (4.4 pounds) of meat per day.⁹

At night the prisoners slept on bare wooden bunks. Many of them, particularly the large intake in the second half of 1944, had no blankets. Sanitary facilities were limited to cold water spigots in the barracks washrooms. The prisoners' clothing was washed and deloused only every several months. The toilets were pit latrines, which were periodically cleaned by the prisoners the Nazis most despised, the Jews and Polish Roman Catholic priests.

The Political Department at Stutthof maintained separate registers of prisoners' deaths. Only one of these was saved from destruction; it covers the period from January to April 1944. It lists some of the same causes of death contained in the *Einlieferungsbücher*—plus others, such as the February entries for 1 Pole "hanged in accordance with orders"; another "shot for offering resistance to state authority"; and 16 Red Army officers shot, with no justification given, simply an "E" (for *exekutiert*) entered next to their names in the death book. On March 15, 1944, 6 Jewish prisoners were shot "for offering resistance."¹⁰ Executions by hanging were carried out in front of the assembled prisoners. In addition to the execution of prisoners such as these, Stutthof also served as the place of execution for prisoners sent by the Gestapo from Danzig, Königsberg, and other places. These prisoners were

not registered as inmates in the camp. One Polish expert calculated 180 deaths by execution took place from the fall of 1939 to the end of 1943. It is likely that at least an equal number of prisoners were beaten to death by the most brutal Kapos, such as Waclaw Kozłowski and Josef Pabst. Still, it was the covert execution by injection that was by far the most frequent method employed at Stutthof.

Plans for the evacuation of Stutthof, ready in the fall of 1944, called for evacuation by sea, with Neuengamme as the main destination. In mid-January 1945, the nearby subcamps were shut down and the prisoners returned to the main camp. Some of the camp records were burned, particularly the sensitive materials of the Political Section and the camp hospital. On January 25, the evacuation commenced—but by forced march. The orders specified that this evacuation would take the form of 11 columns of 1,000 prisoners each. This represented about one-half of the camp's population (just over 23,000) at the time.

The weather could hardly have been worse, with daily temperatures hovering below -18°C (-0.4°F) and deep snow blanketing the roads. The prisoners received 0.5 kilograms (1.1 pounds) of bread and 57 grams (2 ounces) of margarine as their entire ration. Most of them gobbled it up as soon as it was issued, and for 3 days they received no additional food. The prisoners were cut down by cold, hunger, sickness, and the SS guards, who shot those who could not keep up. After 11 days, the columns had moved between 120 and 170 kilometers (74.6 and 105.6 miles) to the west, and the exhausted prisoners moved into temporary camps. Only 7,000 of the original 11,000 prisoners remained. The survivors were then put to forced labor, digging antitank ditches for the Wehrmacht, in which hundreds more died. The survivors were liberated at the beginning of March 1945.

At Stutthof, the camp descended into chaos. After the evacuation columns departed, the remaining prisoners were not fed for days, nor did they go to work or stand roll call. Hunger and typhus claimed up to 200 lives per day, and by early April the population had declined to fewer than 5,000 prisoners. Another 500 perished by the time of the first evacuation by sea on April 25, 1945; the Nazis were determined that no living concentration camp prisoners should be liberated by the Red Army. There were fewer than 2,000 women prisoners still alive, most of them Jewish, along with just over 2,500 men. Some 3,000 prisoners marched to Danzig, where they were loaded onto river barges for the voyage to territory still in German hands. After a journey of some five days, one barge eventually ended up in Denmark; the others were stranded between Kiel and the island of Rügen. A second group of just over 1,000 departed on April 27. Approximately a third of the evacuees did not survive to see liberation.

The first trial of Stutthof personnel, which commenced in Gdańsk in April 1946, included one SS sergeant, six female guards and eight Kapos. Five of the Kapos were sentenced to death, as were five of the female guards and the SS sergeant.

Pauly was sentenced to death by a British military tribunal and executed in October 1946, but for his subsequent service at Neuengamme—not for his actions at Stutthof. Hoppe was tried and convicted in West Germany in 1955; he served seven and a half years of a nine-year sentence. The SS noncommissioned officers in charge of the camp hospital where the lethal injections were administered were tried and convicted in Tübingen in 1964.¹¹

SOURCES Virtually all the published works on the Stutthof main camp and subcamps are in Polish, with a few in German. This essay relies heavily on Donald Steyer, ed., *Stutthof: Hitlerowski Obóz Koncentracjonalny* (Warsaw: Interpress, 1988), in particular the essays by Marek Orski, Mirosław Gliński, and Danuta Drywa. Additional information is available from the National Stutthof Museum Web site.

The detailed transport lists from the summer and fall of 1944 are preserved in the AMS, Collection I-I. Detailed information that includes names and personal data of individual prisoners who entered Stutthof throughout its existence is contained in the camp's nearly complete series of Einlieferungsbücher (camp entry registers), which are held in AMS, 10, Collection I-II. Other records can be found in NARA, RG 242, as reflected in the notes, and the USHMM contain Stutthof records as well as relevant memoirs.

Michael MacQueen

NOTES

1. NARA, RG 242, T-580/68/329 January 30, 1940, letter of IKL Glücks to RFSS Himmler, re: Gefangenenlager im Weichselgau.
2. See records of the Trial of Johann Paulus, et al., Specjalny Sad Karny w Gdańsku, IPN, Warsaw, file reference SSK-G 46-17.
3. See T-580/321, Report by IKL on the Acquisition of Land at Stutthof, January 23, 1942.
4. Guard strength given in Headquarters Order no. 39, December 29, 1942, in AMS, Folder I-I-1.
5. Statement of former SS-Lieutenant Paul Ehle to the Schönböcken Police (BRD), September 13, 1961, in case file EL 317 III Ks 5/63, investigation of defendants Haupt, Knott, and Lüdtke, StA-L.
6. Report of Veterinary Inspection of Stutthof Guard Dogs, January 9, 1943, and Identity Covers for Guard Dogs, November 18, 1942, both AMS, Folder I-VI-1.
7. Camp Entry Register, consecutive prisoner numbers 15254 through 18520, AMS, Folder I-II-7.
8. Camp Entry Register, consecutive prisoner numbers 18521 through 21798, AMS, Folder I-II-8.
9. Order issued by the commander of the 3rd Company, SS-Death's Head Battalion Stutthof, March 2, 1943, Maintenance of Service Dogs, AMS, Folder I-VI-1.
10. Verstorbene VII, January 5 to April 7, 1944, AMS, Folder I-II-20.
11. Case EL 317 III Ks 5/63; the sentence is reprinted in the series *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979).



STUTTHOF SUBCAMP SYSTEM

As soon as the Stutthof concentration camp began operating, its administration created subcamps outside the camp proper to put prisoners to work in industry, farming, or other services. There were two main motivations that caused the camp authorities to form new units under central command. On the one hand, sending prisoners off the camp premises was an effective way to ease the overcrowding at the main camp and to obtain funds and other resources that would keep it operating. On the other hand, there was a more or less constant demand for labor by government institutions, companies, and private individuals from 1939 to 1945. SS-Obersturmführer Albert Schwartz, who was the farm camp director from 1940 to 1941, filed the following account before an investigating officer of the American Military Court (AMC) in Freising on September 12, 1945:

The Stutthof camp maintained its own agricultural farm, growing most of the vegetables needed for the [sub]camps there, and also had its own cattle and slaughterhouse. Big shops were constructed in which work was done for private companies in Elbing and Danzig. The money paid for this work amounted to such large sums that not only the upkeep for the camp, the food, and clothing for the prisoners could be fully paid, but considerable means were left over to build a big administration office from this money.¹

The organizational history of the subcamps is a complex reflection of the Stutthof main camp's changing circumstances. Some started out as independent camps in their own right, operating as transit and detention camps parallel to Stutthof under the Danzig Prison Camp Command (Kommandantur der Gefangenenlager Danzig) and the SS-“Vis-tula” Main Sector Office (Oberabschnitt “Weichsel”), and were later absorbed into the Stutthof system. Other sites began as subcamps of those parallel camps, while still others were under the Stutthof main camp from the start. Likewise, the life cycles of the camps varied; they opened and shut down at different times and sometimes reopened later. In all cases the authority to open a subcamp lay with the commandant of the main camp, in consultation with his superiors. Labor assignments were based on contracts made between the Danzig or Elbing employment office, the army command, police headquarters, and a government agency, company, or private individual. The contracts set forth the type and duration of employment; the terms of work; and the conditions for lodging, prisoner supervision, and compensation.

Each of the subcamps operated with a large degree of independence. The central command in Stutthof coordinated economic and financial business and maintained central pris-

oner records, while the subcamp staff handled the day-to-day operation of the camp and monitored the working conditions.

It is not difficult to establish the names of all the permanent camps operating under one central command, but it is considerably harder to determine the names of the small work groups, generally called external labor detachments (Aussenkommandos), which were poorly documented because of the duration of their work, the number of prisoners in each group, and the detachment's distance from the main camp. The documentation chiefly consists of prisoners' files and correspondence with the Danzig Gestapo about prisoners, recording when and where they worked, as well as the testimony and accounts of former camp prisoners filed after the war.

An examination of the subcamp essays that follow establishes that 28 subcamps throughout the province of Danzig-West Prussia belonged to the Stutthof camp in the period from autumn 1939 through the end of 1941. Except for a few instances, that number does not include the Bauernkommandos, the farm detachments that, according to Schwartz's testimony, employed approximately 3,000 prisoners in the autumn of 1939. (Some 700 people were working on farms in January 1940.)² The detachments were named after the employers to whom they were hired out and the localities the farms were in, and they can be identified through the camp administration's notes on prisoner employment or financial records. In April 1940, the Stutthof camp assumed the central command of civilian prisoner camps; it took over the Grenzdorf civilian prisoner camp as well as the subcamps (Matzkau, Westerplatte, and external detachments in Danzig, Oliva, and Gdynia) of the Danzig-Neufahrwasser camp, which was being shut down.

The greatest number of Stutthof subcamps were formed from 1942 through 1944, after the camp had been incorporated into the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which consequently brought the camp into the range of influence of SS economic policy and resulted in the intensive exploitation of prisoner labor. Stutthof's commandant made the decision to organize the subcamps, in consultation with and with the consent of the WVHA. Of Stutthof's 66 documented subcamps, 38 were created between early 1942 and the end of 1944: 28 of those in 1944, including 19 camps with Jewish prisoners from Stutthof from June to October 1944.³

A total of 26,251 Jews were sent to the new camps in 1944; and including non-Jewish prisoners, there was a total of approximately 33,000 prisoners at all the subcamps—the height of employment outside the main camp for the entire period the camp was in operation. They were put to work manufacturing and repairing weaponry, repairing tracks and military airfields,

building fortifications, clearing bombs, and performing other hard labor. They were chiefly hired out to Luftwaffe airfields, the Organisation Todt (OT), and private businesses. As of January 24, 1945, just before Germans began to evacuate the subcamps, there were still more than 22,500 prisoners in them, of whom over 18,500 were Jews.⁴

The subcamp entries that follow do not represent the entire external workforce at Stutthof. The entries do not include the stationary or semistationary external detachments (in the latter case, the prisoners returned to the main camp every day). Most of those were associated with farms and were formed annually by the dozen in the Danzig–West Prussia Reich District from 1939 through 1945. Each one of the farm camps employed from a handful to more than a dozen prisoners for a fee.

In many instances, the accounts and testimony of former prisoners make up for the gaps in the archival records or vestigial information in camp records. They are the only source portraying the living and working conditions in those detachments and their effects on prisoner life. The main principle in those detachments was to derive maximum benefit from slave labor, benefiting both the camp administration who collected fees for each day of work and the employers to which prisoners were hired out at artificially low prices.

SOURCES There are a small number of historical essays devoted to the history of the subcamps of Stutthof. However, there is no synthetic historiography, which would deal holistically with the issues, except in the unpublished dissertation by Józef Matynia, written in the late 1960s: “Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof 1939–1945” (Ph.D. diss., Pedagogical College, Gdańsk, 1969). The organizational system of the subcamp and employment of prisoners were researched by Mirosław Gliński: “Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939–9 maja 1945),” *StZeMu*, no. 3 (1979); and by Marek Orski, *Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945* (Gdańsk, 1999). The German edition incorporates this issue in a monograph of the Stutthof concentration camp. The following publication includes papers by Mirosław Gliński and Marek Orski: *Stutthof. Das Konzentrationlager* (Gdańsk, 1996) (translation of the Polish edition from 1988: *Stutthof, Nazi Concentration Camp*). Monographs of some larger subcamps have been published; among them are *Brusy-Dziemiany*, Gdynia, Elbląg, Nadbrzeże Near Elbląg, Police, Słupsk, *Subcamps for Jews*, and these were written by Danuta Drywa, Maria Elżbieta Jezierska, Krzysztof Dunin-Wasowicz, Marek Orski (and the co-author in the paper about Gdynia: Elżbieta Grot), Zygmunt Szultka, and Tadeusz Wolski. The monograph about the subcamp in Brusy-Dziemiany (Bruss-Siphienwalde), by Marek Orski, appeared in English: *The Jewish Subsidiary of the Stutthof Concentration Camp (Konzentrationslager Stutthof) at Brusy Dziemiany (1944–1945)*, vol. 12 YVS, (Jerusalem: YVS, 1992).

Most archival materials relating to the organization and functioning of Stutthof's subcamps, as well as files of the former Stutthof camp, files of the Gestapo in Danzig, and cen-

tral authorities of SS including the WVHA, are located in the AMS in Sztutowo in original form or copies of originals or transcripts of documents from other archives, especially from BA-BL. Other important sources are the stenographs of proceedings against former staff of the camp and prisoner-functionaries as well as the proceedings of the Nuremberg Trials, which took place in front of the IMT and AMT. Part of the documentation relating to trials against perpetrators from the Stutthof concentration camp is kept in the IPN in Warsaw.

Testimonies of the former prisoners, memoirs, statements, and materials of interrogations constitute a large source of documentation. These are located in different institutions dealing with the commemoration of crimes committed in the former concentration camp in Stutthof, mainly in the AMS in Sztutowo, in the IPN, in the AŻIH in Warsaw, and YV in Jerusalem.

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AK-IPN, PMW-BZW (hereinafter PAM-WCO), catalog no. 327, pp. 25–26.

2. Ibid; AMS, Catalog No. I-IA-1, Nurnberg Document NO-2275, Hildebrandt's report to Himmler on the operations of SS-Wachsturmbann Eimann.

3. This has been determined from the list of the ITS at Arolsen and the dossier of the AMS at Sztutowo. Source publications as well as essays on the Stutthof concentration camp provide discrepant numbers of Stutthof subcamps. The author of the first monographic publication on the camp's history, K. Dunin-Wasowicz, *Obóz koncentracyjny Stutthof* (The Stutthof Concentration Camp) (Gdynia, 1970), pp. 128–136, mentions a total of 28, also including the civilian prisoner camp at Danzig-Neufahrwasser and the camps in Smukała, Thorn, and Lebrechtsdorf, which were not subcamps of the camp. Mirosław Gliński, “Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939–9 maja 1945),” *StZeMu*, no. 3, (1979): 165–180, notes about 38 subcamps and major external detachments. Marek Orski, *Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–45* (Gdańsk, 1999), pp. 346–349, concurs, thus increasing the number of permanent subcamps as well as external detachments. The ITS at Arolsen list of concentration camps and subcamps—*Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979)—accounts for 107 camps including some farm detachments, labor detachments formed within one subcamp, or transit camps from the time of the land evacuation. On the other hand, Józef Matynia, “Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof 1939–1945” (Ph.D. diss., Pedagogical College, Gdańsk, 1969), established that there were 61 subcamps and external detachments, including Smukała, Thorn, and Lebrechtsdorf, transit camps formed during the prisoner evacuation not qualifying as subcamps, and other camps and detachments that also cannot be regarded as such.

4. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6.

ADLERSHORST

The first reference to a detachment of prisoners put to work in the Orłowo section of Gdynia (formerly Orłowo Morskie; Adlershorst from 1939 to 1945; aka Gdynia Orłowo) dates from September 13, 1939.¹ The date is derived from an entry on a prisoner's file card, although it cannot be equated at all with the existence of an organized group of prisoners assigned to Orłowo for a specific labor purpose at the time. No other records have confirmed the existence of a subcamp of the Danzig-Neufahrwasser, Grenzdorf, or Stutthof civilian prisoner-of-war (POW) camps in Orłowo at the time.

The first Wehrmacht divisions entered sections of Gdynia (Gdinen, then Gotenhafen during the war) by September 13, 1939. Poles fit for military service were arrested and held at two main internment camps set up by the military authorities: Gdynia Redłowo (Gotenhafen-Hochredlau) and Gdynia Grabówek (Gotenhafen-Grabau). Their identities were checked, and they were interrogated. A special committee operating at those camps from the 16th Security Police Unit of the Danzig Gestapo checked to see if the prisoners were listed in the "wanted registry" (*Fahndungsbuch*). Some of those interned wound up at the camp in Danzig-Neufahrwasser at the beginning of October 1939, or in mid-October at the latest, after the police had taken over Gdynia Redłowo and Gdynia Grabówek.

The next references to a prisoner detachment at Gdynia Orłowo noted on prisoner registration cards appear between September 18 and 28, 1939.² There is no information on the number of prisoners, where the camp was housed, and what work the camp was assigned. According to the testimony of Bolesław Przytuła, in the spring of 1940, about 50 prisoners were sent to do cleanup work at the Gdynia Orłowo City Government, where they worked until the summer of 1942. (That certainly was not the Gdynia City Hall building, which was located in Gdynia proper on Marchauer-Piłsudski-Strasse. Perhaps Przytuła meant the city offices in Orłowo or work contracted out by the municipal government to be done in Orłowo.)³

According to an entry in a prisoner's personal files, another prisoner detachment was established at Gdynia Orłowo between September 9 and December 30, 1940. Political Branch personal files contain a detachment name: Wegses Hans, Adlershorst. It is not known what type of work the few prisoners in the detachment did, nor how it was set up and how it operated.⁴ Other data indicate that it was only in December 1940 that the first detachment of a dozen or so people was assigned to the Gdynia Orłowo concrete plant (Betonfabrik Adlershorst). It was disbanded in April 1941.⁵

Another large camp formed by the command of the civilian internment camp in Stutthof began operating in March 1941. About 20 prisoners from the Stutthof camp, mostly specialist tradesmen such as woodworkers, carpenters, painters, parquet layers, and upholsterers, were put to work rebuilding and finishing the home of Stutthof camp commandant Max Pauly.⁶ The home was at 6 Seebadstrasse (later Ulica Prze-

bendowskich), which leads to the sea; the house was reportedly a present for "good service" from Albert Forster, Gauleiter and Reich governor of Danzig-West Prussia. Earlier it had belonged to an attorney from Bydgoszcz (Bromberg) named Maciaszek. The detachment's population varied as work progressed and prisoners with specific specialties were replaced. For example, prisoner Andrzej Domagała, a bricklayer by trade, worked at Adlershorst from March 8 to April 12, 1941. With the roof on, they started doing the finishing work in late autumn 1941. The interior contained such features as larch parquet floors and paneling.⁷

The prisoners were quartered in the private home of a Polish woman named Brydzyński. SS-Rottenführer Johannes Wall became camp commandant on March 5, 1941, and remained so until the detachment disbanded. He went through recruit training from January to March 1941, then was enlisted into the Waffen-SS. Witnesses testifying at Wall's trial in 1947 emphasized his kind attitude toward prisoners. After work and on Sundays, he would make it easier for family members or friends to visit them by making sure no one else was approaching.⁸ Witness Franciszek Perchen, who had been sent from the Stutthof camp in March 1941 to work at the house, testified that Wall treated them kindly and let his father visit him. Nevertheless, both that witness and Waclaw Lewandowski pointed out that prisoners were beaten, although they heard this from other people. Besides his crimes at the Stutthof camp, the indictment also listed crimes committed at Augsburg, a subcamp of Dachau, where Wall had been transferred on September 22, 1942. The Gdańsk District Court sentenced him to five years in prison and a five-year prohibition on holding public or honorary civic offices. He died in prison in 1948.⁹

There is some uncertainty as to the date on which the subcamp was disbanded. Some records indicate a date as early as the end of 1941, but other records contradict that. Józef Kucharski, who testified as a witness at Wall's trial in 1947, said that in February or March 1942, he and 35 prisoners were sent from Stutthof to Adlershorst, where they stayed until July, and that Wall was in command over them. Unless there is an error in the date provided, that would mean that the detachment was disbanded only in mid-1942, that is, when the 2nd Guard Company stationed at the police barracks in Adlershorst returned to the Stutthof camp.¹⁰

Records on the escape of prisoner Piotr Dziedzic also indicate that the camp was shut down in mid-1942. He had been sent from the Lebrechtsdorf camp (with which Stutthof was associated through commandant Pauly, who was overseeing the operations of that camp and two other educational labor camps in Bydgoszcz's [Bromberg's] district of Smukała [Mühl-tal] and Toruń [Thorn]) to the house in Adlershorst on December 1, 1941. He escaped on May 25, 1942.¹¹

SOURCES The following sources contain information on the Adlershorst subcamp: AK-IPN: SOGd, Catalog Numbers 94, 181; Gdańsk Provincial Court, Catalog No. 37, records of the criminal case against Johannes Wall; SSK Gd, Catalog No.

215, records of the criminal case against Edward Włociański; CA IPN-Gd, affidavit of K. Popławski, testimony of Bolesław Przytuła (Wrocław); AMS: Catalog No. I-III, files of prisoners; Catalog No. 1006, personal files of Johannes Wall; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Cyprian Wosztal, vol. 6, Stanisław Matuszczak, Alojzy J. Pilarczyk, vol. 12, Ryszard Wolbisz, vol. 18) (Gdańsk, 1939); Brunon Zwarra, *Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan, Wybór i opracowanie Brunon Zwarra* (Gdańsk, 1984); K. Ciechanowski, "Hitlerowski obóz w Gdańsku-Nowym Porcie (Zivilgefangenenlager Neufahrwasser) I IX 1939–I IV 1940," *StZeMu*, no. 5 (1984); E. Grot and M. Orski, "Aussenarbeitslager Gotenhafen, filia obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w Gdyni," *StZeMu*, no. 7 (1990); M.E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992).

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NOTES

1. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 273.
2. AMS, sygn. I-III-41175, personal files of prisoner Marian Brawat.
3. AK-IPN Gd, record of witness examination dated October 23, 1967 (Wrocław); AMS, Catalog No. I-III-49846, personal files of prisoner Julian Wilczarski.
4. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-49846, I-III-50267, I-III-50318, personal files of prisoners Julian Wilczarski, Bazyli Sakowicz, and Józef Otto.
5. Ibid., *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Accounts and recollections) (Gdańsk, 1939), account of Ryszard Wolbisz, 18: 9–10.
6. AK-IPN, SOGd, Catalog No. 94, p. 35, testimony of witness Józef Kucharski at trial of J. Wall in 1947; also, M. Gliński, p. 168; and M. Orski, p. 92.
7. AK-IPN, SSK, Catalog No. 215, pp. 11, 26–28, 69, testimony of defendant Edward Włociański dated 1945; AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-42448, I-III-42621, I-III-43660, I-III-49846, personal files of prisoners Walter Dembski, Andrzej Domagała, Józef Frost, and Julian Wilczarski. Also see *Accounts and Recollections*, 6:269, account of Cyprian Wosztal; 12:163–164, 294, Stanisław Matuszczak and Alojzy J. Pilarczyk; 12: 91, J. Matynia.
8. Witnesses K. Witczak, J. Kucharski, K. Orwińska, and Z. Poziemski.
9. AK-IPN, SWGd, Catalog No. 37.
10. AK-IPN, SOGd, Catalog No. 94, p. 35.
11. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-43016.

BOHNSACK

The only reference to the existence of a prisoner commando in the town of Bohnsack (later Sobieszewo) near Danzig (later Gdańsk) is in the personal files of prisoners and was recorded under the date June 7, 1940. The prisoners were hired out for labor at the county construction agency (Kreisbauamt Danzig-Land, Bohnsack). They returned to the Stutthof camp on July 22, 1940.¹

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

SOURCES The following source contains information on the Bohnsack subcamp: AMS, sygn. I-III, personal files of prisoners. Also see many of the other sources listed in the Stutthof main entry.

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NOTE

1. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-42881, I-III-49842, I-III-49933, personal files of prisoners Stanisław Dudkiewicz, Johann von Pruhsak, and Feliks Warczyński; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 273.

BROMBERG-BRAHNAU (DAG NOBEL)

[AKA LAGER 15]

The Bromberg-Brahnau subcamp was formed at ammunition factory Dynamit Nobel Aktiengesellschaft (DAG) on July 15, 1944.¹ The prisoner camp, composed of six barracks fenced with barbed wire, was located in a forced labor camp complex near the factory premises and named Lager 15. A total of 1,000 Jewish women aged 16 to 20 were sent there to make up for the labor shortage created when a thousand workers were sent from DAG to the Magdeburg-Anhalt region for Albert Speer's Jäger-Programm.² Initially 37 SS men supervised the women; female supervisors from the Ravensbrück concentration camp took over that job on July 25, 1944. When they came to Bromberg (later Bydgoszcz), the number of SS men was reduced from 37 to 12, and the rest returned to the Stutthof main camp.³

DAG's facilities at Łęgowo (Brahnau, aka Langenau) housed the bomb and grenade divisions, while factories nearby at Zimne Wody (Kaltwasser) produced nitroglycerine, gunpowder, and nitrocellulose.⁴ A special Home Army report dated February 25, 1944, stated that the DAG factory was composed of 17 concrete buildings, one and two stories tall (usually not including the ground floor), as well as one or two underground levels. Groups of 2 or 3 buildings constituted stand-alone manufacturing facilities. The plants employed 31,617 persons, including 3,015 Poles, in January 1944.⁵ The work at the factory was especially dangerous because of the contact with easily oxidized chemicals, which could cause powerful explosions.⁶

Besides one account and fragmentary archival records from Stutthof concentration camp, we have no other materials about the Jewish women's working and living conditions. The only account, that of Teresa Mittelmann, a Hungarian Jew, described the general conditions in the Jewish camp and working conditions in a factory production department filling bombs with chemicals. Mittelmann noted that the work was dangerous because of the contact with chemicals and lack of work safety measures and that the camp commandant behaved brutally toward prisoners:

We arrived on August 1, 1944, to Brahnau. The older women were sent to work in the kitchen. We got a very good lunch, so we hoped for the best. But we were disappointed. The camp was small. The Lagerführer was a beast. He used torture instruments. Often we were closed in bunkers without reason. He lived in Brahnau with his family. I worked in a munitions factory. I had to fill fifty-nine bombs daily. Later we had to carry the shells to a store. The food ration was fairly good, comparing [it] with the other camps [where] we had been. Once I got ill. I inhaled poison gas, from the shells, and fainted. A Lithuanian woman doctor treated me. The factory was hidden from strangers. Nobody knew what important things were manufactured here. We worked mostly at night. One morning as we came from work, we were told to pack immediately. As we marched off, many began to escape.⁷

DAG settled accounts with the camp command and indirectly with the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) for the prisoners' labor pursuant to the regulations of the time, based on rate schedules set by the SS authorities. The rate for private companies was 6 and 4 Reichsmark (RM) for each full day of work on plant premises by skilled and unskilled workers, respectively. Jewish women were put to work only in auxiliary labor positions. The only surviving roster of companies owing money to the camp in late 1944 lists 23,253 man-days calculated according to a daily rate of 4 RM. On that basis, DAG was charged approximately 43,000 RM after prisoner feeding expenses were deducted.⁸

Of the 1,000 women sent to Brahnau in mid-July 1944, 995 were there in late January 1945—thus mortality in the camp was comparatively low.⁹ The administration of the Stutthof concentration camp had the duty of supplying clothing and medical aid. Subcamp commandant SS-Hauptscharführer Paul Langräbe's correspondence with the clothing warehouse in Stutthof shows that the subcamp received replacement clothing and shoes, or the tools and materials to fix them, albeit late and not always in the quantity desired. A commandant's report said that 1 person had died at camp through October 23, 1944. Health problems started up when winter came, and there was a shortage of warm clothes and shoes especially, as the subcamp commandant stated in a report, because most of the women were put to work outdoors. The commandant's letter to the director of the Administration and Management Division in Stutthof dated December 12, 1944, states that there was a shortage of winter clothing and repair materials. The commandant wrote that approximately 80 percent of the clothing was in very poor condition and repairing it was not helping much; a corresponding rate of illness due to colds was reported.

The camp population in mid-December 1944 was 996 women, as indicated by the amount of winter clothes they received.¹⁰ In the five weeks up until evacuation started, 1 person died in the camp. Preparations to evacuate camp began

on January 20, 1945. The prisoner count reported for January 24, 1945, was accurate only for the initial days of evacuation; after that the population dropped with every passing day. The group of 995 female prisoners merged into one column with the women from the Bromberg-Ost subcamp to form a column of 1,290 people. The destination of the evacuation was the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.¹¹

The evacuation route, leading toward Koronowo (Krone), then to Mąkowarsko (Monkowarsk), and toward Sępólno Krajeńskie (Zempelburg), was marked by the graves of female prisoners shot by SS men from a Latvian escort, who killed women who were not up to the hardships of the march. Witnesses testified that "in the evening of January 21 Gestapo with dogs escorted approximately one thousand women and men from Bydgoszcz toward Koronowo. They set their dogs on the weak, who could not go on any longer, and beat them with their gun butts, shooting anyone who could not go on."¹² Near the village of Lucim, SS men shot several female prisoners to death, and 4 women were killed near Mąkowarsko.

Some of the women tried to break away from the column and escape, which was risky under those conditions. Teresa Mittelmann, and a group of 16 girls, hid in a village where she was liberated three days later.¹³ The primary column of women got to the town of Flatow (Złotów) on foot without any food. There, they were loaded onto open freight cars, in which they were transported to Tempelburg (Czaplinek). Mortality rose because of the cold and snow. In Tempelburg on January 29, 1945, the Latvian escort handed the women over to Volksturm units that convoyed the column to Falkenburg (Złocieńiec). There, the 40 survivors of the original group stopped at the local brickyard to spend the night. During the stopover, 4 prisoners disguised as male railroad workers, Erna Valk among them, escaped successfully. They reached Dramburg (Drawsko Pomorskie) after a 14-kilometer (8.7-mile) march. Posing as fugitives from the East, they joined with German refugees and received money, ration cards, and identification documents, as well as a place to live in the abandoned house of a local party leader. They and the other refugees left three weeks later for Germany, where the Americans freed them.¹⁴ The remaining female prisoners were liberated in Falkenburg on February 4, 1945.¹⁵

SOURCES The following sources contain information on the Bromberg-Brahnau subcamp: AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 78, records of criminal case against T. Meyer and others; SSK Gd, Catalog No. 418, records of criminal case against Wanda Klaff and others; AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-III-A-4, lists of Jewish female prisoners sent to the Bydgoszcz subcamp on July 15, 1944; Catalog Nos. I-III-A-9, I-IV-B-9, lists of camp receivables for prisoner labor; Catalog No. I-III-B-6, camp population reports; Catalog No. Z-V-57, materials on the Łęgowo camp investigation, 1970–1975, in the resources of District Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Poland (now the Bydgoszcz branch of the AK-IPN Gd, transcripts in AMS); *Relacje i wspomnienia*, Erna Valk, vol. 8 (Warsaw, 2004); AP Gd., Der Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer Danzig-Westpreussen, Catalog No.

265I/1083, Arbeitseinsatz, Arbeitseinsatzbericht für den Berichtsmonat Juni 1944; APMO, Proces Maurera, 6: 51, a list of companies using the labor of concentration camp prisoners compiled by R. Höss, included as evidence in the Pohl and Maurer trials; 6a:156, list of Nazi concentration camps compiled by J. Sehn for the Maurer trial. Also see the Jewish Agency for Palestine, Dokumentacios Ogyosztaly, account of T. Mittelman; J. Grabowska, *Marsz śmierci. Ewakuacja piesza więźniów KL Stutthof i jego podobozów 25 stycznia—3 maja 1945* (Gdańsk, 1992); K. Leszczyński, "Eksterminacja ludności na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945 (woj. łódzkie, pomorskie i rzeszowskie)" *BGKBZHwP* 10 (1958); J. Matynia, "Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof" (Ph.D. diss., Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna w Gdańsku, 1969); and M. Orski, *Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945* (Gdańsk, 1999).

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NOTES

1. AMS, sygn. I-IB-3, pp. 125–128, Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung des Aussenarbeitslagers Bromberg-Brahnu dated July 14, 1944; APMO, Proces Maurera, 6:51, a list of companies using the labor of concentration camp prisoners compiled by R. Höss, included as evidence in the Pohl and Maurer trials; 6a:156, list of Nazi concentration camps compiled by J. Sehn for the Maurer trial.
2. AMS, Catalog No. I-III A-4, lists of Jewish female prisoners sent to the Bydgoszcz subcamp on July 15, 1944, including 850 names divided into 10 groups of 100 persons each (150 names are missing from the fifth and eighth group of 100); Catalog No. I-IV H-7, p. 1, Anschriften der Aussenlager; AP Gd, Der Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer Danzig-Westpreussen, sygn. 265I/1083, Arbeitseinsatz, Arbeitseinsatzbericht für den Berichtsmonat Juni 1944.
3. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 78, p. 254, testimony of Stutthof concentration camp Schutzhaftlagerführer Theodor Meyer; SSK Gd, Catalog No. 418, p. 50, testimony of Wanda Steinhoff, SS woman from the [camp's] Bydgoszcz subcamp.
4. AMS, Catalog No. Z-V-57, pp. 69–70, materials on the Łęgowo camp investigation, report of examination of witness Oskar Kufel (transcripts from the resources of the Bydgoszcz branch, AK-IPN Gd).
5. Ibid., Intelligence Report dated February 25, 1944.
6. For example, according to Intelligence Report 12/44, about 50,000 sacks of gunpowder were burned in a warehouse fire on March 20, 1944.
7. The Jewish Agency for Palestine, Dokumentacios Ogyosztaly, account of T. Mittelman.
8. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III A-9, I-IV B-9.
9. Ibid., Catalog No. I-III B-6, reports on the population of the subcamps dated January 24, 1945. The surviving fragments of hospital records on the mortality rate at the subcamps do not contain any figures on deaths.
10. Ibid., Catalog No. I-IV H-7, p. 4–15; Catalog No. I-III B-6, camp status reports, January–April 1945.
11. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Accounts and recollections), 8:143, account of Erna Valk; Catalog No. I-III B-6, report of subcamp population on January 24, 1945.
12. Ibid., 8:212, J. Matynia; SMA, Catalog No. Z-V-57, witness examination reports in the Łęgowo camp investigation.
13. The Jewish Agency for Palestine, Dokumentacios Ogyosztaly, account of T. Mittelman.
14. AMS, *Accounts and Recollections*, 8:144–145, account of Erna Valk.
15. According to information provided by Zvia [Zvio?] Cilla Pinkasovits (Lebovits: letter, Cilla Pinkasovits to the Stutthof Museum, files, Catalog No. 274/1439/1994).

BROMBERG-OST (REICHSBAHN)

Pursuant to a special order of the commandant of the Stutthof concentration camp dated September 12, 1944, two more subcamps for Jewish inmates were instituted effective September 13, 1944: Aussenarbeitslager Bromberg-Ost (Bydgoszcz-Wschód) and Aussenarbeitslager Russoschin bei Praust (Rusocin near Pruszcz Gdański).¹ In both subcamps, the Jewish women prisoners were put to work at German Railways (Deutsche Reichsbahn) sites, laying and repairing rails and loading and unloading railway ties and basalt. On Sundays, they were forced to work digging trenches. Often in the winter months, even in the late evening hours, they were forced to remove snow from the tracks and switches at the Bromberg-Ost junction.²

Some 300 Jewish women were sent to Bromberg; they had been selected from Jewish transports that came to the camp in July from Kowno (Kaunas) and in August from Riga and the Auschwitz concentration camp. SS-Scharführer Anton Kniffke was named commandant; 34 members of railway security who had been trained in handling prisoners were in charge of supervision, along with 7 female supervisors including Gerda Steinhoff and Ewa Paradies (sentenced to death at a trial in 1946), who had completed a two-week course for female supervisors held on September 14 at the Stutthof camp. The female prisoners were placed in Ober-Bautrupp 1822, a collective camp located in the Bromberg-Ost (Bydgoszcz-Wschód) section. Two barracks were allocated for them. In November, construction was started on a small third barrack for an infirmary and an office for the prisoner foremen.³

The detachment primarily worked laying rails and repairing trackways for the German national railway, the Reichsbahn. The work was done under difficult climatic conditions, especially in late autumn and the winter. In his report dated November 13, 1944, on a camp inspection that he conducted, SS-Hauptsturmführer P. Ehle of headquarters staff noted the hard work of the female supervisors, who had to take the prisoner detachment out in the early morning in an open train and stayed on duty through the 40-kilometer (25-mile) route. The report went on to say that they stayed at their posts all day regardless of wind or rain, with no opportunity to have something hot to drink or eat. In another place, he stated that they had "no lights, no kitchen utensils, warm coats, or even winter stockings." The camp commandant had already sent

reports about the supervisors to the chief of the Administration and Management Division.

Of course, the female prisoners experienced the same conditions or worse, but they were not the target of so much concern.⁴ Of their circumstances, Ehle stated tersely that approximately 10 percent of all the women were unfit for labor because of colds and should be replaced. The women who had been put to work at the main train station in Bydgoszcz (Bromberg), where they could warm themselves, were in the best situation, while those who worked outdoors replacing railroad ties, laying rails, and unloading and loading cars were in the worst. This state of things is confirmed by correspondence between the subcamp commandant and the Administration and Management Division at the main camp, headed by SS-Obersturmführer (becoming SS-Hauptsturmführer in November 1944) Engelbrecht von Bonin.⁵ Reports about the detachment's poor provisioning had already reached Stutthof a month after the camp was formed. There was mainly a shortage of materials to mend clothing, as well as a shortage of stockings, which were torn by the wooden shoes (*Holzschuhe*) prisoners wore. Instead of stockings, the commandant urgently tried to get cloth leg wrappings as well as gloves, dresses, jackets, and garters.

Subsequent reports from the subcamp again concern the great damage to clothing and lack of materials to mend the prisoners' clothes, as well as a shortage of underwear. The death rate at the camp was not high; 2 inmates died over the first two months, as is confirmed by underwear orders; a third woman died in November. The population stayed the same at least until January 5, when the commandant asked the Administration and Management Division to send armbands with 297 prisoner numbers, which the camp did not have, due to a material shortage.⁶ Then 2 more people died at the camp over the next three weeks up until evacuation began. There were 295 women in the subcamp as of January 24, 1945. They were evacuated along with the Stutthof subcamp in Bromberg-Brahna.

SOURCES The following sources contain information about the Bromberg-Ost subcamp: AK-IPN, SSK Gd., sygn. 418, records of criminal case against John Pauls; AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp command regarding supplies; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Erna Valk, vol. 8).

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NOTES

1. AMS, sygn. I-IB-3, pp. 177–180.
2. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Accounts and recollections), vol. 8, account of Erna Valk.
3. AK-IPN, SSK Gd., Catalog No. 418, p. 78, testimony of supervisor Ewa Paradies; AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 23, extract of P. Ehle's report made on November 13, 1944, after an inspection of the Bromberg-Ost labor camp.

4. AMS, *Accounts and Recollections*, vol. 8, account of Erna Valk.

5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, pp. 19–40.

6. Ibid., pp. 37–40.

BRUSS-SOPHIENWALDE

The Bruss (Polish: Brusy) subcamp was formed pursuant to a special order that the commandant of the Stutthof concentration camp issued on August 24, 1944.¹ The camp began operation that day and was also known in correspondence as Truppenübungsplatz (troop exercise grounds) Bruss in Sophienwalde (Dziemiany). The Germans formed the camp because of the demand for labor on the construction site of the SS-Westpreussen (West Prussian) training ground. The construction work included building a special training ground for the Waffen-SS and Wehrmacht, barracks, garages, parking lots, and transportation infrastructure. Those projects were contracted out to a dozen or so private German companies from the Danzig–West Prussia district.

Sophienwalde was home to a major base for transshipping materials, as well as the SS-FAU 128 (Frontarbeitenunternehmung), the code name for the design office for expanding the training ground. All projects for developing the training ground originated at that office. This was the site of Bruss, formed in late 1942. Various groups of prisoners passed through the camp until the end of 1944: Russian, English, Dutch, and Italian prisoners of war (POWs); Jewish women from the Stutthof concentration camp; women from the Lebrechtsdorf displaced persons and labor camp; and Poles deported from Warsaw via Pruszków and the Stutthof camp after the Warsaw Uprising. Bruss was really a holding point, from which respective groups were sent to different work sites on the premises of the training ground.

SS-Oberscharführer Willy Schulz was named commandant of the subcamp; since June 29, 1944, he had been serving in the 2nd SS-Guard Battalion at Stutthof. The female prisoners were supervised by 15 SS men designated by the training ground administration and belonging to the local garrison. Jewish women were supervised by women from the Stutthof staff: Charlotte Rose, Emilia Löscher, and Marta Müller.

A transport of 500 Jewish women, mostly from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Poland, and Romania, was sent directly to Bruss, where the detachment was divided into two basic groups: the majority (400–450) were sent to a makeshift camp in Dziemiany on the shore of Lake Rżyno, while 50 to 100 people were placed in Bruss.²

Dziemiany had the most primitive conditions. The prisoners were quartered 10 to 15 each in about 30 wooden cabins. They slept directly on a thin layer of straw on the bare floor; the walls were made of thin noninsulated fiberboard. Due to weather conditions, many of them wore soaked clothes and shoes that they had no place to dry out, which fundamentally affected their health and sick rate.³ Only on January 4, 1945,

was part of a new building opened in Dziemiany, in which there were rooms furnished with bunks for the women. All the Jewish women were moved to the new building within a month.⁴

The Jewish women were put to work mostly in auxiliary jobs, frequently with the forced laborers from Lebrechtsdorf and the Poles expelled from Warsaw. Their main occupation was building barracks and roads. Some of the hardest labor was roofing under the supervision of the Zemke company, which meant working at great heights, with a corresponding danger of injury; 10 women were put to work doing this, including Gertrude Schneider.⁵ Many of the Jewish women were assigned to unload trucks of bricks transported from the Bruss brickyard or freightcars. Although it was not as dangerous as the roofing work, it required great physical strength.

The hard labor unloading bricks and building roads and military barracks, as well as the poor state of their clothing and shoes and the minimal food rations, although they were the same as at Stutthof but with little opportunity for getting extra food, caused diseases to spread, primarily spotted typhus and dysentery. Sick prisoners were murdered in the forest near the lake or during work.⁶ The subcamp commandant's requests for warmer clothes and clothing repair materials were not always filled completely. In one letter, the commandant wrote that "if you do not provide the clothing we require and urgently need, there might be a drop in labor because of colds, and productivity could decrease."⁷ Mainly there was a shortage of stockings, bandannas, and gloves, which served as protection from the cold as well as hand protection during work. Instead of gloves, the Jewish women used rags and newspapers that Poles from the neighboring camp provided to them.⁸

The camp diet was another drain on the women's health. For breakfast and supper, they were issued a slice of bread weighing about 100 to 150 grams (3.5 to 5.3 ounces), rarely with some margarine, and a cup of unsweetened black coffee; for lunch they got 0.5 liters (2 cups) of thin soup made of rutabagas and potatoes with a trace amount of fat. Dishes and eating utensils were also in short supply—one set for every five women. Poles from the neighboring camp came to the Jewish women's aid by making spoons and cups from wood and secretly providing them to the Jewish camp.⁹ The death rate in the camp was considerable, although firm statistics are lacking. There are only 3 names on the incomplete lists of prisoners who died at the subcamps. Gertrude Schneider confirmed the high mortality rate in the camp, listing such major causes of "natural death" as spotted typhus, probably brought to the camp when 35 Jewish women from Stutthof were sent to replace sick prisoners who had been hospitalized in late October 1944.¹⁰ Schneider reported that the prisoner population was always kept at approximately 500. She reported that Dziemiany numbered 488 persons on December 19, 1944, but by January 16, 1945, there were only 430 women in the camp, then 480 on February 1, and only 394 on February 10.¹¹ Thus the total number of Jewish women who passed through the subcamp, allowing for the high death rate, could not be less than 600 or 700.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

On the morning of February 10, 1945, the camp was evacuated. Schulz probably received an order to march toward Lauenburg (Łębork), which was the destination for the prisoner columns led out of the Stutthof camp and was nearest to the Dziemiany subcamp's evacuation route; 86 women, mostly ill, were left in the camp. Schulz assured them they would stay there, but they were actually taken in trucks to the village of Leśno-Wybudowanie, where they were shot and their bodies burned.¹²

Of the group evacuated from Dziemiany (including Jewish women from the other detachments, mainly Bruss, who had been moved to Dziemiany earlier), 347 prisoners reached the town of Gotentof on February 17 after marching 83 kilometers (51.6 miles); there they merged with columns of prisoners evacuated from other Stutthof subcamps. They were to spend several days at the Gotentof camp to merge with other prisoner groups. Schneider rated the conditions at that camp as the worst that the women had encountered so far.

Only on March 9 were the prisoners again put in columns in the evening and sent further on their way. They covered 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) during the all-night march, reaching Chynów. Many other Jewish women who had arrived earlier were in a huge barn and on the roadside. Russian tanks entered the village the next day, March 10, 1945. No more than 250 Jewish women were still alive.¹³ The Russians shot all the guards escorting the women, including commandant Schulz. The fate of the three women supervisors is unknown. Schneider reported that soldiers took two of them away in separate tanks; the third one disappeared.

SOURCES The following sources contain information about the Bruss subcamp: AK-IPN Gd, sygn. Ko 4/85, witness examination reports (Zdzisław Kaczmarczyk); AK-IPN Gd, Bydgoszcz branch, Catalog No. Ds. 106/67, materials from Brusy camp investigation; Catalog No. Ds. 11/67, report of investigation of crime committed by Germans against a group of women in Leśno on February 9, 1945; AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the branch with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Catalog No. I-VB-7, lists of prisoners who died in the subcamps; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, affidavits (Alice Block, Gertrude Schneider); G. Schneider, *Unfinished Road. Jewish Survivors of Latvia Look Back* (New York, 1991); B. Breza, "Pod hitlerowską okupacją," in *Lipusz-Dziemiany*, ed. J. Borzyszkowski (Gdańsk, 1994), pp. 330–372; M. Orski, *Poligon SS na Pomorzu Gdańskim, filia obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof i obozy dla ludności cywilnej ewakuowanej z Warszawy* (Gdańsk, 1992); Orski, "The Jewish Subcamp of the Stutthof Concentration Camp (Konzentrationslager Stutthof) at Brusy-Dziemiany (1941–1945)," *YVS* 12 (1992): 273–286.; Orski, "Cień Sophienwalde," *Pom*, no. 5 (1995).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. M. Orski, *Poligon SS na Pomorzu Gdańskim, filia obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof i obozy dla ludności cywilnej ewakuowanej*

z *Warszawy* (Gdańsk, 1992), pp. 39–56; Orski, “The Jewish Subcamp of the Stutthof Concentration Camp (Konzentrationslager Stutthof) at Brusy-Dziemiany (1941–1945),” *YVS* 12 (1992): 273–286; AMS, sygn. I-IB-3, pp. 159–160, “Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung des Aussenarbeitslagers Bruss.”

2. AK-IPN Gd, Bydgoszcz branch, Catalog No. OK. By. Ds. 106/67, materials from Brusy camp investigation.

3. AMS, letter, Alice Block to the Stutthof Museum, June 23, 1999.

4. G. Schneider, *Unfinished Road. Jewish survivors of Latvia Look Back* (New York, 1991), pp. 15–16.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

6. AMS, Catalog No. I-VB-7, lists of prisoners who died in the subcamps; Schneider, *Unfinished Road*, pp. 12–13.

7. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 162, Schulz to Stutthof concentration camp headquarters dated October 29, 1944. G. Schneider corroborated these facts in her camp memoirs.

8. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Ko. 4/85, report of examination of witness Zdzisław Kaczmarczyk; Orski, *Poligon*, p. 115.

9. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. OK. Gd. Ko 4/85, report of examination of witness Zdzisław Kaczmarczyk.

10. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6.

11. Schneider, *Unfinished Road*, pp. 14, 16, 18; AMS, account of G. Schneider dated January 11, 1990.

12. AK-IPN Gd, Bydgoszcz branch, Catalog No. Ds. 11/67, report of investigation of crime committed by Germans against a group of women in Leśno on February 9, 1945.

13. According to the estimates of Gertrude Schneider's mother, G. Schneider, *Unfinished Road*, p. 23.

DANZIG (BETONFABRIK)

Beginning on June 28, 1940, 70 prisoners from the civilian prisoner camp at Danzig-Neufahrwasser were sent to work at the concrete plant (*Betonfabrik*) in Danzig-Langfuhr (Gdańsk Wrzeszcz), at what was then 235 Adolf-Hitler-Strasse.¹

The owner of the plant was a Polish ethnic German (Volksdeutscher), a member of the Nazi Party (NSDAP) who changed his name from August Roszkowski to August Röskau in 1942.² The prisoners were quartered 200 meters (219 yards) from the plant and the owner's residence, in half-dismantled barracks on the same street. A person named Jablonski was commander of the guard over the prisoners. Three prisoners escaped from the detachment on August 15, 1940. One of the escapees said in his account:

I got into a detachment in Wrzeszcz that worked at the concrete plant. There were seventy of us. Tomczyk, the son of the circus performer, was there. On August 15, [1940], we went to pour water on some concrete elements that had been produced, and, taking advantage of the SS men's inattention, we got into a room where some civilian workers' clothing was hanging—it was Sunday; Tomczyk, myself and one more man changed clothes and escaped. I went via Gdańsk, Tczew, and Olsztyn, and finally reached Warsaw.³

The subcamp was shut down on December 1, 1940.⁴

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this entry: AMS, sygn. I-III, prisoner personal files; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (*Accounts and Recollections*) (Tadeusz Masio, vol. 9); *Danziger Einwobnerbuch mit allen eingemeindeten Vororten und Zoppot* (Danzig, 1942); M.E. Jezierska, “Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów” *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992); J. Matynia, “Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof” (Ph.D. diss., Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna w Gdańsku, 1969).

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NOTES

1. AMS, sygn. I-III-49995, I-III-50056, personal files of prisoners Grzegorz Marszałkiewicz and Stefan Tryek (or Tryko).

2. *Danziger Einwobnerbuch mit allen eingemeindeten Vororten und Zoppot* (Danzig, 1942), 1:316, 4:235.

3. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 1:139, account of Tadeusz Masio.

4. According to various authors, this occurred between the spring and autumn of 1941. We can establish an exact date, December 1, 1940, based on the labor assignment entry for prisoner Grzegorz Marszałkiewicz. M. Gliński, “Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939–9 maja 1945),” *StZeMu*, no. 3 (1979):168, situates it in Danzig Suchanino, not in Wrzeszcz, which the account of Tadeusz Masio, former prisoner of this subcamp, clearly indicates. The same error was repeated after that publication in a monograph on the camp published in 1988. They were two different detachments, although they did a similar type of work. *Stutthof. Das Konzentrationslager*, (Gdańsk: Wydawn, 2003) p. 230.

DANZIG (DANZIGER-WERFT)

[AKA DANZIG-TROYL, LAGER TROYL]

The Danziger-Werft subcamp was formed pursuant to a special order that the commandant of the Stutthof concentration camp issued on August 25, 1944. The subcamp began operating a day later.¹ Besides the work detail (Aussenkommando) Danziger-Werft, there was also an external work camp (*Aussenarbeitslager*), Danziger-Werft. Initially 300 non-Jewish men were sent to work at the government shipyard; they had been picked from among skilled fitters, lathe operators, mechanics, and metalworkers, mostly recruited from people working at the German Equipment Works (DAW) shops, especially the gun repair shops. Most of the people who “volunteered” for the work detail were from the Danzig and Gdynia (Gotenhafen) area and hoped to have contact with their families, as well as to escape from the camp. The group included Poles arrested in late 1942 for belonging to underground organizations such as the Home Army's Armed Combat Union and the Gray Ranks; in 1944, they were joined by Varsovians who arrived in May from Pawiak prison and from transports sent to Stutthof during the Warsaw Uprising.

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The prisoners helped to build new warships, especially submarines; they were to replace German specialists called up to the Wehrmacht. SS-Oberscharführer Albert Paul Höldtke was the subcamp's commandant from August 26 to November 13, 1944; when he was transferred to the Stoboi subcamp, SS-Oberscharführer Willy Redder took the position. The guard unit consisted of 15 SS men assigned from the Stutthof camp and an unknown number of German navy sailors. Subsequent prisoner transports arrived on August 25, 1944 (300 people); September 19 (100); and October 5 and 31 (120 and 100, respectively). The last transport documented was sent on November 21, 1944, and it included 170 people.² Thus, a total of 795 prisoners were sent to Danziger-Werft.

The camp was located in the Danzig-Troyl (Gdańsk-Przeróbka) section of Danzig, so the prisoner detachment has also been called Danzig-Troyl or Lager Troyl, the name used for the camp address.³ Each prisoner column was taken by narrow-gauge railway to the mouth of the Vistula River in Nickelswalde (Mikoszewo), then by a large riverboat to Danzig. They were quartered in a complex of seven wooden barracks previously occupied by civilian shipyard workers who had been moved somewhere else. The prisoners' job was to fence the grounds, then to erect watchtowers. Each barrack was furnished with double-decker bunks, and one barrack housed the kitchen. Each separate room in the barracks was numbered in sequence.⁴ According to a former prisoner of the subcamp, the camp was located "right on the street that ran from the canal to the city," from where prisoners were ferried daily to the workplace.⁵ Knowing the area where the Danziger-Werft shipyard was located, which was on the left bank of the Motława River north of the mouth of the Radunia, the camp had to be on Przetoczna Strasse.⁶

The day after the arrival of the first group of prisoners in Danzig, the entire transport was sent to the shipyard. Here, civilian engineers briefly spoke with the group to ascertain the skills of the prisoners assigned to work in specific departments at the shipyard. They were mainly put to work in the foundry, the forge or fitting shop, in earthmoving, transport, cleaning the camp, and clearing the city of rubble. Work at the shipyard was done in two shifts of 12 hours each.⁷ Prisoners worked at the shipyard in the same workstations as other forced laborers; for instance, Zbigniew Raczkiewicz was put in a four-man Polish-French group (two prisoners and two French prisoners of war [POWs]), assembling fans in one of the submarine sections. Besides their work, they also shared a common plight, and the Frenchmen expressed their solidarity by sharing what they received in International Red Cross packages with the Poles.

Camp chronicler Raczkiewicz rated conditions in camp and at work as better than, or at least no worse than, those at the Stutthof camp.⁸ Each prisoner occupied one bunk and could move freely about the entire camp. There were no harsh discipline procedures, and the camp supervisors were not brutal, with two exceptions. The first was Max Musolf, the first camp elder, who was replaced in November 1944 by Czesław Gdaniec, a Pole from Danzig who treated the pris-

oners more decently. The second exception was the second commandant, Willy Redder, who was especially brutal and often beat prisoners himself.

The shipyard was in charge of camp food supplies; it delivered food and issued dinners, which were low in calories and meager in portions. Meals were made in camp on the free Sunday. It is no wonder that many prisoners looked for opportunities to get something extra to eat, availing themselves of the assistance of family and friends—especially those from Gdynia, who supplied prisoners with food through civilian workers who risked exposure and severe punishment.⁹ The prisoners also took advantage of help from corrupt SS men, who let them meet their families to obtain cigarettes or gifts of food. After awhile, people could also leave food packages for inmates in the camp office, although the packages were searched thoroughly before reaching their recipients.

The prisoners were not well provided with shoes or clothing. This is evidenced by correspondence of the subcamp's commandant to the clothing warehouse at the main camp. The commandant's justification for requesting 600 pairs of shoes was that "this camp has no capability of providing prisoners with shoes. The workshops we have can only provide the most urgent shoe repairs."¹⁰ The chief of the clothing warehouse, SS-Unterscharführer Willy Knott, refused the request, saying there was a shortage of shoes.

In September 1944, the camp records list the first escape of three prisoners, who fled during the night shift at the shipyard and were caught 14 days later and sent to the Stutthof camp. There is no information on their punishment. Two more prisoners escaped a month later; there is no information on whether or not they were caught.

There were several successful escapes in January and February 1945 as the camp's shutdown was approaching and supervision slackened. Czesław Szlachcikowski escaped successfully. When the guard was not watching, he left a barrack outside camp where he was working as an electrician, unnoticed, dressed in clothes his wife had sent him. Among the other successful escapees were Edmund Wyszecki, Włodzimierz Steyer, Bogusław Popkowski, and two Englishmen, Theo Ellsmor and Thomas Mitchell. The chances of a successful escape were the greatest for prisoners who could depend on the help of people beyond the barbed-wire fence and who had civilian clothing and fake identification papers. The Russians who dared to escape failed, as did many Varsovians.¹¹

Work stopped at the shipyard on January 17, 1945. There were 789 prisoners in the camp as of January 24, 1945. Camp conditions deteriorated: there was a food shortage, and the shipyard and personnel had been evacuated, so there was hardly any chance of getting extra food from outside. Every day a transport column would take out the bodies of dead prisoners to the crematorium at the Medical Academy or the cemetery in Saspe. The detachment's evacuation began on March 24, 1945, in several stages; the last group of prisoners reached the Stutthof camp in early April.¹²

SOURCES The following sources contain information on the Westerplatte subcamp: AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports of Stanisław Czarnota, Katowice and Kraków divisions; AMS, sygn. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; sygn. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; sygn. I-IVH-5, miscellaneous materials on the Stutthof concentration camp subcamp; sygn. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, (Kazimierz Dymczyk, vol. 24; Gerard Knoff, vol. 6; Zdzisław Kolanko, Zbigniew Raczekiewicz, vols. 9, 15, 25; Włodzimierz Steyer, vol. 18); "Um Holm und Helling," in *Danziger Werft Aktiengesellschaft 1844–1944* (Danzig, 1944); K. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Obóz koncentracyjny Stutthof* (Gdynia, 1970); J. Grabowska, *Marsz śmierci. Ewakuacja piesza więźniów KL Stutthof i jego podobozów. 25 stycznia–3 maja 1945* (Gdańsk, 1992); B. Hajduk, "Finanse, przemysł i rzemiosło" and "Gospodarka gdańska w okresie drugiej wojny światowej," in *Historia Gdańska*, ed. E. Cieślak, vol. 4/2 (Sopot, 1998); M.E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992); M. Orski, *Ostatnie dni obozu Stutthof*, 2nd ed. (Gdańsk, 1998); Orski, "Struktura państwowa i skład narodowościowy obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992); K. Steyer, "Z problematyki ucieczek z KL Stutthof," *StZeMu*, no. 2 (1977); M. Wojciechowski, *Stocznia Gdańska. Fakty i liczby* (Gdańsk, 1968); *Stutthof. Das Konzentrationslager* (Gdańsk, 1996).

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NOTES

1. AMS, sygn. I-IB-3, p. 165.
2. Ibid., Kommandanturbefehle; sygn. I-IVH-5, p. 164, commandant's order dated November 20, 1944, regarding moving 170 prisoners to Aussenarbeitslager Danziger Werft.
3. AMS, sygn. I-IVH-7, "Anschriften der Aussenarbeitslager: Danzig, Danziger Werft, Lager Troyl."
4. AK-IPN Gd, report of examination of witness Stanisław Czarnota dated September 18, 1972 (original at Kraków division); AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 9:61, 227–229, accounts of Zdzisław Kolanko, Zbigniew Raczekiewicz; J. Matynia, pp. 110–111, 270.
5. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 9:233, account of Zbigniew Raczekiewicz.
6. On the location of the camp, former prisoner Gerard Knoff is of a similar opinion (AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 6:42). He says that the camp was near the present Ul. Ku Ujściu in Przeróbka on the Kashubian Canal; Ul. Przetoczna is an extension.
7. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Kpp 42/72 (Kraków), report of examination of witness Stanisław Czarnota; AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 9:61, 228, 15:161, accounts of Zdzisław Kolanko and Zbigniew Raczekiewicz.
8. Of a similar opinion were Zdzisław Kolanko (see above) and Stanisław Czarnota. AK-IPN Gd, witness examination report dated November 7, 1972 (original at Katowice division).
9. Zbigniew Raczekiewicz recalls this (AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 9:230–231, as well as his account in vol. 15).

10. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 73, letter of SS-Oberscharführer Willy Redder to Stutthof concentration camp headquarters dated January 2, 1945.

11. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 9:233–234, account of Zbigniew Raczekiewicz; 18:12, Włodzimierz Steyer.

12. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 6:43–44, account of Gerard Knoff; 9:62–63, 235–236; 25:126–129, Zdzisław Kolanko, Zbigniew Raczekiewicz; 24:26, Kazimierz Dymczyk; AK-IPN Gd, report of examination of witness Stanisław Czarnota dated November 7, 1972 (original at Katowice division).

DANZIG (SCHICHAU-WERFT)

In 1944, the Schichau-Werft AG Elbing shipyard signed two contracts to employ prisoners at the Elbing shipyard and its Danzig branch. The Schichau-Werft subcamp was formed pursuant to a special order of the Stutthof concentration camp commandant dated September 12, 1944, effective September 13, 1944. SS-Oberscharführer Hans Wansel from the 1st Guard Company (1./SS-Totenkopfsturmbann KL Stutthof) was named its commandant. Some 500 Jewish women were initially chosen for the transport. They were brought to Danzig (Gdańsk) by ship from the harbor at Fischerbakke (Rybina) near the camp to the Schichau-Werft shipyard harbor in Danzig. Besides the commandant, 20 female supervisors were designated who were to be assigned to Danzig upon completing a special course. Until then, 10 guards from the 3rd Company were on duty; they returned to the Stutthof camp when the female supervisors arrived on October 18, 1944.¹ Navy sailors also served as supervisors at the shipyard and in the camp.

From October 16 to November 23, 1944, more Jewish prisoner transports were sent to Danzig. They were selected out of a total of 1,100 men, which increased the maximum population of the entire detachment to 1,600 prisoners. Jews from Lithuania, Latvia, Germany, and Hungary prevailed in the first transports, while in late October, Jews from the Netherlands, France, and Hungary were sent from the Auschwitz concentration camp.²

Jewish prisoners were put to work both as skilled workmen and as helpers. Since there was a shortage of German skilled workers, the prisoners were trained as welders, smelters, and plumbers. The prisoners were quartered in former prisoner-of-war (POW) barracks (Soviet, French, and Italian POWs had lived there, in that order) in Danzig Kokoszki Stalag XX A, Burggraben, which had been handed over for use by the Wehrmacht command in September 1944; therefore, it was also called SS-Aussenkommando Burggraben, Danzig Kokoszki, and SS-Lager Burggraben.³

Working conditions at the Danzig shipyard, to which the prisoners had a long and arduous trip, were hard to bear, especially on the night shift. In addition, when the prisoners finished the night shift, they were often faced with day work at the camp, such as loading and unloading material. Besides assembling submarines, Jews also worked

building anti-aircraft shelters for the workers employed at the shipyard, which in their opinion was among the hardest labor at the camp.⁴

Besides the arduous daily commutes to work from Kokoszki to Danzig in unheated train cars with the windows knocked out, the prisoners received starvation food rations. The supply of clothing and shoes, as well as food, of which the administration of Stutthof concentration camp was in charge, was inadequate, which is confirmed by correspondence of the subcamp's commandant with the clothing warehouse at Stutthof.⁵ At camp, they slept in unheated barracks, sleeping from five to six hours. They would leave for work at 5:00 A.M. and worked from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M., with a half-hour break for lunch.⁶

In addition to the guards and women supervisors in the women's barrack, the prisoners were supervised in camp by Jewish foremen prisoners (Kapos). As former subcamp prisoner Josef Katz states, they were just as brutal as their counterparts at the Stutthof camp. Among the most cruel were a Latvian Jew, Glücksmann, and a Pole called Chamek (which means "brute"), who had the positions of camp elders. Katz unambiguously described both of them as "animal characters." Just after liberation, Chamek was shot by Russian soldiers, and Glücksmann fled.⁷ Another Kapo, Henryk Kleiman, a Polish Jew, was tried by the Płock District Court in 1949 (at a circuit session in Płońsk). His indictment charged him with serving as a Kapo or barrack elder from late 1944 onward. In this position, he "smashed skulls with rocks, choked people, [and] crushed heads with his feet." Earlier he had been at the Auschwitz concentration camp, where he behaved just as brutally as at Kokoszki. By judgment of the district court dated July 14, 1949, and appellate court dated February 18, 1950, he was sentenced to death. The court was not persuaded by his good reputation at Stutthof, finding that the good did not make up for the wrongs he had inflicted.⁸

Despite the seemingly extreme conditions, many Jews treated their stay at Schichau-Werft as an improvement of their plight in comparison with the Stutthof main camp, where they were constantly in danger of losing their lives. At Kokoszki, each of them received a plate, a cup, and a spoon for his or her own use, as well as a single bunk, while at Stutthof four prisoners slept in one bunk made up of three levels.⁹

The difficult living conditions in camp, the exhausting work, and malnutrition caused a high sick rate among prisoners. It increased in December 1944 when an epidemic of spotted typhus and typhoid fever broke out. According to the affidavit of Katz, several Jews died every day. Reports by the subcamp's commandant dated December 15 and 17, 1944, state that 497 women were sent back to Stutthof, which was directly connected with the typhus epidemic in camp. Those people went to the hospital.¹⁰ There were only 991 prisoners in the camp in late January 1945.¹¹ The burial register at the Zaspá cemetery listed 91 Schichau-Werft prisoners, and the Stutthof hospital also recorded some deaths.¹² The number of deaths must have been considerably greater than that because the central camp sent more transports to replace the sick and

dead. The dead were buried in mass graves near the camp or were taken out to be burned at the Danzig Medical Academy crematorium. The people buried at Kokoszki were exhumed in May 1994, and on November 5, 1994, the remains of 20 prisoners were solemnly laid to rest in a common grave at the Zaspá cemetery.¹³

In its last stage of operation, the Schichau-Werft camp was designated as a collection point and evacuation transit camp for Stutthof prisoners. All work at the shipyard ceased, beginning in January 1945. The prisoners were put to work removing snow from the streets or railroad tracks. Ever-increasing hunger prevailed in camp, and the sick and death rate increased; as many as 20 people died per day. On February 10, 1945, the 991 Jews remaining in camp were evacuated toward Lauenburg (Lębork). After leaving the evacuation camps in Rybno, Tawęcín, and Goddentow (Godętowo) near Lauenburg, some prisoners from the reevacuation route along with other evacuation columns were liberated at Chynów on March 10, 1945; others went back to the camp in Stutthof via Danzig. In late April 1945, they were evacuated by sea to Germany. The death rate in the group of Jews evacuated from Kokoszki was very high but difficult to establish. The high death rate was the result of shooting the sick and weak, as well as cases of infectious diseases, starvation, or extreme emaciation from marching or digging trenches. The number of deaths is estimated at a minimum of 100 people (from the column sent to Rybno and Tawęcín) as well as several dozen people from the group that reached Goddentow.¹⁴

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this entry: AAN, Division VI, records of the KG AK, Division II—Lombard, sygn. 203/III-6; AK-IPN, SO Płock, Catalog Nos. 246–249, records of criminal case against Henryk Kleiman; SSK Gd, Catalog No. 418, records of criminal case against Wanda Klaff and others; AK-IPN, witness examination reports (Aleksander Arendt); AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle, Sonderbefehle; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; Catalog Nos. I-IVH-5, I-IVH-7, correspondence of the branch with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Catalog No. Z-V-23, reports collected by the Polish Red Cross, Lębork, 1945; Lasik, Stutthof ac.; materials on the Kokoszki camp (compiled by K. Ciechanowski); Cmentarz-Zaspá, compiled by Andrzej Chudy; K. Ciechanowski, "Los nasz dla was przestrogą ma być—nie legendą," *DB*, November 3, 1994; K. Doenitz, *10 Jahre und 20 Tage* (Frankfurt am Main, 1964); D. Drywa, *Podobozy, (Aussenarbeitslager) KL Stutthof dla więźniów narodowości żydowskiej* (in print, typescript at AMS); J. Grabowska, *Marsz śmierci. Ewakuacja piesza więźniów KL Stutthof i jego podobozów. 25 stycznia—3 maja 1945* (Gdańsk, 1992); M. Andrzejewski, *Elbląg w latach 1918–1939 (Elbląg from 1918 to 1939)* (Gdańsk, 1987); Z. Binerowski, "Materiały statystyczne produkcji okrętowej stoczni Schichau z lat 1855–1943," *LibGed* 1 (1967); S. Gierszewski, *Elbląg. Przeszłość i teraźniejszość*, 3rd ed. (Gdańsk, 1970); J. Katz, *One Who Came Back. The Diary of a Jewish Survivor* (New York, 1973); F. Mamuska, *Elbląg i okolice* (Gdańsk, 1987); J. Ratz, "Surviving Burgraben," in *Muted Voices. Jewish survivors of Latvia Re-*

member, collected and ed. Gertrude Schneider (New York, 1987); *Stutthof. Ein Konzentrationslager vor den Toren Danzigs*, ed. H. Kuhn (Bremen, 1995); H. Wojciechowski, *Stocznia Gdańska. Fakty i liczby* (Gdańsk, 1968); *100 Jahre Schichau 1837–1937, Herausgegeben anlässlich des hundertjährigen der Schichau-Werke* (Elbing, 1937).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, sygn. I-IB-3, pp. 175–176, Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung des Aussenarbeitslagers Schichau-Werft Danzig; Lasik, Stutthof ac.
2. Ibid., pp. 175–176, 218, 226, 234, Kommandanturbe-
fehle no. 69, 71, and 73, October 15, 22, and 30, 1944; and Cata-
log No. I-IVH-5, commandant's order of November 22, 1944,
regarding moving 242 prisoners to Schichau-Werft Danzig.
3. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, pp. 1, 45–55, Anschriften
der Aussenarbeitslager and correspondence of the SS-
Kommando Burggraben subcamp with Häftlingsbekleidungs-
kammer in Sztutowo (Stutthof) on clothing supplies; L.
Biernacki, "Życie na cmentarzu," *Fa*, February 15, 1998.
4. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, Catalog No. 418, pp. 129–130; AK-
IPN Gd, Catalog No. Zn 8/47, report of examination of wit-
ness Aleksander Arendt dated 1947; K. Ciechanowski, "Los
nasz dla was przestroga ma być—nie legenda," *DB*, November
3, 1994; AMS, materials on the Kokoszki camp, compiled by
K. Ciechanowski; M. Gliński, *Organizacja obozu koncentracyj-
nego Stutthof*, p. 176; J. Katz, *One Who Came Back. The Diary of
a Jewish Survivor* (New York, 1973), pp. 223–235; *Stutthof. Ein
Konzentrationslager vor den Toren Danzigs*, ed. H. Kuhn (Bre-
men, 1995), pp. 159–162 (abridged memoirs of J. Katza).
5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, pp. 145–155.
6. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, Catalog No. 418, pp. 129–130, tes-
timony of Jeheskiel Gliksberg.
7. Katz, *One Who Came Back*, pp. 226–227.
8. AK-IPN, SO Płock, Catalog No. 246–249.
9. J. Ratz, "Surviving Burggraben," in *Muted Voices. Jew-
ish Survivors of Latvia Remember*, collected and ed. Gertrude
Schneider (New York, 1987), p. 215; Katz, *One Who Came
Back*, p. 224.
10. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 51, Wansel to
Häftlingsbekleidungskammer dated December 20, 1944.
11. Ibid., Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, report on the camp's pop-
ulation on January 24, 1945.
12. Ibid., Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's
population, April 1945; Catalog No. I-VB-7, lists of prisoners
who died in the subcamps; A. Chudy, *Cmentarz Zaspa* (AMS);
Katz, *One Who Came Back*, pp. 231–233.
13. K. Ciechanowski, "Los nasz dla was przestroga ma
być—nie legenda," *DB*, November 3, 1994; K. Ciechanowski's
dossier on the Kokoszki camp, including reports from on-site
inspections on September 13, 1993, and May 4, 1994 (copies at
AMS); L. Biernacki, "Życie na cmentarzu," *Fa*, February 15,
1998.
14. AMS, Catalog No. Z-V-23, reports collected by the
Polish Red Cross, Łęborg, 1945; AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No.
ZN 8/47, report of examination of witness Aleksander Ar-
endt; M. Orski, *Verzeichnis der Nebenlager und größeren Aus-
senkommandos des KZ-Stutthof* (Gdańsk, 1996), p. 277; Katz,

One Who Came Back, pp. 233–258; Ratz, "Surviving Burggra-
ben," pp. 217–219; D. Drywa, *Podoboz (Aussenarbeitslager) KL
Stutthof dla więźniów narodowości żydowskiej* (in print, type-
script at AMS).

DANZIG (SCHULEMANN)

A new work detachment was established from Stutthof on July
11, 1941. Employment entries in prisoner files confirm the
date that this subcamp opened.¹ At the Stutthof camp, the la-
bor supply announced recruitment for finishing work at Dr.
Kurt Schulemann's private obstetrics clinic being expanded at
23 Sandgrube Strasse (later Reverend Rogaczewski Ulica) in
Danzig (later Gdańsk).² According to Walerian Kilanowski's
account, 25 people signed up and were sent to Danzig that
day.³ Another account states that Dr. Schulemann personally
came to the Stutthof camp and picked prisoners for construc-
tion work in the commandant's presence.⁴

The prisoners were quartered on the street side of the sec-
ond floor of the building under construction. Guards from
the Stutthof camp oversaw them; their role was limited to se-
curing the premises where prisoners worked and preventing
escapes. Conditions in the detachment were decidedly better
than those at the Stutthof main camp. The prisoners wore
civilian overalls without camp markings, worked under the
supervision of civilian foremen, and were safe from any perse-
cution by the guards.

After two months in camp, two prisoners, Walerian
Kilanowski and Kazimierz Dębski (aka Dębczak), began to
plan their escape, at first independently of one another. They
carefully observed the immediate area to plan an escape route
and recorded the guards' daily shifts. They designated a farm
in Stara Kiszewa near Koscierzyna that belonged to the fam-
ily of Michnikowski, a fellow prisoner in the same detach-
ment, as the first stage of their escape. As their escape date
they picked Saturday, August 16, 1941, after work had ended
and before the evening roll call had begun. They took advan-
tage of the momentary absence of any SS men, who all went
into town every week at the same time, except for the one who
was on duty. Six days later the escapees successfully reached
the Michnikowski farm in Stara Kiszewa, where they received
aid. The next day, refreshed and dressed in new clothing and
underwear, they set off for German-occupied Poland, where
they survived until the end of the war.⁵

The consequences of that escape for the Danzig detach-
ment's prisoners themselves is not known. There are no other
stories on the escape except for that one account. Work at the
clinic construction site continued in spite of it, and the de-
tachment was shut down only on October 30, 1941. When the
subcamp was disbanded, the prisoners were put to work by the
national office of the Reich Food Producers (Reichs-
nährstand) in Danzig. On November 21, 1941, the remaining
prisoners returned to the Stutthof camp.⁶

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this es-
say: AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports of Franciszek

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Studziński; AMS, sygn. I-III, prisoner personal files; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Henryk Tempczyk, vol. 1); *Danziger Einwohnerbuch mit allen Vororten und Zoppot 1940, 1941* (Danzig, November 1940); *Danziger Einwohnerbuch mit allen eingemeideten Vororten und Zoppot 1942* (Danzig, 1942); M.E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992); K.Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Ruch oporu w hitlerowskich obozach koncentracyjnych 1933–1945* (Warsaw, 1979).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, sygn. I-III-40702, I-III-49852, I-III-49966, personal files of prisoners Piotr Biegelmayer, Alojzy Usarek, and Antoni Wasilewski.
2. According to *Danziger Einwohnerbuch mit allen Vororten und Zoppot 1940, 1941* (Danzig, November 1940) and *Danziger Einwohnerbuch mit allen eingemeideten Vororten und Zoppot 1942* (Danzig, 1942), Dr. Kurt Schulemann was the owner of a private clinic (*Privatklinik*) engaged in obstetrics and gynecology.
3. Walerian Kilanowski's recollections in AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia* (1: 326, former prisoner Henryk Tempczyk's compilation "Kolejarze w KL Stutthof").
4. AK-IPN Gd, report of examination of witness Franciszek Studziński dated October 4 and November 2, 1972 (Bydgoszcz).
5. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 1: 329–331; M.E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992) : 130–131.
6. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-49852, personal files of prisoner Alojzy Usarek; AK-IPN Gd, report of examination of witness Franciszek Studziński dated November 2, 1972 (Bydgoszcz).

DANZIG

(SS-HAUPTVERSORGUNGLAGER)

The operation of this small detachment in Danzig (later Gdańsk), probably composed of just a few prisoners, is confirmed by a labor assignment entry dated June 23, 1940, in a prisoner file regarding the escape of Polish prisoner Leo Miotek.¹ The fugitive was apprehended two hours later in his own apartment in Danzig Orunia and punished by being assigned to a penal company and receiving seven whippings at the post of 25 lashes each. The report filed for camp commandant M. Pauly on the chase contained the prisoner's testimony that "he only wanted to bring a couple of shirts back for himself, as there was no change of clothing at camp, and he intended on returning."

The prisoners worked at the SS-Main Supply Depot (SS-Hauptversorgungs-lager), presumably helping to sort and arrange the various items being stored in the warehouse. When the work was completed or the camp commandant decided to disband the detachment, the group returned to the main camp at Stutthof.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this entry: AMS, sygn. I-III, prisoner personal files; M.E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992).

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trans. Gerard Majka

NOTE

1. AMS, sygn. I-III-50196, prisoner personal files; M. Orski, *Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945* (Gdańsk, 1999), p. 355.

