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BUCHENWALD SUBCAMP SYSTEM

The subcamp complex of the Buchenwald concentration camp developed in similar ways to other subcamp systems in the Nazi concentration camp system, especially in relation to the administration's changing labor needs. Due to an ever-increasing demand for armaments production as the war continued, the camps were restructured to provide a supply of laborers to support the war economy. In 1942, the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) was subsumed within the new SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), and the camps previously under the IKL were administered under WVHA Office Group D. WVHA chief Oswald Pohl entered into negotiations with the Armaments Ministry and private industry to use prisoner labor to produce munitions. By September 1942, it was determined that renting out camp inmates to private and state-run armaments manufacturers was more economical. To lessen transportation time and increase cost-effectiveness, inmates were to be housed in subcamps that would be created at the work sites.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the Buchenwald camp system included over 130 subcamps (including subcamps attached to subcamps), opened between 1940 and 1945.¹ The Buchenwald subcamps were under the control and administration of the main camp and the WVHA. Private firms generally paid the WVHA 4 Reichsmark (RM) per unskilled worker per day and 6 RM per skilled worker per day. SS-run enterprises had special "rental" agreements: for example, the Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke GmbH (DAW) and the Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke GmbH (DESt) paid the WVHA 0.35 RM for an unskilled worker and 1.50 RM for a skilled worker per day.² The SS and SS-owned industries such as DESt and DAW made enormous profits from the use of prisoner labor; one estimate states that the hiring of prisoners from Buchenwald from June 1943 to February 1945 earned the SS 95,758,843 RM.

The subcamps of Buchenwald could be classified into six main categories, depending on the type of work assignment of the prisoners, according to the postwar testimony of the Buchenwald chief of labor allocation, Albert Schwartz: those classified under a private firm's notation; those grouped under the operation of Office Group D of the WVHA; "A" projects, which were secret construction efforts realized by WVHA Office Group C, for example, at Rottleberode and Hadmersleben, and were code-named A1, A2, etc.; "B" projects, secret above-ground construction projects also led by Office Group C, for example, at Langenstein; "S" projects, special top-secret construction projects, such as SIII in Ohrdruf; as well as other special construction efforts and manufacturing satellites, which were linked directly with the production and testing of V-weapons, such as Dora (before it became an independent camp in October 1944) and "Laura"/Saalfeld.³ One of the first major subcamps of Buchenwald was created at the nearby

Weimar Gustloff-Werke in February 1942, to which inmates were supplied to produce arms.

The few subcamps attached to Buchenwald and created prior to 1942 were generally assigned to special tasks for SS-run enterprises or institutions—for example, the inmates who were sent to work at a bakery that supplied bread for the SS in Apolda or those detailed to construction work at an SS officers' school in Lauenburg. These projects were generally temporary, and the camp's existence was relatively shorter, often being set up again in the same location at a later date (see, for example, Tonndorf and Berlstedt). Most camps were created after 1942, with the majority being opened in the latter half of the war. Work in the subcamps varied but was most often related to munitions production, construction, or the transfer of armaments factories to underground facilities. In some of the camps, construction work involved building the barracks in which the prisoners themselves would live, such as at Gandersheim and Leipzig-Thekla. In other camps, like Lützendorf, inmates had to clear rubble after air raids or reconstruct bombed-out buildings. Some of the largest subcamps in the Buchenwald camp system were those that dedicated prisoner labor to the creation of subterranean production facilities and the transfer of manufacturing plants into them, especially for aircraft production, such as the massive efforts in the Harz Mountains that used labor from camps in and around Halberstadt. Because Allied air raids had become more and more precise, in 1944 either defunct mines with structural upgrades were used to house the production facilities or entirely new spaces were blasted from and reinforced in mountain interiors—these transfer operations required large amounts of manual labor, provided by subcamps such as those in Halberstadt, Westeregeln, Wansleben, and Stassfurt.

Inmates were transferred to the Buchenwald subcamps generally from the main camp but also from other camps, for example, Sachsenhausen, Gross-Rosen, Flossenbürg, Ravensbrück, and Auschwitz II-Birkenau. The inmates were often selected on the basis of reported skilled labor experience, sometimes by representatives of the firms themselves. In some cases, inmates from one subcamp were transferred to other subcamps within the camp complex, especially if the type of labor was similar. The inmate population was diverse and held many different types of prisoners, including Russian prisoners of war (POWs), so-called *Berufsverbrecher* or "professional criminals," common law prisoners, "asocials," homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, political prisoners, and Jews. Inmates came from all over Europe. Some subcamps, such as Leopoldshall, were camps consisting of mainly Jewish inmates (and referred to in notation as "Jüdische Aussenkommandos").⁴ In 1944 and early 1945, thousands of Jewish women were also sent to Buchenwald satellite camps to work in munitions factories, including many Hungarian Jewish women (from May

1944 on). Some camps, such as Abteroda, Aschersleben, Essen, and Dortmund, had both men's and women's camps. As of August 1944, when evacuations of camps in the west close to the front brought additional inmates to Buchenwald, the subcamps held some 43,500 inmates.

Working and living conditions within the camps were generally terrible, and inmates received the bare minimum of food rations, clothing, and shelter. In most cases, they were subject to the cruelties of the SS as well as prisoner overseers (Kapos) and foremen at the workplaces. Outbreaks of various diseases, such as dysentery and typhus, were common. The infirmaries of the subcamps, which were ill-equipped to manage the severely declining health of the inmates, served as transfer points—those inmates who were too ill to return to work were sent back to Buchenwald, where they generally died in the main camp infirmary. The creation of subcamps also allowed for some general changes in the prisoners' overall living conditions. For example, at the workplace they often came into contact with German civilian workers, which resulted in a few cases either in some sort of assistance (sneaking food, for instance) or in malicious behavior toward the inmates (such as reporting alleged sabotage to the foremen)—but generally more often the presence of the inmates was met with indifference. The creation of the subcamps also allowed for contact with the anti-Nazi underground, raising the possibility of participating in resistance activities, as well as an increase in the escape rate and in organized and individual forms of sabotage, either by directly destroying parts or machinery or purposefully slowing the work pace.

In February 1945, the Buchenwald camp complex was the largest remaining camp, in which 112,000 people were imprisoned in the main and subcamps. One-third of those imprisoned were Jews. As the front drew closer, the dissolving of those Buchenwald subcamps still in existence by the spring of 1945 (at least 95, including subcamps attached to subcamps) began in March and April of that year. Others were dissolved and transferred in January and February 1945 (8), and still others had been evacuated earlier, many in late 1944 (21). In the spring of 1945, the subcamps were either evacuated back to the main Buchenwald camp or in other directions and to other camps, depending on the position of Allied troops. For example, the men from the Abteroda and Mühlhausen camps were sent back to Buchenwald, but the women inmates were transferred to Bergen-Belsen and Eisenach. Between February and April 1945, it has been estimated that some 25,109 inmates were evacuated toward the Buchenwald camp. Thousands of inmates died in the terrible conditions of evacuations, which were generally guarded forced marches in columns over long distances, with little food, shelter, or rest. In some subcamps inmates, especially those too ill or weak to be evacuated, remained behind. In some cases, prior to the departure of the evacuation marches, many of these inmates were rounded up and executed (see, for example, Ohrdruf and Leipzig). Other inmates died from exhaustion, hunger, and air raids, until the camps were liberated by Allied troops.

SOURCES There are few secondary sources specifically focused on the Buchenwald subcamps; however, works more generally focused on the Buchenwald complex give overall insight into the workings and organization of the subcamp system. For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983). Both contain important published primary resources related to the subcamps. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (Weimar-Buchenwald, unpub. MSS); and Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, ed., *Konzentrationslager Buchenwald 1937–1945: Begleitband zur ständigen historischen Ausstellung* (Göttingen, 1999). Enno Georg's *Die wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen der SS* (Stuttgart, 1963) describes inmate labor used at SS-owned enterprises. See also Karin Orth, *Das System der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager: Eine politische Organisationsgeschichte* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1999); and Michael Thad Allen, *The Business of Genocide* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002). Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz, "Forced Labor and Sabotage in the Nazi Concentration Camps," in *The Nazi Concentration Camps*, ed. Yisrael Gutman and Avital Saf (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), also provides a good overview of labor in the subcamps. Finally, for a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, names of firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entries for Buchenwald 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), which derives from ITS records.

Primary source documentation generated about the subcamps includes numerous oral history collections and testimonies, including those stored at USHMMA, as well as other oral history repositories around the world. Testimonies taken from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees in 1945 and 1946 are particularly relevant to satellites that employed mainly Hungarian Jews (for example, Sömmerda and Markkleeberg); the MZML contains thousands of such reports recorded by the relief agency DEGOB. Transport lists to and from the subcamps, which yield information about demographics, camp size, and so on, can be found in the AN-MACVG and copied at USHMMA Acc. 1998 A.0045. See also administrative documentation mentioning the subcamps in the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMMA RG 14.023M. The AG-B and AG-MD are also a resource for documentation and information on the subcamps.

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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. Herbert Weidlich (April 1945), "Aussenkommandos: Bericht über das Kommando Arbeitstatistik KZ Buchenwald," in, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983). See also extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

3. "Aus der eidesstattlichen Erklärung des Arbeitseinsatzführers im KZ Buchenwald, SS-Hauptsturmführer Albert Schwartz, im Prozess IV," in Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung* (1983), p. 286.

4. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Bartel. *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung* (1960), p. 252.

ABTERODA (MEN)

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Abteroda (Thüringen) sometime in July 1944 to provide labor to the Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) in the production of aircraft engine parts. The use of concentration camp inmates at the BMW firm stemmed from an agreement between the firm and the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which “rented” inmates to the firm at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day.¹ The Abteroda subcamp was code-named “Anton” or “An” in related documentation. See also Buchenwald/Abteroda (Women).

One of the first transports to the Abteroda Anton subcamp left the Eisenach subcamp (which had also provided labor to BMW) with 79 inmates on July 31, 1944.² The average strength of the Abteroda men’s camp was about 230 inmates, and the camp population remained relatively constant until its closing in April 1945. Other smaller transports arrived in Abteroda from Buchenwald and from Eisenach throughout the camp’s operation. Frequently inmates were transferred back to Buchenwald if they were too ill to continue to work, where they were exchanged for “healthier” inmates.³ On March 17, 1945, 40 inmates may have been transferred to Berka, a subcamp of Buchenwald in Tonndorf, from Abteroda, although the transport list is not specific about the origin of the transfer.⁴ Although there is not a breakdown of nationalities on the transport lists, the inmates appear to be mostly French, Russian, German, Italian, and Polish. All of the inmates were male.

The inmates were assigned to work in underground construction installations for the BMW firm as well as in the above-ground production of aircraft engine parts. Like other armaments facilities in late 1943 and 1944, labor at the Abteroda subcamp was targeted to transferring armaments production underground to protect it from Allied bombing, which had increased in the latter half of the war. The inmates were housed in two munitions halls, which were surrounded by 2-meter-high (6.6-foot high) fencing and flanked by four guard towers. Contact between the different categories of workers (concentration camp inmates, foreign workers, and so on) at the firm was strictly forbidden. Further information on living and working conditions within the camp, as well as possible resistance or escape attempts on the part of the inmates, is not available.

There is little information about the commandant or guards of the Abteroda men’s camp. According to transport lists and inventories signed by the head of the work camp, it appears that one SS-Hauptscharführer John was the commandant of the camp. According to a report on the status of medical treatment and prisoner strengths in the various subcamps filed by the Buchenwald SS garrison doctor SS-Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky in January 1945, the infirmary in Abteroda men’s camp was headed by an SS doctor named Berendonck, and the SS medic assigned to the camp was named Carl. According to the report, there were 52 guard troops in the camp and 230 inmates at this time.⁵

The Abteroda subcamp was dismantled in early April 1945 due to the closing in of the front. The inmates were evacuated to

Buchenwald in two stages, on April 4 and April 8. The only post-war trial proceeding related to the Abteroda camp was a preliminary investigation led by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in 1966 into murderous treatment by the SS personnel in the camp. However, the results of the investigation were inconclusive, and the process was ended in 1967.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Abteroda men’s subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce; however, much of the information for this entry builds upon the research of Frank Baranowski, *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt, 2000). For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Abteroda in Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, “Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)” (Weimar-Buchenwald, unpub. MSS).

Surviving primary documentation on the Abteroda subcamp is also limited. For sparse administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 210. See also a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Abteroda camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from the ITS), stored at the archives of the USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially Bu 44. Some published documents are available in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983).

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NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, *TWC*, vol. 6.

2. “Folgende Häftlinge wurden am 31 Juli 1941 von Arbeitskommando nach . . .,” Eisenach, July 31, 1944 (BU 44), AN-MACVG, reproduced in the archives of the USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

3. See transport lists, collection “Anton” Abteroda, (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

4. “Transport Berka,” March 17, 1945 (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

5. “K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm-und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt,” 1/31/1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 251.

ABTERODA (WOMEN)

A subcamp of Buchenwald for women inmates was created in Abteroda (Thüringen) in October 1944 to provide labor to the Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW). The use of concentration camp inmates at the BMW firm stemmed from an

agreement between the firm and the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which “rented” inmates to the firm at a cost of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per unskilled laborer per day.¹ The Abteroda subcamp was code-named “Anton” or “An” in related documentation.

The women were transported from Ravensbrück and women’s subcamps of Buchenwald, such as Torgau, to Abteroda to work for BMW in the production of chemicals for blasting agents. For example, 125 women were transferred from Ravensbrück to Abteroda on February 19, 1945.² The average strength of the prisoner population in the Abteroda women’s camp reached between 200 and 250 inmates. The inmates were also sent from Abteroda to other women’s subcamps of Buchenwald, including Markkleeberg.

Few details about the working and living conditions within the Abteroda women’s camp are available. According to one French former prisoner, Jacqueline Fleury, the inmates had to work very hard in all kinds of weather, whether or not they were ill or weakened. She recalled fellow camp inmates who persisted daily with tuberculosis and other diseases, and she herself suffered from dysentery prior to her deportation from Torgau to Abteroda. She noted that on Christmas Eve 1944, several prisoners gathered together with smuggled materials to build a crèche to celebrate the holiday. At no other time, she recalled, did she witness the other women in the camp crying except on that night. She also remembered that the women forged bonds of solidarity among themselves (most likely along national lines), which helped them withstand the daily cruelties and hardships of camp life. They sang songs, recited poetry, and told stories about their “own corners of France.”³

There is little information about the commandant or guards of the Abteroda women’s camp. According to a report on the status of medical treatment and prisoner strengths in the various subcamps filed by the Buchenwald SS garrison doctor SS-Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky in January 1945, the infirmary in Abteroda women’s camp (listed under “Aryan women’s camps”) was headed by SS doctor Berendonck, and the SS medic assigned to the camp was named Carl. These were the same names listed for the Abteroda men’s camp, which suggests that the camps may have shared some facilities and administration. According to the report, there were 13 SS guards in the camp, 9 female guards (*Aufseherinnen*), and 249 inmates at this time.⁴

The women’s subcamp in Abteroda was evacuated in early April 1945 to the area of Eisenach.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Abteroda women’s subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Abteroda in Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records.

Surviving primary documentation on the Abteroda subcamp is also limited. For sparse administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in

the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 4, 8. See also a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Abteroda camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from the ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045. For the testimony of Jacqueline Fleury, a former prisoner in the camp, see materials related to the online exhibition *Les femmes oubliées de Buchenwald* at the Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris/Musée Jean Moulin, April 22–October 30, 2005, www.paris-france.org/musees/memorial/expositions/fob_p2_jfleury.htm. This testimony and other documentation are also stored in the archives of ADIRN. Some documents are reproduced in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983); and in Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, “Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)” (Weimar-Buchenwald, unpub. MSS).

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1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, *TWC*, vol. 6.

2. KL Buchenwald Häftlingsverwaltung: Vermögensangelegenheiten von Häftlingen, 1944–45, BA NS-4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 4, Fiche 1, p. 1.

3. Testimony of Jacqueline Fleury, *Les femmes oubliées de Buchenwald*, online exhibition, Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris/Musée Jean Moulin, April 22–October 30, 2005, www.paris-france.org/musees/memorial/expositions/fob_p2_jfleury.htm; and also in the ADIRN archives.

4. “K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt,” January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 251.

ALLENDORF [AKA MÜNCHMÜHLE]

The Münchmühle camp, named after the nearby mill on the Münchbach, was located on the former Reichstrasse from Kirchhain to Neustadt, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) southwest of Allendorf.

The camp was built at the beginning of 1940 and consisted of 26 barracks. Civilian forced laborers, prisoners of war (POWs), and units of the Reich Labor Service (RAD) were all accommodated there. For the period between August 1944 and the end of March 1945, the Münchmühle camp, with 1,000 female prisoners selected from Auschwitz, served as a subcamp to Buchenwald concentration camp. At the end of March 1945, the detachment was evacuated.

Due to the lack of labor, civilian forced laborers, POWs, and criminals were increasingly used in the armaments industry, and from 1942 on, more and more concentration camp inmates were used as well.¹ To fulfill arms orders, the management of the Allendorf factory applied for prisoners.

On June 6, 1944, a discussion took place in Allendorf between the camp commander (Lagerkommandant) of Buchenwald, Pister, and the managing director of the Allendorfer Verwertchemie, Ringleb. The memorandum about the discussion states that the female prisoners should be assigned to earthmoving, assembly lines to fill shells and bombs, and the laundry and tailor shop areas.² In order to improve the consistency of the work, the working hours were to be extended from three shifts in 24 hours to two shifts of 12 hours each. It was further intended to recruit female supervisors from the plant and to build an electric fence. For manufacturing and unloading work, managing director Ringleb wished, however, to have male prisoners. The pay was set at 3 or 5 Reichsmark (RM). In reality, however, the SS calculated a daily rate of 4 RM per day per prisoner for unskilled laborers.³ In addition to the memorandum on the Allendorf discussion, another document exists that shows that there were problems between the SS and the factory.⁴ At the time, the Allendorf factory was unable to supply the number of female supervisors required by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). In addition, Pister criticized the demand of the factory management to set forth the use of prisoners in a contract, claiming that so far it had been possible to come to an understanding with all of the many other firms that used prisoners from Buchenwald concentration camp without a contract. Considering that both sides profited from the trade in humans, the profiteers did not need written agreements, and the industry was thus able to create the myth that the prisoners were “forced on them” by the SS.

The statistical evaluation of the prisoners’ ages is based on two different lists.⁵ The transport list of August 13, 1944, stems from Auschwitz and includes the surnames, first names, dates of birth, and professions of the women. On October 20, 1944, the Buchenwald administration, which was responsible for the Münchmühle subcamp, compiled a new list based on the August list, which shows in addition the towns in Hungary from which the women originated. A comparison of the two versions reveals that three women named on the Auschwitz list do not reappear in the Münchmühle subcamp.⁶ They had been replaced by three other prisoners, probably in Auschwitz. A correction of this, as well as of any misspelled names, took place only on October 12, 1944, when the unit commander (Kommandoführer) of the Allendorf labor detail sent 1,000 personnel files to the commander’s headquarters (*Kommandantur*) of Buchenwald.⁷

The Buchenwald list was used for the analysis of the age breakouts.⁸ It shows that the average age of the prisoners at the end of the war was 27.25 years. The oldest was 53, and the youngest, 15. More than 50 percent were between 15 and 25 years of age.

At the end of the war, a third version of the list was prepared, probably by the U.S. Army, which included additional information on the accommodation of the female prisoners during the first weeks after the war and on pregnant or deceased prisoners. According to this list, the following changes can be noted: On October 27, 1944, five pregnant women were returned through

the Mühlhausen labor detail to Auschwitz. On November 8, 1944, one woman died due to the working conditions.⁹ On December 23, 1944, a woman from the labor detail Allgemeine Transportanlagen GmbH, Leipzig (ATG-Leipzig) was transferred to Allendorf, and on January 26, 1945, a transport brought two women to Bergen-Belsen. At the time of evacuation, there were 993 prisoners in the Allendorf detachment.¹⁰

The claim vouchers (*Forderungsnachweise*) of the personnel administration in Buchenwald were based on the daily deployment reports (*Einsatzmeldungen*) from Allendorf. From these reports, the number of days worked could be calculated, which were then multiplied by the “salary” of 6 RM per day for skilled or 4 RM for unskilled workers. In the case of the Buchenwald subcamps, women were classified as unskilled laborers.¹¹ This amount was then charged to the armament plants. Daily deployment reports exist only for the month of August—and specifically for August 17 on and hence one day after the arrival of the transport.¹² For the time between August 1944 and the end of February 1945, the SS charged the Allendorf factory a total of nearly 650,000 RM.¹³ Prisoners worked six days a week¹⁴ in various shifts of 12 or 8 hours with a 30-minute break. Work was done in different departments of the factory, such as the laundry, the tailor shop, and the assembly lines for filling explosives. The 1944 annual report of the factory states that management was extremely satisfied with the work of the prisoners: “The experiences gained through the use of Jewesses since August last year are entirely satisfactory. The filling of the fifteen centimeter shells, weighing almost fifty kilograms, was accomplished with best results by Jewish female prisoners.”¹⁵ The working conditions on the filling lines were by far the hardest and accompanied by extreme health risks. “My face turned yellow from the poison, from inhaling it and we were extremely undernourished and weak,”¹⁶ one of the women wrote. A postwar report states that “the work consisted of filling bombs and shells with explosives. These shells weighed 40 kg. And each prisoner had to handle 1000 of them per day.”¹⁷ A few women, for the most part the youngest, were assigned to work in the camp. Others reported working on farms, where in most cases the working conditions and food were better. The women who had been assigned to the filling lines suffered all their lives from health problems as a result of handling explosives.

The camp was fenced in, and male guards from Buchenwald and to some extent women employed by the Allendorf factory watched over the prisoners. Shortly before the dissolution of the camp, there were 46 SS privates and 47 female guards, two female doctors, and eight orderlies for the prisoners.¹⁸ The majority of the women described the unit commander, Hauptscharführer Adolf Wuttke, as “humane,” while they characterized his deputy, Ernst Schulte(r), as brutal.

On March 27, 1945, the camp was evacuated in the face of the approaching American troops. From the files it is no longer possible to determine the destination of the evacuation march. The march first headed east, toward Ziegenhain, and then northeast, toward Fritzlar. Throughout the march, groups of prisoners ran off, as did guards. The whole detach-

ment eventually dissolved. Investigations by the district attorney's offices in the early 1970s did not reveal any indications of homicides, so that in November 1971, the case was dismissed.¹⁹ The surviving women were cared for by the American troops and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) and were lodged in public buildings or with German families until a return to their homes or other countries could be organized.

Among the investigation files of the district attorney's office exists a list with names of 45 female guards. Eighteen of these women had been interned previously in various camps. Three women, including the head female guard, were sentenced by the women's chamber court of the Darmstadt camp to several years in a labor camp. All of the interned or convicted women, however, were released after serving sentences ranging from 1.5 to 3.5 years.²⁰ The commander of the Münchmühle subcamp, Wuttke, was the only member of the male guard force convicted. In the Dachau war crimes trial, he was sentenced to 4.5 years of confinement for beating prisoners in Buchenwald.²¹

SOURCES The source material available in the 1980s was not as comprehensive as it is presently. First, there are the papers of two school students, which deal with the everyday life and work of the forced laborers as well as with the subcamp. Both studies, part of a federal competition on German history, were awarded prizes by the president of the Federal German Republic and served as catalysts for further research and publications. These include: Harald Horn, *Allendorf unter dem Hakenkreuz* (Marburg, 1986); and Bernd Klewitz, *Die Münchmühle: Aussenkommando des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald* (Marburg, 1988). In particular, the public interest generated by the school studies led to the creation of a memorial on the site of the former Münchmühle camp.

A week of seminars and meetings in autumn 1990 resulted in the publication, created at the request of the former camp prisoners, Magistrat der Stadt Stadtallendorf und Förderverein für Stadt- und Regionalgeschichte 1933–1945 e.V., eds., *Dokumentation der Internationalen Tage der Begegnung in Stadtallendorf: KZ-Aussenlager Münchmühle/Nobel vom 21. bis 26.10.1990* (Stadtallendorf, 1991). The plans for a DIZ-St progressed considerably as a result of that week, because after their visit in autumn 1990 the women provided numerous reports, documents, photographs, and exhibits for the permanent exhibition and archive. The DIZ-St was inaugurated in autumn 1994, and a catalog was published: Magistrat der Stadt Stadtallendorf, *Ausstellungskatalog des DIZ*, ed. Fritz Brinkmann-Frisch (Stadtallendorf, 1994).

Since then, the DIZ has been a central site in the district Marburg-Biedenkopf where visitors are informed about Nazi history and its aftermath.

The most important primary sources are at the archive of YV and the THStA-W. The DIZ-St is a memorial located at a large former site of the Nazi explosives industry. Accordingly, the DIZ archive has photocopies not only of the archival documents on the Münchmühle camp but also of many other camps from federal, state, and private archives, as well as the NARA in Washington, D.C., on the history of both Allendorfer Sprengstoffwerke (explosives factories) and the related deployment of several thousand forced laborers. In

addition, the archive holds numerous accounts of the former prisoners of the Münchmühle camp.

For information on the perpetrators, the files at the ZdL, the investigation files of the district attorney's office in Marburg, and the relevant archival documents at the AG-B were evaluated.

Fritz Brinkmann-Frisch
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Hermann Kaienburg, *Vernichtung durch Arbeit: Der Fall Neuengamme*, 2nd ed (Bonn: J.H.W. Dietz, 1991), pp. 283–285.
2. Historical Section 7, File 149, YV.
3. THStA-W, Collection NS 4 Buchenwald, No. 8.
4. Ibid., letter by commander Pister to the director of the factory, Ringleb, September 8, 1944.
5. Copies of the three lists are at the DIZ-St.
6. This concerns Rosalia Aromovits, born on May 10, 1924; Magda Kun, born on April 7, 1920; and Ella Sajovits, born on October 25, 1925.
7. Basic Documents on Buchenwald 46, File 322, YV. A further adjustment of numbers and names was made by the personal effects storeroom (Effektenkammer) on November 3, 1944, Basic Documents on Buchenwald 20, File 172, YV.
8. In more than 30 cases, there are variations in both lists on the birthdates from 1 to 20 years, which are impossible to clarify.
9. In the death certificate in the municipality of Allendorf, the cause of death is indicated as “hemolytic icterus”; that is, the handling of highly toxic explosives most likely caused the death of Mrs. Hauer. Death Certificate Jolan Hauer, DIZ-St.
10. All details are from the Historical Section No. 12, File 160, YV.
11. Handwritten note in the Labor Statistics for Buchenwald, September 1, 1944, where the address of the Allendorf detachment, also written by hand, appears: “Allendorf Factory for the Processing of Chemical Products, Ltd., Allendorf district Marburg.” THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald No. 8.
12. Labor detail KZ Allendorf from August 17 to 31, 1944, KZuHaftaBu 269/VIII, THStA-W.
13. Claim vouchers of the commander's headquarters KZ Buchenwald from August 1944 to February 1945; no evidence was found for March 1945. Historical Section No. 19, files 190–191, Historical Section No. 20, Files 192–193, YV.
14. As of mid-October 1944, smaller groups of prisoners (20–40) worked on Sundays as well; and between mid-January and late February 1945, much larger groups (400–700) worked on Sundays. See note 13.
15. Annual Report 1944, Allendorf Factory for the Processing of Chemical Products, Ltd., DIZ-St.
16. Communication from Elisabeth Berkovics, October 1987. In 1987, the city of Stadtallendorf organized a questionnaire, asking, among other things, about the living and working conditions of the prisoners in the Münchmühle detachment. The partially very detailed answers and reports are at the DIZ-St.
17. Report by J.A. Boucherat, French Liaison Officer, April 4, 1946; ZdL, Investigation Files IV 429 AR-Z 51/1970, pp. 14–16.
18. Strength report of the Allendorf work camp from March 20, 1945, Historical Section No. 12, File 163, YV.

19. District attorney's office at the regional court of Marburg, Murder Investigation against "unknown," Js 400/70.

20. ZdL, Investigation File IV 429 AR-Z 51/1970, vols. 1–6.

21. Record of Trial in the Case of *U.S. vs. Adolf Wuttke, German National* (Case No. 000-Buchenwald-40), AG-B.

ALTENBURG (MEN)

Altenburg lies in Thuringia, approximately 80 kilometers (50 miles) to the east of Buchenwald. About four months after a camp for women was opened in Altenburg, a camp for men was opened on November 27, 1944, when 50 prisoners arrived from Buchenwald. The camp for men, as with the camp for women, was established at Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG), where the prisoners were deployed in armaments manufacture. The men's camp remained considerably smaller than the women's camp, which in large part was due to the fact that the male prisoners were seen as auxiliary labor for the women's camp. They were used in place of the women for the most difficult physical labor. The men, as with the women, worked in two shifts each of 12 hours assembling antitank grenades (*Panzerfäuste*) and shell casings. The organizational dependence upon the women's camp is reinforced by the fact that the men's camp, as with the women's camp, was under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Johann Frötsch.

HASAG was founded in 1863. At the end of the nineteenth century it was regarded as one of the world's most significant producers of petroleum burners. Just as it did during World War I, HASAG from 1933 switched its production to armaments, a more successful and lucrative area. HASAG became one of the most important armaments producers in the Third Reich and the General Government. In September 1944, the firm, at the request of Reichsminister für Rüstungs- und Kriegsproduktion Albert Speer, developed and put into production the Panzerfaust. Therefore, HASAG was given special authority to enable it during the winter of 1944–1945 to establish new production facilities and to open new subcamps. HASAG and its managing director, Paul Budin, relied heavily on concentration camp inmates for the required labor. Budin had promised Heinrich Himmler already in June 1944 to supply his forces with weapons and munitions, especially the Panzerfaust. Speer's authorization for the Schnellaktion Panzerfaust had the result that the HASAG was ensured the primary position in the list of the Wehrmacht's priority projects. In November and December 1944, the HASAG produced, according to Martin Schellenberg in his study on the Schnellaktion Panzerfaust, more than a million Panzerfäuste, relying on the brutal exploitation of concentration camp prisoners to do so. In the month of November 1944 alone, 300,000 Panzerfäuste were delivered directly to Himmler's SS.

In the middle of February 1945, a transport of 33 male prisoners increased the number of prisoners in the subcamp to more than 80. Another 115 prisoners arrived in the middle of March 1945. Among them were many Jews from Germany, Poland, Latvia, and Hungary as well as stateless people. The total number of inmates in the camp varied, as sick prisoners

who were no longer capable of working were transferred back to the main camp in exchange for new prisoners.

Survivors reported being given a minimum of food—less than 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread and a watery soup each day.

The evacuation of the camp began on April 12, 1945. It occurred in several small groups.

SOURCES Charles-Claude Biedermann describes the Altenburg (men) subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2006), pp. 365–366. Details on HASAG and its subcamp have been taken from the following: Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271; Klaus Hesse, *1933–1945: Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Eigenverlag des Autors, 2000, 2001)—Teil 1: *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe, ihre militärische Bedeutung, über Gewinne, Gewinner und Verlierer*, in particular pp. 29–63; and Teil 2: *Eine Dokumentation über "Arbeitsbeschaffung" durch Rüstung und Dienstverpflichtete, über Zwangsarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene und KZ-Aussenlager, über gesübnte und ungesübnte Verbrechen, Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 99–108. Also see ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:30; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL* (1977), Teil I, 1787.

The USHMM holds the accounts of two survivors in its collections: the Lazar/Grünstein collection, and the memoirs of Sandor Stern, Acc.1995.A646. Other archival material on the subcamp is located in the collections of the AG-B; in the NS4 (Bu) Collection of the BA-K; and the ITS, Arolsen, such as ITS Buchenwald 292.

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ALTENBURG (WOMEN)

Altenburg lies in Thuringia, about 80 kilometers (50 miles) to the east of Buchenwald. On August 1, 1944, a women's subcamp was established at the Altenburg branch of Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG). Although the subcamp received its work instructions from the Buchenwald concentration camp, it remained until August 31, 1944, under the administrative control of the Ravensbrück concentration camp. The first transport of 850 female prisoners from Ravensbrück consisted of 727 Poles, 108 Soviets, 8 French, as well as Italians, Czechs, Norwegians, Hungarians, and Croats. Shortly thereafter, two additional transports of female prisoners arrived, but this time from the HASAG subcamp in Buchenwald/Schlieben: 752 women on August 17, 1944, and 327 women on August 21, 1944. The last transport included mostly Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) from different European countries but also Soviet, French, and Yugoslav women. Five hundred Hungarian Jewish women arrived on September 5, 1944. On September 6, 600

Polish women, who had fallen into German hands during the August 1944 Warsaw Uprising, were sent to Altenburg. Most of these prisoners had arrived at Ravensbrück via Auschwitz. A camp population report (*Bestandsmeldung*) dated September 7, 1944, lists 2,440 women, including 1,652 political female Poles, 500 Jews, and 288 “Gypsies.” On the same day, 500 women from Altenburg were sent to Buchenwald/Taucha, where a new HASAG women’s subcamp had been established. This transport is an example of the intensive exchange of prisoners within the HASAG system of subcamps. On October 12, 1944, another transport of 500 Hungarian Jewish women from Auschwitz arrived at Altenburg.

The subcamp was guarded by 34 SS men and 32 SS women. The camp was under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Johann Frötsch, who as Blockführer in Buchenwald had begun his infamous career. Survivors have described Frötsch and the Oberaufseherin, Elisabeth Rupper, also from Auschwitz, as brutal. Without reason, the prisoners were subject to punishment, which included whippings and confinement. Especially feared were the whippings, which often meant 25 blows with a cane.

The women were accommodated in a stone building, which was probably a former factory building. In the lower ground floor there were washing facilities including showers; in the upper floors were the dormitories, equipped with the typical concentration camp three-level bunk beds as well as tables and benches. The women slept in extremely cramped quarters; however, the “racially inferior” Sinti and Roma as well as the Jewish inmates were separated from the other prisoners. The camp also had an infirmary. The camp was fenced in with barbed wire and was further secured with two guard towers.

The women at the HASAG factory worked in two 12-hour shifts in a factory building not far from the camp, in the physically demanding areas where shells and *Panzerfäuste* (antitank weapons) were produced. In September 1944, as developer and producer of the Panzerfaust, HASAG had received special authority from Reichsminister für Rüstungs- und Kriegsproduktion Albert Speer, as part of the program “Schnellaktion Panzerfaust.” This authority gave priority to the production of the Panzerfaust, ahead of all other urgent Wehrmacht projects. According to Martin Schellenberg, the HASAG produced in November and December more than 1 million Panzerfäuste—produced with the utmost brutal exploitation of concentration camp prisoners in the numerous HASAG subcamps. In the month of November alone, the HASAG gave 300,000 Panzerfäuste directly to Himmler’s SS. Only at the end of 1944, around 50 men arrived in Altenburg to relieve the women from the most difficult of the physical labor. The men were held in a separate camp, which was also under the command of the Kommandoführer of the female camp, Johann Frötsch.

The use of the prisoners appears to have been in accordance with “racial criteria,” whereby the Sinti and Roma as well as the Jewish women were allocated the most difficult and dangerous work. As a rule, this was work that involved the direct production, processing, and filling of munitions.

The fumes from this activity damaged skin, hair, and breathing passages. The death of 8 women from tuberculosis in Altenburg is recorded. Without the transfer of sick women who could no longer work, the death rate in the subcamp would have been even higher. In September 1944, as early as four weeks after the camp was established, 123 Jewish women and 49 Sinti and Roma, all of whom could no longer work, were transferred back to Ravensbrück. By the middle of October 1944, another 216 women were transferred back, including an unknown number of pregnant women.

By the end of March 1945, there were 2,300 women in the camp. The evacuation of the camp began on April 11, 1945 (according to a statement by a survivor, Adrienne Friede Krausz), or April 12, 1945 (according to the International Tracing Service [ITS] and Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel’s *Der Ort des Terrors*). The women were driven initially by foot via Meerane and Glauchau; a group of around 800 women was liberated by the U.S. Army on April 14, 1945, in the vicinity of Waldenburg/Sachsen. The other women marched over the ridge of the Erzgebirge in the direction of Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary).

In the 1970s the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL, now BA-L) commenced investigations into events at the camp and during the evacuation marches, but the investigations were inconclusive.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel has written about the Altenburg subcamp (female) in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2006), pp. 363–365. Details on the HASAG and its subcamps have been taken from the following publications: Martin Schellenberg, “Die ‘Schnellaktion Panzerfaust’: Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG,” *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271; Klaus Hesse, *1933–1945: Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Eigenverlag des Autors, 2000, 2001)—Teil 1: *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe, ihre militärische Bedeutung, über Gewinne, Gewinner und Verlierer*, pp. 29–63; and Teil 2: *Eine Dokumentation über “Arbeitsbeschaffung” durch Rüstung und Dienstverpflichtete, über Zwangsarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene und KZ-Aussenlager, über gesübte und ungesübte Verbrechen, Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 99–109. Hildegard Reinhardt Franz, a Sinti and Roma survivor of the Altenburg subcamp, is introduced in *Les femmes oubliées de Buchenwald: 22 avril–30 octobre 2005*, Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hautesclocque et de la Libération de Paris, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris) (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), pp. 97–99. The Altenburg women’s subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:30; and in “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL* (1977) Teil I, p. 1787.

Details of the subcamp are held in the AG-B and BA-K (NS 4 Bu). Investigations by ZdL (now BA-L) are under the file reference IV 429 AR-Z 13/74.

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VOLUME I: PART A

ANNABURG

A satellite camp of Buchenwald was created in Annaburg (Saxony province) to provide labor to the Annaburger Gerätebau GmbH in January 1945. Like other subcamps administered by the Buchenwald main camp, the supply of prisoner labor to the firm followed from an agreement between the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the administration of the Annaburger Gerätebau firm. Inmates in the Annaburg camp had been transferred from another Buchenwald subcamp in Halle an der Saale, where they had been employed at the Siebel-Flugzeugwerke factory (Siebel Aircraft Factory, Ltd.). The prisoners in Halle had been transferred from Buchenwald.

According to a monthly report filed by the Annaburg supervisor of labor groups (Kommandoführer) in February 1945, 100 inmates were transferred from the Halle an der Saale camp to Annaburg on January 8, 1945. On January 18, 1945, 2 inmates were returned to Halle, while 1 additional inmate was transported to Annaburg. Thus, the prisoners of the Annaburg camp in February 1945 numbered 99 inmates. Twenty SS guards were also transferred along with the 100 inmates from Halle to Annaburg on January 8.¹ The inmates named on the transport list (dated January 10, 1945), all male, appear to be Russian, Polish, and French; however, there is no breakdown by nationality or age to allow for further demographic analysis.²

The inmates in the Annaburg camp were employed at the Annaburger Gerätebau. According to the monthly report cited above, the inmates were also employed in the construction of a division of the Siebel-Werke Halle as well as the installation of prisoner barracks (presumably in Annaburg). The report also indicates that inmates worked 9.5-hour shifts, with 21,232.5 hours worked in total.³ Further information about the specific kind of work inmates performed at Annaburger Gerätebau is lacking.

There is little information about conditions within the Annaburg camp, including the availability of food, treatment of the prisoners by the guards, resistance or escape attempts, and circumstances of prisoner deaths. The same monthly report shows that the prisoner nurse cared for an average of 12 ambulatory inmates in the infirmary (*Revier*) per day. The daily average number of inpatient cases was 2. The report also indicates that hygienic conditions within the camp were "satisfactory" (*zufriedenstellend*) and that the food supply was "good"; however, no witness reports from former Annaburg inmates could be found to corroborate this information.⁴

Furthermore, no information about the identity of the commandant or guards of the Annaburg camp is available. Further analysis of daily reports generated about the transfer of inmates to and from the Buchenwald main camp to its various subcamps (collected in the Bundesarchiv collection NS 4) may yield additional details about the Annaburg subcamp.

The Annaburg subcamp of Buchenwald was closed on March 16, 1945, and the inmates were transferred back to the Buchenwald main camp.

SOURCES The Annaburg subcamp of Buchenwald appears rarely in secondary literature. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, employer, and so on, see the entry for Annaburg 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 den besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979). For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung; Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1983).

Primary documentation on the Annaburg subcamp and other subcamps of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. For general correspondence, monthly and daily statistical reports, which list the number of prisoners working at Annaburg, as well as prisoner lists of the Annaburg subcamp and other subcamps, see the BA group NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, in particular, vols. 31, 54, 55, 176–185, 196. Other volumes from this collection contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp population. The BA, NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the USHMM, RG-14.023M. Also contained at the USHMM archives is a transport list of inmates to the Annaburg camp copied from the AN-MACVG, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 16. Additional transport lists or duplicates of the collection, as well as reports on numbers of prisoners in the camp from the AN, can be found in the archives of the USHMM 1996.A.0342 (originally copied from the NARA, A3355), Reels 146–180. Further research on these reports would yield additional detailed information about the exact daily arrivals to and departures from the subcamps of Buchenwald.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Monatsbericht für Januar 1945 (dated February 1945), BA, NS 4 (Buchenwald), as reproduced in USHMM, RG-14.023M, Band 262.
2. Transport list of 100 inmates from Siebel-Halle to Kommando Annaburger Gerätebau GmbH, January 10, 1945 (BU 44), AN, as reproduced in USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 16.
3. Monatsbericht, February 1945, BA, NS 4, Band 262.
4. Ibid.

APOLDA

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Apolda (Thüringen), about 70 kilometers (44 miles) southwest of Leipzig. Inmates were transferred from Buchenwald to Apolda most likely to work in a bread bakery that supplied the Third SS-Totenkopfstandarte (Death's Head Regiment) "Thüringen," as well as the Buchenwald camp. They may have also been

used for work in the Reichsbahnbetriebsamt Weimar (Weimar Railway Administrative Office), constructing railway lines. The exact date of the camp's opening is unknown, but it may have been as early as December 1944. Inmates from Buchenwald worked in the bakery, and most of the prisoners were Jehovah's Witnesses. There were between 10 and 20 inmates. One transport list dated February 16, 1945, from Buchenwald to Apolda, included the names of 8 inmates.¹ It is also possible that the camp was an outlying work detail (Aussenkommando) of Buchenwald, sent daily from the camp to the work site. The small subcamp was headed by an SS-Untersführer until American troops liberated Apolda on April 11, 1945.

SOURCES There are few secondary and primary sources on the Apolda subcamp of Buchenwald. Brief information on Apolda during the war can be found in Franz Walter, "Von der rotten zur braunen Hochburg: Wahlanalytische Überlegungen zur Resonanz der NSDAP in den beiden thüringischen Industrielandschaften," in *Nationalsozialismus in Thüringen*, ed. Detlev Heiden and Gunther Mai (Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1995). Information about the bakery and its relation to Buchenwald can be found in Peter Franz, "Die Stadt Apolda und die umliegenden Konzentrationslager," in *Gefangen im Netz: Die Konzentrationslager in Thüringen, 1933–1945*, ed. Udo Wohlfeld and Peter Franz (Weimar: Taubach, 2000), pp. 123–125. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (Weimar-Buchenwald, unpub. MSS).

There is scarce primary source material on the Apolda subcamp of Buchenwald. For transfer lists of prisoners in February 1945, see USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, which constitutes a collection copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from ITS.

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NOTE

1. "Transport Apolda," February 16, 1945 (BU 47), AN-MACVG, reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

AROLSEN

An SS-Officer School (Führerschule of the SS-Business Administration Main Office [WVHA]) was established in Arolsen at the beginning of 1944 in order to train candidates for the administrative service of the SS, which until then had taken place in Dachau. Arolsen was chosen as the location for this new SS station because the administrative headquarters of the SS region Fulda-Werra, which included Weimar-Buchenwald, was located here. A barracks for the SS-Special Assignment Troops (Verfügungstruppe) II/SS-"Germania" was established here in the mid-1930s, but it stood empty in the autumn of 1943.

Thirty-four prisoners from the Buchenwald concentration camp were requisitioned to adapt the barracks for its new use. The detachment with the code name "Arthur" arrived at Arolsen on November 14, 1943. Another 26 prisoners arrived from

Dachau on January 8, 1944, together with instructors, and an additional 20 prisoners arrived on January 21, 1944, from Buchenwald, all to work in the SS-Clothing Camp (Bekleidungs-lager). Thus, the total number of inmates reached 80. This number remained relatively constant until the autumn of 1944, when it increased to 120.¹ Altogether, from November 1943 to March 1945, around 185 male prisoners from 13 countries were housed in the former munitions depot of the SS caserne.²

Prisoners sent to Arolsen were selected from the main camp based on their skills as locksmiths, carpenters, butchers, cooks, masons, barbers, and farmhands. Poles made up the largest group of prisoners at 35 percent, followed by Russians at 30 percent. The special assignment prisoners (*Funktions-häftlinge*) were recruited from the 28 German prisoners (15 percent), who, with a median age of 39.8 years, were considerably older than the average prisoner (30.3).³

The SS-Officer School and SS-Clothing Camp were only technically separate institutions, and among the external details of the Buchenwald concentration camp they were an exception to the rule, as they were not assigned to an armament plant or SS-owned business but rather to an SS duty station, which, as with Buchenwald, in turn reported to the WVHA in Berlin.⁴

With people of differing nationalities, backgrounds, vocations, and interests living together in very confined spaces, constantly fearing death, life was not without tension. There was a mistrust among prisoners that faded only gradually, after living together for some time. Those with experiences in common from Auschwitz, Dachau, or Buchenwald, or those of the same nationality, bonded more quickly. Once they built trust in each other, though, their friendships often survived the worst situations—indeed, even on the death marches (*Todesmärsche*), groups of Arolsen prisoners stayed together. It was difficult for many foreigners to accept German fellow prisoners. Their dislike was strengthened by the fact that some German prisoners treated the East Europeans condescendingly. Only the experiences they shared in the spring of 1944 helped to bridge the divide.

Once the school was established, the prisoners had to do nearly all of the auxiliary work. Their assignments ranged from the barracks kitchen, the workshops, or the wardrobe to working in the SS barbershop, serving in the mess hall, or cleaning the SS buildings. In addition, there was construction work to be done outside the barracks proper.

The daily life of the prisoners of necessity followed the school rhythm, which in turn broke down—at least to a degree—the absolute power of the SS. After all, certain types of work had to be finished by a prescribed time, while other work could only be done while the SS students were in class. Even though this rhythm was monotonous, it gave structure to the life of the prisoners, the significance of which cannot be overstated. The work was very hard, but the prisoners knew when it would stop, because only rarely did work have to be done after school hours in the barracks. The SS school could not extend the evening roll call at will, as any extension shortened the preparatory time for instruction. During such times, the prisoners were of no interest to the SS.

At the same time, operation of the school was scarcely possible without the work of the prisoners. The morning roll call could not be extended as otherwise the meals would not have been ready on time; nor would the SS tolerate any delay when going to the barber; and the work in the motor pool garage and the classrooms had to be done punctually, efficiently, and properly. Any painful delays would have had a direct impact on the SS. In addition, it was in the self-interest of the SS to avoid having maltreated, filthy prisoners in the kitchen, dining room, canteen, or sleeping quarters of the school. For their own protection, then, the SS kept an eye on clean and proper hygienic conditions in the prisoners' accommodations. The prisoners subsisted on food that was qualitatively and quantitatively at, but not below, the lowest acceptable standards. The fact that the quality of life was inevitably linked for the school SS and the prisoners prevented the worst excesses, but there was still physical maltreatment of the prisoners in the cellars.

In the course of the year 1944, the prisoners "served" more and more as the personal lackeys of the SS-Führer. This tie to an individual SS man released the prisoners from total anonymity and there arose a "personal" relationship that served to mitigate some of the torments and even helped to develop a certain degree of sympathy. But the prisoners could not count on these newly won benefits. A "wrong" word or any given act could result in a total change of behavior in the SS man.

Within the confines of their walled-in living space, the prisoners faced the competing interests of the SS-Schulkommando, the SS officers in training (*Führerschüler*), the SS guards, and the civilians. Inside the barracks, contact with the civilian workers was the least problematic; a number of these workers even helped the prisoners. The guard force consisted of about a dozen mostly lower-ranking SS men, with a narrow range of duties, since the camp was guarded by the SS-Officer School.⁵ The higher ranks in the school stayed in the background. The roughly 1,000 officers in training kept a low profile with the prisoners. They did not dare commit crude acts of violence, as contact with the inmates was prohibited under a school order; it was not known what effects such attacks could have on their evaluations.⁶ After all, graduation qualified the SS cadet (*Junker*) from an officer school for duty in the WVHA and thus also in the Amtsgruppe D—Concentration Camps. As transfers from Arolsen to this main office (and the reverse, transfers from WVHA to the SS-Officer School) occurred, a growing number of those in the SS school knew about the living and work conditions in concentration camps, and some of them were aware of the murders. For example, Walter Dejaco, who had supervised the plans for the construction of the crematoriums in Auschwitz, passed his training as SS-Offizier in Arolsen in May 1944.⁷

The division of responsibilities within the SS, the importance of the prisoners for the operation of the school, the structured schedules, and the confined space all diminished the danger of the worst attacks and freed the prisoner during the day from immediate fear of death. Being beaten to death, shot, or hanged was hardly probable. In fact, there are no documented deaths for this subcamp. Still, the relief from

suffering was only temporary. The real terror lay in the existential question of what the next morning would bring, as every transport to Buchenwald raised the acute threat of being brought back to the main camp. That this was not an unfounded fear is shown by the large numbers—every third prisoner—actually transferred there.⁸ Many of them lost their lives there or in working other outside details.

For two prisoners who had been caught stealing food, the transfer to Buchenwald would almost certainly have been a death sentence. However, after they were secretly tipped off, they and two comrades made a daring escape. They took SS officers' uniforms from the wardrobe, while other prisoners readied a private car parked in the motor pool. On June 4, 1944, dressed in SS uniforms and armed with forged papers, they drove unmolested through the caserne's gate, past the saluting SS guard. They then drove through Koblenz until they reached their hiding place in Luxembourg.⁹ The Officer School at first planned to punish the whole detachment but refrained from that in order not to interrupt the operation of the school and instead strengthened the surveillance. Two further escape attempts failed only a few hours later.

American troops approached Arolsen on March 30, 1945, but the hopes of being liberated were not to be fulfilled for the 117 prisoners, because they had been evacuated to the main camp just a few hours earlier.¹⁰ Many of the Arolsen prisoners were forced on death marches from there, which not all of them survived.

The supervisor of labor groups (Kommandoführer) of Arolsen, Friedrich Demmer, was captured when Buchenwald was liberated. He was charged before the Superior Military Court in Dachau and was sentenced to 10 years of forced labor in 1947. However, following an appeal, he was released in 1948 after 3 years' imprisonment.¹¹ No proceedings against other SS officials in connection with the Arolsen subcamp are known.

SOURCES Important sources regarding this subcamp include Anke Schmeling, *Josias Erbprinz zu Waldeck und Pyrmont. Der politische Werdegang eines hohen SS-Führers* (Kassel, 1993); Günter Steiner, *Waldecks Weg ins Dritte Reich. Gesellschaftliche und politische Strukturen eines ländlichen Raums während der Weimarer Republik und zu Beginn des Dritten Reichs* (Kassel, 1990); Michael Winkelmann, *"Auf einmal sind sie weggemacht"* (Kassel, 1992); and Bernd Joachim Zimmer, *Deckname Arthur. Das KZ-Aussenkommando in der SS-Führerschule Arolsen* (Kassel, 1994).

Primary documentation can be found at BA-K: KL Buchenwald: NS 4 Bu 189, NS 4 Bu 205, NS 4 Bu 210, NS 4 Bu 229; BAMA: SS-Führerschule of the WVHA: RS 5/436–RS 5/445, RS 5/949, RW 19; YVA: Buchenwald documents: HS 12, HS 13, HS 17, HS 19, HS 20, Collection M 32–99; NARA: Buchenwald Trial 000–20; and ZdL 429 AR 1824/66.

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. ITS, Bad Arolsen: Transportlisten (transport lists) from November 14, 1943, January 8, 1944, January 21, 1944, and September 21, 1944.

2. Review of all transport lists, reports of strength, and prisoner personnel cards in: Bernd Joachim Zimmer, *Deckname Arthur: Das KZ-Aussenkommando in der SS-Führerschule Arolsen* (Kassel: Verlag Gesamthochschul-Bibliothek, 1994), pp. 142–151.

3. Ibid., pp. 151–153.

4. YV, Jerusalem HS 19 (Forderungsnachweis).

5. BA-K, NS 4 Bu 229.

6. BA-K/MAF, RS 5/437-7.

7. A short biography is in Jean-Claude Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz* (Munich: Piper, 1994), p. 177.

8. Zimmer, *Deckname Arthur*, pp. 241–245.

9. *Rappel: Organe de la Ligue Luxembourgeoise des Prisonniers et Déportés politiques* (Luxembourg, 1980), pp. 99–110.

10. ITS, Bad Arolsen.

11. NARA, Buchenwald Trial 000-Buchenwald-20.

ASCHERSLEBEN (MEN)

Aschersleben is located about eight kilometers (five miles) west of Bernburg and about the same distance to the east of Quedlinburg. Until 1945, it was part of the Prussian province of Saxony. Here was located a branch factory of the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerken (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM), for which a Buchenwald subcamp for male prisoners was established in the summer of 1944. Although files from the Buchenwald camp mention the subcamp on July 28, 1944, it is most likely that the 177 male prisoners first commenced work on August 15, 1944. Other prisoners arrived at the camp in the following months with the result that by the middle of December 1944 the camp reached its peak with 653 prisoners. By the time the camp ceased to exist, at the beginning of April 1945, the numbers had sunk to 453.

The prisoner composition was varied. Prisoners from Germany, France, Greece, Albania, the Netherlands, Italy, Yugoslavia, Croatia, Poland, the Soviet Union, and Spain, as well as Czechs and stateless persons, were in the camp. The prisoners were categorized according to National Socialist prisoner categories including “work shy” (*Arbeitsscheue*), “asocial” (*Asoziale*), “career criminal” (*Berufsverbrecher/Befristete Vorbeugehaft*), and “political.” The camp was guarded by SS, and the Lagerführer and Arbeitseinsatzführer was SS-Hauptscharführer Reuter. A few months later he also took command of the Aschersleben’s women’s subcamp.

The prisoners in the subcamp worked in two shifts constructing the Heinkel He 162, the so-called People’s Fighter (*Volksjäger*). The factory had been converted to allow its production. The Volksjäger, a single-engine jet fighter with a fuselage and elevators made of aluminum and wings and rudder made of plywood, was a last desperate attempt to change the outcome of the war. During the last months of the war, completely inexperienced young pilots from the Flying Hitler Youth (Fliegende Hitler-Jugend), nicknamed the Home Guard of the Air (Volkssturm der Lüfte), were to fly the aircraft, which technically was still in need of development and was scarcely able to be steered and landed. Hitler demanded from Albert Speer a monthly production of 5,000 to 6,000

Volksjäger. To achieve this goal, it was planned to use the labor of concentration camp prisoners intensively. The fuselage and component parts of the He 162 were manufactured in Aschersleben, and the prisoners were employed in a number of different specializations during the production process.

This specialized use of the prisoners may explain why the SS placed comparatively great value on the health of the prisoners: in the subcamp there was a large infirmary where an SS doctor, an SS medical orderly, a doctor under contract, a doctor from among the prisoners, and a prisoner medical orderly were busy. The SS deloused the prisoners each week to prevent the spread of infectious diseases. Prisoners who were no longer capable of working were sent back to Buchenwald. The list of deadly accidents in Aschersleben shows the difficult nature of the work and living conditions. The causes of death included typhoid, heart and circulation illnesses, inflammation of the lungs, tuberculosis, as well as cystitis and nephritis. The prisoners who died in the camp were taken to Quedlinburg, where they were cremated.

The evacuation of the subcamp took place between April 6 and 11, 1945, as prisoners were sent in the direction of Torgau.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) between 1966 and 1975 remained inconclusive.

SOURCES Charles-Claude Biedermann describes the subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2006), pp. 371–372. The Aschersleben (men) subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1: 31; and in “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBI.* (1977) Teil I, p. 1788.

Archival documents on the Aschersleben subcamp are located in a number of archives: the AG-B and the collection NS 4 Bu of BA-K as well as the ITS under Signatur ITS Buchenwald 7, 27, and 53. The ZdL investigations located at BA-L are under File IV 429 AR-Z 14/74.

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ASCHERSLEBEN (WOMEN)

Aschersleben is about eight kilometers (five miles) to the west of Bernburg and about the same distance to the east of Quedlinburg. Until 1945, it was part of the Prussian province of Saxony. A branch factory of the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerken (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM) was located in Aschersleben where a Buchenwald subcamp for male prisoners was established in the summer of 1944. A women’s subcamp was established in the same location in January 1945.

The first transport of 500 women arrived on January 2, 1945. All the women in the transport were Jews who had traveled via Bergen-Belsen from Auschwitz: there were 250 Poles,

232 Hungarians, 13 Belgians, a German, a Soviet citizen, a Yugoslav, and 2 Slovaks. According to statements by survivors and eyewitnesses, there are two different descriptions of the accommodation provided to the women, but perhaps the women describe two different areas or sections of the subcamp. Some eyewitness accounts state that the women were accommodated in a camp secured with barbed wire, located about 10 minutes from where they worked. The building in this camp was a two-story stone building that held the prisoners and the female SS guards. Other reports refer to two barracks close to where the women worked, Factory Building 5. There were not enough beds for the women in these barracks, with the result that the women had to sleep in shifts. In the infirmary, which was attached to the camp, there was limited medical care. There were, however, no beds available for sick inmates.

Administratively, the camp was closely connected with the Buchenwald camp for men in Aschersleben. Its Kommandoführer, SS-Hauptscharführer Reuter, was also responsible for the women's camp. The SS guards at the men's camp were also used to guard the external perimeters of the women's camp. Additionally, there were 12 female SS guards inside the camp until the middle of March. Survivors have described these guards as downright brutal. Food deprivation, seclusion in a bunker, and other degrading punishments such as the cutting of the women's hair were the punishments that were usually mentioned by survivors. For the SS, especially beloved punishments were the sleep-depriving "special roll calls" (*Sonderappelle*), which as a rule lasted for hours, and the debilitating "calisthenics" (*Sportübungen*), which exhausted the already physically weak prisoners.

The women worked in two shifts each of 12 hours. There were two breaks during each shift. As with the men in their subcamp, the women manufactured aircraft, mostly the Heinkel He 162, called the People's Fighter (*Volksjäger*). They assembled the fuselages and in Factory Building 5 cut and assembled aircraft parts in the cutting and parts assembly rooms. Very quickly the women were physically exhausted by handling the heavy aircraft parts, working the machines, the harsh living conditions in the camp, and the lack of food. There were numerous illnesses including lung inflammations, heart problems, cystitis, and nephritis, as well as typhoid. Five women died in the relatively short period of the camp's existence.

The Junkers factory was closed in March 1945, following heavy bombing raids on Aschersleben. According to the SS, the prisoners worked for the last time on March 25. The women were evacuated in two groups between April 11 and 15, 1945, and the camp was closed. The women were initially evacuated with the inmates from the men's Aschersleben camp. The first group of 300 women was taken via Delitzsch and Torgau to Leitmeritz (after 1945, part of the Czech Republic), where 40 of them were liberated by the Soviet Army. The majority of the group, 259 women, continued under great deprivation on a march to their original destination, Theresienstadt, where they arrived on April 24. The second group of women marched in an easterly direction via Kön-

nern, Halle, Bitterfeld, and Torgau to Bad Döben. Here the guards, in fear of the approaching enemy, drove the women back across the Elbe in the direction of Torgau. The women were liberated on April 15, 1945, close to Mühlbeck.

In the early 1970s, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) interviewed dozens of prisoners as part of investigations into the history of the subcamp. The investigations ceased in 1975 without any results.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel describes the camp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2006), pp. 369–371. The Aschersleben (women) subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 31; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL* (1977) Teil I, p. 1788.

Information on the Aschersleben women's subcamp is held in a number of archives including the collections NS-4 Bu (e.g., BA-K and the THStA-W). A list of 259 women who arrived in Theresienstadt on April 24, 1945, is held in the AG-T. Investigations by the ZdL (now BA-L) are held in File IV 429 AR-Z 14/74.

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BAD SALZUNGEN (HEINRICH KALB)

The subcamp Bad Salzungen (Heinrich Kalb) came into existence when 500 prisoners were transferred from Buchenwald to work in the potash mine Heiligenroda III, near the villages of Dorndorf and Springen in the Werra region of Thuringia. The detachment was named after the town of Bad Salzungen, which was about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) from the subcamp. It is first mentioned in the records on January 20, 1945.

The expansion of the Heiligenroda III pit was part of a larger project to shift production underground, in this case, the production of aircraft motors by Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW). This objective linked the Heinrich Kalb subcamp with the Ludwig Renntier subcamp even though it was located outside the town at another potash mine.

Leveling and concrete work had already been going on in Heiligenroda III since June 1944; by the end of the year approximately 30,000 square meters (36,000 square yards) of tunnel space had been prepared for the machines, and about 8,000 square meters (9,600 square yards) of concrete floor had been laid. Thus, BMW was able to start its underground production at least in part. In order to expand the mine further and prepare it for production, the Buchenwald prisoners were put to work on demolition and cleanup work and pouring concrete. One of their tasks was the transfer of loose potassium salt into unused areas of the mine and the transport of heavy tipping trucks with loose rock or potassium salt. The International Tracing Service (ITS) named Organisation Todt (OT) Construction Directorate in Springen and the

construction management of the Heinrich Kalb company as employers of the inmates.

The number of prisoners remained relatively constant for the duration of the camp, at between 480 and 500 prisoners. This was largely due to the fact that injured and sick prisoners and those who could no longer work were returned to Buchenwald and were replaced with new prisoners. According to witness statements, there were at least 25 deaths in the Heinrich Kalb subcamp. The dead were cremated in the Bad Salzungen city crematorium.

The prisoners were mostly Russians, Poles, Hungarians, Yugoslavians, and Romanians. There were only seven German prisoners, and 30 to 35 SS men guarded the camp. According to prisoner statements, the Lagerführer was either SS-Hauptsturmführer Schlaf, who was notorious for his mistreatment of prisoners, or SS-Hauptscharführer Reichardt.

The prisoners were accommodated in an unused section of the mine in the most primitive of conditions. Initially they were taken at regular intervals to the surface, but later this practice stopped completely, as it took too much time and placed too much demand on the capacity of the mine's transport cage. The lack of sunlight as well as the murderous work and living conditions rapidly led to the physical and mental deterioration of the camp inmates. The poor nutrition, which as a rule consisted only of watery soup and bread, resulted in the prisoners eating the potash, which in turn led to deadly kidney and gallbladder failure.

Most likely the Buchenwald main camp dissolved part of the subcamp at the end of March 1945. It was decided to transfer 385 prisoners back to Buchenwald, "on account of the enemy's close proximity."¹ The prisoners' march (for many this was the first time they had seen daylight in weeks) was via Bad Salzungen, Ohrdruf, Crawinkel, Ilmenau, Stadtilm, Kranichfeld, and Bad Berka to Buchenwald, where they arrived on April 3, 1945.² At Ohrdruf alone six prisoners are said to have been shot by the SS.

Ninety-three prisoners remained in the camp, and their fate is unknown. They could probably not be evacuated to Buchenwald because of the rapid advance of Allied troops. The ITS suggested that they could have been evacuated to Flossenbürg instead. The camp is mentioned for the last time on April 4, 1945.

SOURCES Frank Baranowski describes the Bad Salzungen (Heinrich Kalb) subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2006), pp. 379–380. References to and descriptions of the subcamp are also to be found in Bianka Breitung, "Die Aussenkommandos des ehemaligen faschistischen Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald in Eisenach ('Emma'), Abteroda ('Anton') und Bad Salzungen ('Ludwig Renntier' und 'Heinrich Kalb')" (unpub. Diplomarbeit, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 1989); Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992); and *Konzentrationslager Buchenwald: Ausstellungskatalog* (West

Berlin: Nationale Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, 1990), p. 105, in which are described the conditions in the potash mines at the Heinrich Kalb subcamp and Ludwig Renntier subcamp; and Emil Carlebach, Eilly Schmidt, and Ulrich Schneider, *Buchenwald: Ein Konzentrationslager* (Bonn: Pahl-Rugenstein, 2000), p. 134. This camp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 32.

Primary sources for this camp begin with NS 4 at THStA-W.

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NOTES

1. See Stärkemeldung, April 7, 1945, NS 4/ Bu 292, THStA-W, "Nach Buchenwald wegen Feindnähe zurückgenommene Kommandos"; also printed in Emil Carlebach, Eilly Schmidt, and Ulrich Schneider, *Buchenwald: Ein Konzentrationslager* (Bonn: Pahl-Rugenstein, 2000), p. 134.

2. According to Frank Baranowski in *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2006), p. 379; ITS states that the camp's evacuation date was April 6, 1945.

BAD SALZUNGEN (LUDWIG RENNTIER)

The Bad Salzungen (Ludwig Renntier) subcamp, as with the nearby Bad Salzungen (Heinrich Kalb) subcamp, was created because of the relocation of the Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) production facilities to potash mines in the Werra district. During the course of 1944, it became apparent that the existing production sites were not sufficient. So at the beginning of 1945 the Heinrich Kalb and Ludwig Renntier subcamps, along with concentration camp prisoners from the Buchenwald concentration camp, became part of the process to relocate BMW production facilities underground.

The Ludwig Renntier subcamp was opened on January 5, 1945. It was located at the Kalischacht I (Kaiseroda) in Leimbach in the Werra district in Thuringia, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) west of the city of Bad Salzungen. It was located in a 400-meter-deep (437-yard-deep) shaft on the road that later became Herrmannsrodaer Strasse. It was to provide an additional 30,000-square-meter (about 36,000-square-yard) underground production facility in which Organisation Todt (OT) would operate the presses for the BMW company. The prisoners worked daily between 12 and 15 hours, pouring cement on the tunnel floors, transporting gravel in hand carts, and cleaning the area of potash salt.

According to Ernst Hausmann, the camp elder, most of the prisoners were taken directly into the mine shaft, where they slept on a thin layer of straw on the ground. As with the prisoners at the Heinrich Kalb subcamp, they remained underground for most of the time in the camp. The cages used to transport the prisoners from the tunnel could only carry between 20 and 25 prisoners on each trip, which would

have made the exchange of prisoners very time-consuming. Therefore, inmates were only brought to the surface when necessary—for instance, when they had become incapable of further work due to the inhuman work and living conditions along with the high salt content in the air. In that case, prisoners of the subcamp had to be exchanged for new prisoners from Buchenwald. In the middle of February 1945, 350 new prisoners were brought from Buchenwald to Ludwig Renntier. On February 28, 71 prisoners who could no longer work were returned to the main camp. It seems that the camp had its own prisoner doctor, A. Gurin, who, according to the memoirs of the former camp elder, was returned to Buchenwald in March 1945. This relocation to the main camp, which also involved the camp elder, was probably connected with the replacement of the camp commandant at that time.

Around 150 to 180 prisoners in the subcamp were held above ground in an unused and fenced-in salt refinery in Bad Salzungen. These prisoners were kept busy during the day, erecting barracks and fitting out offices and camps.

Probably at the end of March 1945 the camp held its maximum number of prisoners, more than 700. A strength report (*Stärkemeldung*) dated March 29 lists 710 prisoners. The majority of the men were Russians, Poles, and Yugoslavs, but there were also French, Belgian, and Dutch prisoners as well as a few German prisoners, most of those being political prisoners. According to Frank Baranowski, the Lagerführer at Ludwig Renntier was initially SS-Oberscharführer Dietrich, who was probably seconded from Luftwaffe ground personnel. Dietrich treated the prisoners humanely and is said not to have followed all orders coming from Buchenwald, which resulted in a decline in productivity. According to the former camp elder Hausmann, Dietrich therefore was replaced in March 1945 by SS-Hauptscharführer Knauf, the previous deputy Lagerführer of the Duisburg (SS-Baubrigade) subcamp, who is thought to have murdered several prisoners at that camp.

The evacuation of the subcamp began at the beginning of April 1945: 464 prisoners were sent on a death march on April 6, 1945, to Buchenwald, and 183 followed on April 10. Based on prisoner statements, the International Tracing Service (ITS) states that some of the prisoners—as was the case with the Bad Salzungen (Heinrich Kalb) subcamp—were taken to Flossenbürg. The Bad Salzungen (Ludwig Renntier) subcamp is mentioned for the last time on April 10, 1945.

SOURCES Frank Baranowski provides a detailed description of the Bad Salzungen (Ludwig Renntier) subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2006), pp. 380–382. The report of the Internationale Lagerkomitee des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald of May 1945 also listed the Bad Salzungen (Ludwig Renntier) subcamp in *Bericht des Internationalen Lagerkomitees des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald* (Offenbach: Verlag Olga Benario und Herbert Baum, 1997), p. 109. The camp is also mentioned in Emil Carlebach, Eilly Schmidt, and Ulrich Schneider, *Buchenwald. Ein Konzentrationslager* (Bonn: Pahl-Rugenstein, 2000), p. 134; Bianka Breitung, “Die Aussenkommandos des ehemaligen faschi-

stischen Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald in Eisenach (‘Emma’), Abteroda (‘Anton’) und Bad Salzungen (‘Ludwig Renntier’ und ‘Heinrich Kalb’)” (unpub. Diplomarbeit, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 1989); as well as Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, “Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)” (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992). The subcamp is also listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 32; and in “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBI.* (1977) Teil I, p. 1789.

The statements by the former camp elder Ernst Hausmann of March 1982 are held under Signatur 31/1952 in AG-B. Further information on the subcamp is also found in the ThHStA-W, under Signatur NS 4/ Bu 229 (Arbeitseinsatz von Häftlingen in verschiedenen Aussenkommandos, 1943–1945).

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BENSBERG (KDO. NAPOLA) (SS-BB III)

With only 10 inmates, what was probably the smallest subcamp of the Buchenwald complex existed from May to December 1944 in Bensberg, later part of Bergisch Gladbach. The Bensberg subcamp was established by SA-Gruppenführer Paul Holthoff, head of one of the Institutions of National Political Education (Napola), which had been located in the Bensberg castle since 1935. The roof and north wing of the castle had been damaged in an incident of arson by students on March 2, 1942, and Holthoff tried for months to find workers to restore them. Initially, beginning in the fall of 1943, he received from the SS-Baubrigade III (Construction Brigade III), stationed in Cologne, the occasional prisoner for construction work. Finally, on March 25, 1944, the above-mentioned 10 prisoners were sent as part of a transport destined for Cologne.¹ Not until the withdrawal of the SS-Baubrigade III on May 10, 1944, did the Bensberg camp become a subcamp of Buchenwald.

The prisoners were probably housed in a cellar room where bicycles had previously been stored. The group of inmates, whose identities are known, consisted of nine Czechs and one Russian.² As of November 1944, because Allied troops were advancing from the west, the Napola was moved from Bensberg to a Cistercian monastery in the East Westphalia village Hardehausen, which later became part of Warburg. The Buchenwald subcamp was transferred to Hardehausen as well, probably in December, and from then on was listed under Hardehausen.

SOURCES In the 1980s, school students were the first to gather findings on the Bensberg camp. See “Schülerwettbewerb Deutsche Geschichte um den Preis des Bundespräsidenten” in the archive of the Körber-Stiftung Hamburg, Wettbewerb 1982–83, No. 828, Sascha Balkow et al., *Kriegsgefangene—Fremdarbeiter—KZ-Häftlinge im Raum Bensberg*, pp. 26–33; Wettbewerb 1988–89, No. 10601, Martin Breitbach et al., *Unser Schloss—ein Ort für Fremde—aber auch Heimat?* pp. 22–33a. These scattered references were published by Klaus

Schmitz in a 1989 essay, "Auf Spurensuche in der jüngeren Vergangenheit: Das Aussenlager Bensberg des KZ Buchenwald," *HfBL* 59 (1989): 209–215. In the course of his research on the subcamp Hardehausen, Dieter Zühlke studied the Bensberg camp as well and in 2003 deposited the manuscript with his findings at the Ast-Wb, "Das Konzentrationslager Bensberg-Hardehausen: Eine NAPOLA als Einsatzort von KZ-Häftlingen" (StA Warburg, unpub. MSS, October 2003). One year later, he summarized his results in an article that was published in collaboration with Jan Eric Schulte. See Jan Eric Schulte and Dieter Zühlke, "Vom Rheinland nach Westfalen: KZ-Aussenlager einer 'Nationalpolitischen Erziehungsanstalt' in Bensberg und Hardehausen," in *Konzentrationslager im Rheinland und in Westfalen 1933–1945: Zentrale Steuerung—Regionale Initiative*, ed. Jan Eric Schulte (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004), pp. 113–130.

Very little documentation exists for the Bensberg camp at the ASt-BG (V 160, J 16/3, HS 313) and at the THStA-W (NS 4 Buchenwald, especially Nos. 250 and 253). Memoirs or testimonies by former inmates are unknown.

Karola Fings
trans. Ute Stargardt

NOTES

1. Transportliste (transport list) from March 25, 1944, in the AG-B, pp. 59–110.

2. Buchenwald concentration camp, register of June 23, 1944, in the NWHStA-(D), ZA-K, Zweigstelle Kalkum, Ger. Rep. 118/1176.

BERGA-ELSTER ("SCHWALBE V")

In the wake of increasing Allied bombing attacks, Germany's fuel reserves sank to a dangerously low level. In August 1944, as part of the Geilenberg Program, the Armaments Ministry established the Petroleum Securing Plan, whose implementation belonged to the Kammler Staff. As part of this plan, under code name "Schwalbe V" (Swallow V), the Kammler Staff supervised the construction of an underground hydrogenation plant for Braunkohle-Benzol AG (Brown Coal-Gasoline AG, Brabag) in Zeitz in Berga an der Elster and appointed as project manager SS-Obersturmführer Willy Hack.

Hack was transferred to Berga on November 6, 1944, where his site manager and geologists tested the mountain rock for internal water channels. After Sonderinspektion I (Special Inspectorate I) reviewed drilling samples in Berlin, Brabag made concrete plans for the mining operation.

Braun und Co. Schieferverwaltung, a cover name for Brabag-Zeitz, functioned as the owner and Reich trustee. The company employed mining companies, major mining and civil engineering firms, and additional workers from the region and from all over Germany. Brabag planned to excavate 18 interconnected tunnels in the Zikraer Berg mountain, for the location of the synthetic oil plant.

On November 13, 1944, the first 70 male prisoners were brought to Berga from Buchenwald. Among them were the future administrative staff and the prisoner physician. This



German civilians are forced to exhume the bodies of camp prisoners and U.S. prisoners of war at Berga-Elster, April 1945. USHMM WS # 80921, COURTESY OF NARA

group built the camp.¹ The first large transport of 500 prisoners arrived on December 1, 1944, from the Buchenwald work detail "Wille" in Rehmsdorf near Zeitz, another Brabag camp.² Further transports arrived on December 13, 1944 (1,000); December 30, 1944 (500); January 1, 1945 (298); February 26, 1945 (500); and March 15, 1945 (500).³ In all, over 3,300 prisoners were dispatched to Berga.

The largest prisoner groups were the Jews, who came from Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Russia, Ukraine, Belorussia, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, and Germany. Others were political, "work shy" (*arbeitsscheu*), and career criminals from all over Europe.

Most prisoners worked in the tunnels where they cleared and removed the detritus from explosions. The work was very hard and dangerous. They also had to work for various firms employed in the camp. The prisoners preferred assignment in the quarry, kitchens, or workshops, laying rail beds, or doing outdoor construction rather than working in the tunnels. A large group of 13- to 17-year-old boys in Berga mostly peeled potatoes in the prisoner and SS kitchens. Working in shifts, like the adult prisoners, some delivered food and coal briquettes from the city's rail station to the camp and cleaned the SS officers' rooms. The latter task was especially unpleasant.

Between November 28, 1944, and April 7, 1945, 313 prisoners died in the camps.⁴ Berga survivors reported deaths from shootings, disease, starvation, physical abuse, and work accidents.⁵ The overall number of prisoners did not diminish, however, because of replacement transports from Buchenwald. A roll call taken on March 11, 1945, established that there were 1,767 prisoners in Berga on that day.⁶

According to Hack's secretary, Berlin ordered the construction staff to evacuate Schwalbe V during a long-distance call.⁷ Former prisoners testified to the subcamp's closure, which took place between April 10 and 12. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) recorded the date as April 10, 1945, while the International Tracing Service (ITS)

placed the closure on April 11, 1945.⁸ On the morning of Berga's closure, the SS ordered prisoners to form up in rows of five abreast and carry their blankets and bowls. Approximately 200 men unable to march were taken by train to Dachau.⁹ From Dachau, some reached Seefeld near Innsbruck, Austria.

Fifteen hundred prisoners marched toward Theresienstadt-Leitmeritz, traveling in a southeasterly direction along the route Berga-Teichwolframsdorf-Gottesgrün-Reuth-Neumark-Hauptmannsgrün-Irfersgrün-Stangengrün-Obercrinitz-Bärenwalde-Albernau-Bockau-Sosa-Seinheidel-Breitenbrunn-Rittersgrün-Goldenhöhe-Gottesgab-Oberhals—a distance of 160 kilometers (almost 100 miles). Toward 9:00 PM on April 21, 1945, approximately 850 arrived in a snowstorm—the remainder had either fled or died.¹⁰ On the way they climbed a height of over 1,200 meters (3,937 feet) in the Erz Mountains. The final climb from Goldenhöhe to a point somewhere between Schmiedeberg and Oberhals was extremely difficult, as indicated by the many prisoners who died along the way. Other groups may have taken routes through the Erz Mountains via Zwickau and Chemnitz.

From this point, according to survivors, prisoners from Eastern and Western Europe were separated, and the Jews were also segregated.¹¹ Small groups arrived by rail in Theresienstadt; by foot in Menetin, Netschetin, and Preitenstein; and some went in a westerly direction along the crest of the Erz Mountains toward U.S. forces.

In 1974, the Cologne State Attorney's Office investigated Lagerführer Rohr and other Berga SS. Its case was based upon an estimate of prisoner deaths in the Berga subcamp and during the death march but was halted on February 22, 1976, because Rohr had died on March 11, 1969; the whereabouts of the accused, SS-Unterscharführer Schwarzbach, were unknown; and other SS members could not be identified.¹²

After the war, Hack lived under his own name in Weissen-sand near Reichenbach in Saxony. Arrested in Zwickau on December 5, 1947, and interrogated at Schloss Osterstein, he was charged with causing the deaths of hundreds at Buchenwald/Berga because of his rigorous and demanding work methods. On September 22, 1948, under Allied Control Council Law No. 10 Article II3b, the Zwickau criminal court sentenced him to 8 years' imprisonment and 10 years' loss of citizenship rights. On April 23, 1951, the Zwickau criminal court, having retried Hack, sentenced him to death. He was executed in Dresden on July 26, 1952.¹³

[Note: American prisoners of war also worked at Berga, but they lived in a separate camp, not the Buchenwald subcamp. Their experiences will be addressed in a later volume of this encyclopedia, which will cover camps run by the German military. —Ed.]

SOURCES Berga is mentioned only a few times in the literature. Christine Schmidt has an essay on Buchenwald/Berga-Elster in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 386–388. Wolfgang Birkenfeld covers the history of

Brabag in *Der synthetische Treibstoff, 1933–1945* (Göttingen: Musterschmidt Verlag, 1964). In the 1960s, Gerda Rutschmann, an Oberschule instructor in Berga, compiled a report on the working and living conditions of the prisoners in "Schwalbe V." Between 1967 and 1991, numerous articles were published in the local Berga newspaper, the *GrHe*, for instance, the article by Ulrich Jugel, "Das Lager Schwalbe V in Berga—Ein dunkles Kapitel aus der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus," July 1991. Heike Kegel wrote a doctoral dissertation on Berga, "Die Versklavung von KZ-Häftlingen in der faschistischen Kriegswirtschaft und bei der unterirdischen Verlagerung der Treibstoffindustrie" (Ph.D. diss., Martin Luther University, Halle, 1990). Among the camps she researched was Schwalbe V, but aside from adding a few details, she relies heavily on Birkenfeld when writing about Berga, as does an article in Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2 (Bonn, 1991), pp. 660, 750, 801. The Buchenwald Berga subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1: 27.

Extensive material on the Berga camp and the transport lists may be found in AG-B and NARA (RG 242). Concerning the death march, material is held in the various regional archives in Germany, AG-D, as well as in the SpkA-KV, SpkA-CvK, and SDA-L. Material on the Berga construction site is also available in the ThHStA-G. Files containing the notices of prisoner deaths in the Berga camp are at BA-L. The criminal case files of construction manager Willy Hack are available through BStU. As the archives and prisoner testimonies found since 1997 have not been covered in any comprehensive way in the literature, it is now necessary to conduct new research on Berga. Christine Schmidt has in her possession numerous unpublished testimonies from surviving Berga prisoners.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Transport list, Buchenwald-Berga, November 13, 1944, AG-B, 59–110/3.
2. Transport list, Buchenwald-Berga, November 31, 1944, NARA, RG 242, A 3355, F 26.
3. Transport lists, Buchenwald-Berga, NARA, RG 242, A 3355, F 26.
4. Verzeichnis der in Berga verstorbenen KZ-Häftlinge, BStU, ZM 1625/A 28b/Bd.17/StA. Bd. I, pp. 381–390.
5. Berichte von Überlebenden, ZdL at BA-L, 429 AR-Z-15/74 Berga Bd. I, pp. 75–228, Bd. II, pp. 275–314.
6. Stärkemeldung in Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald, ZdL, (now BA-L) 429 AR-Z-15/74 Berga Bd. I, p. 3, from ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1: 27.
7. Prozess gegen Willy Hack, LG Zwickau; Aussage von Gerda Teichert, BStU, ZM 1625/A 28b/Bd. 17/StA.Bd. I, p. 377.
8. Auflösung des Lagers in Aussenkommandos des Konzen-

trationslagers Buchenwald, ZdL, 429 AR-Z-15/74 Berga Bd. I, p. 3, from ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis*, 1: 27.

9. Befragung von Joel Pinkowits, ZdL, 429 AR-Z-15/74 Berga Bd. I, S. p. 216/21; Abraham Krygier/Krieger, *ibid.*, pp. 158–161; AG-D, Dokumentation: Häftlinge, Gefangenenliste-laufende Numerierung: 106834.

10. SpkA-CvK, Bestand Kovarska (Schmiedeberg), Bericht von Margarethe Trux, June 5, 1945; Report of B. Zwaaf and Levie de Lange, ZdL, 429 AR-Z-3358/65.

11. Report of B. Zwaaf and Levie de Lange, ZdL, 429 AR-Z-3358/65 Buchenwald, Bd. II, pp. 217–238; and report of Josef Krauze from February 6, 2001, to Christine Schmidt; also report of Samuel Hilton from November 30, 2000, to Christine Schmidt.

12. Einstellungsverfügung des Verfahrens gegen Richard Rohr und unbekannte SS-Angehörige von Dr. Gehrling, OStA. Köln, February 25, 1976, ZdL, 429 AR-Z-15/74 Berga Bd. I, pp. 385–387.

13. The first trial against Hack was AZ.21.ERKs.116/51; Prozess gegen Willy Hack, LG Zwickau, Urteil, April 23, 1951, BStU, ZM 1625/A 28b/Bd. 17/Vollstreckungsheft, pp. 268, 272.

BERLSTEDT

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Berlstedt (Kreis Weimar) in December 1940 to provide labor to various projects, including the production of bricks and road construction. The exact opening date of the camp, often coded as “B” in related administrative correspondence, varies by source. These differences may correspond to the fact that the prisoners were forced to work in multiple work details (*Kommandos*) for different firms: the Kläranlage und Ziegelei Berlstedt bei Weimar and the Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke, Berlstedt (German Earth and Stone Works, DESt). In addition, the inmates were also used for the Neumark road construction project. Work for the Kläranlage und Ziegelei was said to have begun on October 9, 1941, and work for DESt, on September 27, 1943. The Neumark road construction project seems to have ended in late October 1943; 20 inmates were transferred back to Buchenwald on October 28 after its completion.¹

Located about 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) from the main camp at Buchenwald, the prisoner population in the Berlstedt camp was all male. The number of inmates, with occasional additional transports to and from the camp, did not seem to fluctuate greatly and remained around 200 to 250 inmates. According to random prisoner lists that have survived, and a few transport lists to and from the Berlstedt camp, the inmates appear to have been German, French, Belgian, Czech, Russian, and Polish. According to a transport list of 10 inmates to Berlstedt on August 18, 1944, there were so-called professional criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*) in the camp, who most likely served as “functional inmates,” as well as “asocial” and political prisoners.² The SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) was paid 2 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled and 1 RM per unskilled laborer per day in the Berlstedt subcamp.³ In

April 1942, the skilled workers included an electrician, blacksmiths, carpenters, a painter, and several masons.⁴

One of the Kommandos to which the Berlstedt prisoners were assigned supplied labor to DESt, an enterprise of the SS. A building supply company, it was founded in 1938 to supply materials to construction projects that were aimed at achieving Hitler’s grandiose architectural vision throughout the Reich. Created to be a technologically advanced, modern venture, DESt aimed to exploit and excavate quarries and manufacture bricks. One of the many sites created at or near concentration camps to excavate and manufacture bricks, the Berlstedt Werk achieved production of about 8 million bricks per year and employed at least 200 inmates.

There is little information about other work performed in the Berlstedt subcamp for the Kläranlage und Ziegelei or the Neumark road construction project. According to Enno Georg, the punishment Kommando sent from Buchenwald to Berlstedt to work in the clay mines was not under the control of DESt; it is unclear if it was attached instead to Kläranlage und Ziegelei. According to a former prisoner in Berlstedt, Kurt Leiser, inmates had to work in groups of three in the clay mines, digging out 30 carts of material and breaking it into fist-sized chunks. The work was performed in all kinds of weather, often standing knee-deep in water. Leiser reported that the inmates not only had to endure the terribly difficult labor in the mine but also the cruelty of the prisoner overseers (*Kapos*), such as Johann Küppers, who beat the prisoners without mercy. Leiser added that the work in the brick ovens was also strenuous and performed in dreadful conditions; these inmates suffered from sulfur fumes and intense heat. According to prisoner and transport lists, on occasion inmates were transferred back to the Buchenwald main camp, presumably some too ill to work.⁵

Little information is available about the commandant or guards of the camp. Some correspondence surviving from the latter years of the war shows the signature of an SS-Sturmscharführer, but his name is illegible.⁶ According to a report filed by the SS-Standortarzt Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky on January 31, 1945, there were 34 guards in the camp at this time.⁷ No further details about the camp itself, its exact location, living conditions within the camp, or resistance or escape attempts by the prisoners are available.

Finally, there is little information about the evacuation of the Berlstedt subcamp. It was last mentioned in Buchenwald-related records in late March or early April 1945, stating that there were 211 inmates. Likewise, no information about post-war trials of guards who served in the camp was uncovered.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Berlstedt subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Berlstedt 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), which derives from ITS records. More information on DEST can be found in Enno Georg, *Die Wirtschaftlichen Unternehmen der SS* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1963), pp. 42–58.

Surviving primary documentation on the Berlstedt subcamp is also limited. An excerpt of former inmate Kurt Leeser's recollection of his experiences in the Berlstedt clay mines can be found in David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995), pp. 191–192. For sparse administrative documentation mentioning the Berlstedt subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 206. See also a collection of prisoner lists in the Berlstedt camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 47, Reel 16. Other documentation may be found at AG-B.

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NOTES

1. "20 Häftlinge auf Transport nach K.L. Bu.," Berlstedt, October 28, 1943, Buchenwald (BU 47), AN-MACVG, reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).

2. "Transport Berlstedt," Weimar-Buchenwald, August 18, 1944 (BU 47), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).

3. Extracts from the rept. for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

4. "Einsatz der Berufe im Lager Buchenwald," Stand am 30 April 1942, BA NS-4, USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 206, Fiche 1.

5. See memos to the Buchenwald Rapportführer, dated December 19, 1944 (2 inmates to Buchenwald); February 16, 1945 (2 inmates to Buchenwald); February 20, 1945 (1 inmate to Buchenwald) (BU47), USHMM Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).

6. See memos to Buchenwald Rapportführer, dated December 19, 1944, and February 16, 1945 (Bu 47), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).

7. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung. Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main, 1960), p. 251.

BILLRODA

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Billroda (Saxony province) to provide prisoner labor to an underground construction project to transfer and protect armaments production due to increased Allied bombardment in the latter half of the war. The exact opening date of the camp is unknown, though various sources site the creation of the camp in February or March 1945.

The first transport of prisoners to Billroda from Buchenwald, dated March 19, 1945, included some 500 inmates.¹ The population of the camp did not seem to fluctuate over its relatively brief period of existence, and there were few additional transports of inmates into the camp.² Periodically inmates

were transferred back to Buchenwald due to various injuries or illnesses, such as tuberculosis, where they were sent to the infirmary. For example, 6 inmates were transferred back to Buchenwald on March 27, 1945.³

The majority of the inmates were assigned to perform various kinds of work related to construction of a facility for the transfer of portions of the Gustloff-Werk, Weimar, 600 meters (656 yards) underground in order to continue production. Some inmates may also have been delegated to duties on local farms. The inmates were employed by the firm Berg Burggraf to work in the mine shafts, to lay railroad tracks, and otherwise to prepare the area for the transfer of the Gustloff-Werk. As in other camps that used inmates to perform work in mines, working conditions in the Billroda subcamp were most likely terrible and dangerous, causing inmates to fall ill from diseases such as tuberculosis and to suffer injuries due to the dangerous work.

The inmates were all male, and although there is no breakdown by nationality on the transport lists, they appear to have been mainly Russian, Polish, French, Belgian, Dutch, and German. Some discrepancy exists about the exact location of the inmates' housing, and it seems that the prisoners were accommodated in several locations. Some were placed in a former guesthouse called "Weissenhorn" in the nearby village of Kahlwinkel. Others were housed in a shack on the Reichmuth farmstead, in a large storage camp not far from the Burggraf mine, as well as in a movie theater or in barracks in Billroda itself.

The Billroda camp, with 494 inmates, was evacuated in April 1945 to Buchenwald, where the arrival of the prisoners was registered on April 10, 1945.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Billroda subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Billroda 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), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (Weimar-Buchenwald, unpub. MSS).

Surviving primary documentation on the Billroda subcamp is also limited. See a collection of prisoner lists to and from the camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 47, Reel 16. Copies of transport lists and documentation of arrivals to and from Buchenwald are also found at NARA, A3355 Buchenwald Daily Strength Reports (USHMMA, RG 1996 A0342, Reels 146–180). These reports may be useful for a more thorough statistical analysis of the demographics of and increases and decreases in the camp population. Other documents may be found in the AG-B.

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NOTES

1. "Transport Billroda," K.L. Buchenwald, March 19, 1945 (BU 47), AN-MACVG, reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.
2. See transport lists and memoranda (BU 47), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.
3. "Transport-Liste," to the Rapportführer, Buchenwald, March 27, 1945 (BU 47), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.

BOCHUM (*BOCHUMER VEREIN*)

By the end of the 1930s, the Bochum Verein für Gussstahlfabrikation AG, a subsidiary of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke AG (United Steelworks), had an annual production capacity of around 840,000 tons of raw iron and 1,320,000 tons of raw steel. At the outbreak of the war, it employed around 20,000 people. Within the German Reich, the Bochum Verein was the sixth largest producer of raw iron; within the nonmilitary market for finished products, it was one of the five largest producers of railway tracks and rolling railway equipment as well as high-quality wrought and cast iron.

Even in the first years following the National Socialist seizure of power, the Verein had cooperated with the German government and Wehrmacht leadership and had taken part, initially in secret, in the production of arms in violation of the Versailles Treaty. The Verein showed its symbiotic relationship to the regime with close cooperation with the National Socialist regime and its organizations, such as the Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German Labor Front, DAF) and the Nationalsozialistische Betriebszellenorganisation (National Socialist Factory Cells Organization, NSBO). It realized the "synchronization" (*Gleichschaltung*) of its employees and their indoctrination: as head of the DAF, Robert Ley eventually awarded the Verein a prize as the first company to be a National Socialist Model Enterprise (*Nationalsozialistischer Musterbetrieb*).

With the outbreak of World War II, the Verein became one of the most important manufacturers of 8.8-centimeter flak guns, 8.8-centimeter to 38-centimeter gun barrels (which as semifinished products [*Halbfertigprodukte*] were delivered to other weapons manufacturers), as well as medium-sized bombs, shells of various calibers, torpedo parts, and cast-iron pieces for the production of aircraft engines.