DANZIG (SS-OBERABSCHNITT WEICHEL)

The SS-"Vistula" Main Sector office (SS-Oberabschnitt Weichsel, XX Wehrkreis) was instituted pursuant to Heinrich Himmler's decision of December 14, 1939. Until then, Danzig and Pomerania were under the SS-Königsberg Main Sector office (SS-Oberabschnitt Nord-Ost, Königsberg). From April 1, 1940, to September 30, 1941, SS-Oberabschnitt Weichsel took over camp funding from Danzig Police Headquarters (Schutzpolizei), except for staff maintenance expenses. All camp income from prisoner labor went directly into the funds of the Main Sector office, which had its own independent policy for prisoner employment.

A limited liability company named Weichselland was founded in October 1941 on the initiative of SS-Oberabschnitt Weichsel. The exact details on how the company was established and operated are not known. What is known is that upper officers of the SS-Vistula Main Sector office became partners in the company, which was formed to find jobs for and exploit the labor of political prisoners. Although the camp management was taken over by the Danzig Security Police on October 1, 1941, SS-Oberabschnitt Weichsel looked after the interests of its own company in the contracts it signed with the Gestapo, as the company was guaranteed prisoner labor in its shops in the camp and at facilities in Danzig.

The first references to prisoner labor on premises belonging to the SS-Oberabschnitt Weichsel command in Danzig are in the camp commandant's correspondence with the Danzig Gestapo Office in the matter of releasing two prisoners put to work in tradesmen's jobs.¹

A letter dated November 10, 1941, shows that both had been assigned for some time to do work at SS-Oberabschnitt Weichsel headquarters in Danzig. One of the prisoners was a metalworker by trade from Grudziądz, arrested on September 14, 1939, in Gdynia. They began the work prior to September 25, 1941, as evidenced by the Gestapo's initial letter of that date regarding both prisoners. When pressed again in the same matter on January 5, 1942, the Stutthof camp commandant announced that the work would be completed on January 20, 1942, which actually happened. Both of them were released from camp the next day.²

Another SS-Oberabschnitt Weichsel detachment was formed in November 1942. Records of the Prisoner Employ-

ment Department and the Management and Administration Agency show that the subcamp operated in November 1942, then from January to February 1943, and from June through September 1943. Records are incomplete, so it cannot be established whether the subcamp existed the entire time or just during those months.³ It is also not known how many prisoners worked in those detachments, the type of work they did, or the makeup of the guard unit. Nor is it known exactly where the subcamp headquarters was located or where the prisoners worked (possibly at Stutthof or Danzig).

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this entry: AMS, sygn. I-III, prisoner personal files, correspondence of Stutthof camp headquarters with the Danzig Gestapo Office; Catalog Nos. I-III A-9, I-IV B-9, lists of camp receivables for prisoner labor.

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, sygn I-III-43660, Lagerkommandantur Stutthof to the Danzig Gestapo Office, November 10, 1941, and January 12, 1942, on labor assignments for prisoners Józef Frost and Bernard Sipion.

2. Ibid., prisoner Józef Frost's personal file.

3. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III A-9, I-IV B-9, list of camp receivables for prisoner labor.

DANZIG-HOLM

Beginning on October 16, 1944, 100 Jewish women were put to work at the Danzig-Holm (Gdańsk-Ostrów) naval shipyard, a subsidiary of the Danzig shipyard. SS-Unterscharführer Josef Forstner was designated as the subcamp's commandant. Pursuant to the special order that created the camp, the staff also included seven German sailors and one trained woman supervisor from the Stutthof camp.¹ There were four female supervisors: Gerda Steinhoff (sentenced to death by the Gdańsk Special Criminal Court in 1946) and Lieselotte Oberauf served until December 18, 1944; and Elisabeth Thimm and Charlotte Weber from December 19, 1944.²

The Jewish women were primarily from Poland and Hungary. They were mainly quartered in workshops in a separate camp that bordered a prisoner-of-war (POW) camp. There had been a large camp complex next to it at the naval shipyard since 1942; the complex included prisoners and POWs of 13 nationalities, primarily Poles and Frenchmen but also Russians, Dutchmen, Belgians, Italians, and others. The camp had 50 barracks, in which approximately 3,200 people were quartered in the autumn of 1944, including Stutthof concentration camp prisoners.³

Before the Jewish women left for Danzig, the commandant ordered that they be issued warm winter clothing, shoes in good condition, gloves, and soap. Besides that, in October 1944, the subcamp's commandant asked the Stutthof clothing warehouse manager to send additional supplies. They were

delivered in late October 1944 and included 20 pairs of shoes and 20 pieces of women's underwear. In his next letter of November 1, 1944, the commandant reported that the new underwear and shoes had already been expended and requested delivery of another 30 pairs of shoes and clothing, 80 pairs of underwear, as well as 100 pairs of gloves and woolen yarn for darning. Orders were generally filled meticulously. Warm winter clothing such as coats, foot wrappings, and gloves, and materials to mend clothes and shoes, were ordered in late autumn and the winter months.⁴ The concern with which the Stutthof provisions officer and the Danzig subcamp's commandant strove to secure seasonally appropriate clothing and shoes for the women is striking.

A naval kitchen at the adjoining POW camp supplied the camp with food and cooked the meals. On average, the daily ration was about 170 grams (6 ounces) of bread and 1 liter (1 quart) of soup a day, with two spoonfuls of jam issued at supper with the bread.⁵ Such high standards were not always observed, as one of the camp's female supervisors testified at trial in Danzig. Still, it was only due to the feeding and systematic change of clothing and shoes that the detachment had the same population in late January 1945 as it did at the outset, with no loss of life. There were still 100 people in the camp on January 24, 1945, the same people who had arrived there in mid-October 1944.⁶

The special care for the inmates' physical fitness was doubtless due to the fact that they were put to work in a shipyard that made submarines for the Kriegsmarine, along with the manufacture of rocket weapons, the production of which was supposed to be a major trump in the decisive phase of World War II. That is how the Germans intended to regain naval superiority.

The origins of the industry at Ostrów (Holm) date back to the early years of the twentieth century, when a special railway line connecting the island to land was built in 1905 for freight traffic. The line was closely associated with the electrical engineering works that had been established and the railroad shops at Przeróbka (Troyl). A submarine base was established on the island during World War I, and two new wet docks were built for the base.

The Jewish women worked for the Marine-Bauleitung Danzig-Holm, which was in charge of the navy site on Ostrów Island. The women were not put to work in direct production of the submarines but in earthmoving projects. G. Steinhoff testified at trial in Gdańsk in 1946 that the women worked crushing rock and doing earthmoving work, which could have been for workshop expansion projects in the shipyard and adjoining areas. She thought the work was easy compared with the conditions at camp, where Jewish women were more liable to be treated badly. Here are some excerpts from the stenographic record of the trial:

Judge: What kind of labor did the prisoners do?

Gerda Steinhoff: They crushed rock and did earthmoving work.

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- Judge:** Did you ever hit a prisoner?
- Gerda Steinhoff:** No, because I ran the entire camp office and had no direct contact with the prisoners. The Lagerführerin supervised the prisoners and sometimes beat them.
- Judge:** If the Lagerführerin did not punish a prisoner who was working poorly, would you punish such a woman and how would you do so?
- Gerda Steinhoff:** I would keep the prisoner in camp as punishment.
- Judge:** Which means that it was worse at camp than at labor?
- Gerda Steinhoff:** Yes, labor was a relief.⁷

The detachment was evacuated to the Stutthof camp in late March and early April 1945, at the same time as the two remaining Danzig subcamps, that is, the Danziger-Werft and Schichau-Werft shipyards. We do not know how many prisoners reached the main camp. Some of them perished during the bombings of Danzig, some escaped, and the rest reached the Stutthof camp in reduced numbers. They were faced with another evacuation by sea in late April 1945.

SOURCES Trial proceedings of the Gdańsk Special Criminal Court are held at the AK-IPN. See, in particular, SSK Gd, sygn. 7, records of criminal case against Gustav Zuchaschewski; sygn. 418, records of criminal case against Wanda Klaff and others; sygn. 422, records of criminal case against Józef Reiter and others, sentences of judgment; and sygn. 423, stenographic record of criminal case against John Pauls and others. Documents containing information on the Danzig-Holm subcamp can be found also at AMS, sygn. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; sygn. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; sygn. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Lasik, Stutthof ac; and "SS-frauen-megery ze Stutthofu," *DB*, April 28, 1946.

Secondary sources providing information on the Danzig-Holm subcamp include: M. Gliński, "Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939–9 maja 1945), *StZeMu.*, no. 3 (1979); Marek Orski, *Ostatnie dni obozu Stutthof*, 2nd ed. (Gdańsk, 1998); Jerzy Stankiewicz and Bohdan Szermer, *Gdańsk: Rozwój urbanistyczny i architektoniczny oraz powstanie zespołu Gdańsk-Sopot-Gdynia* (Warsaw, 1959); and M. Wojciechowski, *Stocznia Gdańska: Fakty i liczby* (Gdańsk, 1968).

Marek Orski
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NOTES

1. AMS, sygn. I-IB-3, pp. 209–210, Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung des Aussenarbeitslagers Marine-Bauleitung Danzig-Holm, dated October 15, 1944.
2. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, sygn. 418, 422, records of criminal case against Gerda Steinhoff and Józef Reiter; AMS, Lasik,

Stutthof ac; "SS-frauen-megery ze Stutthofu," *DB*, April 28, 1946, stenographic records of G. Steinhoff's testimony.

3. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, sygn. 7, pp. 9–10, testimony of Wachleiter Gustav Zuchaschewski.

4. AMS, sygn. I-IVH-7, pp. 79–83.

5. G. Steinhoff's testimony at trial in Gdańsk, "SS-frauen-megery ze Stutthofu," p. 3; AK-IPN, SSK Gd, sygn. 423, G. Steinhoff's testimony at trial in Gdańsk.

6. AMS, sygn. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population.

7. "SS-frauen-megery ze Stutthofu," p. 3

DANZIG-LANGFUHR

The archival materials surviving from the former Stutthof camp recorded another Stutthof external detachment set up in Danzig's Langfuhr section (Gdańsk-Wrzeszcz). It operated from January 2, 1940, to December 2, 1941.¹ The employer was a police headquarters, to which prisoners were hired out to build barracks for a Police School (Führerschule, Truppenwirtschaftslager der Waffen-SS, Danzig-Langfuhr, TWL-Langfuhr). There are more details on this detachment in the stenographic record of the 1949 trial of Bogdan Wilhelm, who was put to work in the Wrzeszcz detachment as a cook from June to August 1940.²

The detachment numbered considerably over 100 people. Wilhelm said there were approximately 100 to 120 prisoners; other witnesses say as many as 180 prisoners. The prisoners worked building barracks for the Police School training center. They were quartered in barracks on the construction site. The police provided the detachment's food, which Wilhelm transported in and distributed. The standard evening meal consisted 0.5 liters (2 cups) of soup per prisoner, which did not always serve everyone because of limited rations. Witnesses have testified that Wilhelm would beat prisoners who demanded additional portions on the arms with a ladle in order to restore order as dinner was being issued and would also put sand into the soup. The defendant testified that he did so "out of concern that there would be a scabies infection" from sick people taking remnants of food out of the kettle and also to discipline prisoners while keeping their infractions secret from the SS men, whom he thought would employ much more repressive measures if the infractions were reported. Sometimes as dinner was being given out, Wilhelm was accompanied by Józef Reiter, a Polish foreman prisoner, who would beat the crowding prisoners with a tree root approximately 0.9 meters (3 feet) long and 4 centimeters (1.6 inches) thick.³ Despite the witness testimony against Wilhelm, the court found no grounds in the testimony to administer any punishment under the Polish National Liberation Committee decree of August 31, 1944, on punishment for Fascist and Nazi criminals, and it acquitted Wilhelm on the charge of abusing his fellow prisoners.⁴

The subcamp was probably disbanded on December 2, 1941, which is corroborated by the final records in prisoner files concerning sending prisoners from the TWL-Langfuhr detachment to the Stutthof camp that day.⁵ Studies of pris-

oner files have not corroborated the existence of another detachment at Danzig-Langfuhr, which began on November 18, 1941.⁶ This reference is to the same type of labor and the same subcamp operating continuously from January 1940 but with many prisoner exchanges between Stutthof and Danzig (especially in summer and autumn 1941).

SOURCES The following sources contain information on the Danzig-Langfuhr subcamp: AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 167, records of criminal case against Bogdan Wilhelm, Gdańsk, 1949; SSK Gd, sygn. 417, records of criminal case against Józef Reiter and others; AMS, sygn. I-III, prisoner files; and ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979).

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trans. Gerald Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, sygn. I-III-42619, I-III-44292, I-III-49860, I-III-49909, I-III-49999, I-III-50005, I-III-50267, files of prisoners Jan Dolny, Jan Gulczyński, Stanisław Nowakowski, Bogdan Wilhelm, Bonifacy Moszczyński, Józef Kwiatkowski, and Bazyli Sakowicz. According to ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 275, the detachment existed until May 13, 1941, but a Gdańsk Wrzeszcz subcamp was reinstituted on November 18, 1941. However, no surviving documents indicate such a distinction.

2. AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 167.

3. Józef Reiter was tried at the Gdańsk Special Criminal Court in 1946 and sentenced to death. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, sygn. 417, report of examination of Józef Reiter, dated 1945.

4. AK-IPN, SO Gd, pp. 12–15, 47–50, 92–93, testimony of defendant and witnesses Jan Cyganik and Władysław Gąsior.

5. AMS, sygn. I-III-42619, I-III-49959, I-III-50069, files of prisoners Jan Dolny, Stefan Puszcak, and Władysław Walczak.

6. See ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS*, p. 276.

DANZIG-MATZKAU

A work detachment in Matzkau (later Maćkowy), a section of Danzig (Gdańsk), was first a subcamp of the Neufahrwasser civilian detention camp set up on the premises of Danzig's SS-Heimwehr barracks. The initial group of approximately 20 prisoners arrived on or around September 20, 1939. According to a prisoner in that transport, a "sizable" group of prisoners—Poles arrested in Danzig at the beginning of the war—was sent out of Neufahrwasser. More transports were sent to the subcamp in subsequent months; there were already over 250 people in the camp in early November 1939. They were housed in a large empty space where they slept on a layer

of straw on the floor. SS-Rottenführer Hans Rach was the group's commander.¹

The earliest references to the detachment's existence in prisoner files are from February 1940.² When the camp headquarters was moved from Neufahrwasser to Stutthof, the Matzkau detachment was made into a subcamp under the Stutthof camp commandant. Its population was unstable; small groups of prisoners were frequently moved to other sites, such as Danzig-Westerplatte, Grenzdorf, or the Stutthof main camp. These changes are confirmed by prisoner files marked with entries on transfers about where they lived and worked.³

Initially, the prisoners were put to work laying foundations and then expanding the barracks and utility buildings of the Matzkau structure. The barracks were then designated as a penal camp for SS members (*Strafvollzugslager*). The prisoners also did household and cleanup work on barrack premises; for example, there were 18 prisoners in the Wehrmacht clothing warehouses; others did gardening or worked in the kitchen. They began installing new shooting stations, as well as central heating pipes and a sewage system in the expanded section of the barracks in the spring of 1940. The work was done in the open air, regardless of weather conditions such as rain or strong winds. In early April 1940 (according to entries in prisoner files in May 1940), approximately 250 prisoners were selected from the Stutthof camp and transported to Matzkau. Another group of 50 prisoners was delivered from Stutthof in August 1940, and yet another transport was sent in the autumn of the same year. The camp's population grew to approximately 300 prisoners in late 1940. Construction work at the barracks was reaching its end in January 1941; thus, a few weeks later the camp population was reduced to 100. The population also kept dropping regularly as prisoners were released from camp.⁴

Initially, in the autumn of 1939, camp conditions were exceptionally hard. The prisoners slept on the damp straw, with no coverings. They were not provided with a change of underwear and could not perform daily hygiene, which contributed to the spread of lice infestation. Food rations were no different than those received at the Neufahrwasser camp. The prisoners were each issued 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of claylike bread, a bit of beet jam or margarine, and a cup of bitter coffee for breakfast and lunch. For dinner they each got 0.75 liters (3 cups) of watery soup with some flour and sometimes a herring. The food situation improved after the administration granted permission for food packages from families to be delivered to camp. They were divided freely among all the prisoners. At the end of the year, each prisoner received a pair of wooden shoes and a blanket when an officer from Danzig Prisoner Camp headquarters inspected the camp. But there was a shortage of warm gloves and sweaters.

A Polish clergyman from the Pelplin seminary escaped from the detachment in early December 1939. His escape was successful and caused no repercussions among the other prisoners; there are no references to this escape at all in the documentation of former prisoners.⁵ Another effective way of getting out of camp was through self-injury. One prisoner

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used a reed to perforate his nasal septum, causing a hemorrhage. He reported to the foreman and was released from Matzkau and sent back to Stutthof.⁶

The Danzig firm of Römer u. Dehlert Danzig, Unternehmung, Hoch u. Tiefbau was in charge of the construction work. Several prisoners worked in the firm's engineering office as construction engineers. They lived in appreciably better conditions than those who were put to work at manual labor; they were better fed, they slept separately with the kitchen staff, and they were permitted to move about the entire camp. Prisoners who came to the camp in the summer of 1940 stated that the working conditions and food were tolerable; the guards did not persecute them as they did at Stutthof; moreover, Leo Römer, the firm's owner, saw to it that the prisoners were well fed, for which he paid in the entirety.⁷

During the autumn of 1940, several dozen prisoners were sent out to do farmwork. A list of prisoners with occupational skills was compiled at camp in March 1941, and 30 of them with specialties in the trades were chosen and moved to Stutthof. On April 1, 1941, the entire group was released from camp and moved to the Jost barrel factory in Danzig as hired laborers.⁸

SS men from the Stutthof camp supervised the detachment beginning in mid-1940. The names of several of them are known: SS-Rottenführer Otto Arnold, Max Scholl, and Emil Wenzel, as well as SS-Unterscharführer Ernst Friedland. No information on the camp staff in 1941 or the subcamp's management is available. Two staff members were held responsible after the war: Wenzel was sentenced to 10 years in prison at a trial in Gdańsk in 1947, and the Toruń District Court sentenced Arnold to 3 years in prison that same year.⁹

The camp was shut down when all contracted work had been completed in August 1941 and the prisoners returned to Stutthof. The last record concerning labor at Matzkau in prisoner files ends on August 11, 1941.¹⁰

SOURCES In addition to the sources mentioned in the Stutthof Subcamp system entry, the following sources were consulted in writing this essay: AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 76, records of criminal case against Theodor Meyer and others; Catalog No. 79, sentences of judgment; SOT, Catalog No. 88, records of criminal case against Otto Arnold; AK-IPN/Gd, witness examination reports of Antoni Janiewicz, Wrocław; AMS, Catalog No. I-III, camp prisoner files and staff personnel files; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (vol. 15, Edmund Nitkiewicz); R. Duzik, *Wspomnienia. Los obrońców po kapitulacji Westerplatte* (Łódź, 1981) (copy at AMS); *Gdańsk 1939. Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan*, Wybór i opracowanie Brunon Zwarra (Gdańsk, 1984); W. Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu. Wspomnienia więźnia obozu*, 2nd ed. (Bydgoszcz, 1984); *DanVorp* August 18, 1939; September 26, 1939.

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NOTES

1. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Ds. 76/64, report of examination of witness Antoni Janiewicz (Wrocław); *Gdańsk 1939*.

Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan, Wybór i opracowanie Brunon Zwarra, (Gdańsk, 1984), account of Stanisław Szymański. According to the account of Kazimierz Wróblewski, the initial group of 300 prisoners was brought from the Neufahrwasser camp only in November 1939. Likewise, W. Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu. Wspomnienia więźnia obozu*, 2nd ed. (Bydgoszcz, 1984), pp. 21–22, reports that in early November 1939 there were already 250 prisoners living in camp besides those from the transport in which he arrived.

2. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-49929, I-III-49945, files of prisoners Mieczysław Pklechawski and Czesław Nowakowski. They were sent to Matzkau on February 19, 1940; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS*, p. 287.

3. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-49959, I-III-49981, I-III-50131, I-III-50136, personal files of prisoners Stefan Puszczak, Antoni Wojtkowski, Marian Jasnoch, and Ewaryst-Albin Prószyński.

4. *Gdańsk 1939*, accounts of Franciszek Mokwiński and Stanisław Szymański; R. Duzik, *Wspomnienia. Los obrońców po kapitulacji Westerplatte*, (Łódź, 1981) (typescript at AMS); AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia* (15:114–115, account of Edmund Nitkiewicz); Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu*, pp. 21–29.

5. *Gdańsk 1939*, account of Stanisław Szymański; Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu*, pp. 23–27.

6. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Ds. 76/64, report of examination of Antoni Janiewicz (Wrocław).

7. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 1:114–115, account of Edmund Nitkiewicz.

8. Duzik, *Wspomnienia*.

9. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 76, 79; SOT, Catalog No. 88, records of criminal case against Otto Arnold.

10. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-49917, personal files of prisoner Tadeusz Pisarczyk.

DANZIG-OLIVA (REITSCHULE)

A Stutthof subcamp, Danzig-Oliwa (Gdańsk-Oliwa) consisted of several prisoners who worked at the Huth Riding School (Huth-Reitschule). Prisoner employment records show that the subcamp was in operation from July 16, 1940, to June 21, 1941.¹ Huth subleased the prisoners from the civil prisoner camp at Danzig-Neufahrwasser, and the prisoners probably worked keeping the premises clean. The business is not listed in the Danzig address directories surviving from 1927–1928 and 1941–1942.

SOURCES The following sources contain information on the Danzig-Oliwa subcamp: AMS, sygn. I–III, prisoner files; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979); M. Gliński, “Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939–9 maja 1945),” *StZeMu*, no. 3 (1979); Marek Orski, *Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945* (Gdańsk, 1999).

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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

NOTE

1. AMS, sygn. I-III-44781, I-III-50053, I-III-50177, files of prisoners Franz Gromada, Antoni Straszak, and Robert Lipiński; see ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 277; M. Gliński, “Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939–9 maja 1945),” *StZeMu*, no. 3 (1979): 164.

DANZIG-OPITZSTRASSE [AKA OPITZSTRASSE/GRUPPENFÜHRER]

From April 7 to November 11, 1941, a group of tradesmen prisoners (bricklayers, metalworkers, painters, toolmakers, etc.) were put to work on the premises of the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) headquarters for Danzig–West Prussia at 2 Opitzstrasse in Danzig (later ul. Orzeszkowa in Gdańsk’s Wrzeszcz section). The detachment’s name, Opitzstrasse (or Opitzstrasse/Gruppenführer), appears in prisoner files. All the prisoners working there were Poles who had been arrested in September 1939 in Gdynia and Danzig and then put in the civilian prisoner camp at Danzig-Neufahrwasser.¹

The Danzig–West Prussia HSSPF administration, whose area of control was the same as that of the military Defense District XX (Weichsel), started operations when SS-Gruppenführer Richard Hildebrandt was named to his post on September 21, 1939. It was initially located at the police headquarters on Karrenwall Strasse (later Okopowa) and later, from April 1940 at least, at 2 Opitzstrasse. The same building also housed the SS and police court facilities (SS- und Polizeigericht IV) as well as those of the Reich Commissariat for the Strengthening of Germanism (RKFDV). The prisoners were put to work building garages for SS motorized units.

Antoni Ryszkievicz worked in the detachment as an auto mechanic. According to his account, the detachment was still operating in 1942. After a while, he was arrested for copying keys to the clothing warehouses and stealing 20 SS uniforms, a typewriter, and other items for the Polish underground organization in Bory Tucholskie. He was put in a Danzig prison and received the death sentence, which was later commuted to incarceration at the Stutthof concentration camp and assignment to a penal detachment at the Stutthof brickyard.²

SOURCES The following sources contain information on the Danzig-Opitzstrasse subcamp: AMS, sygn. I-IA-4, records on the Stutthof camp’s change in status; sygn. I-III-, prisoner files; and *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Antoni Ryszkievicz, vol. 2).

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NOTES

1. AMS, sygn. I-III-43660, I-III-49846, I-III-49853, I-III-50191, I-III-50104, files of prisoners Józef Frost, Julian Wilczarski, Władysław Wędzik, Wincenty Siemak, and Cyprian Wosztal.

2. Ibid.; and *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 18:142, account of Antoni Ryszkievicz.

DANZIG-SCHELLMÜHL (CARSTENS)

Two prisoner detachments were created in the Schellmühl (Młyniska) section of Danzig (Gdańsk) from 1940 to 1944. The first was organized in 1940. The information on the employment of a small detachment at the Hans Carstens private meat import-export company contains notes on prisoner files dated from March 27 through July 30, 1940. Poles Henryk Raczynski and Leon Wojasiński were put to work in the Carstens company as master butchers.¹ The business was located at Englischer Damm 16. No exact data on the number of prisoners assigned to this work are available. They were dispatched by the civilian prisoner camp at Danzig Neufahrwasser and probably housed on-site due to the continuous nature of the business.²

SS-Rottenführer Oskar Gottschau, a Stutthof concentration camp staff member, testified at trial in 1947 that in the spring of 1940 he supervised the work of 30 Stutthof camp prisoners in a factory in Schellmühl. That could have been the Carstens company. In that same trial, the Danzig District Court sentenced him to 10 years in prison.³

SOURCES The following sources contain information on the Danzig-Schellmühl subcamp: AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 75, records of criminal case against Kurt Dietrich and others; sygn. 80, sentences of judgment; AMS, sygn. I-III-, prisoner personal files; *Danzig wirbt für seine Industrie: Alphabetisches Stichwortverzeichnis der Danziger Industrie-Erzeugnisse. Die Firmen der Danzigs Industrie und Handwerk*, ed. Handelskammer zu Danzig (Danzig, 1933); ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979); and Marek Orski, *Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945* (Gdańsk, 1999).

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NOTES

1. AMS, sygn. I-III-49885, I-III-50216, personal files of prisoners Leon Wojasiński and Henryk Raczynski.

2. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 275; Marek Orski, *Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945* (Gdańsk, 1999), p. 351.

3. AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 75, p. 104; sygn. 80, sentence of judgment.

DANZIG-SCHELLMÜHL (OTTO JOST)

Another subcontractor of prisoner labor in Schellmühl (Młyniska) was Otto Jost, the owner of a barrel factory

(*Fassfabrik*). Based on the fragmentary documentary materials available, a group of prisoners hired out for labor at the factory was put to work there at two different times. The first period was from late December 1940 to August 1941; then again from October 23 to December 7, 1944.¹ The first and last dates in the prisoners' files reflect these times. Based on the surviving documentary materials and records on former prisoners, no additional information on this detachment is available.²

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this entry: AMS, sygn. I-III-, prisoner personal files; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Accounts and recollections), (AI), tape recording of I. Andrzejewski's account; listing of transports of prisoners sent from the Stutthof main camp to the Jost factory on April 29 and October 30, 1941; *Danzig wirbt für seine Industrie, Alphabetisches Stichwortverzeichnis der Danziger Industrie-Erzeugnisse. Die Firmen der Danzigs Industrie und Handwerk*, ed. Handelskammer zu Danzig (Danzig, 1933); A. Duzik, *Wspomnienia. Los obrońców po kapitulacji Westerplatte* (Łódź, 1981), pp. 6–7 (copy at AMS).

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NOTES

1. AMS, sygn. I-III-49852, Catalog No. I-III-43070, personal files of prisoners Alojzy Usarek and Stanisław Dziuba; see M. Orski, *Verzeichnis der Nebenlager und grösseren Aussenkommandos des KZ-Stutthof* (Gdańsk, 1996), p. 275; AMS, AI, account of Izydor Andrzejewski (tape recording, 1999); and AMS, Z Collections, a listing of transports of prisoners let out of the Stutthof camp and sent to the Jost factory on April 29 and October 30, 1941, n.p.

2. Orski, *Verzeichnis*, p. 275.

DANZIG-WESTERPLATTE

The first group of 1,200 prisoners from the civilian prisoner camp at Danzig-Neufahrwasser was sent to Westerplatte on September 15, 1939.¹ Initially, the group was a semistationary work detachment. For the first two weeks the prisoners did not return to camp, sleeping in the ruins of destroyed buildings in the summer clothing in which they had been arrested. Among them were Polish priests and Jews.

The prisoners worked in groups to clear the premises of the former garrison at Westerplatte, which had been the scene of heavy fighting during the German invasion. The prisoners' labor consisted of removing bombs, unexploded shells, and barbed-wire entanglements; leveling the site; and demolishing destroyed buildings and repairing damaged ones.² Clearing the premises of unexploded shells was among the most dangerous jobs because there were often explosions that wounded prisoners and tore their clothes to shreds. Later, all the building material (bricks, wall tiles, and so on) was loaded onto barges at the port canal and hauled by tugboat to the Stutthof camp, which was then under construction.

Young men from the Reich Labor Service (RAD) aged 17 to 18, as well as SS men from the Danzig-Neufahrwasser camp, supervised the prisoners. The inmates remembered one of them well: SS-Untersturmführer Kurt Mathesius, of whom one prisoner wrote that he was "Lord of life and death in Westerplatte at that time."³ Many prisoners were murdered by SS men as they were working. In addition, the young German supervisors from the Labor Service would often beat prisoners with their gun butts and bats for no reason.

The prisoners were not given any food during their workday except for a piece of bread and coffee for breakfast. They ate what they found in the ruins of the barracks, such as moldy bread, canned foods, and vegetables from the garden, although some of the young men from the Labor Service took pity on the Polish Catholic priests and gave them some of their food rations. Many prisoners became ill due to the low temperatures and their insufficient clothing, which was inappropriate for the season and ragged from work. Some 400 to 500 prisoners normally worked at Westerplatte each day.

On September 18, 1939, due to Hitler's planned visit to Danzig and Westerplatte, all the prisoners were removed from the peninsula and held on the seashore, surrounded by a cordon of SS men, for a period of one to three days (depending on the account). Following a triumphal entry into the city on September 19, during which he received the cheers of crowds of enthusiastic Germans, Hitler, in the company of Hermann Göring, visited the section of Westerplatte that the prisoners had cleared.⁴

On September 28, 1939, after the detachment had been operating for two weeks, the prisoners were taken back to the Danzig-Neufahrwasser camp.⁵ New prisoners were sent in their place, although they were not quartered at Westerplatte but were returned to camp each evening after work.⁶ The new detachment numbered approximately 500 people in December 1939.⁷ SS-Untersturmführer Kurt Mathesius became the subcamp's commandant in January 1940. SS-Unterscharführer Oskar Gottschau and four SS men supervised the detachment; Gottschau's duties also included guarding Westerplatte from entry by any civilians.⁸ At the Stutthof Trial in 1947, Gottschau received a sentence of 10 years in prison.

The subcamp operated as an external detachment with brief pauses until late February 1940, when Stutthof camp headquarters created a permanent subcamp (Aussenstelle Westerplatte) at the Westerplatte site. Commandant Pauly selected 300 Polish prisoners for the transport on March 2, 1940. They were loaded into trucks and moved to Westerplatte.

The prisoners continued to remove rubble and put the site of the burned barracks in order. Some of the buildings that were in danger of collapsing were dismantled; the others were repaired and turned over to the army. The work had probably been ordered by the army, to which the barracks had belonged until World War I. Some of the building material reclaimed from the battlefield was taken to Stutthof to be reused in the camp's expansion.

The work, which lasted from 6:00 A.M. until dusk on weekdays and until 4:00 P.M. on Sunday, required great exertion. The workers had to maintain a fast pace; if anyone slowed down or left for a moment, he could be shot for feigning work or attempting to escape. Camp commandant SS-Untersturmführer Paul Ehle (who took over command in March 1940) and the dozen or so staff members were held responsible for those killings. Stanisław Matuszczak witnessed one such event:

Some of us were so emaciated that they did not have the strength to stand. At a roll call, Oberscharführer Binke said that those who could not walk and were staying inside were to go out into the fresh air, which would do them good. He assigned them to the job of cutting wicker. After the roll call, we had to escort them out to the work site. There were sixteen of them. I heard shots at about twelve o'clock. As we returned from our labor detachments, we saw Peters and two other SS men standing where the prisoners had been cutting wicker, and the shot prisoners lying on the ground. All sixteen had been shot.⁹

The prisoners were quartered in former army barracks, which had damaged roofs that leaked. There were no panes in the windows, and the empty spaces were filled with barbed wire. The floor was lined with hay that had been there since the previous winter. The prisoners were not provided with even the most primitive sanitary necessities for washing or shaving. The SS men finished off extremely emaciated prisoners with their guns. There was no infirmary at the subcamp; sick people were not given medical care. The most emaciated and disabled were taken back to Stutthof.

Several prisoners attempted to escape from camp in 1940. No matter what the outcome for the escapees, each attempt ended badly for the prisoners in camp. The punishment was 20 lashes with a stick and the forfeiture of one dinner. Only one prisoner's account is available, that of Matuszczak:

The first escape was by two prisoners from what was called the "foreman" group, who were assigned to serve the SS men in their living quarters: They made their beds, cleaned their boots, kept their rooms clean, etc. The prisoners picked a very appropriate time to escape, April 20, [1940], the Führer's birthday, on which the SS men had a drinking spree and went to bed. The prisoners then left and never came back. We do not know their names. The escape was successful, which did not happen too often. . . . The next attempt was made by a prisoner whose name we do not know. All we know is that he was from Wejherowo. He had gotten pretty far from Westerplatte, already reaching Jelitkowo. A chase was ordered immediately, and two other prisoners were taken along so as to identify the fugitive more quickly. They found him! Chased down,

he started to run away when he saw the SS men, then the search party opened fire on him. His fate was sealed. He fell dead under the bullets. Accounts by the prisoners accompanying the chase say that if he had not started to run away, he might not have drawn the attention of the search party, because at that time all prisoners still wore their own clothes in which they'd been taken. Although it was sometimes shabby, the clothing did not draw attention like the camp striped uniform did.¹⁰

Several SS men from Stutthof served as supervisors in the Danzig-Westerplatte subcamp. These SS men were among the 13 supervisors confirmed in the records.¹¹ The subcamp was shut down in mid-June 1941 when the entire Westerplatte site was cleared. Approximately 50 prisoners were sent to work at the sawmill and chemical works in Danzig's Stogi section; the others returned to the Stutthof main camp.¹²

SOURCES The following sources contain information on the Westerplatte subcamp: AK-IPN, SOGd., sygn. 78, records of criminal case against T. Meyer and others; AK-IPN Gd, Oświadczenia (Affidavits), J. Januchowski; AMS, Lasik, Stutthof; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Franciszek Raclawski, vol. 2; Władysław Konarzewski, vol. 4; Anzelm Rudłowski, vol. 5; Cyprian Wosztal, vol. 6; Mieczysław Filipowicz, vol. 9; Józef Szarkowski, vol. 14; Stanisław Stachyra, vol. 21); account of Kazimierz Brzuszkiewicz; AP Gd, Sygn. No. 49/IV/5, stenographic record of the trial of Albert Forster; K. Ciechanowski, "Hitlerowski obóz w Gdańsku-Nowym Porcie 1 IX 1939–1 IV 1940," *StZeMu*, no. 5 (1984); A. Duzik, *Wspomnienia. Los obrońców po kapitulacji Westerplatte*, (Łódź, 1981) (copy at AMS); M.E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992); M. Filipowicz, *Ludzie, stocznie, okręty* (Gdańsk, 1985); *Gdańsk 1939*. Brunon Zwarra, *Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan, Wybór i opracowanie* (Gdańsk, 1984); S. Matuszczak, "Westerplatte (fragmenty wspomnień b. więźnia Stutthofu)," (Warsaw, 1982) (typescript, AMS); S. Mikos, "Gdańsk w okresie II wojny światowej (1939–1945)" *Hist Gd*, vol. 4:2 (1998); D. Steyer, *Eksterminacja ludności polskiej na Pomorzu Gdańskim w latach 1939–1945* (Gdynia, 1967) J. Szarkowski, *Wychowawca pokoleń*. W. Drązek, *Wspomnienia zebrali i opracowali* (Gdynia, 1996).

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NOTES

1. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 4:98, account of Władysław Konarzewski. On the other hand, Franciszek Szwinke testified at Albert Forster's trial that on September 15, 1939, approximately 2,000 prisoners were sent to work from the Danzig-Neufahrwasser camp, AP Gd, sygn. 49/IV/5, p. 374. According to Franciszek Raclawski, the first cleanup group had been sent to Westerplatte on September 10; see AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 2:33.

2. M. Filipowicz, *Ludzie, stocznie, okręty* (Gdańsk, 1985), pp. 194–195; *Gdańsk. 1939*. Brunon Zwarra, *Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan, Wybór i opracowanie* (Gdańsk, 1984), accounts of

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Paweł Gronau, Antoni Leszczyński, Bruno Mach, Alfons Olszewski, Alojzy Swiniarski, Leon Szotyński, Mieczysław Szymański, Stanisław Szymański, and Paweł Wohler; R. Duzik, *Wspomnienia. Los obrońców po kapitulacji Westerplatte* (Łódź, 1981) (copy at AMS); AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 4:98, account of Władysław Konarzewski, 6:267, Cyprian Wosztal, 6:331, Mieczysław Filipowicz, 14:215–223, Józef Szarkowski; AP Gd, Catalog No. 49/IV/5, pp. 361, 374, testimony of Stanisław Garczewski and Franciszek Szwinke at A. Forster's trial.

3. Filipowicz, *Ludzie*, p. 195. One of the Rexin brothers (Otto or Paul) was an equally brutal SS man. See *Gdańsk 1939*, accounts of Jan Gdaniec II and Leon Szoltyński. See also J. Matynia, "Filia obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945," Ph.D. diss., Gdańsk Teachers College, 1969, pp. 80–81.

4. See AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 9:351, account of Mieczysław Filipowicz; *Gdańsk 1939*, accounts of Antoni Leszczyński and Paweł Wohler; Duzik, *Wspomnienia*.

5. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 9:33–35, account of Mieczysław Filipowicz, 14:223, Józef Szarkowski; Filipowicz, *Ludzie*, p. 195; J. Szarkowski, *Wychowawca pokoleń*. W. Drązek, *Wspomnienia zebrał i opracował* (Gdynia, 1996), pp. 73–80; AP Gd, testimony of Stanisław Garczewski at A. Forster's trial, Catalog No. 49/IV/5, p. 361.

6. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 5:156, account of Anzelm Rudłowski, 31:235–236, Stefan Stachyra; Kazimierz Brzuszkiewicz's letter to the Stutthof Museum, December 5 and 20, 2000; *Gdańsk 1939*, account of Alfons Olszewski.

7. *Gdańsk 1939*, account of Mieczysław Szymański.

8. AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 78, p. 259.

9. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 12:161.

10. See S. Matuszczak, "Westerplatte (fragmenty wspomnień b. więźnia Stutthofu)," (Warsaw, 1982) (typescript, AMS), p. 6; see also M.E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992): 150.

11. AMS, Lasik, Stutthof ac.

12. Ibid.; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 12:161, account of Stanisław Matuszczak; M. Gliński, "Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939–9 maja 1945)," *StZeMu* no. 3, Wrocław 1979, p. 167.

DANZIG-ZIGANKENBERG

From May 15, 1940, to April 30, 1941, a group of prisoners worked at the city brickyard (Städtische Ziegelei Zigankenberg) on what was called Gypsy Hill (Cygańska Góra) in Danzig-Zigankenberg (later Gdańsk Suchanino). The subcamp was listed in camp records as Aussenstelle-Zigankenberg. The prisoners were quartered on the premises of the brickyard. Employment assignment notes in prisoner files confirm the subcamp's existence.¹

No accurate data are available on the number of people in the detachment or on the working conditions.

SOURCES See "Stutthof Main Camp" for sources and other bibliographic information.

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trans. Gerard Majka

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

NOTE

1. AMS, sygn. I-III-49930, I-III-50079, personal files of prisoners Aleksander Paradowski and Feliks Zieliński. Based on these records, we can establish that the subcamp operated between May 15, 1940, and April 30, 1941.

DOMACHAU

From October to November 1939 the Danzig Prison Camp Command and the civilian prisoner camps under it, especially the Stutthof camp, organized many "farm detachments" (Bauernkommandos) to help with the root crop harvest and cultivation. According to the testimony of A. Schwartz, the camp farm manager, in 1939 approximately 3,000 people from all of the civilian prisoner camps were assigned to work on farms located in villages in the Danzig Highlands (Danziger Höhe) and Danzig Lowlands (Danziger Niederung) as well as in Żuławy (Werder).

Among detachments of this type was one at the estate at Domachau (later Domachowo) organized from March 12 to August 29, 1940. The estate was close to Danzig (Gdańsk) near Grenzdorf (Graniczna Wieś).¹ It was owned by the German Rittergut, a subsidiary of the SS. Prisoners who specialized in farmwork were probably sent by the Grenzdorf civilian prisoner camp. There is no other information on the detachment except for labor assignment entries made in prisoner files. Besides prisoners, during the height of fieldwork and harvesting, Rittergut also employed regular paid workers and Russian prisoners of war (POWs). Stutthof prisoners also worked on the estate in the following years.²

The campaign to hire out prisoners to German farmers on a mass scale and for a fee began in early October 1939. Approximately 700 prisoners were still doing farmwork in January 1940. Detachments averaged in size from 10 to 20 people; on smaller farms, there were just a few working inmates. The camp provided partial escort and supervision of prisoners while they worked. This job was also done by local SS or SA members. Farm owners were responsible for housing prisoners and guards from the camp and providing them with food for the entire day.

Prisoners worked harvesting potatoes and sugar beets, threshing grain, and doing general farm chores. Their average period of employment was from four to six weeks.³ After they were done, they went back to the camp at Danzig Neufahrwasser or were sent straight to the Stutthof or Grenzdorf camp.

Prisoners were hired out to work on farms for several reasons: the first was the mass influx of prisoners to the camps, which could not accommodate such large numbers; there was no way to house them. Second, there were also problems with provisions. In his testimony before an officer of the American Military Court (AMC) in Freising in 1945, Albert Schwartz said in English:

In the first days of September the number of internees went up to about fifteen thousand (15,000) men,

of which after an initial screening, about six thousand (6,000) remained to be examined in detail by the Gestapo. Since the Stutthof camp . . . could not house so many people at that time, large groups of prisoners were sent to several large farms in the rural counties of Danzig to help in harvesting. About three thousand (3,000) men were employed this way, and the farms had to house and feed prisoners and guards and also pay a fee of one mark daily for each prisoner.⁷⁴

Another reason was the new farm structure in Pomerania. All Polish farming estates and smaller farms were requisitioned and confiscated by the Nazi authorities. They were allocated to local Germans, then to the German nationals (Reichsdeutsche) and ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche) brought in from the Baltic countries and Bessarabia. Putting prisoners to work in agriculture made up for the outflow of hired labor caused by the displacement of Polish families and by warfare. In the initial months of the civilian prisoner camps' operation, prisoner labor on the farms was also a means to obtain funds to maintain the camps, which were just being set up.

Prisoners were assigned to work under a contract between the camp command and local farm directors (Ortsbauernführer), who were the lowest organizational level for farms in the Reich. The procedure for hiring out prisoners for labor was extremely simple. Prisoners were escorted by several SS men to the township offices, where selection for labor at respective farms took place. Many Pomeranian township directors, who were in charge of agriculture for their areas, applied for prisoner labor. Their duties generally included all administrative and occupational farm business involving government agricultural and animal-breeding requirements, especially seeing to it that work was done on time and deliveries were made as agreed. The allocation of farm machinery, tools, fertilizer, sowing and breeding material, and labor was up to them.

Recruitment for the work was generally voluntary and met with no resistance from Poles, who preferred the considerably more peaceful labor in the fields to staying in camp where they were exposed to brutal treatment by SS men. Most prisoners thought the farmers' attitude toward them was positive, pointing out that the supervision was benign, that the food was good, and that some farmers even attempted to keep them on permanently at their farms.⁵ In general, conditions at the farms were better than at the main camps. As Bruno Zwarra stated, at some detachments prisoners were given a bit of freedom outside of work; they could do such things as go outside the farm premises to the inn or even to the movies, but, as he points out, "not all Germans were so tolerant toward Poles. I later learned from friends that there were also Germans who constantly prodded and beat the people working in the field."⁶ There were even extreme instances of their drastic treatment by the Germans, especially if the farm owner was a fanatic Nazi official.

The practice by Pomerania's German landowners of hiring laborers for seasonal work had already existed for some time. Mainly Poles hired themselves out for that work. There were at least 10,000 of them in the Free City of Danzig. The German aggression against Poland and the resultant warfare had caused delays in the root crop harvest and autumn sowing because the Polish army's mobilization had drained the land of workers and the combat itself had caused dislocations in the initial weeks of the war. Over the long run these delays could cause food shortages in the Reich, whose domestic agricultural output before the war had not fully supplied the market with farm and livestock products (they made up for that by importing food). German propaganda demanded that Polish workers be assigned to that work and that a food "granary" be created for all of Germany out of the lands annexed to the Reich, thus making it independent of foreign countries.

Many Jewish women were sent to work on the land in the summer and autumn of 1944, probably because there was no work for them at the central camp and its subcamps. Leaving camp meant an improvement in their situation and a greater chance of survival, as hunger and a high sick rate prevailed there. The accounts of Lithuanian Jews Cyla Kajcer-Perla, Maria Rolnikajte, and many others hold dramatic descriptions of selections for work, which only a small group of women could get. Those who were in good physical condition were selected for the work, first and foremost being tall enough and having strong, healthy legs with no traces of ulceration. Because work groups for grain or potato harvests were only organized from time to time, that was the only opportunity to leave camp and get away from the brutal supervisors. Work lasted from 4:30 A.M. until 8:30 P.M., with an hour's break for breakfast and dinner. Besides fieldwork, they also did all the farmwork and housekeeping chores such as milking the cows, chopping wood, pumping water, sweeping the yard, and so on, including on Sunday. They were issued food irregularly. Rolnikajte stated that once a week they were rationed one loaf of bread and a quarter kilo (approximately nine ounces) of margarine, plus a cup of coffee for breakfast and soup at dinnertime. There were no arduous roll calls, daily persecutions by SS men and foremen prisoners, mindless killings of Jews, or selections in the barracks.⁷

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this entry: AK-IPN, PMW-BZW, sygn. 327, testimony of A. Schwartz, Freising, September 12, 1945; SO Gd, Catalog No. 75, records of criminal case against Kurt Dietrich and others; AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports (Anna Makarska, Wrocław); AMS, Catalog No. I-III-, prisoner personal files; Catalog No. I-IIIA-9, Catalog No. I-IVB-9, list of camp receivables for prisoner labor; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (vol. 4, Władysław Konarzewski; vol. 5, Feliks Sadłowski; vol. 14, Józef Szarkowski); Brunon Zwarra, *Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan, Wybór i opracowanie* (Gdańsk, 1984); M., Rolnikajte, *Ja dożna rasskazat* (Moscow, 1965).

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VOLUME I: PART B

NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-49842, I-III-49866, personal files of prisoners Johann von Pruhsak and Franciszek Żmudziewski.
2. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Kpp. 39/71, report of examination of witness Anna Makarska (Wrocław).
3. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 75, p. 69, testimony of E. Foth given at Gdańsk District Court in 1947.
4. AK-IPN Gd, Polish Army Mission collection, War Crimes Office-327, pp. 25–26.
5. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 4:100, account of Władysław Konarzewski, vol. 14: 226–237, Józef Szarkowski; “Gdańsk 1939,” p. 379, account of Alfons Olszewski, Paweł Wohlert, p. 539, Bruno Zwarra, pp. 587–588.
6. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, vol. 14, Szarkowski; “Gdańsk 1939,” p. 589.
7. M. Rolnikajte, *Ja dożna rasskazat* (Moscow, 1965), pp. 168–176.

ELBING [AKA BRÜCKENKOPFBAU, STOBOI BEI ELBING]

A subcamp was formed on November 20, 1944, pursuant to the commandant's order issued that same day. The chief of Amtsgruppe D at the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) had given permission for the camp to be formed on November 10, 1944.¹ SS-Oberscharführer Wilhelm Werner was designated camp commandant (Lagerführer); he was replaced by SS-Oberscharführer Albert Paul Höldtke on December 18, 1944. Some 24 guards sent by Elbing military headquarters (Wehrmachtskommandantur Elbing) were assigned to the detachment's transport and supervision, and SS women Margarete Okon (starting December 19, 1944) and Edith Thews and Johanna Wisotzki (January 1945) were also assigned from the Stutthof camp.²

In official correspondence the camp was called Aussenarbeitslager Stoboi bei Elbing. The name Brückenkopfbau was also used.³ This was the name used for the military fortifications in the outskirts of Elbing (Elbląg). The detachment was headquartered in Stoboi (later Kamiennik Wielki) near Elbing. The prisoners worked under the direction of the Organisation Todt (OT). There were male French prisoners from POW and labor camps also working in the same area, as well as Polish workers and Germans from the German Labor Front (DAF). The OT supervised the construction work.

Upon the commandant's order, 500 female Jewish prisoners were sent to Stoboi in the first transport. The population increased by 500 more Jewish women who were sent in late November or early December 1944. This is confirmed by Werner's letter of December 2, 1944, regarding sending additional clothing, because “the second transport of five hundred women is very inadequately clothed.” The detachment's population has been confirmed by Eugenia Kacówna, a prisoner of the subsidiary, who testified in 1945 that “on November 18 [or] 20, 1944, I was selected and sent to Elbing, where I

worked on anti-tank barriers. A total of one thousand of us women worked there.”⁴

Food supplies for the guard staff and prisoners were provided by the OT administration, which operated its own kitchen. In the camp, whose exact location and prisoner housing conditions are unknown, there was an infirmary, as evidenced by Werner's letter to Stutthof main camp headquarters dated December 2, 1944, in which he asks that three white smocks and 20 towels be sent at once for the camp infirmary. The difficult winter conditions and considerable physical exertion expended on digging antitank trenches were made worse by the already inadequate supply of warm clothing and shoes.

According to a report of January 24, 1945, 341 women were in the camp. However, Kacówna stated in her account that, one day later, about 400 women went to the main camp in Stutthof, and the rest were evacuated three days later. There may have been two transports, the first with 400 women who reached the Stutthof camp before January 25, and the second with the number mentioned in the report—altogether 741 persons. If that is in fact the case, it would indicate a roughly 25 percent drop from the initial camp population of approximately 1,000.

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this entry: AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 81a, materials of preliminary investigation into the Stutthof camp collected by Judge Antoni Zachariasiewicz; AMS, sygn. I-IVH-5, I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; sygn. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; sygn. I-IVB-9, lists of camp receivables for prisoner labor; Lasik, Stutthof ac; D. Drywa, *Podobozy (Aussenarbeitslager) KL Stutthof dla więźniów narodowości żydowskiej* (in print, typescript at AMS); M. Orski, *Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na terenie miasta Elbląga w latach 1940–1945* (Gdańsk, 1992).

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NOTES

1. AMS, sygn. I-IVH-5.
2. AMS, Lasik, Stutthof ac.
3. Ibid.; Catalog No. I-IVB-9, payment by companies for prisoner labor (November 1944); Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population.
4. Ibid., Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 171, Anforderung von Kleidungsstücken, Stoboi, den 2.12.1944; AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 81a, p. 88, testimony of Eugenia Kacówna.

ELBING (OT ELBING COMPLEX) [AKA KOMMANDO BEFEHLSSTELLE STRASBURG]

The Elbing camp complex was formed on August 7, 1944, pursuant to a special order of the Stutthof concentration camp commandant issued the day before.¹ The prisoners' employer was the Organisation Todt (OT); therefore, the name Organisation Todt Elbing (OT Elbing) was also used in official

correspondence about the camp. Kommando Befehlsstelle Strasburg was another name for the camp: that was the location of the subcamp's main office and the headquarters of the guard company that watched the prisoners (the 36th SS-Standarte, SS-Stadtwachtkompanie). Bülow was named camp commandant and staff officer. To help him, he was assigned five junior officers from the 1st SS-Wachbataillon and 95 SS men from the Allgemeine-SS.

The subcamp initially received 5,000 Jewish women from Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Lithuania. Upon arrival in Elbing (later Elbląg), an OT representative divided them into work groups of several hundred and placed them in towns along the Vistula Bay, where they dug ditches and built bunkers and other military fortifications. They changed their places of work and lodging frequently, depending on the status of the work the OT assigned them. The conditions in which the women lived were primitive at first: makeshift lodgings (barns and tents) and meager food. When they left the Stutthof camp, they had been outfitted with just a blanket and a bowl and spoon. The summer clothing in which they left, adequate for that time of year, proved to be totally insufficient for the autumn and winter months.

After the work planned for that region had been completed, the women were moved to the Brodnica (Strasburg) and Toruń (Thorn) area, along the Drwęca (Drewenz) River. In mid-August 1944, a second prisoner transport of 1,500 women arrived. In early October 1944 the camp population was 6,440 women, and on January 24, 1945, it was 5,036.² In early September 1944, Brodnica headquarters was put in charge of eight camps located in Brodnica, Lubawa, and Toruń counties.³

One of the hardest labor detachments was at Gutowo (Guttau). The first group of 1,000 to 1,200 women there lived in makeshift tents; later they were moved to 13 unheated round barracks housing up to 100 prisoners each. The barracks had no foundations or finished floors; the prisoners slept on straw. Their food consisted of lukewarm water in place of coffee and a slice of bread at noon. When the detachment returned from work, it was issued soup cooked from unpeeled potatoes. An infirmary in one barracks served only as a typhus isolation ward, where the patients usually died, due to the lack of medicine or professional care.⁴

The camp staff was extremely brutal; they tormented the prisoners and meted out harsh punishments for trivial offenses. According to Elżbieta Deutsch's account, a Jewish woman was placed under a running faucet of cold water in bitter cold weather for stealing two potatoes. The prisoner died as a result. Among the most brutal SS men were the local camp director Bier, his assistant Bittner, and Engel (he would kill off sick Jewish women), Zibber, Molk, Schmidt, and others of the staff.⁵

Work was done from dawn until dusk, under difficult weather conditions, especially in late autumn and in winter; it was extremely strenuous, driving up the prisoners' sick rate and causing numerous deaths. It is estimated that approximately 170 to 200 Jewish women died at Gutowo, including

the four or five infants born there. They were buried in a nearby meadow.⁶

The Gutowo camp was shut down on January 17, 1945. Some of the sick, about 140 persons, were left in the barracks. The staff tried to kill them by injecting them with toxic substances, which proved to be ineffective. According to the testimony of witnesses—village residents and former prisoners—the prisoners were taken out of camp into a field and killed off with gunshots. Few managed to escape. According to the account of witness Leonard Dmochewicz, 104 women perished then, whom he buried not far from the camp. When Russian units entered Gutowo, the sanitary section took care of the Jewish women and recorded a special report on the topic: "We have discovered a female camp. One hundred sixty-three women in a state of ultimate devastation, with frostbitten legs, some of them had wounds, 140 had phlegmon and ulcers on their arms from injections of some sort of toxic fluids intended to kill them. . . . Besides that, we also discovered a mass of female bodies in the camp, in canvas tents or nearby, varying in age from twelve to fifty-five. We managed to count 120 corpses upon a rough count."⁷ Working and living conditions at the other detachments were also difficult and did not differ much from each other.

Throughout the Elbing complex, the prisoners' situation was especially dire in late autumn and winter. They still spent nights in tents or barns, without warm clothing, gloves, or any footwear. In a letter to Stutthof concentration camp headquarters dated September 4, 1944, Commandant Bülow reported that almost every camp director was reporting inadequate prisoner clothing and underwear supplies to him, and he indicated that a lack of footwear was reducing work output. In another letter of October 6, 1944, he reported that he only had 1,000 pairs of shoes for 6,440 prisoners; 80 to 90 percent of prisoners urgently needed a change of shoes. His appeals did not lead to any immediate improvement, however.⁸

SS-Hauptsturmführer Paul Ehle from headquarters' staff inspected five camps near Toruń on November 13, 1944. He confirmed the poor state of clothing and shoe supplies, which he thought affected productivity. There were 6,200 women in all the camps at that time. Most of them were in poor condition, 10 had died so far, and approximately 300 were in a state of extreme exhaustion. He recommended that the most ill and emaciated be transported to Stutthof and that the camps be provided with footwear, warm sweaters, pants, and other needed clothing.⁹

The evacuation of the existing labor camps took place in mid to late January 1945 when the prisoner population totaled 5,036 women. The groups working closest to Elbing returned to the main camp and then were evacuated on January 25 and 26. The other ones located over 150 kilometers (approximately 93 miles) from Stutthof were evacuated to Praust (Pruszcz Gdański) (one of the stages in the central camp's evacuation) or directly toward Lauenberg (Łębork), the evacuation's destination. The casualties were very high in

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all the detachments. In most camps, selections were performed even before the evacuation columns were formed, and sick prisoners were excluded, killed with injections of lethal fluid, shot, or finished off with blunt instruments (such as gun butts). Only a few managed to survive. Many prisoners perished on the march route and were buried in common graves; some were shot, but in most cases their fates remain unknown.

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this entry: AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports (Stanisław Ruciński, Margita Sztraus, Teresa Tkaczik, Helena Milder, Elżbieta Deutsch, and others); AMS, sygn. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; sygn. no. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; sygn. I-IVB-9, lists of camp receivables for prisoner labor; sygn. I-IVH-5, I-IVH-7, correspondence of the branch with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, (Batia Berkowicz, vol. 7, record dated January 30, 1945; report of Sanitary Unit, 48th Army 3rd Belarussian Front, Leonard Dmochewicz, vol. 14); D. Drywa, *Podbozy (Aussenarbeitslager) KL Stutthof dla więźniów narodowości żydowskiej* (in print, typescript at AMS); M. Orski, *The Czechs, Slovaks and Yugoslavs in Stutthof Concentration Camp* (Gdańsk, 1997); J. Grabowska, *Marsz śmierci. Ewakuacja piesza więźniów KL Stutthof i jego podbozów 25 stycznia–3 maja 1945*, (Gdańsk, 1992).

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NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, pp. 141–142, Sonderbefehl über Aufstellung des Baukommandos Ostland.

2. No headquarters command is available on the transport of mid-August 1944. Stutthof concentration camp Administration and Management Division records document the transport's arrival: labor assignment figures at OT Elbing for August 1944 (6,500), a letter dated October 6, 1944, from the subcamp's commandant on clothing supplies (6,440), and a report on the camp's population on January 24, 1945. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVB-9, p. 51; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 83; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6. See also Batia Berkowicz's testimony, AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 7:15.

3. Ibid., Catalog No. I-IVH-5, SS-Oberscharführer Lietz of the 36th SS-Standarte, SS-Stadtwachtkompanie, to Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on September 6, 1944, on sending coats for the SS men.

4. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, vol. 14, record dated January 30, 1945, report of Sanitary Unit, 48th Army 3rd Belarussian Front; AK-IPN Gd, reports of examinations of witnesses Margita Sztraus, Teresa Tkaczik, Helena Milder, and Elżbieta Deutsch.

5. According to prisoner testimony included in the report of the Sanitary Unit of the 48th Army, 3rd Belarussian Front, as well as that of witness L. Dmochewicz (AMS, vol. 14).

6. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Ds. 1/67, report of examination of witness Stanisław Ruciński (Olsztyn).

7. M. Orski, *The Czechs, Slovaks and Yugoslavs in Stutthof Concentration Camp* (Gdańsk, 1997), pp. 151, 213.

8. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-5.

9. Ibid.

ELBING (*SCHICHAU-WERFT*)

On September 20, 1944, the Germans transported 100 prisoners to a new camp at the F. Schichau-Werft GmbH in Elbing (Elbląg), pursuant to a special order from the Stutthof commandant and a preliminary contract signed with the shipyard. Three more transports of 500 prisoners each followed on September 25 and 29 and October 3, bringing the number of prisoners to 1,600.¹ Half of the population were Poles; the rest were German, Russian, Lithuanian, Estonian, and Latvian—including a group of 15 to 20 former Latvian policemen who had been put in Stutthof for deserting the SS and for criminal offenses.

The subcamp's commandant was initially SS-Oberscharführer Willy Redder; then from October 27, 1944, SS-Untersturmführer Friedrich Walter was in charge. The guard staff was composed of 9 SS men from the 1st Guard Company. The staff grew as subsequent prisoner transports arrived at Elbing. Another 20 SS men were assigned to the camp on September 25 and 29, 1944. On November 2, there were 12 civilian personnel in camp.² In addition, factory guards supervised the prisoners.

The prisoners lived in barracks in back of the Schichau-Werft facilities on Krafoldsdorfweg (later Radomska Ulica in Elbląg) as well as in another camp on the premises of the machine and locomotive factory on Boelkestrasse (in a group of camps for forced laborers of Schichau Werke), in which prisoners of Stutthof's first subcamp had lived, beginning in April 1941.

Most of the prisoners were qualified lathe operators, mechanics, and fitters. The shipyard, where they built and fitted out submarines, was their primary workplace. When there was no work there, some of the prisoners were sent to the Schichau Werke machine and locomotive factory located by the railroad station (called Trettinhof or T'hof), where they manufactured such things as armored locomotives, combat vehicles, tanks, and ships' guns.³

The prisoners worked in a 12-hour daily shift system, with a 1-hour break for dinner, and worked until noon on Sundays. In contrast to the 1940–1942 period, prisoners were put to work directly on the production lines, with strict output quotas (for instance, assembling one vehicle body per day). Failure to reach quota was treated as tantamount to sabotage, for which an order from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) provided harsh punitive sanctions, including the death penalty, when someone was charged with deliberate destruction and holding up production.⁴

The hard and dangerous labor, the poor supply of clothing and shoes, and the low-calorie food increased the rates of sickness and death. A former prisoner of the camp described conditions there as considerably worse than those at the main camp. The food for an entire day provided no more than 1,000 calories. The production line quota system and watchful supervision by SS men, prisoner foremen, and factory guards did not provide much opportunity for getting extra food from other sources. Although the Schichau Werke

administration was in charge of food supplies, the subcamp's management ran the kitchen. Prisoners stole food items frequently, as confirmed by surviving forms recording punishment by whipping for stealing.⁵ In addition, fatal accidents often occurred at work; for example, some died of wood alcohol poisoning when painting locomotive bodies.

The supply of clothing and shoes was inadequate, especially in wintertime. Before leaving for Elbing, prisoners handed in the clothes they had been wearing and received replacements to wear until they were supplied with striped uniforms. The commandant made the camp administration agree to supply prisoners with warm clothing and winter footwear. When the cold weather came, thin jackets did not protect prisoners against colds, which also sometimes ended in death.

The promised jackets and warm clothes reached camp late and in a smaller amount than had been demanded. In early November 1944 the commandant again asked for the delivery of camp clothing, including 250 vests and pairs of shoes, as well as 1,593 pairs of stockings.

In the surviving report of November 25, 1944, the subcamp's commandant asked for the immediate delivery of 7,200 items of clothing, footwear, and towels, mainly including warm jackets, pants, long underwear, foot wrappings, gloves, and so on. The order was not filled until December 2, and it contained almost 3,000 items fewer than what was asked for. The order for 1,600 gloves or towels indicates that the target prisoner population had been maintained and that several new prisoners had been sent to the camp.

One more of the commandant's letters, dated late December 1944, has survived. The letter shows the disastrous state of prisoner provisions. There was a shortage of gloves, winter jackets, shirts, long underwear, pants, camp caps, footwear, and belts. The prisoners' shoes were no longer repairable. Of the 10,000 items of clothing or pairs of shoes that the commandant had requested, he only got half.⁶

The camp had an infirmary whose personnel consisted of a prisoner doctor and two orderlies who arrived at Elbing in the first transport. Dr. Bolesław Drobner-Kwiatkowski, a Pole, served as the doctor the entire time. However, patients reporting to the infirmary could not count on getting the proper medical care, because Dr. Drobner-Kwiatkowski had a minimal amount of medicine, bandages, and dressing materials. More seriously ill patients were taken to the Stutthof hospital.⁷

The first deaths of Elbing prisoners were reported in October 1944. In one of the commandant's reports dated October 24, there is a list of 11 deceased prisoners, including prisoner Józef Sieroszewski, who was shot as a fugitive.⁸ The subcamp's population on November 2 was 1,593, indicating that 7 prisoners had died or had been sent back to Stutthof in under one and a half months.⁹ According to partially surviving camp doctor reports on deaths at Stutthof subcamps, 64 people died from November 3, 1944, to January 10, 1945, the greatest number of them Poles but also Russians, Latvians, Lithuanians, and Estonians.¹⁰ The bodies of deceased prisoners

were taken away to the camp morgue near the infirmary barrack on Boelkestrasse. They were later buried in the woods outside Elbing.

Based on surviving records, we can establish that chiefly Russians and Poles attempted to escape. They were not all successful. By September 29, 1944, there had already been a successful escape by Pole Czesław Sowiński.¹¹ Another escape by two Polish prisoners occurred on October 23; one of them was caught.¹² On December 17, another Pole, Stanisław Pędzisz, escaped successfully.¹³

The other escapees were Russian prisoners. In their case, preparing for escape involved overcoming many difficulties, mainly getting civilian clothes and provisions, as well as establishing contacts outside of camp in order to compensate for their poor knowledge of the area; 13 Russians tried to escape, of whom 8 were successful.¹⁴ The camp command had to report every escape to Stutthof headquarters and also pursue the fugitives. When an escapee was caught, the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) in Berlin was informed and subsequently issued sentence. Accounts of former prisoners of the Elbing subcamp show that death sentences were sometimes issued. Jan Pięta recalls such an event; during a special morning roll call, he was an eyewitness to the hanging of 3 persons who had attempted to escape from camp.¹⁵

The subcamp was disbanded on January 20, 1945. All the prisoners returned to Stutthof. Several days later some of them were in the evacuation on foot heading toward Lauenburg; the others left the camp in April 1945. In the four months of the Elbing subcamp's operation, at least 1,800 prisoners passed through the camp (including the rotation of the sick and the dead), with a death rate reaching approximately 5 to 10 percent of the camp's population.

SOURCES The following are sources used for this entry: AAN, Division VI, records of the KG AK; AK-IPN, ATW IV (American Military Court IV), sygn. Pd 5, collected records of American Military Court No. II in Nürnberg, trial 4 against the WVHA and Oswald Pohl; AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports of Eugeniusz Gała, Jan Pięta, and Tomasz Zawadzki; AMS, Catalog No. I-III-, prisoner files; Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IIID-3, I-VB-7, hospital records (Krankenbau); Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the branch with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Jan Koczewicz, Stanisław Pędzisz, and Walfred Wallit); M. Borowski, *Szczęściarz. Wspomnienia z lat wojny* (Gdańsk, 1994); M.E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu*, 10 (1992).

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NOTES

1. AMS, sygn. I-IB-3, "Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung des Aussenarbeitslagers Schichau-Werft Elbing."
2. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 87, commandant Redder to Stutthof camp headquarters dated November 2, 1944.

3. AAN, Division VI, KG AK, Appendix No. 12 to MW (Intelligence Report) 9/44—Lombard, Item 10 dated mid-March 1944; Appendix No. 12 to Intelligence Report 6/44—Lombard, dated February 15, 1944: Schichau Elbing; AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*—account of Jan Koczewicz, n.p.; 15:155, Walfred Wallit; AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports, Catalog No. Kpp 51/72, testimony of Eugeniusz Gałła; Catalog No. Ko 99/70, Tomasz Zawadzki; M. Borowski, *Szczęściarz. Wspomnienia z lat wojny* (Gdańsk, 1994), p. 105.

4. See Richard Glücks's order of April 11, 1944, AK-IPN, ATW IV (American Military Court IV), sygn. Pd 5, p. 129, Nuremberg Document No. 1556.

5. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, account of Jan Koczewicz, n.p.; M. Borowski, *Szczęściarz. Wspomnienia z lat wojny*, p. 105.

6. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 89.

7. Ibid., Catalog No. I-IIID-3.

8. M.E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992): 103, 196.

9. As indicated by the commandant's order for supplies for the entire camp population. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 87.

10. Ibid., Catalog Nos. I-IIID-3, I-VB-7.

11. Ibid., Catalog Nos. I-III-14616, personal files of Czesław Sowiński.

12. Ibid., Catalog No. I-III-4952, personal files of Wacław Grabowski.

13. Ibid., *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 21:224, account of Stanisław Pędzisz.

14. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," pp. 97, 101–104, 109–110, 114, 118, 142.

15. AK-IPN, Catalog No. Ko 99/70, report of examination of witness Jan Pięta.

ELBING (SCHICHAU WERKE)

Stutthof prisoners began working in private businesses in Elbing (Elbląg) as early as September 1939.¹ Prisoner files of the time contain the names of the companies that employed them most often, which were chiefly the Schichau Werke and its associates, as well as city agencies. Prisoners were quartered either in what were called "collection camps" or on company premises. In early January 1940, the Elbing detachment was reinforced by a group of 75 Polish prisoners of war (POWs) who had been at Schichau Werke doing construction and wiring work since October 1939. The POWs had been captured at Modlin and then sent from Königsberg prison in late September 1939 to work in Elbing. They were quartered in an inactive brush factory that had been owned by Jews between the wars and had been taken over by Schichau Werke. In early January 1940, 75 people were arrested, charged with sabotage for cutting electric wires. Their POW status was removed, and they were made civilian prisoners of the Stutthof camp.²

The decision to use the existing detachment as the basis for a single subcamp was hastened by the evacuation of the

Neufahrwasser camp in February 1940. In mid-March 1940, prisoners were selected for use at outside workplaces, mainly for the purpose of acquiring funds to maintain the Stutthof camp administration. Approximately 200 prisoners were brought by barge to Elbing via Vistula Bay. Predominantly Poles were selected for the transport, as well as smaller groups of Danzig Germans, Czechs, and Russians.

The camp had six commandants in its six-year history. The position was successively held by SS-Obersturmführer Waldemar Wilhelm, Fritz Meier, and Erich Müller and by SS-Oberscharführer Alfred Dittmann, Willy Redder, and Fritz Weber. Besides them, the staff was made up of 40 to 50 SS men acting as supervisors at camp and escorts to the workplace. The SS men's attitude toward prisoners was different from the inhumane behavior of the Stutthof camp staff, although it was not totally lacking in repressive and violent elements. Commandant Müller and his deputy Max Michelsen were among the most brutal. The former, along with other SS men, were responsible for killing a Polish physician from the infirmary, Dr. Franciszek Gabriel, who dared to try to improve camp sanitary conditions through official channels by drawing attention to the prisoners' poor state of health. Michelsen, along with the camp senior, Stefan Plombom, often carried out whippings personally.

The majority of prisoners were hired out to F. Schichau-Werft GmbH Elbing. They were quartered in the aforementioned brush factory at Tannenberg Allee 75, and when it was shut down in April 1941, the prisoners were moved to a new camp on Boelkestrasse in the back of Schichau Werke. The camp neighbored several other camps for forced laborers who were deported from many German-occupied European countries.

Prisoners worked not only at the shipyard but also at other Schichau company plants in Elbing, such as the machine and locomotive factory and the iron and steel foundry. They were put to work at the shipyard as helpers, doing such things as sorting materials to build the hulls of seagoing vessels and transporting them to the shipyard production facilities. The shipyard assembled warships—torpedo boats and "pocket" submarines.

The Schichau locomotive factory was also an important part of the company's production. In 1942, the factory started building what were called "war locomotives," which had considerably higher engineering specifications designed for military transports, as well as armored vehicles and replacement parts.

The prisoners at Schichau-Werft's direct disposal were also hired out to its numerous associates that did construction and assembly work in the port and shipyard, such as the construction companies Gaidies Fritz und Co. Hoch und Tiefbaugesellschaft, Philipp Holzmänn AG, Baustelle Schichau Elbing, the hemp and wire rope factory of Carl Stephun, Mech.- und Drahtseilfabrik Elbing, and others. Some prisoners were lent out to city agencies when there was no work at the shipyard or locomotive factory. They also worked installing city sewers, building a housing project, at a plywood

factory, and at the city sanitation company. From time to time they were also sent to do farmwork and drainage work.

The contract signed by Schichau-Werft Elbing GmbH provided for the employment of a regular group of several hundred employees. That population ranged from 200 people at the very beginning of 1940 to about 500 in the summer of 1941. The average prisoner population in October and November 1941 was 400.³ In his business and financial performance report of late October 1941, Niemann, the camp business chief, listed 420 persons working at the Schichau company. There were 376 prisoners in camp as of December 11, 1941.⁴

Living conditions in the camp on Tannenberg Allee were decidedly different from those at the Stutthof camp. Although there was crowding in the production hall, where two or three prisoners slept in one bunk, they were not starving. The meals given to prisoners chiefly consisted of porridge issued at lunchtime, and bread with margarine or jam mornings and evenings. The prisoners' ragged, stinking clothes were replaced by World War I Austrian army uniforms: gray jackets made of light material and blue-green pants, as well as round rimless caps.

Living conditions further improved when the prisoners were moved to the site on Boelkestrasse, which Schichau Werke owned. The food quality improved, but the amount was still inadequate for hard labor. Some German civilian employees and forced laborers helped prisoners get extra food, and prisoners' families sent packets illegally if they knew their relatives' whereabouts. Then in November 1940, Commandant Wilhelm began allowing correspondence, including food packages, into the camp.

Working conditions at the shipyard and other companies were very difficult. Safety precautions were not observed; accidents were common and sometimes fatal. The camp infirmary only treated less serious injuries that did not require complicated procedures or absence from work. People who had serious accidents were taken to the city hospital in Elbing and from there to the Stutthof camp hospital. Their chances of survival and returning to health were very slim.⁵

Some prisoners decided to escape from camp, not because their lives there were intolerable but for fear that they would be moved to the main camp, where conditions were worse. Prisoners who decided to escape were in danger of being killed by SS men or the prisoner surveillance staff. The first documented escape attempt by a prisoner named Mironowicz ended in disaster: he was caught and murdered by the search party. Three other escapes were successful.⁶

The first Stutthof subcamp at Elbing operated for about 26 months. Probably 700 prisoners actually passed through the camp in that time, when one counts replacements for those sick, injured, released, or dead. The camp shut down in February 1942. The exact date is unknown; the last surviving record, dated February 28, appears to have been written after the camp closed. The main reason for disbanding the subcamp was probably Stutthof's change in status and its expansion—and therefore an increased demand for labor.⁷

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this entry: AK-IPN, PMW-BZW, sygn. 327, testimony of A. Schwartz, Freising, September 12, 1945; AMS, Sygn. No. I-IA-4, records on the Stutthof camp's change in status; Sygn. No. I-III, prisoner personal files; Catalog Nos. I-VA-6, I-VB-4, hospital (Krankenbau) records; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Antoni Ryszczewicz, vol. 3; Antoni Dulski, vol. 6; Mieczysław Filipowicz, Zbigniew Nielepiec, Alfons Pillath, vol. 9; Jan Hładasz, n.p.); IK, electronic recordings of former prisoner accounts, account of Izydor Andrzejewski; M. Filipowicz, "Jak przejmowałem stocznię," *Wyb* 6: 223 (1987); K. Steyer, "Z problematyki ucieczek z KL Stutthof," *StZeMu*, no. 2, (1977).

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NOTES

1. See AGK, PMW-BZW, sygn. 327, p. 26.
2. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 9:43, account of Mieczysław Filipowicz; and n.p., account of Jan Hładasz; M. Filipowicz, "Jak przejmowałem stocznię," *Wyb*, 6: 223 (1987).
3. AMS, Catalog No. I-IA-4, SS-Standartenführer Heinrich Willich, Danzig Sipo and SD inspector, to Himmler, dated August 8, 1941, on assigning camp staff positions; former prisoners provide different estimates of the number of prisoners in their accounts, ranging from 400 to 1,200. According to Antoni Ryszczewicz, under its contract with Schichau Werke, Stutthof camp headquarters had to provide the works with 1,200 workers. Surviving records have not confirmed this. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 3:184, account of Antoni Ryszczewicz, 6:86, Antoni Dulski, 9:15, 179, Zbigniew Nielepiec and Alfons Pillath; IK, electronic recordings of former prisoner accounts, account of Izydor Andrzejewski.
4. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 3:191, account of Antoni Ryszczewicz, 9:16, 44, 180, accounts of Antoni Dulski, Mieczysław Filipowicz, and Alfons Pillath.
5. AMS, Catalog No. I-VB-4.
6. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 9:17, account of Antoni Dulski, 21:224, account of Stanisław Pędzisz.
7. AMS, Catalog No. I-VA-6, p. 15, Lager Elbing-Boelkestrasse to Lazarett—Stutthof, dated February 28, 1942, on the return of drugs.

GERDAUEN

Gerdaunen (later Zheleznodorozhnyy in Russia) was one of five subcamps that the Germans established at Luftwaffe airfields in East Prussia on September 21, 1944 (the others were at Heiligenbeil, Jesau, Schippenbeil, and Seerappen).¹ Pursuant to a special order by the Stutthof commandant, 1,000 prisoners—900 women and 100 men, the maximum prisoner population—were sent to Gerdaunen a day later. The subcamp's first commandant was SS-Unterscharführer Friedrich Marzan, succeeded by SS-Hauptscharführer Hans Moser on October 17, then by SS-Hauptscharführer Ernst Thulke from November 10 until the camp's evacuation.² The guard staff in each of the five camps consisted of 46 Luftwaffe soldiers from the airfield staff, plus 6 guards for the camp facilities; 2 SS

women were assigned to supervise the women's barracks—Christel Bankewitz and Margarete Okon. They came to the camp on October 11 upon completion of training at the Stutthof camp. All the guards assigned by the airfield command had been thoroughly instructed on their duties; among other things, they were enjoined to keep secret the fact that prisoner labor was being used, and they were forbidden to speak with the prisoners at all.