As early as 1939, there already was a shortage of labor in the armaments sector. This situation dramatically worsened after the outbreak of the war as younger employees were called up. As a result, the company's management used its close connections with the National Socialist regime, relying on the strategic importance of the company to insist upon the allocation of foreign forced laborers and prisoners of war (POWs).

In January 1944, forced laborers and POWs constituted more than 38 percent of the Verein's total labor force: 15,261 Germans (including 3,071 women); 820 male and 967 female "eastern workers" (*Ostarbeiter*); 1,149 male and 28 female laborers mostly from West European countries; 774 French

and 1,509 Soviet POWs; and 575 Italian military internees (IMIs).

As the number of German employees continually and significantly declined due to call-ups to the Wehrmacht and the labor potential in areas occupied by German troops was largely exhausted due to the forcible recruitment of labor, the company's management examined the possibility of using concentration camp prisoners in the first half of 1944. It finally followed the examples of other armaments producers such as Rheinmetall-Borsig AG in Düsseldorf-Derendorf and demanded from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) concentration camp prisoners to assemble artillery and flak shells.

The agreement reached between the company management and SS meant that 3,500 prisoners would be used in the production of munitions. On June 27, 1944, a detachment of 446 prisoners with guards arrived in Bochum; the task of this advance detachment was initially to enlarge a small barracks camp to accommodate this number of prisoners; the barracks were located in the western area of the Stahlindustrie factory in the area of the Brüll- and Kohlenstrasse. About 1,000 prisoners were employed in the erection of standardized barracks.¹ To prevent the escape of prisoners, the area was surrounded with a 1,900-meter-long (2,078-yard-long) electrified barbed-wire fence.²

It would seem that leading members of the firm were active in the various death camps in recruiting prisoners for later labor detachments: journeys to Auschwitz and Buchenwald meant that the prisoners with relevant qualifications or work experience as well as the necessary physical constitution could be chosen for the heavy work to be done in the armaments foundry.

An initial labor detachment of 210 prisoners, the majority Soviet citizens as well as Poles, Lithuanians, Croats, and Czechs, who were recruited also from other concentration camps and transferred to Buchenwald left Weimar on August 11, 1944. There were other prisoner transports, but it is no longer possible, due to the destruction of files, to reconstruct completely those dates and figures: By September 23, 1944, the Bochum Verein subcamp had 1,213 prisoners, and by November 19, it had reached 1,706 prisoners, which would be the maximum number. On March 16, 1945, the day the camp was dissolved and the prisoners transported back to Buchenwald, there were 1,356 prisoners. (The date of March 3 is often mentioned as the date the camp was evacuated, but it is incorrect. A prisoner died and was buried in Bochum on March 16, 1945. Numerous references in the trial files from after 1945 suggest that the camp was evacuated on March 16.) The determining cause for the dissolution of the subcamp was the closeness of the front and the large-scale destruction of road and rail connections, which made practically impossible the dispatch of the shells produced by the Verein to the munitions firms that filled them with explosives.

The prisoners did heavy physical labor in the projectile foundry in high temperatures; mostly it was unskilled work. The company paid the SS command in Buchenwald 6 Reichsmark (RM) per day for skilled labor and 4 RM per day for

unskilled labor. The Bochum Verein also initiated a system of reward for above-average production—for poor output and so-called loafing (*Bummelei*), the prisoners were beaten and mistreated by the SS guards, foremen, and the company. For good performance, bonuses were given of 0.30 to 0.50 RM per day, which could be cashed in at the camp's canteen for goods. The company revealed this bonus system in preparing its defense against a possible charge before the International Military Tribunal in Nürnberg.³

The claim of good and humane treatment of prisoners made by leading employees of the Verein initially before the U.S. military courts and later before the German criminal courts is in great contrast to the actual treatment of the concentration camp prisoners and must be seen as a defense strategy. Between July 6, 1944, and March 16, 1945, there were 93 recorded deaths at the subcamp, and the bodies were buried in Bochum cemeteries; at first they were interred in urns, but after the city crematorium was destroyed in an air raid on November 4, 1944, the prisoners who died were buried.⁴ More than 62 percent of the dead were 45 or older. The oldest known victim was Márton Biro, born on December 5, 1878, and the youngest was the mechanic Hans Latter, born on July 7, 1928.

The exact number of victims is unknown, in part because in January 1945 the SS put together a transport of 198 “unusable labor” (*unbrauchbare Arbeitskräfte*), many of whom died from their injuries and illnesses after being sent to Buchenwald.⁵

Prosecution of the crimes against humanity committed between June 1944 and March 1945 in the Bochum Verein subcamp by members of the SS proved difficult due to the lack of evidence: the camp commander SS-Hauptsturmführer Hermann Grossmann was convicted by a U.S. military court, sentenced to death, and executed for crimes committed at Bochum and elsewhere. According to prisoners, the foreman Emil Vogel shot 3 Russian concentration camp prisoners during an air raid on November 4, 1944, for stealing potatoes from the camp kitchen and murdered another 30 prisoners on March 16, 1945, because they did not immediately obey his command to climb into the goods wagons lined up to evacuate the prisoners. It was also alleged that he tortured a prisoner because he did not produce enough and that the prisoner died from his injuries while being transported back to Buchenwald. Vogel was acquitted on October 7, 1947, for any homicides due to lack of evidence but was sentenced to four years' hard labor for injuring a prisoner, which caused death. His time in prisons from April 1945 was taken into account when determining the sentence.⁶

The bricklayers' foreman Wilhelm Korbhöfer, an employee of the Verein, was in charge of the construction of the barracks camp for the concentration camp work detachment and for repairing it after air raids. He later admitted to having beaten prisoners who did not produce enough or who loafed, with iron bars, work tools, and other objects. He was sentenced to one year's imprisonment in 1949 for aggravated assault in 200 cases.⁷ Karl Lellesch, who had a supervisory role in the foundry, was sentenced in the same proceedings to three months' imprisonment on two accounts of aggravated assault; Heinrich Bischoff, who among other things was in

charge of distributing the midday meal and had repeatedly beaten prisoners, was sentenced to jail for one month.

SOURCES During the evacuation of the Bochum Verein subcamp, it would seem that the camp files were completely destroyed. Historians, therefore, are limited to relying on the limited correspondence between Bochum and Weimar and the Veränderungsnachweise of the central Schreibstube, which are available at AG-B. There are remnants of files in the BA as well as in the files of cemetery administrations in Bochum and neighboring cities. The Bochum Friedhofsverwaltung kept detailed records of cremations of the concentration camp inmates until the destruction of the crematorium, and after its destruction on November 4, 1944, the burials were recorded. This was also the case for burials in neighboring cities. The ASt-Boc holds the trial records for Wilhelm Korbhöfer. Important details can be gained from the published memoirs of former prisoners and the documents of the ILKB, *Bericht des Internationalen Lagerkomitees des KZ Buchenwald* (Offenbach: VKS, 1997). Also important are the trial transcripts, which the U.S. military courts conducted against former SS guards in Buchenwald and its subcamps for crimes against humanity, which are available at NARA and AG-B. A document reproduced from AG-B, listing the known dead at the Bochum Verein subcamp, may be found in Manfred Keller et al., eds., *Gedenkbuch: Opfer der Shoa in Bochum und Wattenscheid* (Bochum: Kamp, 2000), pp. 36–39.

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NOTES

1. Urteil des LG Bochum gegen Wilhelm Korbhöfer et al. vom 24. Mai 1949 (2 Ks 14/48), ASt-Boc, ZGS.
2. Details in *USA v. Max Paul Emil Vogel* (File No. 12–390-VOL-12), AG-B.
3. Fremdarbeitereinsatz beim Bochumer Verein, HAK, WA80794300.1, p. 17.
4. A list of named prisoners who died in the Bochum subcamp based on the Veränderungsmeldungen der Schreibstube des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald, AG-B.
5. ILKB, *Bericht des Internationalen Lagerkomitees des KZ Buchenwald* (Offenbach: VKS, 1997), p. 112. According to this source and the number of dead recorded in the *Gedenkbuch* (Manfred Keller et al., eds., *Gedenkbuch: Opfer der Shoa in Bochum und Wattenscheid* [Bochum: Kamp, 2000]), the number of dead in the Bochum Verein subcamp is at least 115. This number does not include the number of prisoners who, weakened by the inhuman treatment, physical abuse, or work accidents, were transported back to the main camp.
6. AG-B, Veränderungsmeldungen der Schreibstube des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald.
7. Ibid.

BOCHUM (EISEN- UND HÜTTENWERKE)

Among the over 100 camps established in Bochum, including prisoner-of-war (POW) and forced labor camps, three subcamps administered by the Buchenwald main camp were constructed to supply inmate laborers to various firms and construction projects in and around Bochum and Wattenscheid. In

late August 1944, one such Buchenwald subcamp was opened on Castroper Strasse. This camp, distinct from both the SS-Baubrigade III (Construction Brigade III) work Kommando and the Brüllstrasse subcamp at Bochumer Verein, was built to provide workers to the Eisen- und Hüttenwerke AG (later Stahlwerke Bochum). The provision of labor to the factory stemmed from an agreement forged between the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the administration of the Eisen- und Hüttenwerke. Eisen- und Hüttenwerke paid the WVHA a rate of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per day per skilled worker and 4 RM per day per unskilled worker. For the month of December 1944, the firm owed the WVHA 76,098 RM for the laborers it “employed.”¹ The workers, however, were not compensated for their labor.

Eisen- und Hüttenwerke manufactured steel parts, including armor plating, sheeting for V-2 rockets, and other armaments production. With 400 inmates deported from the Buchenwald main camp to Bochum, a camp with several barracks surrounded by electrical fencing was opened on Castroper Strasse on August 20 or 21, 1944. On September 16, 1944, at least two transports of prisoners were deported from Buchenwald to Bochum Eisen- und Hüttenwerke: one with 250 prisoners, the other with 185 prisoners.² The prisoners were predominantly Polish, Russian, and French. All were men, and there were both Jews and non-Jews in the camp. Several transports of Hungarian Jews were transferred from Buchenwald in July and August 1944 to Bochum, and although most were sent to the Buchenwald subcamp at Bochumer Verein, some Hungarian Jews may have been deported to the camp at Eisen- und Hüttenwerke as well. According to an examination of the fate of Jews in Bochum and Wattenscheid by Günter Gleising and others, the number of inmates imprisoned in the Bochum Eisen- und Hüttenwerke camp reached at least 932 during its seven-month operation.

According to Gleising’s study, working conditions in the Buchenwald subcamps in Bochum were generally similar. Prisoners worked at least 12 hours per day, often in the terrible heat of the steel and ammunition factories, under the brutal supervision of SS guards and civilian foremen. According to one former inmate who was deported from Győr (Hungary) to Auschwitz II-Birkenau, Buchenwald, and then Bochum, working conditions for the inmates were oppressive, and only the strongest inmates could survive the persistent hunger and the beatings meted out by their supervisors.³ Food rations were meager and amounted only to small portions of bread, watery soup, and on occasion, margarine and sausage. Another inmate reported that as punishment for the slightest transgression or dissatisfactory work performance, the already inadequate rations were withdrawn.⁴ According to former inmate reports, many prisoners died due to physical deterioration from the harsh conditions.⁵

Concerning prisoner demographics and increases and decreases in prisoner numbers, one report lists that by January 1945 there were 648 inmates in the Bochum Eisen- und Hüttenwerke camp, and on March 6, 1945, there were 632 inmates.⁶ A report submitted by the Standortarzt (garrison doctor) der Waffen-SS on January 31, 1945, listed the number of inmates in

Bochum Eisen- und Hüttenwerke at 634.⁷ Some information about death rates and causes of death in the Bochum subcamps can be gleaned from reports submitted to the political department in Buchenwald from the SS medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad) who oversaw the operation of infirmaries in the outlying Kommandos. According to reports submitted in January and February 1945, at least 21 inmates died in “Bochum” (with no further specification as to which camp in Bochum) from “heart muscle degeneration,” tuberculosis, “general bodily weakness,” dysentery, and bronchial pneumonia.⁸ According to a weekly report to the infirmary in Buchenwald submitted by the Standortarzt der Waffen-SS on March 25, 1945, 2,000 men from “Kommando Bochum” (no further breakdown by subcamp provided) were transferred back to Buchenwald on March 21, 1945: 35 percent were “physically weakened,” 44 were to be placed in the infirmary, and 16 had died.⁹

The SS medic in charge of supervising the infirmary in Bochum was named Brinkmann. According to the same brief, there were 42 guards in Bochum Eisen- und Hüttenwerke at the end of January 1945.¹⁰

With the approach of Allied troops, the camp at the Bochumer Eisen- und Hüttenwerke was dissolved at the end of March 1945, and the inmates were transported back to Buchenwald and registered there on March 21, 1945. A March 25 listing of Kommandos, from which inmates were evacuated due to “enemy approach,” shows that 616 inmates were evacuated from Bochum Eisen- und Hüttenwerke.¹¹ Inmates transferred to the Buchenwald main camp in March were most likely sent to the Mittelbau main camp in Nordhausen because the Buchenwald camp was overflowing with prisoners by this time. Allied troops entered Bochum and the surrounding area on April 10, 1945.

SOURCES Little information about the Bochum subcamp at Eisen- und Hüttenwerke can be found in either secondary or primary sources. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, employer, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Bochum in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979). For specific information about the various camps in Bochum prior to and during World War II, see Günter Gleising et al., *Die Verfolgung der Juden in Bochum und Wattenscheid: Die Jahre 1933–1945 in Berichten, Bildern und Dokumenten* (Altenberge: Wurf-Verlag, VVN Bochum, 1993).

Primary documentation on the Bochum subcamp and other satellites of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. See in particular a collection of transport lists to the Bochum camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially Reel 16. See also BA, NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, especially volumes 176–185. These volumes contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp populations. The BA NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at USHMMA, RG-14.023M. Duplicates of transport lists, as well as “strength reports” for various subcamps, can be found in USHMMA,

1996.A.0342 (originally copied from NARA A3355), Reels 146–180. Further analysis of these reports might yield additional detailed information about the exact daily “arrivals” to and “departures” from the subcamps of Buchenwald. Registration cards and prisoner questionnaires that provide information about individual inmates can be found in NARA, RG 242. Finally, firsthand witness accounts of living conditions within the camps in Bochum are recorded in various oral testimony repositories. See especially the MZML, which contain thousands of testimonies from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by DEGOB. Several protocols describe conditions in the Bochum camps; see especially protocols 1163, 1542, 2158, 1677, and 2049.

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NOTES

1. Extracts of report for December 1944 of the Chief of Labor Allocation, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, dated January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, in *TWC*, 6: 759–767.

2. “Transport EW Bochum,” September 16, 1944, Buchenwald (BU 47) and “Transport EW Bochum,” September 16, 1944 (BU 47), AN, Secretariat D’État aux Anciens Combattants as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).

3. MZML, DEGOB Protocol 2158 (M.F.).

4. DEGOB Protocol 1677 (L.J.), MZML.

5. DEGOB Protocols 2158 (M.F.), 1808 (S.E.), 1677 (L.J.), MZML.

6. “Aussenkommandos” (BU 39), AN reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).

7. “KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt,” Weimar-Buchenwald, January 31, 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung; Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1983), p. 253.

8. “Verstorbene Häftlinge in den Aussenkommandos,” Weimar/Buchenwald January 24, January 26, and February 27, 1945 (BU 36/3), AN copied in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).

9. “Kurzer Wochenbericht Krankenbau KL Buchenwald,” Weimar-Buchenwald, March 25, 1945, as published in Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, pp. 257–258.

10. “KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt,” Weimar-Buchenwald, January 31, 1945, as published in Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, p. 253.

11. “Nach Buchenwald wegen Feindnähe zurückgenommene Kommandos,” March 25, 1945 (BU 36), AN copied in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).

BÖHLEN

As the last of the four refineries of the Braunkohle-Benzin AG (Brown Coal-Gasoline AG, Brabag), the Böhlen facility requested workers from the Organisation Todt (OT) in mid- to late June 1944, in order to repair the damage from Allied air attacks. As of mid-May, Böhlen had had sufficient construction workers at its disposal and therefore did not consider requesting concentration camp inmates, while the remaining three Brabag facilities (Magdeburg, Schwarzheide, and Zeitz) immediately fell back upon camp prisoners to deal with the damage from the

Allied bombardment. Weeks after the speaker of the board (*Vorstandssprecher*) and SS-Brigadeführer Fritz Kranefuss organized prisoner contingents for Zeitz and Magdeburg in negotiations with his friend and chief of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Oswald Pohl, Böhlen—which began operations in February 1936 as the first of Brabag’s hydrogenation works—finally did become interested in additional workers and concentration camp prisoners. The OT-Einsatzgruppe IV “Kyffhäuser,” which had begun to build up regional organization and personnel structures, was not in a position to deal with the request. The OT’s difficulties in coordinating the requests angered Edmund Geilenberg, head of the war economy emergency program that bore his name. He intervened personally, threatening to inform Albert Speer of the OT’s failure. In any event, Geilenberg kept Speer constantly up to date on the progress of the important Geilenberg construction sites, including the use of prisoners. Geilenberg demanded concentration camp prisoners by telegram from Gerhard Maurer (WVHA Office Group DII),¹ and at the end of July 1944, a Buchenwald subcamp was established at Böhlen. The SS transported 1,080 prisoners, mostly of East European origin, to Böhlen. Some publications have put the number at 800, but this is too low. SS-Hauptsturmführer Albert Schwartz, in charge of the labor deployment at the Buchenwald concentration camp, inspected the subcamp in accordance with the usual practice.

As in all Brabag factories, the prisoners were used to construct bunkers and do heavy cleanup and construction work in the destroyed factory and the surrounding area. Manager Herbert von Felbert, who was simultaneously the Geilenberg representative at the factory, coordinated construction work and had the power to give directions to and make decisions for the SS. Because the facility was thus embedded in the Geilenberg program, the prisoners’ work for the factory was free. The Reich government reimbursed Brabag for the costs of hiring out the prisoners from the SS as well as for the cost of their accommodation and food. The factory’s medical officer, Dr. Eckardt, was responsible for the prisoners’ and guards’ medical care.² At the beginning of September 1944, there were 80 guards; at the end of October, 113. Most of them were probably former Wehrmacht soldiers. There are scarcely any details about the prisoners’ working and living conditions as the German Democratic Republic’s successor to the Böhlen factory had all remaining contemporary documents destroyed in 1989–1990. In October 1944, the SS recorded that more than 10 percent of the prisoners were sick. More than 60 prisoners who could no longer work were transported via shuttle service back to Buchenwald and replaced with new prisoners. The dead were likewise transported from the subcamp back to the main camp on the Ettersberg. The usual cremation of corpses in a neighboring city crematorium did not take place. The death rate in Böhlen, in comparison to those in the Brabag camps in Magdeburg, Schwarzheide, and Zeitz, was low. Although the construction and cleanup work was similar in all four camps, and although these counted among the notorious construction commandos, no more than a dozen prisoners died in Böhlen. In contrast to the other three Brabag camps, which clearly ex-

isted longer, in Böhlen the prisoners were not Jewish, and so the SS and the company allowed them much better chances for survival than were allowed to Jews. More than 30 prisoners, that is, more than 3 percent, were able to escape.³

On November 28, 1944, four months after its establishment, the SS and Brabag dissolved the camp so as to facilitate the transfer of the Brabag factory in Magdeburg to an underground site in Königstein, south of Dresden. Brabag sent 977 prisoners from Böhlen in two groups, on November 14 and November 28, to the Flossenbürg subcamp at Königstein, which was located at the foot of the Königstein castle in the Elbsandstein mountains. The factory manager, von Felbert, had organized the “internal” transfer of the prisoners to the newly established subcamp. In so doing he saved the Königstein Brabag management, who operated not under the name of Brabag but the dummy firm Sandsteinwerke Kohl & Co. Pirna, the time-consuming process of requesting labor from the WVHA.⁴

At the beginning of February 1945 the SS and Brabag in Böhlen reactivated their cooperation. Based upon special authority given by Heinrich Himmler to SS-Brigadeführer Hans Kammler (February 5, 1945), and upon a discussion with Kranefuss, an unknown number of prisoners under SS-Sturmabführer Karl Bischoff were forced to recommence construction work. Bischoff had been in charge of the Zentralbauleitung (Central Construction Administration) in Auschwitz and had been responsible for the construction of crematoria and gas chambers. In Böhlen the factory manager, von Felbert, had the power to instruct the SS.⁵

SOURCES The Böhlen subcamp is mentioned in Karl-Heinz Gräfe and Hans-Jürgen Töpfer’s work *Ausgesondert und fast vergessen. KZ-Aussenlager auf dem Territorium des heutigen Sachsen* (Dresden: Verein für Regionale Geschichte und Politik, 1996) and is referred to in the authors’s book *Ein KZ in der Nachbarschaft: Das Magdeburger Aussenlager der Brabag und der “Freundeskreis Himmler”* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004). See also the authors’s “Ingenieure als Täter. Die ‘Geilenberg-Lager’ und die Delegation von Macht,” in *Lagersystem und Repräsentation. Interdisziplinäre Forschungen zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager*, ed. R. Gabriel et al. (Tübingen, 2004), pp. 46–70.

The Brabag factory files are held in part in the StA-Lg and the BrA-K. In YV as well as AG-B there are deportation lists, and in the BA-B—Bestand R 3 and R 121—are the Geilenberg files relating to Böhlen.

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NOTES

1. BA, R 3112/179.

2. Ebd. Bl. 179 u. 196; and BA, NS 4/ Bu, Nr. 210, passim; LHASA-Me, Brabag Zeitz, Nr. 156, p. 13.

3. YV, Microfilm Bu 16 and Bu 17; BA, NS 4/Bu, 136a, pp. 103–146.

4. AG-B, HKW 1, Transportverzeichnis; BA, R 3/1907, p. 79; and R121/1335, Schreiben Brabag an Inko, August 11, 1948.

5. BA, NS 3/457, p. 1.

BRAUNSCHWEIG

On September 13, 1941, a subcamp of Buchenwald was created at the SS-Junkerschule (Elite Officers’ School) in Braunschweig. Opened in 1935 in a castle, the Braunschweig Junkerschule was one of three academies established to educate future members of the SS. The SS-Junkerschule, an educational system independent of Wehrmacht military training, was created to instill the tenets of National Socialist ideology and history in future SS members. The school system was steeped in the legendary ties of the SS to its alleged Teutonic past (*Junker* means “knight” or “cadet”). The pedagogy, coupled with the administrative independence and physical isolation of the Junkerschule, ensured total ideological and personal control over SS trainees.

Inmates deported to Braunschweig from the Buchenwald main camp were employed in construction and various kinds of repair work at the Junkerschule. In October 1941, the administration of the Junkerschule made a request to the labor service office in Buchenwald for 10 painters, 3 wallpaper hangers, 2 joiners, 1 metalworker, and 1 carpenter, for a total of 17 inmates. The Junkerschule “rented” the inmates at 4 Reichsmark (RM) per day per inmate, although the inmates were not compensated for their work.¹ According to the same request report, housing, food, and guard staff were to be provided by the SS-Junkerschule, and the Buchenwald camp would send one Blockführer (block leader). Moreover, an agreement for the transfer of prisoners to the Braunschweig Junkerschule was “personally reached” between the head of the administration at the SS-Junkerschule, SS-Sturmabführer Mohr, and the commandant of Buchenwald, then SS-Obersturmbannführer Karl Koch (later Pister, see below). Those unfit for work in the detachment were selected by the chief of “protective custody” camp “E” (Schutzhaftlagerführer “E”). According to this report, prisoner work at Braunschweig was slated to begin on September 17, 1941, and would last until October 31, 1941.² However, as is noted below, inmates were reinstated in the camp in early 1942 after a temporary cessation of inmate work in November 1941. The first group of inmates was transferred back to the Buchenwald camp in October.

After the brief closure of the camp, the administration of the SS-Junkerschule submitted another request to the main camp for inmates for repair work at the school in February 1942. At least 20 prisoners were transferred to Braunschweig to paint and to perform other kinds of maintenance. According to a telex message undersigned by the commandant of Buchenwald, SS-Obersturmbannführer Hermann Pister, the Junkerschule requested the 20 inmates for a period of four weeks to work on the construction of a music school. Pister also noted that another block leader would have to be sent to the detachment from Buchenwald.³ This initial four-week period was extended, and in April 1942, inmates were still stationed at the school. Correspondence between Mohr and the head of the labor service office (Arbeitserziehungsführer) in Buchenwald, SS-Hauptsturmführer Philipp Grimm, reveals that Mohr wished to continue inmate work at the school,

although the original agreement stated that the prisoners were to be returned to Buchenwald in March.⁴ However, arrangements were made to have these 20 exchanged for other prisoners, and additional skilled and unskilled inmate workers were transferred to the camp. A report on the prisoner labor service in the Braunschweig Junkerschule for the month of June 1942 shows that in the first half of the month there were between 25 and 30 skilled workers and 28 unskilled workers. In the latter part of that month, the number dropped to 13 skilled workers and no unskilled workers.⁵

According to a memo dated July 30, 1942, from the administration of the school to Office (Amt) IV of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), a request was submitted for 6 additional inmates for "urgent repair work" in the month of August.⁶ No further information about the inmates, their working and living conditions, or possible escape and resistance attempts could be found. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) lists of camps, the camp was last mentioned in contemporary records on May 7, 1943. However, there is no indication whether the inmates were exchanged with Buchenwald on an as-needed basis—as was the case in 1941 and 1942—or if the same group of 13 inmates remained there until 1943.

SOURCES Little information about the Braunschweig subcamp can be found in either secondary or primary sources. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, and private firms that exploited camp labor, see the entry for Buchenwald/Braunschweig in Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which includes ITS information. For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983). Additional information on the SS-Junkerschule can be found in Jay Hatheway's *In Perfect Formation: SS Ideology and the SS-Junkerschule-Tölz* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Pub., 1999); and Richard Schulze-Kossens, "Offiziersnachwuchs der Waffen-SS: Die SS-Junkerschulen," in *Deutsches Soldatenjahrbuch 1979* (Munich: Schild Verlag, 1979).

Primary documentation on the Braunschweig subcamp and other subcamps of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. See, in particular, BA, NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, particularly volumes 205 and 209. These and other volumes from this collection, including volumes 176–185, contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp populations. The BA NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the archives of the USHMM, RG-14.023M. Duplicates of transport lists, as well as "strength reports" for various subcamps, can be found in the archives of the USHMM, 1996. A.0342 (originally copied from the NARA, A3355), Reels 146–180. Further research on these reports would yield additional detailed information about the exact daily "arrivals" to and "de-

partures" from the subcamps of Buchenwald. Registration cards and prisoner questionnaires that yield detailed information about individual inmates can be found in NARA, RG 242.

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NOTES

1. "Instandsetzungsarbeiten in den Kasernen u. Unterkünften," October 8, 1941, BA, NS 4 (Buchenwald) Band 205, Fiche 1, as copied at the archives of the USHMM, RG.14.023M (hereafter BA, Band 205).

2. Ibid.

3. "Fernschreiben, Nr.: 379; Konzentrationslager Buchenwald/Weimar-Buchenwald," February 12, 1942, BA, Band 205, Fiche 1.

4. "Aktenvermerk," April 17, 1942, and "Aktennotiz," April 17, 1942, BA, Band 205, Fiche 1.

5. "Forderungsnachweis," June 1942, BA, Band 205, Fiche 1.

6. SS-Junkerschule Braunschweig Verwaltung, An das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt, "Gestellung von 6 Häftlingen," July 30, 1942, BA, Band 209.

BUTTELSTEDT

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Buttelstedt (Weimar district) in April 1941 with 30 male prisoners. The inmates, most likely transferred from the Buchenwald main camp, were deported to Buttelstedt to work for the Firma Schlosser company. The camp was last mentioned on September 27, 1943, with five prisoners.

SOURCES There are no secondary and few primary sources on the Buttelstedt subcamp of Buchenwald. This entry derives from the outline of basic information (opening and closing dates, location, and so on) provided 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).

Likewise, primary documents with information about the Buttelstedt subcamp are scarce. For Buchenwald administrative records, see USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045, a collection of documents copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from ITS. This collection may contain further information on the Buttelstedt camp that can be derived from Buchenwald strength reports; a more thorough analysis of the collection may yield more details, such as prisoner demographics. Finally, additional records on the subcamps of Buchenwald, including the Buttelstedt camp, may be found at AG-B and AG-MD.

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COLDITZ

The Buchenwald Colditz subcamp was one of seven camps that were established by Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) in the last year of the war in Germany and that survived until the end of the war. This camp was established on a factory site 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) southeast of Leipzig. At its peak, a maximum of 650 Jewish men were engaged in construction work for an

armaments factory.¹ The camp was opened on November 29, 1944, and closed on April 14, 1945, when the prisoners were forcibly marched out of the camp.² The subcamp should not be confused with the early concentration camp and the later prisoner-of-war (POW) camp (Oflag IV-C), which at different times were located in the castle in the small city of Colditz.

The Leipzig lamp manufacturer HASAG from 1934 manufactured munitions, grenades, and toward the end of the war, the *Panzerfaust*, an important antitank weapon. In six forced labor camps including Kielce, Częstochowa, and Skarżysko-Kamienna, the firm produced munitions from 1942, using thousands of Jewish forced laborers. As a result of German war losses, the HASAG began from the summer of 1944 to relocate to new and existing production sites in Saxony and Thuringia. In 1944, in Colditz, HASAG took over several production facilities from a porcelain manufacturer and contracted with construction firms for their conversion into a prison camp and assembly plant. The southern part of the site was separated from the rest with an electric fence and guard towers. Colditz was chosen as the site for a HASAG subcamp due to the existing connection of the site to the Reichsbahn railway network and its proximity to the main production site in Leipzig. Civilian Polish forced laborers worked on the site with the Jewish concentration camp prisoners. The former were accommodated in the Colditz guesthouse with their own barracks.

Colditz had been initially planned as a camp for women, but on November 29, 1944, 100 men were delivered to the camp. Others were soon to follow. The Buchenwald camp statistics record the camp as a Jewish labor detachment. The men had been selected for forced labor in Colditz, in Buchenwald, or at the HASAG Leipzig camp. Just about all of the Jewish prisoners in Colditz had been seized in Poland or Hungary. A few of the Poles had worked in HASAG factories in Poland. Among the Hungarian prisoners were probably many elderly men, even though the fragmentary records that have survived cannot confirm this. The prisoners were first engaged in the construction of the camp. Prisoners have reported that they worked on an air-raid bunker, on unloading railway wagons that were shunted into the company grounds, and on assembly operations, for example, removing screws from metal plates. It is not known whether the prisoners actually worked in the Colditz production sites producing weapons and *Panzerfäuste*. In addition to the construction work for HASAG, the prisoners worked outside the camp grounds. A group of 10 prisoners worked in the privately owned Colditz gravel pit, extracting sand for the HASAG.

After three transports, on December 5, 1944, the camp had approximately 300 prisoners. These numbers were to remain relatively constant until the middle of February. The transport lists show that occasionally "sick or prisoners incapable of work" were transferred back to Buchenwald and replaced with new prisoners.³ A new transport on February 21, 1945, brought another 350 prisoners to the camp so that by the time the camp was dissolved in the middle of April, there were about 650 prisoners in the camp. On April 7, 1945, the last time the camp is referred to in the statistics of the work detachments' strength

report (*Stärkemeldung*), there were 633 prisoners listed.⁴ In the five months of the camp's existence to April 7, 1945, at least 23 prisoners died, 15 in the last three weeks alone.⁵ Seventy-three prisoners were transferred back to the main camp. Of these, some could have died because of illness and exhaustion caused by forced labor. According to the change of status reports (*Veränderungsmeldungen*), 719 prisoners went through the camp.

The accommodations in the camp were rudimentary. The prisoners lived in converted factory buildings where there were multitiered bunk beds. The small stoves in the sleeping quarters were inadequate to heat the rooms, according to the former prisoner Endre György, with the result that the prisoners constantly were cold during the winter months.⁶ The infirmary was an area in the factory building separated by a wall of sacking. The prisoners had an open pit as a toilet located outside the factory building. A former HASAG worker stated that some SS enjoyed throwing bricks at the prisoners while they were using the toilet.

SS-Oberscharführer Gens was the detachment commander in Colditz. He is described in numerous reports by survivors as a sadist, who without the slightest reason would injure the prisoners with a bayonet. Gens's deputy was SS-Oberscharführer Zischka. Only the surnames of both are referred to in the documents. The prisoners also recalled that the head of the Colditz company security, Herrmann, was also a brutal character and had probably worked in a HASAG Polish factory. In addition to the SS and company security, Wehrmacht soldiers also guarded the prisoners.

While the prisoners were working, they were supervised by civilian foremen, who had considerable influence on the prisoners' situation. For example, there were foremen who beat the prisoners, and there were others who gave the prisoners additional food. A female inhabitant in Colditz gave the prisoners working in the gravel pit daily reports, based on Allied reports, on the course of the war. This news spread throughout the camp, encouraging the prisoners to survive.

The camp was dissolved on April 14, 1945, the day before a U.S. tank division arrived in Colditz.⁷ A few prisoners tried to hide in the factory grounds, but they were discovered and shot in front of the other prisoners. It is likely that the prisoners, along with a group of 1,000 prisoners from Jena, were driven on a death march in the direction of Theresienstadt. Along the way the group was separated and went different ways. There is some evidence that during the march many prisoners were shot because they were too tired to go on or while trying to escape. Gelhard Szymon stated that it was an 18-day death march to Theresienstadt; Dezsó Lichtner said that he went part of the way by train.⁸

Inconclusive investigations began in 1948–1949 into individual HASAG employees and Colditz camp personnel as part of the Leipzig trials against HASAG perpetrators in Poland.

SOURCES The Colditz subcamp is referred to in an essay on the HASAG men's subcamps: Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG,"

DaHe 21 (2005): 237–271. A local association is involved in researching the camp.

Documents on the Colditz subcamp are scattered through a number of archives. SS and HASAG documents relating to the camp have for the most part not survived. In YV, there are individual reports by surviving prisoners (Collections O.15. E, O.69, and O.3). Questionnaires were sent to survivors as part of the Leipzig “Tschenstochau (Czenstochowa) Trial” in 1948–1949 and also by *Kriegsverbrecher-Referats des Jüdischen Zentralkomitees* in Munich. They are also held in YV (Collections M.21.1 and M.21.3). Several detailed accounts by the Hungarian Endre György and a few documents are also held in the Colditz City Museum.

Martin Schellenberg
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. AG-B, 46–1–18.
2. NARA, Washington, RG 242, Film 25, Bl. 0015724–38.
3. NARA, Washington, RG 242, Film 25, Bl. 0015729.
4. ThHStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 9, Bl. 9.
5. ThHStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 10, Bl. 1–166.
6. SM-Cd, Endre György: *Kiesela und Albin* (German translation of a Hungarian report).
7. Otto Schuricht (*Antifaschistische Widerstandskämpfer des Kreises Döbeln*, Bd. 8), published by the SED-Kreisleitung Döbeln, Döbeln 1976, S. 30.
8. Report Gelhard Szymon, YVA, O.3/1574; Interview Dezsó Lichtner 2.7.45 in Budapest, YVA, O.15.E/692.

DERNAU (“REBSTOCK,” “RS,” “RB,” “MASSNAHME STEPHAN LAGER BRÜCK,” “FA. GOLLNOW UND SOHN,” “VOLKSWAGENWERKE DERNÄU”)

The concentration camp labor detachment at Dernau was located in Bad Neuenahr on the Ahr River in a narrow Eifel mountain valley in southwestern Germany between Koblenz and the Belgian border. The camp was established in early August 1944 on the initiative of Volkswagen executives after negotiations with the *Jägerstab* (Fighter Staff) and the SS. It was a subcamp of the Buchenwald main camp, under the authority of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). The Dernau camp is mentioned in contemporary sources under various code names: “Rebstock,” “Rs,” “RB,” “Massnahme Stephan Lager Brück” (so called after the leading Volkswagen engineer, Rudolph Stephan), “Fa. Gollnow und Sohn” (named after a Koblenz-based construction company), and “Volkswagenwerke Dernau.” In late December 1944, when Allied forces drew close to the area, the camp was evacuated, and the prisoners were transported to other concentration camps.

Dernau was a slave labor camp that provided manpower for the construction of underground production facilities for the Minette GmbH, a Volkswagen company assigned the production of Fi 103 (V-1) cruise missiles and fighter airplanes, and the SS company Mittelwerk GmbH. The Dernau facility consisted

of five tunnels that originally were part of the abandoned Ahr Valley railroad: the Silberberg, Kuxberg, Sonderberg, Herrenberg, and Trotzenberg tunnels, covering a total of 28,000 square meters (33,488 square yards). Under the code name “Kitz,” the tunnels had been placed under the authority of the Mittelwerk GmbH and used as a support base for A4 (Aggregat 4, V-2) rocket launching batteries; but in June 1944, when Hitler decided to cut down on V-2 production and have it concentrated in the underground Mittelwerk facility in the Harz mountains, Wernher von Braun agreed to give up a substantial part of the Dernau space to Volkswagen, the company then in charge of V-1 production. There were plans to install a V-1 production line with an output of 3,500—later 5,000—missiles a month in the tunnels, and in mid-July, the first 22 railway cars with equipment arrived from the Volkswagenwerk. The Mittelwerk remained in charge of the refurbishing project. The Trotzenberg tunnel, at 1,300 meters (1,422 yards) the longest, and the Kuxberg tunnel actually got to the point of production machinery being installed. But the facility never got beyond the point of preparations before Allied advance necessitated its evacuation.

The Dernau prisoners were forced to do hard refurbishing work such as concrete work and the laying of railway tracks, piping, and cables in the underground spaces. Construction and production specialists from Volkswagen and from the Koblenz company Gollnow und Sohn supervised the work site. Apart from concentration camp inmates and Germans, the workforce consisted of voluntary and forced laborers from various occupied countries, including 500 Italian Military Internees (*Italienische Militärinternierte*, IMIs).

The Dernau concentration camp was established on the initiative of Ferdinand Porsche and Anton Piëch, Volkswagen chief executives. The first camp commandant was an SS-Untersturmführer Jansen, who was later replaced by SS-Oberscharführer Schmidt. After an on-site inspection by Volkswagen personnel manager Georg Tyrolt, the first prisoners arrived on August 4 and August 8, two transports of 168 and 299 male prisoners from the German concentration camp in Amersfoort, the Netherlands. Buchenwald agreed to deploy 800 female Hungarian Jewish prisoners to Dernau, but no female prisoners ever arrived. However, the number of male prisoners eventually surpassed that figure and reached 1,200. Four hundred and forty-two prisoners arrived from Buchenwald on transports on August 21, August 23, September 4, and September 14. Dutch, French, and Russian prisoners were represented as well as other, smaller groups. The majority was non-Jewish, but a group of Hungarian Jewish prisoners who had been trained as specialists in V-1 manufacturing at the Volkswagenwerk main factory arrived on September 6 from the Thil concentration camp in northern France, which also operated on behalf of Minette.

Volkswagen’s failure to meet delivery and quality requirements led to the army’s withdrawal of its role as coordinator of V-1 production. Consequently, the Dernau facility never became a V-1 factory. As the V-1 production, too, was concentrated into the Mittelwerk in Nordhausen/Harz, most Dernau prisoners were transported to this facility and incar-

cerated in the Dora subcamp of the Mittelbau concentration camp. The first transports numbering some 500 prisoners left from Dernau on September 20 and 21, including the Hungarian Jewish group. The last transport of 199 prisoners from Dernau left for Dora on December 28, 1944; these prisoners had continued the underground refurbishing until then. Work was frequently delayed for shorter or longer periods due to lack of materials so that company payments to the SS for the prisoners' labor equaled only some 170 full-time workers in November and no more than 50 in December.

Evidence is scattered on the Dernau camp and its guard units, who were German SS. The prisoners' living conditions were awful, and accommodation was very primitive. The prisoners' barracks were located on the steep hillsides of the valley and apparently divided into a number of small separate compounds, each consisting of a few standard wooden huts with ordinary barbed-wire fences around them. Electrical fencing and watchtowers were lacking. The guards appear to have been just as brutal as in other camps, though. They frequently imparted punishments, floggings, and beatings when prisoners marching to or from work sneaked into the surrounding vineyards in order to ease their hunger and thirst with a few stolen grapes. Provisions in the camp were very poor. Even if there was no systematic killing of prisoners, several deaths occurred according to survivors' testimony.

SOURCES This description of the Dernau camp is primarily based on research by Therkel Straede and Manfred Grieger for Hans Mommsen et al., *Das Volkswagenwerk und seine Arbeiter im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf, 1996); see pp. 703, 824, 867, and 920 for detailed references to specific decisions, transports, and so on. Further brief topographical details are in Michael Preute, *Der Bunker* (Cologne, 1989), p. 47. Preliminary data are 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). A chapter on the camp is included in the author's forthcoming book *The Volkswagen Jews*.

Material on the Dernau concentration camp is scarce and scattered, but a number of substantial company records are held at the VWA. This institution and the ASt-WOB also hold copies of documents from AG-B, NIOD, YVA, Beit Lohamei Haghetat near Acco, Israel, NARA (USSBS), and BA-K. Survivors' accounts are plentiful but mostly consist of brief written and oral accounts, a substantial number of which were recorded by the author between 1988 and 2002 and are being held by VWA and USHMMA. Other accounts are held by YVA, MA, and VHF.

Therkel Straede

DESSAU (DESSAUER WAGGONFABRIK)

A subcamp attached to the main Buchenwald concentration camp was created in Dessau at the Dessauer Waggonfabrik in October 1944. Like other satellite camps, the camp was created close to a work site to provide labor to a private industrial firm, the Dessauer Waggonfabrik AG located in Dessau. To supplement their labor force, firms such as the Waggonfabrik

"rented" concentration camp prisoners from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a rate of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day. For the month of December 1944, the Dessauer Waggonfabrik owed the WVHA 29,226 RM for the laborers (not limited to concentration camp prisoners) that it "employed."¹

The first transport of 50 prisoners reached Dessau from Buchenwald on October 23, 1944.² Although there is no demographic breakdown on the transport list itself, the inmates appear to be predominantly Russian and Polish, and all were male. The largest transports of inmates to the Dessau camp arrived on November 29, 1944 (153 inmates) and December 4, 1944 (130 inmates).³ These inmates also appear to have originated from Russia and Poland, as well as the Netherlands, France, Latvia, and the Reich. Throughout the autumn of 1944 and early 1945, some inmates were transferred back to Buchenwald at various intervals, most likely due to illness and, at least in one instance, to retrieve supplies from the Buchenwald main camp.⁴ The average number of prisoners incarcerated in the Dessau plant during its five-month operation period was about 340.

There is no information available about the proximity or location of the subcamp to the factory. The company manufactured locomotives and railcars and was a subsidiary of the Orenstein & Koppel AG firm (Berlin). The prisoners were employed repairing railcars, among other kinds of work. A number of inmates were assigned specific "skilled" and functional positions, including roofers, carpenters, joiners, barbers, and electricians.⁵ No additional information about working or living conditions within the camp could be found.

According to a medical report filed by the Standortarzt der Waffen-SS Schiedlausky on January 31, 1945, there were 34 members in the guard staff of the subcamp. No name is listed for the SS medic (*Sanitätsdienstgrad*, SDG); however, one unnamed nurse is listed. According to this report, there were 341 inmates in the subcamp at this time.⁶ A January 23, 1945, report on deaths in the Aussenkommandos lists three prisoner deaths in the Dessau subcamp: one Latvian, one French, and one Russian, all suffering from pneumonia.⁷ A later report notes that on March 25, 1945, shortly before the camp was dissolved, there were 339 inmates in the camp.⁸

The camp closed on April 11, 1945.

SOURCES The Buchenwald subcamp located at the Dessauer Waggonfabrik appears infrequently in secondary literature. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, and companies who used laborers, see the entry for Buchenwald/Dessau (Waggonfabrik) in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*. Also see *Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979); and Martin Weinmann et al., *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The*

Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983).

Primary documentation on the Dessau subcamp and other subcamps of Buchenwald may be found in several archival collections. See, in particular, a collection of transport lists to the Dessauer Waggonfabrik camp and other administrative records copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from the ITS), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045, especially Reel 17. See the archives of the BA, NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald concentration camp, especially volumes 176–185, 191–196, 200, 211, and 213–230. These volumes contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp populations. The BA, NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the archives of the USHMM, RG-14.023M. Duplicates of transport lists, as well as “strength reports” for various subcamps, can be found in the archives of the USHMM, 1996.A.0342 (originally copied from the NARA, A3355), Reels 146–180 (especially 171 for Dessau). Further analysis of these reports may yield additional detailed information about the exact daily arrivals to and departures from the satellite camps of Buchenwald. Registration cards and prisoner questionnaires that provide information about individual inmates can be found in NARA, RG 242.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Extracts of report for December 1944 of the Chief of Labor Allocation, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, dated January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185; *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law no. 10* (New York: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1997), 6: 759–767.

2. “Transport Dessau,” October 23, 1944, Buchenwald (BU 64), AN, Secretariat D’État aux Anciens Combattants as reproduced in the archives of the USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 17).

3. “Transport Dessau,” November 29, 1944, and “Transport Dessau,” December 4, 1944 (BU 64), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 17).

4. Transports of one to seven inmates on various dates, including December 5, 16, and 22, 1944; January 5 and 6, 1945. See also “Rücküberweisung des Häftlinge Martynow Wladimir,” November 13, 1945, for a list of supplies from the Buchenwald camp (BU 64), Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 17).

5. See work assignments for inmates listed on transports for October 23, 1944, November 29, 1944, and December 4, 1944 (BU 8/12), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 7).

6. “KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt,” Weimar-Buchenwald, January 31, 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 253.

7. “Verstorbene Häftlinge in den Aussenkommandos,” January 23, 1945 (BU 36/3), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

8. “Aussenkommandos, Stand vom 6 März 1945,” (BU 35), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

DESSAU (JUNKERS FLUGZEUG- UND MOTORENWERKE)

A subcamp attached to the Buchenwald concentration camp was established at the Junkers Flugzeug-und Motorenwerke (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM) in Dessau in July 1944. Like other satellite camps, the camp was most likely created to provide labor to a private industrial firm, whose efficient and cost-effective production output was deemed important for the German rearmament effort. Concentration camp prisoners were “rented” by private firms, such as the Junkers factory, which paid the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) for their use of prisoner labor.

The JFM in Dessau was one of several production facilities for the manufacture of Junkers aircraft and aircraft parts. Originally founded in 1895, the Junkers facility in Dessau had expanded considerably by the end of World War I. By the beginning of World War II, armaments needs had so increased that production of Junkers aircraft was increasingly decentralized and spread to various facilities throughout Germany. [See Buchenwald/Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/Junkerswerke (“JUHA”) and Buchenwald/Schönebeck.]

No information about the exact location of the subcamp in relation to the Dessau Junkers facility could be found. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) lists, the camp was opened on July 25, 1944. All 50 of its prisoners were male, presumably transferred to Dessau from the main Buchenwald camp.

The Dessau Junkers facilities experienced several damaging air raids by the Allies throughout 1944 and early 1945. A large part of JFM was destroyed in a bombing attack on May 30, 1944. Therefore, the inmates transferred from Buchenwald to the subcamp may have been employed in clearing rubble and performing construction work.

The camp was closed in November 1944, and the city of Dessau and the Junkers plant were occupied by the U.S. Army in April 1945.

SOURCES The Buchenwald subcamp located at the Junkers factory in Dessau appears infrequently in secondary literature. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, and firms that exploited laborers, see the entry for Buchenwald/Dessau (Junkers) 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 (Arolson: Der Suchdienst, 1979); and Martin Weinmann et al., *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Doku-*

mente und Berichte (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983). Further information on the Dessau Junkers plant and industrialization of the city can be found in Manfred Sundermann, *Mechanische Stadt? Junkers Dessau* (Dessau: Anhalt Edition Dessau, 2003). The Hugo Junkers Web site, www.junkers.de.vu, also offers considerable information, bibliographies, and photographs of the various Junkers facilities and their history.

Primary documentation on the Dessau Junkers subcamp and other subcamps of Buchenwald may be found in several archival collections. See the archives of the BA, NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, especially volumes 176–185, 191–196, 200, 211, 213–230. These volumes contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp populations. The BA, NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the archives of the USHMM, RG-14.023M. Duplicates of transport lists, as well as “strength reports” for various subcamps, can be found at USHMM, 1996.A.0342 (originally copied from the NARA, A3355), Reels 146–180 (especially 171). Further analysis of these reports may yield additional detailed information about the exact daily arrivals to and departures from the satellite camps of Buchenwald. Registration cards and prisoner questionnaires that provide information about individual inmates can be found in NARA, RG 242. The Technik Museum “Hugo Junkers” Dessau may also have further archival holdings pertaining to the camp.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

DORNBURG

In the few remaining known sources on this subject, the prisoner detachment (Kommando) at Dornburg is listed as one of the smallest Buchenwald satellite camps. This subcamp, located on the River Elbe in the district of Zerbst, state of Anhalt, existed for only a short time.

Dornburg is first mentioned on March 21, 1945. This Kommando consisted exclusively of male prisoners. On that day four Russians, three Poles, and one German citizen were transferred from the main camp to this Kommando. For this “Dornburg Transport” the rations office provided them with food for one day’s march.¹ The surviving documents suggest that in the course of its brief existence neither a variation in the number of prisoners nor a prisoner exchange occurred. On March 21, as on April 11, 1945, the last time the camp is mentioned, the number of prisoners is listed as eight.²

The existing documents do not reveal any reasons for the establishment of this Kommando. Moreover, the occupations of the transferred inmates—joiner, carpenter, locksmith, mason, factory worker, and agricultural laborer—also do not permit conclusions about their employers or their deployment. A comparison of their trades recorded in the Kommando lists and in various other documents shows discrepancies in three cases. A comparison of the inmates’ numbers in Buchenwald’s labor statistics and its transport lists reveals that those inmates ultimately dispatched to Dornburg were originally slated for the

“Stein Transport.” No connection between these two camps can be determined.

Since the Kommando at Dornburg appears only at the very end of the war, shortly before the liberation of the main camp, and so few prisoners belonged to it, the paths of their persecution leading there—quite different in each case—are traced below.³

1. In 1943, arrested by the Radom Gestapo; sent to Auschwitz concentration camp by the Radom SD; from there sent to the main camp Buchenwald; from Buchenwald to Kommando Halle; sent back to the main camp and then to Dornburg.
2. Admission by the Weimar Gestapo of two prisoners to the Buchenwald main camp in March 1945 before the transport to Dornburg.
3. In 1944 the arrest of two prisoners in Warsaw; admitted to Buchenwald by the Kraków SD; from there sent to the Düsseldorf-Derendorf satellite camp; returned to main camp before being sent to Dornburg.
4. In 1943, arrest by the Dortmund Gestapo; transfer through Buchenwald to the Düsseldorf-Derendorf Kommando; sent back to the main camp; continued on to Kommando Halle; returned once again to Buchenwald and finally to Dornburg.
5. In 1943, arrested in Stalino and sent to Dachau by the Sipo (Security Police); then to Buchenwald; sent to Kommando Saalfeld and back to the main camp; in July 1944 sent to Kommando Halle, back to Buchenwald, and then to Dornburg.
6. In November 1944, arrested in Wolot; sent to Buchenwald by Münster Gestapo (field office Bielefeld); from there sent to Kommando Halle; back to the main camp and then to Dornburg.

In spite of these differences in length and other details of their persecution, all eight prisoners were liberated.

SOURCES No secondary sources were available.

Although this satellite camp existed only for a very short time, original documents—a transport list dated March 21, 1945, Voucher No. 25 from the Buchenwald rations department also dated March 21, 1945, and a report on the size of this labor detail dated March 29, 1945—provide historical evidence. Due to the small number of inmates, documents in possession of ITS could be evaluated, which furnished additional information.

Charles-Claude Biedermann
trans. Ute Stargardt

NOTES

1. ITS (signatures Buchenwald 33 [169], p. 96, Voucher No. 25 [Request of the first Schutzhaftlagerführer, the protective custody camp chief warden, to provisions department KL Bu.) contains information concerning the dietary provisions of inmates through reports by appropriate camp officials from March 1, 1945, to April 5, 1945.

2. ITS (signatures Buchenwald 160 [15], II, p. 641/labor details dated March 29, 1945)—the number of inmates is listed according to Kommando membership.

3. ITS contains such individual records as prisoners' personal information cards from Buchenwald, which frequently record the inmates' arrival and transfers.

DORTMUND

The first reference to the Buchenwald subcamp at Dortmund, in the area of the Dortmund-Hörder Iron and Steel Union, is found in the International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog.¹

The Dortmund-Hörder Iron and Steel Union had belonged to Vereinigte Stahlwerke (United Steelworks) since 1926. This was the largest association of industrial firms in Germany and was headed by Albert Vögler from Dortmund. This Buchenwald subcamp was located in Dortmund on Huckarder Strasse (later the building at Huckarder Strasse 111).²

According to contemporary witness reports, 300 female prisoners who had been transferred from Ravensbrück to Dortmund were housed at the camp. Female concentration camp guards were previously recruited in Dortmund and trained at Ravensbrück. On April 1, 1945, 650 prisoners were reported to have been evacuated to Bergen-Belsen by train, after it was apparent that the advancing U.S. troops were moving closer to Dortmund. According to an account by an SS supervisor, however, while a detail was returning to the camp on March 16, 1945, the Dortmund-Hörder plant came under an air attack during which 86 female prisoners fled.³ The company plants did not suffer severe damage from the bombings. SS members accompanied the 547 female prisoners that remained until April 1, 1945, most of whom were taken again to Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald, or subcamps such as Magdeburg and Leipzig.

The Dortmund subcamp consisted of a multistory brick building that was connected by an underground passageway to the projectile factory. This passageway followed underneath a factory railroad line. The building's windows were barred, and the doors that led outside were sealed. According to the reports of the public prosecutor, primarily Polish female prisoners were kept on the first floor, and the second floor housed mostly Russians. There were, however, also prisoners from Hungary, Holland, and Germany interned in the building. A document verifies that on November 30, 1944, 398 female prisoners, 78 of whom were sick, were in the prisoner detail for Dortmund-Hörder, which had to work from 6:00 A.M. until 6:00 P.M. (with a one-hour break). According to former prisoners from Warsaw on the occasion of a visit to Dortmund, which had been organized by the Dortmund history workshop, the average age of the prisoners was probably just under 20 years old. Working conditions at the projectile factory of Dortmund-Hörder, which had also produced munitions in World War I, were described in more detail. They ranged from the production of bombs to grenade turning.

Concerning the terrorization of prisoners by guard personnel, appalling abuses were the exception. Moreover, it has been shown that beginning on March 31, 1943, part of

"Construction Brigade II," which was under the authority of Buchenwald concentration camp, was temporarily active as "demolition squad Dortmund." Forty members reportedly belonged to this detail. Additional work details from the so-called Construction Brigade III operated in Düsseldorf-Kalkum, Essen, Cologne, and Duisburg; their total strength reached 1,300 prisoners.

SOURCES Hans Müller's publication *"Wir haben verziehen, aber nicht vergessen . . .": Das KZ-Aussenlager Buchenwald in Dortmund* (Dortmund, 1994) formed the basis for this essay. Otherwise, apart from the small article by Günther Högl, "Zwangsarbeiter unter verschärften Bedingungen: Das Aussenlager Dortmund des KZ Buchenwald und das 'Auffanglager Hüttenwerk' auf dem Gelände des Dortmund-Hörder Hüttenvereins 1944/45," HD 3 (2002), no studies of the subcamp exist. Information on the demolition detail may be found 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. 366.

Scattered various records on the Dortmund subcamp of Buchenwald do exist. There are references to the prisoners' employment in the AG-B and in the THStA-W. In the file collections of the ZdL (now BA-L) (the same material as in NWHStA-(D)) are interrogation protocols of former prisoners, which are passed down in the context of a preliminary proceeding. In addition, files from the public prosecutorial investigations of the ZSSStA-K for combating National Socialist mass crimes at the Dortmund public prosecutor's office are also worth mentioning.

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NOTES

1. ITS, ed., *Catalogue of camps and prisons in Germany and German-occupied territories Sept. 1st, 1939–May 8th, 1945* (Arolsen, July 1949), p. 135.

2. Hans Müller, *"Wir haben verziehen, aber nicht vergessen . . .": Das KZ-Aussenlager Buchenwald in Dortmund* (Dortmund, 1994).

3. NWHStA-(D), Rep. 118, Nr. 942, p. 7.

DUDERSTADT

The Duderstadt subcamp was situated in the Prussian province of Hannover (in the south of today's Niedersachsen, Landkreis Göttingen), in the Untereichsfeld. It is connected with the company Polte OHG Magdeburg, which was founded in Magdeburg in 1885. In 1939, Polte incorporated the Duderstadt factory, which had been built that year, as a branch of its company. The site for the Duderstadt factory and the production plant were owned by the Luftfahrtanlagen GmbH (LAG), a company partly owned by the Reich Air Ministry. Therefore, the Polte works was only able to act as lessee and producer in its association with the Duderstadt factory. The Duderstadt Polte factory produced different types of ammunition, such as 30mm and 40mm shells, and filled them with the explosive nitropenta.¹

Already during the construction of the factory, foreign laborers were used. Later, the number of forced laborers continually increased. By the end of 1944, there were 2,549 people working in the factory including 633 German males (25 percent of the workforce), 548 German females (23 percent), 34 male Ostarbeiter (1 percent), 187 female Ostarbeiter (7 percent), 193 other male foreign workers (8 percent), 151 other female foreign workers (6 percent), 17 prisoners of war (1 percent), and 750 female Jewish concentration camp prisoners (29 percent).²

These female Jewish concentration camp workers, 747 Hungarians, 2 Poles, and a Czech, arrived in Duderstadt on November 4, 1944. They had been selected between May and August 1944 in Auschwitz for work in Germany and sent to Bergen-Belsen; from there they were sent to Duderstadt. According to Frank Baranowski, they were at first held on the site of the Steinhoff furniture factory close to the Polte factory grounds. A few women were also held in the Steinhoffsche Haus, where 20 to 30 of them lived in one room.

As with the munitions factory, the actual Duderstadt subcamp was located on the Euzenberg, south of the railway line Leinefelde-Duderstadt-Wulften, on the site of a former forced labor camp. It included two accommodation barracks and one wash barracks and was surrounded by a 2.5-meter-high (8.2-foot-high) electrified barbed-wire fence. Within the fence there was a second 1.5-meter-high (5-foot-high) fence. Views from the public road were screened off with boards. The accommodation was seen by the prisoners who had gone through Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen as comparatively clean and orderly; however, the constant overcrowding and overwork soon changed these conditions. The food was supplied by the Polte factory and is described by the prisoners as insufficient and without any nutritional value.

The Duderstadt subcamp Lagerführer from November 1944 to February 1945 was SS-Scharführer Arno Reisser. Shortly before the end of the war, he was replaced by SS-Oberscharführer (probably Eduard) Jansen. The doctor responsible for the camp was SS-Sturmabführer Dr. August Otto, who was assisted by a female prisoner doctor (probably Ryfka Baposhnikov) and a prisoner nurse. The prisoners were guarded by 13 or 14 guards as well as 18 female overseers from Duderstadt and the surrounding area. They had been chosen by the Northeim Labor Office and the Polte company management. The women underwent short training courses in October and November 1944 in Ravensbrück to prepare them for their duties and were in charge of supervising the women on the factory grounds. Like the male guards, they were accommodated in the camp's main building. According to prisoner statements, the female overseers mistreated and threatened the camp inmates.

The work the women did was difficult and damaged their health. The women worked in 12-hour shifts; a few were engaged in the camp kitchen. At least four or five women died during the camp's existence and were buried in the former cemetery of the Jewish community of Duderstadt. A Hungarian prisoner was returned to Bergen-Belsen in January 1945 after giving birth. At the same time five new prisoners were transferred from Bergen-Belsen to replace the lost labor.

Production in the camp became ever more difficult from February 1945 due to difficulty in obtaining supplies of materials. As Allied troops approached, the prisoners were evacuated at the beginning of April 1945 by bus, by truck, and finally by rail via Magdeburg, Dessau, and Wolfen in the direction of Theresienstadt. A low-flying aerial attack on the transport resulted in several dead and injured. On April 26, 1945, after more than three weeks, the women arrived at Theresienstadt.

Investigations began after the war into Hans Nathusius, one of the co-owners of Polte OHG Magdeburg and the deputy works manager in Duderstadt. The Staatsanwaltschaft (Public Prosecutor's Office) Göttingen also conducted investigations into the subcamp. No convictions resulted from the investigations.

SOURCES Frank Baranowski has written a detailed analysis on the Duderstadt subcamp, *Der Duderstädter Rüstungsbetrieb Polte von 1938 bis 1945* (Göttingen: Cuvillier-Verlag, 1993). Other publications by Baranowski on the subcamp are *Rüstungsprojekte in Südniedersachsen und Thüringen* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 1995), including "Der Duderstädter Rüstungsbetrieb Polte," pp. 111–176; as well as "Fremdarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene und KZ-Häftlinge im Rüstungsbetrieb Polte in Duderstadt," in *Rüstungsindustrie in Südniedersachsen während der NS-Zeit*, ed. Arbeitsgemeinschaft südniedersächsischer Heimatfreunde (Mannheim, 1993), pp. 248–316; and "Arbeitskräftebeschaffung," pp. 25–37, in the same publication. In Renate Ragwitz's "Frauenaussenkommandos des KZ Buchenwald," BuH 15 (1982), a short description of the Duderstadt camp is on p. 21. The *EfHb* contain several essays on the Duderstadt subcamp including Rolf Barthel, "Zur Geschichte der Aussenkommandos des faschistischen Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald in Niederorschel, Mühlhausen und Duderstadt," 24 (1984): 23–41; Hans Demme, "Der Weg des Atalnó Mosonyi, Häftling im KZ-Aussenkommando Duderstadt," 2 (1985): 171; and Rolf Barthel, "Neue Forschungsergebnisse zu den Verbrechen des deutschen Faschismus auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen (I)," 1 (1987): 24–30. Rolf Barthel has recently published on the Duderstadt subcamp in *Wider das Vergessen: Faschistische Verbrechen auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen. Thüringer Forum für Bildung und Wissenschaft* (Jena, 2004). Other descriptions of the camp are by Götz Hütt, "Das Aussenlager Duderstadt des KZ Buchenwald," HdGw 1 (1988); Gudrun Pischke, "Von Auschwitz nach Duderstadt—Zwangsarbeit bei den Polte-Werken," in *Duderstadt 1929–1949*, ed. Hans-Heinrich Ebeling and Hans-Reinhard Fricke (Duderstadt, 1992), 2: 281–292. Gudrun Pischke has written the article on the Duderstadt subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 422–424. This camp is listed in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:38, where it is incorrectly described as part of the Mittelbau concentration camp, a claim that is no longer accepted by the most recent research. Duderstadt is also listed in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," BGBl. (1977) Teil I, p. 1800.

There are many sources on the Duderstadt subcamp. In the ASt-Dud are the following collections: SM1 Nr. 35 (Protocols

with statements of the former Duderstadt prisoners Paula and Bella Samuel, Babetta Fuchs, Ella Löwensohn, Lucia Szepesi, Gabriella and Rosza Farkas, as well as Erszebet and Jan Reich, made in Budapest 1945); Dud2/12557 (Kanal- und Abwassergebühren der Firma Polte, mit monatlichen Angaben über die Belegschaftsstärke 1941–1945); Dud2/12558 (Bau einer Anschlussstrasse zum Polte-Werk); SMI Nr. 4 (War-time Photographs of Duderstadt, 1939–1945). The Amtsgericht Magdeburg holds various company register extracts on the Polte factory and its business affairs. In the collections of the BA are details on the Duderstadt subcamp confirming its existence. The Beschäftigungsmeldung des Polte-Werks dated December 31, 1944, is held in the BA-K, Best. RGI, BA E 12 I/102. The BA-MA holds the following collections on the Duderstadt camp: RL 3/337 (Generalluftzeugmeister: Produktionsablaufpläne für Polte-Werk Duderstadt), RL 3/695 (Generalluftzeugmeister: Maschinenbestellungen für Werk Duderstadt), and RL 3/1189 (Generalluftzeugmeister: Lagepläne des Duderstädter Zweigwerkes). Further information is found in the collections of the BA-K in Ns 4 Bu/189 (Statistiken über den Arbeitseinsatz von Häftlingen, Dezember 1944 bis März 1945), and Ns 4/229 (Arbeitseinsatz von Häftlingen in verschiedenen Aussenkommandos, 1943 bis 1945). The BA-P holds under File No. StVE K 237 B, A.1, the criminal investigation files on Hans Nathusius, the deputy manager of the Duderstadt Polte factory. The Polte investigation files of the Sta. Göttingen, File No. 5 Js 20/63, includes a number of eyewitness statements on the subcamp. The BA-DH, Best. ZM 1458, A. 2, holds a list of female concentration camp overseers trained in Ravensbrück, including the names of the Duderstadt women who were deployed at the subcamp. The AG-B holds the Duderstadt subcamp Bestandsliste, Best. BA 46–1-14, which provides an overview of the number of women and their work details. Other relevant documents in AG-BB deal with admissions and transfers to and from the Duderstadt camp.

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NOTES

1. For more detailed information, see Baranowski, *Der Duderstädter Rüstungsbetrieb Polte von 1938 bis 1945* (Göttingen: Cuvillier-Verlag, 1993), p. 35.

2. Interne Beschäftigungsmeldung des Polte-Werkes an die Stadt Duderstadt vom 31.12.1944, BA-K, Best. RGI, A E 12 I/102.

DÜSSELDORF (DEUTSCHE ERD- UND STEINWERKE)

From March 1944 to March 1945, a subcamp of Buchenwald in Düsseldorf was operated by the German Earth and Stone Works, Ltd. (DESt), which produced building materials for the city of Düsseldorf. In 1938, the SS-owned DESt had been established through an agreement between Adolf Hitler, Heinrich Himmler, and Albert Speer in order to produce building materials for the planned Führer cities (*Führerstädte*). To this end, cooperative projects had already been set up between DESt enterprises of the Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald,

Neuengamme, and Flossenbürg concentration camps and larger cities, such as Berlin, Hamburg, or Nürnberg.

The DESt camp in Düsseldorf and another one established at the same time in Essen were created at the initiative of the city administrations. Particularly in the destroyed cities of the Rhineland and Westphalia, the removal or processing of huge amounts of rubble, as well as the lack of appropriate building material, posed enormous problems for the municipal planning departments. According to the Minden Report (*Mindener Bericht*), an account of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) written by three defendants at the Nuremberg Trials, the city administrations of Essen and Düsseldorf had negotiated with managers of DESt about this problem. Oswald Pohl then instructed DESt to “take on a major role in the removal of rubble caused by the aerial attacks and to thereby obtain urgently needed building materials.”¹ Accordingly, DESt constructed recycling plants that sold the building materials reclaimed from rubble at the local market price, either directly to the cities or to purchasers authorized by the planning offices.

In accordance with the agreements between the Amt WI of the WVHA and the mayors of Düsseldorf and Essen, DESt had to provide “regulation secured lodging” and the guard forces. Food and clothing and the transport of the prisoners were to be supplied by Buchenwald, while the cities or the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) West had to provide medical care for the prisoners.²

The camp was initially set up as a subcamp to the SS-Construction Brigade III (Baubrigade III) of Buchenwald, situated in Cologne, where first preparations for it began in mid-December 1943.³ A school at 74–80 Kirchfeldstrasse, where the bomb squad known as Kalkum was already lodged, provided accommodations. The building was badly damaged and still in a “state of reconstruction” in July 1944.⁴ The first 50 prisoners arrived in Düsseldorf on March 18, 1944.⁵ By late April, 150 prisoners were accommodated in the camp, and in early June 1944, the highest occupancy was reached with 159 inmates.⁶ After the withdrawal of the Construction Brigade from Cologne in May 1944, the DESt detachment became an independent subcamp of Buchenwald.

The DESt camp commandant was SS-Unterscharführer Sablonski, about whom nothing else is known.⁷ However, the commandant of the Düsseldorf subcamp “Berta,” Walter Knauf, also appears to have had a coordinating role for DESt as well as for the other Düsseldorf subcamps and the DESt camp in Essen. Knauf reported in turn to Buchenwald.⁸ During their work, the prisoners were watched over by one guard duty officer and 14 municipal policemen (*Schutzpolizisten*). Following the orders of Himmler, Polizeioberstleutnant Martin, commander of the Wachbataillone (guard battalions) in Wehrkreis (military district) VI, carried out a security audit of the camp in July 1944. As a result, it was ordered that the windows in the quarters be fitted with bars, a guard be posted on the opposite side of the street during the night, and the guards be increased by one or two officers.⁹

The manager of the Schuttverwertung Düsseldorf-Essen (Düsseldorf-Essen Recycling Works), SS-Oberscharführer Goergens, was responsible for the deployment of labor. Among his duties was to ensure that prisoners were used as ordered. Stricter supervision had become necessary after the prisoners from the DESt units were recruited for clearing and repair work in the cities as well. In May 1944, however, the Higher-SS and Police Leader West explicitly prohibited this use of the prisoners. At the same time, he reserved the right to summon prisoners of the DESt camp for special work assignments.¹⁰ It seems that he repeatedly made use of this right. In September 1944, he ordered 50 prisoners to Cologne for a bomb squad, “until further notice.”¹¹

An area at the Fürstenwall served DESt as a workshop, where the concentration camp prisoners cleaned old bricks and produced concrete blocks from the rubble. According to the Minden Report, the DESt plants in Düsseldorf and Essen grew to “considerable size.”¹² By August 1944, DESt in Düsseldorf had sold 2.2 million cleaned bricks to the city. Production of new concrete blocks commenced only in October 1944, however, and by the end of the war, no more than 70,000 had been made.¹³

The municipal prisoner-of-war (POW) kitchen (*Kriegsgefangenenküche*) in Himmelgeisterstrasse delivered the food daily for the prisoners, to both the Düsseldorf and the Essen DESt camps, and invoiced SS-Oberscharführer Goergens for the service.¹⁴ On several occasions, camp commanders complained about the food they had received, including SS-Unterscharführer Sablonski, who wrote on May 24, 1944, to the kitchen: “The 210 KZ [concentration camp] prisoners in this camp (DESt camp and “Kalkum”) are fed by the Ostarbeiterküche, Himmelgeisterstr., and get the warm food delivered in vats by truck. These transport vats are in such a damaged state that upon arrival, about 20 liters of food has been spilt from each vat, to the detriment of the recipients of the food. I ask you most kindly to redress this grievance, and to ensure that the amount of food allotted to the camp is actually distributed.”¹⁵

Little is known about the prisoners and their living conditions. From June 1944 to the end of the war, 15 men escaped, and 6 were registered as “deceased.” As late as February 1945, 10 prisoners were sent from Buchenwald to Düsseldorf. On March 13, 1945, in the face of the approaching liberators, 150 prisoners were sent back to Buchenwald.¹⁶

A few days after the seizure of Düsseldorf by American troops, someone proposed to restart the DESt plant. However, the municipal construction administration decided to refrain from this plan: “I cannot agree with the proposal that the military authority should confiscate the whole plant for the city, because there is no way to get it running again. In addition to the fact that the driving belts have been stolen from the machines, there is a shortage of labor. Problems could perhaps arise for the city, because KZ prisoners had been used for these works, and assumptions could be made that work can get done here, which are not tenable.”¹⁷

SOURCES Researchers have not focused on the DESt camp. In general surveys on the Düsseldorf camps, it is mentioned only with a few details: Andreas Kussmann, “KZ-Aussenkommandos und Gefangenenlager in Düsseldorf während des Zweiten Weltkriegs: Ein Forschungsbericht,” *Düjb* 61 (1988): 188–189; and *Zwangsarbeit in Düsseldorf: “Ausländereinsatz” während des Zweiten Weltkriegs in einer rheinischen Grossstadt*, ed. Clemens von Looz-Corswarem in collaboration with Rafael R. Leissa and Joachim Schröder (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2002), p. 562. An unpublished manuscript on the history of a few Düsseldorf brickworks includes a mere two pages: Frank Troschitz, “Zur Geschichte der Ziegeleien der Fa. Niermann während der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Einsatzes ausländischer Arbeitskräfte in Düsseldorf” (unpub. MSS, Düsseldorf, 1996).

Records are sparse, but documents that could be considered as a starting point for more detailed research can be found in various archives: at the THStA-W (collections “KZ Buchenwald und Haftanstalten” and “NS 4 Buchenwald”); the ASt-Dü (departments IV and VII); the NWHStA-(D) (Court Rept. 118/1174–1190, Court Rept. 118/2334–2336); and the ZdL (BA-L) (IV 406 AR 85/67, IV 429 AR-Z 16/74, IV 429 AR-Z 126/74).

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NOTES

1. “Das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt und die unter seiner Dienstaufsicht stehenden wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen,” NARA, RG 238, NO-1573, cited from Walter Naasner, *SS-Wirtschaft und SS-Verwaltung: Das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt und die unter seiner Dienstaufsicht stehenden wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen und weitere Dokumente* (Düsseldorf: Droste-Verlag, 1998), p. 136.

2. WVHA, Amt D, April 26, 1944; THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald No. 10, p. 291.

3. SS-Construction Brigade III Duisburg, December 13, 1943, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1177.

4. Sipo Ratingen, July 11, 1944, ZdL (BA-L), IV 429 AR-Z 16/74, 43.

5. Work Deployment Statistics, March 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald No. 230, p. 25.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 62.

7. Buchenwald Concentration Camp, register of addresses, November 6, 1944, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1183; and Sablonski, May 24, 1944, ASt-Dü, VII 1483.

8. SS-Oberscharführer Knauf, strength report, December 12, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald No. 229.

9. Sipo Ratingen, July 11, 1944, ZdL (BA-L), IV 429 AR-Z 16/74, p. 43.

10. HSSPF West, May 11, 1944, NWHStA-(D), RW 37/2, p. 27.

11. Arbeitseinsatzführer (leader of the labor detail) Schwarz, September 29, 1944, ZdL (BA-L) IV 406 AR 85/67, p. 27.

12. Cited from Naasner, *SS-Wirtschaft*, p. 136.

13. Proceedings ASt-Dü, IV 1099 and IV 1112.

14. File “Verpflegung der in den Deutschen Erd- und Steinwerken eingesetzten KZ-Häftlinge, 1944–1945,” ASt-Dü, IV 892.

15. Sablonski, May 25, 1944, ASt-Dü, VII 1483.
16. THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nos. 136a and b.
17. Amt 58 BE, May 17, 1945, ASt-Dü, IV 1099.

DÜSSELDORF (KIRCHFELDSTRASSE)

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in the Freidrichstadt district of Düsseldorf in a former school at Kirchfeldstrasse 74–80. One of several subcamps of Buchenwald in Düsseldorf, and one of two camps created on Kirchfeldstrasse, the Düsseldorf Kirchfeldstrasse subcamp opened on or around May 28, 1943, to supply concentration camp labor to the German Earth and Stone Works (DESt) factory in Düsseldorf, an economic enterprise managed by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). The camps at Kirchfeldstrasse were established as part of the SS-Construction Brigade III (Baubrigade III), stationed outside of Cologne in Deutz (see Düsseldorf-Kalkum). The Construction Brigade was formed under Office Group D of the WVHA to remove and detonate unexploded bombs and for use as cheap auxiliary labor in construction efforts. Private firms, such as DESt, “rented” camp labor (including concentration camp inmates) from the WVHA at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled worker per day and 4 RM per unskilled worker per day. DESt-Düsseldorf “employed” 180 skilled workers and 2,553 auxiliary unskilled workers.¹ According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) lists of camps, the Kirchfeldstrasse-DESt became an independent subcamp administered by the Buchenwald main camp on June 25, 1944.

All of the inmates in the Kirchfeldstrasse subcamp were men, and according to a list of 151 inmates in the camp dated July 7, 1944, most of the inmates were Russian and Polish, with smaller numbers of Czech, Yugoslavian, French, Belgian, and Dutch inmates.² On February 22, 1945, 10 inmates were transferred from Buchenwald to Kirchfeldstrasse.³ Reports listing the number of prisoners incarcerated in the Kirchfeldstrasse-DESt camp did not fluctuate markedly during its several-months-long operation: on June 23, 1944, 155 inmates were reported; on August 13–14, 1944, 143; on January 1, 1945, 143; and on March 6, 1945, 150 inmates.⁴

No information could be found about living conditions within the Kirchfeldstrasse camp or about the exact kind of work the inmates performed for the company. DESt was founded in Berlin on April 29, 1938, to mine stone quarries and manage construction and armaments work, exploiting inmate labor from prisoners in Mauthausen, Gusen, Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, and other camps. Presumably the inmates at the Düsseldorf-DESt camp were involved in construction or other kinds of work associated with rearmament at the Düsseldorf branch of the firm.

Likewise, there is little information known about the guards of the Kirchfeldstrasse-DESt subcamp. The camp was most likely guarded by members of the SS. According to a report submitted by garrison doctor (Standortarzt) Schiedlauský on January 31, 1945, the SS doctor in charge of medical care in the

camp was named Wallraff, and the medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad SDG) was named Schmidt (the same SDG as in the “Berta” and Borsig subcamps in Düsseldorf).⁵ Some correspondence exchanged between the Kirchfeldstrasse 74–80 camp and the Headquarters of the Düsseldorf Higher-SS and Police Leader, located in Lohausen, shows the leader of the Kommando (Kommandoführer) as an SS-Unterscharführer Sablonski.⁶

One hundred and fifty inmates were evacuated to Buchenwald from the Düsseldorf Kirchfeldstrasse camp sometime in early March 1945.

SOURCES The Buchenwald subcamp Düsseldorf Kirchfeldstrasse appears only rarely in secondary literature. For general information on subcamps and other detention centers in Düsseldorf, including slave labor camps, see the volume edited by Clemens von Looz-Corswarem, *Zwangsarbeit in Düsseldorf: “Ausländereinsatz” während des Zweiten Weltkrieges in einer rheinischen Grossstadt* (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2002), especially the chapter titled “Zwangsarbeit in Düsseldorf: Struktur, Organisation und Alltag im Arbeitseinsatz von Ausländern im nationalsozialistischen Düsseldorf,” by Rafael R. Leissa and Joachim Schröder (pp. 19–362). See also Andreas Kussman, “KZ Ausenkommandos und Gefangenenlager in Düsseldorf während des Zweiten Weltkriegs,” *DüJb* 61 (1988): 175–193. For brief information on the Kirchfeldstrasse camp, such as opening and closing dates and kind of work performed, see Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). For overviews of the Buchenwald camp system, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983).

Several archives contain pieces of information about the camp. Transport lists of prisoners to and from the camp and other administrative records are located in the archives of the USHMM (Acc. 1998.A.0045), in a collection of documents copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS (see especially, BU 45, BU 69, and BU 5/3). See also files copied from the BA (NS 4: Buchenwald camp records) in USHMM, RG 14.023M, Band 253. Investigations into violent crimes committed by the SS-Construction Brigade III in Buchenwald subcamps in Düsseldorf can be found in the ZdL (BA-L): IV 429 AR Z 16/74, IV 429 AR126–174. See also the NWHStA-(D) for Gerichte Rep. 118/1174–1190, 1338–1349, Court Rep. 118/2334–2336, and the Sicherheitsüberprüfung der Stapoleitstelle Düsseldorf (July 13, 1944).

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NOTES

1. Labor allocation report, Buchenwald concentration camp, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 142, in *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunal under Control Council Law No. 10* (Buffalo, NY: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1997), 6: 759–767.

2. “Verzeichnis der in hiesigen Lager einsitzenden Häftlinge,” Düsseldorf, July 7, 1944, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (BU 45), Reel 16.

3. “Transport Düsseldorf,” February 22, 1945, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (BU 45), Reel 16.

4. "Aufstellung der Br. III, Kdo. Düsseldorf," June 23, 1944 (BU 8/18); "Etats d'effectifs par Kommando," August 13–14, 1944 (BU 5/3); "Stand vom 6. März 1945, Stand vom 1. January 1945" (BU 8/18); USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045.

5. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg, 1960), p. 251.

6. Various memos, BA (NS 4): Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, USHMM, RG 14.023M, Band 253, Fiche 1.

DÜSSELDORF-DERENDORF ("BERTA") (WITH "BORSIG")

Between November 1943 and March 1945 the company Rheinmetall-Borsig AG had in its Düsseldorf factory, "Hohenzollern," a Buchenwald subcamp. The camp was camouflaged with the code name "Berta." Until the summer of 1944, when it came under Buchenwald administration, the camp was attached to SS-Construction Brigade III (Baubrigade III), stationed in Cologne-Deutz. On November 1, 1943, the brigade dispatched 135 prisoners from Cologne to Düsseldorf. The brigade was transferred to the Harz in May 1944, and "Berta" became a stand-alone Buchenwald subcamp.

The SS commander in "Berta" was initially Josef Sieghardt, who was born on July 13, 1896, in Grottkau (Upper Silesia). SS-Hauptscharführer Sieghardt joined the Nazi Party and SS in 1931. From 1939 he was an instructor at the Buchenwald concentration camp.¹ A former prisoner, Toni Fleischhauer, had the following to say about the camp commander: "Sieghardt was accustomed to saying that no prisoner would leave this camp alive."² When Sieghardt was transferred as commander to a Magdeburg subcamp, he was replaced in April 1944 by SS-Oberscharführer Walther Knauf, a barber, who was born on August 16, 1914, in Gross Karben near Frankfurt am Main. From the middle of 1943, he was a member of the SS guard at Buchenwald. From November 1943, he had served as an SS man in the detonation squad of the SS-Construction Brigade III.³ In addition to the SS, the guards consisted of 60 policemen, mostly elderly reservists. They were replaced in September 1944 by men mostly from the Sicherheits- und Hilfsdienst (Auxiliary Air Raid Wardens, SHD).⁴

The address of the subcamp was the office of the Rheinmetall-Borsig AG at 54 Gneisenaustrasse in Düsseldorf's Derendorf district. The prisoners were accommodated in a hall of the so-called Hohenzollern factory on the corner of Dinnendahlstrasse and Schlüterstrasse (Schlüterstrasse later became Neumannstrasse) in Düsseldorf-Flingern. In 1939 Rheinmetall-Borsig AG took over Leichtmetall-Presswerk (Light Metal Sheet Metal Works). During the war the factory produced oxygen bottles, aircraft engine parts, propellers, antimagnetic mine heads, and hollow rocket heads. The prisoners' work was characterized as "important classified war production," as parts were produced for the V-weapons.⁵

After the initial construction on the camp was complete, a second transport of 300 prisoners and 21 SS guards left Buchenwald for "Berta" on December 8, 1943.⁶ On October 25, 1944, there were 661 prisoners in the camp. This was the highest number.⁷ The prisoners were mostly citizens of the Soviet Union and Poles. In addition, there were French, Dutch, Belgian, Czech, Italian, and a few German prisoners (the Germans being the prisoner-functionaries).

An inspection of the Hohenzollern factory and the subsequent security report on the Düsseldorf subcamp in July 1944 reveal that the camp and the prisoners' work sites were closely guarded. At this time, the 360-strong prisoner detachment was guarded by 38 security policemen armed with rifles and machine pistols. The entrances and egresses of the work halls were guarded by the police and factory porters. One policeman patrolled the factory hall; 2 guarded the rear of the accommodation, which bordered on the factory buildings. The SS camp leadership, security police, and the factory's security liaison officer (the factory's connection to the Gestapo) worked closely together in maintaining prisoner discipline. Camp commander Knauf also recruited prisoners to spy on the other prisoners.⁸ Punishment was meted out in a specially erected bunker.

Despite the increased security, the number of escape attempts from "Berta" was extraordinarily high. On June 1, 1944, 31 of 385 prisoners were reported as being on the run.⁹ At least 4 prisoners were "shot while escaping."¹⁰ Notwithstanding that escape in Düsseldorf was risky, many prisoners, for various reasons, tried to escape. Above all, the political, anti-Fascist prisoners had little interest in constructing V-weapons "to help them win the war."¹¹ And from the summer of 1944, there was the fear that the political prisoners would be murdered following the invasion by the Allies. For these reasons, the Communist prisoner Fleischhauer and 3 other German prisoners escaped in April 1944.

The willingness to escape was promoted also by the oppressive conditions in the camp. After the war, Sieghardt was accused of refusing medical treatment to several prisoners who had eaten poisonous mushrooms. Fleischhauer reported as follows: "A group of about 5 or 6 prisoners found a wagon full of mushrooms, which they thought were edible. They ate them and within a short period of time developed symptoms indicating that they had been poisoned. They could not be helped in the sick bay. Sieghardt refused to have them transported to a hospital or to call a doctor. . . . As a result, the prisoners died after an agonizing 3 to 4 hours. We later learned that they had eaten poisonous swamp Schierling mushrooms. I am convinced that if they had received prompt medical care they would have survived."¹²

While Sieghardt was camp commander, 11 prisoners died, including 3 prisoners who died from the poisoning mentioned above. From the date Knauf took control until the evacuation of the camp in March 1945, there were a further 16 recorded deaths.¹³ According to statements by survivors, Knauf was well known for his brutal behavior: he beat prisoners at random during roll call with a broom handle or a stick, beat them with his fists, and kicked them or mistreated them while they

were at work. Prisoners were punished while they were at roll call—their naked behinds were beaten with rubber hoses. A particular dramatic episode is said to have taken place either in August or September of 1944. Knauf tried to drive 2 weakened prisoners mad by forcing them to sit in a heated container. When 1 of the prisoners, a Russian suffering from tuberculosis, climbed out of the container totally exhausted, he was mistreated by Knauf and forced to continue his work. The prisoner died shortly thereafter as a result of this mistreatment. Knauf personally shot a prisoner who escaped from a work detail and had been recaptured and held in one of the halls of the Hohenzollern factory.

On September 1, 1944, another Buchenwald subcamp was erected for Rheinmetall-Borsig AG on its factory grounds at 31–37 Rather Strasse in Düsseldorf-Derendorf; Buchenwald records show an initial transport of 300 prisoners.¹⁴ Although this subcamp is recorded in the Buchenwald statistics under the name “Borsig” and operated as an independent camp, Knauf was also the camp commander.¹⁵ The “Borsig” camp should therefore be seen as a subcamp of “Berta.”

Little more is known about the history of “Borsig.” Other than a transport in September 1944, there were no further transports from Buchenwald. In October 1944, there were 294 prisoners in the camp; at the end of December 1944, there were 260.¹⁶ At the beginning of March 1945, 249 prisoners were still registered at the camp.¹⁷ What happened to the 51 prisoners is not known, as there are no reports of transports back to Buchenwald or reports of deaths. Only 3 prisoners are reported to have escaped from “Borsig.” The escapes appear to have occurred from an evacuation transport.

The 1950 judgment on Knauf gives a few further details. He was accused of shooting a prisoner in the “Berta” camp. Two other events were detailed where Knauf mistreated prisoners at the “Borsig” camp. In one instance, Knauf had 4 prisoners beaten because a prisoner had fled from a work detachment. The judgment states the following about the second instance: “At the beginning of January 1945, a prisoner, when the gates of the camp were being opened, dropped cutlery in front of a Kapo. The angry Kapo told the accused who soon turned up with four other Kapos in the Derendorf camp. The accused had the 50–60 prisoners line up and ordered the Kapos to beat each prisoner 50 times with a rubber hose. For an hour the prisoners, including a 15 year old Polish boy, were beaten alternatively by 4 Kapos in the dormitory of the Derendorf camp. The accused supervised the punishment, gave directions and smoked cigarettes.”¹⁸

On March 3, 1945, the prisoners from “Borsig,” together with the prisoners from “Berta,” were marched in several columns through the district of Berg, loaded onto wagons in Wuppertal, Wermelskirchen, and Essen, and transported to Buchenwald. Some 852 prisoners, 603 from “Berta” and 249 from “Borsig,” were registered there on March 10, 1945.¹⁹

Sieghardt avoided conviction for crimes committed in “Berta” because investigations began well after the war. At

the beginning of the 1970s a court medical report stated the following about Sieghardt: “An examination of the patient was relatively difficult. He has delayed memory, difficulty in concentrating, which in part results in a clear attempt to avoid issues and he expresses himself with stereotype expressions: ‘I don’t really know that, I can’t remember that, I don’t know how I got involved in the whole thing.’” The expert came to the conclusion that although Sieghardt had clear “memory islands,” given his general medical history, it was scarcely likely that Sieghardt would be able to take part in any future examinations.²⁰ When in 1973 the accusation that Sieghardt refused the poisoned prisoners medical assistance was to be considered, an expert confirmed that he would never be fit for trial.²¹ Knauf, on the other hand, had already been sentenced in 1950 to 10 years of jail by the state court in Düsseldorf for shooting the escaped prisoner.²²

SOURCES The subcamp “Berta” was first dealt with in a research report in 1988 by Andreas Kussmann, “KZ-Aussenkommandos und Gefangenenlager in Düsseldorf während des Zweiten Weltkriegs: Ein Forschungsbericht,” *DüJb* 61 (1988): 187. Later publications include a few further sources: Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln: Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne: Emons, 1996), pp. 106–107; Christian Leitzbach, “Der Einsatz ausländischer Arbeiterinnen und Arbeiter bei Rheinmetall-Borsig während des Zweiten Weltkriegs,” in *Zwangsarbeit in Düsseldorf: “Ausländerereinsatz” während des Zweiten Weltkriegs in einer rheinischen Grossstadt*, ed. Clemens von Looz-Corswarem in collaboration with Rafael R. Leissa and Joachim Schröder (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2002), pp. 413–414; and Rafael Radoslaw Leissa, “Das Aussenkommando ‘Berta’ des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald in Düsseldorf” (MSS, Düsseldorf Memorial Sites, September 1999). Hanna Eggerath collected in 1998 and 1999 witnesses’ statements about the evacuation march through the villages of Erkrath and Hochdahl: “Auf dem Weg nach Buchenwald: Der Marsch der KZ-Häftlinge durch Erkrath und Hochdahl,” in *Journal 19: Jahrbuch des Kreises Mettmann 1999/2000* (Neustadt a.d. Aisch: Ph. C.W. Schmidt, 2000), pp. 123–130. These relatively good reports provide more detail on the “Berta” camp. The preliminary investigation files of the ZdL (now BA-L) (IV 406 AR 85/67; IV 429 AR-Z 16/74; IV 429 AR-Z 126/74) should be mentioned here as well as the investigation and trial files held in the NWHStA-(D) (Court Rept. 118/64–65; 118/1874–1875; 118/2026–2027; 118/2334–2336; 372/205–209). In the NWHStA-(D) are almost complete copies of the prisoner lists (Court Rept. 118/1176–1178, 2334–2335). In the THStA-W are found further contemporary documents on the camp, although they are spread through the collections NS 4 Buchenwald and KZ Buchenwald.

Transport lists of prisoners to and from the camp and other administrative records are located in the archives of the USHMM, (Acc. 1998.A.0045), in a collection of documents copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS (see especially BU 45, BU 69, and BU 5/3). See also files copied from the BA (NS 4: Buchenwald camp records) in USHMM, RG 14.023M, Band 249.

“Borsig” is first mentioned in the Kussmann report. There are scarcely any other sources. In addition to a complete list of

names of those in the transport of September 1, 1944, which is held in the NWHStA-(D) (Court Rept. 118/1178, Part 3), there are the judicial files on "Berta," but these contain only a few statements or references on this camp.

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NOTES

1. On Sieghardt, see the trial files in NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/64–65 and Court Rept. 118/2026–2027.
2. Toni Fleischhauer, undated (November 1967), ZdL (BA-L), IV 429 AR 1304/67, p. 34.
3. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlung deutscher Urteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1945–1966*, (Amsterdam: University Press, 1971), No. 214, 6: 573.
4. Ibid., p. 574; Rafael Radoslaw Leissa, "Das Aussenkommando 'Berta' des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald in Düsseldorf" (MSS, Düsseldorf Memorial Sites, September 1999), p. 7.
5. Stapoleitstelle Düsseldorf, July 11, 1944, ZdL (BA-L), IV 429 AR-Z 16/74, p. 42.
6. Transportbefehl, August 12, 1943, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 133.
7. Häftlingsverzeichnis [Prisoner Catalogue], October 25, 1944, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/2335.
8. Stapoleitstelle Düsseldorf, July 11, 1944, ZdL (BA-L), IV 429 AR-Z 16/74, pp. 42–43.
9. Stärkemeldung, June 1, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 250.
10. SS-Baubrigade III, May 21, 1944, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald Nr. 9, 241R.
11. Toni Fleischhauer, March 20, 1980, AVVN-K, Recording protocol Fleischhauer, p. 8.
12. Toni Fleischhauer, undated (November 1967), ZdL (BA-L), IV 429 AR 1304/67, pp. 34–35.
13. Zahlen nach HASTK [Numbers from the HASTK], Best. 753/25: Einäscherungsbuch SS-Baubrigade III, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a; *ibid.*, KZ Buchenwald Nr. 5, Bd. 13.
14. Überstellungen von und zu Aussenkommandos, September 1, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald 136a.
15. Knauf, December 13, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 229; "Aussenkommandos Männer," October 1944, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 210.
16. "Aussenkommandos Männer," November 30 and December 31, 1944, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 210.
17. *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. 415.
18. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, No. 214, p. 576.
19. ITS, Arolsen, June 29, 1950, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/2334.
20. Institut für gerichtliche und soziale Medizin der Stadt Duisburg, February 24, 1971, ITS, Arolsen, Court Rept. 118/64, pp. 127–130.
21. Investigation Proceedings, ITS, Arolsen, Court Rept. 118/2026–2027.
22. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, p. 573.