The prisoners, chiefly from Czechoslovakia and Hungary (including 500 women who were moved to Stutthof from the Łódź ghetto), lived in three large barracks on the airfield compound. Many of the prisoners had been provided with winter clothing and good shoes for the trip, as well as towels and soap. The men wore striped prisoner clothing. They were also issued quilts. The camp had a prisoner kitchen supplied by the camp command. As was the case with the other East Prussian subcamps, a prisoner doctor and orderlies were sent to Gerdauen to provide basic medical care.

Prisoner accounts show that although they did hard work leveling the construction site for a future airfield, when they were done, they had a lot of freedom to move about the camp buildings, and they were not subjected to physical violence. As Rywa Cytryn related, the prisoners from one of the barracks were even regularly late for the morning roll call, which was unthinkable at Stutthof. At Gerdauen, they were punished for that offense by being deprived of morning coffee and then having to kneel until the prisoners left for work. The Luftwaffe guards supervising them did not observe the ban on talking to them. Moreover, there were communications between prisoners and civilians from outside, who would throw them sandwiches specially wrapped in newspapers, from which prisoners would find out about the current situation at the front.³

Conditions at camp began deteriorating when late autumn and winter arrived. It turned out that not all prisoners had been furnished with winter footwear and clothing, which the director of the camp administration was supposed to provide. Just two weeks after prisoners had been sent to Gerdauen, Commandant Marzan's request for the urgent delivery of 200 pairs of shoes and materials to repair them reached the Stutthof clothing warehouse. He justified the request by saying that he could not send 105 prisoners out to work because of their inadequate shoes and the muddy ground. A day later, clothing warehouse manager SS-Unterscharführer Willy Knott allocated the camp 200 pairs of shoes, sewing tools to repair them, a roll of hemp yarn, and leather scraps (*Lederabfälle*), among other items.⁴

By October, 28, 1944, the camp population had been reduced by the death of one female prisoner. Commandant Moser requested the urgent delivery of winter clothing for the prisoners, which the camp received on November 8 in a considerably smaller amount, only one-quarter of the items like long woolen underwear or shirts. In November 1944, during a period of torrential rains, the commandant made a special effort to have 200 more pairs of leather shoes and 300 pairs of wooden ones sent. Instead, he received 500 pairs of wooden shoes, due to shortages at the warehouse.⁵

The camp's evacuation began in December 1944.⁶ Such an early evacuation was probably due to the fact that the airfield was the closest to the front zone of all those in East Prussia. The winter offensive by Russian forces began on January 12, 1945, and a week later the Stutthof subcamps in East Prussia were immediately behind the front. According to figures on prisoner population at the Stutthof subcamps, there were only 24 prisoners at Gerdauen on January 24, 1945: 1 man and 23 women.⁷ Therefore, most prisoners, excepting that small group, avoided the tragic fate of the other camps evacuated to Königsberg and Palmnicken, although their return to Stutthof also took a large toll.

The prisoners were evacuated from Gerdauen to Stutthof on foot. Many lost their strength during the march due to a lack of food and water; the guards killed off the weakest of them by gunshot. For many of them, the return to Stutthof meant more struggles for survival, in camp itself as well as during the next phase in the evacuation of the central camp.⁸

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this essay: AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the branch with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; R. Chirug, *Bridge of Hope*, (Berkeley, 1994).

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NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, pp. 189–192, “Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung der Aussenarbeitslager Gerdauen, Schippenbeil, Jesau, Heiligenbeil und Seerappen.”
2. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, special order (Sonderbefehl) dated September 21, 1944, on forming the camp, and order (Kommandanturbefehle) nos. 70 and 75 dated October 17 and November 8, 1944.
3. R. Chirug, *Bridge of Hope* (Berkeley, 1994), pp. 143–151.
4. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, pp. 93–95, letter dated October 6, 1944.
5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 96, Aussenlager Gerdauen to Stutthof concentration camp dated November 6, 1944.
6. Chirug, *Bridge of Hope*, p. 152.
7. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIIB-6.
8. Chirug, *Bridge of Hope*, p. 153.

GOTENHAFEN

Several prisoner labor groups were formed from 1939 to 1941 in the city of Gotenhafen (Gdynia before and after the war; Gdingen from 1939 to 1940), to be put to work at German institutions and private businesses. The names of those institutions and businesses can be identified based on notes made in prisoner files by the administration of the Danzig Neufahrwasser and Stutthof civilian prisoner camps, as well as from accounts and testimony given after the war.

Between September 14, 1939, and December 3, 1941 (the first and last dates recorded in prisoner files, indicating the

length of time they were in those detachments), the prisoners were put to work by three firms primarily: the private business Thiel u. Co., the Gotenhafen City Offices, and the agency Haupttreuhandstelle Ost (Main Trustee Office East, HTO). From October 1941 to January 1942, prisoners were also hired out to the administration of the Gotenhafen train station, removing rubble and expanding the train station facilities.¹

From June 27 to October 20, 1941, 50 prisoners were hired out to Thiel u. Co. of Bromberg (Bydgoszcz) to work at Gotenhafen-Kiel. There is no information available on exactly what they did. The testimony of one of the detachment's workers shows that prisoners were put to work digging peat.² The prisoners were quartered at the labor camp in Gotenhafen-Kiel.³

For one month, from November 3 to December 3, 1941, prisoners worked at the Gotenhafen agency of the HTO.⁴ A branch was instituted in the Danzig–West Prussia district in December 1939 as an agency of the HTO formed by Hermann Göring on October 19, 1939. The Gotenhafen branch was a subsidiary of the HTO's Danzig agency. The agency was tasked with the confiscation and management of Polish government property as well as that of Poles and Jews throughout the district, until the property was transferred to German hands. The nature of the prisoners' work and the number of workers are unknown.

Prisoners worked at the Gotenhafen City Offices from April 17, 1940, until December 3, 1941. They were put to work doing cleanup jobs at the Gotenhafen City Offices, as well as at the train station.⁵ The city government administration put several prisoners to work on municipal land. There is no detailed information about this detachment.⁶

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this essay: AK-IPN, SSK Gd, Catalog No. 215, records of criminal case against Edward Włóściański; AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports of Bolesław Przytuła; AMS, Catalog No. I-III, prisoner files; E. Grot and M. Orski, "Aussenarbeitslager Gotenhafen, filia obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w Gdyni," *StZeMu*, no. 7, (1990); B. Hajduk, "Gospodarka Gdańska w okresie drugiej wojny światowej (1939–1945)," *His Gd* 4:2 (1998); Cz. Łuczak, *Polityka ekonomiczna Trzeciej Rzeszy w latach II wojny światowej*, (Poznań, 1982).

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NOTES

1. See ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 281.

2. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-44781, I-III-49866, I-III-50025, files of prisoners Franciszek Gromada, Franciszek Żmudziewski, and Jan Zambrzycki; AK-IPN, SSK Gd, Catalog No. 215, pp. 11, 69, report of examination of defendant Edward Włóściański, Łębork, June 6, 1945.

3. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-49887, letters from Lagerkommandantur Stutthof to the guard post (Wachtposten)

of the civilian prisoner camp at Gotenhafen Chylonia dated September 13, 1941.

4. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-44781, files of prisoner Franciszek Gromada.

5. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-41175, I-III-42621, files of prisoners Marian Brawata and Andreas Domagała. Witness Bolesław Przytuła testified about work at the Stadtverwaltung, but in Gdynia Orłowo. However, this information probably regarded cleanup work done at the request of the Gdynia City Offices in Gdynia Orłowo. AK-IPN Gd, witness examination report, Wrocław, October 23, 1967.

6. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-50025, I-III-50031, files of prisoners Jan Zambrzycki and Ignac Wójcik.

GOTENHAFEN (*DEUTSCHE WERKE KIEL*)

[AKA *DEUTSCHE-WERKE SONDERLAGER*]

Gotenhafen (Gdynia before and after the war; Gdingen from 1939 to 1940) was an important military industrial center for the Reich, one of the navy's largest port, shipyard, and operations bases. The Deutsche Werke Kiel was one of the most important shipyards there. By late 1944 it employed approximately 7,000 workers, a considerable number of whom were forced laborers, prisoners of war (POWs), and in the latter half of 1944, prisoners from Stutthof.

The Stutthof subcamp at the Gotenhafen shipyard was formed on October 16, 1944.¹ (Stutthof prisoners had worked there before, but it is not known how many, and apparently no permanent camp was established for them.) It was also called Deutsche-Werke Sonderlager in Gotenhafen (German Works—Special Camp in Gotenhafen). After the camp was established, 310 prisoners were sent to Gotenhafen on October 16 and 28 in the first two transports.² According to the commandant's special order, the Germans intended to increase that population to 1,000. In early November 1944, two large prisoner transports arrived: 300 people from Stutthof and 180 directly from Dachau. At that point there were slightly more than 800 people living at the camp. The population remained at that level—its maximum—until the end of the month, fluctuating slightly, depending on the death rate and prisoner traffic between the main camp and Gotenhafen.³ On January 24, 1945, there were 730 prisoners in the camp; on March 25, the date the evacuation began, there were 719.⁴

The majority of prisoners at Gotenhafen were from Poland, Russia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Germany, although a number of other countries were represented as well. Most of them were skilled tradesmen, although some of the Poles who arrived early were exceptions. For them, working in Gotenhafen offered the chance to see relatives, obtain extra food, and perhaps escape, and so members of the Polish underground who worked in Stutthof's employment office faked their comrades' qualifications.

SS-Oberscharführer Hans Kuhlmann was the first commandant; upon his dismissal on December 9, 1944, SS-Oberscharführer Josef Bock replaced him. The camp staff initially consisted of 2 SS men from Stutthof and 34 navy

sailors. On November 9, 1944, they were joined by another 10 SS men from Stutthof. There were 49 sailors serving as supervisors in the camp and shipyard in late November 1944.⁵

Supervisory prisoners supplemented the staff. The highest position in the hierarchy, camp elder, was held by Johann Bank (aka Bańkowski), a German career criminal. He also oversaw prisoners at the work site. The Poles convicted him in 1948 for abusing prisoners under his supervision and sentenced him to three years in prison.⁶ The jobs of barrack supervisors and camp office workers were generally held by German criminals and Polish political prisoners, though the former became dominant when Bock took over. Impromptu beatings and official whippings were everyday occurrences in camp. Only when the shipyard and camp were bombed on December 18, 1944, and many of the criminals were hurt, did the prisoners' situation improve. In January 1945, after Bank was wounded, his place was taken by an Austrian, Victor Dorotic, who was more lenient, followed by a German criminal whom Dorotic had recommended for the position.

The prisoners worked at the shipyard, where they assembled submarines. They assembled type "Y300t" submarines in a system of sections at four workstations. The work was supervised by a representative of Deutsche Werke Kiel and civilian foremen from the shipyard. The prisoners worked in two 12-hour shifts, with shift changes at 6:00 A.M. and 6:00 P.M. The sections, which already had been fitted out, were brought in by rail to the shipyard, where they were assembled on slip carts in the production facilities; the assembled units were transported to the Schichau shipyard in Danzig for final finishing.⁷

Prisoners also worked in other manufacturing companies in Gotenhafen and for the city: transporting ordnance from military shelters to the nearby airfield, building shelters at the shipyard, and removing rubble from bombings. Beginning in mid-January, they were put to work at earthmoving jobs connected with the construction of military fortifications in the region. Work at the shipyard was halted after the shipyard facilities and vessels being repaired were disassembled and evacuated to Kiel starting in January 1945.

The camp was carved out of the southern part of an existing camp for French forced laborers located in the immediate neighborhood of the shipyard. The prisoners' living conditions were generally no different than those prevailing at the parent camp, but they were even worse as far as sanitary conditions or food supplies were concerned. The shipyard provided housing and food, while the camp was responsible for supplying clothing and shoes.

The daily food rations provided no more than 800 to 1,000 calories. Prisoners who worked in the shipyard assembling submarines got additional food. Food packages were substantial help; they were sent by families of prisoners from Gotenhafen or via underground organizations operating in the city, such as the Tajny Hufiec Harcerzy (Secret Scout Regiment), Armia Krajowa (Home Army) or Gryf Pomorski (Pomeranian Griffin). The same channels provided the camp with drugs and dressing materials lacking in the hospital. Food

thefts by prisoners, mainly Russians, Latvians, and Italians, from the kitchen storehouses were evidence of the hunger prevailing in camp. Polish civilian workers employed at the shipyard provided prisoners with some small help.

The supply of clothing and shoes, for which the camp was responsible, was terrible. There was a shortage of warm clothes, underwear, shoes, and tools for shoe repair, as well as shaving and haircutting instruments. The surviving portion of the commandant's correspondence with the Stutthof camp, such as his letter of January 5, 1945, in which he demanded that clothing be sent for the prisoners to replace clothes that had been destroyed during an air raid in December 1944, confirms the shortages.⁸ The death rate at camp was high due to the bombings of the shipyard and camp, exhaustion from labor and lack of food, and abuse. Prisoner losses through death and transports of the seriously ill to the hospital in Stutthof were made up with new prisoners. It can be assumed that there were about 200 such replacements. All deaths were registered at Gotenhafen's Bureau of Vital Statistics, which recorded 52 deaths in November and December 1944 and 17 between January and March 1945.

The camp's location and the kind of work the prisoners did were conducive to escapes, which mostly Poles and Russians attempted. The first escapes were organized as early as October 1944, and there had been three attempts by December, all failures. The most famous escape attempt was that of two Latvians, the Gajewski brothers, who were captured and hanged in public at Stutthof. Several escapes occurred from early January until the camp was evacuated on March 25, 1945. According to official camp population reports, six prisoners were involved in them, and all were successful. The greatest number of prisoners escaped during two failed evacuation attempts on March 8 and 14, 1945.

The camp numbered approximately 700 prisoners on the day evacuation began. Several dozen people escaped en route to the port; just 618 prisoners were loaded onto small passenger ships. Their evacuation route led through Hel and Słwinoujście, then to camps in Hamburg, Kiel, and Sandbostel, where some prisoners were liberated, then to Neuengamme. Tragically, they next joined the evacuation from Neuengamme to Lübeck, where they boarded ships that were bombed and sunk on May 3. About 200 prisoners survived the evacuation, as well as the several dozen who had escaped from the evacuation transport en route to the port in Gotenhafen.

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this essay: AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 50, records of criminal case against Johannes Bank (aka Bańkowski); AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Catalog No. Z-VI-4/11, transport list of prisoners brought from Dachau concentration camp to Gdynia; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, vol. 24 (Victor Dorotic); ITS, Catalog No. Da. 294–297 I.C.1.4, transport list of prisoners brought from Dachau concentration camp to Gdynia; FGNS-H, account of Victor Dorotic; M. Filipowicz, *Ludzie*,

stocznie, okręty (Gdańsk, 1985); E. Grot, *Rejs śmierci. Ewakuacja morską więźniów KL Stutthof 1945* (Gdańsk, 1993); E. Grot, and M. Orski, "Aussenarbeitslager Gotenhafen, filia obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w Gdyni," *StZeMu*, no. 7 (1990); Cz. Jeryś, *Budownictwo okrętowe w Gdyni 1920–1945* (Gdańsk, 1980); M.E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992); A. Kaźmierczak, "Port gdyński w latach wojny," *Rocz Gd.* no. 1 (1977); J. Michałowska, "Gospodarka Gdyni w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej," in *Dzieje Gdyni*, ed. R. Wapiński (Wrocław, 1980).

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NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, pp. 211–214, Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung des Aussenarbeitslagers "Deutsche Werke Gotenhafen," October 15, 1944.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 213; Kommandanturbefehle, no. 72, dated October 27, 1944.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 242, Kommandanturbefehle, no. 75, dated November 8, 1944; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 99, Kuhlmann's correspondence with the clothing warehouse on sending warm clothes for 796 prisoners (no date except for the clothing warehouse initials dated December 5, 1944); FSNS-H, copy at AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, vol. 24, account of Victor Dorotic, camp senior.

4. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population.

5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle.

6. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 50.

7. FGNS-H, account of Victor Dorotic; M. Filipowicz, *Ludzie, stocznie, okręty* (Gdańsk, 1985), pp. 207–210.

8. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, pp. 99–103.

GRENZDORF

The first transport of approximately 70 prisoners arrived at Grenzdorf (later Graniczna Wieś) between September 10 and 13, 1939.¹ They were sent from a temporary camp for Poles arrested at the start of the war at Viktoria Schule in Danzig (later Gdańsk), after a brief stay at the delousing station in Danzig-Neufahrwasser, where their hair was cut off and they were disinfected. Until March 31, 1940, the camp was under the Danzig Prison camp command as a separate civilian prisoner camp; thereafter, it became a subcamp of Stutthof.² Previously, the site had housed a penal camp formed by the government of the Free City of Danzig in October 1938 for "notorious idlers," criminal prisoners serving sentences at the Schiesstange Strasse prison.

SS-Sturmführer Hertzner became the camp's first commandant; his deputy was SS-Oberscharführer Paul Anker. They had a positive attitude toward the prisoners, making conditions at the camp bearable for them. Hertzner greeted prisoners with "Kameraden" (comrades); Anker permitted them to purchase and bring to camp tobacco and cigarettes. Prisoners were able to mail news to their families, who visited

them on Sundays, bringing them fresh underwear and food.³ Hertzner was dismissed shortly after the camp's opening, and in December 1939, SS-Obersturmführer Richard Reddig was appointed to replace him as commandant. Except for a break from February 1 to April 1, 1941, when SS-Obersturmführer Fritz Meier acted as commandant, Reddig served until the camp was dissolved. Unlike Hertzner and Anker, Reddig was a cold and emotionless camp official. Roman Bellwon and others remember that when a prisoner escaped from Grenzdorf, Reddig selected two others whom he ordered to be shot.⁴ Reverend Henryk Malak quoted Reddig's greeting of a group of priests who arrived at the camp in April 1940: "Actually, if it was up to me, I'd rather shoot you all today right away! . . . But since I'm short of people to work—" He gave a broad wave of his hand, not finishing the sentence, pointing at a heavy machine gun ready to fire. "This is always waiting for you! This is a labor camp! Here you either work and earn your food, or you croak! Understood?!"⁵

Due to the hard working conditions, the Grenzdorf camp was treated as a penal detachment for the priests, political activists, and Jews from the Polish community of Danzig. Also sent to the camp in late June 1941 were 38 Soviet sailors from the ship *Magnitogorsk*, including 2 women.⁶

The prisoners worked in quarries or in the nearby gravel pit for the Danzig Senate Roads Administration.⁷ Their work consisted of breaking up great stones and processing the rock into basalt cubes. With smaller rock pieces, they made gravel for use in construction or as road building material. The work was not mechanized; all operations were done by hand. Gravel and sand were transported in carts pushed by prisoners; large stones were moved on what were called "stretchers." The work, lasting about 12 hours a day, was done under the watchful and harsh supervision of guards and foreman prisoners (Kapos). Besides working in quarries, prisoners were hired out to work at farms and local companies, such as Wilhelm Thiessen's farm at Grenzdorf B.⁸

Depending on the number of prisoners, the guard staff was composed of about 30 SS men. Among the most brutal SS men were SS-Oberscharführer Brunon Krummreich, SS-Unterscharführer Otto Knott, SS-Rottenführer Johann Plicht, and SS-Rottenführer Willi Witt, who was sentenced by the Gdańsk District Court to 10 years in prison in 1947.⁹ Prisoners were also supervised during work and in camp by Polish Kapos, some of the most degenerate of whom were Józef Reiter, Waclaw Kozłowski, Franciszek Szopiński, and Tadeusz Kopczyński. In 1946, they were tried by the Gdańsk Special Criminal Court, which gave them the death penalty.¹⁰

The death rate at camp was very high, as accounts of former prisoners show. Many prisoners died through abuse or outright murder. Waclaw Mitura recalls that there were frequent instances of suicide provoked by the SS. Some prisoners, in a state of hopelessness, crossed the white string that marked forbidden areas and were shot; others were provoked to do so by the SS men, who would take the caps from the prisoners' heads and throw them outside the line.¹¹ On March 20, 1940, at Grenzdorf, they buried Scoutmaster Alf

Liczmański, the commander of the Danzig Regiment of the Grey Ranks, who had been tortured at Stutthof. Liczmański had been brought from Stutthof to Grenzdorf that day by truck and was probably already dead. He was buried on the spot. His remains were exhumed and moved to the Cemetery of Merit at Zaspą on November 14, 1948.¹² The death rate among Jewish prisoners was considerably high. Almost the entire group of approximately 40 people had been slaughtered by the end of 1940.¹³ Seriously ill prisoners were taken to the Stutthof hospital, and the bodies of deceased prisoners were taken to the Zaspą cemetery in Danzig.

Few prisoners tried to escape. Three such attempts are known, which all ended tragically. Max Schindler, a Jewish prisoner, tried to escape in late December 1940; he was shot to death, probably during the manhunt. In February 1940, a Pole, Kozłowski, unsuccessfully tried to escape under the pretext that he was going to the toilet just outside the fence. He was caught by local people and returned to the camp, punished with 50 lashes with a cane, then shot three days later with three other prisoners at a public execution in camp. Another prisoner, a Yugoslavian, met the same fate in 1941.¹⁴

The camp population stood at 350 persons in late 1939 or early 1940, then increased to 500 in late January.¹⁵ In 1941, it sank to between 100 and 200. The quarry probably ceased operating in late October 1941, when all the prisoners were sent back to Stutthof. E. Niemann's report of October 28, 1941, confirms this, stating that Grenzdorf had been made into an educational camp. A listing of subcamps appended to a letter dated November 28, 1941, no longer includes Grenzdorf. A group of prisoners, probably the last one, left Grenzdorf on November 5, 1941.¹⁶ Jan Starzyński contends that the branch was shut down on November 6, 1941; others say the closing date was November 10, 1941. Dr. Julian Węgrzynowicz stayed at Grenzdorf to the very end in a group of the last 20 prisoners; he confirms the camp was disbanded in November 1941.¹⁷

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this essay: AK-IPN, SO Gd sygn. Nos. 84, 86, records of criminal case against Nikolaus Dirnberger and others, sentence of judgment; SSK Gd Sygn. No. 417, records of criminal case against Józef Reiter and others; Catalog No. 418, records of criminal case against John Paul and others in 1946; AK-IPN Gd Sygn. No. Ds. 76/64, witness examination reports of Stanisław Dalecki and Antoni Janiewicz; AMS, Catalog Nos. I-IA-1, I-IA-2, I-IA-4, records on the Stutthof camp's change in status; Catalog No. I-III, prisoner personal files; Catalog No. I-IVB-4, records of Stutthof concentration camp's Administration and Management Division; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Jan Starzyński, vol. 4; Julian Węgrzynowicz, vol. 6; Alfons Pillath, vol. 9); *Cmentarz-Zaspą (Zaspą Cemetery)*, compiled by A. Chudy; *Dan Vorp*, July 26, 1939; *Gdańsk 1939*. Brunon Zwarra *Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan*, Wybór i opracowanie (Gdańsk, 1984); M. E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992); H.M. Malak, *Klechy w obozach śmierci* (Londyn, 1961); W. Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu. Wspomnienia więźnia obozu*, 2nd ed. (Bydgo-

szcz, 1984); M. Orski, "Struktura państwowa i skład narodowościowy obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945," *Stutthof. Zeszyty Muzeum*, no. 10 (1992).

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NOTES

1. *Gdańsk 1939. Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan*, Wybór i opracowanie Brunon Zwarra (Gdańsk, 1984), account of Zygfryd Kurowski; see also the account of Roman Bellwon, Bruno Kobiella, Maksymilian Kempieński, and Jan Samulski; according to Alfons Pillath this happened on September 10, 1939; he provides the transport's approximate size: from 50 to 70 people; also see AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 9:171. For other dates, see ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 282 (September 27, 1939).

2. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVB-4.

3. *Gdańsk 1939*, accounts of Roman Chrzanowski and Eryk Falów.

4. Ibid., and account of Maksymilian Kempieński.

5. H.M. Malak, *Klechy w obozach śmierci* (Londyn, 1961), 1:58.

6. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 12:240–241, account of Captain Dalek (Dalko, Polish spelling) of the ship *Magnitogorsk*; M. Orski, "Struktura państwowa i skład narodowościowy obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945," *StZeMu*, no. 10, (1992): 14.

7. AMS, Catalog No. I-IA-2, letter of R. Glücks to H. Himmler dated January 30, 1940.

8. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-49866, I-III-50004, files of prisoners Franciszek Żmudziwski and Jan Stodokiewicz; AK-IPN Gd (Commission Archives—National Memorial Institute at Gdańsk), Catalog No. Ds. 76/64, report of examination of witness Antoni Janiewicz (Wrocław); W. Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu. Wspomnienia więźnia obozu*, 2nd ed. (Bydgoszcz, 1984), pp. 78–80; AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 4:218–221, account of Jan Starzyński; 9:171–173, Alfons Pillath.

9. AK-IPN, SO Gd (Commission Archives—National Memorial Institute, Gdańsk District Court), Catalog Nos. 84, 86.

10. AK-IPN, SSK Gd (Commission Archives, Gdańsk Special Criminal Court), Catalog No. 417, records of criminal case against Józef Reiter and others.

11. Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu. Wspomnienia więźnia obozu*, p. 79; see also AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. II Ds. 76/64, report of examination of witness Antoni Janiewicz (Wrocław).

12. AMS, *Cmentarz-Zaspą (Zaspą Cemetery)*, compiled by A. Chudy; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 12:287–291, account of A.J. Pilarczyk; *Gdańsk 1939*, pp. 213, 219–220, account of Maksymilian Kempieński and B. Zwarra's explanation, fn. 49.

13. AK-IPN, SO, Catalog No. S.3/72, report of examination of witness Stanisław Dalecki; J. Matynia, *Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof, w latach 1939–1945*, Ph.D. diss., Gdańsk Teachers College, 1969, p. 76.

14. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. II Ds. 76/64, report of examination of witness Antoni Janiewicz (Wrocław); AMS,

Zaspa Cemetery, compiled by A. Chudy; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 4: 222, account of Jan Starzyński.

15. AMS, Catalog No. I-IA-1, Dok. Nor. (Nuremberg Document) NO-2275, Hildebrandt's report on the SS-Wachsturmbann operations to H. Himmler dated January 9, 1940; Catalog No. I-IA-2, letter of R. Glücks to H. Himmler dated January 30, 1940, on prisoner camp operations in the Vistula district.

16. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-49886, I-III-50004, I-III-50075, files of prisoners Franciszek Żmudziwski, Jan Stodokiewicz, and Stanisław Kaliszewski.

17. AMS, Catalog No. I-IA-4, report of E. Niemann; Catalog No. I-IE-999, files of SS-man Erdmann Schendel; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 6: 237–238, account of Julian Węgrzynowicz; AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. 418, p. 30, testimony of Jan Starzyński.

GROSS LESEWITZ

A camp at Gross Lesewitz (Lasowice Wielkie) was first mentioned in early 1940. In his account, Reverend Alfons Muzalewski recalled that a group of prisoners sent from the Gestapo prison on Schiesstange in Danzig, including Reverend Władysław Szymański, were sent to work on a farm. They were treated with hostility and abused. Reverend Szymański's back was covered with bruises from beatings, and his foot was pierced by a pitchfork. When the work was completed, the prisoners were sent to the camp in Danzig-Neufahrwasser.¹

According to another account, in October 1939, a large number of Poles from the Danzig-Neufahrwasser camp were sent in narrow-gauge railway cars to work at farms in Żuławy. One of the groups, composed of approximately 40 Poles, worked at a farm in Gross Lesewitz. The author of the account stated that they worked under "rather decent conditions" until March 19, 1940. The detachment was reduced to 20 people after January 1, 1940.² There were probably two detachments working at different times and at different farms.

In the autumn of 1944, a group of Stutthof camp prisoners, the number of whom is hard to determine, were sent to Gross Lesewitz again, where they were put to work in the local sugar mill—a branch of the sugar mill in Marienburg (Malbork). The testimony of former Stutthof prisoners confirms the detachment's existence.³

The prisoners were housed on the farms in Gross Lesewitz and Klein Lesewitz (Lasowice Małe), where they also did farmwork. No additional information is available on this detachment. The subcamp's commandant and staff remain unidentified. The prisoners returned to the Stutthof camp in late November 1944.

SOURCES The following source, in addition to those mentioned in "Stutthof Main Camp," was consulted in writing this entry: *Gdańsk 1939. Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan*, Wybór i opracowanie Brunon Zwarra (Gdańsk, 1984).

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1. *Gdańsk 1939. Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan*, Wybór i opracowanie Brunon Zwarra (Gdańsk, 1984), p. 372.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 520, 522, account of Józef Tusk.

3. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 282.

HEILIGENBEIL

The Heiligenbeil camp was created by special order of the Stutthof commandant on September 21, 1944, as one of five identically organized subcamps at Luftwaffe airfields (the others being Gerdauen, Jesau, Schippenbeil, and Seerappen).

The first transport of 1,000 Jewish prisoners (900 women and 100 men, mainly from Hungary and Poland but also from Latvia and Germany) was sent on September 21, 1944. Another transport of 200 Jewish women arrived on October 9. SS-Unterscharführer Hermann Kleiss was the first commandant, followed by SS-Oberscharführer Johann Mayer on October 18, by SS-Hauptscharführer Ernst Karl Thulke on November 20, and then by SS-Sturmscharführer Wolföfer on January 3, 1945. Besides the 46 Luftwaffe soldiers who guarded the airfield, 2 SS women served as supervisors: Erna Beilhardt and Erna Neumann. The entire camp premises were also guarded by 6 guards at permanent posts around the camp.¹ According to Beilhardt's testimony given at trial in Gdańsk in 1946, she completed six weeks of training at Stutthof, then left for Heiligenbeil as a German Red Cross nurse.²

The prisoners lived in 20 barracks, where they had double-decker bunks lined with straw. There were also French prisoner-of-war (POW) camps and a Reich Labor Service (RAD) camp for Russian forced laborers nearby. The prisoners were put to work building a road to the airfield; the Organisation Todt (OT) supervised the engineering. Work began at 6:00 A.M. and ended at 7:00 P.M., with an hour's break when prisoners received some unsweetened black coffee. The RAD kitchen made food for the prisoners using regulation ration amounts, which were actually half of that recommended by the SS authorities. The sole small assistance the Jews got in the way of extra food was from the French POWs and the Russians—mostly potato peels or coffee.³

Thulke testified at a group trial of Stutthof staff in 1947 that while he commanded the camp from November 20, 1944, to January 2, 1945, the prisoners' food was good; he checked it himself. He was also present when bread was distributed. On the other hand, he confirmed the fact that only half of the prisoners (600 people) went out to work and that there were 4 or 5 deaths during his tenure. This testimony is questionable, because the highest mortality at camp was in November and December 1944, when an epidemic of typhoid fever had broken out.⁴

A lack of suitable clothing made the prisoners' situation worse. On October 1, 1944, the subcamp's commandant sent

an urgent letter to Stutthof's administration, requesting warm clothes and the tools and materials to mend them. In its report dated October 27, the camp command requested the urgent delivery of gloves, underwear, women's dresses and skirts, stockings, and foot wrappings, as well as thread, nails, and so on, to mend clothes and shoes. The camp barber also needed haircutting instruments. The subcamp received the items five days later.⁵

When winter arrived, the prisoners' situation got even worse. Upon taking up command of the subcamp in early January 1945, Commandant Wolföfer said the state of prisoner provisioning was "disastrous." In his report of January 4, 1945, he said that 260 Jewish women could not work, as there was no footwear for them. Another 262 people were in the infirmary; their shoes had been assigned to healthy prisoners. The commandant requested machinery to set up a clothing and shoe repair workshop, but it is not known if the order was filled, since the camp evacuation date was approaching.

The records are incomplete, but considering the bad living conditions, hard labor, and epidemics of typhoid fever, the camp's death rate does not appear to have been high. The sick rate was appreciably higher. More seriously ill people were moved to the hospital at Stutthof, where some prisoners died; the numbers are difficult to establish. A female prisoner/doctor from the camp and the airfield doctor cared for sick prisoners;⁶ 10 such prisoners can be identified based on fragmentary camp doctor reports on deaths at the subcamps, as well as studies of prisoner records. The records cover the period from late October 1944 to early January 1945.⁷

The records also mention women wounded or killed during alleged escape attempts. A report of October 29, 1944, stated that Basia Littmann, a Jewish woman, was shot while trying to escape; another Jewish woman received a gunshot wound in the chest and died as a result. It is difficult to ascertain whether these were really escape attempts. The women may have simply left their workplace briefly, which was regarded as an escape attempt. Planning an escape under those conditions and at that time held little promise of success.⁸ The Russian front was still quite distant at this stage, for one thing.

There were 1,157 inmates in camp, including 1,064 women and 93 men, when the prisoners were evacuated toward Königsberg on January 20–21, 1945, together with prisoners from the other subcamps in East Prussia.⁹ Since there was no communication with Stutthof, the decision to evacuate the camp was probably made by East Prussian Gauleiter Erich Koch's staff. Apparently, the intent was to send the prisoners toward the port of Pilau and then on to Hamburg, a concentration point for prisoners from Stutthof and Neuengamme. Sick prisoners were left in Heiligenbeil. Many prisoners became weak during the march; the weakest were driven the rest of the way to Königsberg in vehicles.¹⁰

The second stage of the evacuation probably began at dawn on January 26, or perhaps a day earlier, before Russian forces surrounded Königsberg. Koch's staff had already decided what to do with the prisoners. At the suggestion of Gerhard Rasch, the director of the amber manufacturing

works in Königsberg, they intended to slaughter all the prisoners in tunnels in nearby Palmnicken. They were either going to gas the prisoners, blow them up with dynamite, or suffocate them inside the tunnels after sealing up the openings. The commandants of the camps were supposed to escort the prisoners to Palmnicken.

According to various sources, from 3,000 up to as many as 10,000 prisoners of Stutthof subcamps left Königsberg, but the high figure is probably exaggerated, considering that there were approximately 5,000 prisoners in all the East Prussian subcamps in late January 1945. However, if POWs and prisoners from the labor camps operating near Luftwaffe airfields are included in this estimate, the number could be on the higher side.¹¹

Even before the march out of Königsberg, the guards shot some of the prisoners in the Steinfurt works, where the prisoners had been accommodated; later they shot emaciated and sick prisoners during the march, pulling them out of the ranks and murdering them. A few were successful in escaping from the march column. On the night of January 26–27, 1945, approximately 4,000 prisoners reached Palmnicken.¹² Due to the objection of amber works director Landmann and Major Feyerabend, steward of the Dornnicken, Gross-Hubnicken, and Palmnicken estates, where the works were located, the prisoners were not annihilated in the tunnels. They were sent toward the sea in columns of 50 prisoners under heavy escort by the SS, Lithuanian and Estonian SS-Ostruppen (Hiwis), and the OT. The massacre of the prisoners began when they reached the shore. Approximately 200 prisoners managed to escape during the shooting; 13 additional people survived the massacre by feigning death.¹³

Out of the Heiligenbeil staff members, Thulke and Beilhardt were held criminally responsible. In 1946–1947, Polish courts sentenced each of them to five years' imprisonment.¹⁴

SOURCES Key resources included: AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog Nos. 84, 85, records of criminal case against Nikolaus Dirnberger and others, sentence of judgement; SSK Gd, Catalog No. 422, records of criminal case against John Pauls and others in 1946; AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbe-fehle; Catalog No. I-III, prisoner personal files; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Catalog No. I-VB-7, hospital (Krankenbau) records; Microfilm No. 215, accounts of former Jewish prisoners from the collections of the AŻIH in Warsaw and YV in Jerusalem; YVA, testimony of former Jewish prisoners from the Stutthof concentration camp; D. Drywa, *Podobozy (Aussenarbeitslager) KL Stutthof dla więźniów narodowości żydowskiej* (in print, typescript at AMS); S. Krakowski, *Marsze śmierci z podobozów KL Stutthof w rejonie Królewca. Materiały sesji naukowej nt. Losy Żydów w regionie nadbałtyckim 1939–1945* (Sztutowo, 1994); S. Krakowski, "Massacre of Jewish Prisoners on the Samland Peninsula—Documents," *YVS* 24 (1994); S. Popiołek, "Obozowe święta w Jesau," *Tygodnik Północny*, January 17, 2001.

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NOTES

1. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 84, p. 118; Catalog No. 85, p. 131, records of criminal case against Nikolaus Dirnberger and others, testimony of Ernst Karl Thulke; AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, pp. 189–192, 207–208, Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung der Aussenarbeitslager Gerdaun, Schippenbeil, Jesau, Heiligenbeil und Seerappen, September 21, 1944; Kommandanturbefehle, No. 68 of October 9, 1944; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 113, Wolföfer to Kommandantur KL Stutthof, dated January 4, 1945.
2. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, Catalog No. 422, records of criminal case against John Pauls and others, report of examination of Erna Beilhardt.
3. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 84, p. 118; Catalog No. 85, p. 131, records of criminal case against Nikolaus Dirnberger and others, testimony of Ernst Karl Thulke at 1947 trial; AMS, Microfilm No. 215, Jewish accounts from the collections of the AŻIH in Warsaw and YV in Jerusalem.
4. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 84, p. 118.
5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, pp. 107–108.
6. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 84, p. 118, testimony of Ernst Karl Thulke at 1947 trial.
7. AMS, Catalog No. I-VB-7, hospital (Krankenbau) records.
8. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-49618, I-III-48376, personal files of Basia Littmann and Jenka Schuster.
9. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, report on the camp's population.
10. AMS, Microfilm No. 215, testimony of Irena Redner.
11. See S. Krakowski, *Marsze śmierci z podobozów KL Stutthof w rejonie Królewca. Materiały sesji naukowej nt. Losy Żydów w regionie nadbałtyckim 1939–1945* (Sztutowo, 1994); See S. Popiołek, “Obozowe święta w Jesau,” *Tygodnik Północny*, January 17, 2001.
12. AMS, Microfilm No. 215, account of Fryda Gabrylewicz; YVA, Catalog No. 03/5690, testimony of Róża Krajowska-Ajzenberg.
13. AMS, Microfilm No. 215, accounts of witnesses of the massacre; see S. Krakowski, “Massacre of Jewish Prisoners on the Samland Peninsula—Documents,” *YVS* 24 (1994): 379–381; see Popiołek, “Obozowe święta w Jesau.”
14. AK-IPN, SSK Gd., Catalog No. 422; SO Gd, Catalog No. 86.

HOPEHILL [ALSO REIMANNSSFELDE]

The administrative order that specifically created the Hopehill subcamp does not exist in the Stutthof records. However, there is an order from the commandant dated May 29, 1942, that names SS men for administrative positions. SS-Oberscharführer Johannes Kuhlmann was the first camp commandant, followed by SS-Oberscharführer Karl Böhm and SS-Unterscharführer Herbert Korsch.¹

Over 50 SS men served at Hopehill (Witowo), over half of whom were ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche) from Croatia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Hungary; the rest were German nationals.² Among them, the Germans—such as Kurt Janzen, Paul Wellnitz, Heinz Löwen, Alfred Tissler,

and Waldemar Henke—were unusually brutal toward prisoners. On the other hand, former prisoners have emphasized their good treatment from Polish and especially from Croatian SS men.

Prisoner-functionaries supplemented the staff. Among the most cruel—just as brutal as the German SS men—were German prisoners in the positions of senior prisoner foreman and prisoner foreman (Oberkapo and Kapo), mainly Willy Narius, Tony Köhl, Hans Senger, Peter Flink, and August Sauter.

The prisoners were hired out to the SS company Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke GmbH (German Earth and Stone Works, DESt). The first detachment consisted of 40 prisoners. The next group came in two transports from Flossenbürg and Mauthausen. The inmates were chiefly Germans (including numerous criminals) and Polish political prisoners. They held key administrative and supervisory positions in the barracks and work groups.

In July 1943, DESt took over the management of the Reimannsfelde (Nadbrezie, later Nadbrzeże) brickyard, which was considerably more modern and efficient. At that point, the camp was expanded, and the quarters were moved to nearby Reimannsfelde.

The prisoners were initially housed in a single-level brick building. The average prisoner population at that time was approximately 60 to 70 people. A few hundred yards from the building, the prisoners could see the high smokestacks and factory buildings of the brickyard. There was a makeshift storehouse in the attic for the bodies of dead prisoners, which were carted away every 10 days to the crematorium at Stutthof. Until October 1942, living and sanitary conditions were not the worst they would become, although overcrowding and the primitive sanitary facilities precluded ordinary hygiene. The situation degenerated with the arrival of autumn weather. The sick rate rose because of upper respiratory infections, and there was an outbreak of lice due to inadequate living and sanitary conditions; an epidemic was averted only because the entire camp was disinfected, and prisoner hygiene was enforced to some extent.³

Until mid-1944, prisoner doctor Dr. Aleksander Witkowski provided only emergency outpatient treatment. As a result, the death rate in the subcamp remained high, but a separate infirmary was set up in mid-1944, when the number of deaths reached a peak. By the spring of 1944, there was an SS medical orderly on the camp staff. According to (incomplete) records, an average of three prisoners died per week, and the camp lost at least the same number of sick to the Stutthof camp hospital.⁴

In early November 1942, the prisoners' striped summer uniforms were replaced with winter ones, without winter coats. Their inadequate clothes provided little protection; prisoners used various materials such as newspapers or empty cement sacks to supplement their uniforms.⁵ Only in late 1944 or early 1945 were they issued winter clothing. In correspondence dated from November 1944 to January 1945, Commandant Korsch reported difficulties supplying prisoners with

warm clothes and footwear. In his report of January 3, 1945, he stated that the prisoners had not received a fresh change of underwear since October 4; he requested the express delivery of 300 pairs of long underwear and shirts, foot wrappings, and sewing materials to mend the winter uniforms.⁶

The prisoners' food, which the Stutthof camp administration provided, consisted of starvation rations. In the initial period of the subcamp's operation, working conditions in the kitchen were very hard due to lack of space, poor sanitary conditions, and meager food rations. The average daily intake throughout the entire period from 1942 to 1945 was approximately 1,500 to 1,800 calories; in 1942, it was less than 1,000 calories, especially because prisoners could only receive food packages beginning in late 1942.⁷

Approximately 300 prisoners occupied the camp as of mid-1943. That represented the peak population, although the constant replacement of dead or ill prisoners meant that the number of prisoners who lived there at one time or another was much higher—about 500. Poles constituted the largest group at the camp (approximately 50 percent), followed by Germans and Russians. There were also groups from Estonia, France, Lithuania, and Latvia.

The workday in the brickyards was 11 to 12 hours long. The group that operated the kiln worked the longest, divided into two shifts. Although the Hopehill brickyard was a partially mechanized facility, most work was done by hand. The Reimannsfelde brickyard, on the other hand, was a modern and fully mechanized plant; its output was twice that of the Hopehill brickyard.

Conditions in the detachment improved in late 1943 when a French Alsatian, Anton Köhl, became Oberkapo, and Poles took over most functionary positions from German criminals. Living conditions in camp also improved when the infirmary was set up after Dr. Lech Duszyński became doctor in January 1944, followed in June 1944 by Dr. Stanisław Kruszewski and Dr. Roman Łoziński. Camp life had become appreciably more liberal in comparison to the 1942–1943 period, when the German Narius was camp Oberkapo and there was an atmosphere of terror and incessant persecution. Prisoner cultural activities developed semiofficially on a previously unprecedented scale, such as carving amber extracted from the clay hill, cultural evenings held in the Polish barracks (literary and musical events and political discussions based on Nazi publications to which the camp subscribed), and even wrestling and boxing competitions held on January 1, 1945.

There was not even one escape attempt in 1942, because the supervisory regimen was so strict. In 1943, three attempts were recorded. One was really a suicide (the prisoner consciously crossed the line of guard posts), and another ended when an SS man caught and shot the prisoner. Narius attempted to escape in late August, as a direct result of the rivalry between German and Polish prisoners. He was caught and met the same fate as the previous fugitive.⁸ There were several more escapes in 1944, five of which were successful. Three other escape attempts ended in failure, with the fugitives being captured and punished, usually by whipping.⁹

The subcamp's history included an event that was extremely famous throughout Stutthof, involving the murder of an Estonian prisoner by Oberkapo Köhl and his accomplices, which interrupted a time of relative peace and security after the initial harsh phase. Rumors circulated that a prisoner had been burned alive in the brick kiln, which was untrue. However, the rumor prompted a thorough investigation by officials from Stutthof headquarters and the removal from office of commandant Kuhlmann, labor director Janzen, and Oberkapo Köhl (sentenced to death by the Reich Security Main Office [RSHA]), who were found to be jointly conducting prohibited communications with the outside.

The subcamp was disbanded pursuant to an order from the Stutthof commandant dated January 26, 1945 (although former prisoners maintain that it occurred on January 19). When the prisoners returned from the brickyard at noon, there was a final roll call; they were each issued 500 grams (approximately 18 ounces) of bread and about 127 grams (4.5 ounces) of margarine. A cleanup crew of about 50 inmates stayed at Nadbrzeże; they returned to Stutthof the next day.¹⁰

Eight staff members and prisoner-functionaries were tried by Polish courts after the war. Wellnitz received the death penalty; Martin Stagl got eight years in prison. SS men Löwen, Tissler, and Henke were sentenced to five years in prison, and Jan Alfred Wróbel received a seven-month prison sentence. Of the two prisoner foremen, Jan Breit received the death penalty, while Paul Wiechern was acquitted.¹¹

SOURCES The following sources were consulted in writing this essay: AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 78, 79, 86, records of criminal case against T. Meyer and others, sentences of judgment; Catalog No. 81a, materials of preliminary investigation into the Stutthof camp collected by Judge Antoni Zachariasiewicz; SSK Gd, Catalog No. 422, records of criminal case against John Pauls, sentence of judgment and justification; SWGd. Catalog No. 37, judgment and justification in the trial of 26 accused criminals from the Stutthof concentration camp of November 29, 1947; the "Ob." Collection, Catalog No. 105 ob. (surveys, Stanisław Wojcieszek); AMS, Catalog No. I-III, prisoner personal files; Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-ID-11, Stutthof concentration camp staff personnel matters; Catalog No. I-IIIa-10, Arbeits-einteilung für den 29, 31 März 1943; Catalog No. I-IIIB-2-5, Veränderungsbücher; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Lasik, *Stutthof*; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Lech Duszyński, vol. 9; Tadeusz Cieplik, vol. 18); BA-BL, NS 3, Catalog No. 138, correspondence of DESt with Amtsgruppe W at the WVHA; Rijksinsituit Voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Amsterdam (account of Paul Wiechern); J. Maitre, *Konzentrationslager Stutthof 1943–1945*, (Lyon, 1973) (typescript at AMS); W. Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu. Wspomnienia więźnia obozu*, 2nd ed. (Bydgoszcz, 1984); T. Niespiałowski, *Wspomnienia nauczyciela z lat wojny, okupacji i niewoli. Czas grozy i poniżenia* (Zakopane, 1984). See also M. E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów,"

StZeMu, no. 10 (1992); M. Orski, *Hopehill. Filia obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w Nadbrzeżu* (Gdańsk, 1994); Orski, *The Czechs, Slovaks and Yugoslavs in Stutthof Concentration Camp* (Gdańsk, 1997).

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NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-ID-11, Stutthof concentration camp staff personnel matters.

2. See AMS, Lasik, Stutthof ac.

3. T. Nieśpiałowski, *Wspomnienia nauczyciela z lat wojny, okupacji i niewoli. Czas grozy i poniżenia* (A teacher's memoirs of the years of war, occupation, and captivity. A time of terror and humiliation) (Zakopane, 1984) (typescript at AMS), pp. 670, 774–778.

4. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 81a, p. 69, witness examination report, testimony of Dr. Lech Duszyński of 1945; AMS, Catalog No. I-III-A-10, Arbeitseinteilung für den 29, 31 März 1943; Catalog No. I-IIIB-2-5, Veränderungsbücher.

5. Nieśpiałowski, *Wspomnienia nauczyciela*, p. 693.

6. W. Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu. Wspomnienia więźnia obozu*, 2nd ed. (Bydgoszcz, 1984), p. 140; AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7.

7. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 78, p. 289, testimony of Dr. Lech Duszyński at Stutthof concentration camp staff trial in 1947; Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu. Wspomnienia więźnia obozu*, p. 123; Nieśpiałowski, *Wspomnienia nauczyciela*, pp. 670–671.

8. AMS, Einlieferungsbuch, Catalog No. I-II-E-5, p. 248; Standesamt, Catalog No. Z-V-15.

9. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog Nos. I-III-17787, I-III-17787, I-III-16862, prisoner personal files; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 11: 152–153, account of Lech Duszyński; Nieśpiałowski, *Wspomnienia nauczyciela*, p. 8; Rijksinstituut Voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Amsterdam, account of Paul Wiechern; AK-IPN, the “Ob.” Collection, surveys, Catalog No. 105 ob., report of testimony given by Stanisław Wojcieszek at the Elbląg Office of the Polish Red Cross.

10. BA-BL, NS 3, SS-Wirtschaftsundverwaltungshauptamt, Catalog No. 138, Mummmenthey (DESt) to Baier (Amtsgruppe W, SS-WVHA) dated March 8, 1945 (Abwicklung der Aussendienststelle Stutthof-Reimannsfelde); AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 27: 74, account of Tadeusz Cieplik; see also Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu*, p. 152—he shifts the date that the prisoners returned to the parent camp by two days.

11. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog Nos. 79, 86; SSK Gd, Catalog No. 422; SW Gd, Catalog No. 37, sentences of judgment and justification.

JESAU

The Jesau (later Yuzhnyy in Russia) subcamp was located on the premises of a Luftwaffe airfield in East Prussia (there were four other similar subcamps established on the same day, September 21, 1944, at Gerdauen, Heiligenbeil, Schippenbeil, and Seerappen). The first prisoner transport sent to

the camp on September 23, 1944, consisted of 1,000 Jews: 900 women and 100 men. On October 9, 1944, a convoy of 250 Jewish women and 100 Jewish men arrived in Jesau.¹

A fighter-bomber division of the Wehrmacht was stationed at the airfield. In February 1944, they began testing a fighter aircraft there, a rocket-powered Messerschmitt (Me) 163B interceptor designed by Willy Messerschmitt. A Russian prisoner-of-war (POW) camp was also set up in airfield buildings, followed by a camp for 100 prisoners brought from the penitentiary labor camp at Działdowo (Soldau) in December 1944.²

SS-Unterscharführer Ernst Stock was named camp commandant on September 21, 1944. He served in that post as long as the subcamp existed. On October 11, 1944, he was assigned the help of two SS women, Erna Böttcher and Anneliese Glaw;³ 46 Luftwaffe soldiers served guard duty while the prisoners worked, and 6 other guards kept watch over the camp premises.

Women prisoners were outfitted for the trip with a coat, a sweater, a dress, underwear, a bandana used to cover the head, fresh stockings, socks, and wooden shoes.⁴ Women prisoners from the first transport to Jesau confirm that conditions at camp were good at first. Jesau had its own prisoner kitchen, which was supplied by Stutthof, and so no one went hungry. The food was adequate: for instance, for breakfast they would receive a half a liter (half a quart) of oatmeal cooked in milk with some sugar. Every three weeks they were issued extra food, such as canned meat.⁵ Nonetheless, as Dina Herberg confirms in her account, selections were conducted at the camp every few weeks—not just among the sick but among healthy people who were avoiding work.

The prisoners were housed in barracks, and each had his or her own bunk and blanket. They began work at 6:00 A.M. They were put to work clearing woods, building roads, digging antitank trenches, and laying train rails. Sewing and shoemaker shops, where clothing and shoes were mended, were set up in camp in late autumn, where older and sick people worked.⁶

Although the prisoners had been outfitted well for the trip, their summer clothing proved to be inadequate when the autumn rainy season and chilly winds came, and their shoes also deteriorated quickly due to the muddy ground. According to Stock's report of October 27, 1944, there were 1,249 female prisoners and only 200 male prisoners living in camp at that time; thus, only 1 person had died or was shipped off. The problem of the lack of winter supplies applied to all Stutthof subcamps at the time. When Commandant Stock asked if the warehouse at the Stutthof main camp had winter clothing and footwear, the warehouse manager, SS-Unterscharführer Otto Knott, said that he had nothing but civilian coats and no shoes. Two weeks later the subcamp got some underwear, shirts, dresses, underclothing, gloves, foot wrappings, and leather shoes, as well as materials to mend clothing and shoes. The allotments did not fill all the shortages. A shipment of 500 pairs of women's shoes and 100 pairs of men's shoes arrived at Jesau on November 24, 1944.⁷

In late November 1944 the prisoners' situation got even worse. A report dated November 28, 1944, signed on behalf of the commandant by Anneliese Glaw, says that the clothing received in the last shipment (November 10, 1944) had only made up for the greatest shortages and was extremely inadequate in quantity. The biggest problem was the supply of wooden shoes. The shipment of 600 pairs of shoes in late November had not relieved the footwear shortage. The shoes had been delivered in poor condition, so that shortly thereafter the prisoners were unable to go out to work. The workers in the shoemaker shop labored day and night but could not keep up with the need for shoe repair, for which there was still a shortage of materials.

A Polish Jewish woman, Dora Hauptman, recalled that despite their hunger and the cold they were forced to do hard labor in light shoes and summer clothes. The guards often beat prisoners during work. They were issued rutabaga soup and a piece of bread for dinner. Under these conditions, many Jewish women died every day.⁸

The camp's evacuation began on January 21, 1945. The prisoner count report dated January 24, 1945, listed 1,086 prisoners, including 888 women and 198 men.⁹ That was 264 people less than the early camp population, many of whom died in camp or had been hospitalized at the Stutthof hospital. Surviving hospital records do not contain any figures on the death rate at the Jesau subcamp. Additional prisoner transports probably were not sent to Jesau to replace the dead or the sick who had been moved to the Stutthof camp. The number of items of prisoner clothing ordered in late November 1944 corresponded with the number of prisoners then living in the camp, which suggests that no replacement prisoners were sent.

The columns of evacuated prisoners were herded on foot toward Königsberg (see Stutthof/Königsberg), escorted by Luftwaffe soldiers under Commandant Stock and the two SS women. In Königsberg, the prisoners were put in a factory bunker on the premises of the Steinfurt railroad car factory, together with prisoners from the Heiligenbeil and Seerappen subcamps as well as those who were put to work in Königsberg itself.¹⁰ Their subsequent fates were similar to those of the Heiligenbeil prisoners (see Stutthof/Heiligenbeil).

SOURCES The following sources were used in writing this essay, in addition to those listed in "Stutthof Subcamp System:" AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Sonderbefehle, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Microfilm No. 215, copies of accounts from the collections of the AŻIH and YV in Jerusalem; Delft University of Technology, Faculty of Aerospace Engineering (The Netherlands), Me 163B airfields and maps, <http://dutlbcz.1r.tudelft.nl>; YVA, testimony of former Jewish prisoners from Stutthof concentration camp; S. Krakowski, "Massacre of Jewish Prisoners on the Samland Peninsula—Documents," *YVS* 24 (1994); S. Popiołek, "Obozowe święta w Jesau," *Tygodnik*

Pł, January 17, 2001; D. Vat Van Der, *Albert Speer. Życie i kłamstwa* (Warsaw: Philip Wilson, 1997).

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NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, pp. 189–192, 207–208; Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung der Aussenarbeitslager Gerdauen, Schippenbeil, Jesau, Heiligenbeil und Seerappen, September 21, 1944; Kommandanturbefehle, No. 68 of October 9, 1944.
2. Delft University of Technology, Faculty of Aerospace Engineering (The Netherlands), Me 163B airfields and maps, from <http://dutlbcz.1r.tudelft.nl>.
3. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, p. 207, Kommandanturbefehle, No. 68 of October 9, 1944.
4. AMS, Microfilm No. 215, account of Bronisława Krakauer.
5. YVA, Catalog No. 03/2279, testimony of Dina Hercberg.
6. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, Stock to Knott dated November 28, 1944.
7. Ibid.
8. S. Krakowski, "Massacre of Jewish Prisoners on the Samland Peninsula—Documents," *YVS* 24 (1994): 364–365.
9. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6.
10. AMS, Microfilm No. 215, testimony of Frida Gabrylewicz, Bronisława Krakauer, and Irena Redner.

KÄSEMARK

The subcamp at Käsemark (Kiezmark), a town located 26 kilometers (16 miles) from Danzig, operated between October 21, 1939, and October 25, 1941.¹ The dates that prisoners began and ended their work on the Wagner farm are listed in prisoner files.² The detachment was probably initiated during a period of intense farmwork from 1939 to 1941. It was initially under the command of the civilian detention camp at Neufahrwasser, and after that subcamp was shut down, it fell under the Stutthof camp.

In Käsemark, near the pontoon bridge over the Vistula River, there was a place where prisoners were collected in early October 1939. German farmers, seeking to put them to work on their farms, gathered there to collect the prisoners. A former prisoner, Bruno Zwarra, recounts the following about this: "I was put in a group of prisoners who wanted to work on farms, and we were loaded up and taken to Gdańsk [Danzig]. In about fifteen minutes, we stopped in a long line on Burgstrasse [later Grodzka Ulica in Gdańsk], where we waited to be loaded onto a coastal steamer. . . . We approached the pontoon bridge outside of Käsemark, but that's not what interested us; rather, it was the long line of carts along the embankment on the Żuławy [West Prussia] side. The local farmers were waiting for us in a meadow by the river."³ Besides the entries in prisoner records, no other information has been established as to how the detachment was organized, its size, period of operation, and casualties.

SOURCES The following sources were consulted in writing this entry: AMS, Catalog No. I-III, prisoner personal files; *Gdańsk 1939. Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan, Wybór i opracowanie Brunon Zwarra* (Gdańsk, 1984).

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NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-49878, I-III-50013, files of prisoners Józef Wiorek and Ludwik Polak.

2. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-50244, files of prisoner Marian Kamiński; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 284.

3. *Gdańsk 1939. Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan*, Wybór i opracowanie Brunon Zwarra, (Gdańsk, 1984), pp. 42–43; explanations of B. Zwarra, pp. 585–586; see also the accounts of Wiesław Arleta, Antoni Leszczyński, and Mieczysław Leszczyński.

KÖNIGSBERG

The subcamp at Königsberg (later Kaliningrad in Russia) was formed on August 19, 1944, pursuant to a special order that the Stutthof commandant issued a day earlier.¹ Some 500 Jewish prisoners were selected for the subcamp from transports that had come to Stutthof in early August from Kauen (Kaunas, Kovno) and Riga. The prisoners were transported from the landing at Stutthof by boat to the Schichau Werke in Königsberg. SS-Oberscharführer Alfred Tänzer was named camp commandant; upon his dismissal on September 6, 1944, he was replaced by SS-Oberscharführer Karl Böhm. The position changed hands again on October 4, 1944, when SS-Oberscharführer Fritz Weber took over from Böhm. He served in that post until the camp was disbanded and the prisoners were evacuated in late January 1945.²

Initially, 15 SS men from the 2nd SS-Guard Battalion were assigned to supervise the detachment. Later, the guard staff was increased to 18 SS men. Two prisoner doctors were picked for the transport. The order stated that proper medical care was to be provided by the local SS doctor and company doctor who were assigned the help of an orderly, SS-Oberschütze Rudolf Achs. The company kitchen was responsible for providing food for the prisoners.

The prisoners were hired out to Waggonfabrik Steinfurt Königsberg GmbH (the Steinfurt railroad car factory), which specialized in such things as constructing dual-axle second-class cars for the Prussian narrow-gauge railway lines. The company also manufactured locomotives. Narrow-gauge railways, such as the one in Treuburg, were equipped with these cars and locomotives. Prisoners were put to work at the Steinfurt railroad car factory building and repairing cars.³ In addition to the factory, prisoners were also hired out to work at the Schichau-Werft (shipyard) in Königsberg.⁴

From the moment the subcamp started operating, the hard and dangerous labor and the shortages in the prisoners' supplies of basic gear, clothing, and shoes tended to use up their strength quickly. Although the order from headquarters had promised enough cleaning supplies, blankets, and other amenities, the subcamp's commandant struggled with great difficulty to maintain efficiency from the very start. Most prisoners were put to work as assistants, although professional qualifications for working in the factory were considered when prisoners were selected for the camp. Many of the prisoners concealed their true occupations; hoping to get out of camp, they counted on an improvement in their situations and the help of civilians. In his report of September 3, 1944, Commandant Tänzer stated that the majority of prisoners had no skills to work in specialist positions. The camp administration also abandoned the training of 28 prisoners who had initially been selected from the entire group. Since they were unaccustomed to the hard and dangerous jobs of operating machines, those prisoners would most likely suffer serious injuries on the job. For example, on August 25, 1944, a sheet-metal-cutting machine tore off three finger pads from a prisoner's right hand, which prevented him from working for six weeks.⁵

Letters to the clothing warehouse from October to December 1944 requested the urgent delivery of not only clothes and shoes but also hair clippers (which were requested twice to no avail) and tools to mend clothes and shoes (a shoemaker's last, thread, nails, wire brushes, thimbles, sewing yarn, and shoe tar, for instance). On November 9, 1944, the commandant reported the pressing need for delivery of 300 new pairs of shoes to replace irreparably worn footwear. The order was filled a week later, as confirmed by warehouse clothing manager SS-Unterscharführer Knott's initials. Subsequent correspondence shows that the camp made many more requests for additional supplies, to which it received in response mainly offers of materials and tools to mend clothing and footwear and, to a lesser extent, clothes. Among the exceptions was a delivery of gloves for the 470 prisoners living in the camp on December 18, 1944.⁶

Prisoners who were ill or extremely emaciated from labor were removed to the Stutthof main camp, the first transport of which left within one month of the subcamp's opening;⁷ 50 men returned to the subcamp, and former Italian prisoner Aldo Coradello says that they did not even look like animals, let alone humans. He was left with the impression of randomly moving skeletons with unseeing eyes and legs dragging about the ground.⁸

The highest death rate in camp was recorded in November and December 1944. The incomplete records of the camp doctor's department and the camp administration confirm the deaths of over a dozen people by January 4, 1945. The most frequent causes of death were what was termed "an overall debilitation of the organism" and heart diseases.⁹

There were 462 prisoners living in camp on January 24, 1945.¹⁰ The evacuation of all prisoners from Königsberg took place two days later, on January 26. Prior to evacuation, the

prisoners were concentrated in a factory bunker, which also held transports from the remaining five subcamps in East Prussia. In addition to the Steinfurt plant, they were also put in a twine factory and in barracks in the Kalthof section.¹¹ They were escorted toward Palmnicken (later Yantarny). Commandant Weber and the group of SS men from the subcamp at the Steinfurt factory were also in the columns' escort. The subsequent plight of the subcamp's prisoners was the same as that of the prisoners from the Heiligenbeil and Jesau camps (for details, see Stutthof/Heiligenbeil and Stutthof/Jesau).

SOURCES The following sources were consulted in writing this essay: AK-IPN, SSK Gd, Catalog No. 417, records of criminal case against Józef Reiter and others; AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; Catalog Nos. I-IVH-5, I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Catalog No. I-VB-7, hospital (Krankenbau) records; ZdL-L, records of the investigation on Kurt Friedrichs of Palmnicken; YVA, testimony of former Jewish prisoners of the Stutthof concentration camp; D. Drywa, *Podobozy (Aussenarbeitslager) KL Stutthof dla więźniów narodowości żydowskiej* (in print; typescript at AMS).

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NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, pp. 153–154, Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung des Aussenarbeitslagers Königsberg Pr.
2. AMS, Kommandanturbefehle, Nos. 60 and 67 of September 6 and October 5, 1944.
3. Archives of the Olecko Narrow-Gauge Railway, at www.koleje.wm.olecko.pl.
4. Aldo Coradello's 1946 testimony indicates this (AK-IPN, SSK Gd, Catalog No. 417, p. 31), as does the fact that the transport docked at the Schichau shipyard landing.
5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-5, Arbeitsbericht v. 19.8.–2.9.1944 an die Kommandantur des KL Stutthof.
6. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, pp. 137–141.
7. Former Italian prisoner Aldo Coradello noted that fact in his camp recollections, which were used in the 1946 trial of the Stutthof camp murderers.
8. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, Catalog No. 417, p. 31.
9. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-IVH-5, I-VB-7.
10. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population.
11. ZdL-L, records of the investigation on Kurt Friedrichs of Palmnicken; copies at YVA, Catalog No. TR-10/1327.

LAUENBURG [AKA SS- UNTERFÜHRERSCHULE LAUENBURG]

The Lauenburg (later Łębork) subcamp was formed on April 1, 1942. It was located on the premises of an SS noncommissioned officers' (NCOs) school and thus was also called SS-

Unterführerschule Lauenburg. Its formation was directly connected to a labor detachment of Buchenwald concentration camp prisoners that had existed in the same place since November 11, 1941. The detachment was probably disbanded around March 20, 1942, and the prisoners went back to Buchenwald. On March 23, 1942, another transport of 114 prisoners was sent from Buchenwald to Lauenburg. An order from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) dated March 28, 1942, confirmed that effective April 1 the Buchenwald detachment was being disbanded and regrouped as a Stutthof subcamp with the same prisoners.¹

Only in mid-April 1942, as Stutthof's administration was taking over from the Buchenwald camp, were the 114 prisoners, mostly Russians and Poles, listed in the Stutthof camp personnel files under the numbers 13161–13274. The entire transport had been registered under the date of April 14, 1942. (Researchers provide different dates for the subcamp's formation. Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz says it was established in the summer or autumn of 1944, while J. Matynia says autumn 1941. The others, such as M. Gliński, think that the Stutthof subcamp was formed when a group of prisoners came to Lauenburg [or rather their registration was transferred over to the Stutthof camp's records] and provide the wrong size and numeration for the transport.) Two dates should be distinguished in the detachment's operation: April 1, 1942, refers to the formal creation of a camp under the command of Stutthof concentration camp, while April 14, 1942, is the date that the same group of prisoners was registered in the camp's records.²

The position of camp or detachment leader changed hands often over the nearly three years of the subcamp's operation. When the position was unoccupied, a Blockführer appointed by the commandant fulfilled this role. The position of camp leader was filled in succession by SS-Rottenführer Herbert Korsch from an unspecified date in April to October 25, 1942; SS-Oberscharführer Gottfried Heering from October 25 through December 9, 1942; SS-Scharführer Kurt Zemke from December 10 to December 28, 1942; SS-Unterscharführer Leopold Wanninger from December 28, 1942, to March 10, 1943; SS-Unterscharführer Ewald Foth to March 20, 1943; then SS-Scharführer Johannes Meyer until July 31, 1943. SS-Unterscharführer Fritz Peters was director of the camp from August 1, 1943, to October 30, 1944. The last camp leader, SS-Oberscharführer Emil Dreher, was appointed to the position on November 30, 1944.

The detachment's population probably did not require additional guard forces. The number of prisoners, of whom there were 114 at the start, kept decreasing due to deaths or transports of the sick to the Stutthof hospital. The dead were removed to the crematorium at Stutthof or buried in common graves in the woods. There is a common grave of 28 deceased prisoners at the Łębork cemetery.

The constantly fluctuating prisoner population provides evidence of regular replacement transports, usually once or twice a year. One such transport arrived at Lauenburg in 1942.³ On April 27, 1942, there were 72 people in the detachment; on

March 29, 1943, there were 24; on September 15, 1944, there were 55; and just before evacuation in late January 1945, there were 53 prisoners.⁴ Perhaps young SS men from the NCO school were assigned to supervise them. Officials from the command staff also served as supervisors in the posts of work group supervisors and block leaders. For instance, up until December 9, 1942, SS-Scharführer Sebastian Schmidt was assigned as second Kommandoführer (G. Heering was the first Kommandoführer) to provide additional supervision.

The detachment was quartered in the basement of the SS NCO school; it was wet and cold because there were no windows. The prisoners were put to work expanding the school, doing building and renovating there, as well as building a shooting range nearby in the woods. They worked from dawn until night. Prisoners carried the bricks and wooden beams to build the shooting range five kilometers (three miles) on their backs. They pulled carts with sand along rails, hurried on by SS men stationed every 50 feet and by prisoner foremen. Among the most brutal SS men were Fritz Peters and Ewald Foth. The Gdańsk District Court sentenced both to death in 1947. The position of construction detachment leader was held by the German criminal prisoner Karl Kliefoth, later the camp elder and first overseer at Stutthof. He was tried by a federal court in Hamburg in 1950 but acquitted of all charges. German criminal prisoners served in supervisory jobs.⁵

Besides the brutal supervision and starvation food rations, there were also clothing and shoe shortages. The surviving portion of the subcamp leader's correspondence with the clothing warehouse is from the final months of 1944. The correspondence reported that the summer clothing had been worn out in mid-September 1944 and that there was also a shortage of winter clothes, underwear, and shoes. The commandant requested the urgent delivery of tools and materials to repair shoes, as they wore out quickly in the work in the woods and construction.⁶

On July 8, 1942, Zygmunt Pencherzewski, a Polish prisoner who had been put in Stutthof on June 27, 1942, successfully escaped the subcamp, to which he had been sent six days earlier.⁷

There were 53 persons living in the camp on January 24, 1945. Their later fate involved the plan to evacuate the prisoners from the central camp at Stutthof beginning on January 25 and 26, 1945. Approximately 11,000 prisoners were slated to be moved by foot march to Lauenburg, 140 kilometers (87 miles) from Stutthof.⁸ Upon reaching Lauenburg, they were to be housed at the NCO school. That plan was never carried out because the school had already been occupied by the Wehrmacht (for soldiers' quarters and a field hospital). Several Reich Labor Service (RAD) camps were prepared for the prisoners, which they reached in early February 1945.⁹

J. Matynia states that the subcamp existed until Lauenburg was liberated on March 10, 1945, and the prisoners lived at the school until the end, getting the furnishings ready for evacuation. Other source materials indicate that the detachment was disbanded earlier.¹⁰ Former prisoners who were living at evacuation camps near Lauenburg in February 1945 say

that a food distribution point for prisoners evacuated from Stutthof was set up at the school.¹¹

SOURCES The secondary sources concerning Lauenburg start with its listing in the ITS catalogs *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 647; and ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 48, 286. Useful is J. Schodzińska and G. Przykucka, “Losy ewakuowanych więźniów KL Stutthof na terenie ziemi łęborskiej,” *BLHBH* 13 (September 2000): 18. On Lauenburg's foundation and place in the organization of the Stutthof camps, see Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Obóz koncentracyjny Stutthof* (Gdynia, 1970); M. Gliniński, “Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939–9 maja 1945),” *StZeMu* 3 (1979); J. Grabowska, *Marsz śmierci. Ewakuacja piesza więźniów KL Stutthof i jego podobozów 25 stycznia–3 maja 1945* (Gdańsk, 1992); J. Matynia, “Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof” (Ph.D. diss., Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna w Gdańsku, 1969); and M. Orski, *Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945* (Gdańsk, 1999), esp. pp. 181, 252–253.

Primary sources for this subcamp begin with AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 75, records of criminal case against Kurt Dietrich and others; Catalog No. 76, records of criminal case against Theodor Meyer and others; Catalog No. 79, sentences of judgment; AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports (Bronisław Nogajski, Bolesław Przytuła); AMS, Catalog Nos. I-IB-1, I-IB-2, I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IB-5, Einsatzbefehl no. 3; Catalog No. I-IIIE-5, Einlieferungsbuch; Catalog No. I-IIIA-10, Arbeitseinsatz, Arbeitseinteilung für den 29 März 1943; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, camp population reports dated January 1945; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Catalog No. Z-V-20, recollections of T. Meyer; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Antoni Ryszkievicz, vol. 3). At BA-L, ZdL, there are reports of the examination of Stutthof concentration camp commandant P.W. Hoppe. ITS Arolsen holds a transport list of prisoners moved from Buchenwald concentration camp to Kommando Lauenburg dated March 23, 1942 (copy available at AMS). The West German investigation of this camp may be found in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: University Press Amsterdam, 1979), 8: 435–450.

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NOTES

1. ITS Arolsen, Namentliche Liste des Kommandos Lauenburg, 23.03.1942 (copy at AMS, Catalog No. Z-VI-2/13).

2. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIE-5, pp. 103–113, Einlieferungsbuch; Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Obóz koncentracyjny Stutthof* (Gdynia, 1970), p. 130; J. Matynia, “Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof” (Ph.D. diss., Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna w Gdańsku, 1969), p. 94; M. Gliniński, “Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939–9 maja 1945),” *StZeMu* 3 (1979): 169.

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3. AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports, testimony of Bolesław Przytuła (Wrocław, October 23, 1967).

4. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIA-10, Arbeitseinsatz, Arbeitseinteilung für den 29 März 1943; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, camp population report dated January 24, 1945; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 145, commandant Peters to Knott, G-Bekleidungskammer, KL Stutthof, dated September 15, 1944, on prisoner supplies.

5. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 75, records of criminal case against Kurt Dietrich and others; Catalog No. 76, records of criminal case against Theodor Meyer and others; Catalog No. 79, sentences of judgment; AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports, testimony of Bolesław Przytuła (Wrocław, October 23, 1967) and Bronisław Nogajski (Gdańsk, February 13, 1968); AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 3:184, account of Antoni Rzyżkiewicz; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: University Press Amsterdam, 1979), 8:435–450.

6. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7.

7. AMS, Catalog No. I-II-E-5, Einlieferungsbuch.

8. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-5, Einsatzbefehl no. 3; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population.

9. BA-L, ZdL, Dokumenten nr 14, 17, Vernehmungssprotokoll des Kommandanten Paul Werner Hoppe vor der Polish War Crimes Mission vom 22.08.1946; Bericht des Kommandanten P.W. Hoppe über die Evakuierung des Lagers Stutthof zu seiner Verteidigung vom 24.08.1946 (copies at AMS, Catalog No. Z-VIII-4); AMS, Catalog No. Z-V-20, recollections of T. Meyer, 1st Schutzhaftlagerführer of Stutthof concentration camp and evacuation director.

10. AK-IPD Gd, report of examination of witness Bolesław Przytuła (Wrocław, October 23, 1967).

11. AMS, affidavit of Michał Peczeluna, n.p.

LIBAU (HEERESGRUPPE NORD)

The Libau subcamp for Jewish prisoners was formed in East Prussia in November 1944. The camp was set up for 330 Jews, men and women, in the town of Liepāja (German: Libau), attached to the Wehrmacht's Army Group North. The prisoners were put to work building fortifications. The first mention of the detachment's operation was in a hospital record of prisoners who had been inoculated for typhus on December 2, 1944. Next to the prisoners' names and numbers, the list provides such information as the work group names and the institutions and companies to which the prisoners were hired out.¹

The December 2, 1944, record established that the subcamp began operating in November 1944. It lists prisoner Oskar Zirkmann as being prisoner foreman (Kapo) of the detachment. There are other references to the subcamp in camp population reports from late January 1945. There were 227 prisoners in camp on January 24, 1945, including 140 men and 87 women. The next report dated January 30, 1945, lists an increase to 327 female prisoners.

The last record confirmed by sources dated February 17, 1945, regarding sending the prisoners to the Stutthof camp, lists 307 Jewish women out of the detachment's population of

315. It is not known what happened to the Jewish men, who were still at the subcamp on January 24. Based on the surviving records, it cannot be determined if the difference of 100 persons was due to an error in the report (twice) or whether some prisoners had already returned to Stutthof, replaced by another group of Jewish women.²

The subcamp operated until February 17, 1945. On that day, 307 Jewish women were sent back to Stutthof; 8 women were left behind, having been excluded from the transport. It is assumed that they died in their final weeks at camp.

SOURCES The primary sources of information included AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; Catalog No. I-VB-15, list of prisoners inoculated against typhus dated December 2, 1944; D. Drywa, *Podoboz (Aus-senarbeitslager) KL Stutthof dla więźniów narodowości żydowskiej* (in print; typescript at AMS); M. Orski, *Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945* (Gdańsk, 1999).

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NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-VB-15, list of prisoners inoculated against typhus, dated December 2, 1944.

2. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6.

MÜGGENHAHL

A subcamp of Stutthof was created in the town of Müggenhahl (later Rokitnica in Gdańsk County) near Praust (later Pruszcz Gdański). Based on labor assignment entries in prisoner files, we can establish that it operated from October 21, 1939, to August 19, 1940.¹ The prisoners were hired out to several employers who owned farms in the area: Claassen, Dirksen,² and Voss. Notes made in the records do not provide any information on the type of work the prisoners did.

Another work detachment was instituted in the same place in July 1942. According to the testimony of a prisoner who was assigned to Müggenhahl, a group of approximately 20 people were sent from the Stutthof camp to do work for local farmers. Paul Schulz was one of them; and we know that a group of prisoners worked at that farm until the end of the war.³ They were lodged in a barracks under the supervision of SS men from Stutthof. The prisoners were divided up among several farms, to which they went unescorted every day, returning to the camp in the evening. The detachment was supervised by one elderly SS man named Günter Paul (who is not listed in the partially surviving Stutthof concentration camp staff index). The employers provided the food for the prisoners.

SOURCES In addition to those sources mentioned in "Stutthof Subcamp System," the following were consulted in writing this entry: AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports of Antoni Janiewicz, Wrocław; AMS, Catalog No. I-III, prisoner files; *Einwohnerbuch der Danziger Landkreise 1927–1928*.

Danziger Höhe. Danziger Niederung. Grosses Werder (Danzig, 1927).

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NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-41412, I-III-49961, I-III-50239, I-III-50241, files of prisoners Andrzej Budzisz, Józef Karczewski, Franciszek Malottka (or Malottko), and August Strongowski; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 288.

2. Actually Johannes Dircks. An estate owner by this name was listed in the Danzig Niederung County address book in 1927–1928. *Einwohnerbuch der Danziger Landkreise 1927–1928. Danziger Höhe. Danziger Niederung. Grosses Werder* (Danzig, 1927), 2:193.

3. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. II Ds. 76/64, report of examination of witness Antoni Janiewicz (Wrocław).