DÜSSELDORF-GRAFENBERG ("BA")

[AKA BORSIG]

A subcamp of Buchenwald was established in September 1944 at Ulmenstrasse 112 in the Grafenberg district of Düsseldorf. (The International Tracing Service [ITS] lists of camps note the opening of the camp as October 23, 1944; however, a transport list from the main camp at Buchenwald to Borsig survives from September 1944.) One of several satellites of Buchenwald in Düsseldorf, the Düsseldorf-Grafenberg subcamp was created to supply concentration camp inmate labor to the Rheinmetall-Borsig AG factory in Düsseldorf. Inmates were "rented" by Rheinmetall-Borsig from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a cost of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per unskilled laborer per day and 6 RM per skilled laborer per day.¹ Alternative names for this subcamp include "Borsig" and code name "BA."

According to a postwar report filed by the chief of the Mission Belge de Recherches, the camp was composed of one stone building and was situated on the grounds of the Grafenberg Rheinmetall-Borsig factory. The camp was surrounded by watchtowers and surveillance posts, and prisoners—all men—wore blue-and-white-striped camp uniforms.² On September 1, 1944, at least 300 inmates were transferred from the Buchenwald main camp to Düsseldorf-Grafenberg.³ Although there is no breakdown by nationality or age provided on the transport list, most of the inmates appear to be Russian, Polish, and French. The population of the camp seems to have remained relatively the same throughout its period of operation. According to a report cited in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (CCP), there were 270 inmates in Grafenberg on October 23, 1944.⁴ A report filed by the garrison doctor (Standortarzt) of the Waffen-SS Schiedlausky on January 31, 1945, lists the number of inmates in the Borsig subcamp at 259 in mid-January 1945.⁵

There is little information about the exact kind of work the inmates performed or about living and working conditions within the camp. Presumably the inmates were employed in some kind of metalworking in the Borsig factory, which manufactured parts for aircraft and other industries important for the Reich's war economy.

There is little information about the guards who supervised the subcamp at Düsseldorf-Grafenberg. Like other Buchenwald subcamps in Düsseldorf, Grafenberg was most likely guarded by a combination of SS men, members of the Düsseldorf municipal police, as well as the Auxiliary Police (Schutzhilfdienst, SHD), which consisted of Düsseldorf residents. Civilian employees of the Rheinmetall-Borsig may have supervised the work of the inmates at the factory. The SS medic (SDG) was named Schmidt; he was the same SDG appointed to oversee medical care in the Berta and Kirchfeldstrasse camps.⁶

No information could be located about the evacuation or closing of the camp at Düsseldorf-Grafenberg, on the fate of the inmates, or on any postwar trials.

SOURCES The Buchenwald subcamp Düsseldorf-Grafenberg appears infrequently in secondary literature. For general information on subcamps and other detention centers in Düsseldorf, see the volume edited by Clemens von Looz-Corswarem, *Zwangsarbeit in Düsseldorf: "Ausländereinsatz" während des Zweiten Weltkrieges in einer rheinischen Grossstadt* (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2002), especially the chapter titled "Zwangsarbeit in Düsseldorf: Struktur, Organisation und Alltag im Arbeitseinsatz von Ausländern im nationalsozialistischen Düsseldorf," by Rafael R. Leissa and Joachim Schröder (pp. 19–362). See also Andreas Kussman, "KZ Aussenkommandos und Gefangenenlager in Düsseldorf während des Zweiten Weltkriegs," *DüJb* 61 (1988): 175–193. For brief information on the Düsseldorf-Grafenberg camp, such as opening and closing dates and kind of work, see Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt: Zweitausendeins, 1990). For overviews of the Buchenwald camp system, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt: Röderburg, 1983).

Several archives contain scant information about the Düsseldorf-Grafenberg camp. Transport lists of prisoners to and from the camp and other administrative records are located in the archives of the USHMM (Acc. 1998.A.0045), in a collection of documents copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS (see especially BU 45, BU 69, and BU 5/3). Investigations into violent crimes committed by the SS-Baubrigade III in Buchenwald subcamps in Düsseldorf can be found in the ZdL (BA-L): IV 429 AR Z 16/74, IV 429 AR126–74. See also the NWHStA-(D) for Gerichte Rep. 118/1174–1190, 1338–1349, Court Rept. 118/2334–2336, and the Sicherheitsüberprüfung der Stapoleitstelle Düsseldorf (July 13, 1944). The ZAR-D may also yield additional information on the Düsseldorf-Grafenberg camp.

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NOTES

1. Labor allocation report, Buchenwald concentration camp, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 142, in *TWC* (Buffalo, NY: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1997), 6: 759–767.

2. Memo to MACVG from Monsieur C. Peslier, Chef de Mission, French Liaison, ITS HQ, March 1, 1949, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (BU 69), Reel 17.

3. "Transport Borsig," September 1, 1944, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (BU 45), Reel 16.

4. Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt: Zweitausendeins, 1990).

5. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt: Röderberg, 1960), p. 251.

6. Ibid.

DÜSSELDORF-KALKUM (SS-BB III)

From May 1943 to March 1945, an average of 50 prisoners from the Buchenwald main camp were deployed as bomb finders (*Bombensucher*) at a Luftwaffe bomb squad in Düsseldorf.

The establishment of this camp can be traced to instructions from Heinrich Himmler, who on November 3, 1942, emphatically cited an October 1940 decree by Adolf Hitler to the Higher-SS and Police Leaders, the chiefs of police, the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), the Reich minister of the air force, and the Reich minister of the interior. According to this decree, in order to avoid losses among the German firefighters and auxiliary workers of the Air Raid Police, prisoners from penitentiaries or concentration camps should increasingly be requested for the dangerous task of retrieving unexploded bombs. To the extent that no camps were in the area of the air defense regions, Himmler ordered that groups of prisoners be detached, each accompanied by an SS private as leader of the Kommando. The inspectors (commanders) of the Order Police were responsible for their accommodation, food, and further supervision.¹

A few days later, the Amtsgruppe D instructed the camp commandants (Lagerkommandanten) of the concentration camps to hold appropriate prisoner squads in readiness. In concentration camps where construction units (Baubrigaden) had been set up, prisoners were to be chosen from those units.² In Rhineland and Westphalia, beginning in the early summer of 1943, the Royal Air Force had increasingly used bombs with delayed fuses, the defusing of which was considered particularly dangerous. On May 28, 1943, the Cologne-based SS-Construction Brigade III (Baubrigade III), acting on the orders of the Higher-SS and Police Leader West, dispatched 50 prisoners to Düsseldorf,³ where they were lodged in a former school building, located at Kirchfeldstrasse 74–80 in the Friedrichstadt section of town.

From there, the prisoners went every day to the headquarters of the bomb squad in the Kalkum section of north Düsseldorf. The "Sprengkommando Kalkum" at Arnheimer Strasse 115 was one of several bomb squads of the Luftwaffe in the Luftgau VI (region). Since 1942, specially trained explosives experts worked there under the command of Hauptmann Heinz Schweizer, who was decorated in July 1943 with the Knight's Cross (*Ritterkreuz*) for his work defusing unexploded bombs. The first auxiliary workers assigned to the bomb squad were criminals from the Remscheid-Lüttringhausen jail.

According to a contemporary account, eight municipal policemen (Schutzpolizisten) guarded the concentration camp prisoners in Kirchfeldstrasse and accompanied them on their daily trip to Kalkum.⁴ Only two SS privates had been detached from Buchenwald, one of whom was a certain SS-Unterscharführer Pfingsten, who was head of the camp until the end of the war.⁵

The job of the criminals and other prisoners was to dig out the unexploded bombs. According to instructions from the Luftwaffe, only explosives experts were allowed to disarm bombs. However, survivors report that concentration camp prisoners often also did this work. As even the trained explosives experts had hardly any information about the detonation mechanisms of the bombs, which were constantly changing in the course of the war, the disarming of them by untrained prisoners was all that much more dangerous. There are

numerous indications that particularly for the most dangerous jobs of the Kalkum bomb squad, prisoners were often deliberately called in. Former political prisoner Kurt Selbiger relates, for example: "When it is claimed that so many died, the prisoners are meant. They were the ones who were immediately dragged in there and sent to work on the 'hot' problems. The majority of the delayed fuses exploded in the first few hours—and this happened often. It was Russians, Russians in KZ clothing, who were repeatedly assigned temporarily to the bomb squad, but they did not really belong to our unit."⁶

Some of the conventional prisoners who were part of the Kalkum bomb squad, among whom were many Communists, attempted to improve the lot of the concentration camp prisoners assigned to the squad. For example, they successfully pleaded with the camp leadership (Lagerleitung), consisting of explosives experts, for the withdrawal of the SS guards after they had brought the prisoners to the camp in the morning. Self-interest definitely played a part in this request, as the SS presence worsened the atmosphere for the conventional prisoners as well. In the same way, these inmates were able to influence the allocation of the prisoners to the labor details so that some of the prisoners did not have to go into the city but could remain in the camp during the day. Supplying them with food took precedence, but besides that, the prisoners were provided with clothing and reading materials and took part in political discussions. Since there was a strong resistance organization (*Widerstandsorganisation*) in Kalkum, which had succeeded in establishing numerous contacts in the city, the provisions were much better than in the camp in Kirchfeldstrasse, to which the concentration camp prisoners had to return in the evening. These "sharp practices between the camp and the outside world" soon attracted the attention of the Gestapo, which at the end of January 1944 raided the camp and arrested several prisoners for attempted high treason.⁷

The number of prisoners who died in the bomb squad was high but hitherto could not be determined precisely. Until May 10, 1944, the Kalkum detachment was managed as a subcamp of the SS-Construction Brigade III, and for this reason, it is not always clear from the death reports to Buchenwald before that date if prisoners from the Kalkum camp were among the deceased. After the SS-Construction Brigade III was withdrawn from Cologne, Kalkum became an independent subcamp of Buchenwald and still had at the time 32 prisoners.⁸ On July 3 and September 1, 1944, altogether 35 prisoners were transferred from Buchenwald to Kalkum.⁹ When the camp was dissolved on March 13, 1945, only 34 prisoners remained to be brought back to Buchenwald.¹⁰

After 1945, the prisoners were quickly stricken from the memories of the explosives experts who had supervised them in disarming the bombs. Walter Merz, in a book motivated by his autobiographical intentions, mentions the conventional and concentration camp prisoners only in passing with the words "they were quite happy here."¹¹ A former explosives expert from this group, who was interviewed in the 1980s,

indeed mentions the conventional prisoners but refers to the concentration camp prisoners merely as "other prisoners" who he says sometimes accompanied them.¹²

SOURCES As early as 1977, Norbert Krüger published findings on the Kalkum camp in an essay on concentration camp (KZ) prisoners in bomb squads: "Wenn Sie nicht ins KZ wollen . . . : Häftlinge in Bombenräumkommandos," APuZ 16 (1977): 25–37. Andreas Kussmann, who in the mid-1980s undertook research for the city of Düsseldorf on local KZ subcamps, published his results in 1988. See Andreas Kussmann, "KZ-Aussenkommandos und Gefangenenlager in Düsseldorf während des Zweiten Weltkriegs: Ein Forschungsbericht," DüJb 61 (1988): 175–192. The authors of a more recent publication, *Zwangsarbeit in Düsseldorf: "Ausländereinsatz" während des Zweiten Weltkriegs in einer rheinischen Grossstadt*, ed. Clemens von Looz-Corswarem in collaboration with Rafael R. Leissa and Joachim Schröder (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2002), based their work predominantly on this essay.

There are numerous sources on the Kalkum camp that could facilitate more intensive study. The collection Andreas Kussmann assembled in the course of his research contains extensive documentary material on the Kalkum camp (ASt-Dü, Sammlung Kussmann, Nos. 33–43). Besides photocopies of documents from many different archives, there are noteworthy photographs and interviews with former explosives experts and prisoners from Remscheid-Lüttringhausen. In addition, accounts by political prisoners from the penitentiary are held at the AVVN-D (Collection 3690, Johann Jürgens) and at the archives of the Frankfurt SKDW (AN, 1442, Otto Hertel). At the THStA-W, in the collections "NS 4 Buchenwald" and "KZ Buchenwald und Haftanstalten," further sources on Kalkum can be found again and again. Finally, trial files regarding investigations of homicides at the SS-Construction Brigade III and the Buchenwald subcamps in Düsseldorf are informative. They are preserved at the BA-L (IV 429 AR Z 16/74, IV 429 AR 126/74) and at the NWHStA-(D) (Court Rept. 118/1174–1190, 1338–1349; Court Rept. 118/2334–2336).

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NOTES

1. Reichsführer-SS, November 3, 1942, StAN, NG-1002.
2. WVHA, Amtsgruppe D, November 9, 1942, IfZ, MA, 414, 6380, cited from ASt-Dü, Kussmann Collection No. 34.
3. Buchenwald concentration camp, May 28, 1943, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1176.
4. Sipo Ratingen, July 11, 1944, BA-L, IV 429 AR-Z 16/74, pp. 42–44.
5. Buchenwald concentration camp, September 5, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald No. 229, p. 67; and Buchenwald concentration camp, November 6, 1944, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118, No. 1183.
6. Interview with Kurt Selbiger, February 23, 1988, ASt-Dü, Kussmann Collection No. 40.
7. Gestapo Düsseldorf, January 27, 1944, NWHStA-(D), RW 36/13, p. 105.
8. Buchenwald concentration camp, June 23, 1944, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1176.

9. See entries in the daily transfer reports from Buchenwald, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nos. 136a and b.

10. Ibid., entry March 13, 1945.

11. Walter Merz, *Feuerwerker: Namenlose Helden der Bombennächte: Ein Tatsachenbericht* (Rastatt: Erich Pabel Verlag, 1970), pp. 14–15.

12. Heinrich Z., March 9, 1988, ASt-Dü, Kussmann Collection, Folders 33–36.

EISENACH (“EMMA,” “EM”)

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Eisenach (Thüringen) in March 1944 to provide prisoner labor to the Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) plant. The arrangement stemmed from an agreement between the firm and the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which hired out the inmates to BMW at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day.¹ The Eisenach BMW camp was code-named “Emma” or “Em.”

The average number of inmates in the Eisenach subcamp during its nearly one-year operation was 500 inmates, although the prisoner strength of the camp did fluctuate. In August 1944, for example, the camp is listed as having 669 inmates in strength reports. By August 4, the number of inmates in the camp had fallen to 590, and by August 5, to 564 inmates.² Surviving transport lists show that some inmates from the Eisenach subcamp were sent to the Abteroda men’s subcamp (code-named “Anton”) on July 31, 1944, and other inmates continued to be transferred to the Abteroda camp from Eisenach on several instances in the following months.³ Reports dated after August 1944 also indicate the Eisenach and Abteroda camps together (“Emma+Anton”) but break down the numbers of prisoners in each, which further suggests that the Abteroda men’s camp consisted largely of Eisenach inmates, at least for a certain period of time.⁴

Inmates in the Eisenach camp were assigned to the BMW plant in Eisenach Duererhof, where they worked in the production of aircraft engine parts. Although there is no breakdown by nationality on the transport lists, the inmates appear to have been German, Italian, Russian, French, and Polish. According to a detailed listing of the types of prisoner labor assigned to various subcamps from Block 17 in Buchenwald, in September and October 1944, the Eisenach subcamp received skilled workers who performed labor as electricians, machinists, mechanics, shoemakers, locksmiths, and carpenters.⁵

Likewise, there is little information about living conditions within the camp, the circumstances or motives for killing the inmates, the survival rate, or resistance and escape attempts. The prisoners were most likely housed in one of the work halls of the factory or in a brickfield. Undated photos taken during the days after Eisenach camp’s liberation by D.A. Weckwerth depict prisoner barracks, a watchtower, and a gallows where prisoners were likely punished by hanging.⁶

There is scarce surviving information about the commandant or guards of the Eisenach camp. According to a report filed by SS garrison doctor SS-Hauptsturmführer

Schiedlauský on January 31, 1945, the Eisenach camp had an SS doctor in charge of the infirmary named König, an SS medic named Carl, and 50 guards. The camp population was 386, according to this report.⁷

The camp was closed on February 17, 1945, and the prisoners were transferred back to Buchenwald.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Eisenach subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Eisenach 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), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, “Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)” (Weimar-Buchenwald, unpub. MSS).

Surviving primary documentation on the Eisenach subcamp is also limited. For sparse administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 210, Band 55. See also a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Eisenach camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 44. The D.A. Weckwerth papers (USHMMA, Acc. 2000.54) contain brief information about the Eisenach camp and three photos of the grounds at the time of liberation.

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NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

2. Prisoner strength in Aussenkommandos, various, August 1, August 4, August 5, 1944, BA, NS-4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 210 (*Diverses über den Arbeitseinsatz von Häftlingen, 1941–1945*).

3. “. . . von Aussenkommando Eisenach nach dem Aussenkommando Anton überstellt,” July 31, 1944 (79 inmates); September 17, 1944 (2 inmates); October 20, 1944 (4 inmates) (BU 44), AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

4. Prisoner strength in Aussenkommandos, see, for example, lists from November and December 1944. BA, NS-4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 210 (*Diverses über den Arbeitseinsatz von Häftlingen, 1941–1945*), Reel 5.

5. Verlegungen vom Block 17, Rücktransporter vom Aussenkommandos, BA, NS-4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 55, Fiche 1.

6. D.A. Weckwerth papers, USHMMA, Acc. 2000.54.

7. “K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt,” January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt: Röderburg, 1960), p. 253.

ELSNIG

Elsnig is located about eight kilometers (five miles) to the north of Torgau on the Elbe. Until 1945, it was part of the Prussian province of Saxony.

The subcamp was established for female Buchenwald concentration camp prisoners who were to work for the Westfälisch-Anhaltinische Sprengstoff AG (WASAG) and its chemical plant in Elsnig. The camp was located close to the factory grounds on the Reichsstrasse that connected Torgau and Wittenberg. The camp, with 7,500 square meters (8,970 square yards), was relatively small and consisted of several wooden barracks, a wash barracks, kitchen, and infirmary. The buildings were surrounded by an electrified barbed-wire fence.

Although the International Tracing Service (ITS) records the first mention of the camp as October 10, 1944, the first transport of prisoners most likely arrived at Elsnig on October 16. The prisoners were 750 Polish Jewish women from Bergen-Belsen. Previously they had been in ghettos in Poland and in Auschwitz. One of the women was Eva Rosencwajig Stock, who—together with her mother, aunt, and sister—was taken to Elsnig. Eva's sister, aged 13, worked with five other children in the camp kitchen, while the adult women worked in the armaments factory. They worked in two 12-hour shifts, producing and filling shells with TNT and naval explosives.

The subcamp was commanded by SS-Oberscharführer Kurt Völker. Survivors described him as brutal. He frequently mistreated the already weak women and terrorized them with countless roll calls. He repeatedly threatened to kill them. According to some witness reports, Völker forced some women to dig their own graves, but he did not follow through with the executions. The guards were 12 SS men, mostly ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche), and 26 female overseers. At their head was Elfriede Schmeisser, described by surviving prisoners as being just as brutal. Schmeisser was in charge of selections inside the camp. The victims were the young, those who could no longer work, and pregnant women. Selected women were transported to Auschwitz and from January 1945 were sent back to Bergen-Belsen. Rosencwajig reported that her sister and the other young girls were excluded from the selections at her request and that a German foreman had also intervened to protect the girls.¹ The relationships with the German labor force and the German supervisors and foremen is described by Rosencwajig as ambivalent: as the SS had announced that the prisoners were prostitutes and criminals, the Germans kept their distance or were openly hostile. Only over time, some changed their attitude and chatted with the prisoners and occasionally offered assistance.

The women worked on health-damaging tasks in the chemical factory, where they were exposed to poisonous and acidic substances and provided with almost no protection like clothing, gloves, or goggles. Many women suffered from infections to breathing passages, and two women died in November and December 1944 from tuberculosis.

The evacuation of the camp began on April 13, 1945 (the ITS date of April 20 is most likely too late). The women were

either taken in goods wagons, according to historian Irmgard Seidel, or passenger trains, according to a statement by Rosencwajig, in the direction of Ravensbrück. On April 20, 1945, the train was caught up in an Allied air raid on Potsdam: many women were killed and a few, including Rosencwajig, her mother, and aunt, were able to escape. After hiding for a few days in empty houses and in a forest, Rosencwajig and her relatives found refuge in a camp for Italian foreign laborers.

Völker was extradited on February 25, 1947, to Poland, where a court sentenced him to six years' imprisonment for his crimes. Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in the 1960s were inconclusive.

SOURCES A detailed description on the Elsnig subcamp is by Irmgard Seidel in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 435–436. Also see ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 40; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI.* (1977) Teil I, p. 1801.

The THStA-W and the BA-K, Best. NS 4 Bu 221, are of relevance for the camp. The Standesamt Weimar holds a list of new prisoner numbers for Elsnig, November 1944, which can also be found in the AAC-C. The DIZ-T holds further details on the Elsnig subcamp under der Signatur BB 55194. Investigations by the ZdL (now at BA-L) are kept under File AR-Z 117/1970. The USHMMA holds statements by two former prisoners at the camp: Celia Rothstein Elbaum (1997. A.0185) and Eva Rosenczajig Stock (RG-50.030*0225).

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NOTE

1. USHMMA, RG-50.030*022, Oral history interview with Eva Rosencwajig Stock, July 26, 1989, transcript, p. 10.

ESCHERSHAUSEN ("STEIN") AND HOLZEN ("HECHT") [AKA HECHT-OT BAULEITUNG, DEUTSCHE ASPHALT AG-GRUBE HAARMANN] ("H," "HT," "OT")

In 1944 to 1945, several forced labor camps were located in the hilly Hils area of the Weserbergland in central Germany. As in the nearby Harz Mountains, armaments factories were established in underground caves and tunnels, as well as in provisional buildings in the forests. Two Buchenwald subcamps, "Hecht" and "Stein," were established in Holzen and Eschershausen. These were concentration camps under the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). Other forced labor camps in the area included one for German Jews, "Half-Jews," and non-Jews married to Jews; one for German convicts and deported foreigners from the Hameln penitentiary; and mobile units of the SS-Construction Brigade VI (Baubrigade VI) (Eisenbahnbaubrigade I)—probably identical

with an unspecified Dora subcamp mentioned in some testimonies—and the SS-Baggerregiment “Speer,” both of which utilized hundreds of concentration camp prisoners at the building of railway connections to the mining area where the underground factories were hidden.

The factories were established in five asphalt mines belonging to the Natur-Asphalt Gesellschaft and the Deutsche Asphalt AG (DASAG). According to the plans, over 50,000 square meters (59,800 square yards) of production space—later to be expanded to 300,000 (358,800 square yards)—were to be established underground and shared by several armaments companies. The Volkswagen subsidiary Minette was meant to occupy the major part for the manufacturing of Fi-103 (V-1) cruise missile and fighter airplane body sections, and it was eager to obtain storage space for large sheet metal presses from its main factory in Fallersleben and machinery looted from the Peugeot automobile works in France. C. Lorenz AG (code names “Huta” and “Otech”) produced radio equipment for airplanes; the Deutsche Edelstahlwerke AG, Firma Reinhardt, and Marathon Werke produced airplane and submarine engine parts. The refurbishing project was, however, subject to frequent change because of practical difficulties, changing armament priorities, and rivalry between the companies over space and resources. Eventually, additional production space was prepared in primitive concrete buildings that were erected in the forests and narrow valleys of the area.

The Organisation Todt (OT-Einsatzgruppe IV “Kyffhäuser”) was in charge of project coordination. Underground refurbishing was in the hands of the Deutsche Asphalt und Tiefbau AG; other construction companies involved were the Siemens Bau-Union (Siemens Construction Union) and the Francke Werke of Bremen. While plans grew ever grander, the actual armaments output of the Hils facilities was never very impressive.

A variety of forced laborers were occupied in construction work and production and accommodated in various improvised camps. The “Hecht” concentration camp was established in August 1944. This camp is also mentioned in Buchenwald records as SS Kdo. Hecht-OT-Bauleitung, as Deutsche Asphalt AG-Grube Haarmann, and as “H,” “Ht,” and “OT.” Hecht prisoners performed heavy earthmoving, logging, construction, and underground refurbishing work. Supplying slave labor was its sole purpose, as was the case of the second Buchenwald subcamp, Stein, the prisoners of which installed machinery in the production areas and worked in Volkswagen manufacturing. Hecht was the code name for the entire construction project; Stein, for the Volkswagen production facilities. The two camps were under joint administration and command of SS-Scharführer Gemeinhard but occupied separate areas in Holzen (“Hecht”) and Eschershausen (“Stein”).

Hecht prisoners were first accommodated in small tents that were erected by the Hitler-Jugend (Hitler Youth) on August 3, 1944. The first prisoners probably arrived shortly thereafter. A transport of 263 prisoners arriving from Buchenwald on September 14 included Kapos and a prisoner physician but also 3 replacements for prisoners who had al-

ready died in the camp. Eventually four barracks were erected for prisoners’ accommodation, surrounded by watchtowers and a high-voltage barbed-wire fence; three additional barracks served as the guards’ quarters.

Living conditions in the camp were devastating. Morbidity and mortality were high due to grave undernourishment, poor hygiene, work accidents, and extreme guard and Kapo brutality. Frequent transports—the first of which was as early as October 1—brought replacements for the deceased and those who were returned to Buchenwald in order to be exterminated as “unfit for work.” A transport of 253 prisoners from Buchenwald on November 21 included 35 replacements. The prisoner strength of 494, reported by mid-December 1944, remained stable until March 1945, but at least 143 new prisoners had to be brought in as replacements during the six months between September and March in order to maintain it. “There was dying like on an assembly line,” one survivor recorded.¹ Volkswagen payments to the SS represented the full-time labor of approximately 320 prisoners in November 1944 and 510 in January 1945.

Construction remained the main activity, but from December on, concentration camp prisoners were also employed in Volkswagen armaments production (the “Stein” project). Stein prisoners were accommodated in huts in the larger community camp (*Gemeinschaftslager*) “Schwarzes Land” in Eschershausen. By the end of 1944, this mixed camp provided accommodations for 1,200 forced laborers, 65 convicts, and 300 concentration camp prisoners. This arrangement placed the prisoners under a double reign of terror exercised by the SS guards and by the cruel SD *Abwehrbeauftragter* (factory defense commissioner) of the area, SS-Obersturmbannführer Alfred Willi Busch, who used his revolver, whip, and fierce dogs against camp inmates on several occasions.

On February 17 and 18, 1945, 600 skilled metalworkers were selected in Buchenwald for Stein. They arrived in Eschershausen on March 4, together with 43 replacements, augmenting the total number of prisoners in the Hecht and Stein camps to 1,103. Another 415 prisoners who were selected for Stein on March 11 never reached Eschershausen. On March 31, 700 prisoners were transported back to the main camp in open railway cars; other evacuees ended up—by way of the Salzgitter Hermann-Göring-Werke—in Celle, where many fell victim to an Allied air raid and a massacre perpetrated by locals. Some 200 prisoners, most of whom were emaciated, ill, and barely alive, were liberated in Eschershausen by U.S. troops on April 7, 1945.

Existing Buchenwald transport lists are incomplete, so the total number of Hecht and Stein prisoners may have been higher than the above figures, but survivors’ estimates of 1,500 to 2,000 and speculative figures of 5,000 to 7,000 in some literature must be judged too high. Most Hecht and Stein prisoners were Polish, Soviet, and French (among whom was a nephew of Charles de Gaulle, the Marquis de Vichy, who was tormented to death in the camp). A large proportion were Jewish. In each of the prisoner groups, clandestine resistance organizations were organized, which engaged in protecting weaker compatriots and preparing for a mass

escape or an uprising for which weapons and explosives were acquired. The sudden evacuation thwarted these plans. A radio receiver was built, and news circulated illegally.

According to survivors' testimony, Gemeinhard was an alcoholic who inspired guard and Kapo violence. Ways of tormenting the prisoners were mock executions, which actually cost the lives of 2 prisoners, and the burying alive under rocks and debris of weak prisoners who were unable to stand. At least 10 prisoners are reported to have been executed for attempting to escape, but some prisoners actually managed to escape. The guards—30 by October 1944, later substantially more—were half SS and half elderly army and navy soldiers. A navy officer replaced Gemeinhard, probably in January 1945, and tried to bar the beating and mutilation of prisoners, thereby easing the prisoners' plight somewhat. Prisoner-functionaries participated actively in the brutalities. The first camp elder (*Lagerältester*), Becker, was replaced by Zenon Rozansky, an antisemitic Pole, in mid-November, as a number of privileged posts passed from German criminals into the hands of Polish political prisoners, which only worsened the situation of Jews in the camp.

Survivors' testimonies report several examples of compassion and courageous help from local inhabitants of the traditionally Socialist mining environment, whereas many functionaries who were brought in by the armaments companies displayed ruthless, fanatical Nazi attitudes.

SOURCES This description of the Eschershausen/Holzen camps is based on research by Therkel Straede and Manfred Grieger for Hans Mommsen et al., *Das Volkswagenwerk und seine Arbeiter im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf, 1996), p. 830; and articles by Grieger in *JWg* (1993) and in Hermann Kaienburg, ed., *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–45* (Opladen, 1996). Further information, some of which is contradictory and erroneous, may be found in Detlef Creydt and August Meyer, *Zwangsarbeit für die "Wunderwaffen" in Südniedersachsen 1943–1945*, vol.1, and *Zwangsarbeit für die Rüstung im südniedersächsischen Bergland*, vol. 2 (Braunschweig, 1993–1994). Preliminary data are in *Das nationalsozialistische Lager-system (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). A chapter on the camps is included in the author's forthcoming book *The Volkswagen Jews*.

Material on the Eschershausen/Holzen concentration camps is scattered, but Buchenwald records allow for the reconstruction of transports in and out of the camp. The VWA and ASt-WOB hold company records and copies of documents from AG-B, YVA, Beit Lohamei Haghetat near Acco/Israel, NARA (USSBS), BA-B, BA-MA, and ZdL (now BA-L). Survivors' accounts of the Eschershausen/Holzen concentration camps are scarce.

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NOTE

1. Walter Altmann in, Detlef Creydt and August Meyer, *Zwangsarbeit für die "Wunderwaffen" in Südniedersachsen 1943–1945* (Braunschweig, 1993), p.182.

ESSEN (*DEUTSCHE ERD- UND STEINWERKE*) ("SCHWARZE POTHS 13")

The German Earth and Stone Works (*Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke*, DESt) operated a Buchenwald subcamp from February 1944 to March 1945 in Essen. At the camp, building material was recycled from rubble for the city of Essen. The SS-owned DESt had been established in 1938 following an agreement between Adolf Hitler, Heinrich Himmler, and Albert Speer. Its task was to acquire building materials for the planned Führer Cities (*Führerstädte*). With this aim in mind, several projects had been set up between DESt firms from the Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, Neuengamme, and Flossenbürg concentration camps with larger cities such as Berlin, Hamburg, and Nürnberg.

In both Essen and Düsseldorf the initiative to have DESt camps erected in the cities came from the city councils themselves. The heavily bombed Rhineland and Westphalia experienced great difficulties in removing and recycling the rubble as well as in producing new building material. According to the Minden Report (*Mindener Bericht*), both the Essen und Düsseldorf city councils negotiated with the managers of DESt about this problem. The Minden Report, a study on the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), was prepared by one of three accused at the Nuremberg Trials. According to the report, Oswald Pohl instructed DESt to "involve itself on a large scale with the removal of rubble caused by the bombing and to obtain building material from the rubble as quickly as possible."¹ This led to the construction of a rubble recycling plant through which DESt sold the recycled building material at market prices either directly to the cities or to a third party authorized by the building administrations (*Bauverwaltungen*).

The prisoners of the Essen camp were, at least until May 1944, exclusively Buchenwald concentration camp prisoners taken from the Duisburg subcamp of the SS-Construction Brigade III (*Baubrigade III*), which was stationed in Cologne. Twenty-five prisoners were selected as early as December 13, 1943. Presumably they formed an advance detachment sent to construct the camp in Essen.² The camp first appears in the statistics of the Buchenwald concentration camp on February 1, 1944, with a reference to 20 prisoners. One day later there were already 100 prisoners in the camp. The highest number of prisoners, 150, was recorded on April 8, 1944.³ About 90 of them were Soviet prisoners, and 40 were Polish; in addition to 3 Germans, there were also French, Dutch, Belgians, Danes, and Luxemburgers. After the SS-Construction Brigade withdrew from Cologne in May 1944, the DESt detachment became an independent Buchenwald subcamp.

According to an agreement between Office W I of the WVHA and the lord mayors of Düsseldorf and Essen, the DESt had to provide both "accommodation in accordance with city regulations" and guards. Supplies, clothing, and transport of the prisoners were the responsibility of the Buchenwald concentration camp. The cities and the Higher-SS

and Police Leader (HSSPF) West were responsible for the medical care of the prisoners.⁴

The first prisoners lived in barracks in the vicinity of the police headquarters until the camp was set up in the rooms of the badly damaged Hotel Grinzing, located on Adolf-Hitler Strasse (later Viehofer Strasse). Königstrasse 35, which ran parallel to Adolf-Hitler Strasse, backed onto the rear of the hotel and was also part of the camp. The camp, situated in the middle of the city, was code-named "Schwarze Poth 13," named after the SS administration's quarters.

The house at "Schwarze Poth 13," owned by a married couple called Fendel, was requisitioned in March 1944 by officials from the Building Supervisory Office (Bauaufsichtsamt). The officials are reported to have stated: "Things are going to be completely different around here! Concentration camp inmates are being brought here. We are requisitioning this property."⁵ The area around "Schwarze Poth," Königstrasse, Kirchstrasse, and Postallee was closed off by a fence in July 1944 following an inspection by the Essen Gestapo. It was here that the SS administration, prisoner accommodations, and machines to grind the rubble were located.

The camp commander was SS-Unterscharführer Reinhard Sichelschmidt.⁶ Walter Knauf, who was in charge of the Düsseldorf subcamp "Berta," appears to have played a coordinating role between Buchenwald and the DESt camp.⁷ An inspection report by the Essen State Police Office on July 13, 1944, provides information on security:

They have 1 Police Master and 19 sergeants to guard the camp. Nine men secure the camp during the day doing sentry duty for 11 straight hours, mostly in the neighboring streets. Another three guard external details. The prisoners' accommodation is secured at night by three men who alternately stand guard. . . . The guards are mostly police reservists and there is the risk that after 11 hours sentry duty their attention will wane because of tiredness. The only weapons the guards have are pistols, which is inadequate considering the size of the area to be secured. It is essential that the guards be armed with rifles.⁸

The head of the Schuttverwertung Düsseldorf-Essen (Düsseldorf-Essen Recycling Plant), SS-Oberscharführer Goergens, was in charge of the work. One of his duties was to ensure that the prisoners worked in accordance with requirements. This was partly in order to prevent prisoners from the DESt detachments being used for cleaning and repair work in the cities. In May 1944, the Higher-SS and Police Leader West had prohibited the use of prisoners for such work. At the same time, he reserved the right to use prisoners for special work assignments.⁹ And, in fact, prisoners were later used to recover unexploded bombs that were then deactivated by the Düsseldorf bomb squad known as Kalkum.

During the above-mentioned inspection by the Essen Gestapo, the prisoners' work tempo was deemed unsatisfactory. The report states as follows: "Regretfully the pace of work is slow. For example, a detachment was pulling bricks from piles of rubble. The prisoners, who had to carry the bricks about 15 meters [49 feet] to the street, moved slowly and each prisoner carried no more than two or three bricks. The foreman stated that the orders required them to carry five bricks. They did not do this because there were no measures, such as arrest or shortening of rations, to force them to work more quickly."¹⁰ The camp was in the middle of the city and open to public view. In these circumstances it was not possible to apply the usual concentration camp terror as the writer of the report, obviously annoyed, stated: "In this situation the question arises whether such concentration camp detachments are not pointless as they require a large number of guards and more rigorous disciplinary measures cannot be applied to achieve better results because they are in public view."¹¹

It is impossible to gauge to what extent the prisoners' circumstances were improved because the camp was more exposed to the public. A former prisoner, Werner Betzold, the camp elder, reported the noteworthy intervention of a policeman who apparently saved his life. Betzold stated at the beginning of the 1980s that he asked the camp commander Sichelschmidt for a doctor for the prisoners several times. Sichelschmidt constantly refused the request. One morning at roll call he informed Sichelschmidt that he no longer wanted to be camp elder. Sichelschmidt pulled his pistol in anger. A police officer intervened, shouting, "You will not shoot him!" and summoned more police by blowing his whistle. Sichelschmidt let Betzold go but punished him by transferring him to the DESt camp.¹²

At least 5 prisoners died in the Essen camp—3 during the period when the camp was part of the SS-Construction Brigade and 2 in June 1944. At least 5 prisoners were able to escape, and at least 8 were classified "incapable of work" and sent back to the main camp.¹³ The remaining 129 prisoners in the camp were sent back to Buchenwald on March 21, 1945, in the face of the advancing Allies.¹⁴

Investigations by state prosecutors after 1945 did not reveal any punishable offenses. The former camp commander Sichelschmidt lived at least until 1988 untroubled by his former workplace.

SOURCES It is thanks to Ernst Schmidt from Essen that the camp became the subject of attention in the 1980s. He collected reports from eyewitnesses, survivors, and participants as well as documents that he published in a chapter in the second volume of his book *Lichter in der Finsternis: Widerstand und Verfolgung in Essen 1938–1945; Erlebnisse—Berichte—Forschungen—Gespräche* (Essen, 1988). Included in the book are a photograph of the house at "Schwarze Poth 13" and a group photo of the guards (pp. 187, 198). The material he collected is held by the Ruhrlandmuseum Essen (Archive Ernst Schmidt, Collection 19/370).

Other sources can be found in the THStA-W (Collections

“KZ Buchenwald und Haftanstalten,” “NS 4 Buchenwald”), NWHStA-(D) (Court Rept. 118/1174–1190, Court Rept. 118/2334–2336), and in the BA-L (IV 406 AR 85/67, IV 429 AR-Z 16/74, IV 429 AR-Z 126/74).

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NOTES

1. “Das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt und die unter seiner Dienstaufsicht stehenden wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen,” NARA, RG 238, NO-1573, as cited by Walter Naasner, *SS-Wirtschaft und SS-Verwaltung: Das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt und die unter seiner Dienstaufsicht stehenden wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen und weitere Dokumente* (Düsseldorf: Droste-Verlag, 1998), p. 136.

2. SS-Construction Brigade III Duisburg, December 13, 1943, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1177.

3. Work Deployment Statistics, February, March, and April 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 230, pp. 5, 25, 50.

4. WVHA, Amt D, April 26, 1944, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald Nr. 10, p. 291.

5. Cited by Ernst Schmidt, *Lichter in der Finsternis: Widerstand und Verfolgung in Essen 1938–1945; Erlebnisse—Berichte—Forschungen—Gespräche* (Essen, 1988), 2: 194.

6. Buchenwald Concentration Camp, Directory, November 6, 1944, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1183.

7. SS-Oberscharführer Knauf, Strength Report December 12, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 229.

8. Cited by Schmidt, *Lichter in der Finsternis*, p. 189.

9. HSSPF West, May 11, 1944, NWHStA-(D), RW 37/2, p. 27.

10. Cited by Schmidt, *Lichter in der Finsternis*, p. 189.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid., pp. 196–198.

13. Karola Fings, *Messlager Köln: Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne, 1996), p. 235; THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a.

14. ITS, Arolsen, June 29, 1950, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/2334.

ESSEN (HUMBOLDTSTRASSE)

The subcamp of Essen (Humboldtstrasse), an external work detail (Kommando) of the Buchenwald concentration camp, existed from August 1944 until March 1945. The subcamp held 520 Hungarian Jewish women, who were forced to work in the Friedrich Krupp Inc. cast steel factory.

The Humboldtstrasse camp was established in 1943. It initially housed French civilian workers, followed later by female forced laborers from the Soviet Union and Italian military internees. They all worked in the Essen factories of the Krupp firm. In 1944 German staff members of the Krupp cast steel factory were conscripted into military service; the foreign civilian workers or prisoners of war (POWs), who could initially replace them, were barely obtainable in the face of German defeats on all fronts. Therefore, in the early summer of 1944, the company increased its efforts regarding the

allocation of camp prisoners. After the acting personnel manager personally applied to the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) in Oranienburg, a written request for prisoners was addressed to the commanders of the Buchenwald camp. It was granted in June 1944.¹ However, while the company had wanted 2,000 male craftsmen, the WVHA allocated to Krupp Inc. female prisoners from the group of Hungarian Jewish women who in early 1944 had been deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau and not gassed.

Corporate management thereupon sent a representative to the neighboring city of Gelsenkirchen, where on the grounds of Gelsenberg Benzin AG approximately 2,000 female Jewish camp prisoners were housed in tent camps and primarily employed to clear debris. The camp was administered by the Buchenwald concentration camp. Because the Krupp factory held open workstations for no more than 300 women, and the SS prisoners were only portioned in groups of 500, a contingent of 500 women plus 20 female prisoner-functionaries was agreed upon. These 520 prisoners, most of whom were women around 20 years old, were transferred to the Humboldtstrasse camp at the end of August 1944.²

There, five barracks in the western section of the camp complex had been separated for the female inmates and enclosed with barbed wire. On the other side of the fence, Eastern female workers from the USSR were housed. In front of the enclosed section was a barrack for the guard squad. The camp for the Jewish inmates lay on an open field, had no leveled paths, and had four sleeping barracks and a kitchen with a cafeteria. In the sleeping barracks the women found roughly 65 bunk-bed frames with straw sacks. The rooms, which had until then housed Italian military internees, were incredibly filthy. The camp leader (Lagerführer) was 30-year-old SS-Oberscharführer Albert Rieck, and his deputies were the two SS-Unterscharführer Willi Kerkhoff and Otto Maier. In addition to the SS guard Kommandos, the Krupp firm had recruited women from its own workforce to act as guards. They were sent to a 10-day crash course for concentration camp overseers in the Ravensbrück female concentration camp, and there they were inducted into SS service. Initially the guard squad was composed of 44 women and 15 men. However, half of these guards soon received other tasks.³

The prisoners were awakened at 4:00 A.M. and ordered to roll call in front of the barracks. Following breakfast, which at first consisted of bread and margarine, they were taken by streetcar to the Krupp cast steel factory, where work began at 6:00. The majority of the Hungarian female inmates worked in Steel Mill II; instructed by German workers, they were charged with stoking the oven, performing the welding, and carrying out various chores. Most of the women were employed in a two-shift system consisting of 12 hours each. The work on the night shift was easier, since the women were often only responsible for overseeing the meters. How the Jewish women in Steel Mill II fared depended largely upon the benevolence of the German workers and above all on the demeanor of the factory manager, boss, and assistant foreman.

The scale of different behaviors ranged from clandestine solidarity, which was personally risky (since it was forbidden), to open brutality. It appears that indifference predominated at Humboldtstrasse. During aerial bombings, people were preoccupied with their own problems; the misery of the foreigners was both obvious and irrevocable. Individual relations with the prisoners varied considerably among the guard squad as well. The female prisoners were especially fearful of the frequently abusive camp leader Rieck and Emmi Theissen, the leader of the SS women's Kommando.

When Essen was subjected to a heavy Allied air raid on the night of October 23–24, 1944, the camp prisoners took refuge in ditches that were only 1 meter (3.3 feet) deep and therefore provided little protection. The guards found refuge in a bunker that neither the prisoners nor the neighboring Eastern workers were allowed to enter. The camp area received one direct hit; 58 Russian women were killed. Since the quarters of the prisoners were also completely destroyed, the women temporarily repaired the less-damaged kitchen barrack and set up in its dining hall a large, continuous communal bed, for which there was only some straw and an insufficient number of blankets. Because the streetcar stopped operating after the strike, following breakfast (which was rationed considerably smaller and later wholly omitted), the women had to march 7 kilometers (4.4 miles) through Essen to work under the watch of abusive SS men. Since they received no footwear, they walked with old wooden clogs, rags bundled around their feet, or barefoot, even in winter. In the factory, as part of reparation work, they had to drag bricks, transport metal plates, and perform other heavy labor. In the evening after 6:00 P.M., they lined up for the return march, received their evening meal in the camp, now mostly cauliflower soup and bread, and then crowded themselves together to sleep in the increasing cold. During this time one woman died of tuberculosis, another as a result of severe frostbite. When it was discovered that one of the women was pregnant, she was sent back to Birkenau.

Yet another Allied air strike on December 12, 1944, destroyed the kitchen barrack of the Humboldtstrasse camp. The women were put up in the cellar rooms of a nearby, burned-out barrack. For the next quarter year, most of them had to sleep on a damp cement floor with a blanket or on a little straw. The management committee of the Krupp firm knew of the women's circumstances. However, nothing was done, especially because since January 1945 the situation in Essen tended toward chaos. In February 1945 camp director Rieck announced his orders that under no circumstances should he let the camp prisoners fall alive into the hands of the Allied troops. The board of directors of the Krupp firm decided that the prisoners should immediately leave Essen. On March 17, 1945, under the direction of a Krupp administrator and several SS guards, the women marched to the neighboring town of Bochum, where they boarded a special train to Buchenwald, along with Jewish male camp prisoners from Hungary. The journey to Buchenwald, in third-class passenger cars and freight cars, took three days as a result of the war situation.⁴ From Buchenwald the women were immediately led to the Bergen-Belsen concentra-

tion camp, which took another three days. Arriving in Bergen-Belsen on March 22, 1945, the women experienced a typhus epidemic, terrible hunger, and the imminent threat of SS firing squads. It is unclear how many of the original 520 women survived through the capture of Bergen-Belsen by British troops on April 15, 1945. Directly after liberation of the camp, the majority of survivors were taken to Sweden by the Red Cross.