NEUTEICH

From January to April 1942, 21 prisoners were put to work in Neuteich (later Nowy Staw), compressing hay and straw as well as loading and unloading compressed bales. The prisoners were taken to Neuteich by narrow-gauge railway, escorted by four SS men. Dinners for the detachment were brought in from Stutthof. When the detachment's work was completed and the subcamp was disbanded in late April 1942, the prisoners returned to Stutthof. No references have survived in camp records, except for the information on the detachment from the account of a prisoner who was sent there.¹

SOURCES The following was consulted in writing this entry: AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, vol. 6, account of Józef Richert.

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NOTE

1. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 6:195, account of Józef Richert.

PELPLIN

From May 15 to June 30, 1940, 24 prisoners were put to work in Pelplin, building a road on the premises of the closed Pelplin Theological Seminary near Tczew (Aussenkommando Pelplin).¹ The buildings had been adapted to become an Auxiliary Police School (Hilfsschule der Ordnungspolizei). SS-Unterscharführer Leo Skierka was camp commandant until July 3. He changed his name to Schierer on June 3, 1941.²

The prisoners were quartered in one of the seminary buildings. They received their food, which was relatively

good in comparison to that of the main camp at Stutthof, from the police school kitchen. The prisoners' basic job was to build a macadamized road on the seminary premises. They packed a layer of small broken stones with a roller pulled by six—later two—prisoners.³

Three prisoners escaped from the detachment on the night of May 9, 1940. The search party sent out the next day produced no results. Four other prisoners whose beds were next to those of the escapees were arrested and interrogated by the police. They were accused of not having done anything to prevent the escape, of which they really knew nothing. They were given the death sentence, which was to be carried out that same evening. The fugitives were then caught, and one of them was shot to death. The fate of the two surviving prisoners is unknown.⁴

Besides Commandant Skierka, the prisoners were supervised by students at the police school. The Pelplin detachment was disbanded on June 30, 1940.⁵

SOURCES The following were consulted in writing this entry: AMS, Catalog No. I-III, prisoner files; Catalog No. I-IE, Stutthof concentration camp staff personnel files; Lasik, Stutthof ac; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Jan Gulczyński, vol. 14); M.E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992).

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NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-44292, files of prisoner Jan Gulczyński; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 14:108, account of Jan Gulczyński; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 289.

2. AMS, Catalog No. I-IE-1005, personnel files of SS man Leo Schierer-Skierka.

3. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 14:108, account of Jan Gulczyński.

4. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-16264, files of prisoner Karol Viola; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 14:109; M.E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992): 123, 126.

5. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-44292, files of prisoner Jan Gulczyński; Catalog No. I-IE-10005, personnel files of Leo Schierer-Skierka, letter of the commander of Hilfsschule Pelplin to the Stutthof camp civilian prisoner camp headquarters dated July 3, 1940, in which he expresses his thanks for the prisoner labor done under the supervision of SS-Rottenführer Schierer-Skierka.

PÖLITZ [AKA STETTIN]

The subcamp in Pölitz (later Police), near Stettin (later Szczecin), began operating on June 25, 1944.¹ It was one of several camps that housed labor for the city's two largest industrial plants: Hydrierwerke AG (of which IG Farbenindustrie AG

had a large share) and Norddeutsche Mineralölwerke GmbH, producers of synthetic gasoline and other products. A maximum of from 25,000 to 28,000 workers lived in all the surrounding camps, including concentration camp prisoners, prisoners of war (POWs), and forced laborers.²

According to the fragmentary source materials, the Hydrierwerke plant requested that the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) grant permission to put prisoners to work at the factory and house them in a labor camp it would build at its own expense.³ The prisoners were initially housed in tents next to the Hagerwelle penal camp. Work was begun at the same time on the construction of a permanent camp in the woods near the train station at Messenthin (Mścięcino). The prisoners arrived there in the autumn of 1944.

The number of people at the subcamp ranged from 800 in June 1944 to 2,800 in late August.⁴ That number dropped to 2,364 between August and mid-December, and to 2,065 in April 1945. Besides Poles, Russians, Lithuanians, Latvians, and Germans, there were also Frenchmen, Yugoslavians, and Greeks at Pölitz.

SS-Oberscharführer Hans Kuhlmann was camp commandant from June 25 to August 5, 1944, followed for the short time until August 18, 1944, by SS-Hauptsturmführer Ernst Sette, who was followed by SS-Untersturmführer Kurt Volkman.⁵ Initially, the camp staff was made up of 30 SS men from Stutthof and a medical orderly. The number of SS men increased to 43 in August 1944 because the camp population had gone up. Wehrmacht soldiers and Ukrainians from auxiliary formations also served as supervisors, replacing Germans called into the army. There were 50 people on the camp staff on November 11, 1944.⁶ There was also a system of supervisory prisoners including work group overseers (Vorarbeiters) and prisoner foremen (Kapos), mainly German criminals. The post of camp elder was held by Wacław Kozłowski, a Pole who had been a barrack chief at Stutthof, where he proved to be one of the most brutal prisoner-functionaries. After the war, he was tried by the Gdańsk Special Criminal Court and sentenced to death.⁷ Besides him, there were over 12 German criminal prisoners serving as prisoner foremen, 4 of whom stood out due to their brutality: Richard Friedrich, Bruno Neumann, Alfred Hölzel, and Gustaw Lüge. They died in the camp on December 18, 1944, after drinking ethyl alcohol.⁸

The permanent camp was made up of about 30 barracks. The sanitary conditions, housing, and supplies of food, blankets, clothing, and shoes in the camp were satisfactory only for a few weeks at the beginning. Later, 8 people shared one loaf of bread, and the prisoners were issued a watery soup made from weeds for dinner. The factory management would sporadically provide the camp with raw carrots and soup from the factory cafeteria. The exhausting labor, hunger, and abuse weakened the prisoners and contributed to the camp's high death rate.⁹ The hospital records show 106 prisoner deaths at Pölitz from October to November 1944, but given the regular transfers of prisoners in and out, the true total must have been much higher.¹⁰ Prisoners who were too weak to work

were often selected for transport to Stutthof, where many of them were killed with phenol injections, their death certificates falsified.

Dr. Bolesław Kaczyński served as camp doctor; he managed to save over a dozen prisoners despite the primitive conditions in the infirmary. Dr. Heidecke, nominally designated by the factory as doctor, was not interested in the prisoners and only signed death certificates.¹¹ The bodies were transported to the crematorium at a Stettin cemetery; later, when it was closed, they were buried in common graves in Messenthin.

Conditions deteriorated with the colder weather, as indicated by the commandant's reminders to the Stutthof supply warehouse to send warm clothing (jackets, ear protectors, gloves, etc.) and shoes for the prisoners and SS staff, as well as materials to mend them.¹² The prisoners experienced some improvement after the visit of Stutthof assistant commandant SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor Meyer.

The prisoners were put to work expanding the synthetic gasoline factory in Pölitz for Hydrierwerke AG. Hydrierwerke AG worked with local construction companies to build the camp and factory, prepare the site, and so on. These companies included Grün & Bilfinger, Dyckerhoff & Widmann AG, Betonwerke Gossebaude, and Westermann & Co.¹³

The prisoners worked at construction work for 12 hours a day in groups of up to 100. They were also hired out for various jobs in Pölitz or subcontracted out to other city firms or businesses, which was common practice for IG Farbenindustrie and other big companies. Some of the most dangerous work was the construction of giant bunkers on factory premises or disarming unexploded bombs from the raids that had begun in July 1944. Prisoners in the bomb disposal detail left the factory premises mostly in groups of 6 to 8, escorted by one SS man and a German civilian bomb disposal expert. For disarming one bomb, a prisoner would get 10 Juno-brand cigarettes or a liter (four cups) of soup from the company kitchen. However, the work killed an estimated 80 percent of the prisoners who had to perform it.¹⁴

The records indicate the attempted escape of approximately 40 prisoners, mainly Russians, between July 1944 and February 1945, of whom fewer than half were successful; there were probably many more undocumented attempts as well.¹⁵ Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz says that the greatest number of escapes from the entire camp was in Pölitz; he estimates that number at 20.¹⁶

The most spectacular event at Pölitz was an attempt to kill Kozłowski, the camp elder, in October 1944. The attempt failed because Kozłowski defended himself with a bayonet that he kept in his boot. Six of the attackers escaped through a hole in the wire, another was wounded in the attempt, and several others had to stay behind. When the accused did not come forward, the commandant selected nine prisoners at random from a transport from Warsaw and hanged them, along with the wounded man.¹⁷

The evacuation of prisoners westward began on April 17; there was no communication with the Stutthof camp, so Sachsenhausen assumed command over the prisoners when

they left Pölitz; 184 prisoners were sent to Barth and Bergen-Belsen in two transports. Those who were the most ill and unable to march, approximately 300 people, were shot on April 25, 1945; the rest, approximately 400 prisoners, were sent toward Rostock.¹⁸

SOURCES Information on the Pölitz subcamp can be found in the AK-IPN, SSK Gd, 422, akta sprawy karnej przeciwko Józefowi Reiterowi i innym, sentencje wyroków; and Konzentrationslager Stutthof, 74, pp. 1–2, lists of prisoner population at Pölitz. Information on this subcamp can also be found in the AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Catalog No. I-VB-7, hospital (*Krankenbau*) records; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (vol. 4, Jan Nowicki). See APMO, Proces G. Maurera; and the APSz, Bauabteilung nr. 1488a: Entwässerung des KL Lagers in Messenthin zum Krieklands-Bach. Bau nr. 903. Additional information on the Pölitz subcamp can be found in the following sources: ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979); Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Ruch oporu w hitlerowskich obozach koncentracyjnych 1933–1945* (Warsaw, 1979); Bogdan Frankiewicz, *Praca przymusowa na Pomorzu Zachodnim w latach drugiej wojny światowej* (Poznań, 1969); J. Grabowska, *Marsz śmierci: Ewakuacja piesza więźniów KL Stutthof i jego podobozów 25 stycznia–3 maja 1945* (Gdańsk, 1992); M.E. Jezierska, "Obozy w Policach," *BGKBZHWP* 15 (1965); Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992); J.L. Jurkiewicz, *Police: Filia KL Stutthof* (Szczecin, 1998) (typescript at AMS); J. Nowicki, "Od Stutthofu do Sandbostel," *PL*, no. 1 (1968); Marek Orski, *Italiani nel KL Stutthof: Włosi w KL Stutthof* (Gdańsk, 1996), and Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Police* (Warsaw, 1974). See also Hydrierwerke Pölitz Aktiengesellschaft, www.Politz.republika.pl.

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NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung des Aussenlagers Pölitz b. Stettin.
2. See also M.E. Jezierska, "Obozy w Policach," *BGKBZHWP* 15 (1965): 66–84; Bogdan Frankiewicz, *Praca przymusowa na Pomorzu Zachodnim w latach drugiej wojny światowej* (Poznań, 1969), pp. 95–106; Hydrierwerke Pölitz Aktiengesellschaft, www.politz.republika.pl.
3. APSz, Bauabteilung nr. 1488a: Entwässerung des KL Lagers in Messenthin zum Krieklands-Bach. Bau nr. 903.
4. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, pp. 151–152, monthly reports of the subcamp's commandant for Verwaltung/KL Stutthof, dated July 31 and September 1, 1944, on the status of prisoner provisioning, numerical lists (*Verpflegungsstärken*); AK-IPN, Konzentrationslager Stutthof, 74, pp. 1–2, lists of prisoner population at Pölitz; APMO, Proces G. Maurera, 6:21, Dok. Nor. NI-1065, K. Sommer's testimony on prisoner labor at Police.

5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle, nr. 56 of August 24, 1944.

6. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 153, commandant K. Volkmann to Stutthof Verwaltung manager E. von. Bonin, dated November 11, 1944, on supplies for the subcamp.

7. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, 422, akta sprawy karnej przeciwko Józefowi Reiterowi i innym, sentencje wyroków.

8. Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Police* (Warsaw, 1974), pp. 59–60.

9. J. Nowicki, "Od Stutthofu do Sandbostel," *PL*, no. 1 (1968): 158–161; account of Czesław Gołowacz, in Bogdan Frankiewicz, *Praca przymusowa na Pomorzu Zachodnim w latach drugiej wojny światowej* (Poznań, 1969), pp. 105–106; M.E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu* no. 10 (1992): 88–90.

10. AMS, Catalog No. I-VB-7.

11. Account of Czesław Gołowacz, in Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof," p. 90.

12. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, pp. 151–155.

13. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 289; Jezierska, "Obozy w Policach," p. 85.

14. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 4:131, account of Jan Nowicki; account of Czesław Gołowacz, in Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof," pp. 92–93; Nowicki, "Od Stutthofu do Sandbostel," p. 162.

15. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle, 1944; Catalog No. I-III, prisoner personal files; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof"; Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Police*, pp. 89–93.

16. Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Ruch oporu w hitlerowskich obozach koncentracyjnych 1933–1945* (Warsaw, 1979), p. 207.

17. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Police*, pp. 91–93.

18. Frankiewicz, *Praca przymusowa na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, pp. 105–107; J. Grabowska, *Marsz śmierci: Ewakuacja piesza więźniów KL Stutthof i jego podobozów 25 stycznia–3 maja* (Gdańsk, 1992), p. 48; Jezierska, "Obozy w Policach," p. 99.

PRAUST (FLUGPLATZ)

The Praust subcamp began operating on July 7, 1944.¹ Pursuant to a special order issued on July 3, 1944, by camp headquarters, 500 Jewish women were sent to a military airfield (*Flugplatz*) located along the road to the village of Kochstedt (later Roszkowo) near Praust (Pruszcz Gdański) to do building and cleanup work; the camp's population grew by another 300 women on August 6, 1944. (There were four other Stutthof subcamps at Luftwaffe airfields, at Gerdauen, Heiligenbeil, Jesau, and Seerappen.)

SS-Hauptscharführer Otto Berger of headquarters staff was named camp commandant. The staff included seven SS men from an SS-Guard Battalion and seven from a Wehrmacht Training Battalion composed of soldiers unfit for duty at the front (on July 6, 1944, they were joined with the newly formed Stutthof concentration camp II SS-Guard Battalion,

then moved to Guard Companies I–III on September 6, 1944, when the battalion was disbanded). In addition to these men, an SS man in charge of feeding the prisoners and a medical orderly were assigned to Praust. When the prisoner population increased, six more SS men and several SS women were assigned to the staff. Some of them had come with prisoner transports from other concentration camps; the others were recruited in an operation conducted by the Danzig employment agency. They underwent special training at the Stutthof camp, then were assigned to guard duty at the main camp or subcamps. One such recruitment operation in late October 1944 included 60 women, 7 of whom were later assigned to Praust.²

The Hungarian Jewish women selected for the original transport arrived at Stutthof from Auschwitz concentration camp on June 29, 1944; 40 of the weakest women were replaced just three weeks after the subcamp had been formed.³ Another transport of 300 women was assigned to the subcamp on July 25, 1944. Two SS women, moved from the Kauén concentration camp, Emilie Macha and Anni Scharbert, arrived with them.⁴ Jewish women from Czechoslovakia, Germany, and Austria were selected for the transport. They had previously been at the Terezin and Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camps.

The prisoners were quartered on airfield premises in three wooden barracks. Reveille was at 5:00 A.M. Every day started with roll call, which sometimes lasted 15 minutes and sometimes went as long as 60 minutes. All they were issued for breakfast was hot coffee-colored water. Some women ate a piece of bread they had saved from the day before. Then they left camp, going to work on leveling the terrain of sandy hills. They were watched at work by guards; several construction companies (e.g., Kieferling, Metzger & Co.) supervised the project. There were extreme differences in the way the SS men treated the women so that in a short time the prisoners could tell good days apart from bad. Some SS men gave them some freedom of movement during the day, even allowing them to pull turnips from the fields. Some of the SS men were work fanatics who did not let the women have the slightest moment's rest, while some were sadists who were not interested in work but in inflicting extra torture on the prisoners. Their favorite form of persecution was to drive the women into a ditch and aim their guns at them, ready to fire.⁵

The kitchen set up by the subcamp's management was in charge of food supplies for the staff and prisoners, assisted by the junior officer from Stutthof camp headquarters in charge of food supplies. The food consisted of starvation rations: some hot coffee, which was coffee in name only, for breakfast and supper; a piece of bread in the evening; and some soup with low-caloric content for lunch. When autumn came, problems began with supplying prisoners with warmer clothing and shoes, which deteriorated quickly. In mid-October 1944 the camp received such things as 800 pairs of wooden shoes and the same number of foot wrappings, 168 dresses, 500 pairs of long underwear, and 400 shirts. In late December 1944, Praust again received wooden shoes and foot wrappings,

which indicates the camp's great demand for those items and the rate at which they wore out.⁶

The subcamp numbered 800 women on January 24; thus, it reached its level of mid-August 1944. There is no surviving information on the death rate, so it cannot be determined what the size of the prisoner replacement transports were that arrived from the main camp.⁷ Presumably the death rate was not too high, but there were considerably more sick people who later could not cope with the hardships of the evacuation march and were shot by the guards.

The camp was evacuated together with the subcamp at Russoschin beginning around February 11, 1945. Upon reaching the vicinity of Lauenburg (Łębork), pursuant to the Stutthof general evacuation plan, the prisoners were placed in two Reich Labor Service (RAD) camps at Gniewino (later Gniewino, Poland) and Burgsdorf (later Berezovka, Russia) as well as at a newly established camp in Kolkau (Kolkow). Upon liberating the Kolkau camp, the Russians found 600 exhausted women. According to the accounts of Norwegian prisoners liberated on March 11, 1945, at the nearby Jenzow estate, the owner of the Kolkau estate was shot when the Russians entered. The common grave of 143 people who had been shot in the back of the head was found in the camp after the war. The remains of the slaughtered victims were moved to the cemetery at Rybno.⁸

Transports of women prisoners evacuated from the Organisation Todt (OT) Elbing camp were put in the abandoned Praust airfield camp between late February and early March 1945. Several hundred starving and sick women were imprisoned here, many of them severely frostbitten. Every so often the sickest of them were taken away from the camp, presumably to be put to death. The camp was liberated on March 23, 1945.⁹

Only one of the SS women from the Praust camp staff stood trial in a Polish court after the war. Emilie Macha (née Wawoczny), who came from Silesia, was sentenced by the Kraków Criminal Court to 12 years in prison on November 16, 1948 (she died in prison on February 4, 1949). She had served as a camp guard at the Auschwitz, Lublin, Kauén, and Ravensbrück concentration camps before coming to Stutthof.¹⁰

SOURCES Primary documentation on the Praust subcamp include AK-IPN w Warszawie, SO Kr, 433, akta sprawy karnej przeciwko Emilie Macha; SSK Gd, 418, akta sprawy karnej przeciwko Wandzie Klaff. See also AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Sonderbefehle, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-III A-2, Arbeitseinsatz; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; and *Relacje i wspomnienia* (vol. 7, Miriam Ejszyszk, Sonia Szogan-Etkin; originals in YV). Additional information on this subcamp can be found in the following publications: ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979); H.

Lewis, *Time to Speak* (Belfast, 1998); Olaf R. Walle, *Norsk politi bak piggetrad* (Oslo, 1946); J. Matynia, *Na szlakach walki i męczeństwa województwa gdańskiego 1939–1945* (Gdynia, 1967); and Marek Orski, *Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945* (Gdańsk, 1999).

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NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, pp. 117–120, Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung des Aussenarbeitslagers Praust.
2. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, 418, pp. 18–21, protokół przesłuchania oskarżonej Wandy Klaff; SO Kr, 433, p. 12, akta sprawy karnej przeciwko Emilie Macha, protokół przesłuchania Emilie Macha.
3. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIA-2.
4. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle, nr. 49, dated July 25, 1944.
5. AK-IPN, SO Kr, 433, p. 12, protokół przesłuchania Emilie Macha; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 290; H. Lewis, *Time to Speak* (Belfast, 1998), pp. 74, 77.
6. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, pp. 139–140.
7. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6.
8. Olaf R. Walle, *Norsk politi bak piggetrad* (Oslo, 1946), p. 309.
9. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 7:50, 100–101, testimonies of Miriam Ejszyszk and Sonia Szogan-Etkin (copies from YV).
10. AK-IPN, SO Kr, 433, pp. 175–176, 192–193, sentencja wyroku.

PREUSSISCH STARGARD

The subcamp in Preussisch Stargard (prewar: Stargard; postwar: Starogard Gdański, both in Poland) was formed in March 1942. No archival materials on the camp's establishment have survived, and there is no accurate information about its organization and operation.¹

The only source providing information on the detachment's operation is the testimony given during trial at Gdańsk District Court in 1947 by two SS men of the same rank, SS-Unterscharführer Gustav Eberle and Erich Jassen, who supervised the prisoners' work. Based on their testimony, we can establish the period in which the detachment operated, from March to at least October 1942. SS-Unterscharführer Gustav Eberle was sent to Preussisch Stargard in March 1942 with a group of 150 prisoners. The prisoners were hired out to a construction company (name unknown) to build a road between Preussisch Stargard and Gutowiec (possibly Schwarzwasser). The company provided housing and food for the subcamp's staff and prisoners. The camp was located in Preussisch Stargard. When they had completed their job in the Preussisch Stargard region, the prisoners were moved on

toward Czersk, where until October 1942 they continued building the road in the vicinity of Łąg (German: Königsried) and Gutowiec (German: Gutenwirt).²

SS-Unterscharführer Erich Jassen and six other SS men were assigned to the detachment in Preussisch Stargard in August 1942.³ Both Eberle and Jassen were tried as defendants at the Gdańsk District Court in November 1947 and were sentenced to 10 years in prison.⁴

SOURCES The following sources contain information on the Preussisch Stargard subcamp: AK-IPN, SO Gd, 85, akta sprawy karnej przeciwko N. Dirnbergerowi i innym; 86, sentencje wyroków; AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIE, SS staff personnel files; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979); M. Gliński, "Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939–9 maja 1945)," *StZeMu*, no. 3 (1979); and Marek Orski, *Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945* (Gdańsk, 1999).

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trans. Gerald Majka

NOTES

1. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 290.
2. AMS, Catalog No. I-IE-165, personnel files of SS man Gustav Eberle; AK-IPN, SO Gd, 85, p. 119, testimony of SS-Unterscharführer Gustav Eberle at 1947 trial in Gdańsk.
3. AK-IPN, SO Gd, 85, p. 117, testimony of SS-Unterscharführer Erich Jassen at 1947 trial in Gdańsk.
4. AK-IPN, SO Gd, 86.

PRÖBBERNAU

The subcamp at Pröbberнау (later Przerbno) was formed near Stutthof for the construction of a dike on the Vistula Bay side of the peninsula. The first documented references to the detachment are from October 31, 1939. The camp commandant's report for the Danzig Gestapo on Polish prisoner Jan Hryncewicz contained information on his labor assignment at the Pröbberнау subcamp from October 31 to December 15, 1939.

The camp's first commandant was named Lenau. No information on him has survived in the Stutthof camp staff personnel records. He was probably removed from his position for alcohol abuse and illegal dealings with the company building the dikes. He was less brutal toward the prisoners than the second commandant, SS-Unterscharführer Franz Mielenz, a man with sadistic tendencies. Mielenz served as commandant from September 24, 1940, to April 1941. The prisoners were supervised by SS men. The commandant and guard staff were quartered in a farm owner's building.

The prisoners who arrived in the first transport to Pröbbernau were initially housed in a township shed. The group was taken to its destination in trucks and probably numbered from one to several dozen prisoners. Their first job was to build the camp, to quickly put up a living-quarters barrack, farm buildings, and sanitary facilities, and to fence in the entire site with barbed wire. The camp was designed for a maximum of 200 to 300 prisoners. Approximately 200 people lived there on average. It was located on the leased part of a farm near the Evangelical cemetery. The first work erecting new levees was begun only upon the arrival of a group of approximately 200 or 300 prisoners from the Neufahrwasser camp in early November 1939; they were Poles arrested in Gdingen (later Gotenhafen, then Gdynia) in mid-September 1939.¹

The prisoners were hired out to Deichverband des Kreises Elbing (the Elbląg company Dike Unit of Elbing District). Four engineering foremen from the company were in charge of the work. The work consisted of raising levees—carting in wheelbarrows of sand, building an embankment, and reinforcing it with sod. The prisoners who worked building the embankment stood waist deep in cold water. They were hurried on and beaten during work by the guards and especially by a foreman named Aleksy, who, according to a witness account, “always tried to outdo the guards in cruelty, with a bat, and a gnarly one at that, whether it be at morning roll call, or at work, beating prisoners himself and inciting the guards to beat them.”²

The living conditions in the camp, especially the food, were as poor as at the main camp. The prisoners slept directly on the floor, strewn with a fresh, clean layer of straw, which was covered by canvas. Each prisoner had one blanket. The company to which the prisoners were hired out provided food, but the daily food rations were inadequate, and moreover the kitchen’s chief cheated the prisoners in their rations, selling scraps of food such as potato and rutabaga peels to the local farmer as feed. There was no infirmary in the camp. More serious illnesses were treated at the hospital in Stutthof.

Hungry prisoners searched on their own for other sources of sustenance, availing themselves of nearby farms. At first the local population tried to supplement the prisoners’ diet by bringing food such as bread into the camp, but the commandant quickly prohibited that. For a while, the families of the Pröbbernau prisoners also provided them with food. In extreme instances, determined prisoners decided to escape. One attempt, in which two persons were involved, ended with the fugitives being caught. During a special roll call, those prisoners were shot before the eyes of the entire detachment.³

The work at Pröbbernau was halted with the coming of winter 1939, when the cold weather made the work impossible. Most of the prisoners were sent back to Stutthof on December 15, 1939.⁴

A group of approximately 50 prisoners was kept at Pröbbernau; they probably did additional work to protect the levee during the winter, under the supervision of company engineers. The detachment was reactivated on April 18, 1940, according to assignments to Pröbbernau noted in the prisoners’

files. Recruitment for the labor was done at the Stutthof camp. The 203 prisoners were sent on foot to Pröbbernau, about 18 kilometers (11 miles) from Stutthof. The group included many prisoners who were emaciated and unfit to do the hard physical labor of raising the levees. Many of them died at Pröbbernau. When the construction foreman complained, 50 of the weakest prisoners were sent back to Stutthof a day later. The population was replenished by additional prisoner transports sent to Pröbbernau from Stutthof as needed.⁵

The housing, sanitary, and food conditions were basically unchanged in this second season. The prisoners occupied the same barrack as in 1939. Sanitary conditions were better than those at the Stutthof camp. Although the toilets were still outside, on Sunday afternoons the prisoners were escorted to bathe in the sea about 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) from camp. The food most often consisted of unpeeled potatoes and codfish heads. Sometimes pea soup was issued. Because of the prevailing hunger, after a while the prisoners were allowed to receive food packages. By September 29, 1940, the camp population had dropped to 129 prisoners due to the high death rate. There was no infirmary at the camp, even though special space had been designated for a doctor’s office, and there was a doctor, Julian Węgrzynowicz, in the detachment. The doctor had no other medical supplies at his disposal than aspirin and paper bandages. His job was just to determine what condition a patient was in, while the commandant made the treatment decisions. From time to time, the sickest people were sent to the hospital at Stutthof, and new prisoners were brought in.⁶

Several prisoners attempted to escape from the camp. The first attempt was in June 1940 by a prisoner named Moško. He was caught a few hours later because he had taken a bad escape route toward Kahlberg (later Łysica, then Krynica Morska), where he was beaten by SS men and escorted back to the camp. If the escape had been successful, 10 other prisoners were to be put to death. After another unsuccessful attempt by the same prisoner, the SS men tortured him to death. His body was buried outside the camp fence. In vain, 3 other prisoners attempted to get out of the camp; all the escapes ended badly for the fugitives. They were caught and sent back to Stutthof, where they were put to death publicly. The only escape that was successful was by camp carpenter Czesław Majewski on September 26, 1940, partly because he had taken a long time to plan his escape route carefully.⁷

The work at Pröbbernau ended on December 19, 1940, due to severe frost, just as the year before, and the basic group of prisoners was sent back to Stutthof, except for 50 persons moved directly to do similar labor at the Zeyersniederkampen subcamp.⁸

There is no archival information on whether the detachment was reactivated in subsequent years. However, the accounts and testimony of former prisoners show that groups of prisoners were sent to Pröbbernau, as well as to Zeyersniederkampen, Terranova (later Nowakowo) on the Nogat River to do the same work in 1944 and perhaps even earlier.⁹ The work erecting the levee was continued by a youth camp

(*Jugendlager*), of which nothing else is known, located next to the Pröbberna subcamp site.

SOURCES Primary sources on the Pröbberna subcamp include AK-IPN Gd, protokoły przesłuchania świadków (Franciszek Adamczyk); and AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III, prisoner personal files; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (vol. 5, Jan Strycharczyk; vol. 6, Julian Węgrzynowicz; vol. 10, C. Majewski; vol. 12, Antoni Dulski).

Additional information on the Pröbberna subcamp can be found in the following: ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979); *Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan*, selected and comp. Bruno Zwarra (Gdańsk, 1984); Czesław Majewski, *Ucieczka z piekła* (Kraków, 1983); Wacław Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu*, 2nd ed. (Bydgoszcz, 1984); M.E. Jezierska, “Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów,” *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992); M. Gliniński, “Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939–9 maja 1945),” *StZeMu*, no. 3 (1979); and Marek Orski, review of *Ucieczka z piekła*, by Czesław Majewski, *StZeMu*, no. 7 (1987).

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NOTES

1. *Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan*, selected and comp. Brunon Zwarra (Gdańsk, 1984), account of Franciszek Mokwiński; AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 12: 242, account of Antoni Dulski; Wacław Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu*, 2nd ed. (Bydgoszcz, 1984), pp. 52–53.

2. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 12: 242, account of Antoni Dulski; see also Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu*, pp. 54–55.

3. Zwarra, *Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan*, accounts of Franciszek Mokwiński and Jadwiga Burau.

4. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-49996, personal files of prisoner Jan Hrynciewicz; Zwarra, *Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan*, account of Franciszek Mokwiński.

5. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-43070, I-III-49965, I-III-49971, personal files of prisoners Stanisław Dziuba, Piotr Hudim, and Kazimierz Pieniazkiewicz, notes on sending additional prisoner transports to Pröbberna; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 5: 243, account of Jan Strycharczyk, and 10: 201–203, account of Czesław Majewski; Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu*, p. 52; Czesław Majewski, *Ucieczka z piekła* (Kraków, 1983), p. 103.

6. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-49884, I-III-49887, I-III-49889, personal files of prisoners Leon Wiśniewski, Andrzej Szymczak, and Jan Jonczyk; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 5: 243–247, account of Jan Strycharczyk, 6: 230–232, account of Julian Węgrzynowicz, 10: 200, account of Czesław Majewski; Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu*, pp. 51–58; Majewski, *Ucieczka z piekła*, pp. 17, 103.

7. Majewski, *Ucieczka z piekła*, pp. 8–100; Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu*, pp. 58–62; M. E. Jezierska, “Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów,” *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992): 129.

8. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-43070, I-III-49889, personal files of prisoners Stanisław Dziuba and Jan Jonczyk; Lasik, Stutthof, ac., personnel files of SS-Unterscharführer Franz

Mielenz; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 12: 252, account of Antoni Dulski; Mitura, *Za drutami Stutthofu*, p. 62.

9. AK-IPN Gd, Kppp 43/72/M, report of examination of witness Franciszek Adamczyk; Majewski, *Ucieczka z piekła*, p. 103.

ROSENBERG

The small detachment making up the Rosenberg subcamp, numbering a maximum of 10 prisoners, was formed in August 1944. Initially it numbered 9 persons, including 8 Danish prisoners.¹ A group of 20 English prisoners of war (POWs) also worked there.²

The prisoners were hired out to the owner of a sawmill in the town of Rosenberg (later Susz). SS-Unterscharführer Herbert Zills was director of the detachment and also supervised the work group of several people.³ The detachment's population was 10 in early October 1944. The Stutthof camp administration provided food as well as clothing and shoes. The only document confirming that the detachment operated is a letter sent by Commandant Zills to the Stutthof main camp clothing warehouse, dated October 6, 1944, in which he reported that he was sending 10 jackets and 10 pairs of pants back to the warehouse because they were too small. Warehouse manager SS-Unterscharführer Willy Knott initialed the letter only a week later and sent the request to be filled on October 16, 1944, ordering that just 1 jacket and 1 pair of pants be delivered to the detachment.⁴

According to the accounts of the Danish prisoners, the camp was disbanded and the prisoners sent back to Stutthof on January 19, 1945. A list of prisoner populations in the subcamps, dated January 24, 1945, states that there were 10 prisoners in the detachment when it was evacuated.⁵

SOURCES The following sources contain information on the Rosenberg subcamp: AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979); R. Andersen and H. Larsen, *Vi blev reddet denne gang* (Copenhagen, 1945); and J. Matynia, “Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof” (Ph. D. diss., Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna w Gdańsku, 1969).

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NOTES

1. R. Andersen and H. Larsen, *Vi blev reddet denne gang* (Copenhagen, 1945), p. 49.

2. Affidavit of Helge Kierulff, a prisoner of the subcamp, filed on December 9, 1965, at the Congress of the FIR in Budapest, in J. Matynia, “Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof” (Ph.D. diss., Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna w Gdańsku, 1969), pp. 118, 275.

3. AMS, Catalog No. I-IE-1366, Stutthof concentration camp staff personnel files; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 291.

4. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 143, Zills to Knott, October 6, 1944.

5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6.

RUSSOSCHIN [AKA REICHSBAHN RUSSOSCHIN]

The subcamp at Russoschin bei Praust (later Rusocin near Pruszcz Gdański) was formed on September 13, 1944.¹ The prisoners were hired out to work for the German National Railways (Deutsche Reichsbahn, DR)—thus, the camp was also called Reichsbahn Russoschin. Some 300 Jewish women were sent to Russoschin. They were mainly from Hungary and Germany. SS-Unterscharführer Willi Engler was the first camp commandant, followed by SS-Oberscharführer Konrad Döring on October 22, 1944.²

Seven SS women supervised the prisoners, as did an unknown number of railroad security guards (*Bahnschützen*). SS women candidates were employed at the German Railroad Administration in Danzig until October 1944, after which they were delegated from the Railroad Administration via the Danzig employment agency to the Stutthof concentration camp to train for guard duty at the parent camp or the subcamps for women. As railroad employees, they were subject to conscription into military duty.³

Training began at the beginning of August and lasted more or less until mid-November 1944. Most candidates were German. According to the 1945 testimony of prisoner Zofia Jackowska, 150 SS women candidates were trained over three months; 60 of them remained at the central camp, and the rest were sent to its subcamps.⁴

The training program involving the 7 SS women who were posted to Russoschin began on October 27, 1944, and lasted three weeks. A total of 60 women attended that course. According to the testimony of Elisabeth Becker and Wanda Klaff, who attended the training program, the first Schutzhaftlagerführer T. Meyer's main focus in the instruction was on the SS women's communications with the prisoners and on punishing the prisoners for any transgressions. They were strictly forbidden from talking at all with the prisoners outside of the line of duty, especially about the war. The SS women were also responsible for making sure the prisoners did not communicate with the civilian workers. Meyer ordered the SS women to force the prisoners to work using a system of punishments: taking away their food for any minor transgression and whipping them for more serious ones, with the whipping done in camp rather than at the workplace. Meyer reminded them several times of the formal ban on hitting prisoners, advising them to assign any women reluctant to work to cleanup jobs as punishment or send them to jail.⁵

The seven women assigned to Russoschin upon completing the training course were Anni Jack, Gertruda Schönhof, Marta Gryszewska, Maria Szeanińska, Klara Reichert, Elfried Hansen, and Wanda Klaff. Out of that group, Klaff was tried by the Gdańsk Special Criminal Court in 1946 (sentenced to death; the sentence was carried out on July 4, 1946, at Stollenberg hill in Gdańsk), while the Gdańsk District Court sentenced Hansen to 15 years in prison in 1947. Klaff came from a Polish family and was named Kalacińska, changing her name to Kalden when the second German National List (*Deutsche Volksliste*) group was admitted, then to Klaff, the name of her husband, a German.⁶

Approximately 50 women were put under the "care" of each SS woman. They were quartered in three wooden barracks located in the village (Gemeinschaftslager Russoschin bei Praust). The prisoners were escorted daily from the barracks to work at a railway junction or to replace sections of track. The women were hired out to work at the Reich Railways Repair Works (Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk, RAW) in Praust. They were also put to work building air-raid shelters.⁷ The work required great physical fitness and strength. Pursuant to the commandant's order, before leaving for Russoschin, the women were supposed to be equipped with adequate clothing, shoes, a towel, and soap. Reichsbahn Direktion Danzig also promised to provide additional protective clothing and agreed to mend the clothes and shoes in its own workshops. As Klaff testified at her trial, in spite of that the women worked in light clothing that put them at the mercy of the weather and endured beatings by the SS women. The commandant's correspondence with the clothing warehouse at Stutthof also confirms the inadequate state of provisions, especially supplies of warm clothing (foot wrappings, gloves, and coats).⁸

The commandant and the Stutthof staff were in charge of food supplies for the prisoners. They set up a separate kitchen for prisoners, while the commandant and SS women were assigned food pursuant to military rationing. According to Klaff's testimony, reveille was at 4:00 A.M., followed by a long roll call and a march out to work at around 6:30 A.M. The women got their first meal only at noon: a plate of potato or rutabaga soup, sometimes cooked with horsemeat. After they got back from work at about 5:30 P.M. and went through roll call, they were issued supper, consisting of 1 liter (4.2 cups) of watery potato soup and a slice of bread of about 50 grams (1.8 ounces) with a bit of jam or margarine.⁹

The hunger, the cold, the lack of medical care, and the beatings during work were the main reasons for prisoner sicknesses and deaths. There were 289 women in camp on January 24, 1945.¹⁰ Klaff's testimony at her 1946 trial shows that sick and weak Jewish women were sent to the hospital at Stutthof regularly. Selections were held every three weeks. An average of 12 persons were taken away to Stutthof after each selection. But the figures recorded during an examination conducted on June 18, 1945, by an investigative officer of the Gdańsk Province Public Security Agency were significantly higher: selections were held every two weeks, and from

15 to 20 Jewish women were sent to Stutthof following that selection.¹¹ There are no figures on the death rate in the camp, so it is not possible to establish how many deaths occurred on the camp premises and how many at the Stutthof hospital, where the sick women were sent. The commandant's correspondence with the Stutthof camp administration shows that the maximum working population of 300 prisoners was maintained through early January. This is evidenced by such things as the commandant's ordering the delivery of double sets of strips of material for prisoner numbers for prisoners to wear, a total of 600 items.¹²

The subcamp was disbanded around February 12, 1945. The evacuation of the subcamp at Praust had begun a day earlier. That camp's prisoners, 800 women, joined the group of 289 women evacuated from Russoschin. Together they began their march toward Lauenburg that same day. The camp population report dated February 13, 1945, removed the prisoner counts of the Praust and Russoschin camps from the Stutthof camp records, a total of 1,089 persons, who had been registered as evacuees the day before. Both camps' inmates shared the same fate. Klaff, who escorted the Jewish women to Lauenburg, testified that all 300 women [*sic*] reached their destination, but 60 percent of them died in evacuation camps due to disease, starvation, or lack of medical aid.¹³

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention this camp include "SS-Frauen-megery ze Stutthofu," *DB*, April 28, 1946; M. Orski, *Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945* (Gdańsk, 1999). This subcamp is also mentioned in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 265; and ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 291.

Primary sources for this camp may be found in AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 53, records of the criminal case against Elfriede Hansen; sygn. 81a, materials of preliminary investigation into the Stutthof camp collected by Judge Antoni Zachariasiewicz; SSK Gd, sygn. 418, records of criminal case against Wanda Klaff; AMS, sygn. I-IB-3, Sonderbefehle, Kommandanturbe-
fehle; sygn. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; sygn. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies.

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NOTES

1. AMS, sygn. I-IB-3, pp. 177–180, Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung der Aussenarbeitslager Russoschin bei Praust und Bromberg-Ost, September 12, 1944.

2. AMS, sygn. I-IB-3, Sinderbefehle, Kommandanturbe-
fehle, no. 71, October 22, 1944.

3. AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 53, records of criminal case against Elfriede Hansen; SSK Gd, sygn. 418, records of criminal case against Wanda Klaff; M. Orski, *Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945* (Gdańsk, 1999), pp. 279–281.

4. AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 81a, p. 68, records collected by Gdańsk District Court Judge Antoni Zachariasiewicz.

5. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, sygn. 418, pp. 19–21, 65, reports of examinations of defendants, 1946 testimony of Wanda Klaff and Elizabeth Becker, as well as that included in the stenographic record of the main trial (sygn. 423); and "SS-Frauen-megery ze Stutthofu," *DB*, April 28, 1946.

6. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, sygn. 418, pp. 16–18, report of examination of Wanda Klaff.

7. *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 265; and ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 291.

8. AMS, sygn. I-IVH-7, pp. 147, 149.

9. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, sygn. 418, pp. 21–22, W. Klaff's testimony; "SS-Frauen-megery ze Stutthofu."

10. AMS, sygn. I-IIIB-6.

11. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, sygn. 418, p. 23.

12. AMS, sygn. I-IVH-7, p. 118, Döring to Knott at the Bekleidungskammer, January 2, 1945.

13. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, sygn. 418, pp. 25–26, Wanda Klaff's 1945 testimony.

SCHIPPENBEIL

The Schippenbeil subcamp was formed on September 21, 1944, along with four other identically organized camps at nearby Luftwaffe airfields (Gerdauen, Heiligenbeil, Jesau, and Seerappen). A day later the first transport of 1,000 Jewish prisoners, including 900 women and 100 men, was sent to Schippenbeil (later Sepopol).¹ That population increased when 250 more Jewish women were sent to Schippenbeil on October 9, 1944.² A maximum total of 1,250 people lived at the camp.

SS-Unterscharführer Kurt Weinert held the post of camp commander until October 17, followed on October 18 by SS-Hauptscharführer Erich Meissel.³ Some 46 Luftwaffe soldiers (including some from General Andrei Vlasov's Ukrainian formations) made up the guard unit at the airfield, while 6 guards at fixed posts in the camp watched over the camp buildings; 2 SS women, Gertrud Reinhold and Anny-Lotte Schmidt, assigned to Schippenbeil on October 11, 1944, supervised the Jewish women.⁴

Most of the Jewish women were young and came from Hungary, Poland (the Łódź ghetto), and Austria. Housing, sanitary conditions, and food were no different from those at the other subcamps located at Luftwaffe airfields. The German Labor Front (DAF) kitchen on the airfield's premises provided all the prisoners' daily food. The Stutthof concentration camp administration supplied clothing and shoes. In early November 1944, the commander sent a request to Stutthof, saying the subcamp needed footwear and materials for mending clothes, as well as paint to stamp numbers and 1,100 strips of material to number prisoners. The order was filled a month later. Subsequent surviving reports from December

1944 concerned the urgent delivery of winter clothing to Schippenbeil (jackets, coats, pullovers, vests, woolen trousers, stockings). The deliveries were not made on time and did not contain everything that had been ordered, such as a package sent on December 22, 1944, that only contained mending materials but not ready-to-use clothing and shoes.⁵

These conditions have been confirmed by the local population, which sometimes happened to encounter the Jewish women from Stutthof concentration camp. Anna Krause of Stopki (Schtolzenfeld), approximately 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) from Schippenbeil, testified that she saw a group of about 200 Jewish women from Schippenbeil. The women were ragged and barefoot.⁶ Another witness, a prisoner of war (POW) put to work in Schippenbeil, said that Jews (men—but could refer to women as well) were put to work at the station unloading cement: “the sight of them was terrible: they were more like corpses than living people; that’s how wasted and ragged they were.” He also confirmed the brutal attitude of the guards toward the women. One day he witnessed a Jewish woman being forcefully struck in the back by a gun butt for picking up some pomace from the ground; she fell down and could not get back up on her own.⁷

The prisoners worked at a large Luftwaffe military airfield. It had been built during the war as a base for Hitler’s quarters at Görlitz near Rastenburg. Intensive expansion work was begun on it in 1944. The project was supervised by the Organisation Todt (OT), which with the help of the DAF had set up numerous labor camps for the forced laborers and POWs in the region, including Polish and Russian POWs.⁸

The poor housing conditions, starvation food rations, and lack of adequate clothing contributed to the subcamp’s exceptionally high prisoner death rate (especially in January 1945, with over 50 percent of all the recorded deaths), which is confirmed by the surviving source materials. The death figures based on the death reports that the commander sent to Abteilung III, Arbeitseinsatz, refer to the period between November 4, 1944, and January 7, 1945, and list 62 people, all women.⁹ There are additional death rate figures in the hospital death records in prisoner files; 7 other deaths were established based upon those records.¹⁰

In late October and early November 1944, the camp population dropped by 150 and totaled 1,100 (figures from a report by the subcamp’s commander) due to prisoners dying or being sent to the hospital at Stutthof. By January 24, 1945, the camp numbered only 947 prisoners, including 96 men and 851 women.¹¹ The difference between the population of September 1944 and that of late January 1945 was 303, the majority of which constituted prisoner deaths.

The dead were buried in the town or nearby in the woods, in such places as a common grave holding a dozen or so bodies exhumed after the war at what became Mostowa Ulica, where the SS command was located during the war.¹² Other accounts say that the SS shot Jewish women in the woods near the town in January just prior to evacuation. Their bodies were carted to a pile, doused with gasoline, and burned.¹³ They were probably the victims of a selection associated with

the camp’s evacuation, in which the sick and weakest prisoners were put to death.

The camp evacuation began on the night of January 21–22, 1945, as the prisoners were sent toward Königsberg, and its history was analogous to that of the other Luftwaffe subcamps in East Prussia.¹⁴

SOURCES Information on this camp may be found in the following sources: AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports (Czesław Bartoszek, Anna Krause, Sępólno [*sic*—Sępopol]); AMS, sygn. [Catalog No.] I-IB-3, Sonderbefehle, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-III, prisoner files; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp’s population; Catalog No. I-IIID-8, reports on prisoner deaths at the subcamp; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Catalog No. I-VB-7, hospital (*Krankenbau*) records; *Ze znakiem «P»*. *Relacje i wspomnienia z robót przymusowych w Prusach Wschodnich w latach II wojny światowej*; G. Borowski, *Z kart historii Sępólna*, quoted from www.sepopol.wim.pl, the official Web site of the city and township of Sępopol.

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NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, pp. 189–192, Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung der Aussenarbeitslager Gerdaunen, Schippenbeil, Jesau, Heiligenbeil, und Seerappen.
2. Ibid., p. 208, Kommandanturbefehle, no. 68, dated October 9, 1944.
3. Ibid., p. 219, no. 70, dated October 17, 1944.
4. Ibid., no. 68, dated October 11, 1944.
5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, pp. 154a–158.
6. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Ds. 3/66, witness examination report (Sępólno [*sic*—Sępopol]).
7. Ibid., report of examination of witness Czesław Bartoszek (Sępólno [*sic*—Sępopol]).
8. Ibid.; G. Borowski, *Z kart historii Sępólna*, quoted from www.sepopol.wim.pl.
9. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-IIID-8, I-VB-7.
10. These figures concern deaths registered between November 2 and January 6, 1944. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-23537, I-III-24663, I-III-24751, I-III-30884, I-III-53991, I-III-55452, I-III-55539, I-III-84860.
11. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6.
12. Borowski, *Z kart historii Sępólna*.
13. Account of forced laborer Łucja Krukowska, in *Ze znakiem «P»*. *Relacje i wspomnienia z robót przymusowych w Prusach Wschodnich w latach II wojny światowej*, Olsztyn 1985, pp. 160–161.
14. See Heiligenbeil, no. 33.

SCHÖNWARLING

Two prisoner labor detachments were set up in the town of Schönwarling (later Skowarcz) in 1940–1941 and 1944. In both instances, the prisoners were hired out to the construction company of Aloysius Dehlert, Tief-, u. Strassenbau of Danzig, which operated one or more gravel pits in Schönwarling.

A detachment was established for the first time in 1940. According to the account of Jan Gdaniec, a Polish prisoner from Danzig, approximately 50 Poles were sent to Schönwarling from the Stutthof camp and probably the Danzig-Matzkau camp in May 1940. They were put to work in two gravel pits. The prisoners were quartered with a local farmer. Two SS men supervised them. Gdaniec was moved to Danzig-Matzkau in January 1941, then to the Stutthof camp, and from there to Sachsenhausen concentration camp (see Stutthof/Danzig-Matzkau and Sachsenhausen).¹ The detachment probably continued to operate on a smaller scale. Another group of prisoners was sent to Schönwarling from the Grenz-dorf and Stutthof camps between February 2 and June 11, 1941.² The subsidiary was still operating in the summer of 1941, as confirmed by staff member Otto Arnold at his 1947 trial in Toruń.³

Another subsidiary with 15 prisoners (Aussenkommando der Bauleitung in Schönwarling) was formed in Schönwarling on November 7, 1943, at the Dehlert company gravel pit. There is no accurate information available on how the camp was organized, the members of the guard staff, or the prisoners' living conditions. The company was in charge of providing housing and food. The detachment existed until late August 1944 and mined the gravel the company needed in its business. The first prisoner to escape from the detachment was Aleksander Skrzypczyk on November 28, 1943. After an investigation held two days later, the fugitive was captured in Gdynia and reincarcerated at the camp on August 9, 1944. No information is available on Skrzypczyk's punishment or eventual fate.⁴

An order by headquarters dated October 17, 1944, states that five more prisoners escaped from Schönwarling on August 24, 1944. They were not caught after two days of searching. The commander punished SS-Rottenführer Paul Wolff with three weeks of close arrest "because he allowed five prisoners to escape from the external construction detachment facilities at Schönwarling the night of August 24, 1944, and they ran away [from camp]."⁵

The detachment was disbanded as a consequence of the escape and the other prisoners were returned to the Stutthof camp. According to the organizers of the escape, it occurred the night of August 21–22 and was only reported to the camp two days later as occurring on the later date.⁶

SOURCES The following sources were consulted in writing this entry, in addition to those used in "Stutthof Subcamp System": AK-IPN, SOT, Catalog No. 88, records of criminal case against Otto Arnold; AMS, Catalog Nos. I-IB2, I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-III-, prisoner personal files; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Jerzy Piotrowski, vol. 24; Bolesław Sugier, vol. 26); *Gdańsk 1939. Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan*, selected and comp. Bruno Zwarra, (Gdańsk, 1984); M. E. Jezierska, "Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów," *StZeMu*, no. 10 (1992).

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NOTES

1. *Gdańsk 1939. Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan*, selected and comp. Bruno Zwarra (Gdańsk, 1984), p. 162.

2. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-49884, I-III-50042, I-III-50116, I-III-50244, personal files of prisoners Leon Wiśniewski, Eugeniusz Nowicki, Stanisław Lenard, and Marian Kamiński; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 293.

3. AK-IPN, SOT, Catalog No. 88, pp. 18–19, report of examination of O. Arnold.

4. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-13960, personal files of prisoner Aleksander Skrzypczyk.

5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-2, p. 10, Kommandanturbefehle, no. 79, dated November 6, 1943; Catalog No. I-IB-3, p. 312, Kommandanturbefehle, no. 70, dated October 17, 1944.

6. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 24: 100–111, account of Jerzy Piotrowski; 26: 232–260, account of Bolesław Sugier.

SEERAPPEN

One of the five subcamps formed at the Luftwaffe airfields in East Prussia was set up in the town of Seerappen (later Lyub-lino in Russia). The four other Stutthof subcamps at Luftwaffe airfields were Gerdauen, Heiligenbeil, Jesau, and Schippenbeil. The Seerappen airfield was the Luftwaffe's main operational base for air attacks against the USSR's northern regions. The subcamp began operating upon the arrival of the first transport of 1,000 prisoners, composed of 900 women and 100 men, on September 21, 1944. Another transport of 200 Jewish women was sent on October 9, 1944.¹ These prisoners, who were Jews from the Łódź and Wilna (Vilnius) ghettos, Hungary, and Slovakia, came to Stutthof from the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp.²

SS-Unterscharführer Kurt Dietrich was the camp's commandant initially, followed by SS-Oberscharführer Hans Kauffeldt on October 17, 1944. Some 46 Luftwaffe soldiers supervised the prisoners as they worked at the airfield, while 6 guards from the airfield staff watched over them in camp, joined by 2 SS women from the Stutthof camp, Charlotte Fregin and Gerda Kunath, on October 11, 1944.³

The prisoners were put to work on construction projects supervised by the Organisation Todt (OT), building roads and digging anti-aircraft trenches, in the airfield area. Work lasted between 10 and 12 hours a day regardless of the weather.⁴ The conditions in the camp can be described, based on the partially surviving correspondence on prisoner provisioning between the commandant and the Stutthof camp administration. The correspondence confirms the disastrously low supply of work clothes and winter attire for the prisoners and that the detachment was generally unprepared to go to Seerappen.⁵

The first reports came to Stutthof as early as October 9, 1944. Seerappen's commandant requested the urgent delivery of primarily materials to mend clothes and shoes—hemp

twine, thread, and cobbler's wax. In his report of October 26, 1944, he requested the delivery of warm winter clothing, underwear, and more tools and materials for mending clothes. The number of female prisoners stayed the same until mid-November 1944, as confirmed by the number of clothing articles ordered (1,100 pairs of gloves and stockings).⁶

Subsequent reports dating from December 1944 and January 1945 requested mending materials, since the central warehouses could not provide new or used clothing or footwear. Orders of clothing and shoes were filled in smaller amounts, and some items such as men's socks and women's stockings were not filled at all. Out of the 1,950 items or pairs of clothing and shoes the commandant had ordered in his letter of January 11, 1945, not quite 1,100 were sent, including just 50 pairs of shoes instead of 500.

Under these conditions, the camp's population gradually dropped, reaching 1,009 prisoners (925 women and 84 men) just before the evacuation, which began on January 20, 1945.⁷ The difference of 91 prisoners since late October 1944 was accounted for by fatalities or sick prisoners sent to the hospital at Stutthof. No figures on deaths at the subcamp and no information on transports sent to Stutthof are available. The food in camp was prepared by a kitchen set up by the subcamp's management; medical care was provided by a prisoner doctor.

The camp's evacuation to Königsberg (see Stutthof/Königsberg) and then to Palmnicken resulted in numerous casualties. It is not known how large a group from Seerappen survived the massacre on the beach in Palmnicken (see Stutthof/Heiligenbeil).

SOURCES The following sources were consulted in writing this entry, in addition to those sources that are mentioned in the "Stutthof Subcamp System" entry: AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Sonderbefehl, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population, January 1945; Catalog Nos. I-IVH-5, I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; AŽIH, witness examination reports of Fryda Gabrylewicz.

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, pp. 189–192, 208, Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung der Aussenarbeitslager Gerdauen, Schippenbeil, Jesau, Heiligenbeil und Seerappen, September 21, 1944; Kommandanturbefehle, no. 68, dated October 9, 1944.

2. AŽIH, Catalog No. 1150, report of examination of witness Fryda Gabrylewicz (AMS, microfilm 215).

3. AMS, Kommandanturbefehle, no. 68, dated October 9, 1944.

4. AŽIH, Catalog No. 1150, report of examination of witness Fryda Gabrylewicz (AMS, microfilm 215).

5. AŽIH, Catalog No. I-IVH-7.

6. Ibid., p. 153, Kauffeldt to Verwaltung KL Stutthof, dated October 26, 1944; Catalog No. I-IVH-5, p. 140, Kauffeldt to Verwaltung KL Stutthof, dated November 11, 1944.

7. AŽIH, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

STEEGEN

Female and male prisoners, ranging in number from a handful to 30, were hired out for woodcutting to the Oberforstamt Steegen or Oberförsterei Steegen (Steegen Forest Management Agency) in October 1942. On average, there were approximately 14 people in each detachment. The camp administration earned 1,530 Reichsmark (RM) for their labor.¹ The prisoners were probably quartered in Steegen (later Stegna) in barracks belonging to the agency.

Prisoners continued to be hired out for woodcutting on Oberforstamt Steegen lands in 1943. A work allocation (*Arbeitsseinsatz*) report dated May 16, 1943, lists a female woodcutting detachment scheduled for the next day.² There are no other records on the subject except for notes in the registers of changes in the barracks.

In the autumn of 1944, 30 Norwegian policemen were put to work in a group called Forsterei I, logging trees in the Steegen forest. A Forsterei II group was put to work hauling tree trunks into the Vistula River. The wood was to be used to build bunkers and trenches on the Eastern Front, but it never reached its destination due to shipping problems and military developments—that is, the swift progress of the Russian offensive.³

A much smaller subcamp began operating in Steegen for the first time in September and October 1942. The prisoners were hired out to Unterdeichverband (Dike Subunit) Steegen, which did such work as raising and reinforcing levees in the Steegen area. The company was a division of Deichverband des Kreises Elbing (Dike Unit of Elbing District) and had previously put prisoners to work raising and maintaining levees along the Vistula Bay and Nogat River. The Unterdeichverband detachment in Steegen was composed of about eight prisoners.⁴

A group of four to six prisoners were put to work again in June and July of 1943, then again in September. The levee reinforcement was seasonal work, and it resumed every year under a special contract with the Stutthof camp headquarters. Prisoners were put to work as helpers, for which the camp administration was paid 4 RM per day for each prisoner's work. The camp administration received 1,024 RM in 1943 for 256 man-hours of labor.⁵

The detachment was reactivated in August 1944.

SOURCES The following sources were consulted: AMS, Catalog Nos. I-IIIB-1-2-3-4-5, Veränderungsbücher; Catalog No. I-IVB-9, list of camp receivables for prisoner labor; O.R. Walle, *Norsk politi bak piggetrad* (Oslo, 1946).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-2, Veränderungsbücher, Veränderungen im Block II; Catalog No. I-IVB-9, list of camp receivables for prisoner labor; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter*

dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten (Arolsen, 1979), p. 294.

2. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-A-7, pp. 197–198.

3. O.R. Walle, *Norsk politi bak piggetrad* (Oslo, 1946), pp. 177–178.

4. AMS, Catalog No. I-VB-2, *Veränderungsbücher, Veränderungen im Block II*.

5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVB-9, list of camp receivables for prisoner labor; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten*, p. 294.

STOLP

The subcamp at Stolp (later Słupsk) was formed pursuant to a special order by the commandant of Stutthof concentration camp dated August 26, 1944.¹ Prisoners were hired out to the Reich Railway Repair Works in Stolp in Pomerania province. The Stolp repair shops were a division of the works in the German town of Eberswalde. The Germans sent 621 Jewish prisoners to Stolp, 239 women and 382 men. They were mainly from Estonia and Lithuania, but some were from Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Germany. One Polish doctor, Lech Duszyński, was also included in the transport.

Another prisoner transport was sent on October 28, 1944, with 20 Jewish boys from the Łódź ghetto who were supposed to learn metalworking in Stolp. They were put in the Stolp subcamp under an order of Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) Chief Richard Glücks, dated October 17, 1944.²

SS-Hauptscharführer Julius Sakowski became camp commandant. Railroad security personnel served guard duty during work and in the prisoner housing camp. SS woman Margarete Ritscher was assigned to supervise the women. Pursuant to the commandant's order, the prisoners were to be equipped for the trip with new clothing and shoes, as well as towels, soap, table utensils, and spoons. The railroad administration agreed to issue protective clothing with a red cross for dirty work.

The men and boys were put to work in the railroad shops, and the women worked at modernizing and repairing the railroad tracks, as well as digging antitank ditches outside town. The group of men sent to Stolp consisted predominantly of tradesmen who were specially brought in on August 9, 1944, in a transport of 400 people from the Kaiserwald concentration camp near Riga, where they had worked at rolling stock repairs. Some of them were put to work at the subcamp in Königsberg (see Stutthof/Königsberg).³ In Stolp, they labored chiefly in the car shop and repairing rolling stock.

The labor that the women did was considerably harder; they cleaned the shops, repaired the tracks, and dug fortification trenches. They were often forced to carry large, heavy pieces. The Jewish women were abused while doing this work; they were beaten for no reason. Forced to stand in the open during hours-long roll calls, arbitrary beatings, and hunger also tormented them. The men in skilled-worker positions at the railroad shops were better protected from persecution by SS men, but their work exposed them to the risk of physical injuries because work safety rules were not observed.⁴

The prisoners were housed in railroad buildings: the men in the car shop, where they slept on quadruple-decker bunks; the women, in the gymnasium. The railroad provided food; a special group of prisoners prepared meals. The food was extremely inadequate; the only food that prisoners ate, besides a daily bowl of soup, was a loaf of bread shared among several people. Dr. Duszyński provided medical care until he left to fill the same position at a Gotenhafen (Gdynia) subcamp on October 14, 1944; he was replaced by a German-Jewish surgeon, Dr. Gaspari.⁵

Despite the orders by Stutthof's commandant to supply prisoners with adequate clothing and shoes before they left for Stolp, their situation was not good at all. Only a small group of prisoners received a change of underwear in August 1944; 100 people needed their wooden shoes replaced immediately; the rest had shoes that were urgently in need of repair. In his report for August 26 to September 18, 1944, Commandant Sakowski requested the delivery of clothing and footwear, plus materials to mend them, as well as towels.⁶ Notes made on the forms show that the orders were only partially filled.

On September 4, 1944, the camp was visited by SS-Hauptsturmführer Paul Ehle from headquarters staff, commander of two guard companies, the 2nd and the 3rd. No report of the inspection has survived, however. The reason for the inspection was the inadequate state of prisoner clothing and shoe supplies. Footwear was a serious problem, especially for those prisoners who worked at earthmoving, because of the moisture and clay. Many prisoners' shoes were worn out after just a few weeks of work. Without waiting for a late shipment from the Stutthof camp, the company's headquarters in Eberswalde bought 100 pairs of shoes for 600 Reichsmark (RM), charging the amount to the Stutthof camp administration.⁷

In his next report dated October 14, 1944, Commandant Sakowski ordered the delivery of winter clothing and towels for a third of the prisoners, as well as one set of underwear for each, as underwear wore out quickly due to the hard labor. Sakowski's statistics on the subcamp show that the population dropped by two at that time: one Jewish woman died, and Dr. Duszyński was assigned to a subcamp in Gotenhafen.⁸

Following October 27, 1944, when 40 boys aged 10 and 11 were sent to Stolp from the Łódź ghetto, the camp population rose to 659, including 238 women and 381 men. The older prisoners took the boys under their care; for instance, each prisoner foreman took care of a boy, providing him with extra food if possible. Those among the boys who already knew a bit about metalworking made usable metal items, such as penknives, rings, necklaces, and pendants. They then sold them for pieces of bread to the camp's prisoners to supplement the regular camp rations.⁹

One public execution took place in the camp in late 1944. According to Chaim Kozieniecki, the prisoners had been accused of stealing tobacco products from railway cars. An all-day roll call was held in the falling snow, and traces of tobacco were found on 5 prisoners, who were hanged the next day.

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with the entire camp present.¹⁰ Other sources state that between 8 and 10 prisoners were hanged, while the real perpetrators (who stole food packages and tobacco) were actually German railroad employees who crashed railway cars in order to rob them.

There were 640 prisoners living in camp on January 24, 1945, including 402 men and 238 women.¹¹ That figure does not allow for the prisoners who had been hanged; presumably the report on the matter did not reach the Stutthof camp in time. There were a total of 642 prisoners who had been sent to the Stolp subcamp throughout its operation, including 1 replacement for a Jewish woman who had died in camp.

In January and February 1945, prisoners from the camp were put to work in jobs associated with the construction of antitank ditches in the town. The camp's evacuation began in late February 1945. The columns of prisoners were sent to the empty camp in Danzig-Burggraben (in the town of Koko-szki), then to the camp in Stutthof. Their evacuation continued by sea in April 1945.¹²

SOURCES The following sources were consulted in writing this essay, including those sources mentioned in the entry for "Stutthof Subcamp System." AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Sonderbefehle, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; Catalog Nos. I-IVH-5, I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Chaim Kozienicki [sic Kozienicki]); O.M. Pickholz-Barnitsch, "Więźniowie żydowscy w KL Stutthof," *RaHasb* 3 (1964); AI, record of the account of Lech Duszyński, (subcamp at Stolp); D. Drywa, *Podoboz (Aussenarbeitslager) KL Stutthof dla więźniów narodowości żydowskiej* (in print; typescript at AMS); J. Matynia, "Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof" (Ph.D. diss., Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna w Gdańsku, 1969); M. Orski, *Eksterminacja Żydów przez pracę w KL Stutthof, w obozie macierzystym i w podobozach*. International Session Materials: *Losy Żydów w regionie nadbałtyckim 1939–1945*, (Sztutowo, 1994); Z. Szultka, "Jeszcze o podobozie KL Stutthof w Słupsku," *ZapKos* 3 (1968); T. Wolski, "Podobóz «Aussenkommando Stolp» w Słupsku," in *Zbrodnie hitlerowskie na ziemi koszalińskiej w latach 1939–1945* (Koszalin, 1968); official Web site of the city of Słupsk, at www.slupsk.pl/Historia.

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trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, pp. 163–164, Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung des Aussenarbeitslager Stolp, August 25, 1944.
2. Ibid., p. 230, Kommandanturbefehle, no. 72, dated October 27, 1944; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (recollections of Chaim Kozienicki, typescript, no catalog no.).
3. O.M. Pickholz-Barnitsch, "Więźniowie żydowscy w KL Stutthof," *RaHasb* (1964) (in AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 3: 150).
4. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, recollections of Chaim Kozienicki.
5. AMS, Catalog No. I-VB-1, Namensverzeichnis der im Häftlingskrankenbau beschäftigten Aerzte und Pfleger, Stutthof, October 15, 1944; AI, record of the account of Lech Duszyński (subcamp at Słupsk).

6. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 179.

7. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-5, pp. 87, 111, 113, Reichsbahn Ausbesserungswerk Eberswalde, Werkabt. Stolp do Kommandantur des Konzentrationslagers Stutthof, dated October 5 and 23, 1944.

8. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 180; and Catalog No. I-IVH-5, p. 119, I Schutzhaftlagerführer to Verwaltung KL Stutthof, dated October 27, 1944, collective report on supplies of clothing and shoes for the subcamp; AI, record of the account of Lech Duszyński (subcamp at Słupsk).

9. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, recollections of Chaim Kozienicki.

10. Ibid.

11. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population.

12. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, recollections of Chaim Kozienicki; letter, Ahron Zavadsky to the Stutthof Museum, January 17, 1994.

THORN (OT) (WITH SUBCOMMANDS)

[AKA BAUKOMMANDO "WEICHSEL"]

Construction detachment Baukommando "Weichsel" was a complex of camps under the overall supervision of the Organisation Todt (OT) office in Thorn (Toruń). The commandant of Stutthof formed the new subcamp on August 24, 1944, in reaction to a request from the OT, which needed workers for a series of construction projects—mostly military—along the Vistula River.¹ The subcamp's management was located at the Botten (Bocień) estate on the outskirts of Kulmsee (Chełmża).

SS-Hauptsturmführer Paul Tschesny held the post of overall camp commandant from August 24 to November 24, 1944, followed by SS-Hauptscharführer Wilhelm Totzke. SS men from the SS-Wacheinheit Lebrechtsdorf (Potulice) unit—140 in all—made up the guard staff. In addition, several officers and noncommissioned officers (NCOs) were assigned from the command staff at Stutthof to direct the subordinate detachments. It is known that SS-Hauptsturmführer Hans Jacobi and his successor SS-Sturmscharführer Wilhelm Anton headed the camps at Argenu (Gniewkowo) and then at Korben (Chorobie) between September 6 and October 5, 1944. SS-Oberscharführer Willi Tysarzik and SS-Oberscharführer Alfred Meyer assisted Tschesny in setting up the complex.²

The initial influx of prisoners consisted of 5,000 Jewish women from many European countries—mainly Hungary, Bohemia, Lithuania, Latvia, Germany, Romania, Slovakia, and Poland—who had arrived in Stutthof from Kauen (July 1944), Auschwitz (August 14 and 16, 1944), and Riga (August 9 and 23, 1944). They joined approximately 40,000 forced laborers and prisoners of war (POWs) who also worked on the project.³

The women were transported by train from Stutthof in three groups between August 24 and 26, 1944. The first group of 1,700 went to Botten; the second group, numbering 1,600,

went via Botten to Schirkenprass (Szerokopas); and the third group, numbering 1,700, went to Toruń and on to Argenau.

Before leaving Stutthof, the women received one blanket, table utensils, a towel, and soap. The camp administration was also to provide clothing and housing. Stutthof provided army tents for some prisoners, others stayed in barns, and some prisoners were later kept in cabins of thin plywood that held 35 to 40 people. The greatest problem was the lack of footwear and warm clothes. Stutthof's administration was unable or unwilling to provide better uniforms, despite many letters and reminders from the detachment directors and the supervisory office in Botten. In order to cope, women cut out woolen jackets, coats, and underwear from their blankets.⁴

The women worked the same as the other forced laborers, five days a week and on Saturdays until noon. The work—digging antitank ditches and bunkers—was exhausting. Wake-up was as early as 3:00 A.M., and work lasted until dusk. The prisoners had to march many hours to their workplaces, which were located far from the camps.⁵

When they completed their job, the extremely emaciated women from both Botten and Nagelstal were moved in late December 1944 to Groden (Grodno), about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) from Nagelstal. They were housed on the shore of Grodno Lake in plywood cabins. The Jewish women cut reeds on the lake, worked at the nearby Mirakowo (Merch) estate, or dug common graves for deceased prisoners on a peninsula in the southeast part of Grodno Lake, out of sight of the town of Grodno. The women at Argenau, meanwhile, had moved on to Korben in mid-September; their task was to dig trenches along a line from the town of Cegielnik (Ziegelwiese) to Górsk (Gurske). They lived in tents during their time there.

Conditions were extraordinarily harsh at all these camps. The exhausting work, the inadequate clothing, shelter, and food, and poor hygienic conditions killed the prisoners off directly and contributed to the spread of disease, especially spotted typhus and dysentery. Abuse by the guards made the situation still worse. According to Lajosne Fleischer of Hungary, many women died from beatings by SS men, who crushed their heads with gun butts, broke their spines, walked on their stomachs, and killed them while they worked.⁶ At Nagelstal, the guard staff—made up of approximately 60 Ukrainian and Belorussian SS men—and the commandant (whose name has not been established) displayed an exceptionally brutal attitude toward the women. Several witnesses, including one of the camp's guards, Ukrainian Władysław Kulman, testified at trial in Toruń in 1945 that five to six women died every day, in part from torment by guards; they were beaten with gun butts, locked in a water-filled basement, or forced to stand in the cold with no outerwear. One of the cruelest guards was Filipowicz from Białystok, who murdered his victims in the camp courtyard, as well as Kulman's appointees: a Russian, Klimienko (commander of the guards), and some privates named Rudenia, Bielonożko, Szwap, and Wacek. The dead were buried in the Catholic cemetery.⁷ At Argenau and Korben, the guard force consisted of 60 Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian SS men.⁸ They were no kinder.

As a result of all these factors, the death rates in the OT complex were high. Of the 3,300 women who arrived in Botten and Nagelstal in late August 1944, only 2,947 remained by October 9.⁹ The number of deaths increased in November and December; at Botten alone, 31 prisoners died between October 4 and November 30, and as many as 133 died in December. Because of the high percentage of deaths, an additional 1,000 women were sent to Botten on November 19.¹⁰ The Argenau-Korben group had dwindled from 1,700 to 1,475 by October; that number rose to slightly over 1,600 in the latter half of December after an additional transport arrived from Stutthof, but more died in the next month.¹¹ The actual number of deaths in the whole complex is impossible to calculate with any precision, however, since the records of replacement drafts from Stutthof are incomplete.

A report dated January 24, 1945, indicates a total of 3,225 prisoners in the detachments that made up Baukommando "Weichsel" before evacuation.¹² At Groden the staff conducted a selection to test the prisoners' physical condition before the evacuation began; 200 of the weakest women were excluded and later savagely put to death. The remaining women were escorted toward Lauenburg. Several selections were conducted in the course of the march, and several hundred women died as a result. Approximately 300 prisoners reached Dirschau (Tczew); another 400 got as far as Goddentow (later Godętowo) near Lauenburg (later Lębork); thus around 1,000 women died out of the approximately 1,700 from Groden.

Also on January 24, approximately 1,500 female prisoners were marched out of the Korben camp. The staff excluded 180 women from the evacuation; they were later shot; 28 of them survived the massacre. The other 1,300 or so prisoners were sent toward Bromberg (Bydgoszcz). Another 87 women were murdered during the 97-kilometer (60-mile) march to the town of Krone (Koronowo), where the survivors spent the night in the local prison. The next day, the Russians liberated 997 prisoners—the remainder had presumably died.

Only two members of the large group of SS men supervising OT Thorn were tried before Polish courts. The Toruń District Court sentenced Hans Jacobi, the commandant of Argenau and Korben, to six years in prison on May 2, 1949 (he died on August 30, 1949). The other defendant, Władysław Kulman, was sentenced to death by a judgment from the Toruń Special Criminal Court dated June 18, 1945; the sentence was carried out on August 31, 1945, at Toruń prison.

SOURCES AGK, PMW-BZW, Catalog No. 327, testimony of Ludwig Denzler given before an investigating officer of the AMC in Freising on September 15, 1945; AK-IPN, SOT, Catalog No. 181, records of criminal case against Hans Jacobi; SSKT, Catalog No. 12, records of criminal case against Władysław Kulman; AK-IPN Gd, Bydgoszcz Branch, witness examination reports (Piotr and Zofia Gębski, Takacs Andrasne, Bernard Bogun, Pelagia Dybowska, Henryk Libera); AMS, Catalog Nos. I-IB-3, I-IB-4, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-III, prisoner personal files; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population;

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Catalog No. I-IIIC-2, records of deaths of prisoners and unidentified female Jewish prisoners, individual and group (OT Thorn); Catalog No. I-IIID-5, lists of prisoners who died in the subcamps; Catalog Nos. I-IVH-5, I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Catalog No. I-VB-7, hospital (Krankenbau) records; The Jewish Agency for Palestine. Dokumentacios Ogyosztaly, testimony of Stephen Horvath (copy at AMS); D. Drywa, *Podobozy (Aussenarbeitslager) KL Stutthof dla więźniów narodowości żydowskiej* (in print; typescript at AMS); J. Grabowska, *Marsz śmierci. Ewakuacja piesza więźniów KL Stutthof i jego podobozów 25 stycznia–3 maja 1945*, (Gdańsk, 1992); T. Jaszowski, “Masowy grób w Grodnie koło Chełmży,” and J. Libiszewski, “Obóz dla Żydów w Chorabiu,” both in *Z badań nad eksterminacją Żydów na Pomorzu i Kujawach* (Bydgoszcz, 1983); M. Orski, *The Czechs, Slovaks and Yugoslavs in Stutthof Concentration Camp* (Gdańsk, 1997).

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trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, pp. 161–162, Sonderbefehl über die Aufstellung des Baukommandos “Weichsel.”
2. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-IB-3, I-IB-4, Kommandanturbefehle 1944–1945; AK-IPN, SOT, Catalog No. 181, records of criminal case against H. Jacobi.
3. AGK, PMW-BZW, Catalog No. 327, pp. 15–22, testimony of Ludwig Denzler, Oberabschnittsleiter supervising the construction of fortifications in the Toruń region, given before an investigating officer of the AMC in Freising on September 15, 1945.
4. Ibid., testimony of Ludwig Denzler; AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, orders for materials to mend clothing and shoes, dated November 3, 1944.
5. AK-IPN Gd, Bydgoszcz Branch, Catalog No. Ds. 53/64, testimony of former female prisoner Takacs Andrasne and witnesses of crimes committed on Jewish women: Bernard Bogun, Pelagia Dybowska, Henryk Libera.
6. AK-IPN Gd, Bydgoszcz Branch, Catalog No. Ds. 53/64.
7. AK-IPN Gd, SSKT, Catalog No. 12; Bydgoszcz Branch, Catalog No. Ds. 53/64, testimony of Piotr and Zofia Gębski.
8. AK-IPN, SOT, Catalog No. 181, records of criminal case against Hans Jacobi, testimony of H. Jacobi.
9. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-5, p. 94, Bescheinigung, Leiter des Oberabschnittes III S.A.-Oberführer Miedermüller to Reichsverteidigungskommissar Danzig-Westpreussen Ost-raumbau, October 9, 1944.
10. Ibid., p. 163, E. von Bonin (Leiter der Verwaltung des KL Stutthof) to the commandant of Stutthof concentration camp, dated November 22, 1944.
11. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, Tschesny to Stutthof concentration camp headquarters, October 2, 1944, Ehle to Verwaltung dated December 3, 1944; The Jewish Agency for Palestine. Dokumentacios Ogyosztaly, testimony of Stephen Horvath (copy at AMS).
12. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population; AK-IPN, SSKT, Catalog No. 12, pp. 8–9, testimony of Helena Vajsz.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

THORN (SS-NEUBAULEITUNG)

This small prisoner detachment of probably several people was set up as part of the SS construction company in Thorn (Toruń). Based on partially surviving entries in prisoner files, it can be established that the subcamp operated between July 23 and December 18, 1940. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the SS-Neubauleitung detachment operated until February 8, 1941, but this claim is not supported by surviving records of the Stutthof concentration camp. A prisoner labor assignment record for another Thorn detachment, dated a year later with the identical month and date, was probably read in error.¹ The prisoners were put to work building or expanding the SS officers' (police) school in Toruń. When the work was completed, the prisoners were moved to Stutthof. One of the detachment's laborers was Jan Dłużewski, a Pole and a senior railroad assistant for the Polish National Railway in Danzig.

Another Stutthof subcamp was instituted in Thorn a year later, probably at the same site, the SS officers' school, and listed in prisoner records as TWL-Thorn (Truppenwirtschaftslager). Prisoners who were tradesmen were put to work finishing and fitting out the building. The subcamp operated between February 8 and April 12, 1941. When the work was completed, the prisoners were returned to the Stutthof camp.²

SOURCES This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 297. Primary sources for this subcamp are found in AMS, Catalog No. I-III, prisoner files.