A few days after the evacuation of the Hungarian Jewish women from Essen, six of them—Rosa Katz, Gizella Israel, Erna and Elizabeth Roth, Agnes and Renée Königsberg—used an Allied air strike to escape while on their way to work. They hid themselves in the cellar of the demolished mortuary of the Essen Jewish Cemetery. They stayed there a couple of days, without water or food. Eventually Rosa Katz called on a married couple, Erna and Gerhard Marquardt, who lived close by. The couple provided for the escapees and brought them to a hideout that was less dangerous. In the aftermath, several others (in addition to the Marquardts) participated in the rescue of the six women, above all Karl Schneider, who, like Gerhard Marquardt, worked in the Krupp steel mill, Schneider's neighbor Erna Lippold, the grocer Fritz Niemann, and his employees Gertrud Hahnen and Adolf Gatzweiler.⁵

After 1945, and during the successive trial against Krupp, the leaders of the Humboldtstrasse subcamp were included among the authorities charged with expressly following inhumane labor policies and the cooperation of Ruhr Basin industry in National Socialist crimes. No member of the guard personnel was legally prosecuted after 1945. Preliminary proceedings were only opened against Lagerführer Rieck following his death.

SOURCES The basic overview about the history of the Humboldtstrasse subcamp is derived from Ulrich Herbert, "Von Auschwitz nach Essen. Die Geschichte des KZ-Aussenlagers Humboldtstrasse," *DaHe* 2 (1986): 13–34. On the basis of personal interviews with Krupp workers, Herbert also reconstructed the relations between the German corporate employees vis-à-vis the foreign laborers—not just Jewish—who were coercively appointed, in his "Apartheid nebenan: Erinnerungen an die Fremdarbeiter im Ruhrgebiet," in *Die Jahre weiss man nicht, wo man die heute einsetzen soll: Faschismuserfahrungen im Ruhrgebiet*, ed. Lutz Niethammer (Berlin, 1983), pp. 67–69. The Essen local historian, Ernst Schmidt, told the history of the subcamp based on conversations and correspondence with several Hungarian Jewish prisoners who were able to flee from the subcamp in early 1945, as well as those Esseners who assisted them. See his "Essener Aussenläger des KZ Buchenwald," in *Lichter in der Finsternis. Widerstand und Verfolgung in Essen 1933–1945* (Essen, 1988), 2: 187–220; and "Das Schicksal der ungarischen Jüdin Rose Szego und ihrer Familie," in *Jüdisches Leben in Essen 1800–1933*, ed. Alte Synagoge Essen (Essen, 1993), pp. 193–197.

Primary sources for this camp start with StA N, Nürnberg Subsequent Proceedings, Case X (*USA v. Alfred Krupp et al.*), Prosecution Document Books (especially B 42, 48, 49, 50, 53, 57) and Defense Document Books (in particular M 3 and 4), as well as trial protocols, ZdL (now BA-L), Bestand IV 429 AR-A 51/71 (D), Bände 1–5. This includes evidence: for

example, the recollections of 36 former prisoners, 22 former members of the guard squad, virtually all at the time officers in the Krupp property management, and German workers who were employed at Krupp.

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NOTES

1. Aktenvermerk Walter Hölkeskamp, September 15, 1947, Dok. NIK 11679, Nürnberger Nachfolgeprozesse Fall X, B 42; Aussage Ihn, 1.10.1945, Dok. D 274, Case X, B 59; Sitzung der Sonder-Arbeitseinsatz-Ingenieure Krupp, 21.6.1944, Dok. NIK 9804, Case X, B 58.

2. See v.a. Affidavit Dolhaine, September 18, 1947, Dok. NIK 11675, Case X, B 48.

3. For guard personnel, see v.a. Aktenvermerk Krupp, Wirtschaftsbüro, July 29, 1944, Dok. D 238, Fall X, B 48; Affidavit Schwarz vom 27.8.1947, Dok. NIK 11313; Affidavit Geulen, August 9, 1947, Dok. NIK 11731; Affidavit Hermanns, Dok. NIK 11930; Affidavit Dominik, Dok. NIK 11729; Affidavit Trockel, Dok. NIK 11676; alle: Fall X, B 48; ZdL (now BA-L), OSta Köln, 24 Js 14/71 (Z).

4. For the dissolution of the Humboldtstrasse camp as well as the transport to Buchenwald and Bergen-Belsen, see Aussage Dolhaine, May 21, 1948, Fall X, Protokoll S. 8942; Ihn an Lehmann, Doc. D, Dok. 274; Affidavit Rosa Katz, Doc. D 277, Fall X, B 48; SS-Arbeitskommando Krupp an Oberlagerführung Krupp, 9. und 14.3.1945, Dok. NIK 7014; Korrespondenz mit der Reichsbahndirektion, Dok. NIK 13001; Affidavit Grossmann, Dok. 12604—alle Fall X, B 48; Affidavit Kerkmann, November 25, 1947, Dok. NIK 12877, Fall X, B 49; Affidavit Sommerer, March 11, 1948, Dok. Lehmann 165, Fall X, M 3; Affidavit Stender, 11.3.1948, Dok. Lehmann 166, Case X, M 3.

5. As reconstructed from oral history interviews in Ernst Schmidt, "Essener Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald," in *Lichter in der Finsternis. Widerstand und Verfolgung in Essen 1933–1945* (Essen, 1988).

FLÖSSBERG

The Buchenwald Flössberg subcamp was one of seven camps established by the company Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) during the last year of the war in Germany. The camp was located close to the village of Flössberg, 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) south of Leipzig. There was a maximum of 1,200 Jewish men in the camp who had to do construction work for a new armaments factory.¹ The camp received its first transport of prisoners on December 28, 1944, and closed on April 13, 1945, when the prisoners were transported away.²

From 1934, the Leipzig lamp manufacturer HASAG produced increasing quantities of munitions, primarily grenades and, toward the end of the war, the *Panzerfaust*, an important antitank weapon. In 1939, the company took over as trustee for the Wehrmacht in Poland several factories that manufactured munitions. From 1942 on, in six forced labor camps including camps in Kielce, Częstochowa, and Skarżysko-Kamienna, the company manufactured munitions, using thousands of forced

Jewish laborers. Camps were established in each of the company's factories. As the front got closer and closer to the Polish factories and the HASAG subcamps, the company began in the summer of 1944 to relocate its existing production sites to Sachsen and Thüringen. It also established new sites in those states. Flössberg was probably chosen as the last of the seven HASAG subcamps because of its good rail connections and its forest location, which allowed the production facilities to be camouflaged. Flössberg was not far from the main factory in Leipzig and not far from Colditz, where there had been an earlier subcamp. The company established the subcamp on a field close to the village of Flössberg on the edge of a forest at the end of November 1944. The company's employees and "foreign laborers" built barracks and fences for the prison camp before the arrival of the first transport of 150 men from Buchenwald on December 28, 1944.

The Buchenwald camp statistics record the camp as a "Jewish Work Detachment." The men had been chosen in Buchenwald or were from one of the six other HASAG camps and sent for forced labor in Flössberg. At first the prisoners were kept busy with the construction of the camp and production facilities close to the camp. They had to carry rails and lay the bed for the railway tracks as well as lay a company railway line. Survivors have talked about leveling the ground and transporting building materials for the construction of factory buildings and barracks in the forest. "The work was done in boggy ground, on the run," according to former prisoner Szmul Lustiger.³ A few prisoners were required to unload and assemble the machines, which probably originated from the HASAG factories in Poland and were to be used to manufacture the Panzerfäuste. It is not known whether the machines actually produced these weapons during the four months of the camp's existence. In addition to construction work, the HASAG prisoners, especially in March 1945, were used outside the camp after Allied bombing raids on the factory facilities in the forest. They were used to clean up and disarm unexploded bombs in the nearby manor of Beucha.

The Jewish prisoners in Flössberg came from different countries, but there were many Hungarians and Poles. Some had already worked in the Polish HASAG factories. On the Flössberg transport lists are men of all age groups, but most were between 25 and 35 years of age. Non-Jewish males were sent to Flössberg as prisoner-functionaries. Michael Eichler reported on a German barrack elder (Barackenältester) who had been arrested because he was a homosexual. The number of prisoners in Flössberg climbed steadily to the beginning of March 1945 and soon passed the number of villagers. According to the transport lists there were in January 300 to 450 internees, and on February 2, 1945, 769. After that, there was a prisoner exchange. On February 17, 1945, and on March 2, 1945, 230 prisoners were taken to Buchenwald. During the same period of time, 990 Buchenwald prisoners and inmates from the HASAG camps at Schlieben and Leipzig were taken to Flössberg, with the result that by the end of February the camp reached its highest capacity of 1,450. This was to last only for a short time. After that the numbers declined continually in large part due to the many deaths. The final strength report

dated April 7, 1945, records 1,144 prisoners. At least 166 prisoners had died in the camp by April 7, 1945, 94 alone in the last month of the camp's operation.⁴ Some 1,904 prisoners went through the camp. This means that in the four months at least 9 percent of the prisoners had died. Of the 586 prisoners (31 percent) who were returned from Flössberg back to the main camp, the majority were so exhausted that Buchenwald SS-Standortarzt Gerhard Schiedlausky made the following notation in his weekly reports: "Condition very poor."⁵ In Flössberg there was a minimum of medical care provided by a camp prisoner doctor. He had to treat the sick, wounded, and exhausted without beds and with almost no medicine. Especially in February, SS and company personnel selected prisoners in Flössberg on several occasions for "physical weakness" but also including those who had an accident, suffered from frostbite, eczema, skin, and digestion problems, had tuberculosis, and so on. Those selected were transferred back to Buchenwald. Many would have died there or in the evacuation of the camp in April. This situation leads one to conclude that Flössberg was one of the toughest detachments in the last phase of the war.

The main reasons for the deaths of so many prisoners were the extreme prison conditions and the debilitating forced labor. The prisoners were accommodated in wooden barracks and slept on straw mattresses or on bare stretchers. There were no sanitary conditions in the camp. The prisoners got some of their water from puddles in the boggy area. There was no possibility to wash clothes in the camp or to change clothes. The prisoners were fed daily with soup. This was inadequate for many prisoners who had to survive the difficult 12-hour shifts.

The prisoners suffered from the long roll calls and the treatment of their guards. SS-Obersturmführer Wolfgang Plaul, in command of the Leipzig subcamps and responsible for the HASAG camp, had to answer to the Buchenwald camp commander, Hermann Pister, in February 1945, for his mistreatment of prisoners. SS-Untersturmführer Scheller, commander of an SS Pionereinheit (Field Engineer Unit), who was also noticed for his mistreatment of the prisoners in the camp, was threatened by Plaul with severe punishment. The leader of the Flössberg camp, SS-Oberscharführer Strese, was relieved of his command at the same time. He was succeeded by SS-Oberscharführer Lütcher.

The prisoners were guarded by SS units. According to former prisoner reports, many of the guards were wounded or invalided men. Other SS men were said to be very young. During their forced labor, the prisoners were supervised by German civilians who were mostly skilled HASAG or construction tradesmen. They allocated the prisoners to work and guarded them. The prisoners, outside the camp site, came into contact with the local population, for example, when constructing the railway facilities. The HASAG factory was an object of curiosity in Flössberg, as former priest Erich Senff recorded in his diary on February 6, 1945: "The Hasag factory is now a place for excursions for Flössberg."⁶

On March 5, 1945, the Flössberg HASAG factory facilities and probably the guards' accommodation barracks were de-

stroyed during an Allied air raid. The prisoners' camp was spared from the air attack. However, until the camp was evacuated, the prisoners had to reconstruct the destroyed facilities under the most severe conditions. The prisoners were driven from the camp on April 13, 1945, and deported by rail in the direction of Mauthausen.⁷ Around 100 prisoners were squeezed into each wagon, which had been used to transport explosives. When the journey commenced, the prisoners were given a loaf of bread for their journey, which was to last several days. Once a day they were allowed out of the wagons to go to the toilet. When this happened the countless dead were taken from the wagons. According to prisoners' reports, some of the prisoners, after a few days, were driven on to Mauthausen by foot. When they arrived, the survivors noticed that the guards had gone.

SOURCES The Flössberg camp is discussed in an essay on the HASAG camps: Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271.

Documents on the Flössberg subcamp are scattered among many archives. Fragmentary SS-HASAG correspondence on this camp has survived. In AG-B and THStA-W, there are a few relevant documents especially relating to the work done by the Buchenwald SS-Standortarzt (NS4Bu, KZuHaftaBu). There are several survivors' reports in different languages or records of interview at YV (Collections M.1.E, M49.E, and O.3). The priest at Flössberg, Hans-Ulrich Dietze, has collected information on the camp since the 1970s.

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NOTES

1. NARA, Washington—RG 242, Film 25, Bl. 0015767–808.
2. Diary Erich Senff, copy in the ownership of the writer, April 13, 1945. Report Szmul Lustiger (translation from the Polish by Agnieszka Lasota), YVA, M.49/784.
3. Rept. Szmul Lustiger.
4. THStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 10, Bl. 1–166.
5. THStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 10, Bl. 15 und Bl. 18.
6. Diary Erich Senff, a.a.O.
7. Interview with Emil Bergmann, YVA, O.3/9185. Also Rept. of Szmul Lustiger.

GANDERSHEIM

[AKA BAD GANDERSHEIM]

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Bad Gandersheim (Lower Saxony province) in October 1944 to provide labor to a branch of the Heinkel-Werke (Heinkel Works) located at the Bruns Apparatebau GmbH in Brunshausen near Gandersheim. Like other armaments firms that exploited prisoner labor, the Bruns Apparatebau hired out inmates from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a cost of 9 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day, payable to the SS by the firm.

The first transport of 206 inmates was selected and left Buchenwald's so-called small camp (*kleines Lager*) on October 2, 1944. The group consisted of skilled laborers who were chosen for work in the factory as well as those selected for their relative physical strength who were to construct the camp itself. The inmates were transferred to Gandersheim in cattle cars and, until the camp barracks were constructed, were housed in an empty church. Prior to its use as a temporary subcamp, the church was used as quarters for prisoners of war (POWs) as well as for pregnant Russian and Polish slave laborers who were forced to give birth there and to abandon their newborn children. One half of the church was covered in straw on which the Gandersheim inmates slept, and a makeshift infirmary (*Revier*) was partitioned off near the entrance of the church.

Following the arrival of the inmates, civilian foremen and supervisors from the Bruns Apparatebau factory came to the church to select prisoners for work. Those not selected formed the fence commando (*Zaunkommando*), which was assigned to construct the barracks for the new camp. Inmates sent to work in the factory were marched to the Bruns Apparatebau, located in nearby Brunshausen. The Heinkel firm had leased the Brunshausen factory to continue production of He 219 radio navigation equipment and fuselages. German personnel who had worked originally for the Vereinigte Ostwerke GmbH (United Eastern Works, Ltd., another subsidiary of Heinkel) in Mielec, Poland, were transferred to Brunshausen after the Ostwerke was dissolved in the summer of 1944.

Although the prisoners generally preferred work in the factory to the unprotected outdoor conditions of heavy labor in the *Zaunkommando*, conditions in the factory were also difficult. Constant pneumatic drilling made the work extremely noisy. German civilian foremen who supervised the work beat the inmates who were suspected of sabotage or who did not work efficiently enough.¹ The prisoners were underfed, especially for the physical conditions they were expected to endure; most testimony and prisoner memoirs comment on the persistent lack of food, constant hunger, and futile attempts to search or barter for extra food. In a few instances, civilian workers in the Bruns Apparatebau offered extra food, but these cases of assistance were rare. The pursuit of tobacco was another common obsession of the inmates. The latrine shared by all inmates in the camp was a crude hole with wooden benches surrounding it.

All of the inmates in the Gandersheim subcamp were men, with the largest groups of prisoners coming from France, Italy, Russia, and Poland. There were also smaller numbers of German, Belgian, Czech, Spanish, Croatian, Dutch, Serbian, and Slovenian inmates. Additional demographic information, such as the average age and professions of the inmates, can be gleaned from further research and statistical analysis of transport lists and other administrative records.² After the initial October transport from Buchenwald, 333 inmates were transported to Gandersheim from Dachau.³ On December 18, 1944, another 50 inmates were transferred from the Sachsenhausen main camp to Gandersheim.⁴ After the construction

of the camp was completed, inmates were divided into three barrack blocks. The average strength of the Gandersheim camp throughout its seven-month period of operation was about 500 inmates. By April 1945, there were 519 inmates.

As in other camps, the hierarchy of camp supervision incorporated prisoner-functionaries as well as members of the SS who guarded and administered the camp. Therefore, in addition to work assignments in the factory or in construction, several inmates, mainly German professional criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*), were selected as work overseers (*Kapos*), block elders (*Blockältester*), and camp elders (*Lagerältester*). A report published in the study by Paul le Goupil, Gigi Texier, and Pierre Texier identifies the *Lagerältester* as prisoner Paul Knopf. The *Blockältester* for the three blocks were Edmund Grudowski, L. Wischnewsky, and B. Rullan. There were six inmates appointed to orderly duty (*Stubendienst*), three to the laundry, as well as eight *Kapos*, and other assignments to the infirmary, storage, and SS quarters.⁵

The names of many of the SS guards stationed in Gandersheim are also known. *Hauptscharführer* Willy Dillenburger was the commandant of the camp. Other guards in service in Gandersheim included: *Unterscharführer* Urban; the Dutch-born *Unterscharführer* Anton Przybliski; *Unterscharführer* Albert Janke, who was in charge of inmate work assignments in the camp and the evacuation march; *Truppführer* Albert Jokussies; *Schütze* Emil Kraaz; *Unterscharführer* Paselt; *Truppführer* Stephan Müller; *Truppführer* Georg Muller; *Oberscharführer* Ignaz Grescher, who headed the infirmary section; *Rottenführer* Helmut Vogt; *Schütze* Antoine Otto, in charge of the kitchen; Hans Herman; *Schütze* Eggers; *Oberscharführer* Sepp Schralm; and August Köhler.

Some of the guards and *Kapos* were known especially for their cruelty and propensity to punish and beat the inmates at every chance. At various intervals, some inmates were transferred back to the infirmary at the Buchenwald main camp if they were no longer able to work.⁶ Surviving transfer/strength reports (*Veränderungsmeldungen*) also show that deaths were reported to the Buchenwald administration intermittently from Gandersheim.⁷ Those who died in the camp were taken to the nearby Clus forest and buried. The largest execution of prisoners took place just prior to the evacuation of the camp in April 1945, when 40 inmates were shot in the forest and buried. They had stepped out of the columns upon the request of the SS for those too weak to march in the evacuation. Their bodies were later recovered by American troops, identified and researched, and reburied in the cemetery of Salzburg.

Despite the working and living conditions, there were a few cases of sabotage in the Brunshausen factory, as well as some escape attempts, especially during the evacuation marches. Sabotage in the factory was difficult, however, because civilian foremen and *Kapos* monitored each stage of the production process carefully.⁸ Movements to dissolve the camp began on April 4, 1945, when the 40 weak inmates were executed. About 460 inmates were rounded up and evacuated on foot. The original destination was to return to Buchenwald; however,

the Allies had already advanced toward Nordhausen and Erfurt. Instead, the march continued east, in the direction of the Harz Mountains, passing through Ackershausen, Dannhausen, Kirchberg, Bad Grund, and Clausthal-Zellerfeld. By April 13, after considerable division of the Gandersheim march and combining with several other evacuation marches from camps (including Langenstein, Wansleben, and others), a part of the Gandersheim march reached Bitterfeld and was transferred by train to Dachau.⁹ The 9th U.S. Army liberated Gandersheim on April 10. Of those Gandersheim inmates who reached Dachau, about 150 survived.

None of the civilian employees of the Heinkel firm in Brunshausen were brought to trial after the war, although the director Kleinemeyer was said to have encouraged the punishment of inmates. His subordinate, referred to as "F.F." by le Goupil, Texier, and Texier, and who conducted labor negotiations with the SS, was also not prosecuted and went on to various governmental and mayoral positions in Wolfenbüttel and Lower Saxony after the war. Truppführer Albert Jokussies and Kapo Friedrich Sohl were tried in Hannover in 1948 for the execution before the march as well as shooting other prisoners during the march. They were sentenced to four years in prison.¹⁰

SOURCES Two major secondary sources upon which this entry builds cover much of the history of the Buchenwald subcamp at Bad Gandersheim. See Paul le Goupil, Gigi Texier, and Pierre Texier, *Bad Gandersheim: Autopsie d'un Kommando de Buchenwald* (Le Pecq: G. et P. Texier, 2003), for a comprehensive history of the camp, including several photographs, diagrams and layouts of the grounds, research reports, reproduction of primary documents, and many survivor testimonies. Their study also includes extensive statistical analyses, especially of the demographics of French former inmates, as well as a nearly comprehensive list of Gandersheim inmates with their professions, ages, and so on (pp. 91–126). Robert Antelme's *The Human Race/L'espèce humaine*, trans. J. Haight and A. Mahler (Evanston, IL: Marlboro Press/Northwestern University Press, 1998) is a detailed and moving memoir about living and working conditions in the Gandersheim camp, the treatment by specific Kapos and guards, and the treacherous evacuation marches from the camp at the end of the war. For brief information on the Gandersheim camp, such as opening and closing dates, kind of work, and so on, 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).

Several private collections and archives contain primary documentation on the Bad Gandersheim subcamp, and the text by le Goupil, Texier, and Texier makes special note of them. See, for example, AG-B and AG-MD for relevant transport lists and other administrative records associated with the camp, as well as AAC-C and AN. Copies of some of these administrative records are located in USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, in a collection of documents copied from AN-MACVG and originating from ITS (see especially BU 45, BU 69 and BU 5/3). For the Jokussies and Sohl proceedings, see C.F. Rüter and D.W. de Mildt, eds., *Justiz und NS-*

Verbrechen (Amsterdam: APA-Holland University Press, 1998), vol. 4.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. See, for example, Robert Antelme, *The Human Race/L'espèce humaine*, trans. J. Haight and A. Mahler (Evanston, IL: Marlboro Press/Northwestern University Press, 1998), pp. 140–145.
2. See the "KL Buchenwald, KDO Gandersheim ('Gh')" collection of documents (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 16.
3. "Transport Gandersheim," November 17, 1944 (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 16.
4. "Transport Gandersheim," December 18, 1944 (BU 7/14), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 6.
5. See le Goupil, Texier, and Texier, *The Human Race*, p. 129, for SS report listing camp prisoner staff.
6. See transport report dated November 18, 1944, from Gandersheim to Buchenwald (7 inmates), as well as report dated January 10, 1945 (10 inmates) (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 16.
7. Veränderungsmeldungen, January 28, 1945 (2 deaths) (BU 36/4); January 31, 1945 (1 death due to bronchial pneumonia) (BU 36/4); February 6, 1945 (1 death due to rickets) (36/3); February 13, 1945 (2 deaths due to lung inflammation) (BU 36/4)—all in USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 16.
8. See testimony of Roger Perret, in le Goupil, Texier, and Texier, *The Human Race*, p. 11.
9. See evacuation diagrams in *ibid.*, pp. 133–143.
10. See *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 4.

GELSENKIRCHEN-HORST

One of the Buchenwald forced labor detachments was established in the Gelsenkirchen suburb of Horst in the Ruhr. It was located at the Gelsenberg Benzin AG hydrogenation factory. The factory was heavily damaged on June 13, 1944, during an air raid, and production came to a standstill. However, the importance to the war effort of hydrogenation and the manufacture of aircraft kerosene meant that orders were given for the immediate removal of the damage. The labor shortage meant that the dangerous work was to be done by forced laborers. As a result 2,000 Hungarian Jewish women were "selected" in Auschwitz for work in Gelsenkirchen. These women were from Transylvania, Sighet, and its surrounding areas. They had been in Auschwitz for six weeks. The Buchenwald subcamp in Gelsenkirchen-Horst was established with the arrival of the Hungarian women on July 4, 1944.¹ The extent of the damage to the hydrogenation factory meant that the deployment was practically meaningless.

The camp was established on an empty field to the east of the Gelsenberg Benzin factory. It consisted of three large army tents. The camp was fenced in with barbed wire. The prisoners remember it as being electrified. It was flanked by watchtowers with guards armed with machine guns.² The SS guards, men and women, but a majority of women in uniform,

were at first accommodated some distance away in the hotel "Zur Post" in the Gelsenkirchen city district of Buer until the real camp in a stone building was established outside the camp. In this building was located the camp administration. The camp commander was SS-Obersturmführer Eugen Dietrich. Most of the wardresses were conscripted for the task. Before they arrived via the Buchenwald main camp at Gelsenkirchen (they were later to go to other camps), they had undergone a training course with another 100 future wardresses at the Ravensbrück concentration camp.³

The heads of the Hungarian women were shaved. They were dressed in a sacklike dress of coarse linen and wore primitive shoes with wooden soles. The women had to work 12 hours a day. The work was heavy physical labor in the Gelsenberg Benzin factory and for the Oberbauleitung (Project Management) of the Organisation Todt (OT) in Essen-Kupferdreh. Their primary task was to clean up the factory. They also had to unload ships in the canal's port. The work demanded from the overtaxed women was brutally driven. They were mistreated. However, a few witnesses have stated that the supervisors showed some compassion. Others recall that a few pregnant women were deported to Auschwitz. Yet others say that a child was born in the Gelsenkirchen camp and either strangled by a supervisor or killed with an injection.⁴ There is evidence that two women died in the Gelsenkirchen subcamp on August 26 and 29, 1944. They probably died as a result of the typhus epidemic raging in the camp.⁵

As the cleanup work at the Gelsenberg Benzin plant was obviously a failure and there could be no thought of resuming the production of synthetic fuel, consideration was soon given to dissolving the subcamp. The Krupp Walzwerke (rolling mill) made a request to use the women, and on August 24, 1944, 520 of the Hungarian women selected by Krupp representatives were transferred to the Essen camp in Humboldtstrasse.⁶ [See Buchenwald/Essen (Humboldtstrasse).]

The women who remained in the Gelsenkirchen-Horst subcamp were the victims of a new air raid on the hydrogenation factory on September 11, 1944, at 5:42 P.M. The Allied attack hit the camp and the women who were not permitted to go into the bunkers or air trenches. The number of dead inmates is not certain: according to the Gelsenberg Benzin AG, 151 women were killed. SS-Obersturmführer Eugen Dietrich, commander of the guard, gave the number of dead women as 138. The surviving women had to commence preparations the day after the raid for the cremation of the corpses. The remains were cremated and interred in three mass graves. The Gelsenkirchen Cemetery Office (Friedhofsamt) determined in 1949 that additional women had died in the hospitals as a result of severe injuries incurred during the raid. Three women died in the Bottrop Marien Hospital and were buried in the Jewish section of the Bottrop Westfriedhof. According to the Friedhofsamt, other women who died in the hospitals were hurriedly buried in mass graves.⁷

As the Gelsenberg factory had been irreparably damaged by the attack, the Buchenwald Gelsenkirchen-Horst subcamp was dissolved on September 14–15, 1944. The camp com-

mander SS-Obersturmführer Eugen Dietrich reported on September 16 that 1,215 women had been transferred to Sömmerda in Thüringen for forced labor at the Rheinmetall-Borsig AG factory located there and that 520 had been taken to Essen, where a new Buchenwald subcamp had been established in Humboldtstrasse. There were 138 women "killed by enemy action," 94 were wounded, 23 were in hospitals, and 8 pregnant women had been sent to Auschwitz. Two had died from typhus. Another report from the camp at Sömmerda on December 18 referred to a woman who had died and a camp strength of 1,271 prisoners. At the end of November or the beginning of December, a transport of around 50 women, who had been injured and had been left behind at Gelsenkirchen, left for Sömmerda. Above all, it was the women from the hospital in Gelsenkirchen-Horst, which in the meantime had been destroyed, who were deported to Sömmerda. A survivor reported that after she was injured in the bombing raid that she and other women, after a stay in a hospital in Gelsenkirchen, were deported to Sömmerda on December 2, 1944.⁸

The injured women were delivered to hospitals in the surrounding area, 31 alone to the Catholic Gelsenkirchen-Horst St-Josefs-Hospital. The chief doctor in the surgery department, Dr. Rudolf Bertram, admitted the women. Dr. Bertram was also the chief doctor in the Catholic Marienhospital in Gelsenkirchen-Rotthausen, which took in other wounded women. The Catholic sisters (Franciscans in the St-Josefs-Hospital and sisters of the order Arme Dienstmägde Jesu Christi in the Marien Hospital) cared for the wounded. Many of the women, despite the help of the hospital personnel, were not able to escape the National Socialists. Most of the women were deported on January 16, 1945, to Sömmerda in Thüringen. Only 17 women experienced liberation in Gelsenkirchen. Dr. Bertram was honored in 1980 as one of the Righteous Amongst the Nations at Yad Vashem in Israel for his work in saving Jews.⁹

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg only began investigations long after the liberation from National Socialism. It questioned 64 former prisoners and six former SS members. The majority of the Buchenwald Gelsenkirchen-Horst subcamp personnel, some of whom had gone to Sömmerda, could not be determined.¹⁰ The camp commander, Obersturmführer Eugen Dietrich, born in 1889 in Ludwigshafen, was generally regarded as humane. He had first commanded a camp in Mühlhausen, then the Gelsenkirchen subcamp, and finally the Sömmerda subcamp. He died in 1966 without a trial. Dietrich was a soldier and officer in World War I; during the Weimar Republic he worked as a finance officer at the Handwerkskammer (trade corporation) in Kaiserslautern, a middle-class profession. During World War II he was called up. He tried for front-line service and ended up in the SS, where he reached the rank of Obersturmführer. Dietrich, who had been a member of the Buchenwald SS-Totenkopfsturmbann (Death's Head Battalion) since October 1942, graduated to commanding subcamps. After the liberation from National Socialism, Dietrich was interned by the Americans. They transferred him to the

French, who released him from internment in 1949. His final release took place in 1959. During denazification proceedings, Dietrich, against expectations, was not classified as an activist.¹¹

Due to the contradictory statements by survivors of the Gelsenkirchen-Horst subcamp and the failure to identify the perpetrators, male and female, the ZdL in Ludwigsburg suggested that the Essen state prosecutor take up the investigations. The senior state prosecutor halted the investigations into the subcamp on August 16, 1971, "as there were no prospects of any success."¹²

SOURCES The following works contain information on Gelsenkirchen-Horst: Heike Herholz and Sabine Wiebringhaus, "KZ Aussenlager Buchenwald in Gelsenkirchen-Horst, Eine Dokumentation," BeStG 11 (1983): 121–142; Myrna Grant, *Reise im Gegenwind: Die Lebensgeschichte der Rose Warmer* (Marburg: Francke-Buchhandlung, 2004); Alte Synagoge, ed., *Eine Dokumentation zu KZ-Aussenlagern in Essen* (Essen, 1985); Stefan Kraus, *NS-Unrechtsstätten in Nordrhein-Westfalen, Ein Forschungsbeitrag zum System der Gewaltherrschaft 1933–1945: Lager und Deportationsstätten* (Essen: Klartext, 1999); Martina Bergmann and Hartmut Stratmann, eds., *Meine lieben 17 ungarischen Kinder . . . , Von der Rettung jüdischer Frauen in Gelsenkirchener Krankenhäusern* (Gelsenkirchen, 1996); Stefan Goch, "Das Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald in Gelsenkirchen-Horst," in *Konzentrationslager in Rheinland und in Westfalen 1933–1945: Zentrale Steuerung und regionale Initiative*, ed. Jan Erik Schulte (Paderborn, 2004), pp. 271–278; Goch, "Gelsenkirchen-Horst," in *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006), pp. 445–448; Goch, *Jüdisches Leben—Verfolgung—Mord—Überleben, Ehemalige jüdische Bürgerinnen und Bürger Gelsenkirchens erinnern sich* (Essen: Klartext, 2004), pp. 219–233; Marlies Mroczek, *Das KZ-Aussenlager der Gelsenberg Benzin AG* (Fernwald: Germinal, 2002).

The following archival collections are important for this subcamp: The state prosecutor's investigations into crimes at the Buchenwald Gelsenkirchen-Horst subcamp: BA-L (formerly ZdL): the camp in Gelsenkirchen-Horst, 429 AR-Z 130/70 (B); the camp at Sömmerda with regard to the transport of the prisoners from Gelsenkirchen-Horst to Sömmerda, 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66). For the location and description of the camp from the perspective of a young flak assistant: Heribert Haffert, "Die Bombenoffensive der Luftwaffen Grossbritanniens und der USA gegen das Ruhrgebiet während des Zweiten Weltkrieges 1939–1945," assembled by Stadt Gelsenkirchen (Gelsenkirchen, typewritten eyewitness report, 2000), at Institut für Stadtgeschichte/AST-Ge, HB 3338.

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NOTES

1. Schlussvermerk der ZdL vom June 23, 1971, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (darin enthalten 429 AR 1950/66), B. 469–497, Bes. Bl. 487.

2. Ibid., Bes. Bl. 487; Vgl. Haffert, "Bombenoffensive," S. 41, available at ASt-Ge, HB 3338.

3. Witness statement of a former wardress on November 11, 1969, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 130/70 (B), Bl. 739; also in BA, Aussenstelle Ludwigsburg 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66), Bl. 114; Schlussvermerk der Zentralen Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen vom June 23, 1971, *ibid.*, Bl. 469–497, Bes. Bl. 487.

4. Witness statements in BA-L, 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66); Schlussvermerk der ZdL vom June 23, 1971, *ibid.*, Bl. 469–497, Bes. Bl. 494.

5. BA-L, 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66), Bl. 1; Letter of the Friedhofsamt der Stadt Gelsenkirchen May 20, 1949, *ibid.*, Bl. 11; Letter of the SS-Arbeitskommando des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald Gelsenberg Benzin AG September 16, 1944, *ibid.*, Bl. 22. Haffert, "Bombenoffensive," S. 42. Witness Statements in BA-L, 429 AR-Z 130/70 (B), Bes. Bl. 534, 620, 1486; Witness Report by Myrna Grant, *Reise im Gegenwind: Die Lebensgeschichte der Rose Warmer* (Marburg: Francke-Buchhandlung, 2004), pp. 117–120.

6. BA, Aussenstelle Ludwigsburg 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66), Bl. 13.

7. Haffert, "Bombenoffensive," S. 42; Schlussvermerk der ZdL, June 23, 1971, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66), Bl. 469–497, Bes. Bl. 487; Letter of the Friedhofsamt der Stadt Gelsenkirchen May 20, 1949, *ibid.*, Bl. 11. Witness Statements in BA-L, 429 AR-Z 130/70 (B), Bl. 537, 603.

8. Letter of the SS-Arbeitskommando des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald Gelsenberg Benzin AG September 16, 1944, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66), Bl. 22; Schlussvermerk der ZdL vom June 23, 1971, *ibid.*, Bes. Bl. 487. Zur Verlegung nach Sömmerda, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 130/70 (B) with many witness statements.

9. For reference, see Martina Bergmann and Hartmut Stratmann, eds., *Meine lieben 17 ungarischen Kinder . . . , Von der Rettung jüdischer Frauen in Gelsenkirchener Krankenhäusern* (Gelsenkirchen, 1996).

10. Investigations in BA-L, 429 AR-Z 130/70 (B) und 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66).

11. Investigations of the ZdL April 5, 1971, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 130/70 (B), Bl. 2349; Investigations, in BA-L, 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66), Bl. 346 ff.; Assessment of the Spruchkammer files on Eugen Dietrich, *ibid.*, Bl. 392.

12. Schlussvermerk der ZdL June 23, 1971, and Abschrift der Einstellungsverfügung der Staatsanwaltschaft Essen (29 a Js 357/71) vom August 16, 1971, in BA, Aussenstelle Ludwigsburg 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66), B. 469–497, Bes. Bl. 487 und 530.

GIESSEN

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Giessen in late March 1944. On March 22, 1944, 50 inmates from the main Buchenwald camp were transferred to Giessen to supply labor to the SS-Infirmiry (Sanitäts- Ersatz und Ausbildungsabteilung) located at 106 Licherstrasse.

The Giessen subcamp was in operation at the SS-Infirmiry from late March 1944 to March 26, 1945. There is no information about the exact size of the Giessen camp or its prox-

imity to the hospital. During its yearlong operation, there were between 75 and 100 inmates incarcerated in the Giessen subcamp. The first-known transport into the camp left Buchenwald on March 22, 1944, with 50 prisoners. Another relatively large transport of 30 prisoners arrived from Buchenwald in Giessen on May 11, 1944, with additional transports to Giessen on April 5 (6 inmates); June 5 (2); June 10 (3); August 10 (6); October 7 (3); October 30 (3), and November 10 (1 inmate).¹ According to a listing of subcamps and their prisoner “strength reports” submitted to the Waffen-SS garrison doctor (Standortarzt) in Buchenwald, there were 77 inmates in Giessen in January 1945.² A similar report from March 6, 1945, confirms the number of inmates in Giessen at 77.³ From these known transport lists and strength reports, we can conclude that the number of inmates did not fluctuate greatly from the original number deported to the camp in March through May 1944. However, some transport lists were undoubtedly lost, and therefore these can provide only a partial picture of the number of prisoners in the Giessen camp.

A general overview of the demographics of the Giessen camp population can also be gleaned from these transport lists. All of the prisoners were men, and most of the prisoners transported to Giessen were Russian political prisoners. There was also a large group of political prisoners from Czechoslovakia, in addition to political prisoners from Germany and Austria, Poles, French, and Italian prisoners. One political prisoner, Kurt Oskar Dimler (inmate number 2426) was returned to Buchenwald on the November 10, 1944, transport; however, he appears on six of the above transport lists and therefore may have had a functionary prisoner role (such as Kapo) to accompany transports to and from the main camp.⁴ As in most of the satellite camps, prisoners who were too weak to work were often transferred back to the infirmaries of the main camps in “exchange” for healthier inmates.

The identity of the commandant of the Giessen camp and the number of guards in Giessen are unknown. The camp was evacuated on March 26, 1945, to Buchenwald and the prisoners registered there on April 3, 1945. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog entry for Giessen, a group of prisoners evacuated from Giessen were freed en route to Buchenwald.

SOURCES Little information about the Giessen subcamp at the SS-Infirmery on Licherstrasse is found in either secondary or primary sources. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, employer, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Giessen 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 (Arolson: Der Suchdienst, 1979). For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983).

Primary documentation on the Giessen subcamp and other satellites of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. See in particular a collection of transport lists to the Giessen camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from the ITS), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially Reel 16. See also the archives of the German BA, NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, especially volumes 176–185, 191–196, 200, 211, 213–230. These volumes contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp populations. The BA NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the archives of the USHMM, RG-14.023M. Duplicates of transport lists, as well as “strength reports” for various subcamps, can be found in the archives of the USHMM, 1996. A.0342 (originally copied from NARA, A3355), Reels 146–180, (especially 171). Further analysis of these reports may yield additional detailed information about the exact daily arrivals to and departures from the satellite camps of Buchenwald. Registration cards and prisoner questionnaires that provide information about individual inmates can be found in NARA, RG 242.

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1. “Transport Giessen,” 22 March 1944; “Veränderungsmeldung,” 5 April 1944; “Transport Giessen,” 11 May 1944; “Transport Giessen,” 5 June 1944; “Transport Giessen,” 10 June 1944; “Transport Giessen,” 10 August 1944; “Transport Giessen,” “Veränderungsmeldung,” 7 October 1944 (BU 4/26); “Transport Gissen” [*sic*], 30 October 1944; “Transport Giessen,” 10 November 1944—all BU 46, except Veränderungsmeldung from 7 October) AN, Secrétariat D’État aux Anciens Combattants et victimes de guerre as reproduced in the USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.

2. “K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt,” Weimar-Buchenwald, 31 January 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 251.

3. “Aussenkommandos, Stand vom 6 March 1945” (BU 39), AN as copied in USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

4. See transports from 22 March 1944, 5 April 1944, 5 June 1944, 10 June 1944, 7 October 1944, 30 October 1944, and 10 November 1944, AN as copied in USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

GOSLAR

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Goslar (Hannover province) in November 1940 to provide labor to the Goslar air base (*Fliegerhorst*) for the Waffen-SS-Neubauleitung. The Goslar air-base headquarters paid 3 Reichsmark (RM) per day per inmate for labor to the Main Office for Budgets and Building, Office I/5, which was subordinated to the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) from September 1941. The inmates were not compensated for their labor. A subcamp of

Neuengamme was also created in Goslar, but this camp was established in 1944.

Memoranda exchanged between Office I/5 and Goslar describe various aspects of the inmates' assigned work and the administrative organization of the camp. The inmates slated for work at the Goslar air base were unskilled laborers who performed manual labor, such as clearing rubble; stacking, loading, and unloading wood; and various other construction-related tasks. The inmates were assigned, for example, to construct barracks for a camp for Russian prisoners and also to build barracks at the Goslar air base. A memo dated March 19, 1941, notes that the Buchenwald inmates lived in a Luftwaffe barracks on the air base, and food supplies were provided by the Buchenwald concentration camp.¹ According to the same document, the guard staff consisted of both SS men and low-ranking Luftwaffe officers. Inmates may have also performed construction work for a Firma Maibaum and worked in mines north of the village of Hahndorf, through which they marched on their way to the assignment. They worked Mondays through Saturdays, up to nine hours per day.

The average prisoner population of the Goslar subcamp was 80 inmates, but this number fluctuated over the camp's two-year operation. According to a list of inmates in the camp compiled on June 27, 1941, the 140 inmates in the camp were mainly Poles, Russian political prisoners, Jehovah's Witnesses, so-called professional criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*), and "asocial" inmates from the Reich.²

In addition to information about the formation of the guard staff provided by various administrative correspondence, few other specific details about the guards or living conditions in the Goslar camp can be found. The commander of the Goslar air base was Major Grawert, who assigned some Luftwaffe officers to guard the camp.³ According to former prisoner K. Deterok, the Kommandoführer was an SS-Hauptscharführer Höber. This same former prisoner described the compassion of one of the SS guards who allowed him to sneak a handful of horse feed when no one was looking. While Deterok attempted to consume the feed in a quiet corner, Höber discovered and punished him: "With a strange power he fell upon me, hitting me, beating me down with his fists. When I fell to the ground, he worked on me with his feet."⁴ At least two inmates, Walter Krämer and Karl Peix, were shot on November 6, 1941, for "attempting to escape."

The camp was dissolved in December 1942, and the inmates presumably were evacuated to Buchenwald. A memorial plaque was erected in the cemetery of Hahndorf in 1990 to commemorate the death of an inmate in the Neuengamme subcamp in Goslar, as well as the earlier deaths of two inmates in the Buchenwald subcamp.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Goslar subcamp are limited. This entry builds upon information in Peter Schyga et al., *"Gebt uns unsere Würde wieder": Kriegsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Goslar 1939–1945* (Goslar: Verein Spurensuche Goslar e.V., 1999). For a brief outline of basic information

about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Goslar 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), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (Weimar-Buchenwald, unpub. MSS). Information about and a photo of the memorial plaque in Goslar are found in Hans-Joachim Höhler, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager* (Hamburg: Arbeitsgemeinschaft Neuengamme, 2000).

Surviving primary documentation on the Goslar subcamp is also limited. For sparse administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 37. See also prisoner lists in the Goslar camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 46.

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1. "An das Hauptamt Haushalt und Bauten, Hauptabteilung I/5, Berlin-Lichterfelde West," March 19, 1941, BA NS-4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 37.

2. "Namentliche Liste des Kommandos Goslar," K.L. Buchenwald, June 27, 1941 (BU 46), AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

3. "An die Fliegerhorstkommandantur Goslar," May 21, 1941, BA NS-4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG. 14.023M, BA Band 205, Fiche 1.

4. K. Deterok, as quoted in Peter Schyga et al., *"Gebt uns unsere Würde wieder": Kriegsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Goslar 1939–1945* (Goslar: Verein Spurensuche Goslar e.V., 1999), n.p.

GÖTTINGEN

In Göttingen (Lower Saxony), a relatively small subcamp of Buchenwald was created in February 1945. The camp was established to provide laborers to the Göttingen SS cavalry school (*Kavallerieschule*) in Weende. The cavalry school was created in September 1944 by order of the SS-Führungshauptamt, and by October 1944, the school enrolled around 200 students and used 70 horses for instruction. Inmates transferred from the Buchenwald main camp were used as laborers in construction work at the school, working for the Waffen-SS and Police Construction Management (Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei). There is no further information, however, about the exact work the prisoners performed, and it is unclear which building of the school was used as living quarters for the inmates.

On February 2, 1945, 30 male prisoners were transferred from the Buchenwald main camp to Göttingen.¹ Although the Commando was small, the group of prisoners transported to

Göttingen represented diverse nationalities. According to Cordula Tollmien's study of slave labor in Göttingen during World War II, at the camp's height there were 3 German inmates, 13 Poles, 2 Lithuanians, 6 Russians and Ukrainians, 2 Slovenians, 1 Czech, 1 Dutch, 2 French, and 2 Italian inmates. The oldest prisoner was 54 years old, while the youngest was 19. Most were political prisoners; at least one was a prisoner of war. Nearly all of the inmates had been imprisoned in various camps prior to their arrival in Buchenwald and its satellite in Göttingen.

There were few transfers or changes in the number of inmates imprisoned in the Göttingen camp during its three-month existence. On March 5, 1945, 1 Polish inmate was transferred back to Buchenwald due to ill health, as well as an Italian inmate who was declared "unsuitable" on the report to the Rapportführer in Buchenwald.² The Kapo Walter P. (a German political prisoner) accompanied this transfer, and 2 inmates (a carpenter and a bricklayer) were substituted for the 2 Göttingen prisoners. Two additional prisoners were deported from Buchenwald to Göttingen on March 10, 1945, making the highest total number of prisoners in Göttingen 32.³

There is no information about the commandant or guards of the Göttingen camp. Signatures on transport lists are illegible, and no other specific names of guards are mentioned in the camp documentation.

The camp was most likely evacuated at the time the cavalry school was closed at the end of March 1945. The school was dismantled in three train transports in the direction of Prague, and the horses were distributed to farmers in the Göttingen area. American troops entered Göttingen on April 7 and 8, 1945. On April 11, 1945, the Buchenwald main camp was liberated, and lists of survivors were drawn up. Seventeen inmates survived the Göttingen Commando in total; some escaped the camp between the evacuation of the cavalry school and the entry of American troops. Other surviving inmates were taken to an infirmary in Göttingen, where they stayed until July 1945.