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NOTES

1. AMS Catalog No. I-III-42542, files of prisoner Jan Dłużewski.
2. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-42162, I-III-50318, files of prisoners Bernard Czarliński and Józef Otto.

THORN-WINKENAU (AEG)

The Thorn-Winkenu subcamp was formed pursuant to an ordinance issued on August 28, 1944, by Richard Glücks, chief of Amtsgruppe D of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which concerned sending 250 Jewish women prisoners to Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft (AEG), a company in Thorn (Toruń). The ordinance was noted in an order by camp headquarters dated September 12, 1944.¹

There was no special order issued to confirm that the subcamp had been established, as was the case with other camps instituted in 1944. The transport of September 13, 1944, was not the first one sent to Thorn. This is clear from a letter from the subcamp's commandant SS-Hauptscharführer Ludwig Blatterspiel to the clothing warehouse at Stutthof dated

September 4, 1944, regarding a shipment of clothing and underwear made on August 12, 1944. All the women had come to the camp from Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp on August 9, 1944 (that was the first transport from that camp to Stutthof). This is supported by information on a shoe shipment from Riga-Kaiserwald, narrowing down the date that the camp was formed to sometime between August 9 and 12, 1944. The number of prisoners from that transport can be placed to at least 150, based upon a supply ordering addendum dated September 4, 1944.²

Along with Siemens, AEG was one of Germany's largest electrical engineering concerns; it had 264 million Reichsmarks (RM) in authorized capital in 1943. The company employed 175,000 people in 1942; 10 years earlier, it had employed 30,000. The proportion of foreign workers it employed in 1941 to 1942 grew from 25 to 35 percent, on average. AEG manufactured the majority of weapons-related electrical systems, especially for aircraft, submarines, and other warships, as well as for artillery equipment, tanks, and V-weapons.³

The next transport of 280 women was sent to Thorn on October 30, 1944. In it were Hungarian Jewish women who had come to Stutthof from the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp on October 1, 1944. They had been put to work at the AEG works in Riga; previously they had been at the Auschwitz concentration camp.⁴ Several SS men were sent with the Jewish women to Thorn; they had been transferred from the SS-Totenkopfsturmbann (Death's Head Battalion) at Riga to Stutthof on October 25, 1944, and assigned to the AEG subcamp. On the return trip, an escort composed of one noncommissioned officer (NCO), two SS men, and eight sailors from the 1st and 2nd Guard Companies was in charge of transporting 230 emaciated women to the Stutthof camp.⁵

Out of the 680 Jewish women sent to Thorn through late October 1944, 510 were still alive by late January 1945, which means that one more transport of at least 100 people must have come to Thorn in the meantime. The partially surviving hospital records on deaths at Stutthof's subcamps do not contain any names from AEG Thorn, and no personal accounts have been found to illustrate what kind of work was done in the factory or the living conditions in the camp.

The only source that describes the prisoners' situation in this camp is the vestigial correspondence of the subcamp's commandant, Blatterspiel, to the Stutthof clothing warehouse and the Prisoner Employment Department. In it he notes the inadequate and poor state of the clothing of the women who came from the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp, who were dressed in light summer clothes and shoes unfit for use. Just a few days after the first prisoner transport arrived, there was a shipment of clothing and underwear to Thorn, which later proved to be highly inadequate.⁶

The housing conditions at Thorn-Winkenau were worse than at the parent camp. Aside from making space available for the prisoners, AEG provided neither sleeping blankets nor straw mattresses. The subcamp's commandant asked the Stutthof warehouse for these items in early September 1944, requesting that two blankets and one straw mattress be sent for

each woman. There was also a shortage of shirts, stockings and underwear. It is not known whether the order was filled because the report for October 1944 is missing.⁷

Working conditions were very hard. This is evidenced by the large percentage of prisoners unfit for labor in late October 1944, due to their health, and the need to replace them with people in better physical condition. The camp statistics from October 1944 through late January 1945 are missing, so an accurate assessment of the scale of replacement cannot be assessed. The Jewish women were put to work at such labor as loading and unloading heavy machines for the factory, which was under construction, working at the river port, or manufacturing ammunition and weaponry.⁸

The evacuation of the detachment on foot began on January 20, 1945. The Jewish women were headed toward Bydgoszcz (Bromberg). The destination was the AEG factory in Germany, and the factory furnishings were evacuated as well. Even before the evacuation, several women including the Freumovits sisters tried unsuccessfully to escape. They were caught and escorted to the factory. There was another escape attempt during the march. The sisters hid with 10 other women. The engineering director of AEG hid 4 Jewish women from the escort in the boiler room.⁹ The entire group was liberated on January 27, 1945, by Russian forces that occupied the factory.

The rest of the women evacuated to Bydgoszcz were liberated by Russian forces on January 26, 1945, in the village of Trzeciewiec (Goldfeld) near Bydgoszcz. During the march, many Jewish women were shot by the escort.¹⁰

SOURCES The secondary sources that mention this subcamp are M. Gliński, "Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939–9 maja 1945)," *StZeMu* 3 (1979); M. Orski, *Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945* (Gdańsk, 1999); D. Drywa, *Zagłada Żydów w obozie koncentracyjnym Stutthof: (wrzesień 1939–maj 1945)* (Gdańsk: Muzeum Stutthof w Sztutowie, 2001). For additional information on AEG, see D. Eichholtz, *Geschichte der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft 1939–1945*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1985).

Primary sources for this camp can be found in AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; AI, account of Dobka Waldhorn; AŽIH, witness examination reports (Adela Day); The Jewish Agency for Palestine. Dokumentacios Ogyosztaly, testimony of Gitta and Rella Freumovits (copy at AMS).

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NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, p. 173, Kommandanturbefehle, no. 61, September 12, 1944.

2. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 191; see also Gliński, "Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939–9 maja 1945)," 3 (1979): 172–173, 212; M. Orski, *Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945* (Gdańsk, 1999), p. 348.

3. D. Eichholtz, *Geschichte der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft 1939–1945* (Berlin, 1985), 2: 556–559.

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4. The Jewish Agency for Palestine. Dokumentacios Ogyosztaly, reports of testimony of Gitta and Rella Freumovits (copy at AMS).

5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, p. 234, Kommandanturbe-fehle, no. 73, October 30, 1944.

6. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 191, Blatterspiel to Kammerwart der Häftlingskammer des KL Stutthof, September 4, 1944.

7. Ibid.

8. AŻIH, Catalog Nos. 859, 1296, reports of examination of Adela Day; AMS, AI, account of Dobka Waldhorn.

9. AMS, AI, account of Dobka Waldhorn.

10. AŻIH, Catalog Nos. 859, 1296, reports of examination of Adela Day; and AMS, affidavits of former AEG Thorn prisoners: Rosa and Fira Paperny, Rita Feldman, Sara Danenberg (letters sent to the Stutthof Museum in 1992 and 1994). See also D. Drywa, *Zagłada Żydów w obozie koncentracyjnym Stutthof: (wrzesień 1939–maj 1945)* (Gdańsk: Muzeum Stutthof w Sztutowie, 2001).

TRUTENAU

A group of prisoners worked in the village of Trutenau (later Trutnowy) between Käsemark (Kiezmark) and Praust (Pruszcz Gdański) from April 10 to July 19, 1940, on a farm owned by someone named Behrendt (possibly Walter).¹ A labor assignment record in prisoner files documents the detachment's existence.²

In 1939, one of the farms in Trutenau cultivated a special variety of rose for the manufacture of rosewater used in the pharmaceutical and cosmetic industries. In November 1939, a detachment of prisoners from the camp at Danzig-Neufahrwasser was put to work there.³

SOURCES This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 298.

Primary sources for this camp are found in AMS, Catalog No. I-III, prisoner files. Information for identifying the farm's owner may be found in *Einwohnerbuch der Danziger Landkreise 1927/1928: Danziger Höhe. Danziger Niederung, Grosses Werder* (Danzig, 1927).

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trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. *Einwohnerbuch der Danziger Landkreise 1927/1928: Danziger Höhe. Danziger Niederung, Grosses Werder* (Danzig, 1927), 2:224.

2. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-50131, files of prisoner Marian Jasnoch.

3. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-41475, I-III-50184, files of prisoners Konrad Burandt and Richard Meinhardt.

WESSLINKEN

The first 50 prisoners were sent from Stutthof to the town of Wesslinken (later Wiślinka) on the outskirts of Danzig

(Gdańsk) near Bohnsack (Sobieszewo) on May 29, 1940. They included building tradesmen and workers. They were put to work building and fitting out a brickyard.¹

The prisoners were quartered in one of the barracks near the construction site. The other barracks were occupied by a group of approximately 200 British prisoners of war (POWs) who were put to work on the same project. When their assigned jobs (such as carpentry, construction work, and so on) were completed, some prisoners were sent back to the camp at Stutthof. New prisoners with other specialties were sent to replace them. Subsequent groups arrived in June and July 1940, one of which returned to Stutthof in mid-October 1940. The detachment was disbanded on December 15, 1940, and the prisoners returned to Stutthof.²

The Wesslinken brickyard detachment was reactivated in early 1943. SS-Schütze John Pauls was in charge of it until March 10, 1943, when he was reassigned to Sachsenhausen concentration camp. After the war, Pauls was tried by the Gdańsk Special Criminal Court and sentenced to death; the sentence was carried out on July 4, 1946, in a public execution in Gdańsk.³

SOURCES Information on this camp may be found in these sources: AMS, Catalog No. I-III, prisoner personal files; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Jan Nyśkiewicz, vol. 17); AK-IPN, SSK Gd, Catalog No. 417, records of criminal case against John Pauls; Catalog No. 422, sentence of judgment; AK-IPN Gd, surveys (Franciszek Przybylski).

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NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-49882, I-III-49973, I-III-50031, personal files of prisoners Antoni Nowak, Zygmunt Kwapisz, and Ignac Wójcik.

2. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 17:183, account of Jan Nyśkiewicz; AK-IPN Gd, personal survey of Franciszek Przybylski, n.p.

3. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, Catalog No. 417, pp. 79, 80, testimonies of prisoner Józef Bensz and defendant John Pauls at 1946 Gdańsk Trial; Catalog No. 422, sentence of judgment.

ZEYERSNIEDERKAMPEN

In the first transport of November 8 or 9, 1939, 20 prisoners arrived in Zeyerniederkampen (now Kępiny Wielkie); they had volunteered from Stutthof to help build a new subcamp in the delta of the Nogat River.¹ Initially the prisoners were quartered in an abandoned barrack of a Reich Labor Service (RAD) camp. The actual camp, ready to take another 120 prisoners, was erected in mid-December approximately 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) away, between the banks of the Nogat and the levee near the village of Terranova (later Nowakowo). The camp was composed of one large barrack for approximately 150 persons, a separate kitchen, and facilities for the subcamp's commandant and guard staff, which were located outside the camp fence.²

The core group of prisoners arrived at camp on December 21, 1939.³ Prisoners were rotated throughout the subcamp's operation from November 1939 to the spring of 1941.⁴ A total of about 160 people lived there at one time,⁵ and any vacancies caused by sickness or death were filled by sending additional transports from the camp at Stutthof. A truck would come from Stutthof every Saturday to replace prisoners who had become ill or died.⁶

Until mid-December 1939, while there were only 20 prisoners, the prisoners were supervised by 2 SS men, who transported the prisoners from Stutthof to Zeyerniederkampen. When the camp population had grown to approximately 150, SS-Oberscharführer Paul Görke took over as commandant, followed by SS-Oberscharführer Herbert Baumann. The guard staff was increased to approximately 14 SS men.⁷ SS-Unterscharführer Franz Mielenz was commandant from April to July 1940, followed by SS-Oberscharführer Willi Redder.⁸

Housing, hygienic conditions, and clothing were all grossly inadequate. Neither the barrack nor the uniforms were sufficient protection against the weather. There were no bunks in the barrack. Prisoners who arrived at camp in the spring of 1940 reported that they had to sleep with no covering at all. The floor was spread with layers of straw, which was not changed for many months and became a hotbed for germs, causing contagious diseases. The lack of fresh underwear or opportunities to wash, as well as the filth and the climate, caused upper respiratory tract ailments, lice infestation, scabies, and diarrhea, among other ailments. Prisoners could not use the primitive latrine outside the barrack at night; they had to use metal containers left for them, of which there were an insufficient number.⁹ The camp infirmary run by Dr. Aleksander Witkowski had no effective medication to help prisoners.

The prisoners were not given anything to eat during work. For breakfast they got black coffee and a piece of bread weighing about 200 grams (7 ounces) with a bit of margarine or beet jam. When they came back to camp after work, they were issued their final meal, most frequently a liter (4.2 cups) of soup made of rotted rutabaga, fresh cabbage or sauerkraut, and sometimes barley with potatoes or beans with a bit of fat. The prisoners' salvation came in the form of food packages sent by their families, who knew where they were, thanks to legal correspondence sent by the inmates and to the intercession of sympathetic locals. Sometimes the packages contained hidden banknotes, with which the prisoners bought bread in the shops in Zeyerniederkampen or Terranova from sympathetic Germans.¹⁰ Correspondence was cut off from December 15, 1939, and after the first escape attempts, visits and food packages were cut off as well. These privileges were restored in mid-1940.

The prisoners were hired out to Deichverband des Kreises Elbing (Dike Formation of the Elbing District).¹¹ Mostly, they worked building a dike along the Nogat River. Work began at 5:00 or 6:00 A.M. and lasted 10 or 12 hours, depending on the season; reveille was an hour before the start of the

workday. The prisoners worked in several groups, each of which did something different: excavating clay, conveying it in carts to where the dike was being raised, forming the dike, or delivering sod and putting it in with stakes. The design called for a dike 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) long, 3 meters (9.8 feet) high, and 5 meters (16.4 feet) wide at the base. Other groups worked in the camp doing cleanup jobs, in the kitchen or infirmary, or in the transport column delivering supplies for the subcamp. On Sundays the prisoners were hired out to local farmers. In the winter when it was extremely cold and no longer possible to continue working on the levees, the prisoners were sent to dig up old willow trees growing along the route of the planned dike and to cut down reeds and brush used to reinforce the levees. Although this work was one of the easier jobs, it required great stamina because the prisoners had to cover considerable distances over the course of the day. They also removed snow from the road and built barracks in the neighboring village of Terranova.¹²

Worse than the work, however, was the way the SS men and prisoner foremen treated the prisoners. Former prisoner Franciszek Adamczyk testified that during work the SS men would position themselves every 18 meters (20 yards) or so and beat the prisoners with whips. The prisoners were also subjected to so-called cleanliness roll calls, in which they were rolled naked in the snow and beaten with birch branches.¹³ Also, before the prisoners entered the barracks, SS men often lined up and ordered the prisoners to run the gauntlet between them while they administered a painful beating.¹⁴

In the winter of 1940, prisoners caught trying to send illegal correspondence were punished by flogging during the evening roll call. The most trivial offenses at the camp were punished this way, with 25, 50, or even 100 lashes. Prisoner E. Lewandowski, who walked away from camp looking for food, was shot by a guard who treated that as an attempt to escape from the detachment.¹⁵ One Jew, Jakub Apfelbaum, was exposed by a prisoner's denunciation in December 1939; the SS men beat him mercilessly, and the next day they took him away to Stutthof.¹⁶

It should be stressed that not all the SS men and foremen in the same positions were so cruel; there were highly moral persons among them, including Rev. Józef Szarkowski, Franciszek Zieliński, and SS man Arno Rauchudt. These men were the exceptions, however. The guards' behavior even drew the attention of the local people, who filed a complaint with the Danzig Gestapo. The Gestapo sent an officer to inspect the camp, but although he did find numerous indications of beating and frostbite, none of the prisoners he questioned admitted being beaten, fearing retribution from the guards. The outcome of the inspection was that "we were beaten even more than before," as Jan Urbaniak said.¹⁷

Conditions at camp definitely deteriorated in late January 1940. That was due to the mostly unsuccessful attempts by prisoners to escape from the detachment and the resultant restrictions imposed by the subcamp's management. The only successful escape from the detachment was that of two sailors

in January 1940. They left the camp even before the barracks had been locked after the evening roll call. They crossed the frozen Nogat River at night unnoticed.¹⁸ Two other prisoners who escaped in the winter of 1939–1940, independently of each other, were caught; one was tortured to death, and the other survived.¹⁹ Władysław Dembski was caught while escaping on July 16, 1940; he died from gunshot wounds, beating, and bleeding.²⁰ The whole camp suffered the consequences of tightened discipline, such as night roll calls, a ban on correspondence, restrictions on receiving packages and visitors, and collective responsibility of the “neighbors” of any fugitive—the penalty being flogging.²¹

The detachment was disbanded on March 29, 1941.²² Considering the frequent prisoner replacements, at least 100 should be added to the fixed population of about 160. According to Urbaniak’s testimony, of the 160 persons incarcerated at Zeyersniederkampen in December 1939, only 17 returned to the main camp on November 17, 1940.²³

SOURCES This camp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 298.

Primary sources for Zeyersniederkampen can be found in AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports (Jan Urbaniak, Katowice branch; Franciszek Adamczyk, Gdańsk; Józef Faryj, Rzeszów); AMS, Catalog No. I-III, prisoner personal files; Lasik, Stutthof ac.; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Bolesław Muński, vol. 9; Antoni Dulski, vol. 10; Jan Urbaniak, vols. 10, 18; Franciszek Adamczyk, vol. 24); Cmentarz-Zaspa [Zaspa Cemetery] comp. Andrzej Chudy; a prisoner’s testimony is available in J. Szarkowski, ed., *Wychowawca pokoleń: Wspomnienia zebrał i opracował W. Drążek* (Gdynia, 1996).

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NOTES

1. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 10: 295, account of Jan Urbaniak; 14: 250, Józef Szarkowski; AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Ka/ko235/70/B1, report of examination of witness Jan Urbaniak; J. Szarkowski, ed., *Wychowawca pokoleń: Wspomnienia zebrał i opracował W. Drążek* (Gdynia, 1996), p. 99.

2. Szarkowski, *Wychowawca pokoleń*, p. 102; AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 10: 15–17, 295, 18:60, accounts of Antoni Dulski and Jan Urbaniak.

3. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 18:60, account of Jan Urbaniak.

4. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-43070, files of prisoner Stanisław Dziuba; *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 10:11, account of Antoni Dulski; 9: 144, Bolesław Muński.

5. According to Antoni Dulski, 200 prisoners lived at the camp until mid-1940; later, when the carts of clay and sand were conveyed automatically, some prisoners were sent back to the camp at Stutthof. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 10:26.

6. Ibid., 9:144, account of Bolesław Muński; 18:61, Jan Urbaniak.

7. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Ka/ko235/70/B1, report of examination of witness Jan Urbaniak (Katowice); Szarkowski, *Wychowawca pokoleń*, p. 103; AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 10: 296, 18:60–61, account of Jan Urbaniak.

8. AMS, Lasik, Stutthof ac.

9. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 143, account of Bolesław Muński; 10: 15–19, 300–302, Antoni Dulski and Jan Urbaniak.

10. Ibid., 10: 19–20, 304–305, accounts of Antoni Dulski and Jan Urbaniak; 18: 67, Jan Urbaniak.

11. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-49943, I-III-49946, personal files of prisoners Jan Olejarz and Jan Zawadzki.

12. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 20–21, account of Antoni Dulski; 18: 63–64, Jan Urbaniak; Szarkowski, *Wychowawca pokoleń*, p. 103.

13. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 10:12, account of Antoni Dulski; 18:69, Jan Urbaniak; 24:4, Franciszek Adamczyk.

14. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Ka/ko235/70/B11, report of examination of witness Franciszek Adamczyk (Katowice).

15. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 10: 22–24, account of Antoni Dulski; 18: 65–66, Jan Urbaniak; Szarkowski, *Wychowawca pokoleń*, pp. 108–109.

16. Ibid., 10:304, account of Jan Urbaniak.

17. Ibid., 18: 68.

18. Szarkowski, *Wychowawca pokoleń*, p. 106; AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 10: 29, account of Antoni Dulski.

19. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Ko. 33/68, report of examination of witness Józef Faryj; AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 10:22, account of Antoni Dulski; 18:69, Jan Urbaniak.

20. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 10: 23, account of Antoni Dulski; Cmentarz-Zaspa [Zaspa Cemetery], comp. Andrzej Chudy.

21. Szarkowski, *Wychowawca pokoleń*, pp. 106–108.

22. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 10: 33, account of Antoni Dulski. We can take this date as being the most credible. According to other sources—ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 298; AK-IPN Gd, report of examination of witness Jan Urbaniak—this occurred between November 17, 1940, and January 27, 1941.

23. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Ka/ko235/70/B1, report of examination of witness Jan Urbaniak (Katowice).

ZEYERSVORDERKAMPEN

A prisoner detachment operated between 1939 and 1944 next to the Nogat River in Zeyersvorderkampen (now Kepiny Małe). It had little in common with the subcamps at Pröbber-nau and Zeyersniederkampen on the other side of the river. The prisoners were put to work at local farms or in small tradesmen’s companies.

A detachment was first set up in Zeyersvorderkampen in 1939–1940. This is documented by labor assignment records in prisoner files. They cover the period from November 25, 1939, to June 10, 1940. In all three instances of such records that have been found, the prisoners were hired out to a German farmer named Fast.¹ All the prisoners had been sent from the camp at Stutthof.² They represented various trades, from farmworker to merchant to bricklayer.

Another subcamp was activated in the same place in the autumn of 1944, this time with female Jewish prisoners. The subcamp’s operation is documented by a letter of September

26, 1944, from the Zeyersvorderkampen township farm director Johannes Jahn to Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on providing the women with underwear, clothing, and shoes. The letter requested the shipment of clothes and underwear for the women in his administrative region, in the amounts that had been agreed upon with van Riesen, the farm director at Rosenort.³

Some 78 women prisoners were put to work at all the farms in Zeyersvorderkampen. That is the subcamp's population as reported by Jahn in late September 1944 when he ordered pullovers and socks. He thought that supplies for the women were inadequate and asked for the prompt delivery of needed items of clothing. The prisoners probably returned to the Stutthof camp in late November 1944 when they had completed the farmwork.

SOURCES ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 298.

Primary sources for this camp may be found in AMS, Catalog No. I-III; Catalog No. I-IVH-5, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; on Fast, see *Einwohnerbuch der Danziger Landkreise*

1927/1928: *Danziger Höhe; Danziger Niederung, Grosses Werder* (Danzig, 1927), 3: 377.

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NOTES

1. According to the *Einwohnerbuch der Danziger Landkreise 1927/1928: Danziger Höhe; Danziger Niederung, Grosses Werder* (Danzig, 1927), 3: 377, Kornelius Fast held the post of Zeyersvorderkampen township administrator (*Gemeindevorsteher*). But because of the lack of sources from wartime, it is not known whether he continued to serve in that post in the period under discussion. As township administrator he could request prisoner labor at local farms or for the township administration or his own office.

2. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-49869, I-III-49932, I-III-49966, files of prisoners Mieczysław Sobierański, Leon Kotłowski, and Antoni Wasilewski. See also ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 298.

3. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-5, p. 62, Jahn to Stutthof concentration camp, dated September 26, 1944.



VAIVARA



Soviet investigators inspect corpses from the Klooga subcamp of Vaivara which have been stacked for mass burning, September 1944.
USHMM WS #98906, COURTESY OF GFH

VAIVARA MAIN CAMP

Vaivara¹ was one of the last concentration camps to be established, at a time when two aims shaped decisions of the Nazi leadership: (1) to implement the final stage in the destruction of European Jewry by liquidating all remaining ghettos and (2) to utilize Jewish labor. On June 21, 1943, Heinrich Himmler decreed the closure of the remaining ghettos in the Baltic states, the transfer of ghetto inmates to newly formed concentration camps, and the deportation of as many able-bodied Jews as possible for work in oil-shale production in Estonia.² Vaivara was established on September 19, 1943, to hold this Jewish workforce.³

The production of oil from shale was the responsibility of the Baltische Öl GmbH or Baltöl (Baltic Oil), a subsidiary of the Kontinentale Öl AG, both operating within the sphere of responsibility of Dr. Krauch, chairman of the board of IG Farben and Generalbevollmächtigter für den Erzeugungsplan der chemischen Industrie (General Plenipotentiary for the Chemical Industry Production Plan). After the German occupation of Estonia in 1941, Baltöl took over and tried to reutilize the oil-mining facilities in northeastern Estonia.⁴ In 1943, Baltöl was facing two important developments: first, the German withdrawal from the Caucasus made alternative sources of oil even more important than before; second, there was an increasing shortage of workers, caused in part by the German army's transfer of prisoners of war (POWs) to fortification and other projects. POWs had been the backbone of the Baltöl workforce. Baltöl needed labor to produce oil for the war effort, and Himmler wanted to dispose of a large remaining group of the Jewish population in the Baltics. Vaivara was the result.

At a July 19, 1943, meeting at the Commander of Security Police and SD offices in Reval, the officers made detailed plans for the establishment of Vaivara. The list of those present reveals that all local players were involved: the civil administration and SS-Police in Estonia; the German army (Wehrmacht); Baltöl; the Organisation Todt (OT); Einsatzgruppe Russland-Nord; and Einsatz Baltöl, which was in charge of construction projects.⁵ The camp personnel were to be provided by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) in Berlin; the WVHA in Riga was in charge locally. The initial establishment of the camp (before personnel were transferred to Estonia) was undertaken by SS-Sturmabführer Wossagk, who was the head of security (Abwehrbeauftragter) of Baltöl, and, under his direction, by the head of the plant protection force (Werkschutzleiter) Hilgenfeld.⁶

Throughout its existence, Vaivara was characterized by diversity. Two main employers, Baltöl and OT, used a multi-ethnic workforce of Soviet POWs, forced laborers, civilian workers, and concentration camp inmates.⁷ Further, several camps at each work site were supervised and administered by

different organizations (POW camps by the Wehrmacht; civilian and forced labor camps by the civil administration, OT, and Baltöl; and the Vaivara subcamps by the SS and Security Police). The Jewish concentration camp inmates were strictly segregated from the others,⁸ and Jews and POWs received worse treatment than other workers.⁹ This mixture caused numerous frictions in the one year of Vaivara's existence.

The commander of Vaivara was Hans Aumeier, formerly Schutzhaftlagerführer in Auschwitz; his administrative staff consisted of eight SS members. Head of administration was Otto Brenneis. Dr. Franz von Bodmann, SS doctor for all camps, was in charge of monitoring the work ability of inmates, which included curing as well as killing. During an illness in December 1943, Bodmann was replaced by Dr. Krebsbach from Riga. Franz Mang was in charge of a dental station. A branch office of the Deutsches Hygiene Institut in Riga was established in Kohtla-Järve. In general, very few and low-ranking Germans were assigned to Vaivara and its subcamps—in most cases, only a commander and a medical orderly (Sanitätsdienstgrad, SDG). The role of SDGs was unusually prominent; often they also took over the function of camp commanders. This was caused by the disastrous hygienic conditions in all Vaivara camps and by outbreaks of illnesses, in particular epidemic typhus (*Fleckfieber*). From January to March 1944, Bodmann got 10 additional Wehrmacht medical orderlies assigned to Vaivara.¹⁰ In the first few weeks, the newly established camps were often run by OT personnel; some smaller camps remained under OT commanders. One characteristic feature of the Vaivara camps is a frequent movement of SS personnel and inmates from one camp to another. In several cases, camp commanders took inmates they knew with them to new assignments, but in most cases the movement was caused by shifting work priorities and short-term assignments. For presumably the same reasons, several camps that were initially planned for Baltöl plants—such as Slanzy—were not set up. While the SS camp staff remained skeletal, the hierarchy of inmate functionaries was fully developed, ranging from camp elders (Lagerälteste) to elders for sections (Blöcke) and rooms (Zimmer), prisoner police, Kapos, prisoner clerks, doctors, and nurses. The camps were guarded by the Estonian Schutzmannschaftsbataillon 287 and the Russian Schutzmannschaftsbataillon 290. These battalions were under the command of the Commander of the Order Police (KdO) and were assigned to the camps by the SS- and Police Leader (SSPF) Reval. The guards also accompanied inmates to the work sites; the foremen were mostly OT. In some cases, OT personnel were armed to take on guarding functions.

Most of the camps were located in the oil-shale region of eastern Estonia. The administrative staff and the main camp were located in Vaivara. In October 1943, subcamps

(*Arbeitslager*) existed in Klooga, Narva, Soski, Auvere, Kerstowa, Ereda, Jõhvi, Kuremäe, Port Kunda, Kiviõli, and Vivikonna.¹¹ The mix between Baltõl production sites and Vaivara camps leads to some confusion about the proper names and locations of subcamps. One example is Kohtla-Järve, one of the centers of Baltõl and OT activity. The company lists 1,163 Jews working at Kohtla-Järve and another 856 at Kohtla; but no corresponding camps can be found in the monthly reports by the Vaivara SS doctor.¹² One has to assume that the inmates of either of the subcamps Ereda or Kiviõli were marched to Kohtla-Järve; former inmates often recall the long distances they had to cover to get to and from work. Because of the advance of the Red Army, the more eastern camps had to be evacuated in February 1944; Aumeier's headquarters were moved to Saka. In the same area, the Aseri, Goldfields, and Sonda subcamps were established, together with a group of temporary camps in southern Estonia and, in the summer of 1944, the Lagedi subcamp near Reval. In August and September 1944, the Germans retreated completely from Estonia, and all camps were evacuated. In addition to the Vaivara camps, the Security Police had its own camp system in Estonia for incarcerating real or perceived political opponents.

The majority of Vaivara inmates were deportees from the Vilnius and Kaunas ghettos in the summer and fall of 1943; in many cases, they comprised whole families. Former inmates often recall how and where one after the other of their family members perished, until only they themselves or maybe another survived to see liberation. By the end of 1943, a small group of German and Czech women, who had been deported to Estonia in September 1942 and had been kept in Security Police camps, were transferred to the Vaivara system. Another group of inmates came from Riga-Kaiserwald, and another from Hungary in the summer of 1944. Prisoner numbers from Bodmann's reports are 6,982 in October 1943, a peak of 9,207 in November 1943, and a decline from 8,210 in February

1944 to 6,662 in June 1944. According to former inmates, they received a number upon arrival, which they kept during their numerous transfers to other camps. The numbers of individual inmates in the Klooga index confirm this: many are too high for the total number of Klooga inmates, but they add up to roughly 9,000.¹³

The purpose of the Vaivara camp system was the fullest exploitation of the work capacity of the inmates. For this reason, large killings of the able-bodied did not take place before the retreat. Individual killings, most in a gruesome manner, were whimsical killings by specific subcamp commanders, acting out their murderous impulses at whatever camp they were assigned to. Apart from these individual killings, selections and killings of old and weak prisoners took place on a continuous basis. As whole families were deported from Lithuania, many old and sick people and children found their way into the camps. Already in his October 25, 1943, report, Bodmann euphemistically mentioned that mostly old Jews had "died"—that they were those who could not adapt to the changed conditions and that this would constitute a relief for the camps.¹⁴ Apart from ongoing selections and killings—the reason Bodmann visited the Vaivara camps on a regular basis—two large groups of inmates were deported. In February 1944, 907 old and sick inmates and 111 children were deported to the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp. Among the inmates, deportation to Riga-Kaiserwald was equated with death. In April 1944, 500 inmates, including children (who had been kept separately), were deported from Ereda and taken over by the SD. Bodmann gives contradictory information about the final destination of the transport, mentioning both Riga-Kaiserwald and Auschwitz; however, one mother had insisted on accompanying her child and testified later that the transport went to Auschwitz.¹⁵ Inmates suffered from disease, cold, hunger, and exhaustion in large numbers. In all camps, facilities to burn corpses were set up, preferably in somewhat hidden places.¹⁶ The medical personnel tried to control the 1943–1944 typhus epidemic through quarantines and hygienic measures like boiling all drinking water, and they also worked at combating lice and vermin. One witness, however, reports that compulsory washing with hot water on the camp square in subzero temperatures was more detrimental than beneficial to the inmates' health.¹⁷ Nevertheless, Aumeier was congratulated for taking initiative during the typhus epidemic.¹⁸

Labor in the camp was very hard and often beyond the strength of the inmates. Not only former inmates recall this, but Baltõl and OT reports mentioned this repeatedly. The Jewish workforce was not considered an adequate replacement for the Soviet POWs, who were often miners by profession. Weakened by malnutrition and cold and lacking shoes and clothing, the Jewish contingents were considered capable of only 50 percent of the POW and civilian work capacity.¹⁹ For this reason, the Baltõl management tried to avoid assigning Jews and refused to deport additional Hungarian Jews to their work sites.²⁰ Some inmates were used as craftsmen in special workshops, producing clothing and shoes. This type of work seemed to have made the most



Soviet investigators inspect corpses from the Klooga subcamp of Vaivara which have been stacked for mass burning, September 1944. USHMM WS #98901, COURTESY OF ESTHER ANCOLI-BARBASCH

sense as far as productivity was concerned. As Baltöl was mainly interested in improving productivity, they supplied additional foodstuffs. Most former inmates recall that entirely insufficient portions were given to them, indicating that the problem lay mainly with the SS camp administration. For the October 1943–June 1944 reporting period, Bodmann lists 1,506 deaths in all Vaivara subcamps, with a peak of 296 in November and December and another 245 in March 1944. This was about 16.5 percent of the camp population.

Evacuations of camps took place several times, causing inmates to endure difficult marches. Only occasionally was transportation provided; during most of the evacuations, prisoners were forced to march without sufficient shoes, clothes, or food. Large numbers of inmates died from exhaustion or, when they were incapable of moving on, were killed. From the German administrative perspective, evacuations were complicated by the fact that different organizations were responsible for different types of inmates. The army moved the POWs, the companies moved their workforce, and the SS moved the Jewish concentration camp inmates. This added considerably to the already existing chaos; but, as usual, Jews and POWs were treated worse than others. Evacuation plans from March 1944 actually detail the plan to march 5,000 Jewish inmates from eastern Estonia via Ereda, Kohtla, and Kiviõli to Riga—a march estimated to take three weeks.²¹ In August and September 1944, the final evacuation from Estonia was planned, but it was delayed by a series of conflicting orders from Hitler, first forbidding and then finally allowing evacuation.²² In this period, inmates were moved further to the west and finally loaded on ships or, because there was not enough ship space, crowded into the Klooga subcamp and a makeshift camp in Lagedi, near Tallinn. During the voyage along the Baltic coast, several ships sank. Most of the inmates were brought to Stutthof near Danzig and after that to other camps in Germany. Some actually ended up in another shale mining facility in Dautmergen, a subcamp of Natzweiler, where they encountered the former commander of Vivikonna and Ereda again. Not all inmates were supposed to be deported, however. In the last days of July 1944, presumably on July 20 and days following, Bodmann conducted particularly strict selections in one camp after another. Former inmates refer to it as the “10 percent selection,” since fully 10 percent of the inmates were loaded on trucks and taken away. In several camps, the already suspicious remaining inmates asked the selected inmates to leave information on the trucks. The trucks returned with bloodstained clothes and messages that the deportees were to be shot near Ereda. All the SS personnel went away for this action and returned in a drunken stupor with bloodstained uniforms. Former OT personnel in Ereda witnessed the mass executions on July 23 and 24, 1944.²³ On September 19, 1944, the last day before the final evacuation, the remaining inmates of Klooga were also shot.

Most of the major perpetrators in Vaivara served in a number of concentration camps during the war and were sentenced after the war for their activities in camps other than Vaivara. Aumeier was sentenced and executed in Poland in 1948; Dr. Krebsbach was sentenced to death in 1946 in Dachau. Some of the minor figures received jail sentences from U.S., Polish, and Soviet authorities. Bodmann committed suicide in May 1945; Brenneis was killed in the last days of the war. The Soviets conducted a trial in 1951 against members of the Schutzmannschaftsbattalion 287.²⁴ The German authorities conducted a number of investigations against former camp personnel, some of which led to trials. Helmut Schnabel received a life sentence in 1977; former SDG Rolf Klicker received a reduced sentence of six years, because he had been a minor during the war.²⁵ Ernst Runde was indicted but committed suicide in 1967 in prison. Oskar Helbig was indicted as well, but in the 1970s he was declared unfit to stand trial. Erich Scharfetter fled to Egypt in 1960, when the investigation against him commenced, but returned in 1977 and was given a life sentence in 1980.²⁶ Wilhelm Werle and Wilhelm Genth were investigated and died in the 1960s; others, like Alfred Engst, died in the 1950s, before the investigations of events in Estonia took a serious turn after the establishment of the Central Office for State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in 1958. Other perpetrators could not be identified, often because witnesses could only remember a last name. The only perpetrator about whom numerous serious allegations were made, who was never located, is Kurt Pannicke. He came from Wittenberg, later in the Soviet occupied zone, and neither the German Democratic Republic (GDR) nor the West German authorities could trace him.

SOURCES The most important sources are the reports from the SS camp doctor (Lagerarzt), which cover the period from September 1943 to June 1944. The reports were only discovered in the summer of 2002 in the EHM, holding documents 152/2/40. In the ESTA, the following records have been preserved: R 187 Baltöl, R 169 OT/Einsatzgruppe Rusland-Nord, Einsatz Baltöl, R 966 AL Narva-Ost, R 170 AL Klooga. Witness testimony can be found in German trial records, the most comprehensive at the ZdL case numbers AR-Z 246/59 and AR-Z 233/59. Witness statements can also be found in the oral history collections in YVA.

Not much has been published on Vaivara. The most comprehensive study was written by Mark Dworzecki, who was an inmate himself and conducted postwar interviews with other former inmates: *Jewish Camps in Estonia* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem: YV, 1970). An article by Alfred Streim gives an overview of the findings of German courts: “Konzentrationslager auf dem Gebiet der Sowjetunion,” *Datte* 5, (1989). A recent, unpublished study by an Estonian historian uses newly accessible material in Estonian archives: Riho Västriik, “KL Vaivara” (unpub. MSS, Tallinn). The diary of an inmate of Klooga has been published: Herman Kruk, *The Last Days of the Jerusalem of Lithuania: Chronicles from the Vilna Ghetto and the Camps, 1939–1944*, ed. and introd. Benjamin Harshav and

trans. Barbara Harshav (New Haven, CT: YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, 2002).

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NOTES

1. In the following, reference to any of the sources used will only be made if part of the text is quoted verbatim or a statement warrants special attention.

2. June 6, 1943, RFSS an HSSPF Ostland, Chef WVHA, BA, NS 19/1740.

3. October 2, 1943, RSHA an Verteiler, BA, R 58/264.

4. See March 4, 1944, Mathy, Direktor der Baltischen Öl GmbH, Bericht, ESTA, R 187/1/1.

5. July 21, 1943, Wossagk, Abwehrbeauftragter Baltöl, Aktennotiz, ESTA, R 187/1/33.

6. Ibid.

7. See January 15, 1943, OT, Bestand Ostländerlager Falkenhorst, ESTA, R 167/1/5.

8. September 30, 1943, Baltöl, Arbeitseinsatz den [sic] Juden, ESTA, R 187/1/33.

9. June 26, 1944, OT/Russland-Nord/Baltöl, ESTA, R 169/1/3.

10. January 26, 1944, Monatsbericht SS Arzt, EHM, 152/2/40. The author wishes to thank Meelis Maripuu and Riho Västriik for making these reports available.

11. October 25, 1943, Monatsbericht SS Arzt, EHM, 152/2/40.

12. N.d., Belegschaft Neubauprogramme; July 19, 1944, Baltöl Aktennotiz—both: ESTA R187/1/24.

13. Card index, ESTA, R 170; 1992, Benjamin Anolik, YVA, 03/6548; January 20, 1944, SS Wirtschaftler Riga, Beurteilung Aumeier, BA, Aumeier SS file.

14. October 25, 1943, Monatsbericht SS Lagerarzt, EHM, 152/2/40.

15. February 20, 1944, March 26, 1944, April 25, 1944, SS Lagerarzt Berichte, EHM, 152/2/40; October 27, 1964, Molly In., vol. 12; March 22, 1965, Molly In., vol. 13; July 27, 1965, Molly In., vol. 14—all: ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

16. November 25, 1943, Monatsbericht SS Arzt, EHM, 152/2/40.

17. July 15, 1965, Nissan An., vol. 14, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

18. January 20, 1944, SS Wirtschaftler Riga, Beurteilung Aumeier, BA, Aumeier SS file.

19. February 2, 1944, Baltöl Aktennotiz; February 20, 1944, OT/Einsatz Baltöl, Aktenvermerk; July 19, 1944, Baltöl, Aktennotiz—all: ESTA, R 187/1/24.

20. June 2, 1944, Baltöl an Arbeitseinsatzstelle Baltöl, ESTA, R 187/1/32; June 27, 1944, Beauftragter für den Arbeitseinsatz, ESTA, R 187/1/33.

21. March 5, 1944, Mineralölkommando an Heeresgruppe Russland-Nord, ESTA, R 187/1/67.

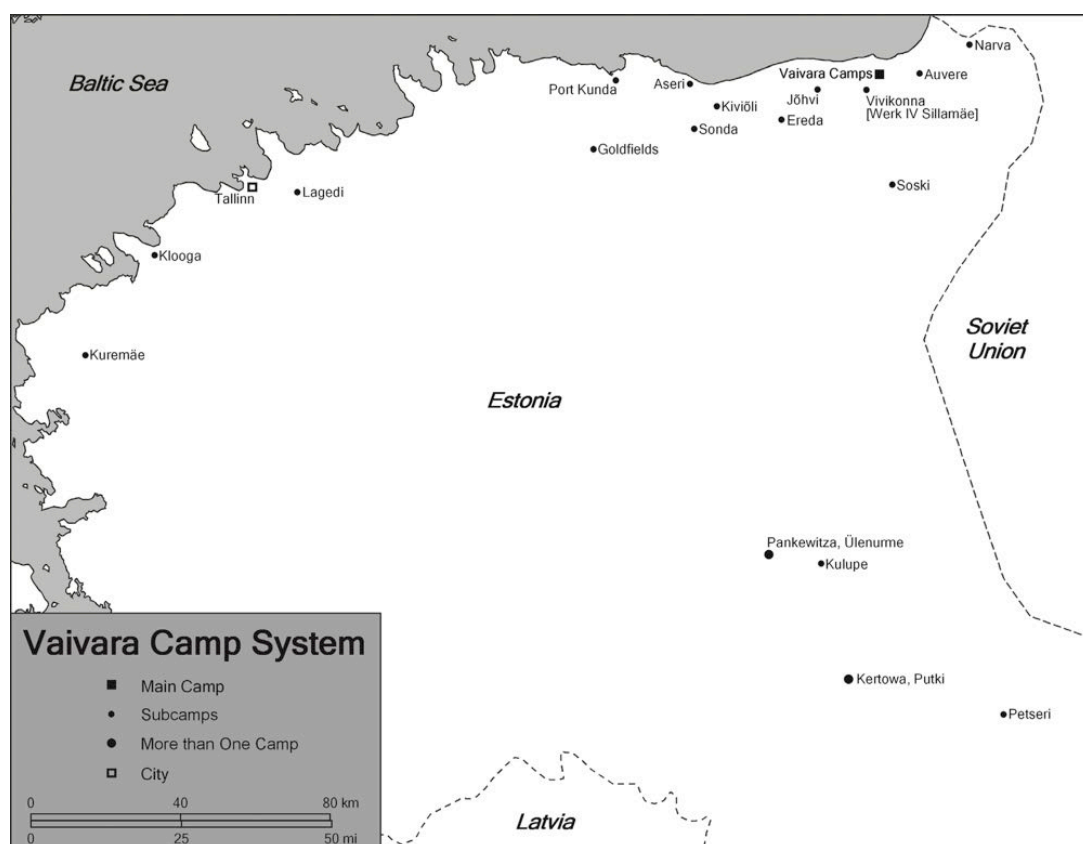
22. N.d., Übersicht über die Weisungen; conflicting Hitler orders from August 9, 1944, August 11, 1944, August 13, 1944—all: ESTA, R 187/1/24.

23. April 25, 1963, Franz Le., vol. 11A; July 21, 1976, Fritz Se., vol. 30—both: ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

24. ESTA, Fond 129/16210jv, information courtesy of Riho Västriik.

25. LG Hannover, 11Ks 2/75.

26. LG Stade, 9 Ks 1/78-23/78.



ASERI [AKA OT OSTLÄNDER LAGER]

The Aseri subcamp was established on May 8, 1944. It held 225 inmates and was monitored by 23 guards. The camp commander was Kurt Pannicke; witnesses recall a deputy nicknamed “Boxer” or “Giraffe.” The SS medic (SDG) assigned to Aseri was Erich Scharfetter. The camp elder was Diller. One witness stated that there were Dutch personnel in the camp, one of whom helped inmates; another, Wilhelm Genth, beat many of them.¹ Inmates either worked in a quarry or laid down railway tracks. Housing consisted of wooden barracks. Even according to the reports of the SS camp doctor, Bodmann, hygienic conditions and food supply in Aseri were inadequate.²

In September 1943, French, Spanish, and Dutch forced laborers were working in Aseri; in February 1944, the camp was still referred to as “OT [Organisation Todt] Ostländer Lager.” Vaivara inmates were marched to Aseri and remained there until August. In typical Vaivara fashion, Pannicke was transferred from one camp to another, and he took a group of Jewish inmates he selected with him.³ According to witness statements, Pannicke knew inmates individually and exhib-

ited a godlike attitude, as expressed in his saying, “I am killing my Jews myself.”⁴ Inmates were beaten on a special bench for stealing food during work assignments outside the camp. One witness related a rather unusual experience: a German army colonel requested a daily work detail of 20 inmates for the sole purpose of giving them food.⁵

Bodmann “selected” 10 percent of the Aseri inmates, including children that the inmates had previously been able to protect. After the selection, the remaining inmates heard machine-gun fire near the camp. One witness stated that a wounded survivor came back to report that the victims were shot near Erede; this account would be consistent with the overall pattern of killings after the big selection in the summer of 1944. Pannicke returned with a bloodstained uniform, and when asked what had happened by the inmates who were requested to wash it, he joked that he had been involved in a duel.⁶ Some inmates were deported by ship from Aseri via Kiviõli to Stutthof in the summer of 1944; others remained in the Vaivara camp system.

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see “Vaivara Main Camp.”
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NOTES

1. October 4, 1965, Sima Sk., vol. 14, BA-L, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
2. May 26, 1944 and June 26, 1944, Monatsberichte SS Lagerarzt, EHM, 152/2/40.
3. October 4, 1965, Sima Sk., vol. 14; October 6, 1968, Iccak Zo., vol. 24—both: BA-L, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
4. August 19, 1965, Szabatai Ge., vol. 14; October 4, 1965, Sima Sk., vol. 14—both: BA-L, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
5. September 19, 1962, Efim. Ko., vol. 14, BA-L, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
6. October 4, 1965, Sima Sk., vol. 14; October 22, 1968, Sima Sk., vol. 24; July 1, 1971, Herschel Dr., vol. 27—all: BA-L, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

AUVERE

The Auvere subcamp, which the Germans established in the fall of 1943, was one of the smaller camps. In October 1943, it contained 406 inmates; in November, it held 542 prisoners and was considered overcrowded. In January 1943, the number of inmates was 531, but 487 of those inmates were sent on an evacuation march in February 1943. On February 4, 1944, the camp was considered closed.

The first inmates were transferred to Auvere immediately after deportation from Vilnius and Kaunas; others arrived later via Vivikonna. The first camp commander was an Organisation Todt (OT) member; he was replaced by a German police officer, remembered by inmates as Wittner. He was succeeded by Ernst Runde around Christmas of 1943, who also acted as SS medic (SDG). The camp elder was called Jankelewicz. The work was very hard, consisting of building a narrow-gauge railway in a swampy area, which meant that the inmates were standing up to their ankles in ice-cold water. Others worked at woodcutting. OT supervised the work. The inmates were first housed in a former school building; later *Tonnenzelte*, a sort of emergency barracks, were added.

The typhoid epidemic of the winter of 1943–1944 reached Auvere, and in December 1943, 35 inmates had died and 123 were in quarantine. In January 1944, another 12 deaths were registered. The SS camp doctor, Bodmann, fell ill himself in the December period and was temporarily replaced by Dr. Krebsbach. An inmate acted as grave digger. The food situation was as bad here as in other Vaivara camps. Inmates who worked outside the camp were always trying to obtain supplementary food; 1 inmate, who was apprehended with a piece of bread, was killed by the SDG. Another witness recalled how the SDG shot an unnamed inmate who had fallen to his knees, begging for his life. This inmate had been given a few fish by an Estonian.¹

Due to the approach of the Red Army, Auvere was evacuated on February 4, 1944, and 487 inmates were forced to march via Vaivara to Kiviõli, a considerable distance in the middle of winter with plenty of snow on the ground. On January 29, 1944, 40 sick inmates had been transported to

Vaivara. The march was supervised by Runde and a Wehrmacht SDG. Runde himself recalled that the marching column stretched to 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) and was guarded by the Estonian police. Most witnesses recall the terrible circumstances of the march, during which feeble inmates were thrown into a lake.

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see “Vaivara Main Camp.”

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NOTE

1. March 14, 1971, Aron Sch., vol. 27, BA-L, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

EREDA

Ereda was operated by Baltische Öl GmbH, or Baltöl (Baltic Oil), as production site (*Werk*) number X. Before the Germans established the main Vaivara camp, the workforce at Ereda consisted of a mix of civilian laborers, prisoners of war (POWs), and forced laborers. A Waffen-SS depot (*Reservelager*) was nearby. In the vicinity of Ereda, there were a number of work sites, such as mines for oil shale, coal pits, refineries (in nearby Kohtla-Järve), and several building sites run by the Organisation Todt (OT).¹ Ereda was one of the first Vaivara camps to be set up, initially only on a temporary basis, and it contained 245 inmates in October 1943. In November, plans were changed, and the number of inmates was raised to 630. They were supposed to build a new camp 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) away. In December, this plan was dropped, and Ereda continued to consist of two, close-by camps, referred to as the lower camp and the upper camp. In December and January, 752 inmates were incarcerated in Ereda, but the number rose sharply with the influx of evacuees, which brought the total up to 1,600 in February and 1,907 in March. In May 1944, there were 1,497 inmates guarded by 61 Russian guards. As of July 19, 1944, 1,132 Jews worked on OT construction sites. The companies considered the number of Jewish inmates to be too high for acceptable productivity.²

When the first Jewish prisoners arrived, Ereda was still run by OT. After the takeover by the SS administration, the first camp commander was Heinz Drosihn, with Becker as deputy. Drosihn was succeeded by Helmut Schnabel. Erich Scharfetter was in Ereda during the December 1943–January 1944 period of the typhus epidemic; later Rolf Klicker was SS medic (SDG). Former inmates mention as camp elders Lehmann, Rauch, and Glaser. Some witnesses have bad recollections of some of the camp functionaries, and they commented on the lack of solidarity in the camp.³ Drs. Konjurski, Ponwaski, and Konis were mentioned as camp doctors. Roughly 1,000 Jewish inmates were sent to Ereda directly after their deportation from Lithuania in August–September 1943, some of whom were moved to Narva (see Vaivara/Narva) after roughly one month. In the winter of 1943–1944, a small number of Jewish women, who had been deported to Estonia from Germany and Theresienstadt in 1942,

were transferred from the Reval prison to Ereda, presumably in an effort to separate all Jewish from non-Jewish inmates, though 1 of them held that this was meant as punishment for maintaining contact with their families at home with the help of German workmen.⁴ In February 1944, when the more eastern subcamps of Vaivara were evacuated, Ereda became one of the reception camps. The inmates of Narva, for instance, were marched to Ereda under Schnabel's command, and many of them were shot on the way. Some inmates thus encountered family or friends from whom they had been separated. In the early summer of 1944, Hungarian women were deported to Ereda. According to German witnesses from OT, Ereda was liquidated by the end of July 1944, and—as in Aseri and other subcamps—shortly afterward the victims of the “10 percent action” were shot there.⁵

The most dramatic incident in the history of Ereda is connected with the transfer of the group of women from Reval to Ereda. Camp commander Drosihn fell in love with one of the young women, leading to an improvement in the inmates' living conditions. One witness recalls a New Year's Eve celebration where Drosihn was drinking toasts to the inmates and wishing that everybody would be home the following year.⁶ The relationship was discovered, and Drosihn, who must have been aware that the penalty for *Rassenschande* (racial defilement) was death, sought the assistance of his friends in the OT, who helped him to escape and hide. After a few days, however, both Drosihn and the woman were apprehended—either they were shot or they committed suicide. This took place at the end of February or in early March 1944. The episode had a profound effect on the SS camp administration, and strict regulations were implemented to avoid another occurrence. Schnabel took over as camp commander.

Ereda consisted of an upper and a lower camp built on swampy ground. The first inmates had to build their own accommodations; even essentials like a camp kitchen were missing. The housing situation was unsatisfactory, consisting initially of Quonset-type huts, which provided no shelter from the cold. The inmates referred to these huts as “dog-houses.” Inmates' hair sometimes froze to the ground during the night, and they had to cut it off in order to be punctual for roll call. Only in June 1944 was the camp connected to running water, which allowed the inmates to wash daily. The death toll due to the bad living conditions was high: 109 deaths in February 1944 and 161 in March 1944. Because of the numerous construction sites in the vicinity, inmates had to march considerable distances to their workplaces, in the winter and with wooden clogs, which exhausted them even more. After February 1944, the camp became so overcrowded that inmates hardly had room to lie down. In the January–February period, an epidemic of typhus broke out, which added to the general chaos in the camp. Corpses were regularly burned in pits in a clearing in the woods nearby. The sick and the children were confined to the lower camp, where conditions were even more atrocious. On February 14, 1944, all the sick people, together with doctors and nurses and 184 children from the lower camp, were deported. Ereda continued to be used as a collection point for sick inmates; in April

1944, another large group was deported. In July 1944, the “10 percent selection” took place in Ereda as in other subcamps (see “Vaivara Main Camp”), and the camp was evacuated. The inmates were transported by rail, with the exception of roughly 100 people who were left behind, supposedly to clean up the camp.

Schnabel committed numerous acts of atrocity and murder and was considered a sadist. Even former OT personnel commented on the terrible conditions in the camp, the frequent floggings, and the daily deaths of inmates. Several of the killings that Schnabel committed were talked about throughout the camp: one was the killing of two inmates who had asked for a second helping of soup; another, the drowning or starvation (accounts differ) of a newborn baby. Another incident concerned an inmate who, due to illness, could not reach the camp latrines in time and was shot by Schnabel with the words: “Damn dog, you are soiling the white snow.” A young girl was ordered by Schnabel to clean his boots while he was walking around in them, forcing her to crawl on her knees after him while he kicked her in the head.⁷ One of the former Jewish camp doctors commented that Schnabel liked to see blood. Only when the treatment by the Jewish doctors gave Schnabel relief from his arthritis did he treat the inmates somewhat better. Schnabel used a great deal of alcohol; to procure it, two youngsters from the camp bartered food supplies for alcohol in the nearby village. Dealings of this nature seem to have made Schnabel somewhat approachable; at times, both he and the SDG could be bribed with valuables.⁸ Most of the former inmates comment more favorably on the behavior of the OT men, who tried to improve the food situation.

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see “Vaivara Main Camp.”

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NOTES

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2. June 27, 1944, Bevollmächtigter für den Arbeitseinsatz, ESTA, R 1887/1/33.
3. Gerszon Karapansa, YV, 03/1780; Rosalie Szoszana Harten, YVA, 03/2262; Se'adya Bahat, YVA, 03/8657; Aharon Nahimowicz, YVA, 03/3957.
4. July 13, 1965, Hilda Le., vol. 14, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
5. April 17, 1963, Franz Le., vol. 11A, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
6. Simon Tubiaszewicz, YVA, 04/396.
7. June 9, 1966, Sara Mi., vol. 22, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
8. July 11, 1973, Yakov Pe., vol. 28, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

GOLDFIELDS (“GOLDFELD”)

Goldfields was part of the Baltische Öl GmbH, or Baltöl (Baltic Oil) concern, named such by a British company in the interwar years. Jewish workers were used for several Baltöl building projects. In February 1944, the Goldfields subcamp opened with 1,200 inmates. In March the number rose to

1,543, but in May there were only 889 inmates in the camp. In July 1944, Baltöl statistics show 405 Jewish workers on Goldfields construction sites.

The camp commander at Goldfields was Fritz Stiewitz. According to one witness, Stiewitz originated from Frankfurt, and some of the female inmates knew him from school (this in reference to the Frankfurt deportees, who came via the Reval prison to the Vaivara camps). According to the same witness, Stiewitz was not so bad by himself, but became cruel under group pressure from other SS soldiers.¹ Inmates remember SS medic (SDG) Erich Scharfetter, nicknamed “Kirkennik,” who was routinely assigned to camps to combat typhus epidemics. In May 1944, the SDGs were Heinrich Helmlinger and Theodor Schmitz. Some inmates remember Raphael Oster as camp elder; others recall somebody named Dipante.² In the final period, Kurt Pannicke, who had marched some of the inmates of Aseri to Goldfields, presumably in preparation for the final evacuation, took over as camp commander.

Inmates of Ereda report that they were marched daily to nearby Goldfields to work on construction. When the new camp opened, Stiewitz selected the first group of inmates from those he knew in Ereda. They were housed in unused barracks and worked building railway tracks and on other construction sites. Goldfields was one of the camps to receive the populations of the already evacuated camps. In March 1944, the inmates of Kuremäe arrived in Goldfields, leading to a sharp deterioration in hygienic conditions. All of the inmates were infested with lice. In April 1944, 150 inmates were sent to Klooga, bringing some relief from the overcrowding. Inmates from Aseri recall arriving as late as August 1944. In this period, no productive work was conducted, as everybody knew that the end was near.³ A large group of inmates managed to escape, but Pannicke organized a search, during which many of the escapees were shot.⁴ The final evacuation took place in part by truck. A truck loaded with 50 SS men in black leather coats accompanied them. After an error in direction, panic seized the already apprehensive inmates, who jumped off the trucks and tried to hide. Shots were fired, a few people were killed, but the rest came back and were finally deported from Reval to Stutthof by ship.⁵

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see “Vaivara Main Camp.”

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NOTES

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2. March 1, 1966, Israel Polizei, Bericht 10, statement by Meir Mark Dworzecki, vol. 16, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59; Abraham Halpern, YVA, 03/3201.

3. August 17, 1965, Alan We., vol. 14, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

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JÖHVI (JEWE)

Apart from oil-shale mining, Organisation Todt (OT) was engaged in multiple projects at Jöhvi, which was listed as Werk IV of Baltische Öl GmbH, or Baltöl (Baltic Oil). The other projects included building fortifications and digging antitank trenches; constructing a power station, a hospital, and barracks; and cutting wood for the construction projects. Jöhvi housed a number of German offices, an Estonian security police outpost, a local army commander (Standortkommandant), and a field hospital (*Hauptverbandsplatz*) located next to a hospital under construction and a big cemetery. It must have been a place of some importance, for when Reichskommissar Lohse inspected the Baltöl and OT sites on September 1, 1943, he visited Kiviöli and Jöhvi.

In October 1943, the first 201 inmates of Jöhvi were placed in unused barracks. While their number slightly increased to 264 in December, the camp never physically grew bigger. It was obviously meant as a temporary camp, because by the end of December, it was closed. One witness recalls that he remained behind with a group to clean up.¹ In February 1944, it was reopened for a short period, this time containing 190 inmates. The barracks for Jewish inmates were close to a Russian camp but strictly separated by barbed wire. OT personnel recalled that the Jews were later replaced by prisoners of war (POWs).

When deportees from the first transport from Vilnius arrived in Jöhvi, the camp was not yet incorporated into the Vaivara system. Even afterward, no SS commander was assigned to Jöhvi, but the camp was run by OT and a camp elder. The OT also supplied the camp guards. Former inmates have positive recollections of the OT supervisor, who on one occasion tore a picture of Hitler from the wall.² SS medic (SDG) Erich Scharfetter, nicknamed “Kirkennik,” was the only SS member active in Jöhvi for lengthy periods of time due to his function in disinfecting inmates.³ In December 1943, an epidemic of typhus erupted. Scharfetter killed sick inmates through injections and shot others who were running a fever, causing widespread panic and several suicides among the inmates. The remaining sick inmates were sent to a hospital in Vaivara.

Jewish female inmates from the Jöhvi camp worked as cleaning personnel in OT offices. A female German office worker, in charge of payment of salaries, recalls that they were pale, malnourished, and insufficiently clad and that she gave them food.⁴ Former OT men mentioned that the Jewish cleaners cried because their hair had been cut and that the Jews working on construction complained about hunger.

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see “Vaivara Main Camp.”

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NOTES

1. July 11, 1973, Yakov Pe., vol. 28, ZdL, AR-Z 233/5; July 11, 73, Fajwel Mi., vol. 28, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

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2. Izhak Kaufman, in a 1964 symposium on Estonian camps, YVA, 03/2810.

3. Urteil LG Stade gegen Erich Scharfetter, February 1, 1980, 9 Ks I/78-23/78.

4. October 20, 1960, Erna Ho., vol. 3, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

KERSTOWA AND PUTKI

The Germans established Kerstowa as a temporary camp in October 1943. Its 348 inmates had to work on a demolition project that was supposed to last for one or two weeks. The camp was not run by SS personnel and was far away from the other Vaivara camps. In November, the camp was dissolved, and the remaining 159 inmates were transferred via Narva to a new camp, Putki.

Putki was located in an area of forest and swamp, housed 145 inmates, and was run entirely by the Organisation Todt (OT). In January 1944, 198 inmates were transferred from Narva, bringing the camp population to 340. The camp operated until February 4, 1944, when the Red Army's advance made the OT retreat. The 334 remaining inmates were marched by Wehrmacht medic Rabel to Vaivara, under terrible conditions, through forests and swamps.¹

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see “Vaivara Main Camp.”

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NOTE

1. Reports of the SS-Lagerarzt, October 25, 1943, November 25, 1943, December 29, 1943, January 26, 1944, February 20, 1944—all: EHM, 152/2/40.

KIVIÖLI I AND II

Kiviöli was a center of industrial activity: the headquarters of Baltische Öl GmbH, or Baltöl (Baltic Oil), had its office there, and the Mineral Oil Command (Mineralölkommando) and the General Labor Leader (Generalsarbeitsführer) of the Organisation Todt (OT) Industrial Protective Service (Werkschutz, supervised by the gendarmerie detachment leader, Gendarmeriegebietsführer) were stationed there.¹ In addition, a German gendarmerie post and a local headquarters (*Ortskommandantur*) of the German army were located there. The commander of the Security Police of Estonia had a branch office there, headed by Heinz Zielfeld. The various construction projects at Kiviöli were considered of great importance.²

In October 1943, Kiviöli contained 448 inmates; they were housed in temporary barracks until additional facilities were built. The number of inmates rose steadily, from 698 in November to 1,300 in February 1944, and to 1,689 in May and June. On July 19, 1944, 1,462 inmates worked at Baltöl construction sites in Kiviöli.³ In February 1944, 104 old and sick inmates were deported to the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration

camp; in May, 250 sick people from Ereda were brought to the camp; and in June, 200 inmates from Goldfields were transferred to Kiviöli.

Two camps existed—Kiviöli I and II—but they were administered as one. The commander of Kiviöli I was Wilhelm Werle; the deputy commander and SS medic (SDG) was Ernst Runde. A dental station was run by Franz Mang. In March 1944, after the Germans had to leave Vaivara, Oskar Helbig became deputy commander. The camp doctors have been identified as Dr. Wolkowyski and Dr. Naftali Resnik; the camp elder, as Zepelewicz (or Cypelewicz). At a later point, Reissig took over as the commander. The commander of Kiviöli II was Wirker, although Erich Scharfetter acted for him occasionally. In May 1944, 71 guards monitored 1,689 inmates. Some female inmates recall female army auxiliaries (*Blitzmädel*) as their guards.⁴

Sanitary conditions were initially bad but slowly improved, in part because of security considerations. Baltöl considered the installation of running water a necessity because the use of a common well increased the risk of escapes and undermined the separation of Jewish inmates from others.⁵ Communication between the two camps seems to have been possible, and, to a certain degree, contact between male and female inmates was also possible. Kiviöli I was considered the better place; former inmates recall sufficient food—even kosher (without meat)—and celebration of Jewish holidays was possible.⁶ The Jewish criminals (*Shtarke*) held a strong influence in the camp.⁷

Former inmates of Kiviöli I recall that Runde harassed them at roll call; they also describe Helbig as a sadist, whereas the commander was seen as a moderating influence. One former inmate, who was deported directly from Vilnius to Kiviöli I and stayed there until mid-1944, describes Runde as the main negative influence in the camp.⁸ Both Runde and Helbig are alleged to have killed inmates on big piles of hot slag; Helbig actually had several feeble inmates thrown on it, so that they burned alive.⁹ Inmates of Kiviöli II reported that Wirker was quite active in the camp, supervising activities in the sickroom, ordering specific roll calls to be conducted on Sundays, and committing a number of atrocities. The ongoing selections claimed victims from among Hungarian Jewish women, many of whom arrived in the camp pregnant.

The “10 percent selection” (see “Vaivara Main Camp”) took place at both camps, conducted by the SS camp doctor, Bodmann. The camp elder and doctors of Kiviöli I were among those selected. It appears that the lists of “unfit” inmates had been prepared in advance.¹⁰ As in other camps, the inmate in charge of vehicle maintenance looked on the returning truck and found indications in several languages that those selected were being shot close to Ereda.¹¹ An SS driver returned with his arm wounded and his rifle broken, complaining about “the Jews” who had done that to him; the other SS officers had bloodied and dirtied uniforms and boots; the SS dentist brought a box with gold teeth back. According to a former German police officer, Kiviöli was also the site of the elimination of mass graves by Sonderkommando 1005.¹²

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see “Vaivara Main Camp.”

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NOTES

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2. September 20, 1943, OT/Einsatzgruppe Russland Nord, Gieseler an Reichsminister für Bewaffnung und Munition, Speer; OT/Einsatzgruppe Russland Nord, Gieseler an Leiter OT Zentrale, Dorsch—both: ESTA, R 187/1/7.
3. July 19, 1944, Baustellenplanung, ESTA, R 187/1/124.
4. Nechama Leibiski, YVA, M1E/2444.
5. October 4, 1943, Baltöl, Überwachung der Juden, ESTA, R 187/1/33.
6. Arye Rubinstein, YVA, 03/9681; Arie Orbach, YVA, 04/2733; Chienna Jakobson, YVA, 03/5988; Gerszon Karapansa, YVA, 03/1780.
7. Gerszon Karapansa, YVA, 03/1780.
8. October 20, 1965, Hirszt An., vol. 14, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
9. Alfred Streim, “Konzentrationslager auf dem Gebiet der Sowjetunion,” *DaHe 5* (1989): 181.
10. Mira Brojdo, YVA, 04/396.
11. November 10, 1967, Joseph Le., vol. 23, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
12. July 3, 1968, Josef Sch., vol. 7, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

KLOOGA

The subcamp at Klooga was located west of the city of Tallinn, outside the northeastern mining and oil-shale district, and it was not connected with Baltische Öl GmbH, or Baltöl (Baltic Oil). In 1942, camps for resettlers from the army area “Russia-North,” in Klooga-Lodensee, Polküla, Pakri, and Baltisch-Port, were based at Klooga. In 1943–1944, Klooga was a camp for Russian forced laborers; from 1943 on, it was the barracks grounds and administrative offices of the 20th Estonian Waffen-SS division; and then it became a subcamp



Soviet investigators inspect corpses from the Klooga subcamp of Vaivara which have been stacked for mass burning, September 1944.

USHMM WS #98905, COURTESY OF ESTHER ANCOLI-BARBASCH

of Vaivara. A work detail (Aussenkommando) was located in nearby Laoküla.

The camp population in Klooga was more stable than in other Vaivara camps. Many former inmates stated that they had been deported directly from Lithuania to Klooga and remained there until August–September 1944. In October 1943, Klooga already contained 1,453 inmates; in November, 1,854; and in April 1944, 2,080. In May 1944, there were 2,122 inmates and 112 guards. In November 1943, 250 inmates were sent to work camps near Dorpat; in April 1944, 250 were received from Ereda and Goldfields; and in May, more inmates were received from Kiviõli. Men and women were housed in solid barracks in separate parts of the camp. Running water and elementary sanitary facilities existed; the Vaivara SS camp doctor, Bodmann, considered the conditions in Klooga better than those in any other camp. In the final stages of German occupation of Estonia, many inmates from other camps and the SS camp administration—including Aumeier, Brenneis, and Bodmann—crowded into Klooga, waiting for transport by ship to Germany.

The camp commander was Bock, though it is unclear whether he held that position for the whole period. For the last few weeks in the summer of 1944, he was replaced by Wilhelm Werle. The SS medics (SDGs) were Wilhelm Bahr and Karl Theiner (confirmed for May 1944); inmates name others, among them Wilhelm Genth. Female inmates were guarded by female SS guards, one of whom was transferred from Ravensbrück. Sources mention Melzer and Frieda Beiwill as camp elders; others mention Fried and Muskat. Jewish camp police were present, and inmates were assigned as work supervisors. Former inmates also speak about the presence of organized Jewish criminals from Vilnius (*Die Shtarken, unsere Unterwelt*), which, contrary to the other inmates' apprehensions, turned out to be a positive element, organizing the stealing and distribution of food.¹ Witnesses also speak positively about an SS man in charge of supplies, who would give them the opportunity to steal or barter for food and bring it back to the camp.² This story is confirmed by the former cook of a navy work detail in Klooga.³ Dutch civilian laborers working close by also supplied inmates with food.⁴ According to criminal investigations conducted by the Estonian security police, a lively trade bartering clothes for food took place between Klooga inmates working outside the camp and the local population, in particular Russians from the resettlement camp.⁵

Work consisted of the production of concrete mines supervised by the Organisation Todt (OT) and a special command of the German navy, construction activities under the OT, or work at a sawmill. The OT also worked with non-Jewish forced laborers. A card index of inmates of Klooga and their work assignments gives an overview of the work details, which included pouring concrete, construction, transport, the sawmill, craft shops, cleaning details, and the army supply depot Reval (*Truppenwirtschaftslager*).⁶

Former inmates recall few instances of killings before September 1944. One scene that many remembered took place upon arrival of the deportation train. After disembarking, in-

mates had to line up in front of a long table and deliver their valuables or money to the SS. One former Jewish Vilnius ghetto policeman obviously tried to conceal money and was shot on the spot in public view. Bodmann and the medical personnel repeatedly killed sick inmates with injections. Corporal punishment was meted out; on one occasion, an inmate was beaten to death by three SS men. Different variants exist about the killing of a newborn baby, which a medic with the nickname “Antek” burned in the oven of the sawmill. Other atrocities are attributed to Antek as well; and several inmates claim that he was in fact Wilhelm Genth. However, many of the allegations do not coincide with the established stages of Genth’s camp career. Other sources claim that Wilhelm Bahr murdered the baby; Bahr was confirmed as a medic in Klooga.

Klooga was liquidated on September 19, 1944. Inmates from outside work details were brought back to the main camp, which was cordoned off with the help of units of the 20th Waffen-SS Division under the command of Sturmbannführer Georg Ahlemann.⁷ The SS tried hard to avoid a panic among the inmates and promised that everybody would be evacuated to other camps in Germany. They even provided a particularly good meal. It cannot be ascertained who was in command on that day; the obvious person would be the then-camp commander Werle, although he denied this and claimed that the (higher-ranking) Verwaltungsführer Brenneis had taken over. Apart from the Vaivara personnel present in Klooga, a group of 20 or 30 people from the Commander of Security Police and Security Service in Reval arrived on the morning of September 19 to carry out a mass killing. All the inmates had to sit down cross-legged on the camp ground. Several hundred young men were then called up and had to carry stout pieces of wood out of the camp. After that, inmates were marched out of the camp in small groups. At some point, the sound of gunfire confirmed the suspicions of the waiting inmates; in addition, 1 man came running back and shouted warnings before he was shot. In the ensuing panic, over 100 inmates were able to flee and hide. The wood that the inmates had carried had been used to form pyres. People were shot and fell onto them, then a new layer of wood was added and the next group shot. Other inmates were shot in a shed, but several people escaped before it was doused with gasoline and burned. The pyres were also set on fire. Russian prisoners were shot as well.

At the end of the day, the Germans left the camp. The inmates in hiding were liberated by the Red Army a few days later. The Red Army widely reported on what had happened and took pictures of the execution site, and the Klooga mass murder was introduced in the Soviet trial against Friedrich Jeckeln and others in Riga in 1945–1946. For these reasons, this mass killing and Klooga itself have become more widely known than other subcamps where similar events took place—for instance, Ereda.

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see “Vaivara Main Camp.”

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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

NOTES

1. Abraham Aharonson, YVA, 03/2926; manuscript by L. Buzhanski, YVA, M 1-E/822; Israel Segal, YVA, 03/2669.
2. Abraham Aharonson, YVA, 03/2926.
3. July 12, 196?, Wilhelm Fö., vol. 17, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
4. Abraham Aharonson, YVA, 03/2926.
5. Individual cases in ESTA, R 64/1/159–167.
6. See R 170, ESTA. A full evaluation of the index was done by Riho Västriik and kindly made available to the author.
7. July 9, 1974, Anklageschrift Georg Ahlemann, LG Köln, 130 24 Js 14/70.

KUREMÄE

The first 150 inmates of the Kuremäe subcamp were housed in a former community center (*Gemeindehaus*). Everything was lacking: food, water, latrines, shoes, and clothes. Even the Vaivara SS camp doctor, Bodmann, remarked on the desolate conditions. The inmates had to build the fences enclosing the camp themselves; later a few emergency barracks (*Tönnenzelte*) were erected. Some people were directly deported from Kaunas to Kuremäe; others arrived later via other camps. Inmates worked on a narrow-gauge railway. In November 1943, the number of inmates increased to 462. Bodmann complained about the high percentage of people unfit for work but mentioned that the numbers had “decreased.”¹ From this remark one can conclude that the 33 deaths registered in November were not due to natural causes. In December 1943 and January 1944, the number of inmates was slightly lower, and 10 and 14 deaths occurred, respectively. In February 1944, the population sharply increased to about 850, due to the transfer of 437 inmates from Soski. On February 8 and February 16, inmates were killed by Soviet artillery at their work sites. Kuremäe was closed in March 1944.

The camp commander was Alfred Engst; the SS medic (SDG) was Knott. SDG Erich Scharfetter was also present. The guards were Russians or Ukrainians. Dr. Dworzecki was the camp doctor. Later, at the time of the evacuation of most eastern camps, Wilhelm Genth, who was acting as commander in Soski, marched the Soski inmates to Kuremäe with the help of the Estonian guards. The inmates recall having “been driven like cattle” and that Scharfetter killed several people on the way.² After Kuremäe was evacuated, the inmates were absorbed into other camps. Several witnesses list Goldfields as the next station.

Scharfetter was infamous for his acts of cruelty; he killed inmates with injections but also by cutting their throats or with a pickax. An inmate recalls the murder of 19 sick inmates; later, that inmate, who had to burn the corpses, recounted that all 19 had wounds inflicted by a pickax.³ A German court sentenced Scharfetter to life imprisonment for 18 counts of murder.⁴

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see “Vaivara Main Camp.”

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NOTES

1. November 25, 1943, Monatsbericht SS Lagerarzt, EHM, 152/2/40.
2. June 7, 196?, Abraham Kr., vol. 4, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
3. Iser Zak, YVA, 04/400.
4. February 1, 1980, Urteil Scharfetter, LG Stade, 9 Ks 1/78-23/78.

LAGEDI

The subcamp at Lagedi existed only briefly, approximately from July to September of 1944. Entries on transfers in the Klooga card index indicate that it was considered a work camp.¹ When the transports of inmates coming from camps evacuated in the second stage of the retreat could not be housed in Klooga, a camp was erected close to Reval in Lagedi near the railway line. Inmates were initially living in the open; later they constructed temporary shelter. In August 1944, material to erect barracks was supplied by Klooga. The camp commander was Helmut Schnabel. SS medic (SDG) Scharfetter seems also to have been present at one stage, and there are allegations against him of killings of inmates in pairs. At one point the camp was bombarded by the Soviets, and some inmates were wounded. In the final evacuation, the inmates were transported by ship to the Stutthof concentration camp. When they left, only a group of approximately 80 inmates remained to clean up. Former inmates later heard that the 80 were killed after they performed the work. The German camp personnel shot them after the Estonian guards refused to do it.

On August 18, 1944, 500 inmates from Klooga were brought to Lagedi, which was at that point empty except for camp commander Alfred Engst and two Jews. Some inmates have positive recollections of Engst; for instance, he allowed them to bathe once a week. The inmates had to dig antitank trenches. Shortly before the evacuation, the Vaivara SS camp doctor, Bodmann, conducted a final selection. On September 18, 1944, Krebsbach, Brenneis, and other SS officers arrived to tell Engst that the camp inmates would be evacuated to another location. Inmates were driven away by truck. The last truck containing members of work details was delayed, and upon arrival at its destination—a clearing in a wooded area—the inmates overheard the driver being told that he was too late. They were taken to Reval, where they spent the night in the prison, and then they were brought to Klooga on September 19. Later they realized that all the others had been shot in the woods, but they were brought back to be killed in the big action in Klooga. A truck with female inmates also arrived too late for the execution in the forest, and they were then transported back to Klooga via the Reval prison.

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see “Vaivara Main Camp.”
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NOTE

1. R 170, ESTA. A full evaluation of the index was done by Riho Västriik and kindly made available to the author.

NARVA [AKA NARVA-OST]
(AND HUNGERBURG)

The Germans established the Vaivara subcamp Narva-Ost (as the official letterhead stated) in the fall of 1943, when Kurt Pannicke was transferred there with 500 inmates. Other inmates arrived from Vivikonna or, at later points, from other camps. One former inmate recalls that he volunteered for Narva in order to get away from the terrible conditions in Ereda.¹ In October 1943, the Vaivara SS camp doctor, Bodmann, listed 1,548 persons at Narva; in November, 1,693. In November 1943, 300 inmates were sent to a work detail (Aus-senkommando) in Hungerburg (Estonian: Narva-Jõesuu). Consequently, the population decreased to 1,290 in December, then to 1,004 in January. In February 1944, Narva was evacuated, and 733 inmates had to march for 20 hours to Vaivara.

The Narva camp was located in a former factory; the inmates lived in factory buildings, men and women in separate sections. The SS medic (SDG) was Ernst Runde. Helmut Schnabel acted for Pannicke in January 1944 when the latter was ill. Diller was named as camp elder. The camp clerk (Schreiber), a man called Brojde, or Broido, was well known among the inmates from Vilnius, because he had once been a Lithuanian consul. The guards were Estonians and Latvians. From the reports on the shooting of two inmates—who were allegedly trying to escape—the guard figures as a “Schutzmann.”² Dutch laborers worked close by; their food was prepared in the so-called Dutch kitchen.

Work consisted of building fortifications and digging anti-tank trenches for the Pantherstellung, an army defensive network, as well as roadwork, woodcutting, and construction projects by various companies under the auspices of the Organisation Todt (OT). The Pantherstellung was given high priority; on March 1, 1944, the army planned to assign 3,000 Jewish workers to this project.³ Surviving OT invoices for compensation paid for the laborers working on their construction sites show an 11-hour workday.⁴ Inmates in the Hungerburg camp did forestry work. This camp was run by OT. When a typhus epidemic struck, however, SDG Scharfetter was temporarily transferred there. In January 1944, the subcamp was closed.

The surviving records show that the camp was organized in sections (*Blöcke*) and rooms (*Zimmer*); transfers from one room to another were recorded, as well as the number of sick inmates in the sickroom (*Revier*) or the amounts of wooden clogs or pieces of clothing distributed to inmates.⁵ The recollections of former inmates create a not-so-orderly picture of a world of hunger, cold, exhaustion, sickness, lice, and typhus. Food was entirely inadequate; inmates recall receiving a daily ration of 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread and 0.5 liters (2 cups) of soup. Even Bodmann admitted that the work at Narva was extraordinarily hard and the conditions bad. The number of deaths was high—125 in December 1943 alone. The few surviving camp records report several cases of inmates leaving their workplace to beg for food. Malnutrition led to famine

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edema, and typhus was rampant. As early as November 16, 1943, inmates attempted to escape. (The Estonian Security Police helped track down escapees, as a warrant indicates.)⁶ One former inmate recalled that he escaped and went to town, where he tried to find work, but he was ferreted out by an informer and was returned to the camp via the police prison.⁷

On top of the overall bad conditions, the SS officers running Narva were of a particularly murderous disposition. Pannicke was only 26 years old, and he exhibited a strange mix of favoritism toward certain inmates and, at the same time, extreme cruelty. He seems to have enjoyed the limitless power his position gave him, telling inmates that their lives were entirely in his hands.⁸ At other times he could joke with them and show concern for their well-being. During marches he made them sing Jewish songs.⁹ Pannicke also enjoyed his material advantages: he forced an inmate shoemaker to steal leather from the OT to make boots for his girlfriends, and he gave jewelry or gold to the camp elder to buy him additional food.¹⁰ Mimicking the sound of his name, inmates nicknamed him “Peiniger” (Torturer).

Runde had the nickname “Meine Herren!” (Gentlemen!) because he used to publicly address inmates this way. Helmut Schnabel was not stationed in Narva but visited his friend Pannicke often. On these visits, excessive consumption of alcohol and murderous rampages were common. One of the worst episodes occurred around Christmas 1943 or New Year’s Eve 1944, when Pannicke and his friends walked onto the camp ground and beat and trampled several inmates to death in full view of the prisoners standing by attention. Many witnesses also recall the deportation of Brodje, one of Pannicke’s former favorites, presumably during the “10 percent selection.” When Pannicke gave Brodje’s leather jacket to another inmate, everybody knew what his fate had been.

Pannicke regularly beat inmates at roll call, forced them to stand overly long at attention as punishment, killed weak people or threw them into a canal adjoining the camp grounds, and drilled them to remove their caps and put them back on with military precision. Runde regularly checked the camp infirmary and throttled sick inmates. The room elder (Stubenältester) then removed the corpses and took them off the list of inmates, which Runde then countersigned. Sick people were also killed through injections. The background for this can be found in Bodmann’s reports: in November 1943, he complained about the high number of old inmates but hoped that by the “harsher measures” (*härteren Masstab*) applied by Runde the numbers could be decreased. In December, most old Jews were reported to have died. At the time when the typhus epidemic was rampant, one of the inmates recalls Bodmann saying that the best thing would be to raze the entire infested camp.¹¹ Corpses were burned in a factory oven on a regular basis. Feeble inmates were also “finished off” by the work supervisors.

In February 1944, Narva was evacuated due to the advancing front line; the inmates were marched via Vaivara to Ereda. Schnabel may have supervised the march; other witnesses recalled Pannicke as supervisor. The march claimed many victims.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see “Vaivara Main Camp.”
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NOTES

1. June 7, 1961, Abraham Kr., vol. 6, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
2. Undated handwritten fragments, ESTA, R 966/1/1.
3. March 1, 1944, Mineralölkommando Estland, Aktennotiz, ESTA, R 187/1/24.
4. Lohnstundenachweis für Baustellenlohnempfänger, ESTA, R 966/1/1.
5. See ESTA, R 966.
6. November 16, 1943, Viks, Suchbefehl, ESTA, R 62/1/25.
7. Mordechai Rosenberg, YVA, 03/3085.
8. October 14, 1965, Sima Sk., vol. 14, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
9. July 1, 1971, Herschel-Chane Dr., vol. 27, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
10. November 5, 1962, Zelik Gu., vol. 12, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
11. October 25, 1965, Joseph Ba., p. 1848, 1. Ausfertigung, Bd 12A, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

PANKEWITZA

The Germans established a camp at Pankewitza, 50 kilometers (about 31 miles) west of Pleskau, in November 1943. Two hundred and fifty inmates from Klooga were transferred there on November 11 and housed in barracks. For December, the same numbers are listed.

No further information on this camp is available.

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see “Vaivara Main Camp.”

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PETSERI, ÜLENURME, KULUPE

In January 1944, 198 inmates were registered at the work camp at Petseri; 3 deaths occurred during that month. There were 127 inmates in the nearby camp at Ülenurme, and 299 in Kulupe. These camps were too far away from the headquarters in Vaivara to be inspected regularly by the SS doctor. The SS medic (SDG) Karl Theiner was in charge of all three camps. In March 1944, 513 inmates from all three camps were deported, and after a German army unit refused to allow Jews into their delousing facilities, the prisoners were brought to Riga-Kaiserwald. Former inmates recalled that they worked on a railway originating in Dorpat and that camps were shifted according to the progress of construction.¹

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see “Vaivara Main Camp.”

Ruth Bettina Birn

NOTE

1. 1949, Affidavit Mirkin Le., vol. 15, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59; 30.8.1967, Ela Ko, vol. 26, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

PORT KUNDA

A subcamp of Vaivara, at Port Kunda, was established in the autumn of 1943 with the purpose of supplying the Port Kunda cement factory with manpower. The factory was situated on the north coast of Estonia between Tallinn and Narva. It was built in the 1890s by the then-largest Danish industrial corporation FL Smidth & Co., which took over the ownership of Port Kunda in 1922 in cooperation with Swedish interests. Port Kunda Cement, with approximately 1,200 workers, was self-sufficient in all raw materials. It was run by Danish engineers until 1940, when the factory was nationalized in the wake of the Soviet occupation of Estonia. Soon after the German attack on the Soviet Union in 1941 and the subsequent occupation of Estonia, negotiations between the German and the Danish governments were initiated concerning a Danish takeover of Port Kunda. On the Danish side, negotiations were conducted by Minister of Public Works Gunnar Larsen, who was able to utilize his personal connections with German Minister of Armaments and War Production Fritz Todt. In alliance with Todt, Larsen bypassed the German Foreign Ministry and instead approached newly appointed Minister of the Occupied Eastern Territories Alfred Rosenberg, who was eager to produce political results. Negotiations were probably facilitated by the fact that, in 1935, Larsen, an engineer who studied at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, had taken over the leadership of FL Smidth & Co. and was now both director and chairman of the board of that corporation. Thus, already in the autumn of 1941, the former director of Port Kunda, Theodor Hansen, returned to the factory; and during Larsen's official visit to the Baltic lands, the Reichskommissariat Ostland, in April–May 1942, the factory was formally handed over to the Danes. The reinstallment of the former owners was one of the few tangible results of the work accomplished by Larsen and the so-called Danish Committee for the Eastern Areas, initiated by him and established under the auspices of the Danish Foreign Ministry.

At Port Kunda, cement production had already commenced in August 1942, but it was seriously hampered by a chronic shortage of labor, and Hansen repeatedly asked the local German authorities for extra manpower—specifically, 200 men for the oil-shale quarry at Ubja.¹ At the same time, the FL Smidth & Co. headquarters in Copenhagen urged Reichskommissar Hinrich Lohse to solve the problem. The Technisches Hauptamt Estland regarded Port Kunda Cement—Estonia's only cement factory—as crucial for the supplying of cement for the Organisation Todt (OT); and in the summer of 1943, Port Kunda Cement was characterized as an armaments concern (*Rüstungsausbau*) of decisive importance to the war (*kriegsentscheidender Bedeutung*). The same year, the factory produced 49.3 tons of cement, covering 90 percent of the minimum demand in the Generalbezirk Estland.² In September 1942, 40 local Roma (Gypsies), who had been interned by the occupation authorities, more than half of whom were women, were set to work at the factory. Later that year, an extra 62 refugees and settlers from the Leningrad

area arrived with their families. When in April 1943 these people were shipped to Finland as part of a German-Finnish settlement program, production at the factory came to a standstill.³

Heinrich Himmler's order of June 21, 1943, to dissolve the Jewish ghettos of the Reichskommissariat Ostland and set the prisoners to work in the camps of the Estonian oil-shale areas helped solve the problem. On September 15, 1943, Vaivara was established at Narva as the main camp for 27 work camps in northern Estonia. A few weeks later, a camp connected to Port Kunda Cement was set up. On October 10, 1943, the first contingent of Jewish prisoners—approximately 60 men and 10 women—arrived from the ghetto of Vilnius and were put behind barbed wire. Shortly thereafter, they were joined by up to 200 Jewish prisoners who were among those evacuated from the Kaunas ghetto on October 28.⁴ Thus, from October 1943, there were two camps at Port Kunda. One was the “Jewish Camp” situated in the woods at a closed-down oil-shale quarry at Vainamoisa, approximately 11 kilometers (6.8 miles) outside Port Kunda. Every day, the Jews were marched from their wooden barracks to the limestone quarries at Arro and Allofer and the oil-shale quarry at Ubja, where they worked under inhuman conditions. The limestone and oil shale they mined were transported by train to the cement plant at Port Kunda. At times, some of the Jewish prisoners were sent to Port Kunda to assist in cement production. The camp at Vainamoisa was guarded by the Training and Reserve Battalion 20 of the Estonian SS, commanded by the German SS-Unterscharführer B. and a few other German SS. Information is unavailable about whether any of these people were ever tried before a court after the war.⁵

The other camp was a stone house (still standing in 2006) on the factory grounds, where the Gypsy families lived. Guarded by Estonians, they carried out the most exhausting work at the plant, reloading the oil shale as it arrived from the quarries outside Port Kunda. At the time of the Danish administration from 1941 to 1944, one Gypsy was shot while trying to escape. The surviving Gypsies were released on the day before the arrival of the Red Army in the summer of 1944.

The Jews and Roma at Port Kunda's two camps endured hard physical labor. According to survivors, the commandant would often hit and threaten the prisoners, leaving them to wait for hours in the cold when they had finished work. Hansen left Port Kunda immediately after the arrival of the Jews, leaving the administration of the factory to the remaining five Danish engineers. According to an interview with one of the engineers, the inmates were given the same quantities of food and cigarettes as the staff.⁶ In February 1944, as the German-Soviet front drew near, production facilities were taken over by the German authorities.

As many as 500 people might have worked at Port Kunda's limestone and oil-shale quarries when the factory was abandoned in July or August 1944. Shortly before the evacuation, elderly people and children were taken away and shot in the woods. The surviving prisoners were sent to Tallinn and were

taken by ship to Danzig/Gdańsk, where they were set to work in the Stutthof concentration camp. The few survivors were finally marched to Germany, where they were liberated in the spring of 1945.⁷

The FL Smidth & Co., later FLS Industries, was partially compensated for its loss of property by the Soviet authorities in the 1960s, but in 1997 the corporation again claimed compensation, this time against the newly reestablished Estonian state. The claim was given up when shortly thereafter it was revealed in the Danish media that the corporation had been involved in the use of forced labor during the war. FLS Industries then initiated a search for survivors. A total of 12 surviving Jews and Roma from Port Kunda were thus compensated economically for their suffering during World War II.

SOURCES The history of the FL Smidth & Co., the Danish Committee for the Eastern Areas, and the cement plant and labor camp at Port Kunda is treated extensively in Joachim Lund, *Hitlers spisekammer* (Gyldendal: Copenhagen, 2005), a summary of which can be found in Joachim Lund, "Denmark and the 'European New Order,' 1940–1942," *CEH* 13:3 (August 2004): 305–321. On the Estonian camps, see International Red Cross, *Catalogue of Camps and Prisons in Germany and German Occupied Territories*, vols. 1–3 (Arolsen, 1949–1959); *Die deutsch-faschistische Okkupation in Estland. Aus der Mitteilung der staatlichen Sonderkommission für die Feststellung und Untersuchung der Missetaten deutsch-faschistischer Eindringlinge und deren Helfershelfer*, 29.11.1944 (Tallinn, 1963); Roswitha Czollek, *Faschismus und Okkupation* (Berlin, 1974); M. Dworzecki, *Jewish Camps in Estonia 1942–1944* (Jerusalem, 1970); Franz W. Seidler, *Die Organisation Todt. Bauen für Staat und Wehrmacht 1938–1945* (Koblenz, 1987); and Alfred Streim, "Konzentrationslager auf dem Gebiet der Sowjetunion," *DaHe* 5 (1989).

On the early history and geographic details of Port Kunda Cement, see "Cementfabriken 'Port-Kunda' med tilhørende bivirksomheder" (unpub., FL Smidth, 1932). Figures on cement production in the Reichskommissariat Ostland are given in "Abschlussbericht des Wirtschaftsstabes Ost 1944–1945," printed in Rolf-Dieter Müller, ed., *Die deutsche Wirtschaftspolitik in den besetzten sowjetischen Gebieten 1941–1945* (Boppard, 1991). Survivors' accounts from the Estonian camps are published in Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book* (New York, 1981), pp. 390–398.

Primary source material on the labor camp and production at Port Kunda include Danish as well as German archival sources. The DNA in Copenhagen holds the archives of the Committee for the Eastern Areas of the Danish Foreign Ministry as well as the diary of Minister Gunnar Larsen. Details of the labor camp are given most extensively in the postwar trial of the director of Port Kunda, Theodor Hansen, in the ACCC, 21. Dept. No. 477, 1946 (RA-ZMLF, Copenhagen). Additional information on Port Kunda Cement is found in the archives of FLS Industries (Copenhagen). Internal correspondence of the German authorities and their correspondence with the Danish counterpart are to be found in the PAAA, Büro Staatssekretär I (Berlin), and the archives of the Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories (BA, R 6, Berlin). Part of the documents are printed in German as well as in Danish in *Beretning til Folketinget*, afgivet af den Parlamentariske Kommission, etc. (Copenhagen, 1945–1953). The BA branch in Aachen holds the

Tätigkeitsberichte of Technisches Hauptamt Estland, Gruppe Bauwirtschaft, as well as Hauptamt IV (Technik) beim Generalkommissar in Reval [Tallinn] and the Organisation Todt/Einsatzgruppe Russland Nord (esp. R 50 I/391–396). See also Kriegstagebuch für das Wehrwirtschaftskommando Reval (BA, R 91, Reval/2, Berlin). A few surviving documents of the Sipo in Reval regarding the Jewish camps exist in Osobyj Archiv (RGVA) 504 K/2/8 (Moscow).

Additional information was given in interviews with former engineer at Port Kunda Tage D. (Copenhagen, 1993 and 1994) and surviving prisoners Abram Majerowitj Krein in 1944 (ZSL-L, 110 AR 1409/97). In 1997, William Kagan and Charles Lubock, both living in the United States and located with the help of the USHMM, were interviewed by Danish journalist Lisbeth Jessen, as was the daughter of Lejb Radzelis, also a former Port Kunda prisoner (Dahlin et al. 2002; Lund 2005), as well as Port Kunda residents Pauline Kroon, Ursel Onk, and Arnold Emme (cited in Lisbeth Jessen, "F.L. Smidth i Estland," in *Magtens bog*, ed. Ulrik Dahlin et al. [Aschehoug: Copenhagen, 2002], pp. 876–896).

Joachim Lund

NOTES

1. See Theodor Hansen to FL Smidth & Co., Copenhagen, August 15, 1943, FLS, "Fortroligt indhold. Beretninger fra dir. Theodor Hansen samt dokumenter ang. Retssagen."
2. Questioning of Theodor Hansen in the Copenhagen City Court, 21. Dept. No. 477 / 1946 (RA-ZMLF).
3. Memorandum, Theodor Hansen, May 1943, pp. 10–12. FLS, "Fortroligt indhold. Beretninger fra dir. Theodor Hansen samt dokumenter ang. retssagen" (Confidential. Reports of Dir. Theodor Hansen and documents concerning the trial).
4. Questioning of Theodor Hansen in the Copenhagen City Court, 21. Dept. No. 477/ 1946 (RA-ZMLF, Copenhagen).
5. Information given by DRM-BK, 1998.
6. Interviews with civil engineer Tage D., Copenhagen, 23.04.1993 and 02.06.1994. Tage D. was stationed by FL Smidth & Co. at Port Kunda in spring 1943.
7. Interviews with William Kagan and Charles Lubock, October 1997.

SONDA

The Germans established the camp at Sonda with 200 inmates on February 20–22, 1944, during the second phase of the existence of the Vaivara camp system. Sources show 293 inmates in March 1944; the number declined to 270 by June. Inmates were transferred to Sonda from Narva or from other camps after their closure (see Vaivara/Narva). Witnesses recall Wirker as the first commander, and then Reissig. Prisoner work consisted of clearing forests. The Vaivara SS camp doctor, Bodmann, considered this light work, requiring little strength, while former inmates recall deaths caused by exhaustion and illness.¹ In May, sick inmates from the camp hospital (*Krankensammellager*) in Ereda were transferred to Sonda. Camp statistics show 6 deaths in March, 8 in April, and

7 in May and in June. On May 26, 1944, the SS medic (SDG) was Wilhelm Genth, and the camp guards numbered 25.

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see “Vaivara Main Camp.”

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NOTE

1. Zyusman So., p. 1670, vol. 11A, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

SOSKI

Soski was located near Lake Peipu in a densely forested, swampy area in Estonia. In October 1943, 495 inmates were housed there in makeshift barracks, sleeping on the bare ground. The number of inmates remained roughly the same until the camp's evacuation. In December 1943, the camp commander was Reissig. Some former inmates report arriving in a first group of 150 people from Ereda (see, Vaivara/Ereda) with Reissig and that Alfred Engst became his deputy. Others recall Engst as the first commander. All seem to remember that Engst was much worse than Reissig. In the winter of 1943–1944, SS medic (SDG) Wilhelm Genth arrived for a short period, presumably to act for Reissig, who had contracted typhus and was transferred to the military hospital in Narva (see Vaivara/Narva) on December 21, 1943. According to reports from the Vaivara SS camp doctor, Bodmann, Genth had already made an unsuccessful attempt to reach Soski in November.

Witnesses recall laying railway tracks and loading and unloading boats on the nearby river and that no Organisation Todt (OT) personnel were present in the camp. Work was very hard. One inmate remembers Soski as the worst camp in which he had ever been imprisoned.¹ While no organized killings took place, inmates died slowly of starvation. In December 1943, 23 deaths were registered. An inmate died after a severe beating. On February 3, 1944, the Red Army was only 4 or 5 kilometers (2.5 to 3.1 miles) away, and the Germans suspected Jewish inmates of contacting Soviet partisans. Bodmann received the order to go to Soski and organize a retreat. SDGs Genth and Lingg led the march over frozen swamps to Kuremäe (see Vaivara/Kuremäe). Several inmates died due to the harsh conditions.

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see “Vaivara Main Camp.”

Ruth Bettina Birn

NOTE

1. June 6, 1962, Abraham Kr., Anlageband IV, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

VAIVARA SUBCAMP

Vaivara was home to the staff of the entire Vaivara main camp under Hans Aumeier and also to a subcamp that served as a transit camp for newly arriving inmates before their transfer to other subcamps. In September 1943, this camp held 202

inmates; in October, 1,237; and in February 1944, 1,292. Because of its function as a transit camp, the Vaivara subcamp contained a high number of old and infirm inmates, as well as children. The main camp's SS doctor, Bodmann, mentions 202 children in October 1943, crammed into a barrack, which he saw as an inevitable burden on the camp for “security reasons.”

The first inmates arrived in the Vaivara subcamp during the summer of 1943; one inmate remembers the date as August 6.¹ For a brief period, an Organisation Todt (OT) man was in command; after a few weeks, Kurt Pannicke took over, until he was transferred to Narva (see Vaivara/Narva) at the end of September. In that period, inmates recall Diller as camp elder, who went with a number of other inmates to Narva with Pannicke.² From the end of September or early October 1943 until the evacuation of the camp in February 1944, Helmut Schnabel was commander. He brought inmates with him from his previous camp, Vivikonna (see Vaivara/Vivikonna). Oskar Helbig was Schnabel's deputy. Other inmates recollect Fritz Stiewitz and Adolf Kley acting for Schnabel toward the end. SS medics (SDGs) named were Heinrich Hemlinger, Rolf Klicker, and Heinrich Schattkus. Several SDGs were assigned to supervise the evacuation marches, where female guards were also present. The camp elder under Schnabel was called Meir Zwei; other inmates say it was Isaak Jutan. The SS personnel from nearby headquarters also made appearances in the work camp.

Inmates did labor in the forest, on the railway line, or at construction sites. Work was organized by the OT. Dutch workers were housed close by, and some female camp inmates worked in the so-called Dutch kitchen. The Vaivara subcamp was a central point for other camps, with a camp pharmacy delivering medicine to all the affiliated work subcamps. Inmates who attempted to escape had to wear a piece of red cloth on their chest and were moved from their individual camps to Vaivara.³ In December 1943, typhus broke out; 20 percent of the inmates succumbed to the epidemic, and sick inmates from other camps were transferred to quarantine in the Vaivara camp hospital.

Food was insufficient in Vaivara. Former inmates recall receiving 125 grams (4.4 ounces) of bread and some soup and tea each day, leading to hunger-induced illnesses. Craftsmen were in a better position because they arranged to trade food for their products, making use of those in the work details outside of the camp. Several SS men and Germans from other organizations working close by had caps or garments custom made by Jewish craftsmen.⁴ A former Vaivara cap maker could still remember Aumeier's and Bodmann's head sizes in his postwar statement.⁵

Continuous selections were conducted; though they were considered a secret, inmates found out that those selected were shot 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) away from the camp, in the woods.⁶ Sick inmates in the camp hospital were killed with injections. A special command for burning the corpses was set up.

Both Pannicke and Schnabel inflicted continuous punishment and torture on the inmates. Pannicke used to drill in-

mates during roll call; Diller gave the commands for the “caps on, caps off” game. One former inmate had no positive recollections of Diller in general; he is alleged to have stolen valuables.⁷ Schnabel was zealously active in Vaivara as in his other assignments, searching the barracks for inmates dodging work, beating inmates who spilled their soup, forcing the whole camp to do demeaning exercises during roll call, and killing inmates who had stolen potatoes or received a second helping of soup.

Many former inmates recalled two particular atrocities. One was the killing of Dr. Katz, a dentist, who as an older man could not work anymore and was hiding during the day in the barracks. Schnabel found him, beat him, and while he was lying on the ground, poured a bottle of Lysol into his mouth.⁸ The second incident was the killing by Pannicke of an inmate who had been an official of the Jewish council in Vilnius. During roll call, the whole camp was made to stand to attention and watch while the inmate was slowly tortured by having to do “exercises” (*Sport treiben*), leading to his death.

In January 1944, inmates were sent to the Vivikonna subcamp, thus relieving Vaivara’s overcrowded conditions; in the same month, however, the inmates of the closed camps Hungerburg and Jõhvi (see Vaivara/Narva and Vaivara/Jõhvi) arrived at the Vaivara subcamp. In February 1944, 604 sick people and 185 children were sent to Ereda (see Vaivara/Ereda). By this time, the first wave of evacuations from the East had arrived in the Vaivara subcamp, including inmates of Narva, Auvere, Putki, and Vivikonna. Moreover, the Vaivara subcamp itself had to be evacuated immediately, on February 4 and 5, 1944. There were 2,466 inmates that marched to the new Vaivara subcamps Kiviõli, Ereda, Jõhvi, and Goldfields. During the evacuation march from Vaivara, inmates had to cover long distances: 65 kilometers (40.4 miles) to Kiviõli, 45 kilometers (28 miles) to Ereda, 50 kilometers (31 miles) to Goldfields, and 28 kilometers (17.4 miles) to Jõhvi. The marches took three days in bad weather conditions. Soviet planes bombarded the prisoner columns, causing casualties, while others died due to exhaustion or were shot.

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see “Vaivara Main Camp.”

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NOTES

1. Sania Janiska, YVA, M-49-E/4257.
2. August 19, 1965, Szabatai Ge., August 10, 1965, Zelik, Gu.—both: vol. 14, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
3. February 26, 1971, Mendel Kr., vol. 27, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
4. May 12, 1974, Gita-Ita Ba., vol. 28, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
5. August 10, 1961, Mosze Da., vol. 11, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
6. Ibid.
7. Sania Janiska, YVA, M-49-E/4257.
8. August 18, 1965, Hirsch Kl., vol. 14, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

VIVIKONNA OT AND VIVIKONNA BALTÖL [AKA WERK IV SILLAMÄE]

The mining facilities at Vivikonna were an important part of the Baltische Öl GmbH, or Baltöl (Baltic Oil), operation. In the first meeting between the Security Police and Baltöl representatives on July 19, 1943, 400 Jewish concentration camp inmates were promised to the Vivikonna mine. Organisation Todt (OT) planned several construction projects in Vivikonna, including building barracks for the Jewish Camp Vivikond (Judenlager Vivikond). Vivikonna consisted of three camps, the first of which was already closed in October 1943. There were 1,300 inmates assigned to this camp, housed in very inadequate barracks. For the November–December 1943 period, the Vaivara SS camp doctor, Bodmann, mentioned two new camps, one called “Vivikonna OT,” the other, “Vivikonna Baltöl.” The Baltöl camp contained 699 people, and the population remained constant. In the Baltöl organization, this work site was referred to as Werk IV Sillamäe. Inmates mined shale in open pits doing alternating shifts with Russian prisoners of war (POWs). Baltöl set strict rules to ensure a separation between Jewish and Russian workers.¹ Vivikonna OT was set up with 100 inmates transferred from Vaivara; inmates transferred from the Jõhvi subcamp increased the number to 474 by January 1944. The camp was located in an isolated spot in the woods. In February 1944, plans were made for evacuation; the SS and Police Leader was in charge of the Vaivara inmates, who represented roughly one-third of the Baltöl workforce.² Workers were to be marched toward Kiviõli, Kohtla-Järve, and Ereda. On February 2, 1944, 872 inmates from the OT camp were evacuated; on February 12, 698 inmates from the Baltöl camp followed.

As no original documents have survived indicating the names of camp commanders, it is somewhat difficult to differentiate between the camps, based on witness testimony only. Helmut Schnabel is mentioned as commander of the first camp, after a brief transition period under OT. He had a deputy with a glass eye. Camp elders named were Jutan, Heiman, and Szczibuk (phonetic spelling). When Schnabel was transferred to Vaivara, inmates were transferred with him and to other camps. The inmates did forestry work, built railroad tracks, or dug trenches under the supervision of the OT. Initially there was no running water, the ground was swampy, and barracks were built on stilts.

Bock, who later became the commander of Klooga, was mentioned as commander of one of the camps.³ This camp was presumably Vivikonna Baltöl, as it was described as relatively big, and inmates worked in a quarry, mining coal and shale. The medical orderly (SDG) was Schattkus. The camp elder was Aranowicz; doctors named were Buzhanski and Fried.⁴ Overall, inmates recall conditions in this camp as relatively good, particularly in comparison to the other one. It is not clear who the commander of Vivikonna OT was.

Former inmates from the camp under Schnabel’s command remember selections and shootings of the elderly and

the infirm. The children in the camp were gathered together at one point and taken away on trucks. This led to heart-breaking scenes. For example, one child was hammering at the window of the barracks in which she was locked up, but when her mother tried to get close, Schnabel shot the mother. Inmates recall that OT men were appalled by these scenes. Schnabel tortured the inmates; he tried to extort valuables from them, and he shot some of them afterward. He ordered an old man, who had fallen in the swampy ground and could not get up, to be shot. He beat a mentally disabled youngster and put him in a ditch full with water overnight. Schnabel is reported to have said that Jews were not human beings.⁵

SOURCES For all relevant sources, see “Vaivara Main Camp.”
Ruth Bettina Birn

NOTES

1. November 22, 1943, Baltöl, Arbeitseinsatz der Juden, ESTA, R 187/1/33.
2. February 27, 1944, Bericht zur Räumung Werk IV Sil-lamäe, ESTA, R 187/1/7.
3. October 1, 1965, Eliezer Bu., vol. 14, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59; January 25, 1967, Lea Pe., vol. 22, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.
4. Raya Golembo, YVA, 03/3200.
5. August 25, 1965, Harry Hirsch Ka., vol. 14, ZdL, AR-Z 233/59.



WARSCHAU



Post-liberation view of a guard tower at Warschau concentration camp.
USHMM WS #80906, COURTESY OF JULIUSZ BOGDAN DECZKOWSKI

WARSCHAU MAIN CAMP

The Warschau concentration camp, known in Poland as Gęsiówka because it stood at 45 Ulica Gęsia, was established in the summer of 1943 on the ruins of the Warsaw ghetto. After the deportation of the last of Warsaw's Jews, the Jewish quarter was to be razed and rendered uninhabitable, but not before all usable building materials from the ghetto had been recovered. But the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in April and May 1943 stymied German plans. The Germans' scorched-earth tactics under Jürgen Stroop to quell the Jewish resistance reduced the area of the ghetto to rubble. After the defeat of the Jewish resistance fighters, the Germans could now proceed to salvage significant quantities of construction materials, especially bricks and scrap metal, from the debris to be used in support of the German war effort. For this task, Stroop suggested the deployment of Jewish prisoners who would be incarcerated in a concentration camp converted from the former ghetto prison. The Germans also expected to uncover large caches of secreted valuables hidden by the deported Jews. Furthermore, clearance of the rubble would facilitate the effort of German forces to uncover the hiding places of Jewish fugitives from the German assault on the ghetto in cellars, bunkers, and dugouts. Finally, it was in the Germans' interest to erase all evidentiary traces of their annihilation of Warsaw's 400,000 Jews.

In an apparent endorsement of Stroop's proposal, in June 1943, Heinrich Himmler ordered Oswald Pohl's SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the Security Police (Sipo and SD) in the General Government to erect a concentration camp on the site of the destroyed ghetto. It was Himmler's wish not only to salvage bricks, scrap metal, and other building materials from the rubble of the former ghetto

but also to seal all underground hideouts, flatten it to the ground, and plant a park in its place. Responsibility for the implementation of this plan was delegated to Hans Kammler, chief of the WVHA's Office Group C.

The Warschau concentration camp was officially established on July 19, 1943, with 300 prisoners, German inmates from Buchenwald, both political opponents of the regime and common criminals, who would soon become the camp's de facto administrators. In April 1944, the camp was annexed to the Majdanek concentration camp in Lublin and assumed the new name of Lublin concentration camp–Warsaw labor camp (Konzentrationslager Lublin–Arbeitslager Warschau). The camp's first commandant was SS-Obersturmbahnführer Wilhelm Göcke, who was transferred in September 1943 to establish a concentration camp in Kauen (Kovno or Kaunas); after his departure the camp was headed first by SS-Hauptsturmführer Nikolaus Herbet and then by SS-Obersturmführer Friedrich Wilhelm Ruppert, the commandant of the camp when it was evacuated in July 1944. Four German construction firms—Merckle (Ostrów Wielkopolski), Ostdeutscher Tiefbau (Naumburg), Berlinisches Baugeschäft (Berlin), and Willy Keymer (Warsaw)—were contracted to execute Himmler's order with the assistance of the German Eastern Railway (Ostbahn).

Jewish male inmates from Auschwitz constituted the prisoner labor force for the execution of this project. Two series of transports of Jewish prisoners arrived in Warsaw. Four transports with 3,683 Jews arrived in Warsaw from Auschwitz in August, October, and November 1943.¹ After mid-May 1944, transports of an estimated 4,000 to 5,000 Hungarian Jews replenished the inmate population, which was considerably depleted by then. To the Germans, the key criteria in the selection of these prisoners were their relatively decent physical condition, since the work would be heavy and arduous, and their non-Polish origins, because they did not want Jewish prisoners to fraternize with Polish civilians employed in the same work area. Moreover, command of Polish would be an invaluable asset in the event of escape. Thus the Germans deliberately selected Jews from Western and Central Europe and Greece for prisoner labor in Warsaw. In spite of German intentions, several Jewish prisoners in the Warschau concentration camp had migrated westward from Poland before the war and therefore spoke Polish. In the November 1944 transport, moreover, the Germans were forced to include 50 Polish Jews because there were not enough non-Polish prisoners available to fill the quota of 1,000 men. A couple of thousand paid Polish civilian workers and dozens of salaried German technicians augmented the camp's Jewish labor force.

The bulk of the Jewish prisoners were assigned to the demolition of the ghetto. It entailed several steps: gathering



Post-liberation view of Warschau concentration camp; the Jewish cemetery on Okopowa Street is visible in the background on the left behind the camp.

USHMM WS #80904, COURTESY OF JULIUSZ BOGDAN DECZKOWSKI

bricks from the ruins of the ghetto—that is to say, not only recovering bricks already lying on the ground but also demolishing the unstable walls of dilapidated buildings for their bricks; cleaning the bricks by scraping the mortar from them; and stacking them in piles for conveyance by trucks (driven by Poles) to trains. The prisoners were forced to perform this task mostly with the use of their bare hands and occasionally primitive tools like picks and shovels. In the spring of 1944, the use of dynamite, often planted by the prisoners, was introduced to raze remaining buildings. This was backbreaking, exhausting, and dangerous work, and many prisoners were killed and injured. The bricks were heavy, especially for men suffering from fatigue, malnutrition, and disease. Prisoners frequently fell from the heights of ramshackle buildings earmarked for demolition. The tempo was brisk, and German overseers disciplined prisoners who were unable to maintain the pace or abandoned their labor for a brief respite. In his account of the ghetto's demolition, one surviving prisoner writes, "Human life played no role whatsoever."² The stupefying lengths to which these prisoners were driven are attested to by the results of their forced labor. By June 1944, they had demolished an area of approximately 10 million square meters (nearly 12 million square yards) and collected 34 million bricks, 6,000 tons of scrap metal, 1,300 tons of iron ore, and 805 tons of nonferrous metals.³

Officers of the SS unit assigned to the Warschau concentration camp, which amounted to a company, were transferred from various other camps, including the Sachsenhausen and the Lublin subcamp Trawniki. After the annexation of the camp to Majdanek in April 1944, SS personnel from Lublin replaced the original SS unit. The primary function of the SS in Warsaw was to guard the periphery of the camp. In spite of this minimal task, the camp's Jewish prisoners bore the brunt of oppressive SS tactics, as the SS unit attached to the camp never recoiled from acts of violence. The SS unit assigned to the Warschau camp appears to have exhibited an unreflective "healthy, common sense" or "everyday understanding" that Jewish concentration camp inmates were enemies of the state, enemies whose execution—largely through work at this late stage in the war—was totally appropriate.⁴ In the Warschau camp, SS violence was prompted further by prospects of personal enrichment. SS men were enticed not merely by the plunder of valuables discovered by prisoners in the debris of the ghetto but also by the hope of lining their own pockets with the gold teeth of the camp's dead—and occasionally barely living—prisoners. The ferocity of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, in which Jewish insurgents had managed to kill and wound several SS men, apparently served to intensify the loathing of Jews among the SS men in this unit into a violent animosity.

SS brutality aside, the German prisoner-functionaries, who essentially ran the camp, dispensed most of the daily humiliation and degradation that the prisoners suffered. Prisoner-functionaries took pains to intimidate the Jewish prisoners under their control with forcible measures and even wanton cruelty. This was especially true of the criminal

elements among the Kapos, whose feral instincts were directly opposed to the prisoners' welfare. But because of their own inmate status, most of the German prisoner-functionaries were probably most concerned with their own survival, to which aim the Jewish prisoners were expendable.

Hundreds of Jewish prisoners died from sheer exhaustion, mistreatment, and execution; in addition, a typhus epidemic in the winter of 1944 devastated the inmate population. Starvation rations and primitive sanitation, even by the low standards of the concentration camp system, helped create conditions conducive to disease. Lice spread quickly through the camp in the winter of 1943–1944, and typhus then struck the camp with a vengeance in January and February 1944. Afflicted prisoners were placed in an isolation barrack, where they just lay on soiled pallets, receiving no supplemental rations or antibiotics until they either recovered or died. The epidemic created a legion of walking skeletons—"Muslims" (*Muselmänner*) in the universal argot of camp life—who, enervated by camp conditions, gave up on themselves and apathetically awaited death. By March 1944, approximately 75 percent of the camp's Jewish prisoners had died, with approximately 1,000 men still alive. Since the ghetto's demolition was not completed, German authorities decided to replenish the camp's depleted Jewish workforce with additional Jewish prisoners from Hungary in June 1944.

Jewish prisoners employed various stratagems to survive their plight. Successful escape from the camp was rare, since fleeing prisoners had to overcome two sets of guarded walls—the wall surrounding the camp proper and the ghetto wall. Apprehended escapees were hanged in the presence of the entire inmate population, in an effort to deter others from contemplating flight. Since escape was impractical, survival demanded the capacity to endure the deplorable conditions of camp life by navigating breaches in the camp's brutal regime. Physical self-preservation necessitated what was called, in the universal vernacular of the concentration camp system, "organizing." In the Warschau concentration camp this activity essentially entailed scavenging through the rubble of the ghetto for abandoned objects of value and then either selling them for cash to buy food or bartering them directly for food in the flourishing underground economy established between Jewish prisoners and Polish civilian workers. When it later became more difficult to locate items of value in the rubble, many prisoners had their gold teeth extracted by fellow prisoners and then sold them to Poles for either bread or cash to buy bread.

There was modest cultural activity among the Jewish prisoners. A few prisoners would meet in the barracks for prayer. Jewish classics found in the rubble were smuggled into the camp and either passed from person to person or read aloud in the barracks. A few fortunate prisoners were able to draw from a stable reservoir of emotional sustenance from friends or relatives. Jewish prisoners from Greece found fellowship among themselves not only because they felt different from their fellow Jews who hailed from the continent but also because they shared a distinct cultural and communal tradition.

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Although the Germans planned to complete demolition of the ghetto by August 1, 1944, the Soviet advance to the east bank of the Vistula forced the camp's closure in July 1944. The Germans decided to evacuate the prisoners westward in the first of the large wave of death marches undertaken in the terminal phase of the war. Before evacuation, the Germans killed a couple hundred of the most debilitated prisoners; approximately 300 prisoners decided to take their chances and volunteered upon request of the camp's authorities to remain after evacuation to complete the dismantlement of the camp. On July 28, the Germans evacuated approximately 4,500 of the remaining 5,000 prisoners under heavy SS guard in the direction of Kutno, located 120 kilometers (about 75 miles) west of Warsaw. The Germans shot any prisoner breaking ranks or falling behind. Marching in scorching summer heat, the prisoners were wracked by thirst. The death march to Kutno lasted three days. On August 2, the surviving prisoners were loaded into boxcars on a train to Dachau for a journey of almost 750 kilometers (466 miles). Conditions in the cars were abysmal. Approximately 100 men were crammed into each boxcar without any rations. Scores of prisoners died en route from suffocation and heat prostration, while several became mentally unhinged during this agonizing journey. This death train reached Dachau on August 6. Of the prisoners who were evacuated from Warsaw, not quite 4,000 survived the death march and death train to Dachau.⁵

In Warsaw itself, the Warsaw Uprising erupted on August 1, and on August 5, the "Zośka" battalion of the Polish underground Home Army (*Armia Krajowa*, AK) liberated the Warschau concentration camp. In a fierce skirmish on the first day of the uprising, Polish fighters had already freed a group of 50 Jewish prisoners toiling outside the perimeter of the camp. Of the roughly 350 Jewish prisoners freed in the camp by the AK, dozens, including 24 women, had been transferred on July 31, from Pawiak. (Pawiak was the notorious prison for Poles suspected of underground activities; its

inmate population included Jews discovered in hiding on the "Aryan" side or temporarily spared from destruction because of their indispensable manual skills.) The vast majority of liberated prisoners volunteered to fight in the uprising and served the revolt in various capacities. A special Jewish fighting platoon and a Jewish brigade to construct barricades were formed from liberated prisoners. These units sustained heavy losses. The morale of the former prisoners was corroded, however, when antisemitism reared its ugly head in the fighting units; antisemitic Poles even killed several liberated prisoners who volunteered for combat units. With the defeat of the Warsaw Uprising by superior German forces on October 2, the surviving Jewish prisoners were compelled either to flee or go into hiding in bunkers. Life in the bunkers was a grueling ordeal. When the Red Army finally entered Warsaw on January 17, 1945, only 200 Jews, among them former prisoners from the Warschau concentration camp, reemerged from their bunkers still alive.

The existence of the Warschau concentration camp is hardly mentioned in standard accounts of the Holocaust. It was doubtless a minor camp in the large scheme of things, but it dispensed more than its fair share of suffering. Thousands of Jews fell victim there to the Nazi annihilationist labor policies. Of the 8,000 to 9,000 inmates who were impressed into the prisoner labor battalion of this camp between the summers of 1943 and 1944, 4,000 to 5,000 of them perished in the course of the camp's existence, during the camp's evacuation, and in battle or in hiding after liberation.

There have been several postwar trials of camp personnel. In the late 1940s, eight SS men were executed for the murder of camp prisoners—five in German courts and three by the Polish regional court in Lublin. In addition, Walter Wawrzyniak, the camp's initial orderly, was convicted in an East German criminal court in Leipzig in 1950 of the murder and mistreatment of camp prisoners. On appeal, his death sentence was reduced to life imprisonment.⁶ In July 2000, the U.S. District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania vacated the citizenship of Theodor Szezhinsky because of his service in the ranks of the *Waffen-SS* in various concentration camps, including the Warschau concentration camp. He should have been ineligible for a visa to enter the United States after the war.⁷ Substantial evidence from the camp was introduced during the trial in Poland of Jürgen Stroop, who was executed in 1951 for his role in the persecution of Jews and Poles in Warsaw. Both Germany's Central Office of State Justice Administrations (*ZdL*) in Ludwigsburg in the 1970s and the Polish Main Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish Nation-Institute of National Memory from 1974 to 1996 conducted extensive investigations of camp personnel. In both 1974 and 1980, German state prosecutors in Munich terminated the proceedings, and in 1996 the Investigative Department of the Provincial Prosecutor in Warsaw followed suit for similar reasons: the death of many suspected culprits, the failure to discover the whereabouts of others, and the difficulty of identifying the perpetrators of numerous individual killings.



A member of the Polish "Zośka" Battalion escorts two Jews liberated from the Warschau concentration camp, August 5, 1944.
USHMM WS #80910, COURTESY OF JULIUSZ BOGDAN DECZKOWSKI

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933-1945

SOURCES There exists a modest literature on the Warschau concentration camp. Effective surveys from its establishment to its liquidation are Tatiana Berenstein and Adam Rutkowski, "Obóz koncentracyjny dla Żydów w Warszawie (1943–1944)," *BŻIH* 62 (1967): 3–22; and Adam Rutkowski, "Le camp de concentration pour Juifs à Varsovie (19 juillet 1943–5 août 1944)," *Le monde juif* 49:147–148 (1993): 189–216. The author's essay "Jewish Prisoner Labour in Warsaw after the Ghetto Uprising, 1943–44," *Polin* 17 (2004), focuses on the experiences of the camp's Jewish inmates.

Source material for the Warschau concentration camp is scattered in various archival record groups. The most interesting Nuremberg Trial documents pertaining to the camp are Stroop's final report of May 16, 1943, on the liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto, which contains his recommendation to establish a concentration camp for Jewish prisoners on the ruins of the ghetto (PS-1061); Himmler's order of June 11, 1943, to establish a concentration camp in the former ghetto (NO-2496); Pohl's announcement of July 23, 1943, of the establishment of the camp (NO-2516); and four reports by Kammler from October 1943 through June 1944 on the progress of the demolition of the former ghetto by the camp's prisoners (NO-2503, NO-2517, NO-2504, NO-2505). Files from Stroop's trial in Warsaw in 1946, located in IPN and available on microfilm in USHMM, 1998.A.0255, 3 reels, contain several relevant documents. In the course of its investigation, the ZdL amassed several witness statements from SS men and German prisoners assigned to the camp (available at BA-L). The evidentiary record of the Szebinskyj trial includes two transfer reports and a troop muster roll, all of which were discovered in Russian archives, showing the transfer of SS units to and from the Warsaw camp. The AŻIH, RG No. 301, and YVA, Record Group No. 03, possess the most extensive collection of Jewish survivor accounts of life in the camp. On transports from Auschwitz to Warschau, see Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle, 1939–1945* (New York: Henry Holt [Owl Books], 1997). Two survivors of the camp have published memoirs. In *Zibn in bunker* (Warsaw: Idisz Buch, 1962), Chaim Etzel Goldstein movingly describes not only life in the camp but also the camp's liberation by the AK, inmates' participation in the Warsaw Uprising, and his concealment in a bunker

after defeat of the Polish revolt until the Soviet liberation of Warsaw in January 1945. This book has been translated from the Yiddish into English by Charles Goldstein as *The Bunker* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1970). The English version is abridged, and several passages dealing with the camp and the aftermath of its liberation are missing from the translation. In addition to conditions in the camp, the journey to Dachau is recounted in Max Mannheimer, *Spätes Tagebuch: Theresienstadt-Auschwitz-Warschau-Dachau* (Zurich: Pendo Verlag, 2000).

Gabriel N. Finder

NOTES

1. For documentation of these transports, see Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle, 1939–1945* (New York: Henry Holt [Owl Books], 1997), pp. 475, 501, 502, 535.
2. Alois Eisenhändler, "Bericht über das Konzentrationslager Warschau" (unpub. memoir, December 1967), AŻIH, 301/6401, p. 3.
3. See report of Hans Kammler, "Bericht über den Stand der Arbeiten in Sperrgebiet Warschau," June 10, 1943, Nuremberg Trial document NO-2504.
4. See Karin Orth, "The Concentration Camp SS as a Functional Elite," in *National Socialist Policies: Contemporary German Perspectives and Controversies*, ed. Ulrich Herbert (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000), pp. 306–336.
5. See the log entry in "Zugang-Nummern vom 6.5.1942 Nr. 29912 bis 13.4.1945 Nr. 153268 Dachau 3K," AG-D, Archiv-Nr. 31765.
6. The file number of the unpublished verdict in the trial is LG Leipzig Gr. Strfk. (201) 3/50, April 28, 1950. His death sentence was reduced by the appellate court to a life term because of the failings of capitalist society to reform him during his recidivist youth before consigning him to the concentration camp system! The file number of the unpublished decision of the Erste Grosse Strafkammer des Landgerichts Leipzig is Gr. Strfk. [Grosse Strafkammer] (201) 3/55—19 St. Ks 4/50.
7. *U.S.A. v. Theodor Szebinskyj*, 104 F.Supp.2d 480 (July 24, 2000).



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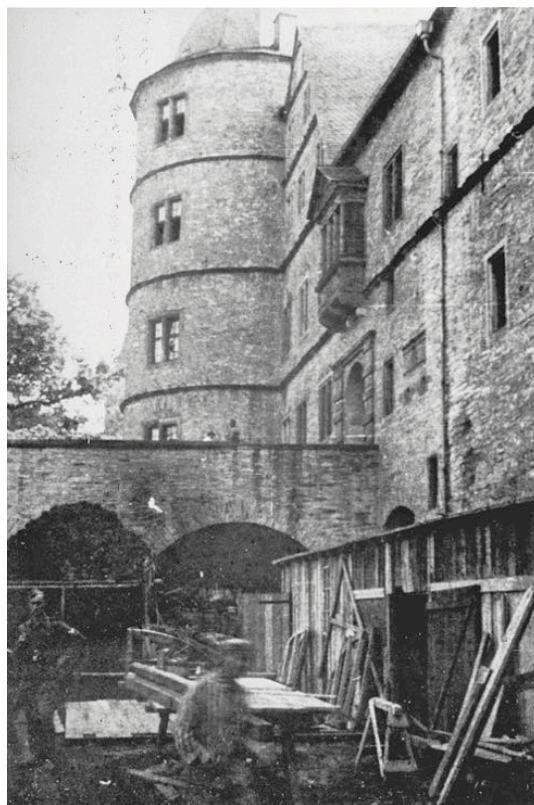


The wooden gate tower at Wewelsburg concentration camp, 1941.
USHMM WS #82780, COURTESY OF AKM-WN

WEWELSBURG MAIN CAMP [AKA NIEDERHAGEN]

On September 1, 1941, the Wewelsburg subcamp was renamed the “Wewelsburg concentration camp” (KL Wewelsburg).¹ With 480 prisoners it was the smallest autonomous main camp within Germany. Prior to this, the camp in the village of Wewelsburg, about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) to the southwest of Paderborn, Westphalia, was a Sachsenhausen subcamp, financed by the Association for the Promotion and Maintenance of German Cultural Memorials e.V. (Gesellschaft zur Förderung und Pflege deutscher Kulturdenkmäler e.V.).² Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler founded the association in 1936. He used it as the developer for his building project “Wewelsburg.” As a registered association, the company—unlike the SS, which was not a legal entity—could acquire donations and credit. The Wewelsburg Renaissance castle had been built by the Paderborn prince-bishops (Fürstbischof) at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In 1934, the Büren Council leased the castle to the association. Himmler planned to establish a Reich Leadership School (Reichsführerschule) there, the SS-Schule Haus Wewelsburg. It would later become a large ideological-religious center for the SS.

For the necessary renovations and expansion of the castle, Himmler initially used the Reich Labor Service (RAD). When these workers were transferred to build the Westwall and the project was facing a shortage of labor, Himmler, as did other SS economic enterprises, considered the use of concentration camp prisoners for his private construction project. By using concentration camp labor, he was able to continue the building project, regularly obtaining exemptions from the general building prohibition for his private building project, which was not vital for the war effort. A detachment of “preventive custody” prisoners (*Befristeter Vorbeugehäftlinge*, BV) was sent to Wewelsburg in May 1939. Following two escape attempts, which caused much public attention, and resulted in the deaths of the escapees, the detachment was replaced in February 1940 by Jehovah’s Witnesses. In the summer of 1940, the prisoners constructed a protective custody camp on the outskirts of Wewelsburg, on the boundary with Niederhagen. Other categories of prisoners were sent to Wewelsburg from the autumn of 1940, and the number of prisoners steadily increased to 470. On January 7, 1941, the work detachment was confirmed as a Sachsenhausen subcamp.³ The transformation of the subcamp into an autonomous main camp did not occur because of the increasing size of the camp but for economic reasons. The sale of the Wewelsburg subcamp to the state relieved the “Gesellschaft” from the financial pressure that it was under. Initially there was some uncertainty, but on October 15, 1941, the name “Niederhagen concentration camp” was finally decided upon.⁴ The Reichsführer-SS probably chose the name Niederhagen to disguise the concentration camp and to hide the connec-



A Niederhagen prisoner and an SS guard in the moat of the Wewelsburg castle, where work proceeds on the refurbishing of the SS crypt, 1941–1943.

USHMM WS #82778, COURTESY OF AKM-WVN

tion between the concentration camp and his construction project at Wewelsburg.

The protective custody camp initially consisted of 4 barracks; the number subsequently increased to 16. The barracks were in two rows. Next to the prison camp was an industrial quarter with workshops and garages and opposite was an SS camp and building yard. The prisoners were given new prisoner numbers when the camp became autonomous. There were German prisoners, Jehovah’s Witnesses, BV prisoners, political and so-called asocial prisoners, Sinti and Roma (Gypsies), homosexuals, and Jews; and from 1941 there were more and more foreign prisoners including prisoners from Poland, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, France, the Netherlands, and Belgium. The prisoners were sent to the camp either individually or in groups from other concentration camps, especially Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen, or directly

from Gestapo offices, especially those in the Ruhr but also Paderborn and Osnabrück. These prisoners were mostly Polish and Ukrainian forced laborers who had been arrested by the Gestapo. Many of the Soviet prisoners arrived at Wewelsburg as prisoners of war (POWs) or in transit transports.

As the Jehovah's Witnesses were the only prisoner group during the initial phase, they, unlike in other camps, took over in Wewelsburg the positions for prisoner self-administration: Willi Wilke was camp elder (*Lagerältester*); Wettin Müller was camp scribe (*Lagerschreiber*). The block elders (*Blockältester*) were Jehovah's Witnesses, German politicals, asocials, and BV prisoners. The Kapos and foremen were mostly BV prisoners and asocials. BV functionaries wore a green triangle and excelled in their brutality and unscrupulousness at Wewelsburg—for example, in the prisoner infirmary (block 11) and the punishment detachment, Forest Settlement (*Waldsiedlung*). Jehovah's Witnesses played an important role in the camp and tried to remain true to their beliefs. They smuggled bibles and other religious works into the camp and conducted secret bible studies. Their solidarity and common, strong belief gave them the strength to survive the extreme camp conditions in Wewelsburg.

During 1942, there were on average 1,000 prisoners in the camp. In 1943, the number increased to around 1,500 prisoners. In the period up to August 1941, 48 prisoners died. When the camp became autonomous and new prisoner groups were admitted into the camp, the numbers of dead rapidly increased: by the end of 1941, another 80 prisoners had died; in 1942, 868 died; and to April 1943, when the main camp was dissolved, 287 prisoners died. The reason for the increase in the death rate was in part due to the physically weak condition of the prisoners, especially the Soviet prisoners, who were sent to Wewelsburg from June 1942, and in part due to the extremely poor living and work conditions in the camp. Some 1,285 of the approximate 3,900 prisoners who arrived in the camp between 1939 and 1945 died,⁵ of whom 734 were of Soviet origin. It is likely that only a few Jewish prisoners were sent to Wewelsburg—20 death certificates suggest a Jewish background. In the summer of 1942, a crematorium was established in the camp because of the high death rate. Until October 1942, the corpses were taken to the crematoria in Dortmund and Bielefeld-Brackwede. It is thought that initially in Wewelsburg there were transportable crematoria ovens. They were reintroduced at the beginning of 1943. While constructing the crematorium, the SS established in the camp a Registry Office (*Standesamt*), which from January 1, 1943, kept a register of deaths. As an autonomous concentration camp from April 1942 to March 1943, the Niederhagen concentration camp also functioned as the execution site for the Gestapo Westfalen/Lippe office. It can be proved that 56 people were murdered, of whom 42 were hanged and 14 Soviet POWs were shot at the nearby shooting range. The hangings took place in a walled-in arrest bunker. The victims included female Soviet forced laborers as well as two boys, a 14-year-old Pole and a 15-year-old German Jew.

In 1940, Reinhard Heydrich had introduced for the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) an official categorization of the camps. Niederhagen was a category 1 camp for “less serious protective custody prisoners capable of rehabilitation, special cases, and individual arrest.”⁶ However, the conditions on the ground did not correspond in any way with this official description. The living and work conditions in Wewelsburg were brutal. Many prisoners died because of the heavy work. A detachment was occupied with the renovation and extension of the Wewelsburg north tower, which was to be the ideological center of the facility. When excavating the “vault,” which was planned for honoring the dead, the prisoners had to excavate more than 4 meters (13 feet) of rock with inadequate tools. The work in the constant cold and damp vault meant that the prisoners had to use the maximum physical exertion. Nevertheless, the work detachments in the north tower were regarded as relatively safe work sites by the prisoners, where they were largely protected from mistreatment by the SS. It was different in the three quarries (in the castle, at the railway station, and in the village of Ahden, several kilometers away), building roads, renovating the Marx manor, and constructing the SS settlement *Waldsiedlung*: there were deaths in these detachments almost every day, with the dead being brought back to the camp. Other work detachments constructed a villa for the architect Hermann Bartels or worked on the north terrace of the SS guard building in front of the castle. The concentration camp prisoners worked in the SS gardens and began excavation work for commercial buildings in the SS camp. They were exploited until they were totally exhausted. The principle “Destruction through Work” (*Vernichtung durch Arbeit*) accurately describes the working conditions for the work detachments in Wewelsburg. The SS treated qualified skilled tradesmen and workmen with more consideration because they could not be replaced so easily. They worked relatively securely in expanding the north tower and in a number of workshops. There were other tasks to be done in the camp's industrial sector, including the camp-owned laundry, tailor's shop, SS garages, and kitchens, or in constructing the camp.



Wewelsburg-Niederhagen prisoners work in a quarry, 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #85257, Courtesy of AKM-WN

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The infirmary was located in Barracks 15. Conditions there were catastrophic. There were no medicines or instruments. Block 11 was an additional infirmary. Its cellar was used as a storage room for corpses until they were taken to the crematorium. Once inside the infirmary the ill prisoners were at the mercy of the SS and some orderlies who mistreated the prisoners. Survivors have stated that the sick were murdered either by injections or by having cold showers. However, there were no medical experiments in Wewelsburg. On the other hand, Niederhagen was one of the camps from which the death transports for the concentration camp “euthanasia” policy, code-named “Aktion 14f13” (Operation 14f13), departed. In a letter dated December 10, 1941, the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) mentions Niederhagen and other camps as those that will be inspected in the following year by the doctors’ commission to select prisoners. The attached sample questionnaire contained the details of a Wewelsburg prisoner.⁷ It is not known how many Wewelsburg prisoners were victims of the Aktion 14f13. Those prisoners who remained in Wewelsburg knew the purpose of the selections because the personal items of the dead prisoners were returned to Niederhagen.

An Obersturmbannführer of the Waffen-SS Reserve, Adolf Haas was in command of the protective custody camp in Wewelsburg from June 17, 1940. Once the camp was declared a subcamp in January 1941, he reorganized the camp administration along the lines of the organizational structure required by the IKL, that is, along the lines of the Dachau concentration camp. The camp administration was divided into five areas. Satter was the camp commandant’s adjutant (Department I). SS-Sturmscharführer Friedrich Schultes was in charge of the Political Department (Department II). Wolfgang Plaul, Haas’s predecessor as detachment leader, became leader of the protective custody camp (Department III) and Haas’s replacement when he was absent. To 1942, the Labor Service Leader (Arbeitsdienstführer) was Ludwig Rehn. He was then transferred to Neuengamme and Sachsenhausen. The first administration leader for Department IV was Hermann Michl. The camp doctor at Niederhagen (Department V) was SS-Untersturmführer Dr. Franz Metzger. He was transferred in December 1942 to the SS-Panzer Grenadierdivision “Totenkopf” (Death’s Head). The concentration camp personnel included not only the command office but the guards. The SS guards in Wewelsburg were taken from the SS-Death’s Heads Units stationed locally. They were organized into guards’ units. Gustav Strese was in command of the First SS-Totenkopf-Sturmabteilung Niederhagen-Wewelsburg.

According to the prisoners, Adolf Haas was unpredictable and ruthless. The master baker joined the Nazi Party in 1931 and the SS a year later. He was in command of the SS region (Oberabschnitt) Rhein-Westfalen and in 1935 was promoted to SS-Sturmabteilungsführer. However, a service opinion dated October 4, 1937, excluded him from any further promotion because of his poor writing skills.⁸ He undertook a course in Sachsenhausen before he took command in Wewelsburg. After the dissolution of the Niederhagen concentration camp,

Hass, with some of the Wewelsburg concentration camp personnel, was appointed camp commandant at the newly created camp at Bergen-Belsen. He has not been heard of since the end of the war.

After the German defeat at Stalingrad, the architect Bartels could not prevent the stopping of the construction work. A decree dated January 13, 1943, ordered the cessation of all “non-vital war construction work.” In the middle of March 1943, an expert committee appointed by Oswald Pohl appeared at Wewelsburg, to examine whether the protective custody camp and the industrial section could be expanded into an armaments factory. The SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) was considering giving the camp a new use for armaments production. These considerations were part of the overall program to replace the labor shortage in the armaments industry with concentration camp prisoners. However, the armaments industry did not want the Niederhagen concentration camp. Even before the committee had completed its investigations, it was recalled. The decision to dissolve the camp remained. A circular decree dated March 23, 1943, ordered the end of all admissions to the Niederhagen concentration camp.⁹ In a surviving express letter dated April 5, 1943, the Niederhagen concentration camp office demanded that the State Police Office (Stapoleitstelle) Düsseldorf not admit any more prisoners to Niederhagen, although a transport from Paderborn on May 7 would be accepted.¹⁰ The large majority of the prisoners were sent in the months of April and May to Buchenwald, Ravensbrück, Dachau, and Bergen-Belsen. The official date for the dissolution of the Niederhagen concentration camp was April 30, 1943.¹¹ At this point, there were around 150 to 200 prisoners in the camp, mostly Jehovah’s Witnesses. On May 7, the camp commandant Haas accompanied a prisoner transport with some of the guards to Bergen-Belsen. A small detachment of 49 German prisoners remained. They were now under the control of the Buchenwald concentration camp. In the period that followed, the number of prisoners was reduced to 42, of whom 40 were Jehovah’s Witnesses. The other 2 were political prisoners. The camp Registry Office was closed. The last entry in the register of deaths is for April 12, 1943. After that no more deaths were recorded. The remaining prisoners were given Buchenwald prisoner numbers and were accommodated in a workshop barracks in the industrial quarter.

The empty protective custody camp was used from the autumn of 1943 as a resettlement camp by the SS-Main Office Ethnic German Liaison Office (Stabshauptamt Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle, VOMI) for so-called ethnic Germans. At the end of 1944, one of the barracks in the camp was occupied by a Gestapo office from Gelsenkirchen whose own office had been bombed. In the autumn of 1943, an army physical training camp (*Wehrertüchtigungslager*) was established in the former SS camp. The number of SS guards was reduced at first to 12 and in November 1944 to 5. The detachment leadership reported to the Buchenwald concentration camp. Until the end of 1943, SS-Unterscharführer Otto Jacob was leader. He was followed in 1944 by SS-Sturmmann

Schiering, who in turn was replaced by SS-Rottenführer Skuppi.

The SS no longer saw the need to maintain total control. The prisoners could move relatively freely around the industrial quarter and parts of the village. They worked under better conditions, particularly in the gardens, and did small jobs at the castle and in the village. In 1944, the Jehovah's Witnesses began to operate an illegal press to print their literature. It was distributed throughout all of northern Germany with the help of Jehovah's Witnesses who were still free. This conspiratorial underground work continued until American soldiers liberated the work detachment. U.S. troops entered Wewelsburg at around 7:00 A.M. on April 2, 1945. They were surprised to find a concentration camp. Himmler's strategy to camouflage his SS construction project at Wewelsburg was a success. Two days before the Americans arrived, Himmler ordered an SS detachment to blow up Wewelsburg. While the castle was completely burned out, the outer walls and the north tower remained.

Two postwar trials dealt with the crimes committed at the Niederhagen concentration camp. The first trial took place in 1952 by jury at a Paderborn court. A former "asocial" Kapo was charged with "crimes against humanity" and sentenced to four years' imprisonment. The State Prosecutor successfully appealed, and the charge was amended to "injury causing death." In April 1954, the sentence was increased to five years and eight months.¹² The second Wewelsburg trial took place in 1970–1971. Five years of investigations preceded the trial. The trial was prepared by the Senior State Prosecutor in Cologne in conjunction with the Auschwitz Trial, which was prepared by the Zentralstelle in Nordrhein-Westfalen, who was charged with handling National Socialist crimes in concentration camps. Two former SS noncommissioned officers and two former Kapos (a political prisoner and an asocial prisoner) were charged with murder and suspected murder; all other charges lapsed because of the statute of limitations. It could not be proven that the accused had personally committed murder, and they were acquitted. Nevertheless, the court in its judgment made their moral guilt clear.¹³

SOURCES The first groundbreaking research on the history of the Niederhagen concentration camp was done by Paderborn University professor Karl Hüser at the end of the 1970s, at the request of the Documentary and Memorial Center in KM-WN, which was founded in 1982. He published his results in 1982 in an exhibition catalog, *Wewelsburg 1933–1945: Kult- und Terrorstätte der SS. Eine Dokumentation* (Paderborn: Bonifatius, 1982). The second edition was published in 1987. Another work is Kirsten John's monograph "*Mein Vater wird gesucht . . .*" *Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers in Wewelsburg*, 4th ed. (Essen: Klartext, 2001). The focus here is on the pris-

oner groups and includes some prisoner biographies. The brochure by Wulff E. Brebeck and Karl Hüser, *Wewelsburg 1933–1945: Das Konzentrationslager*, 3rd expanded ed. (Münster: Landesbildstelle, 1998), provides an overview. An expanded English translation has appeared as *Wewelsburg 1933–1945: A Cult and Terror Centre of the SS* (Münster: Landesbildstelle, 2000).

With a few exceptions, the original Niederhagen concentration camp files have been lost. It is therefore necessary to rely on files in other archives (e.g., the BA-B; BA-BL, which includes the former BDC; ITS) and memorials (AG-S; APM). There is no prisoner card index; as a result, the names, for example, and the exact number of prisoners cannot be determined. However, they can be reconstructed in part from using prisoner lists in other camps. Some finds in Russian archives (e.g., RGVA) provide further leads that have not yet been researched. It is oral history sources and trial files—especially the second Wewelsburg Trial (available at NWHStA-(D) ZA-K) and a few chronicles (Pfarrchronik Wewelsburg, in KPAW; Gemeindechronik Wewelsburg, 1814–1947, in Standesamt Büren)—that document the life of the prisoners in the Niederhagen concentration camp. In the collection at the AKM-WN are oral and written reports by survivors as well as recorded conversations with former Niederhagen prisoners (on audio and videotape).

Kirsten John-Stucke
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Kommandoliste, August 31, 1941, in AG-S, R 214 M 55; Mitteilung des Amtschefs W VIII Horst Klein an Hauptamtschef Oswald Pohl, August 31, 1941, in NMT, Case IV, Doc. Nr. NO-547, p. 2.
2. Vereinssatzung, Abschrift des Registerauszugs, 1948, in BA, Z 36 1, 501/49.
3. Stärkemeldung, January 7, 1941, in AG-S, OLS XV 10.
4. Befehl Nr. 388 im *Verordnungsblatt der Waffen-SS*, October 15, 1941.
5. Todesanzeigen Wewelsburg/Niederhagen, 1940–1943, in Standesamt Büren.
6. Runderlass des Chefs der Sipo und der SS, January 2, 1941, in *Allgemeine Erlassammlung RSHA* 2f VIIIa, p. 13.
7. Musterbogen, in APM.
8. Personalakte Haas, in BA-BL.
9. Runderlass des Chefs der Sipo und des SD, March 23, 1943, in ITS, HM Niederhagen-Wewelsburg KL Bu.
10. Schnellbrief, April 5, 1943, *ibid.*
11. Schreiben von Haas an Landrat, May 4, 1943, *ibid.*
12. Der Leitende Osta. Paderborn, Archiv, Prozess AZ: 7 Ks Ls Ms 2/51.
13. Unterlagen der ZSSStA-K bei dem Lt. Osta. Köln zum zweiten Wewelsburg-Prozess beim LG Paderborn; Prozessunterlagen betr. KL Niederhagen-Wewelsburg, AZ: 24 JS 2/69 (Z), in NWHStA-(D) ZA-K (Rep. 118 Nr. 855-935).



SECTION III

YOUTH CAMPS



SS officers, including the head of the Race and Settlement Main Office (RuSHA) chief SS-Brigadeführer Otto Hofmann (second from left), inspect the Litzmannstadt youth camp in 1943. Hofmann's presence suggests that the inspection took place in connection with the Germanization of certain Polish youth.

USHMM WS #02378, COURTESY OF IPN



INTRODUCTION TO THE YOUTH CAMPS

The idea of establishing a separate prevention institution (*Be-wabranstalt*) or assembly camp (*Sammellager*) for the “difficult or impossible to educate” youth, who had become noticed because of their stubborn and deviant behavior, was not new. From the mid-1920s, youth welfare workers, lawyers, medical practitioners, psychiatrists, and adherents of the “racial hygiene” movement had been demanding such institutions to deal with the high level of care (and thus expense) for such youths. Without any further education, they would be held for an indefinite period of time in such institutions with their labor being exploited. Those advocating such a policy were not successful during the Weimar Republic, but this changed from 1933 with the assumption of power by the National Socialists and the establishment of the concentration camp system.

A series of decrees and orders from 1937 set the legal and institutional basis for the struggle against youth degeneration. A decree dated October 14, 1937, on “preventive criminal measures” established what was regarded as “asocial behavior,” which was “someone who acts against the community, even if such actions were not criminal, but showed that he or she did not want to be part of the community.”¹ This decree formed the basis for the persecution of anyone who deviated from National Socialist norms and ideals. In 1938, there followed a further series of decrees and regulations that dealt with the treatment of asocials and called for the “protective custody” of whole families as well as suggesting the registration and police surveillance of asocials.

Following a circular decree by the Reich Ministry of the Interior (RMdI) on May 24, 1939, the Reich Center for Combating Youth Criminality (Reichszentrale zur Bekämpfung der Jugendkriminalität) was established as a department of the Reich Criminal Police Office (Reichskriminalpolizeiamt, RKPA). This authority was tasked with the police surveillance of youths and the power to use force, including sending youths to closed reform institutes. Later, it would be in charge of the “police youth protection camps” (*polizeiliche Jugendschutzlager*). In actuality, they were concentration camps for youths. On December 22, 1939, at a conference on “degenerate youth,” Reinhard Heydrich demanded the establishment of reform camps for youths (*Jugenderziehungslagern*). This demand was supported in the following months by Hermann Göring and Heinrich Himmler. On June 26, 1940, the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA) issued a circular announcing that the confinement of youths to police youth protective custody camps could begin within a short period of time. In the end, three such camps opened: Moringen (for boys) in August 1940, Uckermark (for girls) in June 1942, and Litzmannstadt (for Polish juveniles) in December



German personnel review Polish children at roll call at the Litzmannstadt youth camp. Note the military caps worn by some prisoners.
USHMM WS #14203, COURTESY OF IPN

1942. All remained in operation almost until the end of the war.

Youths were admitted to the Jugendschutzlager on racial, religious, or political grounds. They included the so-called Hamburg Swing Youth (Swing-Jugend), who were accused of establishing a dangerous clique even though they only wanted to listen to jazz, then regarded as un-German, and had formed their own subcultures to do so. The authorities also confined homosexuals, Sinti and Roma (Gypsies), Jews, and Jehovah's Witnesses.

Youths in the camps were subjected to military drill, euphemistically termed “community training” (*Gemeinschaftserziehung*). The stated aim was character education, focusing on cleanliness, order, punctuality, discipline, and above all, work. The inmates worked on agricultural estates, at armaments

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firms, and at workshops of various sorts. Living arrangements were primitive, the food and clothing inadequate, and the punishments severe. Death rates were not as high as in some of the adult concentration camps, but prisoners did die in significant numbers.

SOURCES Sources on the youth protection camps can be found in the individual camp entries.

Jürgen Harder

NOTE

1. Quoted in Detlef Peukert, *Volksgenossen und Gemeinschaftsfremde. Anpassung, Ausmerze und Aufbegehren unter dem Nationalsozialismus* (Cologne, 1982), p. 250.

POLISH YOUTH CUSTODY CAMP OF THE SECURITY POLICE LITZMANNSTADT [AKA POLENLAGER, KRIPOLAGER]

Between December 1, 1942, and January 18, 1945, the Reich Criminal Police Office (RKPA; also designated the Reich Security Main Office [RSHA], Office V) operated a camp for Polish juveniles inside the Łódź ghetto. Called the Polish Youth Custody Camp of the Security Police in Litzmannstadt (Polen-Jugendverwahrlager der Sicherheitspolizei in Litzmannstadt), it was administratively related to the German “youth protection camps” (*Jugendschutzlager*) at Moringen and Uckermark.¹ Directed by the Criminal Police (Kripo), it deployed forced labor for the SS-Business Administration Main Office’s (WVHA) Office Group D (Inspectorate of Concentration Camps, IKL).² In 1969, the International Tracing Service (ITS) classified the Polen-Jugendverwahrlager as a concentration camp.

Two months after the German invasion of Poland, the RSHA inaugurated an arrest campaign against juvenile delinquents. To this end, RKPA head Arthur Nebe called for the establishment of Jugendschutzlager in the Old Reich and the newly incorporated territories of Poland. Although he ordered the Kriminalpolizeistelle Lodsch (effective April 11, 1940, the Germans renamed the city Litzmannstadt) to establish a Polish youth camp on April 1, 1940, his order took more than two years to implement.³ The delay was partly attributable to the imposition of German administration in the annexed territories, particularly of the welfare authorities, but space accommodation for the juveniles also played a role. Litzmannstadt’s Kripo and mayor’s offices repeatedly complained about rising youth crime in 1940 and 1941 but only obliquely connected the Polish children’s begging, stealing, and smuggling (especially into the Łódź ghetto) to the underlying Nazi policies.⁴ Among these policies were the forced labor drafts and mass arrests of

Polish adults and the instability caused by the “racial” selection and deportation to the General Government of Poles, respectively, by the SS-Race and Settlement Main Office (RuSHA) Aussenstelle Litzmannstadt and the RSHA Umwandererzentralstelle Posen. In situating the Polen-Jugendverwahrlager in the ghetto, the Kripo followed the precedent set by the “Gypsy” camp’s (*Zigeunerlager*) formation inside the Łódź ghetto between October 1941 and January 1942.

Although the Polen-Jugendverwahrlager was established on the disingenuous pretext of combating juvenile crime, the children’s case files reflected the Kripo’s persecution of “asocials” and outcasts elsewhere and its solution of social problems through policing.⁵ Grounds for confinement included membership in the Jehovah’s Witnesses and listening to illegal radio transmissions.⁶ Many children were orphans or lacked parental supervision because one parent was held in another camp or performed forced labor, while the other parent was deceased. Some young Auschwitz prisoners were transferred to Litzmannstadt.⁷

Erected in the Marysin district inside the northeast quadrant of the Łódź ghetto at Ulica Przemysłowa 72, the compound consisted of two city blocks surrounded by a high barbed-wire fence and encompassed a section of the New Jewish Cemetery. Construction commenced on September 30, 1942. The Marysin district featured residences for privileged Jews, including ghetto eldest (Ältester) Mordechai Chaim Rumkowski, and small agricultural plots essential for the ghetto’s subsistence. As was the case with the Gypsy camp, Jewish laborers seem to have erected the Polen-Jugendverwahrlager. On November 24, 1942, the ghetto chronicler, Dr. Oscar Singer, observed, “The construction of a Polish camp for youth in Marysin continues at a swift tempo.”⁸ A few Jewish skilled workers served as the camp’s trade school instructors. The ghetto’s inhabitants called the Polen-Jugendverwahrlager the “Polish” (*Polen-*) or “Kripo camp” (*Kripolager*).⁹

Kripo officials, SS, and ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutschen*) from the Reichsgau Wartheland guarded Litzmannstadt. On January 1, 1943, the commandant, Kripo official, and SS-Sturmabführer Karl Ehrlich, issued the Litzmannstadt camp order (*Lagerordnung*).¹⁰ Like the IKL’s regulations, it prescribed punishments including beatings with wooden canes or rubber truncheons for offenses such as speaking Polish. The inmates were subjected to paramilitary discipline similar to that found in IKL camps, like roll calls.¹¹ The females’ camp leader was Eugenie Pohl, a 19-year-old Łódź native who changed her Polish name (Genowefa Pol) after signing the German National List (*Volksliste*). Another Łódź native, Isolda (Sydomia) Bayer, administered the female section.