SOURCES The Göttingen subcamp of Buchenwald appears infrequently in secondary literature. Some information for this entry comes from a study of slave labor in Göttingen during World War II by Cordula Tollmien (www.cordula-tollmien.de). For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, employer, and so on, see the entry for Göttingen 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 (Arolson: Der Suchdienst, 1979). For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Bericht* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983).

Primary documentation on the Göttingen subcamp and other satellites of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. For general correspondence, monthly and daily

statistical reports, which list the number of prisoners working at Göttingen, as well as "occupancy" lists of the Göttingen subcamp and other subcamps, see the German BA group NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, in particular, volumes 31, 54, 55, 176–185, 196. These and other volumes from this collection contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp population. The BA NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the archives of the USHMM, RG-14.023M. Also stored at the USHMM archives is a transport list of inmates to the Göttingen camp, copied from the AN-MACVG, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 16. (This is duplicated at the YVA, ITS Arolsen, BD-3.) Additional duplicates of transport lists, as well as "strength reports," can be found in the archives of the USHMM, 1996. A.0342, Reels 146–180, originally copied from NARA, A3355. Further research on these reports would yield additional detailed information about the exact daily arrivals to and departures from the satellite camps of Buchenwald. Registration cards and prisoner questionnaires that yield detailed information about individual inmates can be found in NARA, RG 242.

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NOTES

1. Häftlingschreibstube KL Buchenwald: Transport Göttingen, 2 February 1945, BU 43, AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants as reproduced in the archives of the USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

2. Arbeitskommando Göttingen, An den Rapportführer des Schutzhaftlagers KL Buchenwald: Transportliste, 5 March 1945, BU 43, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

3. Häftlingschreibstube KL Buchenwald: Transport Göttingen, 10 March 1945, BU 43, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

HADMERSLEBEN ("HS")

Two miles south of Klein-Oschersleben and about 161 kilometers (100 miles) northwest of Leipzig, a subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Hadmersleben (Saxony-Anhalt) in March 1944. The camp was created to exploit prisoner labor for the construction of aircraft factories and the production of parts for the Messerschmitt 262 (Me 262) jet fighter in the area of Hadmersleben and Oschersleben. Like other subcamps created in the later months of the war, concentration camp inmates were hired out to industrial armaments firms from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). The creation of the Hadmersleben camp, which deployed two work details (Kommandos) code-named "Hans" and "Ago," came under the jurisdiction of the SS-Leadership Staff (Führungsstab) A4 of Office Group C of the WVHA. Led by Hans Kammler, Office Group C was in charge of construction projects, and it was broken down into Special Inspections and local Construction Directorates (or Leadership Staffs). The WVHA hired out inmates to the Kommandos at a rate of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM

per unskilled laborer per day.¹ In Buchenwald entry registers, the Hadmersleben subcamp was also code-named "HS."

Both Hans and Ago worked under the auspices of Leadership Staff A4 and were presumably contained within one camp at Hadmersleben. The prisoners at Hadmersleben worked at two different armaments sites, as well as in the construction of the camp and in the production of wings for the Me 262. The Hans Kommando was employed by the Schlempp engineering office for the construction of the Siebenberg GmbH plant, which began production in January 1945. The Ago Kommando worked for "AGO" Flugzeugwerke Hadmersleben bei Oscherleben, beginning in October 1944.

The Hadmersleben camp had an average of 1,000 inmates, and by the end of its operation in April 1945, more than 1,400 prisoners were incarcerated there. At first, prisoners were housed on the grounds of a former sugar factory. From September 1944, the inmates were divided into 10 barracks, each (12×30 meters) (13×33 yards), on the so-called *Schützenplatz*.

Inmates were transported to Hadmersleben from Buchenwald and other camps beginning in March 1944 and were transferred back to the main camp at various intervals due to illnesses such as tuberculosis, general physical deterioration, and other conditions that marked them as "unsuitable for work." These prisoners were generally exchanged for healthier inmates to continue slave labor in the Hadmersleben Kommandos. Records of transport lists from Buchenwald to the Hans Kommando date from March 13, 1944; 100 inmates were transferred to Hans on this date.² Four days later, an additional 120 inmates arrived at the Hans Kommando. These were all male, predominantly Russian and Polish, with a smaller number of Serbian and Lithuanian inmates.³ Other large transports from Buchenwald to the Hans Kommando took place on April 3 (205 inmates); May 23 (150 inmates); September 5 (200 inmates); and on November 19, 1944, nearly 200 inmates were transferred from Sachsenhausen to Hans.⁴

Transports to and from the Ago Kommando at Hadmersleben were also carried out throughout 1944 and early 1945. Larger transports arrived for the Hadmersleben Ago Kommando on July 5, 1944 (100 inmates); September 5, 1944 (200 inmates); December 12 (125 inmates); and January 10, 1945 (200 inmates).⁵ On July 5, 1944, it was noted in Buchenwald transfer list records that 4 inmates were transferred to the subcamp Leipzig-Thekla.⁶ Inmates working in the Ago Kommando were all men and included Russians, Belgians, Poles, Czechs, Serbs, and Yugoslavs. There were also French and German inmates in both Kommandos.

There are few descriptions of living and working conditions in the Hadmersleben camp. The most extensive account is provided by former prisoner Lajzer Finkielsztejn, who was born in Łódź, Poland, and who emigrated to Brussels, where he joined an armed resistance group. He was arrested by the Gestapo, sent to Breendonck and then Buchenwald, from where he was transported to the Hans Kommando with 149 other inmates on May 22, 1944.⁷ Finkielsztejn described the

work area as a "former salt mine transformed into an underground factory" for manufacturing airplane parts. His dossier noted that he was a "dangerous element," and he was interrogated by the Security Police in the region of Magdeburg. Finkielsztejn had to wear a white band across the back of his uniform, which read "Brussels Gestapo."⁸

Finkielsztejn reported about an instance of escape and resistance within the Hadmersleben camp. He witnessed the hanging of a Czech prisoner who had escaped and was later caught and brought back to the camp to be executed. According to Finkielsztejn, the gallows were outfitted with a rope and a stool, and once the prisoner was marched to the stool and the command given, the stool was kicked out from underneath by the executor. The Czech prisoner, who was led to the gallows in front of the assembled camp as an example and who was, according to Finkielsztejn, "hardly recognizable due to the beatings he had received," gained control over the execution. When the order was given, he spat in the face of the executioner and kicked the stool himself, angering the guards and causing excitement within the camp. According to Finkielsztejn, "This courage, this heroism galvanized us, gave us courage, and made us believe in the defeat of the Germans, something I will never forget."⁹

There is little information about the guard staff of the Hadmersleben camp and Kommandos. A memo describing the transfer of one inmate to Buchenwald from the Hans Kommando due to illness on March 24, 1945, was undersigned by Kommandoführer SS-Obersturmführer Schoeb. No additional information about his dates of service could be found. According to a report filed by the SS-Standortarzt Siedlausky, in charge of overseeing medical conditions in Buchenwald and its subcamps, the "strength" of the guard troops in A4 on January 31, 1945, was 122. The SS doctor in charge of the infirmary and medical care in Hadmersleben was named Weinrich, and the SS medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad, SDG) was Naumann. The report also notes that there were 1,443 inmates in the Hadmersleben camp at this time.¹⁰

The Hadmersleben camp was evacuated in late April or early May 1945, in anticipation of the advance of Allied troops. According to Finkielsztejn, the inmates were marched in columns, most likely toward Theresienstadt, as the inmates were liberated somewhere in the Sudetenland.

SOURCES There are few secondary sources that describe conditions and circumstances at the Hadmersleben subcamp of Buchenwald. For brief information on Hadmersleben, such as opening and closing dates, kind of work, and so on, 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).

Likewise, primary documents generated on the Hadmersleben subcamp are scarce. For transport lists and other administrative records, see USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, for a collection of documents copied from AN-MACVG, originating

from ITS (see especially BU 44, BU 7/14). Additional records on the subcamps of Buchenwald, including the Hadmersleben camp, may be found at AG-B and AG-MD. For the testimony of Lajzer Finkielsztejn, see the archives of the Wiener Library (London), *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Series One, Doc. No. P.III.h. No. 1044 (Reel 56).

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NOTES

1. Labor allocation report, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 142, *TWC*, 6: 759–767.
2. "Transport Hans," March 13, 1944 (BU 44), AN, Secrétariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
3. "Transport A4," March 17, 1944 (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
4. Transport lists, dated April 3, May 23, September 5, and November 19, 1944 (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
5. Transport lists, dated July 5, September 5, and December 12, 1944, transport list dated January 10, 1945 (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
6. Handwritten notation, July 5, 1944 (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
7. Lajzer Finkielsztejn, "From Breendonck to Hadmersleben," in *Testaments of the Holocaust*, Series 1 (Wiener Library, London), 7 pp. See also "Transport 'Hans,'" May 23, 1944 (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
8. Finkielsztejn, "From Breendonck," pp. 3–4.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
10. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, 31 January 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Bericht* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1960), p. 253.

HALBERSTADT-LANGENSTEIN-ZWIEBERGE/HECKLINGEN

A complex of subcamps attached to the Buchenwald main camp was constructed near the village of Langenstein. They were located about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the town of Halberstadt, in an isolated valley at the foothills of the Thekenbergen and Hoppelbergen in the Harz Mountains, an area also called Zwieberge. East of Halberstadt, a separate camp was established in Hecklingen near Stassfurt on October 12, 1944. For other camps attached to Buchenwald in this area, see entries for Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge: Junkerswerke, Magdeburg, "Malachit," and Wernigerode.

The creation of the Hecklingen subcamp fell under the SS program to transfer armaments and aircraft production to underground locations. See Buchenwald/Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/"Malachit." The Hecklingen subcamp was closed on November 10, 1944. There is no information about the fate of inmates imprisoned there.

SOURCES For the sources on this camp, see the entry for Buchenwald/Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/"Malachit").

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HALBERSTADT-LANGENSTEIN-ZWIEBERGE/JUNKERSWERKE ("JUHA")

A complex of subcamps attached to the Buchenwald main camp was constructed near the village of Langenstein. They were located about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the town of Halberstadt (Sachsen-Anhalt), in an isolated valley at the foothills of the Thekenbergen and Hoppelbergen, which are in the Harz Mountains, an area called Zwieberge. The Junkerswerke camp ("JUHA"), which was located near the larger "Malachit"/"BII" camp, was created in July or August 1944, according to International Tracing Service (ITS) lists. For other camps attached to Buchenwald in this area, see entries for Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge: Hecklingen, Magdeburg, "Malachit," and Wernigerode.

Increased Allied bombing raids over German territories in 1943 and 1944 necessitated the relocation of armaments and aircraft production factories underground, and several governmental offices coordinated these efforts. The subcamps in Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge were established in order to advance the German war effort in the midst of waning German military successes against the Allies. In March 1944, Hermann Göring ordered all German aircraft production factories to relocate to one central, independent office: the Fighter Staff (Jägerstab). The Fighter Staff would boost production by protecting aircraft manufacturers from bombs. It brought together various sectors of the war economy as well as the Air Ministry, Armaments Ministry, SS, and the Labor Ministry, and it monitored the aircraft design and production output of those facilities. In the context of this military, economic, and administrative framework, the Fighter Staff coordinated newly created camps in Halberstadt and their underground labor projects (e.g., "Maifisch," a tunnel complex for Krupp), specifically the special staff of Dr. Hans Kammler (Sonderstab-Kammler). SS-Obergruppenführer Kammler had also been the chief of Office C for Bau, the construction sector of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). Office C was divided into SS Special Inspections and Leadership Staffs (Führungsstäbe), which directed local construction initiatives. The construction of the Halberstadt camp complex thus fell under Leadership Staff BII, which was headed by SS-Obersturmführer Wilhelm Lübeck. (For additional information, see Karin Orth's essay "The Genesis and Structure of the National Socialist Concentration Camps," this volume.)

Surviving camp records show two large transports of 250 prisoners each from Buchenwald's main camp to JUHA on September 12 and December 12, 1944.¹ A total of between 800 and 900 prisoners were deported from Buchenwald

throughout the fall of 1944 and early 1945. All of the prisoners were men, and they were French, German, Austrian, Polish, and Russian, among other nationalities. Due to either illness or incapacity to work, some of JUHA's inmates were often transferred out of the subcamp back to Buchenwald's main infirmary at various intervals.²

Inmates incarcerated in the Junkerswerke camp were employed at the Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc. (JFM) facility, which was established in 1934 and originally located at Klusstrasse 38 in Halberstadt. Much of their labor was aimed at transferring the JFM production facilities to caves located south of Halberstadt in the Klusberg Mountains. Subcamp inmates as well as workers from the Ostarbeiter barracks, two distinct camps located on the factory grounds, were used for this work. The two newly planned facilities were code-named "Makrele I" (in the Felsenkeller) and "Makrele II" (on Sternwarte), and the plants manufactured wing parts for the Ju 88 and Ju 162 fighter jets. Junkerswerke "rented" inmates from the WVHA at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled worker per day and 4 RM per unskilled worker per day, and they were used for the construction, metalworking, and assemblage of airplane parts.³

There is little information on the working and living conditions within the Junkerswerke camp. As noted above, prisoners were constantly transferred out of the camp to the main infirmary in Buchenwald, presumably due to illness or other incapacities. Judging from the records of the Halberstadt/"Malachit"/"BII" complex (see subcamp entry), the environment in the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp and work at the Junkers factory were harsh. Prisoners were underfed, and debilitating diseases were rampant. They worked under horrible circumstances, lacking proper equipment and protection in tunnel excavation. They also suffered severe maltreatment from the guards. However, prisoners employed in factories such as Junkerswerke generally fared better than those forced to excavate the tunnels, as they were in Malachit.

The Lagerkommandant of the Halberstadt camp complex was SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Hoffmann, and the camps were guarded by members of the SS. There is no specific information about the identity of the Lagerführer of the Junkerswerke camp. Other guards who appear in the administrative records involved in the camp include Sturm-scharführer Skischus, Oberscharführer Thinius, Rottenführer Karl Preis, Scharführer Max Uhlig, Sturm-mann Oskar Siebert, Scharführer Karl Zerchlowitz, Rottenführer Kurt Müller, Unterscharführer Rudolf Swejtkowski, Unterscharführer Hans Wiemer, Sturm-mann Walther Müller, and Rottenführer Joseph Figiel.⁴

The camp was evacuated on April 8, 1945, and the prisoners were most likely sent to Malachit. See Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/"Malachit," for further information on the evacuation of that camp.

SOURCES The camp complex in Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge figures prominently in several secondary sources.

For several studies focused on the complex and the ensuing postwar memorialization of the site, see Ellen Fauser, *Die Kraft im Unglück—Erinnerungen an Langenstein-Zwieberge* (Halberstadt, o.J., 1994); Fauser, "Geschichte des KZ Langenstein-Zwieberge," in *Verfolgung, Terror und Widerstand in Sachsen-Anhalt 1933–1945: Ein Wegweiser für Gedenkstättenbesuche*, ed. Verena Walter et al. (Berlin: Metropol, 2001); Fauser, "Zur Geschichte des Aussenlagers Langenstein-Zwieberge," in *Zwangsarbeit und die unterirdische Verlagerung von Rüstungsindustrie*, ed. Torsten Hess, (Berlin: Westkreuz, 1994); G.E. Schafft and Gerhard Zeidler, *Die KZ-Mahn- und Gedenkstätten in Deutschland* (Dietz Verlag Berlin, 1996); Paul le Goupil, *De la fin des camps à la reconstruction, Les Normands 1945–1947* (Caen: Conseil Général du Calvados: Direction des Archives départementales, 2001); and Denise Wesenberg, "Gedenkstätte Langenstein-Zwieberge," *GeRu*, 107: 6(2002). There are also several memoirs written by former inmates from the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp complex, including Alberto Berti, *Viaggio nel Pianeta Nazista: Trieste—Buchenwald Langenstein* (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2000); Georges Petit, *Retour à Langenstein: Une expérience de la déportation* (Éditions Belin, 2001); Roger Leroyer, *Clamavi Ad Te* (Jena-Quedlinburg: Verlag Dr. Bussert & Stadel, 2003); and Bernard Klieger, *Der Weg, den Wir Gingen: Reportage einer höllischen Reise* (Bruxelles-Ixelles: Codac Juifs, 1960). For a history of the Junkerswerke Halberstadt, see Werner Hartmann, *Halberstadt Luftfahrtgeschichte* (Flugzeug Publikations GmbH—GeraMond, 2000).

Primary sources on the Halberstadt complex are in various archives and repositories and provide a partial picture of the number of inmates imprisoned in the camps, as well as living and working conditions within the camps and work Commandos. The archives of the USHMM contain several kinds of documentation and resources on the camp complex in Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge. Transport lists and other administrative records are located in Acc. 1998 A.0045, a collection of documents copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS; see especially BU 46, Reel 16, and BU 115, Reel 18. The USHMM also has relevant copies of SS records related to Buchenwald reproduced from the BA (NS 4) in RG 14.023M. Testimony of liberators of the Halberstadt camps can be found in RG-09.005*40 and RG-0.005*26 (1981 International Liberators Conference collection of liberator testimonies). The USHMM Survivors Registry lists 34 survivors from the camp; 7 of them have recorded oral histories accessible at the USHMM (under "Halberstadt" or "Langenstein"). For example, former inmate Eddie Willner has several interviews stored at the USHMM; see RG-50.549.02*0065, RG-50.030*0252, and RG-50.163*0093. The USHMM also has an extensive photographic record of the liberation of the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp; see Photo Archives Worksheets 10103, 10104, 10108, 10109, 10111, 10112, 10113, 10114, 10115, 23061, 28191, 69223, 78840, 78841, 78842, N01240.08, 10110, 08560, 10098, 10099, 10100, and 10101. Testimony from former inmates can also be found in other archives and repositories; for example, the HJMA contains thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by the relief agency National Committee for Attending Deportees (DEGOB). Several protocols describe conditions in the Halberstadt camp complex; see especially protocols 696, 952, 2133, 3440, 1633,

and 3172. The IWMA (London) contains intelligence reports on underground factories in Germany; see Combined Intelligence Objectives Sub-Committee, *Underground Factories in Germany*, File No. 32-17, 38. Finally, additional information, including documents on, photographs of, and testimonies about the Halberstadt camps, can be found at the AG-LZ/M.

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NOTES

1. "Transport Halberstadt (Junkers)," September 12, 1944, and December 12, 1944, Weimar-Buchenwald (BU 41/2), AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants as reproduced in the USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

2. See memos dated September 26, 1944 (6 inmates); October 13, 1944 (2 inmates); October 14, 1944 (2 inmates); and several other transfers throughout November, December, January 1945, February and March, (BU 41/2), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

3. Report of the Chief of Labor Allocation, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, concerning assignment of concentration camp inmates to armament production, January 6, 1945, NI-4185, *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals* (Buffalo, NY: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1997), 6: 759-767.

4. See "K.L. Buchenwald; Kdo. Halberstadt—Junkers Werke" (BU 41/2), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0042.

HALBERSTADT-LANGENSTEIN-ZWIEBERGE/MAGDEBURG

A complex of subcamps attached to the Buchenwald main camp was constructed near the village of Langenstein. They were located about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the town of Halberstadt, in an isolated valley at the foothills of the Thekenbergen and Hoppelbergen in the Harz Mountains, an area also called Zwieberge. Northeast of Halberstadt, a camp was created in Magdeburg on March 19, 1945. For other camps attached to Buchenwald in this area, see entries for Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge: Hecklingen, Junkerswerke, "Malachit," and Wernigerode.

The creation of the Magdeburg subcamp fell under the SS program to transfer armaments and aircraft production to underground locations. For further information on this program, see the Buchenwald/Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/"Malachit," entry. There is little information about the camp located at Magdeburg, most likely because it operated only for about one month. However, it is known that the prisoners were forced to clear rubble in the vicinity of Magdeburg.

The camp at Magdeburg was closed on April 10, 1945, the same day that the main subcamp at Malachit BII was evacuated.

SOURCES For the sources on this camp, see the entry for Buchenwald/Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/"Malachit").

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HALBERSTADT-LANGENSTEIN-ZWIEBERGE ("MALACHIT," "BII," "LANDHAUS")

A complex of subcamps attached to the Buchenwald main camp was constructed near the village of Langenstein. They were located about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the town of Halberstadt, in an isolated valley at the foothills of the Thekenbergen and Hoppelbergen in the Harz Mountains, an area also called Zwieberge. The largest subcamp in this area was code-named "Landhaus," "BII" (by the SS), or "Malachit" (by the Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production [Reichsministerium für Rüstungs- und Kriegsproduktion, RMfRK]), beginning in July 1944). It was created on April 21, 1944, with an initial transport of 18 prisoners from Buchenwald.¹ For other camps attached to Buchenwald in this area, see the entries for Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge: Hecklingen, Junkerswerke, Magdeburg, and Wernigerode.

The camps in Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge were created in order to advance the German war effort in the midst of waning German military successes against the Allies. Increased Allied bombing raids over German territories in 1943 and 1944 necessitated the relocation of armaments and aircraft production factories underground, an effort coordinated by several governmental offices. In March 1944, Hermann Göring placed the direction of all aircraft production factories to one central, independent office: the Fighter Staff (Jägerstab). The Fighter Staff would boost production by protecting aircraft manufacturers from bombs. It brought together various sectors of the war economy as well as the Air Ministry, Armaments Ministry, SS, and the Labor Ministry, and it monitored the aircraft design and production output of those facilities. In the context of this military, economic, and administrative framework, the Fighter Staff coordinated newly created camps in Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge and their underground labor projects (e.g., "Maifisch," a tunnel complex for Krupp), specifically the special staff of Dr. Hans Kammler, the Sonderstab-Kammler. SS-Obergruppenführer Kammler had also been the chief of Office C for Bau, the construction sector of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). Office C was divided into Special Inspections and SS-Leadership Staffs (Führungsstäbe), which directed local construction initiatives. The construction of the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp complex thus fell under Leadership Staff BII, which was headed by SS-Obersturmführer Wilhelm Lübeck. (For additional information, see Karin Orth's essay "The Genesis and Structure of the National Socialist Concentration Camps," this volume.)

Because the first convoy of prisoners to the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge complex was relatively small and the camp had not yet been built, these inmates and arriving transports were housed in a former guesthouse called Landhaus am Gläsernen Mönch, on the outskirts of Langenstein. "Landhaus" became the headquarters for the SS central office for local construction efforts. Surrounded by barbed wire, Landhaus's

garden served as a roll-call area (*Appellplatz*), and SS and other guards from the nearby Halberstadt airfield supervised the camp. From late April to May 1944, as the number of prisoners increased to about 800, they were shifted to a barn, where living conditions were primitive and overcrowded.² Prisoners slept on four- and five-level bunks, using straw sacks as mattresses. The first group of inmates to arrive was responsible for building the prisoner camp in a well-hidden forest near the work camp, and they also built barracks for the SS men. Additionally, these initial prisoners began the excavation of tunnels for the eventual relocation of underground factories. Construction of the Malachit camp was declared “complete” in June or July 1944 with the installation of electricity, 7 prisoner blocks, an infirmary, kitchen, watchtowers, and barbed-wire fencing. However, unlike the fully constructed SS barracks that lay outside the camp, some prisoner barracks were just shells with neither windows nor doors. By the end of February 1945, there were 18 prisoner blocks in the camp. Although it was planned for 2,000 inmates, Malachit would eventually hold more than 5,000. Several work camps, such as the one established at Langestrasse Ost II, opened near Halberstadt to provide labor to the tunneling projects and underground factories.³

Accurate estimates of the total number of prisoners incarcerated in the Malachit camp complex vary and are especially complicated to deduce, due in part to the number of subcommandos that were billeted in the same camp. For this reason, secondary literature and contemporary documentation are often unclear and do not always specify the number of inmates assigned to commandos in the Malachit complex or whether their numbers are included in total estimates. However, it is certain that the number of inmates in Malachit steadily increased throughout the summer and fall of 1944, climbing to around 4,500. The camp most likely reached its highest capacity in February 1945, with almost 7,000 inmates—not necessarily including those in the smaller commandos. The number may have grown even higher in April 1945, when smaller camps were absorbed by the Malachit camp.⁴ Historians have estimated that the total number of inmates incarcerated in the camp during its yearlong operation (including its subcommandos) exceeded 10,000 with most of its prisoners coming from France, the Soviet Union, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. Other large groups of inmates were deported from Italy, Belgium, Yugoslavia, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, and Hungary—especially with evacuations from Auschwitz II–Birkenau and Gross-Rosen in January and February 1945, respectively. In smaller numbers, people from Luxembourg, Romania, Albania, Spain, Portugal, Estonia, and the United States also comprised the camp population. Most inmates were deported to the camp directly from Buchenwald but also from other concentration camps, such as Neuengamme, as well as subcamps, such as Junkerswerke and Aschersleben. Prisoners included Jews, political prisoners, professional criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*), so-called asocials, and others.

Some of the Malachit prisoners were assigned to commandos at Maifisch, managed by the office of Organisation Todt (OT) beginning in October 1944, and some to Malachit AG

from January 1945. Beginning in November 1944, prisoner labor from the Maifisch commando was assigned to construction initiatives of the Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production (RMfRK). Like other projects of this kind, private industrial firms also used prisoner labor. The Krupp-Gruson Factory (Krupp-Gruson-Werke) in Magdeburg “employed” the prisoners of the Maifisch commando, which maintained about 200 inmates during its three-month operation, after which the inmates were absorbed into the Malachit camp.⁵ Inmates in the Maifisch commando were forced to work on tunnel excavation in the Hoppelberg Mountains to make space for the Krupp plant. Some 800 prisoners were assigned to the Malachit AG commando to work on tunnel excavation and road and railway construction. The firm Bode, Grün & Bilfinger AG (Mannheim) managed the transport of materials from the tunnels to a dump, as well as plans for construction. Erzbergbau Salzgitte GmbH, a sister company of the Hermann-Göring Werke, was responsible for breaking ground in the tunnels. Other firms included Firma Peter Bauwens und Julius Schmidt (Magdeburg), Konzerne AEG, Siemens, and Deutsche Reichsbahn (German Railways) Halberstadt.

The main goal of prisoner labor was to provide underground space for the manufacturing capabilities of the Junkers factory to protect it from air raids and to further production of aircraft and weapons parts, such as fighter jets and V-2 rockets. From the first days of their arrival, the prisoners were forced to dig tunnels in 8-hour shifts through the Thekenbergen to make room for these underground factories. Other commandos were assigned to haul away material excavated from the tunnels in 12-hour shifts. Within 9 months, the inmates had broken and transported more than 750,000 cubic meters (980,963 cubic yards) of sandstone with primitive equipment in inhumane working conditions, and after 10 months, they had created nearly 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) of tunnels.

Laboring inmates had to cope with improper protection and insufficient equipment; they were subjected to beatings and maltreatment meted out by the Kapos and guards; and they suffered from malnutrition, starvation, and rampant, debilitating diseases. Prior to their work assignments, prisoners endured brutal and long roll calls in extreme conditions.⁶ Those assigned to work in the tunnels could hardly breathe, and many accidents, some fatal, occurred during the workday. One former inmate reported after the war: “The work itself was . . . brutally hard. . . . From a high rampart we carried fifty-kilogram (110-pound) cement sacks into deep underground for twelve hours. How many times young, thin adolescents collapsed under the heavy sacks! The guards stood next to us with rubber truncheons and loaded revolvers. Their nice warning was: ‘If the sack is *kaput*, you’ll be *kaput*, too.’”⁷ Those who fell ill or were injured in the tunnels were transported on planks or ladders to the overflowing camp infirmary, where imprisoned doctors and nurses could not help the fallen inmates, due to their lack of supplies and medication.⁸

On average, a prisoner working in the tunnels died within about six weeks. According to one prisoner doctor, nearly 30

to 40 inmates died per day.⁹ Over its entire operation, between 50 and 70 percent of the 8,000 to 10,000 inmates in the Malachit camp died, including those killed on death marches during the evacuation. Another several hundred inmates died at the camp's liberation due to illness, starvation, and disease. Bodies from the camp were first incinerated in the Quedlinburg crematorium, and toward the end of the camp's operation, they were buried in mass graves. One former prisoner reported that weak inmates were often gathered up with the dead and buried alive.¹⁰

A report submitted by the garrison doctor (Standortarzt) of the Waffen-SS, Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky, in January 1945 notes that there were 287 guards in the Malachit camp.¹¹ Waffen-SS as well as Luftwaffe soldiers (at first) guarded the camp. The Lagerkommandant of the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp was SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Hoffmann, and the Lagerführer of Malachit was SS-Oberscharführer Paul Tscheu. SS-Obersturmführer and Regierungsinspektor Wilhelm Lübeck led the building of the new armaments factory in the Malachit tunnels. Inside the tunnels, about 150 civilian employees who served as foremen drove prisoner labor with the utmost cruelty.

Tscheu was notorious for his brutality and punished the inmates for various infractions. For poor work performance, theft, and other smaller crimes, he deprived them of food. On the camp grounds, there were two types of punishment cells: a prison bunker and death cells (*Todeszellen*) in which inmates were locked until they died. Another form of maltreatment was the punishment commando (Strafkommando), in which prisoners were assigned to especially heavy labor, such as the construction of railway lines. Those caught trying to escape were beaten, tortured, and executed by fellow inmates chosen for this task.¹² As one former prisoner reported after the war, beatings and lengthy torture sessions were common in Malachit. He recalled, "I remember occasions when I was beaten for five hours continuously. When I lost my consciousness, water was poured on me."¹³

Prisoners did attempt to escape the camp, and some were able to flee the death marches after its evacuation.¹⁴ Prisoners expressed solidarity according to nationality, as well as through an informal prisoner organization, which was formed by "functionary" inmates, who controlled work statistics and counted the prisoners.

Because they considered the camp's function and operation "top secret," prior to the evacuation of the camp, the SS ordered 22 inmates to burn files and documents pertaining to the operation of the camp in the nearby Quedlinburg crematorium. The entire group of 22 was then summarily shot. Before the advance of Allied troops, on the evening of April 9, 1945, some 3,000 surviving inmates of Malachit were rounded up and marched, in six columns of 500 each, onto the road leading out of the camp. Surrounded by SS guards, they were forced to march for at least 12 days and covered over 300 kilometers (186.4 miles), some reaching Wittenberg near the Elbe, Leipzig, and southwest to Giessen. As one Hungarian Jewish inmate

testified at the end of the war, "Those who were unable to walk or [who] were caught stealing something, or whose feet simply slipped, were immediately shot."¹⁵ One column was completely annihilated, and another arrived near Berlin on April 28 with only 18 survivors. Only about 500 of the 3,000 inmates survived the marches. One inmate who survived to be liberated en route by American troops at the end of April recalled, "It was an infernal, unbearable thought that liberation was this close and still it was unapproachable, probably hopeless."¹⁶

A few days after the SS marched the group of prisoners out of the camp, troops from the 399th Battalion of the 8th Armored Division and 83rd Infantry of the U.S. Army entered Malachit on April 11, 1945. They encountered between 1,400 and 1,600 weak and dying inmates who had remained in the camp.¹⁷ Several days later, military ambulances brought many of the ill to a field hospital in Halberstadt. Two citizens of Langenstein, a parish priest named Hager and a nurse, Frau Abel, also entered the camp to offer their assistance. The Allies ordered civilians from Langenstein to bury the dead in mass graves.¹⁸ Although the Allied medical staff attempted to revive the prisoners to the best of their ability, another 144 inmates died at the field hospital from diseases such as tuberculosis, tubercular meningitis, and failed blood transfusions.¹⁹ They were buried in a mass grave in a cemetery in Halberstadt.

There is no information about postwar trials conducted against Hoffmann, Tscheu, Lübeck, or the guards of the Malachit camp. However, death certificates of prisoners in Malachit and other related records were entered as evidence in War Crimes Case 000-50-09 brought by the United States Army Europe (USAREUR) against several guards from Buchenwald and other camps.²⁰ Klaus Ferdinand Huels, a sergeant in the Wehrmacht who had a supervisory role over guards in Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge, was tried in Case 000-Buchenwald 36 from October 31 to November 4, 1947, and acquitted.²¹

SOURCES The camp complex in Halberstadt figures prominently in several secondary sources. For several studies focused on the Halberstadt camp complex and the ensuing postwar memorialization of the site, see Ellen Fauser, *Die Kraft im Unglück—Erinnerungen an Langenstein-Zwieberge* (Halberstadt, o.J., 1994); Fauser, "Geschichte des KZ Langenstein-Zwieberge," in *Verfolgung, Terror und Widerstand in Sachsen-Anhalt 1933–1945: Ein Wegweiser für Gedenkstättenbesuche*, by Verena Walter et al., (Berlin: Metropol, 2001); Fauser, "Zur Geschichte des Aussenlagers Langenstein-Zwieberge," in *Zwangsarbeit und die unterirdische Verlagerung von Rüstungsindustrie*, ed. Torsten Hess (Berlin: Westkreuz, 1994); G.E. Schafft and Gerhard Zeidler, *Die KZ-Mahn- und Gedenkstätten in Deutschland* (Dietz Verlag Berlin, 1996); Paul le Goupil, *De la fin des camps à la reconstruction: Les Normands 1945–1947* (Caen: Conseil Général du Calvados: Direction des Archives départementales, 2001); and Denise Wesenberg, "Gedenkstätte Langenstein-Zwieberge," *GeRu* No. 107, 6(2002). There are also several memoirs written by former inmates in the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp complex, including Alberto Berti, *Viaggio nel Pianeta Nazista:*

Trieste—Buchenwald Langenstein (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2000); Georges Petit, *Retour à Langenstein: Une expérience de la deportation* (Editions Belin, 2001); Roger Leroyer, *Clamavi Ad Te* (Jena-Quedlinburg: Verlag Dr. Bussert & Stadelers, 2003); and Bernard Klieger, *Der Weg, den Wir Gingen: Reportage einer höllischen Reise* (Bruxelles-Ixelles: Codac Juifs, 1960).

Primary sources on the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge complex are found in various archives and repositories and provide a partial picture, for example, of the number of inmates imprisoned in the camps, as well as living and working conditions within the camps and work commandos. The archives of the USHMM contain several kinds of documentation and resources on the camp complex. Transport lists and other administrative records are located in Acc. 1998.A.0045, a collection of documents copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS; see especially BU 46, Reel 16, and BU 115, Reel 18. USHMM also has relevant copies of SS records related to Buchenwald reproduced from the BA (NS 4) in RG 14.023M. Testimony of liberators of the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camps can be found in RG-09.005*40 and RG-0.005*26 (1981 International Liberators Conference collection of liberator testimonies). The USHMM also holds copies of death certificates and related records from 1944 to April 1945 from the Malachit camp in Acc. 1998.A.0074 (related to U.S. Army Europe War Crimes Case 000-50-9). The USHMM Survivors Registry lists 34 survivors (under Halberstadt or Langenstein), and 7 of these survivors have recorded oral histories accessible at the USHMM. For example, former inmate Eddie Willner has several interviews stored at the USHMM; see RG-50.549.02*0065, RG-50.030*0252, and RG-50.163*0093. The USHMM also has an extensive photographic record of the liberation of the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp; see Photo Archives Worksheets 10103, 10104, 10108, 10109, 10111, 10112, 10113, 10114, 10115, 23061, 28191, 69223, 78840, 78841, 78842, N01240.08, 10110, 08560, 10098, 10099, 10100, and 10101. Testimony from former inmates can also be found in other archives and repositories; for example, the HJMA contain thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by the relief agency DEGOB. Several protocols describe conditions in the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp complex; see especially protocols 696, 952, 2133, 3440, 1633, and 3172. The IWMA (London) contains intelligence reports on underground factories in Germany; see Combined Intelligence Objectives Sub-Committee, Underground Factories in Germany, File No. 33-17, 38. Finally, additional information, including documents, photographs, and testimonies, about the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camps can be found at the AG-LZ/M.

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NOTES

1. "Transport B II," April 21, 1944, Buchenwald (BU 46), AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants, as reproduced in the USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

2. See transport lists from Weimar-Buchenwald to Malachit, dated April 21 (18); April 26 (200); ca. May 8 (300); and May 23, 1944 (300) (BU 46), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16). [DEGOB translations provided by Gábor Kádár.]

3. "Halberstadt Langenstein, Rapport provisoire sur les camps de Halberstadt et de Langenstein," Ministère des anciens combattants et victimes de guerre (BU 78), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 17).

4. See transport lists from Weimar-Buchenwald to "Malachyt" for February 9 and 10, 1945 (BU 46), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

5. "Transport Maifisch," October 7, 1944, and "Transport Maifisch," October 23, 1944, Weimar-Buchenwald (BU 46), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

6. For example, see the HJMA, DEGOB Protocol, No. 952, V.R.

7. DEGOB Protocol, No. 952, V.R.

8. Report of Dr. Kaisne, undated (BU 115), Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 18.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

10. Testimony of Eddie Willner, May 25, 1989, USHMM, RG.030*0252.

11. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung. Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1960), p. 251.

12. Josef Vik, "Zustände im KZ Langenstein-Zwieberge; Aussage des ehemaligen Lagerschreibers am 26. April 1945," in *Verfolgung, Terror und Widerstand in Sachsen-Anhalt 1933-1945: Ein Wegweiser für Gedenkstättenbesuches*, by Verena Walter et al. (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), pp. 139-144.

13. DEGOB Protocol, No. 952, V.R.

14. Vik, "Zustände," p. 142.

15. DEGOB Protocol, No. 913, T.S.

16. DEGOB Protocol, No. 952, V.R.

17. For one testimony of first encounter with newly opened camp, see USHMM, RG-09.005*26, U.S. Army Nurse, Maeceille B. (Pless) Beem; and USHMM, RG-09.004*40, Testimony of Joseph Zalinski, U.S. Army.

18. Depicted in USHMM, Photo Archives WS 10109.

19. USHMM, RG-09.004*40, Testimony of J.R. LaViertes, Laboratory technician of the 78th Field Hospital, 3rd Armored Division, U.S. Army. See also DEGOB Protocol, No. 3440, I.F.

20. Zwieberge/Malachit death certificates and related records, 1944-1945, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0074, as copied from NARA, RG 338.

21. Further information about this and other trials related to Buchenwald can be found in NARA, RG 338, War Crimes Case Files. It is possible that other guards who served in Malachit were tried but in connection to their service in other camps.

HALBERSTADT-LANGENSTEIN-ZWIEBERGE/WERNIGERODE

A complex of subcamps attached to the Buchenwald main camp was constructed near the village of Langenstein. They were located about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the town of Halberstadt (Sachsen-Anhalt), in an isolated valley at the foothills of the Thekenbergen and Hoppelbergen, which are in the Harz Mountains, an area called Zwieberge. On March 19, 1945, 20

kilometers (12.4 miles) southwest of Halberstadt, a camp was created in Wernigerode. For other camps attached to Buchenwald in this area, see Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/Hecklingen, Junkerswerke, Magdeburg, and “Malachit.”

The creation of the Wernigerode subcamp fell under the SS program to shift armaments and aircraft production to underground locations. [For further information on this program, see Buchenwald/Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/ (“Malachit”)]. There is little information about the camp located at Wernigerode, most likely because it was in operation for a relatively short period of time. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), there were 20 inmates in the Wernigerode camp.

The camp at Wernigerode closed on April 5, 1945, just prior to the evacuation of the largest Halberstadt camp, known as Malachit.

SOURCES For the sources on this camp, see the entry for Buchenwald/Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/ (“Malachit”).

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HALLE [AKA BIRKHAHN-MÖTZLICH]

A satellite camp of Buchenwald was created in Halle an der Saale in Saxony to provide labor to the Siebel Aircraft Factory, Ltd. (Siebel-Flugzeugwerke) in July 1944. (According to the Halle entry in the International Tracing Service [ITS] catalog, inmates were also sent to the “Bauleitung Professor Doktor Ingenieur Rimpl, Kostenstell B-XII,” but no other information about this commando could be found.) Like other subcamps administered by the Buchenwald main camp, the supply of prisoner labor to the firm followed from an agreement between the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the administration of the Siebel Aircraft Factory. Prisoners were “employed” at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day, payable by the employing firm to the WVHA. However, prisoners were not compensated for their work.

The Siebel factory was established in 1934 when the original founder of the firm, Hanns Klemm, sold his shares to Friedrich Wilhelm Siebel. At this time, the company’s production output transitioned from its original manufacture of sport planes and their parts to producing military aircraft for the German Luftwaffe. A camp for male inmates was created at the factory in late July or early August 1944 to increase output with the least amount of cost. The prisoners were used for labor in the metalworking department, constructing parts for airplane wings. According to a report filed in January 1945 by the chief of labor allocation (Arbeitseinsatzführer) for the Buchenwald camp, laborers worked a total of 166,364 hours in December 1944. Siebel employed 10,159 skilled workers and 4,965 auxiliary workers in December.¹ Most likely not all of these laborers were Buchenwald inmates, and not all were imprisoned in the Halle subcamp (likewise, not all of the inmates in the subcamp were used for labor at Siebel). The workday at the factory was 10.5 hours long.²

There is no information about the actual construction, size, or layout of the camp in Halle. There were at least five blocks and one block for SS guards, and the camp was located at Boelkestrasse 70. Various correspondences concerning the Halle subcamp refer to it as “Lager Birkhahn-Mötzlich.” Mötzlich was a small village near Halle where an airfield was created in 1917, and presumably the camp was located near this airfield.

Several transport lists showing the movement of prisoners from Buchenwald to Halle have survived; however, the exact destination of each list is not always clear (most indicate that prisoners were transferred to Halle, others more specifically state “Lager Birkhahn-Mötzlich,” and others denote “Halle Siebel” or some variation of this). The total number of inmates suggested by the Halle lists added together far exceed the numbers shown on SS monthly reports for Siebel from the same period. Therefore, it is difficult to discern the number of inmates in the Halle subcamp because the collection of transport lists may not be complete, some of the existing lists may be duplicates, and not all of the prisoners transferred to Halle were incarcerated in this particular camp or employed by Siebel.

In late July 1944, 525 inmates were transported from Buchenwald to Halle, with an additional 515 inmates following on July 31.³ Although these lists provide no breakdown by nationality, most of the inmates appear to have been Russian, Polish, and perhaps Czech. Prisoner transports continued to arrive in Halle throughout the following months, and the number of inmates imprisoned in the subcamp both increased and decreased at various intervals during its eight-month existence. In general, the pattern of incoming transports increased throughout the fall of 1944, and by January 1945, some inmates were shifted from Halle to other subcamps. Seven inmates were deported from Buchenwald to Halle on August 10, 1944, mostly French political prisoners.⁴ Additional transports from Buchenwald arrived throughout August and September, and the number of prisoners transferred to Halle exceeded 2,000.⁵

However, these numbers differ from monthly reports from Halle filed by the SS administration of the camp. According to a monthly report dated August 13–14, 1944, the Halle-Siebel camp had 525 inmates.⁶ From September 1 to 20, 1944, 1,000 inmates were transferred to Halle-Siebel from Buchenwald (500 on September 2, 500 on September 12). On September 27, an additional transport of 20 inmates was sent to Halle. Beginning in January 1945, inmates were transferred from Halle to the Buchenwald subcamp in Annaburg. Ninety-seven inmates were transferred to Annaburg in December 1944.⁷ Between January 1 and 31, 1945, there appears to have been no transports to Halle from Buchenwald, and on February 2, 7 inmates were transferred to Halle, with an additional 5 on March 23.⁸ Another report from March 25, 1945, shows that on January 1, 1945, Halle-Siebel had 633 inmates, and on March 6, 1945, it had 528 inmates.⁹

In addition to work performed at the Siebel airplane factory, some inmates were employed in various functions within the camp. In November 1944, there was at least 1 inmate appointed as block elder (Blockältester), 10 inmates worked in

the kitchen barracks, 1 inmate assigned to barracks orderly duty (*Stubendienst*) for each of the five blocks and 1 for the SS barracks, as well as 2 barbers and a cobbler.¹⁰ The inmates were divided into several commandos that included clearing rubble from air raids, as well as other construction and repair work.¹¹

The commander of the camp was SS-Hauptscharführer F. Noll. At least 20 SS guards were transferred from Halle to an unknown assignment in January 1945, but no additional information in camp reports or correspondence on the number or the ranks of guards in Halle can be found.¹²

There is little exact information about prisoner deaths and punishment or the methods, motives, and circumstances of the murder of inmates. As in most other concentration camps, inmates were probably subject to arbitrary abuse or maltreatment meted out by the guards. Punishment and rewards were connected to the inmates' work performance. According to several communications with Noll regarding the behavior of individual prisoners, transgressions at the workplace, such as neglecting equipment or stepping away from a running machine, were punishable by denying the offending prisoner his midday meal as well as his allotment of cigarettes.¹³ In at least one instance, a telegram from the Halle factory to Noll dated October 18, 1944, recommended that the cigarette rations of several prisoners be raised due to their excellent performance.¹⁴ There is no information confirming that Noll permitted this allocation.

Some SS monthly reports also indicate the average number of inmates who received care, both inpatient and outpatient, in the Halle infirmary. Both in January and February 1945, about 50 inmates received ambulatory care, and 30 were admitted to the infirmary. The monthly report from February 1945 also indicated 1 prisoner death and that food supplies were "sufficient." However, there is no way to confirm that the SS reports reflect accurate numbers of ill inmates or living conditions within the camp.¹⁵

The subcamp in Halle was last noted in German records on March 31, 1945.

SOURCES The Halle subcamp of Buchenwald appears rarely in secondary literature. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, employer, and so on, see the entry for Halle 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). For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983). For further information on the history of the Siebel-Flugzeugwerke, see H.-J. Ebert, Udo Mahn, and H.-D. Tack, *Dokumentation der 90-jährigen Geschichte der Luftfahrt und des Luftsportes in der Region Halle (Saale)*, Heft 3, and *Die Siebel-Flugzeugwerke Halle (1934–1946)*, Heft 9

(IG Luftfahrtgeschichte im Luftsportverband Sachsen-Anhalt e.V., n.d.).