Called dependents or pupils (*Zöglinge*), the prisoners originally comprised gentiles aged 12 to 16 from the newly incorporated territories.¹² When the Youth Welfare Offices (*Jugendämter*) in Wartheland, Ostoberschlesien, Danzig-West Preussen, and elsewhere dispatched fewer youth than



SS-Sturmabführer Karl Ehrlich reviews Polish male prisoners at the Polish Youth Custody Camp of the Security Police in Litzmannstadt, nd. USHMM WS #00845, COURTESY OF IPN



Mug shot of an unidentified female prisoner at the Litzmannstadt youth camp, October 7, 1943.
USHMM WS #00587, COURTESY OF LYDIA CHAGOLL

anticipated, the Kripo reduced the confinement age to 8 in order to enlarge Litzmannstadt's camp population. Some inmates were as young as 4 years old.¹³ The first group arrived at the camp on December 11, 1942. Litzmannstadt held approximately 1,000 inmates per month.¹⁴ For each inmate, the administration produced an index card with mug shot and periodic conduct (*Führung*) reviews. The Kripo divided the Zöglinge into three levels (*Stufen*): (1) newcomers, (2) reformables, and (3) incorrigibles. Some males wore military uniforms, while females had gray dresses.¹⁵ The inmates' labor consisted mostly of manufacturing straw shoes as well as cartridge belts for the German army.¹⁶

Because the RSHA deemed undesirable the mixture of Polish and German youth, the SS-RuSHA Litzmannstadt Aussenstelle received the order to screen the camp "racially," starting with the youngest Zöglinge.¹⁷ The RuSHA chief, SS-Gruppenführer Otto Hofmann, inspected the Litzmannstadt camp in the spring of 1943.¹⁸ The inmates found "racially valuable" were dispatched to Litzmannstadt's Germanization camp at Ulica Sporna 73.¹⁹

Between May 1943 and January 1945, Litzmannstadt recorded 77 deaths, including one shooting. During the pe-



Female prisoners stand at roll call, dressed in industrial smocks, at the Litzmannstadt youth camp. In the background is the girls' camp leader, Eugenie Pohl, December 1942.
USHMM WS #15002, COURTESY OF IPN

riod from September 1943 to November 1944 (except October 1944), inmates were hospitalized for scabies (497 cases), tuberculosis (216), trachoma (116), and mumps (106). They also suffered numerous work-related injuries and had poor dental care. In December 1943 and January 1944, a louse-borne typhus epidemic (*Fleckfieber* or *Flecktyphus*) resulted in the hospitalization of over one-third of the camp's population (378 cases) during these months.²⁰ Although the camp had an infirmary, the authorities quarantined over 200 typhus-infected children at the ghetto's infectious disease hospital at Ulica Dworska. On December 21, 1943, Rumkowski was ordered to evacuate 100 Jewish patients from the hospital. This order imposed a burden, Singer wrote, because typhus had only recently been contained in the ghetto and the evacuated patients' health remained in jeopardy. Under the care of Czech Jewish pediatrician Dr. Emil Vogl, most of the Polish patients recovered, and the ward was closed on March 1, 1944.²¹

According to ITS, Dzierżążnia and Tuchingen (Tuszyn) were Litzmannstadt subcamps. An agricultural estate approximately 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) from Łódź, Dzierżążnia opened on January 12, 1943, and closed on July 31, 1944. Under Lagerleiter and police official Hans Heinrich Fuge, the 200 female prisoners raised food to support the main camp. Between August 16, 1943, and March 28, 1944, the Umwandererzentralstelle Posen put Tuchingen, a three-story building, "at the [youth camp's] disposal" (*zur Verfügung*).²²

Four and a half months after the deportation of the Łódź ghetto's inhabitants to Auschwitz, where the majority were murdered, the Germans abandoned the Polen-Jugendverwahrlager during the Red Army's advance on January 17–18, 1945. The inmates were not evacuated. Distantly witnessing the destruction of the Radogoszcz prison, Litzmannstadt inmate Apolonia Beda "feared that they [the Germans] would come back and burn us, but they had actually gone." Soon afterward Łódź resident Janina Ruta-Kopkiewicz saw the children scavenging for food outside the camp.²³

In 1948, the United States sentenced Otto Hofmann to 25 years in the “RuSHA” case at Nuremberg.²⁴ After 1945, Eugenie Pohl reverted to her Polish name and became a kindergarten teacher in Łódź. In 1974, a Polish court sentenced her to 25 years’ imprisonment.

SOURCES The most important secondary sources about the Polen-Jugendverwahrlager are Józef Witkowski, *Hitlerowski obóz koncentracyjny dla małoletnich w Łodzi* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo, 1975); Julia Wasiak, “Obóz dla dzieci i młodzieży polskiej przy ulicy Przemysławskiej,” in *Obozy hitlerowskie w Łodzi*, ed. Albina Głowackiego and Sławomira Abramowicza (Łódź: Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu w Łodzi Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 1998), pp. 153–170; and Roman Hrabar, Zofia Tokarz, and Jacek E. Wilczur, *The Fate of Polish Children during the Last War*, trans. Bogdan Buczkowski and Lech Petrowicz (Warsaw: Interpress, 1981), pp. 76–84. Hrabar, Tokarz, and Wilczur furnish an estimate of the monthly camp population on p. 82. At www.holocaust-education.de, students Małgorzata Kołodziejska and Anna Słowińska posted an article on this camp at Lernen aus der Geschichte (Learning from History): “Memento. Das Kinderkonzentrationslager in Litzmannstadt.” This site has useful information about Eugenie Pohl’s career. Filmmaker Lydia Chagoll has also written about this camp in *Im Namen Hitlers: Kinder hinter Stacheldraht* (Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1979). A map of the camp’s position in the ghetto may be found in Julian Baranowski, *Zigeunerlager in Litzmannstadt 1941–1942—The Gypsy Camp in Łódź—Obóz cygański w Łodzi* (Łódź: Archiwum Państwowe w Łodzi, 2003). This camp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufigen Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 2:513; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:717; and *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 322. On RuSHA Aussenstelle Litzmannstadt, see Isabelle Heinemann, “Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut”: *Das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitische Neuordnung Europas* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2003).

Primary sources for this camp begin with USHMMA, RG-05.008M, Stadtverwaltung Litzmannstadt Records, Reel 7, File 36, Stadtverwaltung Litzmannstadt, Jugendamt, “Massnahmen gegen die Verwahrlosung der polnischen Jugend,” 1940–1944, reproduced from APŁ. Additional relevant holdings at USHMMA include RG-55.003*55, Aleksander Tytus Kulisiewicz Litzmannstadt camp music collection, and RG-55.005*15, Piotr Hyszek Litzmannstadt camp poetry collection; and the Łódź Ghetto Tageschronik in RG 15.083 M, APŁ, *Przełożony Starzeństwa Żydów w Getcie Łódzkie*, ed., *The Chronicle of the Łódź Ghetto, 1941–1944*, trans. Richard Lurie et al. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), selectively reproduces references to the Polen-Jugendverwahrlager. Some 45 photographs of the youth camp, including the Dzierżanica and Tuchingen subcamps, are

found in USHMMA, 200.7035, Litzmannstadt (Jugend-schutzlager). Witkowski and Hrabar reproduce and cite German documents and Polish testimonies, the originals of which may be found in AK-IPN, APŁ, and WAP-By. On Hofmann and on the SS-WVHA’s relationship to the Polen-Jugendverwahrlager, see *TWC*, vols. 4–5. The Lernen aus der Geschichte Web site reproduces Polish testimony, including the statements of Apolonia Beda and Janina Ruta-Koperkiewicz. A prisoner memoir is Tadeusz Raźniewski, *Chcę żyć* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzi, 1971).

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. RSHA V A3 Nr. 3050/42, Schnellbrief (Abschrift), Betr.: “Einweisung von verwahrlosten Kindern und Jugendlichen polnischen Volkstums in das Polen-Jugendverwahrlager Litzmannstadt,” November 23, 1942, USHMMA, RG-05.008M, Stadtverwaltung Litzmannstadt Records, Reel 7, File 36, pp. 29–30 (hereafter RG-05.008M/7/36/29-30).

2. R-129, Pohl to Himmler, April 3, 1942, *TWC*, 5:298.

3. Nebe, RSHA V Nr. A 3 521/40, to Leiter der Staatlichen Kriminalpolizei Kriminalpolizeistelle in Lodsch, Schnellbrief, April 1, 1940, Betr.: “Pol. Unterbringung krimineller und asozialer Minderjähriger,” RG-05.008M/7/36/1.

4. On the welfare authorities, Fürsorgerin Genz, Vermerk, April 12, 1940, *ibid.*, p. 2; for the Litzmannstadt Kripo’s complaints about Polish youth crime, Staatsliche Kriminalpolizei Kriminalpolizeistelle Litzmannstadt, Tgb. Nr. 1069/40/KD.6, to the Regierungspräsident Litzmannstadt, November 12, 1940, Betr.: “Verwahrlosung der polnischen Jugend,” *ibid.*, pp. 4–7; Tiemer, Staatliche Kriminalpolizei-Kriminalabteilung, Tgb. Nr. 693/41, Bericht, Betr.: “Zunahme der Kriminalität bei den polnischen Jugendlichen,” March 14, 1941, *ibid.*, pp. 18–19; for the Litzmannstadt Stadtverwaltung’s complaints, Bürgermeister Marder to the Regierungspräsident Litzmannstadt, Betr.: “Verwahrlosung der polnischen Jugend,” January 21, 1941, *ibid.*, p. 13; Stadtrat Lindner, “Niederschrift über die Dezerentenbesprechung am Dienstag, den 4.2.41: Punkt 4, Verwahrlosung der polnischen Jugend,” *ibid.*, p. 14.

5. Quotation in Staatsliche Kriminalpolizei, Kriminalpolizeistelle Litzmannstadt, Tgb. Nr. 1069/40/KD.6, to the Regierungspräsidenten Litzmannstadt, November 12, 1940, p. 12.

6. Jugendamt Teschen to Landesjugendamt, O/S, “Antrag auf Einweisung eines Jugendlichen polnischen Volkstums in das Polen-Jugendverwahrlager Litzmannstadt (Johann Polek),” reproduced in Józef Witkowski, *Hitlerowski obóz koncentracyjny dla małoletnich w Łodzi* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo, 1975), Doc. 268; and Apolonia Beda testimony, reproduced at Lernen aus der Geschichte, “Memento. Das Kinderkonzentrationslager in Litzmannstadt,” www.holocaust-education.de.

7. Auschwitz mug shot of Maria Orlicka in Witkowski, *Hitlerowski obóz koncentracyjny dla małoletnich w Łodzi*, photograph 218.

8. Łódź Tageschronik entry for November 24, 1942, RG 15.083 M, APŁ, *Przełożony Starzeństwa Żydów w Getcie Łódzkie*, Reel 253, sygn. 1081, p. 623.

9. Łódź Tageschronik entry for May 10, 1944, *ibid.*, Reel 254, sygn. 1087, p. 270.

1530 YOUTH CAMPS

10. "Organisations- und Stellenplan des Polen-Jugendverwahrlager in Litzmannstadt dem Stande vom 1.1.1943," AK-IPN, sygn. 1059z/OŁ/43, cited in Witkowski, *Hitlerowski obóz koncentracyjny dla małoletnich w Łodzi*, p. 40.

11. USHMMPA, 200.7035 Litzmannstadt (Jugendschuttlager), WS # 00849; also Tadeusz Raźniewski, *Cheć żyć* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódź, 1971), p. 120.

12. RMdI, Schnellbrief, IV J I 76/42, December 3, 1942, Betr. "Unterbringung fremdvölkischer insbesondere polnischer Minderjähriger," pp. 141–142, reproduced in Roman Hrabar, Zofia Tokarz, and Jacek E. Wilczur, *The Fate of Polish Children during the Last War*, trans. Bogdan Buczkowski and Lech Petrowicz (Warsaw: Interpress, 1981), n.p.

13. For the circulars, Reichstatthalter im Warthegau Gauselbstverwaltung, Gaujugendamt, Aktz. III.b.VI/13, Rundschreiben an sämtliche Jugendämter des Reichsgaues Wartheland, Betr.: "Unterbringung polnischer Jugendlicher im Polen-Jugendverwahrlager in Litzmannstadt," December 6, 1942, RG-05.008M/7/36/25-27; for a questionnaire, Staatliche Kriminalpolizei Kriminalpolizeileitstelle, Antrag auf Einweisung eines Jugendlichen polnischen Volkstums in das Polen-Jugendverwahrlager Litzmannstadt," *ibid.*, p. 31; for the age-limit reduction, Landesjugendamt, O/S, Rundschreiben, 18.1.43, Betr.: "Unterbringung fremdvölkischer, insbesondere polnischer Minderjähriger hier: Einweisung in das Polen-Jugendverwahrlager Litzmannstadt," in Witkowski, *Hitlerowski obóz koncentracyjny dla małoletnich w Łodzi*, Doc. 267; for four-year olds, see the list in *ibid.*, p. 319, based upon IPN, sygn. 1057z/OŁ/43, and Woj. Archiwum Państwowe w Bydgoszczy (WAP-By), Akt. UWZ, sygn. 130, Doc. 1.

14. See the medical treatment statistics provided in Witkowski, *Hitlerowski obóz koncentracyjny dla małoletnich w Łodzi*, pp. 140–146, from IPN, sygn. 1056z/OŁ/42; Łódź Tageschronik entry for November 24, 1942, RG 15.083 M, Reel 253, sygn. 1081, p. 623.

15. USHMMPA, 200.7035 WS # 00844, 00845, 00848, 00849, 15002, 15006, 17362.

16. Aleksandra R. testimony, reproduced at Lernen aus der Geschichte, "Memento. Das Kinderkonzentrationslager in Litzmannstadt," www.holocaust-education.de.

17. RMI, Schnellbrief, IV J I 76/42, December 3, 1942, Betr. "Unterbringung fremdvölkischer insbesondere polnischer Minderjähriger," p. 142, reproduced in Hrabar, Tokarz, and Wilczur, *The Fate of Polish Children during the Last War*, n.p.

18. USHMMPA, 200.7035 WS # 02378.

19. Regina Kibilska testimony reproduced at Lernen aus der Geschichte, "Memento. Das Kinderkonzentrationslager in Litzmannstadt," www.holocaust-education.de.

20. Hospitalization, disease incidence, and mortality statistics calculated from figures reproduced in Witkowski, *Hitlerowski obóz koncentracyjny dla małoletnich w Łodzi*, pp. 140–146, citing IPN, sygn. 1056z/OŁ/42; see also Ehrlich to RKPA, March 30, 1944, Betr.: "Monatsbericht über den San.-Dienst," reproduced in *ibid.*, Doc. 295–296.

21. Łódź Tageschronik entries for December 21, 24, 28, 1943, January 20–21, March 2, 6, 1944, RG 15.083 M, Reel 253, sygn. 1085, pp. 577, 583, 590; Reel 254, sygn. 1087, pp. 48, 155, 162; see also Lucjan Dobroszycki, ed., *The Chronicle of the Łódź Ghetto, 1941–1944*, trans. Richard Lurie et al. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), pp. 420–421.

22. Quoted in ITS, *Vorläufigen Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1969), 2:513; for photographs of children at Tübingen, USHMMPA, 200.7035 WS # 51212.

23. Beda and Janina Ruta-Koperkiewicz testimonies reproduced at Lernen aus der Geschichte, "Memento. Das Kinderkonzentrationslager in Litzmannstadt," www.holocaust-education.de; see also Raźniewski, *Cheć żyć*, pp. 129–130.

24. *TWC*, 5:160, 166.

YOUTH PROTECTION CAMP MORINGEN

In the autumn of 1940, at the initiative of Chief of the Security Police and the SD Reinhard Heydrich, a concentration camp for male youths between the ages of 16 and 21 was opened in the buildings of the state workhouse (*Landeswerkhaus*) in Moringen near Göttingen. The first youths were interned in August after having been classified by state institutions for youth, the Reichskriminalpolizei, and welfare practitioners for closed corrective training as "burdensome hereditary criminals" (*erblich kriminell belastet*) or "ethically and morally degenerate" (*sittlich und moralisch verwahrlost*).

The *Jugendkonzentrationslager* in Moringen was the first of the so-called youth protection camps (*Jugendschuttlager*), which were generally welcomed by the social welfare authorities. Formerly the site of an early Nazi men's camp in 1933 and an early women's camp from 1933 to 1938, the Moringen Jugendschuttlager was administratively and conceptually related to similar camps established in 1942 for females at Uckermark and for Poles at Litzmannstadt (Łódź). The Reich Criminal Police Office (Reichskriminalpolizeiamt, RKPA) confined male youths to Moringen after studying their files. Applications to send such youths to the camp were initially made by the State Youth Offices and later by the Criminal Police (Kripo), by the Hitler Youth leadership, and by the protective courts and other judicial authorities. The applications constantly referred to asocial behavior or criminal tendencies. The overwhelming majority were said to be incapable of "readmission to the national community" (*Wiedereingliederung in die Volksgemeinschaft*). The terms used to justify admission to the camps were deliberately vague and allowed the punishment of any type of behavior that deviated from the norm, as well as allowing the expanded persecution of youths who hitherto had not been seized.

Under the command of SS-Sturmabführer und Kriminalrat Karl Dieter, the guards from the SS-Totenkopf (Death's Head), and "trainers" (*Erziebern*) from the Waffen-SS, the Moringen youths were subjected to military drill, euphemistically termed "community training" (*Gemeinschaftserziehung*). The stated aim was character education, focusing on cleanliness, order, punctuality, discipline, and above all, work.

The camp organization corresponded to that established for concentration camps for adults. The inmates were divided into various blocks, each of which was supervised by an SS

Blockführer, as well as block elders and camp elders, who were chosen from among those interned. These prisoner-functionaries had a similar function to Kapos in the large concentration camps. Operating at the behest of the SS, they reported infringements against camp regulations and ensured that the orders of the camp personnel were carried out.

Everyday life in the camp was planned to the minute. During the summer, the day began at 5:15 A.M. and in winter at 5:45 A.M. The hard physical labor lasted for more than 10 hours; the SS Erzieher permanently controlled, supervised, and committed arbitrary acts of violence against the prisoners. The slightest infringement of the rules, such as a mistake while making beds (*Bettenbauen*), alleged loafing during work, and many other infringements led to draconian punishments. Authorized and unauthorized punishments included the withdrawal of mail privileges; the order to stand while eating; the withholding of meals; sleeping on a “hard bed” (*Harte Lager*—removal of the mattress so that the prisoner slept on the wooden boards); standing at attention; performing penal exercises (often to the point of total physical collapse); placement under arrest (with only bread and water, with a full meal every third day); and being beaten with a cudgel.

At the end of 1941, the Criminal-Biological Institute of the Security Police (Kriminalbiologische Institut der Sicherheitspolizei, KBI), whose tasks included the observation of “community alien youths” (*jugendliche Gemeinschaftsfremde*), was incorporated into the RKPA. It was headed by Dr. Robert Ritter, who promptly established a department of KBI inside the Moringen youth concentration camp. He used the camp to continue his studies, begun in the 1930s, to develop a preventive “racial hygienic campaign against criminals,” which amounted to experiments and selections conducted on the youths based on pseudoscientific criminal and hereditary theories. A letter from the RKPA dated June 24, 1942, to the Moringen and Uckermark youth concentration camps as well as to the Ravensbrück women’s concentration camp defined the purpose of the youth concentration camp as follows: “[to] examine the inmates for criminal-biological traits, to support those who can still be members of the community so that they can take their place in the national community while holding those who are uneducable until their final accommodation elsewhere, while using their labor.”¹ This “final accommodation elsewhere” (*endgültigen anderweitigen Unterbringung*) could mean deportation and murder in one of the death camps, the fate of 21 Sinti (Gypsies) on March 24, 1943.

Ritter developed a classification system to examine and sort the youths into different “human types” (*Menschentypen*): the youths were divided among various blocks based upon their genealogical, moral, and medical characteristics. At Moringen, the newly admitted inmates were allocated to the so-called observation block (*Beobachtungsblock*, or B-block). Held for six months until a final “determination” by Ritter or his assistant of many years, Eva Justin, they were allocated to a block depending upon KBI’s expectation of success in their training and the resultant social prognosis. The prisoners

were dispatched to the blocks for incompetents (*Untauglichen*, U-block), troublemakers (*Störer*, S-block), total failures (*Dauerversager*, D-block), occasional failures (*Gelegenheitsversager*, G-block), questionably educable (*fraglich Erziehungsfähigen*, F-block), educable (*Erziehungsfähigen*, E-block), and the political opponents, Stapo-block (*Staatspolizei*, or ST-block).

The Stapo-block was strictly separated from the others. It held youths who had been classified by the police authorities as political opponents, including foreign youths from countries such as Norway and Luxembourg, partisans from Slovenia, and members of Hamburg’s Swing Youth. The prisoners were mostly admitted to this block on the basis of “protective custody” orders issued by the Gestapo. They were regarded by the police authorities as extremely dangerous to the community. Consequently, they were subjected to an especially strict training and security regime.

The fate of the youths depended on the blocks to which they were allocated. The blocks determined the inmates’ everyday life and formed the basis for their later transfer to the Reichsarbeitsdienst (Reich Labor Service, RAD) and Wehrmacht units or, if there was a negative assessment, to the asylums or to death camps.

Ritter’s criminal and hereditary biological assessment had severe consequences for those who survived the physical and psychological terror of the camp. Many of the youths interned in Moringen were forcibly sterilized at the request of the criminal biologists.

The center point of everyday life in the camp was the ceaseless exploitation of the inmates’ labor with completely inadequate sustenance or medical care. For breakfast there was a little bread with jam and a cup of ersatz coffee. At midday and in the evening, the meal was mostly a thin watery soup with cabbage, potatoes, or beets. Meat was a rarity.

Initially, the inmates’ sustenance was restricted to the minimum necessary to maintain their work strength. Later it did not even suffice for this. As a consequence of malnutrition, at least four youths died, with the result being that the SS-Lagerarzt was forced to demand an improvement in April 1942; otherwise, there would be more deaths. However, the food situation changed so little that illnesses, hunger, and malnutrition remained the inmates’ constant companions.

The daily 10 hours’ forced labor regimen was regarded by the detaining authorities as a particularly valuable education method for the growing boys, even though it imposed the most difficult physical travails, monotony, and permanent threat of punishment. The youths were deployed in labor detachments both inside and outside the Moringen camp. In the camp itself, there were a number of workshops such as a saddlery, a weaving mill, a knitting mill, and machines to glue paper bags, as well as tailor, bookbinding, and paint shops. Some of the prisoners worked under SS supervision and for piece wages offered by the companies Götting Leineweber GmbH, Papiersackfabrik Alfred Rockenfeller, and Jute-Spinnerei und Bindfarbenfabrik August Greve KG. They manufactured overalls, sheets, and hand towels; glued to-

gether cement bags; sorted string; and produced cartridge holders and other armaments products for the Wehrmacht. Other inmates worked on farms in the area and at harvest time were sent to work in the sugar mill at Nörten-Hardenberg.

The majority of the youths worked in labor detachments that were especially notorious for their physical work. They dug trenches to lay cables for the Reichspost, worked on the nearby Leine River to regulate its flow, and on the run carried 50-kilogram (110-pound) cement bags for hours for the Portland Cementfabrik Hardegsen AG. The SS used other prisoners in quarries or on construction sites for the Reichsautobahn and the Reichsbahn.

The SS extracted the most profit from the youths when they worked in armaments industries, which paid bonus and wages to the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA). The prisoners never received their wages or bonuses. Inmates from the Moringen camp worked as slaves in the Heeresmunitionsanstalt (Muna), a former salt mine situated about 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) from the camp in Volpriehausen and in the workshops of the Piller company, which opened a branch factory in Moringen on October 1, 1942, with the express purpose of using the camp's labor. According to historian Hans Hesse, the Moringen workhouse director, Hugo Krack, while performing a wartime assignment, informed Piller of the youth camp's labor sources.²

Before its dissolution on April 9, 1945, when the U.S. Army marched into Moringen, around 1,500 male youths passed through the camp. At least 56 youths died in the camp as a result of the inhuman living conditions or were shot while working in the labor detachments or while trying to escape. To this number should be added those who contracted tuberculosis and were transferred to the tuberculosis institute at Benninghausen, where many of them died. Others were transferred to the death camps or the asylums, where they fell victim to systematic mass murder and euthanasia measures. Even when the remaining prisoners were sent on the death marches, they were murdered by the SS guards when they could go no further due to exhaustion and illness. One can assume that at least 10 percent of the inmates in the youth concentration camp died while in camp or as a result of the period spent in the camp.

SOURCES The following secondary sources contain information on Moringen: Martin Guse, *“Wir hatten noch gar nicht angefangen zu leben”: Eine Ausstellung zu den Jugend-Konzentrationslagern Moringen und Uckermark 1940–1945*, 4th ed. (Moringen, 2001); Diana Dorusz, *Tod durch Erziehung? Eine Klasse forscht zum Thema Jugend-KZ* (Berlin, 1996); Martin Guse and Andreas Kohrs, “Die ‘Bewahrung’ Jugendlicher im NS-Staat: Ausgrenzung und Internierung am Beispiel der Jugendkonzentrationslager Moringen und Uckermark,” (Diplomarbeit, Fachhochschule Hildesheim, 1985); Martin Guse, Andreas Kohrs, and Friedhelm Vahsen, “Das Jugendlager Moringen—ein Jugendkonzentrationslager,” in *Soziale Arbeit und Faschismus: Volkspflege und Pädagogik im Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Hans-Uwe Otto and Heinz Sünker (Bielefeld,

1986), pp. 321–344; Martin Guse, “Der Kleine, der hat sehr leiden müssen . . . ‘Zeugen Jehovas im Jugend-KZ Moringen,’” in *“Am mutigsten waren immer wieder die Zeugen Jehovas”: Verfolgung und Widerstand der Zeugen Jehovas im Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Hans Hesse (Bremen, 1998), pp. 102–120; Michael Hepp, “Vorhof zur Hölle: Mädchen im ‘Jugend-schutzlager’ Uckermark,” in Hesse, *“Am mutigsten waren immer wieder die Zeugen Jehovas,”* pp. 239–272; Heinrich Muth, “Das ‘Jugendschutzlager’ Moringen,” *DaHe* 5 (1989); Manuela Neugebauer, *Der Weg in das Jugendschutzlager Moringen: Eine entwicklungsgeschichtliche Analyse nationalsozialistischer Jugendpolitik* (Mönchengladbach, 1997); Hannah Vogt, *Moringen: Männerlager, Frauenlager, Jugendschutzlager*, ed. Gesellschaft für Christlich-Jüdische Zusammenarbeit Göttingen e.V. (Göttingen, 1982). On Hugo Krack's relationship with Piller and the Moringen Jugendschutzlager, see Hans Hesse, *Das Frauen KZ-Moringen: 1933–1938* (Moringen, 2002). On the “Swing Youths,” see Detlef J.K. Peukert, *Volksgenossen und Gemeinschaftsfremde* (Cologne, 1982). On the Moringen memorial, see Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus, Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg, Bayern, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn, 1999), pp. 437–440. On the history of the workhouse, see Cornelia Meyer, *Das Werkhaus Moringen: Die Disziplinierung gesellschaftlicher Randgruppen in einer Arbeitsanstalt (1871–1944)* (Moringen, 2004).

As cited by Hesse and Neugebauer, the most important primary sources for the Moringen youth camp may be found in NHStA-H, which holds the denazification files of workhouse director Hugo Krack (Nds. 171 Hildesheim No. 39367) and SS guard Karl Römer (Nds. Hildesheim, No. 20705), as well as records relating to the camp's administration (Hann. 158 Moringen 38/83, Nos. 1, 2, 4; Hann. 158 Moringen 84/82, No. 1. In an appendix, Neugebauer, *Der Weg in das Jugendschutzlager Moringen*, pp. 177–199, reproduces relevant RSHA, RKPA, and other police documents dealing with youth detention.

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NOTES

1. Quoted in Martin Guse and Andreas Kohrs, “Die ‘Bewahrung’ Jugendlicher im NS-Staat: Ausgrenzung und Internierung am Beispiel der Jugendkonzentrationslager Moringen und Uckermark” (Diplomarbeit, Fachhochschule Hildesheim, 1985), p. 173; original found in BA-K, NS 4 RA 1.

2. NHStA-H, Nds. Hann. 158 Moringen 38/83, No. 4, p. 239, cited in Hans Hesse, *Das Frauen KZ-Moringen: 1933–1938* (Moringen, 2002), p. 99.

YOUTH PROTECTION CAMP UCKERMARK

Intended to hold young women ages 16 to 19, and later women up to age 21, the Uckermark youth protection camp (*Jugendschutzlager*) opened as the first concentration camp for young females in June 1942. Since the Moringen Jugendschutzlager

opened in August 1940, the SS had urged leading officials in the Reichskriminalpolizeiamt (RKPA) to establish a comparable site for females. Like Moringen and the Polen-Jugendverwahrlager Litzmannstadt, the Kriminalpolizei (Criminal Police) directed Uckermark, but its forced labor fell under the jurisdiction of the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) in the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WHVA).¹ Like Moringen, Uckermark's inmates, called "pupils" (*Zöglinge*), were classified as criminals due to sexual promiscuity, membership in the "Swing Youth" (*Swing-Jugend*), relationships with prisoners of war (POWs) or "non-Aryans," refusal to work in arms production, or political opposition. There were also inmates whom the Nazis deemed "racially inferior," such as Jews and Gypsies (Sinti and Roma). Many *Zöglinge* were dispatched to Uckermark from "asylums" and juvenile institutions. Some prisoners were Slovenian.²

In mid-May 1942, the SS-Kriminalrätin Lotte Toberentz became Uckermark's commandant, with staff drawn from Ravensbrück. Initially, Uckermark had only 2 accommodation barracks, one for *Zöglinge* and the other for female "educators." Male prisoners from Ravensbrück completed a new barrack before the arrival of each additional transport. The first group of prisoners consisted of about 10 females. By August 1942 there were four blocks for approximately 200 *Zöglinge*. By early 1945, there were around 17 barracks holding 1,200 prisoners.

The new arrivals were sent first to Ravensbrück, not Uckermark, where they underwent a demeaning admission procedure. Stripped naked, they surrendered personal belongings, and their hair was shorn. Following a cold shower, they were examined by SS doctors, fingerprinted, photographed, issued prisoner clothing, and introduced to camp procedures. A few days after this "introduction," the young girls were transferred to Uckermark.

As in Moringen, the admission criteria were based upon the obscure criminal-biological theories of Dr. Robert Ritter and his assistant, Dr. Eva Justin, of the Kriminalbiologische Institute (KBI). KBI ascertained the young prisoners' alleged "criminal propensities" and "inherited inferiority" and correspondingly assigned them to different blocks after six months' observation. Although Uckermark's block system was not as elaborate as Moringen's, each block had its own corresponding "educational" methods. Comparatively few were admitted to the higher, "educable" blocks, while most were dispatched to the lower and middle blocks for the "questionably educable" or "hopeless" *Zöglinge*. A special block for Gestapo prisoners and partisans' children was isolated from the others.

According to Commandant Toberentz, an essential reason for the differentiated treatment of female juveniles concerned their alleged proclivity for sexual promiscuity. This assessment about the female asocials' special "nature" reflected welfare administrators' attitudes dating back to Imperial Germany, when *Zöglinge* were consigned to workhouses for "unseemly" behavior. Euphemistically, the authorities, such

as Paul Werner from RKPA, described youth forced labor as fundamentally educational.

Constant torment and hard labor marked daily life. The day began at 5:00 A.M. After a cold shower and clad in underwear, the prisoners went barefoot to "early sport," regardless of season. After dressing, they made their beds, which consisted of straw sacks and simple blankets. The female block leaders and Toberentz inspected the blocks, punishing the disorderly. A simple breakfast and roll call preceded the work assignments.

Under constant SS supervision, the girls generally worked between 10 and 12 hours. If they collapsed or did not reach the daily work quotas, they were punished for sabotaging work. One labor detachment in Uckermark was used for moor cultivation, terrible work that resulted in psychological and physical exhaustion. Many prisoners brought in the harvest at neighboring manors and farms. Others worked in armament firms, such as Siemens, which had opened branches in Ravensbrück and at Uckermark. The Jugendschutzlager had a tailor shop and a workshop; the latter made dolls and toys for the children of fallen SS men. Especially difficult was *Holzmachen*, where 16-year-olds dragged felled trees to the camp, which were then cut into smaller segments.

Conducted back to camp, all *Zöglinge* assembled for evening roll call. Supper consisted of a piece of bread with spreadable cheese. Twice a week there was sausage or soup. The soup was a thick brew with cabbage or beets but rarely contained meat. The meals were totally inadequate for growing youngsters, with the result that the prisoners soon wasted away. After eating there was an hour of sport, cleaning, or roll call. Completely exhausted, the *Zöglinge* were permitted to shower and sleep. But even during the night there was no peace, as Toberentz made nightly inspections and collectively punished the blocks at the slightest opportunity.

The prescribed punishments were warnings, food deprivation, arrest, postal bans, and the withholding of privileges. The *Zöglinge* were also forced to do hours-long military drill. Pursuant to Heinrich Himmler's order, the camp rules forbade the beating of females, but the *Zöglinge* nevertheless suffered blows from male and female SS. A daily torment was the absolute talking ban. Under threat of severe punishment, the inmates were not allowed to talk when eating, working, or at night. Recaptured escapees were harshly punished. Former prisoners reported that vicious dogs were set upon escapees. One *Zögling* was mauled on the calf, and another's nose was torn to pieces.

The poor food, heavy labor, and inadequate clothing caused severe illnesses. In winter, the inmates were given only a scarf for protection, not pullovers or gloves. Working in primitive wooden shoes wounded their feet. The sick and injured were sent to the Ravensbrück infirmary, which had a police doctor and two prisoner nurses. This facility's minimal aim was to return the *Zöglinge* for labor. Toward the end of 1943, Uckermark obtained an infirmary, but its medical standards were also poor. Although cases of forc-

ible sterilization have not yet come to light, it can be assumed that because Uckermark was run similarly to Moringen that the authorities' negative assessment resulted in sterilization.

Based upon Ritter's and Justin's decisions, some Zöglinge were murdered at concentration camps such as Auschwitz, Dachau, Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, or Ravensbrück. Others were sent to "asylums," where they were murdered as part of the "euthanasia" program.

In June 1944, Uckermark's dissolution began with the opening of the Dallgow-Döberitz transit camp, which was led by Uckermark staff. Of its first transferees, 49 girls were deployed in an armaments firm. Another 58 worked in homes in Uckermark's immediate vicinity; 22 Zöglinge described as "pathologically degenerate" were sent to an asylum, and another 71 youths to Ravensbrück.

In January 1945, the RKPA urged Uckermark's accelerated dissolution because the SS needed the barracks for evacuated concentration camp prisoners. Four Uckermark barracks were separated from the rest for 20 underage political Zöglinge. In the emptied portion of Uckermark, under the command of Ruth Clausius from Ravensbrück, approximately 4,000 weakened female evacuees were murdered or died. The killing methods included strychnine poisoning, starvation, and gassing.³ On April 20, 1945, Commandant Toberentz fled before advancing Allied troops with the remainder of the Zöglinge. On April 30, the Red Army liberated Ravensbrück and Uckermark.

Postwar trials scarcely touched the Uckermark camp personnel. In the Ravensbrück III Trial at the Hamburg Curio-Haus, April 14–26, 1948, the British acquitted Toberentz of involvement in the murder of "Allied nationals" but condemned Clausius to death.⁴ During the 1950s and 1960s, the West German judicial authorities did not categorize Jugendschutzlager detention to be a National Socialist crime.

SOURCES Information on Uckermark may be found in the following published sources: Martin Guse, "*Wir hatten noch gar nicht angefangen zu leben*": Eine Ausstellung zu den Jugendschutzlagern Moringen und Uckermark 1940–1945, 4th ed. (Moringen, 2001); Martin Guse and Andreas Kohrs, "Zur Entpädagogisierung der Jugendfürsorge in den Jahren 1922 bis 1945," in *Soziale Arbeit und Faschismus*, ed. Hans-Uwe Otto and Heinz Sunker (Frankfurt am Main, 1989), p. 234; Guse and Kohrs, "Die 'Bewahrung' Jugendlicher im NS-Staat: Ausgrenzung und Internierung am Beispiel der Jugend-

konzentrationslager Moringen und Uckermark" (Diplomarbeit, Fachhochschule Hildesheim, 1985); Hans Hesse and Jürgen Harder, "*Und wenn ich lebenslang in einem KZ bleiben müsste*": Die Zeuginnen Jebovas in den Frauenkonzentrationslagern Moringen, Lichtenburg und Ravensbrück (Essen, 2001); Michael Hepp, "Vorhof zur Hölle: Mädchen im 'Jugendschutzlager' Uckermark," in *Opfer und Täterinnen: Frauenbiographien des Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Angelika Ebbinghaus (Frankfurt am Main, 1996), pp. 239–272; the exhibit catalog by Viola Klarenbach, "*Wir Durften Ja Nicht Sprechen. Sobald Man Kontakt Suchte mit Irgendjemandem Hagelte es Strafen*": Das ehemalige Konzentrationslager für Mädchen und junge Frauen und spätere Vernichtungslager Uckermark (Berlin, 1998); Katja Limbächer, Maïke Merten, and Bettina Pfefferle, eds., *Das Mädchenkonzentrationslager Uckermark* (Münster, 2000).

Primary sources for the Jugendschutzlager Uckermark begin with documentation in BA-DH (KL/Hafta/Sammlung Nr. 25/Uckermark). On the relationship between Uckermark and WVHA camps, see Nuremberg document R-129, reproduced in *TWC*, vol. 5. Portions of the Ravensbrück Trial III (also called the Uckermark Trial) testimony are reproduced in Ebbinghaus, pp. 191–216, and are based upon PRO, WO 235/516. Fragmentary records of this proceeding are also available in USHMM, RG 59.016 M Acc. 2001.114, PRO, WO 235/516, JAG Office War Crimes Case Files, 1945–1953, Reel 19. Extensive interviews with former Slovenian Zöglinge of Uckermark are reproduced in Limbächer, Merten, and Pfefferle, eds., *Das Mädchenkonzentrationslager Uckermark*.

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NOTES

1. R-129, Pohl to Himmler, April 3, 1942, *TWC*, 5: 298.
2. Interviews with Stephanie Burger-Kelih, Anni Kupper, Stanka Krajnc Simoneti, Ljubica Kuhta, Tilčka Repnik, and Anni Ogris, September 16, 1999, reproduced in Katja Limbächer, Maïke Merten, and Bettina Pfefferle, eds., *Das Mädchenkonzentrationslager Uckermark* (Münster, 2000), pp. 110–120.
3. Affidavit of Ruth Clausius, Ravensbrück III Trial, PRO, WO 235 / 516, reproduced in Angelika Ebbinghaus, ed., *Opfer und Täterinnen: Frauenbiographien des Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt am Main, 1996), Doc. 7, p. 292.
4. Quotation in Request for Concurrence in Confirmation of Death Sentence, Ruth Clausius (9); and handwritten defendants list, in Ravensbrück III Trial (n.p.)—both copied in USHMM, RG 59.016 M Acc. 2001.114, Reel 19.

A NOTE ON THE RECENTLY OPENED INTERNATIONAL TRACING SERVICE DOCUMENTATION

Until August 2007, the International Tracing Service (ITS) in Bad Arolsen, Germany, remained the largest closed documentation center on the persecution of Jews, forced laborers, prisoners of war (POWs), and displaced persons (DPs) of many nations. With the Bonn Treaty's ratification by eleven signatory governments in 1955, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) assumed custody of tens of millions of pages of German documents from the Nazi camps, mostly captured by the Western Allied armies, and DP documents created by Allied and nongovernmental relief agencies for the dual purposes of tracing victims' relatives and documenting persecutees. Despite many entreaties, Holocaust survivors' descendants and researchers were denied access to these collections for decades. Spearheaded by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM), particularly its director, Sara J. Bloomfield, and the director of its Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies (CAHS), Paul A. Shapiro, the signatories amended the Bonn Treaty in 2006, granting access to its collections and providing for one archive in each member country to receive the documentation in digital form. The designated repositories include USHMM in Washington, D.C., Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, and the Institute of National Memory in Warsaw.¹

Just over one month after the five-thousand-page manuscript of this volume was mailed to Indiana University Press, the Museum received the first installment of records from the newly opened ITS collections. The first batch consisted of eighteen million digitized pages on six hard drives. Comprised of Incarceration (*Inhaftierung*) documents, it encompassed Nazi concentration camps, German prisons, civilian internment camps under Wehrmacht administration, some camps administered by other Axis countries, and Gestapo transport lists. In November 2007, the ITS transferred the digitized Central Name Index (CNI) to the Museum. Consisting of card files, the CNI supplies abbreviated references to specific incarceration, forced labor, or DP documents about individual persecutees, giving file (*Ordner*) and page (*Seite*) numbers. To search the CNI's approximately seventeen-and-a-half million names, software makes possible multilingual, phonetic searches. Subsequent collections in process of digitization are Wartime (*Kriegszeit*) documents on Nazi Germany's millions of foreign workers; Postwar documents (on DPs and refugees); and General Documents, the latter consisting of "nonpersonal" documents (*Sachdokumente*; a discrete collection of historical documents including maps, camp plans, some survivor testimonies, and a

40,000-page survey of forced labor and POW camps in Germany by city and county); and millions of pages of Tracing/Documentation (T/D) files arising from the investigation of individual persecutees. As active files, T/D cases less than twenty-five years old are not available to researchers. To expedite searches, in the summer of 2007 the Center translated the ITS Inventory (*Inventar*). The Inventory was originally a compilation of Excel spreadsheets listing collections by camp, numbers of pages and names in a collection; whether the collection consists of originals, copies, original copies, or a combination, and less frequently a collection's provenance. It is now searchable in English and German on USHMM's Web site.²

The historic opening of the ITS collections came too late for use in the print edition of this volume, but the collections will prove invaluable for future volumes of this encyclopedia, in particular those on Wehrmacht camps (Volume III), German police camps (Volume V), and forced labor camps (Volume VI). This postscript is intended to sketch how ITS holdings may advance Holocaust research, specifically by reviewing the Incarceration documents and briefly surveying the findings of the first research workshop at Bad Arolsen.

The most important original material in the Incarceration documents is located in the "pre-1955" holdings. For example, the U.S. Army captured the Buchenwald collection virtually intact and transferred it to the U.S. Zone's Tracing Service shortly after 1945. Although the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) copied certain files submitted into evidence at the Dachau war crimes trials, the majority of documents were not copied before their transfer to the ITS' predecessor organizations before 1955. The Inventory describes the Buchenwald collections as "Property of U.S. Army on Loan to ITS." The small Mittelbau collection is also replete with originals. Other sizable original collections stem from the Neuen-gamme concentration camp and *Strafgefangenenlager* (penal prisoners' camp) Papenburg. From 1934 to 1945, most Papenburg camps belonged to the Reich Justice Ministry. Although their provenance is "not evident" (*nicht ersichtlich*), British forces liberated Papenburg and Neuen-gamme.³ The "Service Watson" collection reproduces ICRC documentation, including 1,739 pages of lists of Red Cross parcel recipients in the Nazi concentration camps. The number of receipts exceeds 96,000. These and related documents furnish additional evidence about the prisoners freed in Operation Bernadotte, Swedish Count Folke Bernadotte's negotiated release of mostly Scandinavian and some

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Jewish prisoners from several concentration camps in March and April 1945. The ITS collections also contain many copies of documents amassed from German, Polish, Belgian, and French archives after 1955. Inescapably, there is also some overlap between ITS holdings and the USHMM and NARA collections.⁴

The Buchenwald holdings are particularly rich. As a central artery of the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL), Buchenwald routed tens of thousands of prisoners to far-flung camps throughout the war, with admissions from (*Zugängen*) and departures to (*Abgängen*) Arbeitsdorf, Auschwitz, Bergen-Belsen, Dachau, Flossenbürg, Herzogenbusch (Vught), Lublin (Majdanek), Mauthausen, Mittelbau (Dora), Natzweiler (Struthof), Neuengamme, Ravensbrück, Riga-Kaiserwald, Sachsenhausen, and Wewelsburg (Niederhagen). Aside from admission and departure lists, there are separate “envelopes” (files) about individual prisoners. For Buchenwald, there are nearly 1.4 million pages of original documents for male prisoners, and approximately 180,000 pages of original documents for female prisoners.⁵

The Buchenwald collections contain many files concerning unusual or privileged prisoner groups, such as recaptured escapees and common criminals (green triangles). In the spring of 1944, Buchenwald issued a list of prisoners bearing “escape markings” (*Fluchtpunkte*). Emblazoning a red bull’s-eye on the chest and back of the prisoner’s uniform, to facilitate being shot in the case of re-escape, this practice was an additional dimension of the color-coded triangle system indicating reason(s) for arrest. A separate document in the Fluchtpunkt file directed individual block elders to the presence of recaptured escapees on their block.⁶

After an alleged escape attempt on August 6, 1943, prisoner Kurt A. bore the Fluchtpunkte. Originally categorized a “Mischling First Degree” after arrival at Buchenwald on July 29, 1943, Kurt A. was subsequently reclassified a Jew. Unlike other prisoners removed from the list for labor redeployment, he remained on the July 27, 1944, list. His prisoner envelope revealed coded SS language dealing with escapees: “DIKAL!” (*Darf in kein anderes Lager!* Not Permitted in Any Other Camp!). The card also reproduced the red bull’s-eye in color. Not mentioned in Kurt A.’s envelope was his November 1944 removal from the Fluchtpunkt list and transfer to a Buchenwald subcamp, a fact established in his T/D file. His prisoner envelope included responses to the U.S. Military Government for Germany (OMGUS) questionnaire for former concentration camp inmates. Asked about the reason for his arrest, Kurt A. or an interpreter on his behalf responded in English, “Because I am a Jew.”⁷

The Buchenwald files furnish considerable insight into the green triangle prisoners. Classified “career criminals” (*Berufsverbrecher*, BV), their behavior often manifested the darker hues of Primo Levi’s “gray zone.”⁸ After 1945, some members of this group, openly favored in the prisoners’

“self-administration” as block elders and Kapos, were tried as war criminals or lynched by liberated prisoners. Those held under “temporary preventive custody” (*befristete Vorbeugungshaft*, also BV) or “police security arrest” (*polizeiliche Sicherungsverwahrung*, PSV) most often did not share their experiences. Much of what is known about them comes from other detainees, especially their victims. The Buchenwald prisoner envelopes thus furnish a window for learning more about them and their functions within the camp system. For example, in 1943 the Buchenwald administration listed “volunteers” for the Dirlewanger formation, a notorious Waffen-SS unit composed mainly of former German concentration camp prisoners deployed against partisans (in reality, against unarmed civilians). Because the list indicates arrest categories, it is possible to search for green triangle prisoners’ envelopes.⁹

Arrested in Dortmund on February 9, 1938, for an alleged theft, Wilhelm B. was admitted to Buchenwald the next day and issued prisoner number 2666. On November 29, 1938, he was transferred to the new concentration camp at Mauthausen, holding prisoner number 940. Subsequently he was dispatched to Dachau and from there on September 30, 1940, to Sachsenhausen. With the establishment of the Neuengamme and Arbeitsdorf concentration camps, which were jointly administered under successive commandants Martin Weiss and Wilhelm Schitli, Wilhelm B. was sent first to Neuengamme and then Arbeitsdorf. In Arbeitsdorf he had prisoner number 99. When Arbeitsdorf closed in early October 1942, he came full circle, reentering Buchenwald with the new prisoner number 1836. Volunteering for the Dirlewanger formation, he was dispatched on June 11, 1943, from Buchenwald to Sachsenhausen, where Dirlewanger recruits were released from “protective custody.” It is not known whether he survived the war.¹⁰

Although the records do not describe his activities in the camps, the pattern of transfers into new camps, especially Arbeitsdorf, strongly suggests that Wilhelm B. was a prisoner-functionary. Described in the file as a mason or building worker, he was unemployed during the Depression years 1932 to 1934, held in “penal detention” (*Strafbhaft*) for an unspecified offense from January 9, 1934, to August 30, 1935, and worked for a Dortmund building company from 1935 to 1938. Shortly before arrest, he contributed 26 Reichsmarks (RM) to his health insurance provider for the first month of 1938. This seemingly obscure detail generated pages of documentation, because the SS at Buchenwald and Mauthausen deemed his case “not in order” (*nicht geordnet*), and obtained on his behalf a receipt (*Quittungskarte*) from the city of Dortmund.¹¹ The SS property custodians at Sachsenhausen, Neuengamme, Arbeitsdorf, and Buchenwald dutifully logged this receipt among his possessions after each transfer or had it forwarded from the previous camp, making it possible to follow Wilhelm B.’s path through the IKL system. This envelope also revealed information about perpetrators.

① Polit. Häftl. Nr. 12541 ② A [redacted], Kurt
 ④ *Jude* Name 14.4.07 Vorname Hamburg
 ⑤ Tapezierer ⑥ geb. in
 ⑦ eingel. 29.7.1943 ⑧ Posteingang Stapo Frankfurt/O.

Januar	Februar	März	April	Mai	Juni	Juli	August	Septemb.	Oktober	Novemb.	Dezemb.

 Marseille ⑨ Postausgang ⑩ Dikal ! Lagerst. II

Januar	Februar	März	April	Mai	Juni	Juli	August	Septemb.	Oktober	Novemb.	Dezemb.

 ⑪ Postsperr
 vom 27.8.43 „Jude“ bis
 „ „ „ „ „ „
 ⑫ Bemerkungen: 6. AUG. 1943

Buchenwald prisoner card for Kurt A [redacted]. Courtesy of International Tracing Service, Bad Arolsen, Germany

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>① Political prisoner no. 12541</p> <p>② Name: A [redacted], Kurt</p> <p>③ [Crossed out:] Mischling, first degree</p> <p>④ Handwritten annotation: Jew</p> <p>⑤ [Profession:] Paperhanger</p> <p>⑥ Born April 14, 1907, in Hamburg</p> <p>⑦ Admitted [Buchenwald] July 29, 1943</p> | <p>⑧ Mail received [via] State Police, Frankfurt an der Oder</p> <p>⑨ Mail sent [to] Marseilles [France]</p> <p>⑩ “Dikal!” [“Darf in kein anderes Lager!”] Not allowed out to external work detachments or subcamps; Level II camp [“moderate severity”]</p> <p>⑪ Denied mail as of August 21, 1943, because reclassified as a Jew</p> <p>⑫ Remarks: [bull’s-eye symbol worn by prisoner due to flight risk] as of August 6, 1943</p> |
|---|---|

The Mauthausen and Neuengamme correspondence bore the signature of SS-Hauptsturmführer Otto Barnewald (SS No. 6469). A camp administrator at Mauthausen from 1938 to 1940, Barnewald was the administrative leader (*Verwaltungsführer*) at Neuengamme and Arbeitsdorf from 1940 to 1942. From 1942 to 1945, he held a similar post at Buchenwald, where he was subsequently promoted to Sturmbannführer.¹² Sentenced to death in the U.S. Army’s Buchenwald trial, his sentence was later commuted to life and he was released from prison in 1957.¹³

In June 2008, CAHS convened the first scholarly workshop at Bad Arolsen. An international team of fifteen scholars arranged in groups by collection (General Documents, Incarceration, Wartime, and Postwar) surveyed

ITS holdings for long-term research prospects and strategies. The consensus was that the collections amount to a “gold mine.” The General Documents group found that while there was little original Nazi-era material in the *Sachdokumente*, apart from an outstanding, detailed collection of original *Lebensborn* (“Well of Life”) materials, the T/D files offer a window into Holocaust memory, and the burial site surveys of foreigners in wartime Germany afford the basis for the geography of memorialization. The *Sachdokumente* also document the history of ITS and its predecessor organizations. The Incarceration documents group stressed the collection’s comprehensiveness for researching Nazi persecution sites and techniques from 1933 to 1945, and avenues opened for the study of prisoner

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sexuality, especially forced prostitution, the experience of prisoner categories, and, more generally, the camps' and transports' social histories. After overcoming challenges in searching perhaps the most variegated ITS collection, the working group on Wartime documents discovered how to reconstruct a given city's or county's forced labor situation, such as Bad Arolsen in Kreis Waldeck or farms near Saarbrücken. Eastern workers' (*Ostarbeiters*') medical files from 1944 and 1945 revealed possible instances of "wild" euthanasia in Berlin hospitals. The group tasked with surveying Post-war documents noted that ITS holdings complemented, but did not supersede, the rich DP camp collections found elsewhere. The small group of "Hong Kong" files, which in part concern Central European émigrés who settled in Harbin, Manchuria, and who along with other national and religious minorities fled to Hong Kong after the 1949 Chinese Revolution, underscore that the ITS collections stand at the nexus of the crucial scholarly issues about twentieth-century Europe: the plight of refugees and human rights. Many DP cards reveal aid givers' stereotypes about Jewish DPs, while others indicate an attempt—in some cases successful—by Holocaust perpetrators to assume DP status for the purpose of evading justice.¹⁴

This brief survey only hints at the ITS collections' outstanding research potential. Better than any other set of archival collections, the ITS records speak to the totality of terror, abuse, and suffering inflicted on those regarded as "enemies of the Third Reich," and to the surviving victims' struggles to rebuild their lives after World War II. When combined with the detailed history of detention sites found in this encyclopedia, the ability to follow the lives of persons like prisoners Kurt A. and Wilhelm B. helps the researcher approach the day-to-day level of National Socialist persecution.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. The Associated Press has published a series of articles on the opening of the ITS; for a listing of these articles and USHMM press releases on the ITS, see <http://www.ushmm.org/museum/exhibit/focus/its/>. Yad Vashem obtained copies of "non-personal" documents (*Sachdokumente*) in the 1950s. Since 1996, Bad Arolsen has permitted researcher access to the same collection, but the bulk of its collections remained off limits.

2. For the Inventory, see <http://resources.ushmm.org/itsinventory/>.

3. Quotation found in the ITS *Inventar* and the USHMM Inventory.

4. This summary of holdings is based upon the ITS *Inventar* (unpublished Excel spreadsheets on CD-Rom, nd).

5. Listed as 1.1.5.3, "Individual Documents Male Buchenwald," and 1.1.5.4, "Individual Documents Female Buchenwald." For the page counts of Buchenwald prisoners' files and for those of other camps, see International Tracing Service, *Catalogue of Records Held by the International Tracing Service of the Allied High Commission for Germany at Arolsen*, 4 vols. (Arolsen, 1954), Vol. I: *Concentration Camp Records; Miscellaneous Records of General or Historical Nature; Records on Unaccompanied Displaced Children*.

6. ITS Digitized Incarceration Collections, USHMM, Buchenwald GCC 2 / 202 IE / 7 Ord. 218, "Listen über Häftlinge mit 'Fluchtpunkten,'" pp. 2, 8 (quotation). Followed by a list of last names and prisoner numbers, the boilerplate reads: "Block Eldest! The following bearer(s) of escape markings is (are) found on your block" [*Blockältester! Folgender Fluchtpunktträger befindet sich auf Deinem Block*].

7. ITS Digitized Incarceration Collections, USHMM, 1.1.5.3, "Individual Documents Male Buchenwald," A., Kurt, pp. 5448862-5448876; Buchenwald GCC 2 / 202 IE / 7 Ord. 218, "Listen über Häftlinge mit 'Fluchtpunkten,'" p. 18 (verso). ITS, T/D file 275307, March 15, 1955.

8. Primo Levi, "The Gray Zone," in *The Drowned and the Saved*, trans. Raymond Rosenthal (New York: Summit Books, 1988).

9. ITS Digitized Incarceration Collections, USHMM, Buchenwald GCC 2/262 IIF/4 Ord. 421, "Listen über Häftlinge der Formation 'Dirlewanger,' 1943–1945," p. 3. On the Dirlewanger formation, see French MacLean, *Cruel Hunters: SS-Sonderkommando Dirlewanger; Hitler's Most Notorious Anti-Partisan Unit* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Military History, 1998); and Hans-Peter Klausch, *Antifaschisten in SS-Uniform: Schicksal und Widerstand der deutschen politischen KZ-Häftlinge, Zuchthaus- und Wehrmachtstrafgefangenen in der SS-Sonderformation Dirlewanger* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1993).

10. ITS Digitized Incarceration Collections, USHMM, 1.1.5.3, "Individual Documents Male Buchenwald," B., Wilhelm, pp. 5609049-5609077.

11. ITS Digitized Incarceration Collections, USHMM, 1.1.5.3, "Individual Documents Male Buchenwald," Mauthausen to Landesversicherungsanstalt Westfalen, March 17, 1939, p. 5609050.

12. Barnewald SSO summarized in French MacLean, *The Camp Men: The SS Officers Who Ran the Nazi Concentration Camp System* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Military History, 1999), p. 34.

13. US448 Case No. 000-50-5-9 (*USA v. Josias Prince zu Waldeck, et al.*), August 14, 1947.

14. This synopsis is based upon the author's notes taken at the group presentations at Bad Arolsen, Germany, on June 24, 2008.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

14f13	Code name for “euthanasia” in IKL camps
1999	<i>1999: Zeitschrift für Sozialgeschichte des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts</i>
A4	Aggregat 4 (code name for the V-2 rocket)
AAC-C	L’Archives des Anciens Combattants (Veterans’ Archives), Caen, France
AADN-S	L’Amicale des Anciens Déportés de Neu-Stassfurt (Association of Former Deportees of Neu-Stassfurt)
AAK	Archiv der Akademie der Künste (Archive of the Academy of Art), Berlin
AAN	Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie (Archive of New Documents), Warsaw
ABA	Armeebekleidungsamt (Army Clothing Office)
A-BASF	Archiv der BASF, Ludwigshafen
ABI	August-Bebel-Institut (August Bebel Institute), Berlin
AbKdo	Arbeitskommando (work detail)
ABL/LPD-N/O	Archiv der Bayerischen Landespolizei/Landespolizeidirektion Niederbayern/Oberpfalz (Archive of the Bavarian State Police/State Police Directorate Lower Bavaria/Upper Pfalz)
A-BMdi	Archiv des Bundesministeriums des Innern (Archive of the Federal Ministry of the Interior), Vienna
ABR	Arbeitskreis Berliner Regionalmuseen (Working Group of Berlin Regional Museums)
ABSS	<i>Amtsblatt der Stadt Steyr</i>
ABZ	<i>Aschaffenburg Zeitung</i>
ACCC	Archives Copenhagen City Court
ACCS	L’Archives de camp de concentration Struthof (Natzweiler) (Archives of the Struthof (Natzweiler) Concentration Camp), France
ACNR	L’Archives de Conseils national de la Résistance (Archives of the National Council of the Resistance), Paris
ADGB	Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (German Trade Union Association)
ADIRN	Association des Déportées et Internées Résistantes, Nanterre (Association of Deportees and Resistance Internees, Nanterre), France
AdsD-FES	Archiv der sozialen Demokratie der Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (Archive of Social Democracy of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation), Bonn
ADW-B	Archiv des Diakonischen Werkes (Archive of the Deaconite Works), Berlin
AE	Arbeitserziehungshäftling(e) (work education or discipline prisoner(s))
AEG	Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (German General Electric Co.)
AEG-FKU	AEG Friedrich-Karl-Ufer (AEG Friedrich Karl Ufer)
AEL	Arbeitserziehungslager (work education or discipline camp)
AFA	Akkumulatoren Fabrik AG (Battery Manufacturing, Inc.)
AFL	<i>Anzeiger für das Fürstentum Lübeck</i>
AFP	Agence France Presse
AG	Aktiengesellschaft (public corporation)
AG-B	Archiv Gedenkstätte Buchenwald (Archives of the Buchenwald Memorial)
AG-BB	Archiv Gedenkstätte Bergen-Belsen (Archives of the Bergen-Belsen Memorial)
AG-D	Archiv Gedenkstätte Dachau (Archive of the Dachau Memorial)

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1540 ABBREVIATIONS

AG-Dr	Archiv des Arbeitskreises Stadtgeschichte e.V., Gedenk- und Dokumentationsstätte KZ Drütte (Archives of the Working Group of City History Association, Memorial and Documentation Site of the Drütte Concentration Camp)
AGe-A-B	Archiv der Gemeinde Asbach-Bäumenheim (Archive of the Asbach-Bäumenheim Township)
AGe-Bi	Archiv der Gemeinde Bisingen (Archive of the Bisingen Township)
AGe-Fe	Archiv der Gemeinde Feldafing (Archive of the Feldafing Township)
AGe-Nie	Archiv der Gemeinde Niederorschel (Archive of the Niederorschel Township)
AGe-Rd	Archiv der Gemeinde Rohrdorf (Archive of the Rohrdorf Township)
AGe-StG	Archiv der Gemeinde St. Gilgen (Archive of the St. Gilgen Township)
AGe-Sü	Archiv der Gemeinde Südbrokmlesland (Archive of the Südbrokmlesland Township)
AGe-USZ	Archiv der Gemeinde Unterschwarzach (Archive of the Unterschwarzach Township)
AG-F	Archiv Gedenkstätte Flossenbürg (Archive of the Flossenbürg Memorial)
AGK	Archiwum Głównej Komisji (Main Commission Archives; also IPN)
AG-L	Archiv Gedenkstätte Lichtenburg (Archive of the Lichtenburg Memorial)
AG-LZ/H	Archiv Gedenkstätte Langenstein-Zwieberge in Halberstadt (Archive of the Langenstein-Zwieberge Memorial in Halberstadt)
AG-M	Archiv Gedenkstätte Mauthausen (Archive of the Mauthausen Memorial)
AG-MD	Archiv Gedenkstätte Mittelbau-Dora (Archive of the Mittelbaul-Dora Memorial)
AG-NG	Archiv Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Archive of the Neuengamme Memorial)
AG-N-S	Archiv Gedenkstätte Natzweiler-Struthof (Archive of the Natzweiler-Struthof Memorial)
AG-R	Archiv Gedenkstätte Ravensbrück (Archive of the Ravensbrück Memorial)
AG-S	Archiv Gedenkstätte Sachsenhausen (Archive of the Sachsenhausen Memorial)
AgSSüHR	Arbeitsgemeinschaft Spurensuche in der Südharzregion (Working Community of the Tracing Service in the Southern Harz Region)
AG-T	Archiv Gedenkstätte Theresienstadt (Terezín) (Archive of the Theresienstadt (Terezín) Memorial)
AG-W	Archiv Gedenkstätte Wöbbelin (Archive of the Wöbbelin Memorial)
AH	Amtshauptmannschaft (Administrative District Offices)
AHFW	Archiv der Henschel-Flugzeug-Werke GmbH (Archive of the Henschel Aircraft Works, Ltd.), Kassel
AHI-Bau	Allgemeine Hoch- und Ingenieurbau (General Building and Civil Engineering)
A-HkBr	Archiv der Handelskammer Bremen (Archives of the Bremen Chamber of Commerce)
AHM-K	Archiv des Heimatmuseums Köpenick (Archive of the Köpenick Hometown Museum)
AHM-O	Archiv des Heimatmuseums Oederan (Archive of the Oederan Hometown Museum)
AI	Archiwum Ikonograficzne (Iconographic Archive), Sztutowo, Poland
AIeTW-B	Archiv des Interessenverbandes ehemaliger Teilnehmer am antifaschistischen Widerstand, Verfolgter des Naziregimes und Hinterbliebener (Archives of the Association of Former Participants in the Anti-Fascist Resistance, Persecutees of the Nazi Regime, and Surviving Dependents), Berlin
AIZ	<i>Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung</i>
AIZ	Archiwum Instytutu Zachodniego (Archives of the Western Institute), Poznań
AJJDC	American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (aka "Joint")
AK	Armia Krajowa (Polish Home Army)
AK-IPN	Archiwum Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu – Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej (Main Commission Archives – Polish Institute of National Memory), Warsaw
AK-IPN Gd	Archiwum Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu –

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

	Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej (Main Commission Archives – Polish Institute of National Memory), Gdańsk
AK-IPN Kr	Archiwum Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu – Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej, Kraków (Main Commission Archives–Polish Institute of National Memory, Kraków)
AK-IPN Op	Archiwum Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu – Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej, Opole (Main Commission Archives–Polish Institute of National Memory, Opole)
AK-IPN WR	Archiwum Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu – Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej, Wrocław (Main Commission Archives–Polish Institute of National Memory, Wrocław)
AKM-WN	Archiv des Kreismuseums Wewelsburg-Niederhagen (Archive of the Wewelsburg-Niederhagen District Museum)
AKö	Körper-Archiv (Körper Archives), Hamburg
AKr-A-Sch	Archiv des Kreises Aue-Schwarzenberg (Archive of Aue-Schwarzenberg District)
AKr-Bal	Archiv des Kreises Balingen (Archive of Balingen District)
AKr-C	Archiv des Landkreises Celle (Archive of Celle County)
AKr-EW	Archiv des Kreises Eberswalde (Archive of the Eberswalde District)
AKr-MAB	Archiv des Kreises Marienberg (Archive of the Marienberg District)
AKr-N	Archiv des Kreises Nordhausen (Archive of the Nordhausen District)
AKr-RM	Archiv des Landkreises Rems-Murr (Archive of Rems-Murr County)
AKr-SH	Archiv des Landkreises Schwäbisch-Hall (Archive of Schwäbisch-Hall County)
AKr-TUT	Archiv des Kreises Tuttlingen (Archive of the Tuttlingen District)
AL	Arbeitslager (work camp)
ALIM	Archiv des Landesvereins für Innere Mission in Schleswig-Holstein (Archive of the State Association for the Inner Mission in Schleswig-Holstein), Rickling
<i>Allgä</i>	<i>Der Allgäuer</i>
ALR-LWL	Archiv des Landratsamtes Ludwigslust (Archive of the Office of the Rural District Administrator, Ludwigslust)
ALSOS	Code name for the US search for nuclear weapons research in Germany (from the Greek for “grove”)
ALVR	Archiv des Landschaftsverbandes Rheinland (Archive of the Rhineland Landscape Association)
ALVW-L	Archiv des Landschaftsverbandes Westfalen-Lippe (Archive of the Westfalen-Lippe Landscape Association)
ALWH	Archiv des Landeswohlfahrtsverbandes Hessen (Archive of the State Welfare Association, Hessen)
AM-BN-G	Archiv des Museums der Burg Neustadt Glewe (Archive of the Burg Neustadt Glewe Museum)
AMC	American Military Court
AMGR	Archiwum Muzeum Gross-Rosen (Gross-Rosen Museum Archives), Rogoźnica, Poland
AMRCCT-L	Association pour la Mémoire et la Reconnaissance du Camp de Concentration Thil-Longwy (Archive for the Memory and Recognition of the Thil-Longwy Concentration Camp), France
AMS	Archiwum Muzeum Stutthof (Archives of the Stutthof Museum), Sztutowo, Poland
<i>Ams</i>	<i>Acta medica scandinavica</i>
AMSPE	L’Archives du Ministère de la Santé Publique et de l’ Environnement (Archives of the Minister of the Public Health and the Environment), Brussels

1542 ABBREVIATIONS

AMvP	Archiv Ministerstva vnitra Praha (Archives of the Ministry of the Interior, Prague)
AN	L'Archives nationales de France (French National Archives), Paris (also ANFP)
ANA	Australian National Archives, Canberra
ANEI	Associazione Nazionale Ex Internati (National Association of Ex-Internees), Rome
ANFP	L'Archives nationales de France, Paris (also AN)
<i>Anb-A</i>	<i>Anbalter Anzeiger</i>
ANL	L'Archives nationales de Luxembourg (National Archives of Luxembourg)
AN-MACVG	L'Archives nationales – Ministère des anciens combattants et victimes de guerre (National Archives – Ministry of Veterans and Victims of War), Paris
<i>Antifa-Be-Os</i>	<i>Antifaschistische Beiträge aus Osnabrück</i>
AOC	L'Archives de l'Occupation française en Allemagne et en Autriche Colmar (Archives of the French Occupation in Germany and in Austria, Colmar), France
AOCZ	Archiv des Oberbergamtes (Archive of the Superior Mining Office), Clausthal-Zellerfeld
AOS	L'Amicale d'Oranienburg-Sachsenhausen (The Association of Oranienburg-Sachsenhausen)
A-Osta-H	Archiv des Oberstaatsanwalts (Archive of the Senior State Prosecutor), Hamburg
<i>AP</i>	<i>Affaires Politiques</i>
<i>ApAz</i>	<i>Après Auschwitz</i>
APCK	Archiwum Polskiego Czerwonego Krzyża (Archives of the Polish National Red Cross), Warsaw
AP Gd.	Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku (Gdańsk State Archives)
APK	Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie (Kraków State Archives)
APKat	Archiwum Państwowe w Katowicach (Katowice State Archives)
APL	Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie (Lublin State Archives)
APŁ	Archiwum Państwowe w Łodzi (Łódź State Archives)
APMM	Archiwum Państwowego Muzeum na Majdanku (Archives of the State Museum at Majdanek)
APMO	Archiwum Państwowego Muzeum w Oświęcimie (Archives of the State Museum at Auschwitz-Birkenau)
APP	Archiwum Państwowe w Poznaniu (Poznań State Archives)
APR	Archiwum Państwowe w Radomiu (Radom State Archives)
APSz	Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie (Szczecin State Archives)
<i>APuZ</i>	<i>Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte</i>
<i>APZ-P</i>	<i>Aus Politik und Zeitgeschehen – Das Parlament</i>
A-RAG	Archiv der Rheinmetall AG (Archive [of the former] Rheinmetall-Borsig Inc.), Düsseldorf
<i>Aratora</i>	<i>Aratora: Zeitschrift des Vereins für Heimatkunde, Geschichte und Schutz von Artern e.V.</i>
Arb. Kdo	Arbeitskommando (work detail)
ASBUDO	Arkhiv SBU Donetskyi oblasti (Archive of the Ukrainian State Security Service for the Donetsk Oblast')
<i>AschVZ</i>	<i>Aschaffenburg Volkszeitung</i>
<i>AschZ</i>	<i>Aschaffenburg Zeitung</i>
ASDAG	Asphalt und Dachdeckungsgesellschaft mbH (Asphalt and Roofing Company, Ltd.), Vienna
A-SDP	Archiv der Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG, (Steyr-Daimler-Puch, Inc., Archives), Austria
<i>ASfM</i>	<i>Aufruf: Streitschrift für Menschenrechte</i>

ASM	Alderney Society and Museum, Channel Islands, UK
AS-M	Archiv Siemens-München (Siemens Archives, Munich)
Aso	Asozial(e) (“asocial(s)”)
ASR	Arbeitsscheue Reich (“Reich work shy”; synonym for “asocial”)
ASt-Ah	Archiv der Stadt Ahrensböck (Ahrensböck City Archives)
AStALG-Au	Archiv der Staatsanwaltschaft bei dem Landgericht Aurich (Archive of the State Prosecutor for the Aurich State Court)
AStALG-B	Archiv der Staatsanwaltschaft bei dem Landgericht Bochum (Archive of the State Prosecutor for the Bochum State Court)
AStALG-H	Archiv der Staatsanwaltschaft bei dem Landgericht Hannover (Archive of the State Prosecutor for the Hannover State Court)
AStALG-NF	Archiv der Staatsanwaltschaft bei dem Landgericht Nürnberg-Fürth (Archive of the State Prosecutor for the Nuremberg-Fürth State Court)
ASt-Amg	Archiv der Stadt Amberg (Amberg City Archives)
ASt-Ba	Archiv der Stadt Barth (Barth City Archives)
ASt-Bal	Archiv der Stadt Balingen (Balingen City Archives)
ASt-B-Fl	Archiv der Stadt Bad Friedrichshall (Bad Friedrichshall City Archives)
ASt-BG	Archiv der Stadt Bergisch Gladbach (Bergisch Gladbach City Archives)
ASt-BH	Archiv der Stadt Brandenburg an der Havel (Branderburg an der Havel City Archives)
ASt-BI	Archiv der Stadt Blaichach (Blaichach City Archives)
ASt-B-Lan	Archiv der Stadt Bad Langensalza (Bad Langensalza City Archives)
ASt-BIb.	Archiv der Stadt Blankenburg (Blankenburg City Archives)
ASt-Boc	Archiv der Stadt Bochum (Bochum City Archives)
ASt-BrHa	Archiv der Stadt Bremerhaven (Bremerhaven City Archives)
ASt-Bur	Archiv der Stadt Burgau (Burgau City Archives)
ASt-BZ	Archiv der Stadt Bautzen (Bautzen City Archives)
ASt-Ctb	Archiv der Stadt Cottbus (Cottbus City Archives)
ASt-DU	Archiv der Stadt Duisburg (Duisburg City Archives)
ASt-Dü	Archiv der Stadt Düsseldorf (Düsseldorf City Archives)
ASt-Dud	Archiv der Duderstadt (Duderstadt City Archives)
ASt-Eu	Archiv der Stadt Eutin (Eutin City Archives)
ASt-Fg	Archiv der Stadt Freiberg (Freiberg City Archives)
ASt-Fn	Archiv der Stadt Friedrichshafen (Friedrichshafen City Archives)
ASt-Fr	Archiv der Stadt Freiburg (Freiburg City Archives)
ASt-Ge	Archiv der Stadt Gelsenkirchen (Gelsenkirchen City Archives)
ASt-Germ	Archiv der Stadt Germering (Germering City Archives)
ASt-Gl	Archiv der Stadt Glückstadt (Glückstadt City Archives)
ASt-H	Archiv der Stadt Hannover (Hannover City Archives)
ASt-HDH	Archiv der Stadt Heidenheim (Heidenheim City Archives)
ASt-Hen	Archiv der Stadt Hennigsdorf (Hennigsdorf City Archives)
ASt-Her	Archiv der Stadt Hersbruck (Hersbruck City Archives)
ASt-Hild	Archiv der Stadt Hildesheim (Hildesheim City Archives)
ASt-Hof	Archiv der Stadt Hof (Hof City Archives)
ASt-Hü	Archiv der Stadt Hürth (Hürth City Archives)
ASt-Kö	Archiv der Stadt Köln (Cologne City Archives)

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ASt-KöW	Archiv der Stadt Königs Wusterhausen (Königs Wusterhausen City Archives)
AStKr-BG	Archiv der Stadt und des Kreises Bergisch-Gladbach (Archive of the City and District of Bergisch-Gladbach)
ASt-L	Archiv der Stadt Leipzig (Leipzig City Archives)
ASt-Lang	Archiv der Stadt Langenhagen (Langenhagen City Archives)
ASt-Ld	Archiv der Stadt Landau, Pfalz (Landau Pfalz City Archives)
ASt-Lht	Archiv der Stadt Landshut (Landshut City Archives)
ASt-Li	Archiv der Stadt Lindau (Lindau City Archives)
ASt-Lip	Archiv der Stadt Lippstadt (Lippstadt City Archives)
ASt-Ln	Archiv der Stadt Linz (Linz City Archives), Austria
ASt-Lsn	Archiv der Stadt Leisnig (Leisnig City Archives)
ASt-M	Archiv der Stadt München (Munich City Archives)
ASt-MCW	Archiv der Stadt Malchow (Malchow City Archives)
ASt-Me	Archiv der Stadtverwaltung Meuselwitz (Archive of the Meuselwitz City Administration)
ASt-Mer	Archiv der Stadt Merseburg (Merseburg City Archives)
ASt-Mkg	Archiv der Stadt Markkleeberg (Markkleeberg City Archives)
ASt-MÜ	Archiv der Stadt Mühlendorf (Mühlendorf City Archives)
ASt-Mühlh	Archiv der Stadt Mühlhausen (Mühlhausen City Archives)
ASt-N	Archiv der Stadt Nürnberg (Nuremberg City Archives)
ASt-Ne/Co	Archiv der Stadt Neustadt bei Coburg (Neustadt bei Coburg City Archives)
ASt-N-F	Archiv der Stadt Nürnberg-Fürth (Nuremberg-Fürth City Archives)
ASt-No	Archiv der Stadt Norderstedt (Norderstedt City Archives)
ASt-Ns	Archiv der Stadt Nossen (Nossen City Archives)
ASt-NZ	Archiv der Stadt Neustrelitz (Neustrelitz City Archives)
ASt-OG	Archiv der Stadt Offenburg (Offenburg City Archives)
ASt-Ol	Archiv der Stadt Oldenburg Oldenburg City Archives)
ASt-Os	Archiv der Stadt Osnabrück (Osnabrück City Archives)
ASt-Pi	Archiv der Stadt Pirna (Pirna City Archives)
ASt-Pl	Archiv der Stadt Plauen (Plauen City Archives)
ASt-Pre	Archiv der Stadt Prettin (Prettin City Archives)
ASt-Put	Archiv der Stadt Putten (Putten City Archives)
ASt-R	Archiv der Stadt Regensburg (Regensburg City Archives)
ASt-RDG	Archiv der Stadt Ribnitz-Damgarten (Ribnitz-Damgarten City Archives)
ASt-Ros	Archiv der Stadt Rostock (Rostock City Archives)
ASt-Salz	Archiv der Stadt Salzgitter (Salzgitter City Archives)
ASt-Sch	Archiv der Stadt Schlieben (Schlieben City Archives)
ASt-Schw	Archiv der Stadt Schwechat (Schwechat City Archives)
ASt-Slzw	Archiv der Stadt Salzwedel (Salzwedel City Archives)
ASt-So	Archiv der Stadt Soest (Soest City Archives)
ASt-Sty	Archiv der Stadt Steyr (Steyr City Archives), Austria
ASt-Va/E	Archiv der Stadt Vaihingen an der Enz (Vaihingen an der Enz City Archives)
ASt-W	Archiv der Stadt Wuppertal (Wuppertal City Archives)
ASt-Wb	Archiv der Stadt Warburg (Warburg City Archives)
ASt-Wi	Archiv der Stadt Witten (Witten City Archives)
ASt-Wien	Archiv der Stadt Wien (Vienna City Archives), Austria

ASt-Wies	Archiv der Stadt Wiesbaden (Wiesbaden City Archives)
ASt-Wil	Archiv der Stadt Wilhelmshaven (Wilhelmshaven City Archives)
ASt-WOB	Archiv der Stadt Wolfsburg (Wolfsburg City Archives)
ASt-Wsf	Archiv der Stadt Weissenfels (Weissenfels City Archives)
ASt-ZI	Archiv der Stadt Zittau (Zittau City Archives)
ASt-ZP	Archiv der Stadt Zschopau (Zschopau City Archives)
ASt-Zwbr	Archiv der Stadt Zweibrücken (Zweibrücken City Archives)
ASVG-B	L'archive du Service des Victimes de la Guerre (Archives of the Service of War Victims), Brussels
ATG	Allgemeine Transportanlagen GmbH (General Transport Systems, Ltd.), Leipzig-Schöna
AUB-ISG	Archiv der Universität Bremen, Institut für Sozialgeschichte (Archives of the University of Bremen, Institute for Social History)
<i>Aufbau</i>	<i>Aufbau: Nachrichtenblatt des German-Jewish Club, Inc.</i>
<i>AuGF-MHL</i>	<i>Archiv- und Geschichtsforschung, Mühlhausen</i>
<i>AugsA</i>	<i>Augsburger Allgemeine</i>
<i>AUW</i>	<i>Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis</i>
AVB-StFA	Archivverbund Bautzen/Staatsfilialarchiv (Bautzen Archival Network/State Branch Archive)
A-VEB-S	Archiv des VEB-Synthese (Archive of the Nationally Owned Enterprise for Synthesis), Schwarzheide
AVVN-BdA	Archiv der Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes-Bund der Antifaschisten (Archive of the Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime – League of Anti-Fascists)
AVVN-D	Archiv der Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes-Dortmund (Archive of the Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime-Dortmund)
AVVN-K	Archiv der Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes-Köln (Archive of the Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime-Cologne)
AZA	Ausländische Zivilarbeiter (foreign civilian worker)
AŽIH	Archiwum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego (Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute) Warsaw
AZR	Arbeitszwang Reich (Reich forced labor)
BA	Bundesarchiv (German Federal Archives)
BA-B	Bundesarchiv Berlin (German Federal Archives in Berlin) (includes former BDC)
BA-BL	Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde (German Federal Archives in Berlin-Lichterfelde)
BA-DH	Bundesarchiv Aussenstelle Dahlwitz-Hoppegarten (German Federal Archives, External Branch Dahlwitz-Hoppegarten)
<i>BADRDE</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Amicale des Déportés et de la Résistance de Dora-Ellich</i>
BA-K	Bundesarchiv Koblenz (German Federal Archives, Koblenz)
BA-L	Bundesarchiv Aussenstelle Ludwigsburg (German Federal Archives, External Branch Ludwigsburg)
Baltöl	Baltische Öl GmbH (Baltic Oil Ltd.)
<i>BAM</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Amicale de Mauthausen</i>
BA-MA	Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (Federal Military Archives), Freiburg
<i>BaNZ</i>	<i>Basler National-Zeitung</i>
BAOR	British Army of the Rhine
BA-P	Bundesarchiv-Abteilung Potsdam (Federal Archives-Potsdam Branch)

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BAR	Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv (Swiss Federal Archives), Bern
BASF	Badische Anilin und Sodafabrik (Baden Anilin and Soda Manufacturing)
Ba-VEB-BH	Betriebsarchiv VEB Barkas (Firm Archive of the Nationally Owned Enterprise for Small Vans and Busses), Hainichen
Ba-VEB-Bm-KMS	Betriebsarchiv VEB Buchungsmaschinenwerk Karl-Marx-Stadt (Firm Archive of the Nationally Owned Enterprise for Accounting Machines), Leipzig
Ba-VEB-Bü-SHD	Betriebsarchiv VEB Bürstenfabrik (Firm Archive of the Nationally Owned Enterprise for Brush Manufacturing), Schönheide
Ba-VEB-FV	Betriebsarchiv VEB Feinspinnerei (Firm Archive of the Nationally Owned Enterprise for Fine Spinning Mills), Venusberg
Ba-VEB-HR	Betriebsarchiv VEB Hydraulik (Firm Archive of the Nationally Owned Enterprise for Hydraulics), Rochlitz
Ba-VEB-Mü-DZ	Betriebsarchiv VEB Mühlenbau (Firm Archive of the Nationally Owned Enterprise for Mill Construction), Dresden-Zschachwitz
Ba-VEB-PG	Betriebsarchiv VEB Gardinen (Firm Archive of the Nationally Owned Enterprise for Curtain Fabric), Plauner
Ba-VEB-S-Z	Betriebsarchiv VEB Sachsenring (Firm Archive of the Nationally Owned Enterprise for Automobile Manufacturing), Zwickau
Ba-VEB-Ts-Fl	Betriebsarchiv VEB Textursee (Firm Archive of the Nationally Owned Enterprise for Textured Silk), Flöha
Ba-VEB-Vmb-D	Betriebsarchiv VEB Verpackungsmaschinenbau (Firm Archive of the Nationally Owned Enterprise for Packing Machine Manufacture), Dresden
B-B	Bergen-Belsen
Bbde	SS-Baubrigade (Construction Brigade, see also SS-BB)
B.Ch.	Batalionów Chłopskich (Polish Peasant Battalion)
BCL	Brooklyn College Library, New York
BDC	Berlin Document Center (now BA-B and at NARA)
BDCPF	Berlin Document Center Personnel File (also SS Officer file, SSO)
BdE	Befehlshaber der Ersatzarmee (Commander-in-Chief of the Replacement Army)
BdO	Befehlshaber der Ordnungspolizei (Commander of the Order Police)
BdS	Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei (Commander of the Security Police and SD)
<i>Be-Nbb-Hg</i>	<i>Beiträge zur Neckarbischofsheimer Heimatgeschichte</i>
<i>BeStG</i>	<i>Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte</i>
BFA	Bundesfilmarchiv (German Federal Film Archives), Berlin
<i>BFW</i>	<i>Bulletin für Faschismus und Weltkriegsforschung</i>
BG	Bezirksgericht (District Court, GDR)
<i>BGKBZHwP</i>	<i>Biuletyn Główniej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce</i>
BgA-Fg	Bergarchiv Freiberg (Freiberg Mine Archive)
BGH	Bundesgerichtshof (West German Federal Court)
<i>BGBL</i>	<i>Bundesgesetzblatt</i>
<i>BGNSVND</i>	<i>Beiträge zur Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgung in Norddeutschland</i>
<i>BHSKN</i>	<i>Beiträge zur Heimatkunde aus Stadt und Kreis Nordhausen</i>
BHStA-(M)	Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv München (Bavarian Main State Archives, Munich)
BHStA-(N)	Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Nürnberg (Bavarian Main State Archives, Nuremberg)
<i>BKRTN</i>	<i>Biuletyn Kwartalny Radosmkiego Towarzystwa Naukowego</i>
BLH	Beth Lohamei Hagettaot (Archive of the Ghetto Fighters House; also GFH), Israel

BLHA	Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv (State Main Archive of Brandenburg; citational variations include BLHA-(B), Berlin, and BLHA-(P), Potsdam; the archive includes ZSA-P), Potsdam
BLHBH	<i>Biuletyn Historyczny Łębarskiego Bractwa Historycznego</i>
BLZ-BPA	Bayerische Landeszentrale für politische Bildungsarbeit (Bavarian Central Office for Political Education Work)
BlzL	<i>Blätter zum Land</i>
BM	<i>Berliner Morgenpost</i>
BMdI	Bundesministerium des Innern, Wien (Federal Ministry of the Interior, Vienna)
BMW	Bayerische Motoren Werke (Bavarian Motor Works)
Bn	Battalion
BNZ	<i>Bremer Nationalsozialistische Zeitung</i>
BoA	<i>Bochumer Anzeiger</i>
BPA	Bezirksamt Pankow Archiv (Pankow District Office Archive)
BPASED-B(O)	Bezirksparteiarchiv der SED, Berlin (Ost) (District Party Archive of the Socialist Unity Party, East Berlin)
BPB	Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung (Federal Central Office for Political Education)
Brabag	Braunkohle-Benzin AG (Brown Coal Gasoline Inc.)
BrA-K	Brabag Archiv-Köln (Brabag Archive, Cologne)
BrAnz	<i>Brandenburger Anzeiger</i>
BrN	<i>Bremer Nachrichten</i>
BŚ-DM	<i>Biuletyn Świebodzice-Dzieje Miasta</i>
BStU	Bundesbeauftragte für die Unterlagen des Ministeriums für Staatssicherheit der ehemaligen DDR (Federal Commissioner for the Documents of the Ministry of State Security of the Former GDR)
BStU-H(S)	Bundesbeauftragte für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Aussenstelle Halle (Saale) (Federal Commissioner for the Documents of the Ministry of State Security of the Former GDR Halle an der Saale)
BsWuSg	<i>Beiträge zur südwestlichen Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte</i>
BT	<i>Bamberger Tagblatt</i>
BTS	Belgian Tracing Service
Bu	Buchenwald (archival abbreviation)
BuH	<i>Buchenwald Heft</i>
Büssing NAG	Büssing Vereinigte Neue-Automobil-Gesellschaft AG (Büssing United New Automobile Company Corp.)
BV	<i>Bamberger Volksblatt</i>
BV	Berufsverbrecher (career criminal) or Befristete Vorbeugungshaft (temporary preventive custody)
BVEBMZ	<i>Betriebszeitung des VEB Motorradwerk Zschopau</i>
BVP	Bayerische Volkspartei (Bavarian People's Party)
BWF	<i>Bulletin für Weltkriegs- und Faschismusforschung</i>
BZ	<i>Berliner Zeitung</i>
BzFdd	<i>Beiträge zur Fachdidaktik</i>
BŻIH	<i>Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego</i>
CAFSSRF	Central Archives of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation, Moscow

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CAHJP	Central Archive for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem
CAHS	Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, USHMM, Washington, DC
CChIdK	Centr Chranenija Istoriko-Dokumental'nykh Kollekcij Moscow (Center for the Preservation of Historical Documentary Collections), Moscow
CCKdo	Concentration Camp Kommando (ITS abbreviation)
CCP	<i>Catalogue of Camps and Prisons</i> (ITS)
CDJC	Centre de documentation juive contemporaine (Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation), Paris
CEGESOMA	Centre des Recherches et d'Etudes Historiques de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale (Center of Research and Historical Studies of the Second World War), Brussels
CEH	<i>Contemporary European History</i>
CeHe	<i>Celler Hefte</i>
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CGT	Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor)
CHP	Centre historique (Historical Center), Paris
CIC	Civilian Internment Camp (Allied term)
CICR	Comité internationale de la Croix-Rouge (International Committee of the Red Cross; also ICRC)
CIOS	Combined Intelligence Objectives Sub-Committee
CJH	Center for Jewish History, New York
CJN	<i>Canadian Jewish News</i>
CNI	Central Name Index (ITS)
CoNZ	<i>Coburger Nationalzeitung</i>
CoV	<i>Coburger Volksblatt</i>
CWC	Civilian Workers Camps (ITS abbreviation)
D	Office group designation for IKL in the SS-WVHA, usually followed by a Roman numeral indicating office (such as D II, Prisoner Labor Allocation)
DA	<i>Der Alemanne</i>
DAA/DK	District Archive of Aabenraa, Denmark
DAF	Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German Labor Front)
DAI-FO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Ivano-Frankivs'koi oblasti (State Archive of the Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast')
DAG	Dynamit Nobel AG
DaHe	<i>Dachauer Hefte</i>
DAKO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Kirovograds'koi oblasti (State Archive of the Kirovograd Oblast'), Ukraine
DALO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv L'vivs'koi oblasti (State Archive of the L'viv Oblast'), Ukraine
DAN	<i>Der Angriff</i>
DanVorp	<i>Danziger Vorposten</i>
DARO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Rivnens'koi oblasti (State Archive of the Rivne Oblast'), Ukraine
DATO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Ternopols'koi oblasti (State Archive of the Ternopol Oblast'), Ukraine
DAVINO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Vinnyts'koi oblasti (State Archive of the Vinnitsia Oblast'), Ukraine
DAVO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Volyn'skoi oblasti (State Archive of the Volyn' Oblast'), Ukraine
DAW	Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke GmbH (German Equipment Works, Ltd)
DAZO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Zhytomyrs'koi oblasti (State Archive of the Zhytomyr Oblast'), Ukraine

<i>DB</i>	<i>Dziennik Bałtycki</i>
DB	Daimler-Benz
DBHG	Deutsche Bergwerks- und Hüttenbau Gesellschaft (German Mining and Metallurgical Company)
DCAG-UA	DaimlerChrysler AG, Unternehmenarchiv (Company Archive), Stuttgart
DDP	Deutsche Demokratische Partei (German Democratic Party)
DDR	Deutsche Demokratische Republik (German Democratic Republic; also GDR)
<i>DDR-JuNS-V</i>	<i>DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Die deutschen Strafverfahren wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen</i>
<i>Dé</i>	<i>Le Déporté</i>
DEF	Deutsche Emailwarenfabrik – Email- und Metallwaren aller Art (German Enamel Factory – Enamel and Metal Wares of All Types)
DEFA	Deutsche Film AG (East German Film Corp.)
<i>DegGb</i>	<i>Deggendorfer Geschichtsblätter</i>
DEGOB	Deportáltakat Gondozó Országos Bizottság (National Committee for Attending Deportees), Budapest
Degussa	Deutsche Gold- und Silber-Scheideanstalt (German Gold and Silver Separation Establishment)
<i>Deg-Z</i>	<i>Deggendorfer Zeitung</i>
Demag	Deutsche Maschinenfabrik AG (German Machine Factory Corp.)
<i>Dem-Gesch</i>	<i>Demokratische Geschichte</i>
<i>dem-ges</i>	<i>demokratische-gesundheit</i>
Deschimag	Deutsche Schiff- und Maschinenbau AG (German Ship and Machine Construction Co.)
DESt	Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke GmbH (German Earth and Stone Works, Ltd.)
DE-TE-WE	Deutsche Telefonwerke und Kabelindustrie AG (German Telephone and Cable Industry Corp.)
Deurag-Nerag	Gewerkschaft Deutsche Erdöl- Neue Erdöl Raffinerie Aktiengesellschaft (Union of the German Petroleum-New Petroleum Refinery Corporation)
DEW	Deutsche Eisenwerke AG (German Iron Works Corp.)
<i>DF</i>	<i>Deutsche Freiheit</i>
<i>DFü</i>	<i>Der Führer</i>
<i>DGA</i>	<i>Der Gegen-Angriff</i>
DGB	Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (German Confederation of Trade Unions)
DGS-KZ-A	Dokumentationsstätte Goldbacher Stollen und KZ Aufkirch e.V. (Documentation Site of the Goldbach Tunnels and Aufkirch Concentration Camp, Registered Association)
<i>DH</i>	<i>Daily Herald</i>
DIKAL!	Darf in kein anderes Lager! (Not Permitted in Any Other Camp!; an abbreviation used in Buchenwald prisoner files to designate flight risks or dangerous prisoners)
<i>DiM</i>	<i>Dokumenty i materiały</i> , 3 vols. (Łódź, 1946)
<i>DingA</i>	<i>Dingolfinger Anzeiger</i>
DIWAG	Deutsche Industrie-Werke AG (German Industrial Works Corp.)
DIZ	Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum (Documentation and Information Center)
DIZ-EL	Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum Emslandlager (Documentation and Information Center, Emsland Camps)
DIZ-OK	Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum Oberer Kuhberg (Documentation and Information Center, Oberer Kuhberg)

1550 ABBREVIATIONS

DIZ-St	Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum Stadtallendorf (Documentation and Information Center, Stadtallendorf)
DIZ-T	Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum Torgau (Documentation and Information Center, Torgau)
<i>DJ</i>	<i>Deutsche Justiz: Rechtspflege und Rechtspolitik</i>
DKK	Deutsche Kühl- und Kraftmaschinen (German Cooling and Power Machines)
DKP	Deutsche Kommunistische Partei (German Communist Party in the Federal Republic of Germany, founded in 1968)
DKW	Dampf Kraft Wagen (Steam-driven car, a German automobile firm)
DLV	Deutscher Luftsportverband (German Air Sport League)
DM	Deutsche Mark (FRG currency until 2001)
DMM	Deutsches Museum München (German Museum, Munich)
DMW	Deutsche Munitionswerke (German Munitions Works)
DNA	Danish National Archive
DNVP	Deutschnationale Volkspartei (German National People's Party)
<i>DNW</i>	<i>Die neue Weltbühne</i>
DOB	Date of birth
doc.	document
DÖLF	Deutsche Ölschieferforschungsgesellschaft (German Oil Shale Research Association)
DN	Dokumentenhaus Neuengamme (Neuengamme Documentation Center)
<i>Don-K-Ing</i>	<i>Donau-Kurier Ingolstadt</i>
DÖW	Dokumentationsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstandes (Documentation Archives of the Austrian Resistance), Vienna
DP	Displaced Person(s)
DR	Deutsche Reichsbahn (German National Railway)
<i>DRbPf</i>	<i>Der Rbeinpfälzer</i>
DRK	Deutsches Rotes Kreuz (German Red Cross)
DRM-BK	Deutsch-Russisches Museum (German-Russian Museum), Berlin-Karlshorst
<i>DrVZ</i>	<i>Dresdner Volkszeitung</i>
DSC	Deutsche Sprengchemie GmbH (German Gunpowder Chemical Industry, Ltd.)
DSP	Deutsche Staatspartei (German State Party)
<i>dt</i>	<i>die tat</i>
DTM	Deutsche Technikmuseum (German Technical Museum), Berlin
DTM-AEG-A	Deutsche Technikmuseum, AEG-Archive (Archive of the German General Electric Company, AEG)
<i>Düjb</i>	<i>Düsseldorfer Jahrbuch</i>
DVA	Deutsche Versuchsanstalt für Ernährung und Verpflegung GmbH (German Experimental Institute for Nutrition and Provisions, Ltd.)
DVP	Deutsche Volkspartei (German People's Party)
<i>DVZ</i>	<i>Deutsche Volkszeitung</i>
DWB	Deutsche Wirtschaftsbetriebe (German Business Enterprises)
DWH	Deutsche Wohnungshilfswerk (German Housing Relief Service)
DZOK	Dokumentationszentrum Oberer Kuhberg, KZ Gedenkstätte (Oberer Kuhberg Documentation Center, Concentration Camp Memorial)
<i>DzP</i>	<i>Dziennik Polski</i>

ECPAD	Établissement de Communication et de Production audiovisuelle de la Défense (Defense Establishment of Audiovisual Communications and Productions), Paris
EDR	<i>Edenkobener Rundschau</i>
EF	Eiserne Front (Iron Front)
EfHb	<i>Eichsfelder Heimatbefte</i>
Eh-DDR-ZSA	Ehemalige DDR Zentrales Staatsarchiv (Central State Archives of the former German Democratic Republic, now BA-B)
EHM	Eesti Ajaloomuuseum (Estonian Historical Museum), Tallinn
EI	<i>An End to Intolerance</i>
E7fHKNg	<i>Eberswalder Jahrbuch für Heimat-, Kultur- und Naturgeschichte</i>
EKr	<i>Echo Krakowa</i>
Elmag	Elsässische Maschinenbau GmbH (Alsatian Machine Construction Ltd.)
E-Polen	Eindeutschungsfähige-Polen (Germanizable Poles)
ErzHei	<i>Erzgebirgische Heimatblätter</i>
ESTA	Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive), Tallinn
ETOUA	European Theater of Operations, United States Army
e.V.	eingetragener Verein (Registered Association)
EVO	Energie-Versorgung Oberschlesien (Upper Silesian Energy Supply Co.)
EZ	<i>Ems-Zeitung</i>
F	<i>Freiheit</i>
Fa	<i>Fakty</i>
FAD	Freiwilliger Arbeitsdienst (Volunteer Labor Service)
FAL	Frauenarbeitslager (Women's labor camp)
FASz	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung</i>
FAU	Frontarbeitenunternehmen (Front Work Operation)
F-B-I	Fritz-Bauer-Institut, Frankfurt am Main
FCRA	Friends Committee for Refugees and Aliens
FDGB	Freier Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund (Free German Trade Union Federation)
FES	Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation), Bonn
FGNS-H	Forschungsstelle für die Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus (Research Office for the History of National Socialism), Hamburg
FHA	Führungshauptamt (SS-Leadership Main Office)
FHLA-(L)	Friends House Library and Archives, London
FHQ	Führerhauptquartier (Führer Headquarters)
Fi	Fieseler aircraft or V-weapon prefix
Fig	<i>Le Figaro</i>
FIR	Fédération Internationale des Résistants (International Federation of Resisters)
FKM	Finow Kupfer- und Messingwerke AG (Finow Copper and Brass Works, Inc.)
FLS	F.L. Smidth & Co., Copenhagen (and archives)
FMAS-(S)	Foreign Ministry Archives of Sweden, Stockholm
FM-C	Frihedsmuseet-Copenhagen (Museum of the Danish Resistance, Copenhagen)
FR	<i>Frankfurter Rundschau</i>
FrüV	<i>Fränkischens Volksblatt</i>
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany

1552 ABBREVIATIONS

<i>F-S</i>	<i>Folks-Sztyme</i>
FS	Fernschreiben (telegram)
FSB	Federalnaya Sluzhba Bezopasnosti (Federal Security Bureau)
FSS	Field Security Section (British military term)
FSW	Fritz-Sauckel-Werk (Gustloff Weimar; an armaments firm)
FTP	Franc-Tireur Partisan (Partisan irregulars)
<i>FüA</i>	<i>Fürther Anzeiger</i>
FVA	Fortunoff Video Archive of Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut
Fw	Focke Wulf
FWM	Flugzeugwerke Mielec (Mielec Aircraft Works)
<i>FZ</i>	<i>Frankfurter Zeitung</i>
FZH	Forschungsstelle für Zeitgeschichte (Research Office for Contemporary History; formerly FGNS-H), Hamburg
GAGO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv grodnenskoï oblasti (State Archives of the Grodno Oblast'), Belarus
GAGOMO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv gomeľ'skoï oblasti (State Archives of the Gomel' Oblast'), Belarus
GAMINO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Minskoi oblasti (State Archive of the Minsk Oblast'), Belarus
GAMO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Mogilyovskoi oblasti (State Archive of the Mogilev Oblast'), Belarus
GAPO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Pskovskoi oblasti v Pskov (State Archives of the Pskov Oblast' in Pskov), Russia
GARF	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv rossiiskoi federatsii (State Archive of the Russian Federation), Moscow
GASBU	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezopasnosti Ukraïny, Kyïv (State Archive of the Ukrainian Security Service, Kiev)
GASBU-Dn	GASBU-Dnepropetrovsk (State Archive of the Ukrainian Security Service, Dnepropetrovsk)
GASBU-Do	GASBU-Donets'k (State Archive of the Ukrainian Security Service, Donets'k)
GASBU-L	GASBU-L'viv (State Archive of the Ukrainian Security Service, L'viv)
GAZJ	Geschichtsarchiv der Zeugen Jehovas (Jehovah's Witnesses' History Archive), Selters, Taunus
GBA	Generalbevollmächtigter für den Arbeitseinsatz (General Plenipotentiary for Labor Allocation)
<i>GBrz</i>	<i>Gazeta Brzeska</i>
GCC	German Concentration Camp (ITS abbreviation)
GDR	German Democratic Republic (also DDR)
GDW-B	Gedenkstätte Deutscher Widerstand (German Resistance Memorial Site), Berlin
GeBeChem	Generalbevollmächtigter Chemie (General Plenipotentiary for Chemistry in the Four-Year Plan)
<i>GeRu</i>	<i>Gedenkstätten-Rundbrief</i>
<i>Gesch-r.</i>	<i>Geschichte regional</i>
Gestapa	Geheimes Staatspolizeiamt (Secret State Police Office)
Gestapo	Geheime Staatspolizei (Secret State Police)
<i>GF</i>	<i>Glückstädter Fortuna</i>

GFH	Ghetto Fighters' House (Beit Lohamei Hagettaot, BLH), Israel
GG	Generalgouvernement (General Government)
GK	Generalkommissar (General Commissar)
GKBZHwP	Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce (Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland; now IPN)
GLA-K	Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe (General Regional Archive in Karlsruhe)
GmbH	Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung (Limited Liability Company)
GMS	Gedenkstätte und Museum Sachsenhausen (Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum)
GOKBZHwP	Główne i Okręgowe Komisje Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce (Main and District Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland)
GPO	Generalplan Ost (General Plan East)
<i>Gq</i>	<i>Geschichte quer</i>
<i>GrHe</i>	<i>Greizer Heimatbote</i>
<i>GSR</i>	<i>German Studies Review</i>
Gsta.	Generalstaatsanwaltschaft (Prosecutor General, DDR)
GStAPK	Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Historical State Archives of the Prussian Cultural Estate), Berlin
<i>GuG</i>	<i>Geschichte und Gesellschaft</i>
GUG	Gesellschaft für Unternehmensgeschichte (Society for Business History)
<i>GuR</i>	<i>Geschichte und Region</i>
<i>GWM</i>	<i>Gewerkschaftliche Monatshefte</i>
<i>GZ</i>	<i>Das Goldene Zeitalter</i>
HA	Hilfsarbeiter (unskilled worker)
HAFHDCB	Hungarian Auschwitz Foundation, Holocaust Documentation Center, Budapest
HAK	Historisches Archiv Krupp (Krupp Historical Archives), Essen
<i>Ham.</i>	<i>Hamelika</i>
<i>HaNa</i>	<i>Hallische Nachrichten</i>
Hanomag	Hannoversche Maschinenbau AG (Hannover Machine Works Inc.)
<i>Harfb</i>	<i>Harburger Jahrbuch</i>
HASAG	Hugo Schneider AG (Hugo Schneider Corp.)
HAStK	Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln (Historical Archive of the City of Cologne)
HAStK-P	Archiv der Stadt Köln-Aussenstelle Porz (Cologne City Archive, Porz External Branch)
<i>HaT</i>	<i>Haller Tagblatt</i>
HBA	Heeresbekleidungsamt (Army Clothing Office)
HBS	Heeresbaustelle (Army Construction Office)
<i>HD</i>	<i>Heimat Dortmund</i>
HDEC	Holocaust Documentation and Education Center, Inc., North Miami, FL
<i>HdGw</i>	<i>Hefte der Geschichtswerkstatt</i>
<i>HE</i>	<i>Havelländisches Echo</i>
He	Heinkel aircraft prefix
HEDIA-Schuhfabrik	Herman Diamant-Schuhfabrik (Herman Diamant Shoe Factory)
Heeresmuna	Heeresmunitionsanstalt (Army Munitions Facility)
<i>Hém</i>	<i>Hémecbt</i>

1554 ABBREVIATIONS

<i>HeuBo</i>	<i>Heuberg Boten</i>
HEW	Hamburgische Elektrizitätswerke AG (Hamburg Electrical Power Co.)
<i>HfBL</i>	<i>Heimatsbuch für Bergische Land</i>
HFW	Henschel-Flugzeug-Werke (Henschel Aircraft Work)
HGS	<i>Holocaust and Genocide Studies</i>
HHB	Hauptamt Haushalt und Bauten (SS-Main Office for Budget and Buildings)
<i>HHFb</i>	<i>Hamburger Fremdenblatt</i>
<i>HHNa</i>	<i>Hamburger Nachrichten</i>
HHStA-(M)	Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (Hessian Main State Archives), Marburg
HHStA-(W)	Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (Hessian Main State Archives), Wiesbaden
<i>HHTb</i>	<i>Hamburger Tageblatt</i>
<i>b-IM</i>	<i>“heute” – Information und Meinung</i>
<i>HiHe</i>	<i>Historische Heimatblätter</i>
Hipo	Hilfspolizei (Auxiliary Police)
Hist. Abt.	Historische Abteilung (Historical Section of ITS)
<i>Hist Gd</i>	<i>Historia Gdańska</i>
Hiwi	Hilfswilliger (Volunteer auxiliary)
HJMA	Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives, Budapest (also MZML)
<i>H7SL</i>	<i>Historisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz</i>
<i>HkfKrP</i>	<i>Heimatkalendar für den Kreis Prenzlau</i>
HKP	Heereskraftfahrzeugpark (Army Vehicle Repair Park)
HM	Hängemappe (Hanging Map; ITS abbreviation)
HM-F	Heimatmuseum Falkensee (Homeland Museum)
HMSO	His/Her Majesty's Stationery Office
<i>HoCu</i>	<i>Holsteinischer Courier</i>
HQ	Headquarters
HSSPF	Höherer-SS und Polizeiführer (Higher-SS and Police Leader)
HStA-D	Hessisches Staatsarchiv (Hessian State Archive), Darmstadt
HStA-M	Hessisches Staatsarchiv (Hessian State Archive), Marburg
HStA-St	Hauptstaatsarchiv (Main State Archive), Stuttgart
HTO	Haupttreuhandstelle Ost (Main Trustee Office East)
<i>Htv</i>	<i>Hatikvah</i>
<i>HV</i>	<i>Hessische Volkswacht</i>
<i>HvA</i>	<i>Hefte von Auschwitz</i>
HVA-P	Heeresversuchsanstalt Peenemünde (Army Experimental Institution Peenemünde)
HVM	Heeresverpflegungsamt-Magazin (Army Provisions Office – Magazine)
HWL	Hauptwirtschaftslager (Main Supply Camp) or Holzwolllleichtbauplatte (Pressboard building slab)
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IDO	Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit (Institute for German East Work), Kraków
IfWSg	Institut für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, Universität Graz (Institute for Economic and Social History, Graz University), Austria
IfZ	Institut für Zeitgeschichte (Institute for Contemporary History), Munich
IfZ-UW	Institut für Zeitgeschichte-Universität Wien (Institute for Contemporary History, Vienna University)

IGA/ZPA-B	Institut für die Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung/Zentrales Parteiarchiv (Institute for the History of the Labor Movement/Central Party Archives), Berlin
IG Farben	Interessengemeinschaft Farbenindustrie AG (Community of Interests, Dye Industry, Inc.)
IISG	International Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis (International Institute for Social History), Amsterdam
IKL	Inspektion der Konzentrationslager (Inspectorate of Concentration Camps)
ILKB	Internationale Lagerkomitees des KZ Buchenwald (International Camp Committee of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp)
IMI	Italienische Militärinternierte (Italian Military Internee)
IMO	Internationale Militärorganisation (International Military Organization, the Buchenwald resistance group)
<i>Implosion</i>	<i>Implosion: Biotechnische Nachrichten</i>
IMT	International Military Tribunal
<i>InBe</i>	<i>Interkulturelle Beiträge</i>
IPN	Instytut Pamięci Narodowej (Polish Institute for National Memory) Warsaw (formerly GKBZHwP)
<i>ISKDW</i>	<i>Informationen: Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand</i>
IS-O	Instytut śląsk-Opole (Silesian Institute-Opole)
ITS	International Tracing Service, Bad Arolsen, Germany
<i>IWK</i>	<i>Internationale Wissenschaftliche Korrespondenz der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung</i>
IWM	Imperial War Museum, London
IWMA	Imperial War Museum Archives, London
<i>IWMR</i>	<i>Imperial War Museum Review</i>
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal l'Alsace</i>
JAG	Judge Advocate General
<i>JBLS</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Bodenseekreises Leben am See</i>
<i>JDÖW</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Dokumentationsarchivs des Österreichischen Widerstandes</i>
<i>JFebG</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Eisenbahngeschichte</i>
JFM	Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerk AG (Junkers Aircraft and Motor Works Company, Inc.)
<i>JfSchG</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für die Schleswigsche Geest</i>
<i>JfW</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte</i>
<i>JGR</i>	<i>Journal of Genocide Research</i>
<i>JHVCT</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins für den Chiemgau zu Traunstein</i>
Ju	Junkers aircraft prefix
Julag	Judenlager (Jewish camp)
<i>JuNS-V</i>	Fritz Bauer, et al. ed., <i>Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlung deutsche Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen, 1945–1966</i> 22 vols. (Amsterdam, 1968–2008).
<i>JWDLG</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für westdeutsche Landesgeschichte</i>
<i>JWg</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte</i>
K	Aktion Kugel (Killing operation, lit. “Bullet”)
<i>KaGb</i>	<i>Kaufbeurer Geschichtsblätter</i>
<i>KäJP</i>	<i>Kärntner Jahrbuch für Politik</i>
KALAG	Kabel und Leitungswerke AG (Cable and Conductor Works, Inc.)
KaN-AHm	Kulturamt Neukölln Archiv des Heimatmuseums (Neukölln Culture Office, Archive of the Local Museum)

1556 ABBREVIATIONS

KA-SG-Amst	Kulturamt der Stadtgemeinde (Culture Office of the Town Community), Amstetten
KBI	Kriminalbiologisches Institut der Sicherheitspolizei (Criminal-Biological Institute of the Security Police)
KdAW-DDR	Komitee der antifaschistischen Widerstandskämpfer in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (Committee of Anti-Fascist Resistance Fighters in the German Democratic Republic)
KdF	Kraft durch Freude (Strength through Joy)
KdG	Kommandeur der Gendarmerie (Commander of the Gendarmerie)
KdO	Kommandeur der Ordnungspolizei (Commanding Officer of the Order Police)
KdS	Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und SD (Commanding Officer of the Security Police and SD)
KG	Kommanditgesellschaft (Limited Partnership)
KG AK	Kwaterna Główna Armia Krajowa (Polish Home Army Headquarters)
KGB	Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti (Committee on State Security in the USSR; successor to NKVD)
Kgf.	Kriegsgefangene (POW)
KGL	Kriegsgefangenenlager (POW camp)
KH	Kreishauptmannschaft (district civilian administration)
KL	Konzentrationslager (concentration camp)
KLM	Konzentrationslager Mauthausen (Mauthausen concentration camp)
KM-WN	Kreismuseum (District Museum) Wewelsburg-Niederhagen
<i>KöRS</i>	<i>Kölnische Rundschau</i>
<i>KöSa</i>	<i>Kölner Stadtanzeiger</i>
KÖU	Kohle-Öl-Union (Coal Oil Union Company)
KPAW	Katholisches Pfarrarchiv Wewelsburg (Catholic Priests' Archive, Wewelsburg)
KPD	Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (German Communist Party)
KPO	Kommunistische Partei-Opposition (German Communist Party Opposition)
KPÖ	Kommunistische Partei Österreichs (Austrian Communist Party)
Kripo	Kriminalpolizei (Criminal Police)
KTb	Kriegstagebuch (War Diary)
KTL	Kraftfahrtechnische Lehranstalt der Waffen-SS (Motor Vehicle Technical Institute of the Waffen-SS)
<i>Kul.</i>	<i>Kulisy</i>
KWK	Kabelwerk Krakau (Cable Works Kraków)
KWO	Kabelwerk Oberspree (Cable Works Oberspree)
KZ	Konzentrationslager (concentration camp)
K.z.b.V.	Kommando z.b.V. (Special Duty Detachment)
KZuHaftaBu	Konzentrationslager und Haftarchiv Buchenwald (Buchenwald Concentration Camp and Detention Archives; available at THStA-W)
KZZW	Kurmärkische Zellwolle und Zellulose AG (Kurmark Rayon and Cellulose, Inc.)
LA-B	Landesarchiv (State Archive) Berlin
LA-B-BPA-SED	Landesarchiv Berlin Bezirksparteiarchiv SED (Berlin State Archive, District Party Archive, Socialist Unity Party)
LA-B-W	Landesarchiv (State Archive) Baden-Württemberg
LAG	Luftfahrtanlagen GmbH (Aviation Facilities, Ltd.)
<i>LAI</i>	<i>L'Alsace</i>

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

LA-NRW-SPDet	Landesarchiv NRW Staats-und Personenstandsarchiv Detmold (North Rhine-Westphalia State Archives, State and Personal Status Archive, Detmold)
<i>LAnz</i>	<i>Lägerdorfer Anzeiger</i>
LASA-DO	Landesarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt-Aussenstelle Dessau-Oranienbaum (Saxony-Anhalt State Archives, External Branch, Dessau-Oranienbaum)
LA-Sch-H	Landesarchiv (State Archive), Schleswig-Holstein
LA-Sp	Landesarchiv (State Archive), Speyer
LAVM-Br	Landesvermessungsamt Brandenburg (State Measuring Office, Brandenburg)
LC	Library of Congress
LCVA	Lietuvos centrinių valstybės archyvas (Lithuanian Central State Archive), Vilnius
<i>LdAnz</i>	<i>Landauer Anzeiger</i>
LEM	Lippstadt Eisen-und Metallwerken (Lippstadt Iron and Metal Works)
<i>LFP</i>	<i>Lübecker Freie Presse</i>
LG	Landgericht (State Court)
LG-Bo	Landgericht Bochum (State Court, Bochum)
LG-Co	Landgericht Coburg (State Court, Coburg)
LG-Mü	Landgericht München (Munich State Court Coburg: with Roman numeral designating particular court)
<i>Lg-Ur</i>	<i>Landesgeschichte im Unterricht</i>
LGW	Luftfahrtgerätewerk Hakenfelde GmbH (Aircraft Equipment Works Hakenfelde, Ltd.)
LG-ZRS	Landgericht für Zivilrechtssachen, Wien (Regional Court for Civil Law Matters, Vienna)
LHRP-Ko	Landeshauptarchiv Rheinland-Pfalz Koblenz (Rhineland-Pfalz Main State Archives, Koblenz)
LHSA-Ma	Landeshauptarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt Magdeburg (Sachsen-Anhalt Main State Archives, Magdeburg)
LHSA-Me	Landeshauptarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt Merseburg (Sachsen-Anhalt Main State Archives, Merseburg)
<i>Lib Ged</i>	<i>Libri Gedanensis: The Yearbook of the Polish Academy of Sciences</i>
LKA	Landeskriminalamt (State Criminal Office)
LKA-B-W	Landeskriminalamt (State Criminal Office) Baden-Württemberg
LKA-N-W	Landeskriminalamt (State Criminal Office) Nordrhein-Westfalen
LMRD	Luxembourg Musée de la Résistance et de la Déportation (Luxembourg Museum of the Resistance and Deportation), Besançon
<i>LNP</i>	<i>Landauer Neue Presse</i>
<i>LP</i>	<i>Lippstadt Patriot</i>
LPB-BW	Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, Baden-Württemberg (State Central Office for Political Education, Baden-Württemberg)
LPPC/MSW	Leopold Page Photographic Collection, Museen der Stadt Wien (Vienna City Museum)
<i>Lp-pkd</i>	<i>Lnářský průmysl – příspěvky k dějinám</i>
<i>LR</i>	<i>Lausitzer Rundschau</i>
<i>LR-GR</i>	<i>Lausitzer Rundschau-Gubener Rundschau</i>
Ls	Luftschutz (air protection)
<i>LübFP</i>	<i>Lübecker Freie Presse</i>
<i>LübN</i>	<i>Lübecker Nachrichten</i>

1558 ABBREVIATIONS

Lufag	Luftfahrtgeräte GmbH or Luftfahrtgerätegesellschaft (Aviation Equipment Ltd. or Aviation Equipment Company)
<i>LüHe</i>	<i>Lübbener Heimatkalender</i>
LUS	Lund University, Sweden, MSS Department
LVermA	Landesvermessungsamt (State Measuring Office)
LVVA	Latvijas Valsts Vestures arhivs (Latvian State Historical Archives), Riga
LYA	Lietuvos ypatingasis archyvas (Lithuanian Special Archive), Vilnius
<i>LZ</i>	<i>Landauer Zeitung</i>
LZF	Archiv der Luftschiffbau Zeppelin (Archive of Zeppelin Airship Construction), Friedrichshafen
MA	Moreshet Archives, Israel
MACVG	Ministère des anciens combattants et victimes de guerre (Ministry of Veterans and War Victims), France
<i>MAZ</i>	<i>Märkische Allgemeine Zeitung</i>
MA-M	Mannesmann-Archiv, Mülheim an der Ruhr (includes Archives of Mannesmann-röhren-Werke GmbH, Mannesmann Tube Works, Ltd.)
MAN AG	Maschinenfabrik Augsburg-Nürnberg AG (Augsburg-Nuremberg Machine Manufacturing Company)
MBAG-A	Mercedes-Benz AG Archiv (Mercedes-Benz Company Archive), Stuttgart
<i>MC</i>	<i>Miscellanea curiensia: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur Nordoberfrankens und angrenzender Regionen</i>
<i>MDÖW</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Dokumentationsarchives des Österreichischen Widerstandes</i>
MdR	Mitglied des Reichstags (Member of the Reichstag)
Me	Messerschmitt aircraft prefix
MEL	Museum und Dokumentationszentrum "Juden im Lettland" (Museum and Documentation Center, "Jews in Latvia"), Riga
<i>MeM</i>	<i>Melker Mitteilungen</i>
Messap	Deutsche Messapparate GmbH (German Measuring Apparatus, Ltd.)
MfAA	Ministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten, Sachsen (Ministry for Foreign Matters, Saxony)
MfS	Ministerium für Staatssicherheit (Ministry for State Security of the GDR)
<i>MG</i>	<i>Manchester Guardian</i>
MG-131	Maschinengewehr-131 (Machine Gun-131)
<i>MGb</i>	<i>Mainzer Geschichtsblätter</i>
MGR	Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Ravensbrück (Ravensbrück Remembrance and Memorial Site)
MHG	Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte (Museum for Hamburg History)
MIAG	Mühlenbau- und Industrieaktiengesellschaft (Mill and Industry Co.)
<i>MiGe</i>	<i>Militärgeschichte</i> (GDR)
MIMO	Mitteldeutsche Motorenwerke (Central German Motor Works), Taucha
<i>MittelZ</i>	<i>Mittelbayerische Zeitung</i>
<i>MIZ</i>	<i>Münchner Illustrierte Zeitung</i>
<i>MJDjG</i>	<i>Menora: Jahrbuch für deutsch-jüdische Geschichte</i>
MK-103	Maschinenkanone-103 (Machine Cannon-103)
MLHSN	Mecklenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv (Mecklenburg Main State Archives), Schwerin
<i>MM</i>	<i>Militärgeschichtliche Mitteilungen</i>
MMB	Modern Military Branch (NARA)

<i>MMer</i>	<i>Münchner Merkur</i>
MNH	Maschinenfabrik Niedersachsen (Lower Saxon Machinery Factory), Hannover
<i>MNN</i>	<i>Münchner Neueste Nachrichten</i>
<i>MNZ</i>	<i>Mitteldeutsche Nationalzeitung</i>
<i>MP</i>	<i>Münchner Post</i>
MPW	Muzeum Powstania Warszawskiego, Oddział Muzeum Historycznego (Museum of the Warsaw Uprising, Museum Historical Branch), Warsaw
MSS	manuscript
<i>MUGP</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Uckermärkischen Geschichtsvereins zu Prenzlau e.V.</i>
MWF	Metallwarenfabrik (Metalware Manufacturing)
MWN	Mechanische Werkstätten GmbH Neubrandenburg (Neubrandenburg Mechanical Repairs, Ltd.)
MZML	Magyar Zsidó Múzeum és Levéltár (Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives, also HJMA)
NAG	Nationale-Automobil-Gesellschaft AG (National Automobile Company)
NAL	Nicht aus dem Lager (Not to leave the camp)
NAN	National Archief Nederlandse (National Archives of the Netherlands), Den Haag
Napola	Nationalpolitische Erziehungsanstalt (Institution(s) of National-Political Education)
NARA	United States National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD (formerly NARS, National Archives and Records Service, and NARUS, National Archives of the United States)
NARAG	Nationale Radiatoren AG (National Radiators, Inc.)
NARB	Natsional'n'yi arkhiv Respubliki Belarus' (National Archive of the Republic of Belarus), Minsk
<i>NaZag</i>	<i>Nad Zagożdżonką</i> (Pionki)
<i>NB</i>	<i>Northheimer Beobachter</i>
<i>NbStPVK</i>	<i>Nachrichtenblatt der Staatlichen Polizeiverwaltung Köln</i>
<i>NBZ</i>	<i>Nordbayerische Zeitung</i>
<i>NCA</i>	<i>Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression</i> , 8 Vols. Washington, DC, 1946.
NCO	Noncommissioned Officer
NCR	National-Krupp-Registrierkassen GmbH (National Krupp Cash Registers, Ltd.)
n.d.	No date
<i>ND</i>	<i>Neues Deutschland</i>
N-Doc.	Nuremberg Document
<i>NdtRu</i>	<i>Norddeutsche Rundschau</i>
<i>NEd</i>	<i>Notes et Études documentaires</i>
<i>NFWSL</i>	<i>Neue Freiburger Wochenzeitung für Stadt und Land</i>
<i>NG</i>	<i>Nowiny Głiwickie</i>
NG	Nuremberg Government (Nuremberg Prosecution Document prefix)
<i>NGA</i>	<i>Neuer Görlitzer Anzeiger</i>
NHStA-H	Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (Lower Saxon Main State Archives), Hannover
NI	Nuremberg Industrialist (Nuremberg document prefix)
NID	Nuremberg Industrialist-Dresdner Bank (Nuremberg document prefix)
NIK	Nuremberg Industrialist-Krupp (Nuremberg document prefix)
NIO	Nobel Institute Oslo
NIOD	Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie (Netherlands Institute for War Documentation; formerly RIOD)

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NKF	Neue Kühler- und Flugzeugteile-Fabriken (New Cooling and Aircraft Parts Factory)
NKVD	Narodnyy Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del (People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, Soviet police predecessor of the KGB)
NL	Nachlass (literary estate)
NLStA-S	Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv-Staatsarchiv Stade (Lower Saxon State Archives—Stade State Archives)
NMT	Nuremberg Military Tribunals
NN	Nacht-und-Nebel (“Night and Fog” prisoners)
NO	Nuremberg Organization (Nuremberg document prefix)
NOKW	Nuremberg OKW (Nuremberg Armed Forces High Command, document prefix)
n.p.	No place/No page
<i>NPC</i>	<i>Neue Presse (Coburg)</i>
NRW	Nordrhein-Westfalen (North Rhine-Westphalia)
NS	Nationalsozialismus/Nationalsozialistische (National Socialism or National Socialist)
NSBO	Nationalsozialistische Betriebszellenorganisation (National Socialist Factory Cells Organization)
NSDAP	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (National Socialist German Workers’ Party, or Nazi Party)
NS-Dok	NS-Dokumentationszentrum der Stadt Köln (National Socialist Documentation Center, City of Cologne)
NSF	Nationalsozialistische Frauenschaft (National Socialist Women’s Association)
NSKK	Nationalsozialistisches Kraftfahrerkorps (National Socialist Motorist Corps)
<i>NSLO</i>	<i>Nachrichten für Stadt und Land in Oldenburg</i>
NStA-Old	Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv (Lower Saxon State Archives), Oldenburg
NStA-Os	Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv (Lower Saxon State Archives), Osnabrück
NStA-Wf	Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv (Lower Saxon State Archives), Wolfenbüttel
NSU	Neckarsulm Motorenwerke AG (Neckarsulm Motor Works Corp.)
<i>NSZR</i>	<i>NSZ Rheinfront</i>
<i>NT</i>	<i>Neustädter Tagblatt</i>
NV	<i>Neuer Vorwärts</i>
NWHStA-(D)	Nordrhein-Westfälisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (North Rhine-Westphalian Main State Archives), Düsseldorf
NWHStA-(D) ZA-K	NWHStA-(D), Zweigarchiv Kalkum (Kalkum Branch Archives)
NWStA-(De)	Nordrhein-Westfälisches Staatsarchiv (North Rhine-Westphalian State Archives), Dettmold
NWStA-M	Nordrhein-Westfälisches Staatsarchiv (North Rhine-Westphalian State Archives), Münster
<i>NYT</i>	<i>New York Times</i>
<i>NZ</i>	<i>Norddeutsche Zeitung</i>
<i>ObEr</i>	<i>Oberallgäuer Erzähler</i>
<i>OBGZ</i>	<i>Oranienburger Generalanzeiger</i>
OBL	Oberbauleitung (Senior Construction Administration)
OD	Ordnungsdienst (Jewish ghetto police)
o.D.	ohne Datum (no date)

Oflag	Offizierslager (Officers' POW Camp)
<i>OfVZ</i>	<i>Oberfränkische Volkszeitung</i>
ÖGZ	Österreichische Gesellschaft für Zeitgeschichte (Austrian society for Contemporary History), Vienna
OHG	Offene Handelsgesellschaft (General Business Partnership)
OHPRIHS-CUNY	Oral History Project of the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, City University of New York
OKBZH	Okręgowej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich (Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes)
OKBZHW	Okręgowej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Wrocławiu (Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Wrocław)
OKBZNwK	Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Niemieckich w Krakowie (Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite crimes in Kraków)
OKH	Oberkommando des Heeres (Army High Command)
OKL	Oberkommando der Luftwaffe (Air Force High Command)
OKM	Oberkommando der Marine (Naval High Command)
OKŚZpNP	Oddział Komisji Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu w Gdańsku (District Department of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish People, Gdańsk)
OKW	Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (Armed Forces High Command)
OL	Oberlausitz (region of Saxony)
OLG	Oberlandesgericht (German Court of Appeals)
OLS	Ordner der Lagergemeinschaft Sachsenhausen (Files of the Sachsenhausen Camp Community)
<i>OlstZ</i>	<i>Oberlausitzer Tageszeitung</i>
ÖMAG	Österreichische Alpine Montan-Gesellschaft (Austrian Alpine Mountains Society)
OMGUS	Office of the Military Government for Germany, United States
Oö.La	Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv (Upper Austrian State Archives), Linz
OPG	Oberparteigericht (Nazi Party Court of Appeals)
Ord.	Ordner (file)
Orpo	Ordnungspolizei (Order Police)
<i>Ortenau</i>	<i>Die Ortenau</i>
O/S	Oberschlesien (Upper Silesia)
Osmag	Oberschlesische Maschinen- und Waggonfabrik AG (Upper Silesian Machine and Wagon Manufacturing, Inc.)
<i>OsnT</i>	<i>Osnabrücker Tagblatt</i>
OSta.	Oberstaatsanwaltschaft (Senior Prosecutor)
<i>Ostf-M</i>	<i>Ostfriesland-Magazin</i>
Osti	Ostindustrie GmbH (East Industries, Ltd.)
OSZ	<i>Oldenburgische Staatszeitung</i>
OT	Organisation Todt (Todt Organization)
ÖTV	Gewerkschaft Öffentliche Dienste, Transport und Verkehr (Public Service, Transport and Traffic Union)
OUG	Okręgowy Urząd Górniczy (District Mining Office)
<i>OVV</i>	<i>Oldenburgische Volkszeitung in Vechta</i>
<i>OVZ</i>	<i>Oldenburgische Volkszeitung</i>

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<i>OZ</i>	<i>Osnabrücker Zeitung</i>
PAAA	Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (Political Archive of the German Foreign Office), Berlin
PD	Personnes Déplacées (displaced persons)
PDA	Polizeiliches Durchgangslager Amersfoort (Police Transit Camp Amersfoort)
<i>PDN</i>	<i>Polish Daily News</i>
PDS	Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus (Party of Democratic Socialism)
<i>PiKb</i>	<i>Pinneberger Kreisblatt</i>
PIZ	Polski Instytut źródłowy (Polish Research Institute), Lund
<i>PL</i>	<i>Przegląd Lekarski</i>
<i>Plt-Ib</i>	<i>Plattlinger Isarboten</i>
PMA	Porzellanmanufaktur Allach (Porcellan Manufacturer, Allach)
PMW-BZW	Polskiej Misji Wojskowej, Biuro do Spraw Zbrodni Wojennych (Polish Army Mission Collection-War Crimes Office)
POB	Place of Birth
<i>Polin</i>	<i>Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry</i>
<i>Pom</i>	<i>Pomerania</i>
<i>PoT</i>	<i>Potsdamer Tageszeitung</i>
POW	Prisoner of War
PPR	Polska Partia Robotnicza (Polish Workers' Party)
PPS	Polska Partia Socjalistyczna (Polish Socialist Party)
<i>Pra.</i>	<i>Prawo</i>
PrMdI	Preussisches Innenministerium (Prussian Ministry of the Interior)
PRO	Public Record Office, Kew, Great Britain (now British National Archives); in U.S. Army: Public Relations Officer
PS	Paris-Storey (Nuremberg document prefix)
PSV	Polizeiliche Sicherungsverwahrung (Police security custody)
<i>PT</i>	<i>Pariser Tagblatt</i>
<i>PZ</i>	<i>Pommersche Zeitung</i>
RAA	Regionale Arbeitsstellen für Ausländerfragen, Jugendzeit und Schule e.V. (Regional Work Sites for Foreigner Questions, Adolescence, and Schools, Registered Association)
RAB	Reichsautobahn (German National Freeway)
RABF	Reichsamt für Bodenforschung (Reich Office for Soil Research)
<i>RaBl</i>	<i>Ravensbrückblätter</i>
RAD	Reichsarbeitsdienst (Reich Labor Service)
RAG	Ratsarchiv Görlitz (Görlitz Council Archives)
<i>RaHash</i>	<i>Ramat Hasbaron</i>
RAM	Reichsaussenministerium (Reich Foreign Ministry)
<i>Rappel</i>	<i>Rappel: Zeitschrift der luxemburgischen politischen Häftlinge und Deportierten</i>
RAW	Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk (German National Railway Repair Works)
RA-ZMLF	Regional Archives of Zealand, Moen and Lolland-Falster
RB	Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold (Reich Flag Black-Red-Gold)
RBBd	Reichsbahnbaudirektion (German National Railway Construction Directorate)
RBD	Reichsbahndirektion (German National Railway Directorate)
rept	Report

<i>RF</i>	<i>Rote Fabne</i>
RFKB	Rotfrontkämpferbund (League of Red Front Fighters)
RFSS	Reichsführer-SS (Reich Leader of the SS)
RGASPI	Rossiyskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv sotsial'no-politicheskoy istorii (Russian State Archive of Social-Political History)
<i>RGBI</i>	<i>Reichsgesetzblatt</i>
RGI	Reichsgruppe Industrie (Reich Group Industry)
RGVA	Rossiyskii gosudarstvennyi voenn'yi arkhiv (Russian State Military Archive, Moscow (former Special [osobyi] Archive)
<i>Rh-BK</i>	<i>Rheinische-Bergischer Kalendar</i>
RHD	Rote Hilfe Deutschlands (Red Aid Germany)
<i>RhZ</i>	<i>Rheinische Zeitung</i>
RIOD	Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie (Imperial Institute for War Documentation, now NIOD), Amsterdam
RKFDV	Reichskommissariat für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums (Reich Commissariat for the Strengthening of Germanism)
RKO	Reichskommissariat Ostland (Reich Commissariat of the Eastern Territories)
RKPA	Riechskriminalpolizeiamt (Reich Criminal Police Office)
RLM	Reichsluftfahrtministerium (Reich Air Ministry)
RM	Reichsmark
<i>RmbIV</i>	<i>Reichsministerialblatt für die Innere Verwaltung</i>
RMdI	Reichsministerium des Innern (Reich Ministry of the Interior)
RMfBM	Reichsministerium für Bewaffnung und Munition (Reich Ministry for Armaments and Munitions; predecessor to RMfRK)
RMfRK	Reichsministerium für Rüstungs- und Kriegsproduktion (Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production; successor to RMfBM)
RMJ	Reichsministerium der Justiz (Reich Justice Ministry)
RMO	Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete (Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories)
<i>Rocz Gd</i>	<i>Rocznik Gdynski</i>
<i>RonsZ</i>	<i>Ronsdorfer Zeitung</i>
<i>RPWA</i>	<i>Rundschau über Politik, Wirtschaft und Arbeiterbewegung</i>
<i>RR</i>	<i>The Red Raider</i>
<i>RrbK</i>	<i>Rechtsrheinische Köln</i>
RSHA	Reichssicherheitshauptamt (SS-Reich Security Main Office)
RTKIDNI	Rossiiskii tsentr khraneniia izucheniiia dokumentov noveishei istorii (Russian Center for the Preservation and Study of Documents of Contemporary History), Moscow
RU	Rückkehr unerwünscht (Return undesirable)
RüKo	Rüstungskommission (Armaments Commission)
RuSHA	Rasse-und Siedlungshauptamt (SS-Race and Settlement Main Office)
RV	Reichsvereinigung Eisen (Reich Iron Association)
RWA	Reichsamt für Wirtschaftsausbau (Reich Office for Economic Development)
RWHG	Reichswerke "Hermann Göring" (Reich Works "Hermann Göring")
RWM	Reichswirtschaftsministerium (Reich Economics Ministry)
<i>RZC</i>	<i>Rhein-Zeitung Cochem</i>

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SA	Sturmabteilung (Storm Detachment, Storm Troopers)
<i>Sachor</i>	<i>Sachor: Beiträge zur jüdischen Geschichte und Gedenkstättenarbeit in Rheinland-Pfalz</i>
<i>SächsZ</i>	<i>Sächsische Zeitung</i>
<i>SüHe</i>	<i>Sächsische Heimatblätter</i>
<i>SalzN</i>	<i>Salzburger Nachrichten</i>
S&H	Siemens & Halske AG
SAP	Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands (Socialist Workers' Party of Germany)
SAPMO-DDR	Stiftung Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR (Foundation of Party and Mass Organizations of the GDR)
SAW	Sonderabteilung Wehrmacht (Special Detachment Wehrmacht)
SB	Sonderbehandlung (special treatment; Nazi euphemism most commonly used for murder)
SBG	Stiftung Brandenburgische Gedenkstätten (Foundation of Brandenburg Memorial Sites)
SBGSSS	<i>Sonnenstein: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Sonnensteins und der Sächsischen Schweiz</i>
SBU	Sluzhba Bespeky Ukrayiny (State Security Service of Ukraine)
SBZ	Sowjetische Besatzungszone (Soviet Occupation Zone)
<i>SchH</i>	<i>Schulbeft</i>
<i>SchK</i>	<i>Das schwarze Korps</i>
Schupo	Schutzpolizei (Municipal Police)
<i>Schw ANach</i>	<i>Schwechater Archivnachrichten: Informationen aus dem historischen Archiv der Stadt Schwechat</i>
<i>SchwH</i>	<i>Schwäbische Heimat</i>
<i>SchwLZ</i>	<i>Schwäbische Landeszeitung</i>
SD	Sicherheitsdienst (SS Security Service)
<i>Sd'A</i>	<i>Saisons d'Alsace</i>
SDA-L	Statni oblastni archiv v Litoměřicích (State Regional Archive Litoměřice, Czech Republic)
SDG	Sanitätsdienstgrad (SS medical orderly)
SDP	Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG
SED	Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (Socialist Unity Party of Germany)
SEK	Sondereinsatzkommando (Special Deployment Command)
<i>SFiZH</i>	<i>Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi</i>
S.G.L.v.D.	Symbolische Grossloge von Deutschland (Symbolic Grand Lodge of Germany)
SHAEF	Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces
SHD	Schutzhilfsdienst (Auxiliary Police)
<i>SHKS</i>	<i>Schriftenreihe für Heimatforschung Kreis Senftenberg</i>
SHSt-A-B	Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv- Aussenstelle Bautzen (Saxon Main State Archives, External Branch Bautzen)
SHStA-(C)	Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv- Aussenstelle Chemnitz (Saxon Main State Archives- External Branch Chemnitz)
SHStA-(D)	Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (Saxon Main State Archives), Dresden
<i>SHZ</i>	<i>Schleswig-Holsteinische Landeszeitung</i>
Sipo	Sicherheitspolizei (Security Police)
SK	Sonderkommando (Special Detachment)
SKDW	Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand (German Resistance Study Group)
SKG	Siemens-Kabel-Gemeinschaft (Siemens Cable Community)

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

<i>SkbS</i>	<i>Śląski kwartalnik historyczny "Sobótka"</i>
<i>SKTb</i>	<i>Segeberger Kreis-und Tageblatt</i>
SKW	Stickstoff- und Kali-Werke (Nitrogen and Potash Works), Trostberg
SLA	Salzburger Landesarchiv (Salzburg State Archives)
SMAD	Sowjetische Militäradministration in Deutschland (Soviet Military Administration in Germany)
SM-Cd	Stadtmuseum Colditz (Colditz City Museum)
SM-E	Stadtmuseum Eisenhüttenstadt (Eisenhüttenstadt City Museum)
<i>MSMK</i>	<i>Statistische Mitteilungen der Stadt Köln</i>
SOE	Special Operations Executive
<i>SoeZe</i>	<i>Soester Zeitschrift</i>
SOGd	Sąd Okręgowy w Gdańsku (Gdańsk District Court)
SOKA-B	Státní okresní archiv v Benešově (State District Archive of Benešově), Czech Republic
SOKA-CvK	Státní okresní archiv Chomutov v Kadani (State District Archive of Chomutov, Kadan), Czech Republic
SOKA-D	Státní okresní archiv Děčín (State District Archives of Děčín), Czech Republic
SOKA-KV	Státní okresní archiv Karlovy Vary (State District Archive of Karlovy Vary), Czech Republic
SpkA	Spruchkammer Akte (Chamber Verdict File)
SOKr	Sąd Okręgowy w Krakowie (Kraków District Court)
<i>SonA</i>	<i>Sonnenburger Anzeiger</i>
Sopade	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands Exil (German Social Democratic Party in Exile)
SOT	Sąd Okręgowy w Toruniu (Torun District Court)
<i>SOWI</i>	<i>Sozialwissenschaftliche Informationen</i>
<i>Spai-Sc</i>	<i>Spaichinger Stadtchronik</i>
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party of Germany)
SPÖ	Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs (Social Democratic Party of Austria)
SS	Schutzstaffel (Protective Corps)
SS-BB	SS-Baubrigade (SS-Construction Brigade)
SS-Bbde	see SS-BB
SSB-PK	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz (State Library in Berlin, Prussian Cultural Estate)
SS-EBB	SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade (Railroad Construction Brigade)
SSK Gd	Specjalny Sąd Karny w Gdańsku (Gdańsk Special Criminal Court)
SSKT	Specjalny Sąd Karny w Toruniu (Torun Special Criminal Court)
SSO	SS-Offiziersakte (SS officer file)
SSPF	SS-und Polizeiführer (SS-and Police Leader)
<i>Sśsn</i>	<i>Studia śląskie seria nowa</i>
SStA-L	Sächsisches Staatsarchiv (Saxon State Archives), Leipzig
SSVT	SS-Verfügungstruppen (SS-Special Disposal Troops)
SSW	Siemens-Schuckert-Werke (Siemens-Schuckert Works)
SS-WVHA	SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt (SS-Business Administration Main Office)
Sta.	Staatsanwaltschaft (State Prosecutor's Office)
StA-Augs	Staatsarchiv Augsburg (Augsburg State Archives)

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<i>St. Ald</i>	<i>St. Aldegund</i>
StA-B	Staatsarchiv Basel (Basel State Archives)
StA-Br	Staatsarchiv Bremen (Bremen State Archives)
StA-C	Staatsarchiv Coburg (Coburg State Archives)
StA-Ch	Staatsarchiv Chemnitz (Chemnitz State Archives)
StA-HH	Staatsarchiv der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg (State Archives of the Free and Hanseatic City Hamburg)
StA-KBS	Staatsarchiv Kanton Basel-Stadt (State Archives of the Canton City of Basel)
StA-L	Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg (Ludwigsburg State Archives)
Stalag	Stammlager (Main POW Camp)
StA-Lg	Staatsarchiv Leipzig (Leipzig State Archives)
StaLG	Staatsanwaltschaft beim Landesgericht (State Prosecutor with the State Court)
StA-Lh	Staatsarchiv Landshut (Landshut State Archives)
Sta. Mü	Staatsanwaltschaft München (State Prosecutor's Office Munich) (with Roman numeral designating the court)
StA-N	Staatsarchiv Nürnberg (Nuremberg State Archives)
Stapo	Staatspolizei (State Police)
StA-S	Staatsarchiv Sigmaring (Sigmaring State Archives)
StA-SG	Staatsarchiv Salzgitter (Salzgitter State Archives)
Stasi	Staatsicherheit (State Security, GDR)
StA-Wü	Staatsarchiv Würzburg (Würzburg State Archives)
<i>StBü</i>	<i>Stettiner Bürgerbrief</i>
<i>StegL-A</i>	<i>Steglitzer Lokal-Anzeiger</i>
StFvMHL	Städtische Friedhofsverwaltung Mühlhausen (Mühlhausen City Cemetery Administration)
Sti-A-StLam	Stiftsarchiv St. Lambrecht (St. Lambrecht Abbey Archives), Austria
Stm.-MöWa	Stadtmuseum Mörfelden-Walldorf (Mörfelden-Walldorf City Museum)
<i>STP</i>	<i>Schlesische Tagespost</i>
STUAG	Strassenbauunternehmen AG (Street Construction Enterprises, Inc.)
<i>StutZ</i>	<i>Stuttgarter Zeitung</i>
<i>StZeMu</i>	<i>Stutthof: Zeszyty Muzeum</i>
SÚA	Státní ústřední archiv (State Central Archives), Prague
SuA-M	Sudetendeutsches Archiv e.V., München (Sudeten German Archives, Registered Association, Munich)
Subag	Sudetenländische Bergbau AG (Sudetenland Mining, Inc.)
<i>SudA</i>	<i>Sudhoffs Archiv: Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftsgeschichte</i>
<i>SüdS</i>	<i>Süddeutsche Sonntagspost</i>
Sutag	Sudetenländische Treibstoffwerke AG (Sudetenland Fuel Works, Inc.)
SV	Sicherheitsverwahrung ("Security Custody")
SVG	Service des Victimes de la Guerre (Service of War Victims), Brussels
SWGd	Sąd Wojewódzki w Gdańsku (Gdańsk Regional Court)
SWOl	Sąd Wojewódzki w Olsztynie (Olsztyn Regional Court)
SWSz	Sąd Wojewódzki w Szczecinie (Szczecin Regional Court)
SWW	Sąd Wojewódzki w Warszawie (Warsaw Regional Court)
SWWr	Sąd Wojewódzki w Wrocławiu (Wrocław Regional Court)
sygn.	sygnatura (Polish archival catalog reference)

<i>SZ</i>	<i>Süddeutsche Zeitung</i>
TARA-KU	The Aerial Reconnaissance Archives-Keele University
Tbc	Tuberculosis
<i>Tel</i>	<i>Telecran</i>
Texled	Textil und Lederwertung mbH (Textile and Leather Utilization, Ltd.)
THStA-G	Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar Aussenstelle Greiz (Thuringian Main State Archives, External Branch Greiz)
THStA-W	Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar (Thuringian Main State Archives)
<i>TiHe</i>	<i>Tiroler Heimatblätter</i>
<i>TL</i>	<i>Tereziński listy</i>
TLB	Thüringer Landbund (Thuringian Farmers' Alliance)
<i>T-Lo</i>	<i>Times-London</i>
TMWC	International Military Tribunal, <i>Trial of the Major War Criminals</i> , 42 vols. (Nuremberg, 1947–1949)
<i>Tog</i>	<i>Together</i>
<i>Trib</i>	<i>Tribüna</i>
Trokofa	Trockenkonservenfabrik (dried vegetable factory)
<i>Tr-Vo</i>	<i>Trierischer Volksfreund</i>
<i>Try-Odr</i>	<i>Trybuna Odrzańska</i>
TsAKGBRB	Tsentrāl'nyi arkhiv KGB Respubliki Belarus' v Minske (Central Archives of the KGB, Republic of Belarus', Minsk)
<i>TSD</i>	<i>Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente</i>
TsDAHOU	Tsentrāl'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv hromads'kykh ob'yednan' Ukrainy (Central State Archive of Ukrainian Social Associations)
TsDAVO	Tsentrāl'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchykh orhaniv vlady ta Upravlinnia Ukraïny (Central State Archive of Higher Organs of Government and Administration of Ukraine), Kiev
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TStA-M	Thüringisches Staatsarchiv (Thuringian State Archives), Meiningen
TStA-R	Thüringisches Staatsarchiv (Thuringian State Archives), Rudolstadt
TV	Totenkopfverbände (Death's Head Units)
<i>TWC</i>	<i>Trials of War Criminals before the Nürnberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law No. 10, Nuernberg, October 1946-April 1949</i> , 15 vols. (Washington, 1949–1953).
TWL	Truppenwirtschaftslager der Waffen-SS (Waffen-SS supply camp)
TWL-Langfür	Truppenwirtschaftslager der Waffen-SS (Waffen-SS Supply Camp), Danzig-Langfür
<i>Tyg Pł</i>	<i>Tygodnik Płocki</i>
UdSSR	Union der Sozialistischen Sowjetrepubliken (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, USSR)
Ufa	Universum Film AG
<i>ULA</i>	<i>Ulmer Lokalanzeiger</i>
Ulap	Universum-Landesausstellungspark (Universum State Exhibition Park)
ULJ-A	Archives of the Union of Lithuanian Jews, Tel Aviv
UNRRA	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration

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UNWCC	United Nations War Crimes Commission
URF	Union für Recht und Freiheit (Union for Justice and Liberty)
URO	United Restitution Organization
USAREUR	United States Army Europe
USAF	United States Air Force
USAFHRA	United States Air Force Historical Research Agency, Maxwell Air Force Base, Montgomery, AL
USFET	United States Forces European Theater
USHMC	United States Holocaust Memorial Council
USHMM	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC
USHMMA	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives, Washington, DC
USHMMPA	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Photographic Archives, Washington, DC
USMT	United States Military Tribunal
USSBS	United States Strategic Bombing Survey
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (aka Soviet Union, or UdSSR)
UWZ	Umwandererzentralstelle (Central Transfer Office)
<i>V</i>	<i>Vorwärts</i>
V-1/V-2	Vergeltungswaffe- (Vengeance weapon, also A4)
VAW	Vereinigte Aluminium-Werke (United Aluminum Works)
<i>VB</i>	<i>Völkischer Beobachter</i>
<i>VBal</i>	<i>Ventas Balss</i>
VDM	Vereinigte Deutsche Metallwerke (United German Metal Works)
VdN	Verfolgte des Naziregimes (Persecutee of the Nazi Regime)
VDO	Vereinigte Deuta OTA (United German Tachometer Works, Otto Schulze Autometer Werke)
VEB	Volkseigener Betrieb (nationally owned enterprise; GDR term)
VEB-RFT-Wg	VEB Rundfunk Fernmelde-Technik, Fernmeldewerk Werk (Nationally Owned Enterprise, Radio Telecommunications Technology, Telecommunications Work) Wolkenburg
VEF	Valsts Elektrotehniska Fabrika (Valsts Electrotechnical Factory), Riga
<i>VfZ</i>	<i>Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte</i>
VHAP	Vojensky historicky archiv Praha (Military Historical Archive, Prague)
VHF	Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation
VHU	Vojesty Historicky Ustav (Military History Institute), Prague
<i>VHVNdb</i>	<i>Verhandlungen des historischen Vereins für Niederbayern</i>
VJP	Vierjahresplan (Nazi Four-Year Plan)
VKA	Vereinigte Kletter-Abteilung (United Climbing Detachment)
VKS	Verlag kommunistischer und antifaschistischer Schriften (Publisher of Communist and Anti-Fascist Writings)
VLA-G	Vorpommersches Landesarchiv (Vorpommern State Archives), Greifswald
VOH	Vereinigte Oberschlesische Hüttenwerke AG (United Upper Silesian Metallurgical Works, Inc.)
Vomag	Vogtländische Maschinenfabrik AG (Vogtland Machine Factory, Inc.), Plauen
VOMI	Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle (Ethnic German Central Office)
<i>VorVB</i>	<i>Vorarlberger Volksblatt</i>
<i>Vp</i>	<i>Volksparole</i>

<i>VRDA</i>	<i>Verein für Regionalgeschichte und Denkmalpflege Akanthus e.V.</i>
<i>VS</i>	<i>Volksstimme</i>
VSA	Verlag für Studium der Arbeiterbewegung (Publisher for Studies of the Workers' Movement)
<i>VSS</i>	<i>Volksstimme Saarbrücken</i>
VVN	Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes; or Vereinigung für die Verfolgten des Nazi-Regimes (Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime)
VVN-AH	Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes, Archiv Hamburg (Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime, Hamburg Archives)
VVN-B	Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes-Berlin (Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime, Berlin)
VVN-BdA	Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes-Bund der Antifaschisten (Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime, League of Anti-Fascists)
VVN-K	Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes-Köln (Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime, Cologne)
VW	Volkswagen ("People's Car")
VWA	Volkswagen Archiv, Wolfsburg
<i>VZ</i>	<i>Vossische Zeitung</i>
<i>VZfVd</i>	<i>Volkszeitung für Vogtland</i>
W	Wirtschaft (Business division within SS-WVHA, usually followed by Roman numeral designating the office, such as Amt W V, Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries)
WAA-M	Westfälisches Archivamt (Westphalian Archives Office), Münster
<i>WalsZ</i>	<i>Walsroder Zeitung</i>
WAP-By	Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe we Bydgoszczy (Voivodeship State Archive in Bydgoszcz)
WAP-W	Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu (Voivodeship State Archive in Wrocław)
WASAG	Westfälisch Anhaltinische Sprengstoff AG (Westphalian Anhalt Gunpowder, Inc.)
WASt	Wehrmachtauskunftsstelle Berlin (Military Information Office in Berlin; now Deutsche Dienststelle, German Agency)
<i>Wb</i>	<i>Die Weltbühne</i>
<i>WdtB</i>	<i>Westdeutscher Beobachter</i>
WED	Wiedereindeutschungs-Programm (Re-Germanization Program)
<i>WeiTb</i>	<i>Weissenfels Tagesblatt</i>
<i>WeKu</i>	<i>Weser-Kurier</i>
<i>Welt</i>	<i>Die Welt</i>
Weserflug	Weser Flugzeugbau GmbH (Weser Aircraft Construction, Ltd.)
W-H	Württemberg-Hohenzollern
WHW	Winterhilfswerk (Winter Relief Campaign)
Wifo	Wirtschaftliche Forschungsgesellschaft mbH (Economic Research Co., Ltd.)
<i>WiL</i>	<i>Wir in Lengerich</i>
WL	Wiener Library
WLA	Wiener Library Archive
WMI	Westfälische Metallindustrie (Westphalian Metal Industry)
<i>WN</i>	<i>Westfälische Nachrichten</i>

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WO	War Office
WP	<i>Westfalen Post</i>
WRB	War Refugee Board
WstP	<i>Westfalen-Post</i>
WU	wehrunwürdig (“unworthy of military service”)
WUMAG	Waggonbau- und Maschinenfabrik AG (Wagon Construction and Machine Manufacture Co.)
WüwHe	<i>Wüstewaltersdorfer Heimatbote</i>
WVHA	see SS-WVHA
WWII-I	<i>World War II Investigator</i> (UK)
WWA-D	Westfälisches Wirtschaftsarchiv (Westphalian Business Archives), Dortmund
WWB	<i>Wiener Weltbühne</i>
WWFg	Fernsprechgerät (telephone terminal; Siemens component)
Wwi Kdo	Wehrwirtschaftskommando (Armaments Economy Command)
WWM	Messgerät (meter; Siemens component)
WWR	Radiogeräte und Bauelemente (radio and building components; Siemens component)
WWT	Telegrafentechnik (telegraphic equipment; Siemens component)
Wyb	<i>Wybrzeże</i>
YAJSS	<i>YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science</i>
YalMor	<i>Yalkut Moresbet</i>
YIVO	Yidisher visnshaftlekher institut (Yiddish Scientific Institute, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research)
YV	Yad Vashem
YVA	Archive of the National Institute for the Memory of the Victims of Nazism and Heroes of the Resistance, Yad Vashem, Israel
YVS	<i>Yad Vashem Studies</i>
Z	<i>Zeitgeschichte</i>
ZAL	Zwangsarbeitslager (Forced Labor Camp)
ZALfJ	Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden (Forced Labor Camp for Jews)
ZapKos	<i>Zapiski Koszalińskie</i>
ZAR-D	Zentralarchiv (Central Archives) der Rheinmetall AG-Düsseldorf
z.b.V.	zur besonderen Verwendung (Special or Temporary Duty)
ZBL	Zentralbauleitung der Waffen-SS (Central Construction Administration of the Waffen-SS)
ZBoWid	Związek Bojowników o Wolność i Demokrację (Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy), Warsaw
ZdL	Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen (Central Office for State Justice Administrations), Ludwigsburg (now BA-L)
Żegota	Rada Pomocy Żydom (Council for Aid to Jews)
“ZEH”	Gypsum factory, Schwindratzheim, Alsace, France
ZeMa	<i>Zeszyty Majdanka</i>
ZfA	Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung (Center for Research on Antisemitism), Berlin
ZfG	<i>Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft</i>
ZfSV	<i>Zeitschrift für Strafvollzug</i>

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

ZfU	<i>Zeitschrift für Unternehmensgeschichte</i>
ZfwLg	<i>Zeitschrift für württembergische Landesgeschichte</i>
ZG	<i>Zeszyty Głiwickie</i>
ZGS	Zeitgeschichtliche Sammlung (Contemporary History Collection)
ŽIH	Żydowski Instytut Historyczny (Jewish Historical Institute), Warsaw
ZLNW-K	Zentralstelle im Lande Nordrhein-Westfalen in Köln (Central Office in the State of North Rhine-Westphalia in Cologne; same as ZSSSta-K)
ZLpB-H	Zentralnachweis der Landeszentrale für politische Bildung (Central Registry of Records of the State Central Office for Political Education), Hannover
ZO	<i>Zeszyty Oświęcimskie</i>
ZR-MM-V	<i>Zeitgeschichte Regional-Mitteilungen aus Mecklenburg-Vorpommern</i>
ZSA-P	Zentrales Staatsarchiv Potsdam (Potsdam Central State Archives, now BLHA-(P))
ZSHG	<i>Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte</i>
ZSSSta-D	Zentralstelle für die Bearbeitung von NS-Massenverbrechen, Staatsanwaltschaft Dortmund (Central Office for the Processing of National Socialist Mass Crimes, Dortmund State Prosecutor)
ZSSSta-K	Zentralstelle des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen für die Bearbeitung von NS-Verbrechen Konzentrationslagern, Staatsanwaltschaft Köln (Central Office of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia for the Processing of Crimes in Concentration Camps, Cologne State Prosecutor; same as ZLNW-K)
ZVJ	<i>Zeitschrift zum Verständnis des Judentums</i>
ZVWmE	<i>Zeitschrift des Vereins Widerstandsmuseums Ebensee</i>
ZWiL	<i>Za Wolność i Lud</i>



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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933-1945

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The index lists all names—internees, guards, Nazi officials, civilians, Allies, and all others—alphabetically by family name. Names, and spellings of names, sometimes vary, because of marriage, use of a pseudonym, or misspellings in the source documents. Although we have made efforts to make the listings as consistent as possible, a person may appear in different places in the index. No titles or ranks are included with the names in the index. Page numbers in *italics* refer to illustrations and their captions.

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