Primary documentation on the Halle subcamp is located in several archives. For general correspondence, monthly and daily statistical reports, which list the number of prisoners working at Siebel and the kinds of work performed, as well as "occupancy" lists of the Halle subcamp and other subcamps, see the German BA group NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, in particular volumes 8, 31, 54, 55, 176–185, and 196. Other volumes from this collection contain relevant information pertaining to the Halle subcamp; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp population. The BA NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the archives of the USHMM, RG-14.023M. Also contained at the USHMM archives is a collection of transport lists to and from the Halle camp, copied from the AN-MACVG, Acc. 1998.A.0045, especially Reels 7 and 16. Additional transport lists or duplicates of the collection, as well as "strength reports," from the AN can be found in the archives of the USHMM, 1996.A.0342, Reels 146–180, originally copied from NARA, A3355. Further research on these reports would yield additional detailed information about the exact daily arrivals to and departures from the subcamp at Halle and other satellite camps of Buchenwald.

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NOTES

1. Labor allocation report, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 142, in *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunal under Control Council Law No. 10* (Buffalo, NY: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1997), 6: 759–767.

2. Monatsbericht für Januar 1945, February 1, 1945, BA NS 4 (Buchenwald), as reproduced in USHMM, RG-14.023M, Band 54.

3. "Transport Halle," ca. July 2, 1944, Weimar-Buchenwald (BU 8/18), AN, Secretariat D'Etat aux Anciens Combattants, as reproduced in the USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 8). See also "Transport Halle," July 31, 1944, Buchenwald (BU 44, Reel 16, and BU 5/5, Reel 6), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045.

4. "Transport Halle," August 10, 1944 (BU 44), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045.

5. Additional transfers arrived on August 13, August 17, September 2, September 12, and September 27, 1944. The total number of prisoners on these transports exceeded 1,500. See BU 44, BU 8/19, and BU 5/5, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045.

6. Buchenwald: Etats d'effectifs par Kommando, August 13 and 14, 1944 (BU 5/3), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 6).

7. Memorandum from Arbeitseinsatz-Ing., SS-Kommandoführers [Söderberg ?], December 28, 1944, BA NS 4 (Buchenwald), as reproduced at USHMM, RG-14.023M, Band 258.

8. Buchenwald: Mouvements internés, September 1, 1944–March 31, 1945, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 6).

9. "Aussenkommandos, Stand vom 6.3.45 and Stand vom 1.1.45," BU 39, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045.

10. List of prisoner functions in Lager Birkhahn, Hall a/S., November 18, 1944, BA NS 4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG-14.023M, Band 258.

11. "Arbeitseinsatz der Häftl. Halle 16 am 21 August 1944," submitted to Siebel Flugzeugwerke on August 21, 1944, BA NS 4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG-14.023M, Band 260.

12. "Monatsbericht für Januar 1945," BA NS4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG-14.023M, Band 54.

13. Correspondence from SS-Hauptscharführer Noll, October 15, 1944, BA NS 4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG-14.023M, Band 258.

14. Memo from Werke der Stadt Halle, Aktiengesellschaft to Lagerführer Hauptscharführer Noll, October 18, 1944, BA NS 4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG-14.023M, Band 258.

15. "Monatsbericht für Januar 1945" and "Monatsbericht und Stärkemeldung, 20 Februar 1945," BA NS 4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG-14.023M, Band 54.

HARDEHAUSEN

Due to Germany's military situation, the Institute of National Political Education (Napola) Bensberg was transferred to Hardehausen, following a final order issued by Heinrich Himmler on November 2, 1944. The old Cistercian monastery located in Hardehausen was confiscated, and extensive rebuilding and expansion of the structures used as hospitals for the Luftwaffe, and later as a women's technical college, were begun.

The first preparations for the move had already been made by September 1944. It is known for certain that SA-Gruppenführer Paul Holthoff brought 10 prisoners along with him to Hardehausen.

These 10 were a detail from Buchenwald that had been ordered over from that camp to Bensberg in March 1944 to do restoration and extension work in the old castle of Bensberg, then the home of Napola. Holthoff was the leader of this elite school. He was responsible for transport, shelter, and supplies for the camp, as he held administrative power concerning the prisoners. Disciplinary power and power of command were always held by the SS, in the person of a non-commissioned SS officer in Bensberg whose name remains unknown. The move to Hardehausen, however, must have already been finalized by the end of December 1944.

The work detail (Kommando) still went by its old name at this point;¹ shortly thereafter, its designation was changed to "Napola Hardehausen." So the prisoners' camp was named after its place of deployment (Einsatzort), as was very often the case with Buchenwald details ordered out to do forced labor somewhere.

According to a statement made by a witness at that time, the prisoners were said to be housed in the top level of the monastery's old grain barn, built out of massive, unfinished stone.² Napola fed the prisoners.

In court, the witness Peter Georg, who was a prisoner in Hardehausen from February 1945, accused Josef Schramm of

tyrannically reducing the prisoners' rations from day to day and also often threatening prisoners with beating.³

The concentration camp prisoners worked behind a two-meter-high (6.6-foot-high) stone wall that surrounded the entire property of the monastery. A main gate on the southern side and a side door on the northern side of the monastery grounds were, according to the information of the contemporary witness, guarded or locked yet occasionally passable for residents.⁴

In 1945, about six families lived on-site. Among them was also a man named Pahl, who held a lease from the Prussian state province of Hardehausen. The State Attorney's Office of Paderborn used information from a statement he provided for its 1966–1967 investigation of the Hardehausen camp.⁵ Pahl admitted that about 30 to 40 concentration camp prisoners from Buchenwald were present shortly before Easter, but he said he was unable to remember any details. Nothing was revealed concerning cruelty or murder within the scope of this legal investigation. A trial was not instituted.

Reports on the strength of the prisoner population from Bensberg and then Hardehausen show that it varied from 10 at first to 40 in late February and 12 at the camp's closure.

The monastery building, with all of its functioning rooms, had to be rebuilt completely. Gardens were to be planted to promote self-sufficiency, an area for riding was to be prepared, and the complete installation of electric service was to be carried out. Napola was to have its own swimming pool next to the monastery building, on which the prisoners had worked. (An extended pond remains in its place as evidence.)⁶

In addition, the house of the institution's leader, north of the monastery boundary, needed to be readied for occupation. Supposedly, the prisoners were to build a connecting road with a solid foundation, from the former monastery, the Napola's refuge at that time, to Scherfede (later a district of Warburg).

In January 1945, the prisoners worked 12 hours on each of the month's 31 days.

Only a few *Jungmannen* (pupils) of the institution were already in Hardehausen. Hardly any classes were held because the majority of the school's materials (*Schulausstattung*) remained unpacked in the cloister,⁷ and construction work on the building that was actually to serve as the institution was well under way.

The transport of 30 prisoners from Buchenwald was arranged in a memorandum dated January 29, 1945:

Buchenwald Concentration Camp—Labor Detail—

Re: New Kommando "Napola" Hardehausen.

For this Kommando, to which the 10 prisoners of Napola Bensberg come, 30 prisoners will be assigned.⁸

The job affiliation of the transferred inmates can also be found here; one Kapo and one foreman, "who are knowledgeable of road construction," belonged to the group of 30 concentration camp prisoners. Nationalities were not recorded.

However, as Peter Georg explained during his eyewitness testimony in the trial against the Kommando leader in Hardehausen, one of the “Buchenwald trials” held in Dachau in 1947, there were “various nationalities,” among them Russians and Poles. Contrary to the two lists, he remembered that only 36 total prisoners were in Hardehausen.⁹ Holthoff, according to the document, was responsible for the transport. Ten policemen were assigned as the guard detail. Related documents are still missing. A succinct order for clothes for work outdoors was in force for the prisoners.

The Kommando leader was SS-Unterscharführer Josef Schramm. He went to Hardehausen on March 1, 1945. According to his statement, one SS-Unteroffizier Heinrich, also from Buchenwald, was actually designated for the task in Hardehausen but was then posted to the subcamp in Göttingen.

It can be assumed that Schramm arrived one week after the prisoners had marched from Buchenwald in the direction of Hardehausen.

While still at Buchenwald, Schramm had received his first SS rank when he had gone to Weimar for cleanup work that was necessary following the February 26, 1945, air-raid attack on Weimar.¹⁰ Schramm therefore first arrived at Hardehausen on April 1, 1945. It remains unclear who brought the group of prisoners to Hardehausen and who functioned as Kommando leader until Schramm’s arrival as commander of the camp at Napola.

On November 19, 1947, a denazification court at the Dachau “Buchenwald trials” sentenced Schramm to life imprisonment for murder. The crime attributed to Schramm was, however, not committed in Bensberg or Hardehausen but rather in the vicinity of Weimar itself.¹¹ Witnesses described him, when he was leader of Blocks 17 and 39, as “brutal up until the very end” and as “probably the most dangerous block leader” in Buchenwald.¹² Schramm was released from prison on May 25, 1948.¹³

In the last days of March 1945, Holthoff fled with the remaining pupils; the prisoners were no longer of any interest to him.

On April 3, 1945, American troops occupied Hardehausen.

The Hardehausen subcamp was a small, independent camp with 10 prisoners, except for about six weeks when 40 prisoners were there. The work demanded of the prisoners did not profit either the economy or armaments production. Nevertheless, it held local significance in the creation of an infrastructure for the field of education and for the ideological strengthening of the National Socialist dictatorship.

The subcamp was not founded in the interests of politics on a grand scale; rather, it was the result of a personal initiative from the periphery of National Socialist rule. To realize his plans, Holthoff first tried to use good relations in this area. Many officials did this, as Karola Fings writes, in reference to the assembly of workforces for Construction Brigade III. When this strategy could no longer be continued due to the war, Holthoff utilized the authority and resources of his

superiors, whose long-term interests demanded that the successful work of Napola continue undisturbed for as long as possible because the up-and-coming leadership of the SS, among other things, was supposed to arrive there. The prisoners placed at Napola were workmen who were intensively sought after and desperately needed; moreover, only limited numbers were available, and they were not easy to replace. Therefore, life-threatening arbitrariness from the Kommando leader and guard staff could not necessarily be expected in this subcamp. Nevertheless, the prisoners understood from experience that they were at the mercy of a system and its representatives who could at any time, and for no reason whatsoever, demonstrate an inhuman side. Lack of nourishment, beating, and degrading treatment were at the very least part of daily life in the Hardehausen subcamp, along with the loss of freedom and awareness that as foreigners they were on a daily basis at the mercy of an enemy state.

SOURCES The Napola-Bensberg subcamp of the Buchenwald concentration camp was housed in the Bensberg castle (municipality of Bensberg, Rheinisch-Bergisch area, later belonging to the city of Bergisch Gladbach) until approximately December 1944. This first phase is reconstructed well in literature. The work of Klaus Schmitz would be one example here: “Das Aussenlager Bensberg des KZ-Buchenwald,” *Rheinisch-Bergischer Kalender* Rh-Bkal 59 (1989): 209–215. This work expands upon two previously written student papers from 1983: Michael Aulerich et al., “Die Nationalpolitische Erziehungsanstalt Bensberg,” and Siegfried Balkow et al., “Kriegsgefangene-Fremdarbeiter und KZ-Häftlinge im Raum Bensberg.” These papers were submissions to the competition for the Bundespräsident prize (student essays on historical themes), organized by the Körber Foundation in Hamburg. They can be viewed there. They are also available, as with the work by Schmitz, in ASt-BG. For proof of the subcamp in Bensberg and Hardehausen, the work of *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 152, 366, and 565 (formerly: *Catalogue of Camps and Prisons—CCP*). In her book *Messelager Köln*, vol. 3 (Cologne: Emons Verlag, 1996), Karola Fings provides reliable details on the time period of the Construction Brigade III in Cologne and the independence of the Bensberg subcamp. Information regarding the leader of the Napola-Bensberg is offered by Joachim Lilla, Martin Döring, and Andreas Schulz, *Statisten in Uniform: Die Mitglieder des Reichstages 1933–1945. Ein biographisches Handbuch: Unter Einbeziehung der völkischen und nationalsozialistischen Reichstagsabgeordneten ab Mai 1924* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2004).

In addition to Weinmann, the time of the Napola in Hardehausen (later a district of the city of Warburg in Ostwestfalen) is documented in the file records in the LA-NRW-SPDet. Estates can be found here under the call numbers M1 IIIC Nos. 3333 and 3402, as well as D 100 Warburg. All the student papers refer back to unpublished source material of the ASt-BG, which is available under shelf numbers F2/1080 and

V160 (more recently: J 16/3). The IfZ also has additional related material available under the call number NI-4181, as well as BA in collection NS4, Bu/vol. 253. BA-L manages the results of enquiries made by the Paderborn State Attorney's Office on the subcamp Napola-Hardehausen (formerly subcamp Bensberg as of January 1945) under the reference of the State Attorney's Office Paderborn: 2 AR 50/66. Among other things, the statements of a contemporary eyewitness of the prison camp can also be found there.

In the so-called Buchenwald trials, an individual trial was carried out against Kommando leader of the Hardehausen subcamp, Josef Schramm. His statements regarding his stay and occupation in Hardehausen, accompanying witness testimonies, and the verdict are all located in the NARA, 1376, RG 153, Record of the Office of the Judge Advocate General (Army), *USA v. Josias Prinz zu Waldeck*, War Crimes Case No. 12-390, B2833, THStA-W. The *Stärkemeldungen* of the subcamp Napola or Napola-Bensberg also come from THStA-W. They belong to the collection: KZ und Haftanstalt Buchenwald, NS4 Bu 1366; KZ und Haftanstalt Buchenwald, Box 27, No. 9. The accompanying lists of prisoner names come from one document: StAGL, HS 313, unpaginated, under the heading: "Aufteilung der Baubrigade III (Köln)"; and prisoner lists from: NARA, RG 242, Film 25, No. 0015355, No. 0015356, No. 0015357, and No. 0015358. Lastly, the death report of Jan Kubat is located under prisoner number 21943 in the AG-B's card index of prisoner numbers.

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trans. Lynn Wolff

NOTES

1. "Häftlingseinsatz für Rüstungszwecke im Monat Januar 1945 unter Angabe der geleisteten Arbeitsstunden, Absatz: Kriegswichtige Zwecke, Napola Hardehausen," AG-B, author's copy without shelf mark.
2. Cf. documents from BA-L, file mark of the Paderborn state attorney's office, 2 AR 50/66, not paginated.
3. *USA v. Josias Prinz zu Waldeck et al.*, "Buchenwald trial," No. 12-390, NARA, Az.: TKI-mp-Schramm—11/14-7, witness statement of Peter Georg.
4. Verbal statement of Mr. Struck, resident, August 1994.
5. This and in the following: BA-L, file mark of the Paderborn state attorney's office, 2 AR 50-66, n.p.
6. Verbal statement, contemporary witness Mr. Struck, 1994.
7. StABGL, collection Vermandel, letters from pupils.
8. From ZdL (now BA-L), file mark of the Paderborn state attorney's office, 2 AR 50/66, n.p.
9. *USA v. Josias Prinz zu Waldeck et al.*, "Buchenwald trial," No. 12-390, NARA, Az.: TKI-mp-Schramm—11/14-7, witness statement of Peter Georg.
10. *USA v. Josias Prinz zu Waldeck et al.* . . . trial of Schramm, p. 97.
11. *USA v. Josias Prinz zu Waldeck et al.* . . . Az.: TKI-mp-Schramm—11/14-7, indictment, p.1; cf. witness statement of Peter Georg, l.c.
12. Witness Apitz, *USA v. Prinz zu Waldeck et al.* . . . l.c., p. 109.
13. AG-B; and *USA v. Josias Prinz zu Lippe* . . . , l.c.

HESSISCH LICHTENAU

The subcamp Hessisch Lichtenau, with a population of 1,000 female prisoners, was first mentioned on August 1, 1944. The inmates brought from Auschwitz to Hessisch Lichtenau were Jews, predominantly Hungarian, and others including Romanian (1), Slovakian (3), Polish (1), and Yugoslavian (3). One can gather from the list of new arrivals to this subcamp from the Auschwitz concentration camp that the women and girls were between the ages of 15 and 49 years old. Mothers were often brought to the camp with their daughters or other relatives. On September 19, 1944, as was common practice, they were registered and given serial numbers by the political section of the Buchenwald concentration camp, under whose administrative authority they were kept. The women who were brought to Hessisch Lichtenau received the prisoner numbers from 20,001 to 21,003.

The prisoners were put to work in an explosives factory in Hessisch Lichtenau. Shells, bombs, mines, and cartridges were filled there with the explosives TNT, picric acid, and nitropenta. The contractor was the Fabrik Hessisch Lichtenau GmbH zur Verwertung chemischer Erzeugnisse (Hessisch Lichtenau factory, a limited liability company for the exploitation of chemical products), a sister company of the Dynamit-AG (DAG), formerly the Alfred Nobel and Co.

The female inmates lived under miserable conditions in a barracks camp, the "camp clubhouse" (*Lager Vereinshaus*), on the edge of the city, closely watched by a staff of SS guards. They marched daily for an hour and a half to an armaments factory located in a dense mixed wood/meadow area. The normal working time for the Jewish forced laborers was 10.5 hours per day. A majority of the women worked in a three-shift rotation, which also had them working on Saturdays and Sundays. In addition to their shifts, the women and girls often had to carry out different tasks on the factory grounds for between 2 and 4 hours; and besides that, there was the march to the factory and back to the camp. The inmates who worked the night shift often had to work in the camp during the day, so that 4 hours of sleep was an exception for those on the night shift.

The Jewish prisoners had to perform not only dangerous but physically difficult work. They were utilized where uncomfortable tasks had to be done: the making of explosives, cleanup work on the factory site, work in the forest, the loading and unloading of train cars, loading work in the factory, excavation work, such as the digging of ditches and wells, and the shifting of a water pipe. They also did various physically demanding tasks for a building contractor that performed tasks for the explosives factory.

These prisoners were stationed mainly in the most dangerous positions in the filling station and press building. In the press building, many came in direct contact with picric acid. The picric acid, which had to be filled by hand, contained very poisonous yellow crystals, whose vapors penetrated the body through breathing or through the skin. In the same way as contact with the explosive TNT in the filling

stations, picric acid caused a great deal of permanent damage to the forced laborers' health, such as lung and liver damage as well as allergies.

The former forced laborer Blanka Pudler describes her work in the factory as follows:

I had to carefully stir the explosive material in the shells with brass sticks so that they would cool evenly, allowing no air bubbles to develop in the explosives. A hard, iron-like skin developed on the surface. One had to break this open with sticks. I had to breathe in the bitter tasting, unhealthy vapors that made me numb, and I often regained consciousness only when the hot explosives splattered my face, leaving my face full of burns. Sometimes I had to grab assembled shells, weighing nearly 30 kilograms, at the end of a conveyor belt. I often hurt my hands severely while doing this work. I always hid my infected wounds. I didn't want to be sick, because I knew that being sick was equal to being dead.¹

These forced laborers also suffered under the cruelty of the German foremen. The absolutely lawless situation, in which these women and girls found themselves, was used to maltreat and torture them. Based on their status, they had no chance of defending themselves. Civilians, who showed no consideration for the prisoners' terrible physical condition, also repeatedly pushed them on during their work.

In addition, there was the daily terror of the SS on the way to work and in the camp. After a deployment on March 20, 1945, the SS guard staff was made up of 25 SS members, often older men not fit for the front, and 32 female guards. The camp leader was SS-Sturmscharführer Willi Schäfer, born in 1906. He came from Stettin, was married, and had children. Concentration camp survivors describe his behavior as "fair" in view of the overall situation in which they found themselves. His deputy was the SS-Oberscharführer Ernst Zorbach, who came from the Buchenwald concentration camp shortly after the establishment of this camp and who, due to his sadism toward the prisoners, made efforts to intensify the conditions in the camp. Zorbach was two years older than Schäfer and had already joined the Nazi Party in 1931.

An indication of how quickly the inmates' capacity for work was used up under the conditions of the camp and in the factory is made clear by the fact that already at the end of October 1944—not even three months after the arrival of the forced laborers in Hessisch Lichtenau—206 prisoners were sent back to Auschwitz II-Birkenau. Since the factory was only interested in those fit to work and those who possessed a healthy capacity for labor, these women were sent to the extermination camp. Prisoners who were pregnant, sick, and unable to work were selected. On October 24, 1944, the camp commandant reported the death of 5 female forced laborers, among them a 16- and a 17-year-old girl, to the Buchenwald

concentration camp. There is no information on the cause of death. Again on January 4, 1945, 2 women were singled out as unfit to work and were brought to Bergen-Belsen, one because she was pregnant and the other because of "mental illness."

According to statements made by former prisoners, hidden resistance and sabotage operations occurred in the camp and in the factory. A former prisoner reports the following on this: "A couple of us organized a sabotage group . . . one or the other explosive would be forgotten in the mixing room, and if that was not possible, then the shells were marked and it was my job to destroy almost invisible parts during unloading, to be sure that the shells would be harmless."²

At the end of March 1945, the exhausted inmates of the subcamp were evacuated in the face of advancing U.S. forces. First the women were transported to Leipzig by train under the watch of the SS guard staff. The trip lasted five days. A week later they were sent on a two-week-long march, which was called a "death march" by those who survived. The SS shot many prisoners who could not march any further. The death march ended in Wurzen, just east of Leipzig, where the Jewish women who survived the march were liberated by U.S. troops on April 25, 1945.

From 1967 to 1976, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL), located in Ludwigsburg, and the State Attorney's Office in Kassel carried out investigations against the camp leader, his deputy, and the other members of the SS for the killing of prisoners in the Hessisch Lichtenau subcamp and during the evacuation march. The trial was called off on March 10, 1976, because it was impossible to determine the whereabouts of the camp leader Schäfer and his deputy Zorbach.

SOURCES The basis for this entry on the Hessisch Lichtenau subcamp comes from two books by Dieter Vaupel: *Das Aussenlager Hessisch Lichtenau des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald 1944/1945: Eine Dokumentation*, 3rd ed. (Kassel: Verlag Gesamthochschulbibliothek Kassel, 1984) and *Spuren die nicht vergehen: Eine Studie über Zwangsarbeit und Entschädigung*, 2nd ed. (Kassel: Verlag Gesamthochschulbibliothek Kassel, 2001). The former title has also been published in English in the collection by Randolph L. Braham, *Studies on the Holocaust in Hungary* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990). Gregor Espelage dedicates an extensive chapter to the Lichtenau subcamp in his book *"Friedland" bei Hessisch Lichtenau: Geschichte einer Stadt und Sprengstofffabrik in der Zeit des Dritten Reiches in Zwei Bänden* (Hessisch Lichtenau: Stadt Hessisch Lichtenau, 1994).

There are many scattered records on the subcamp Hessisch Lichtenau. The correspondence of the SS including prisoner and transport lists and lists of those kept back and temporarily not deported are located at APMO, in BA-K, and YV. A collection of files in BA-L is of particular significance in that it deals with the investigative trial concerning prisoner deaths in the Hessisch Lichtenau camp. Two former concentration camp prisoners published autobiographical works on their experiences in the camp and in the explosives factory: Trude Levi, *A Cat Called Adolf* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 1994); and Judith Magyar Isaac-

son, *Seed of Sarah* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991). Both books have also been published in German translation.

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trans. Lynn Wolff

NOTES

1. Blanka Pudler, quoted in Dieter Vaupel, *Spuren, die nicht vergehen: Eine Studie über Zwangsarbeit und Entschädigung*, 2nd ed. (Kassel: Verlag Gesamthochschulbibliothek Kassel, 2001), p. 337.

2. Gertrud Deak, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 114.

JENA

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Jena (Thüringen) in late September or early October 1944. The inmates were transferred from the nearby main camp to Jena to work for the Reichsbahnausbesserungswerke (Reich Railways Repair Works, RAW), located on Loebstädter Strasse 50. Like other subcamps created in the later months of the war, concentration camp prisoners were hired out by private industrial firms, such as RAW, which paid the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) for the use of prisoner labor. RAW-Jena paid the WVHA 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day.¹

Inmates brought to the Jena subcamp were used by the RAW to repair the railway and perform other kinds of work in the factory. Because the camp was located only about 24 kilometers (15 miles) from the main Buchenwald camp in Jena, groups of prisoners were often sent to the camp from Buchenwald on special tasks as requested by the Jena mayoral office.

From transport lists and transfer reports (*Veränderungsmeldungen*) generated about the movement of inmates to and from Jena, a general picture emerges of the number of inmates in the Jena subcamp at various intervals during its five-month-long operation, information about the demographics of the camp population, as well as frequency of deaths, illnesses, and departures from the camp. The first transport of 400 male inmates left Buchenwald and arrived in the Jena subcamp on October 4, 1944. The prisoners appear to be Polish, Russian, Czech, French, Belgian, and German, but nationality, age, and profession of the inmates are not provided in the report.² By the end of October, there were at least 573 inmates imprisoned in the Jena subcamp. At the end of November 1944, the number had reached around 800, with another large transport of 300 prisoners arriving in Jena on November 4, 1944.³ On January 23, 1945, the last large transport of 133 inmates arrived in Jena.⁴ Throughout the following months, smaller transports shifted prisoners between Buchenwald and Jena.⁵ According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog, the average strength of the Jena subcamp was 800 inmates, but the

camp most likely reached its peak in January 1945, with 942 inmates.⁶

Although no witness reports from former inmates of the Jena subcamp could be found to attest to the conditions within the camp, some of the transport lists and other transfer memos show that on certain dates inmates were transferred back to the Buchenwald main camp in exchange for stronger, healthier inmates. These inmates, deemed completely unsuitable (*völlig ungeeignet*) for work at RAW, exhibited various illnesses, including tuberculosis, dysentery, diphtheria, angina, and other conditions. Other inmates were transferred from Jena to Buchenwald to be punished; in one instance, three inmates were returned for plundering a supply train.⁷ Some reports show the “departure” of inmates from the camp; many of these departures actually meant that the inmates had died. For example, a transfer report dated February 13, 1945, lists one Pole, a professional criminal (*Berufsverbrechener*) named Jan Filipowicz, as having departed the Jena camp.⁸ A list of deaths in the Buchenwald subcamps undersigned by the SS medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad, SDG), an unnamed SS-Rottenführer, in the prisoner infirmary shows that on the same date one death was recorded for Jena: Jan Filipowicz, who died on “February 6, 1945 at 5:30 p.m., due to pneumonia.”⁹

The Kommandoführer of the Jena subcamp was SS-Oberscharführer Zenker. The Arbeitseinsatzführer was SS-Hauptsturmführer Schwarz.¹⁰ According to a report filed by the SS-Standortarzt on January 31, 1945, the SS doctor assigned to oversee medical operations in the Jena subcamp was named Götze, and the SDG was named Wilhelm. The same report lists the strength of the guard troops at 66 and the camp as having 942 inmates on this date.¹¹

The Jena subcamp was last mentioned in administrative records on April 11, 1945, with 519 inmates.

SOURCES There are few secondary sources that describe conditions and circumstances at the Jena subcamp of Buchenwald. For brief information on the Jena camp, such as opening and closing dates, kind of work, and so on, 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).

Likewise, primary documents generated on the Jena subcamp are scarce. For transport lists and other administrative records, see USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, a collection of documents copied from AN-MACVG and originating from ITS (see especially BU 43, BU 8/20). Additional records on the subcamps of Buchenwald, including the Jena camp, may be found at AG-B and AG-MD.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Labor allocation report, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 142, *TWC*, 6: 759–767.

2. “Transport Jena,” October 4, 1944 (BU 43), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

3. "Transport Jena," November 4, 1944 (BU 43), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

4. "Transport Jena," January 23, 1945 (BU 8/21), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 7).

5. See "K.L. Buchenwald, Kdo. Jena ('Je') collection in BU 43, USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

6. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, 31 Januar 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1960), p. 253.

7. "An das Konz. Lager Weimar Buchenwald, Schutzhaftlagerführer," November 23, 1944 (BU 43), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045.

8. "Veränderungsmeldung," KL Buchenwald, February 13, 1945 (BU 4/35), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 6).

9. Death report, February 13, 1945 (BU 36/4), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, p. 4.

10. See memos regarding exchange of inmates to Buchenwald, on which the names "Zenker" and "Schwartz" are legible, dated November 8, 1944, and January 11, 1945 (BU 43), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045.

11. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, 31 Januar 1945, as published in Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, p. 253.

KASSEL

There were actually two Buchenwald subcamps in Kassel at different times. The first subcamp utilized seven carpenters from the carpentry repair workshop of the main camp who went to Kassel with the subcamp leader SS-Hauptscharführer Arno Weber without an additional guard staff for a week from January 20 to 25, 1941.

The second subcamp included 12 prisoners—5 skilled workers and 7 unskilled laborers—who worked for the construction firm Itten Bros. in Kassel-Nordhausen (HWL) from November 12, 1942, through December 8, 1942 (in total, 180 workdays, as there was no official work on Sundays). The firm received a proof of debt issued by the "Waffen-SS Buchenwald concentration camp (administration)" and had to transfer "to the account of the Buchenwald concentration camp administration at the Reichsbank branch in Weimar No. 76/144" the amount of 6 Reichsmark (RM) for the day's work of a skilled worker and 4 RM for that of an unskilled laborer.

SOURCES Literature specifically on the two subcamps was not available. In AG-B there are lists of prisoners (call numbers NS 4 Bu 16, Bu 155, Bu 138), in which the subcamp is cited. These lists reveal that the assumption in the "Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)" (Arolsen, unpub. MSS, 1979), p. 47, published by ITS is incorrect, as there were actually two different subcamps (not just one) in the city of Kassel. The proofs of debt for the deployment of prisoners with regard to the second subcamp are in AG-B (call number NS 4 Bu 222). In ITS (call number: Bu-

chenwald 14), a short reference is made to the jobs. The Itten firm was listed in the Kassel register of master craftspeople until 1962.

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KASSEL-DRUSELTAL

The work detachment Kassel-Druseltal—based to the west of Kassel on the road to Habichtswald-Ehlen—was established in July 1943 as an outside detachment of the Buchenwald concentration camp in a private residential building rented by the SS. The building, an old timber house, had originally been an inn. The house had previously been used as a camp for French prisoners of war, so barbed wire, trip wires, and bars were in place.

The camp was a detachment of the SS-Building Administration Main Office (WVHA). The first recorded transport of prisoners from Buchenwald took place on July 24, 1943. From October 1943 to the middle of July 1944, there were between 122 and 148 prisoners in the camp; from the middle of July to January 1945, there were between 162 and 188 prisoners; and at the end of March 1945, when the camp was dissolved, there were 139 prisoners. In all, 288 prisoners were registered: around one-third were Poles, another third were Russians (from the Soviet Union), 39 were Germans, 26 were Czech, 13 were French, 6 were Italians, 6 were Belgians, and 4 were Dutch.

The majority of the prisoners were classified as "political"; a few others were classified as "Bibelforscher" (Jehovah's Witnesses) or as "antisocials."

The prisoners worked at construction (building two barracks for the SS administration on Panoramaweg and garages and rooms on the Strasse Unter den Eichen and performing excavation work for the construction of warehouses) for the Höherer-SS and Polizeiführer (Higher-SS and Police Leader) Josias Prince zu Waldeck and Pyrmont. Waldeck was often present at the construction area. By establishing this work detachment, he had also created the need for his own building administration in Kassel (independent of the Buchenwald concentration camp), which was founded in January 1944. Two Polish architects (Kasimir Ciszewski and Severin Samulski), two Czech building engineers (Václav Jilek and Josef Pytlik), a Dutch archivist (Apolonius Hess), and a Dutch clerk (Alfred F. Groeneveld) made up the members of the skilled workers in the building administration office. The Gestapo buildings in the Wilhelmshöher Allee in Kassel had been destroyed by air raids, and so, in Waldeck's mind, there was an urgent need for new accommodations to be erected.

The prisoners in their striped clothing were clearly visible on their way to work and while working in the city. A photograph shows five prisoners and a guard at a construction site on Strasse Unter den Eichen in Kassel. The prisoner-functionaries used the city tram to go shopping. "The tram passengers neither attempted to make contact with us nor did

they have the courage to try. They mostly looked past us as if we were not there. Only once did an SS man demand that we leave the vehicle because he did not want to sit with criminals in the same tram. The Oberwachtmeister shrugged his shoulders and said 'By Order of Obergruppenführer Waldeck'—and with that the matter was at an end."¹

SS-Oberscharführer Heinrich Best was commander of the camp; his deputies were SS-Unterscharführer Franz Hronizek and SS-Unterscharführer Gerhard Heinrich. From October 1944, SS-Oberscharführer Rudolph signed documents as camp commander. SS-Unterscharführer Karl Weyrauch was in charge of the building administration. The prisoners were mostly guarded by older members of the municipal police.

Supervisory positions were allotted to the Germans, while the majority of the Poles, Russians, Italians, French, Belgians, and Czechs were mainly involved in excavation work and construction. The block elder was Joseph Schuhbauer; the Kapos in the building detachment were exclusively German prisoners.

The Kassel work detachment was regarded as being a comparatively bearable camp. This was due to the fact that the guards were policemen and because of the skilled work undertaken (in the detachment were carpenters, electricians, bricklayers, roof tilers, and other workers in the building trades). In several reports of former prisoners, reference is made to the maltreatment of the prisoner Franz Nemeth from Vienna by the SS, which resulted in severe injuries. It is not known what happened to him after the war.

Seven (and possibly an additional five or six) prisoners were able to escape in October 1944 (or possibly a little later).

On March 29, 1945, a few days before American troops marched into Kassel, the camp was dissolved. The 139 prisoners were "withdrawn to Buchenwald because of the approaching enemy." Several prisoners managed to escape during this transport.

SOURCES There is a comprehensive report by a former Dutch prisoner: Alfred F. Groeneveld, *Im Aussenkommando Kassel des KZ Buchenwald* (Kassel: Nationalsozialismus in Nordhessen—Schriften zur regionalen Zeitgeschichte, Band 13, 1991). The appendix contains the prisoners' names and arrest dates.

The archives of the ITS, Bad Arolsen (Collections: Buchenwald 2; 5; 6; 11; 14; 15; 19; 20; 25; 26; 33; 36; 44; 19; 45; 47; 49; 52, 80) has numerous files (e.g., an "Inspection Report on Accommodations and Work Places in Kassel" by an SS-Obersturmführer Work Leader, dated July 1943; the persecution of a "Bibelforscher").

The AG-B holds autobiographical reports on the Kassel subcamp by Hermann Fischer, Richard Krauthaus, Kurt Leonhardt, Josef Peschke, Richard Thiede, and Josef Schuhbauer.

See also the BA-B: SS Records 11678; BDC O-5254; SL 16–28; NSDAP Files.

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NOTE

1. Alfred F. Groeneveld, *Im Aussenkommando Kassel des KZ Buchenwald*, (Kassel: Nationalsozialismus in Nordhessen—Schriften zur regionalen Zeitgeschichte, Band 13, 1991), S. 81.

KÖLN-DEUTZ (WESTWAGGON)

On September 25, 1944, 200 inmates, guarded by 21 SS men, left the Buchenwald camp, in the direction of Cologne.¹ After a journey lasting two days, the transport reached its destination: the United West German Railway Wagon Factories Inc. (Vereinigte Westdeutsche Waggonfabriken AG) in Köln-Deutz. The factory grounds, later to be taken over by Klöckner-Humboldt-Deutz Motoren AG and used as an armaments factory, were already the site of several forced labor camps and a "work education camp" (*Arbeitserziehungslager*).² The factory, known as "Westwaggon," produced railway cars and buses and, during the war, essential parts for tanks and submarines.

The commander of the subcamp was SS-Hauptscharführer Menne Saathoff, who was born on May 12, 1914, in Akelsbarg (East Friesland). Saathoff, who after finishing school worked in the family business, entered service with the SS in 1934, joined the Wehrmacht in 1936, and in July 1939 joined the commandant's staff of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.³ In his 1946 report, survivor Jean-Paul Garin described Saathoff as follows: "He was impulsive, nervous, and without strength of character, which allowed him to resort to bestial tendencies. He was brutal and sensual."⁴

The prisoners were first quartered in a stone building on the factory grounds at 131 Deutz-Mülheime Strasse.⁵ The prisoners included French, Dutch, a few Germans and Poles, and the largest group, Soviets. The prisoners' doctor, Charles Cliquet, and his orderly, Jean-Paul Garin, both French, could move relatively freely around the factory and make contact with civilian workers and foreign forced laborers.

The SS took the prisoners to work in the factory buildings from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. They also worked on Sundays. A few prisoners from Westwaggon were made available for the bomb disposal squads. The soldiers picked them up in trucks in the morning. They worked mostly in Köln-Mülheim. They were also used to expand the military airport at Köln-Ostheim. The police president of Cologne also made use of the Deutz subcamp. For example, in February 1945, 41 prisoners came under the control of the Cologne police.⁶

Hygiene, medical care, food supplies, and accommodation in the last days of the war in the subcamp can only be described as catastrophic. The bombing raids on Cologne, on the right bank of the Rhine, from the middle of October 1944 resulted in no water and electricity. The prisoners could not wash and were not given replacement clean clothes.⁷ An air raid on October 28, 1944, burned down the stone building, and one prisoner died in the flames. From that date, the detachment had to live in an air-raid shelter beneath a factory building.⁸

The shelter had no natural light and was narrow and stuffy. There was no furniture. The prisoners had to sleep on the floor, on straw. Each morning and evening, the camp commander, Saathoff, held roll call in front of the shelter. He walked between the rows of prisoners, carrying a stick. After work, a Soviet prisoner distributed soup and bread to the prisoners, which they took with them into the shelter. The prisoners were then locked in until the morning. A bucket served as a toilet. It was emptied in the morning.

A bombing raid on October 28 destroyed all medicines and medical instruments. Illness spread, and there were several cases of scabies. By the end of the year, Saathoff had transferred 15 sick prisoners back to Buchenwald. The result of imprisonment in the camp is shown in the illnesses: they suffered from tuberculosis, asthma, rheumatism, and inflammation of the joints; one prisoner's face was paralyzed. Several had injuries to ligaments and to their backs, which can be attributed to poor nutrition and the heavy work.

Saathoff had all prisoners who could not work transported to Buchenwald. In a transfer report from November 1944, the following is written: "These 6 prisoners are sick and are being returned to Buchenwald. The age of these prisoners and their illnesses mean that they are a burden and risk for the detachment during air raid alarms and attacks. They are not able to maintain the pace during the alarms."⁹ At the same time, Saathoff was concerned to prevent contact between the prisoners and others. Two prisoners were returned to Buchenwald with the words: "These two prisoners are constantly talking to civilian workers, they are lazy and cheeky and given the closeness to the front are a security danger."¹⁰

It was in December that the prisoners for the first time in weeks received fresh clothes. In January 1945, two prisoners were put on laundry detail so that the prisoners' clothes could be changed weekly. This was possible after a well was dug in front of their quarters. The prisoners suffered as the quality of the food deteriorated. A report in December 1944 stated the following: "The supply of bread sometimes does not occur because there is a scarcity of motor vehicles. This has a noticeable effect. Nevertheless bread is supplied whenever possible."¹¹ In January, the supplies had "fallen somewhat when compared with the previous month."¹²

However, in the last weeks of the war this subcamp gave the prisoners an opportunity to escape. One-third of the prisoners—at least 65 of them—were able to successfully escape the SS grip.¹³ In bombed-out Cologne, there were many possibilities to live illegally in the ruins, to join escaped forced laborers or prisoners, or to work in one of the more than 200 forced labor camps under an assumed name. Sergej Stepanov stated that thorough preparations were required to escape.¹⁴ While working with the detachment at the airport, he made contact with forced laborers from a camp at Köln-Ostheim, who advised him to flee. While searching for bombs, he found civilian clothing, which he hid for his escape. He and Viktor Sokolov escaped on November 22, 1944. With the help of other forced laborers, they hid first in the ruins, then for two weeks in the camp hospital at Köln-Gremberg, so that their

hair could grow. Finally, they reported as civilian laborers to a forced labor camp, which had returned from preparing tank ditches in Aachen. Thus Sergej Stepanov and Viktor Sokolov were liberated in Cologne.

Pawel Potozkij was less successful. With the help of Soviet forced laborers, he escaped on October 27, 1944, from the Westwaggon camp.¹⁵ He was picked up by an SA patrol in February 1945 and locked in the Gestapo prison. Despite brutal interrogation, the Gestapo failed to identify Potozkij. He was released to a forced labor camp in Deutz, where he was recognized by an SS man from the Westwaggon subcamp and sent back to Buchenwald on February 26, 1945. Friends hid him among those suffering from typhus and said he was dead. He was released from the infirmary at the beginning of April, using a pseudonym, and was liberated on April 11, 1945.

The Westwaggon subcamp was still in the city even after American troops had occupied the left bank of the Rhine on March 6, 1945. On March 10, 1945, 92 prisoners, with another 26 on March 15, 1945, returned to Buchenwald.¹⁶ Of the original 200 prisoners, there remained just over half. There are no recorded deaths among the prisoners other than one who died during a bombing raid.¹⁷ Just before the prisoners were returned to Buchenwald, a large group escaped in Cologne. As with Garin, they were of the opinion that on no account did they want to go back to Buchenwald: "We felt that the end of the war was arriving. Moreover, we proposed that we should not remain in their hands during these last days."¹⁸

In 1966, the Cologne state prosecutor investigated the Buchenwald subcamps in the Cologne city area, including the "Kommando Köln-Westwaggon."¹⁹ The state prosecutor found no evidence of any homicides. The fate of Saathoff after 1945 is not known.

SOURCES Subcamp Westwaggon was first investigated in a study on the SS-Construction Brigade by Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln: Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne: Emons, 1996), pp. 155–158. Sources on the camp are relatively few. As well as transport lists, held in the HStA-D, there are the monthly reports. See THStA-W Court Rept. 118/1179 and Monthly Reports NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 54, 69–78). In addition, there is the 1946 book by survivor Jean-Paul Garin, *La vie dure* (Lyon: Audin, 1946), pp. 147–161, as well as several interviews with former prisoners on living conditions in the subcamp. The latter can be found at the NS Document Center, City of Cologne (Interview Marian Gazinski NS-Dok, Z 10.584, Interview Sergej Stepanow NS-Dok, Z 10.551, and Interview NS-Dok Pawel Potockij Z 10.517).

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NOTES

1. "Transport Köln-Deutz," Weimar-Buchenwald, September 25, 1944, HStA-D, Court Rept. 118/1179; and Buchenwald Concentration Camp, Administration, September 23, 1944, Prisoner Transfers to Köln/Deutz-Tief, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald Nr. 9, p. 240a.

2. 19. Police District Cologne to the Aliens Office, June 20, 1949, HASTK, Acc. 606/2, p. 72. See also Gebhard Aders, “Die Firma Klöckner-Humboldt-Deutz AG im zweiten Weltkrieg,” Parts 1 and 2, in *RrhK* 14 (1988): 89–143 and 15 (1989): 129–176; and Adolf Störiko, “Geschichte der ‘Vereinigte Westdeutsche Waggonfabriken AG’ Köln-Deutz (‘Westwaggon’),” *JfEbG* 7 (1973): 26–66.

3. See the signatures of Saathoff, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 54, p. 69; and BA-B, BDC/RS.

4. Jean-Paul Garin, *La vie dure* (Lyon: Audin, 1946), p. 148.

5. Enquetes sur les prisons et les camps douteux, Rapport 94976, AMSPE, Administration des Victimes de la Guerre, Brüssel, Anlagen zu Bericht Nr. 451.

6. Movements Book, Receipt-Nr. 90, lfd. Nr. 28/2, March 1, 1945, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136, p. 10.

7. Subcamp Westwaggon, Monthly Report, October 20, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 54, p. 78.

8. Subcamp Westwaggon, Monthly Report, November 20, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 54, p. 77.

9. SS-Hauptscharführer Saathoff, November 20, 1944, HStA-D, Court Rept. 118/1179.

10. Ibid.

11. Subcamp Westwaggon, Monthly Report, December 25, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 54, p. 79.

12. Subcamp Westwaggon, Monthly Report, February 27, 1945, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 54, pp. 69–70; and Monthly Report, January 30, 1945, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 52, p. 65.

13. Based on the Movement Reports, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a and 136b.

14. Interview Sergej Stepanov, NS-Dok, Z 10.551.

15. Interview and materials from Pawel Potockij, NS-Dok, Z 10.517.

16. Movement reports, March 10, 1945, and March 15, 1945, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136b.

17. See the “Köln-Deutz” movement reports from September 25, 1944, to March 25, 1945, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a and 136b.

18. Garin, *La vie dure*, p. 154.

19. HStA-D, Court Rept. 118/1174–1190 and 118/1338–1349.

2 Germans, 2 Poles, and 1 stateless person were guarded by 16 SS men.² From time to time, the prisoners were supplemented with inmates from other subcamps in Cologne. Even before the camp was constructed, Ford had made contact with the SS. Repeatedly, prisoners of the SS-Construction Brigade III (Baubrigade III) had to work at Ford in, for example, constructing trenches for protection against shrapnel or loading and unloading.³ Kazimierz Tarnawski part of a group that daily made its way from the subcamp in the Cologne Trade Fair Center to Ford—sometimes, when transport was not available, the journey was made by foot. The group loaded ships on the Rhine with boxes destined for a subsidiary in Bucharest. Another work detachment built bunkers in the northern part of the factory.⁴

According to the then-24-year-old Marian Gazinski, the barracks, which served as accommodations for the subcamp, were about 70 to 100 meters (77 to 109 yards) from the factory, painted green, very clean, and fenced in. In the middle of the barracks were the commander’s offices, a kitchen, guardroom, and a toilet and washroom. On either side, to the left and the right, were dormitories for 20 persons. The dormitories had three-level bunk beds and a separate dining room.

The prisoners were led to work by the SS men, who guarded them. They worked daily for 12 hours. The prisoners were separated from other workers while they worked. Gazinski allocated the prisoners’ work according to need, for example, working as turners, working on engines, or working on regulating engine ignition. The prisoners also had to work as bricklayers and carpenters.⁵

SS-Oberscharführer Josef Gergel, born on January 22, 1917, in Bucharest, was the camp commander.⁶ During World War I, he and his mother moved to the Sudetenland, which later became part of Czechoslovakia. He was a locksmith in Brno. When German troops occupied the Sudetenland in 1938, he joined the Waffen-SS. He took part in the western campaign, after which he was transferred to the 4th SS-Totenkopfsturmbann (Death’s Head Battallion) in Weimar-Buchenwald. Gazinski describes Gergel as educated and as not a brutal person. The SS did not mistreat the prisoners and were, as Gazinski described them, “very correct but firm.” As an experienced concentration camp prisoner, who had a lot of experience with the SS, he said: “We were always behaved because we were disciplined. We knew that you could lose your life for the smallest trifle and for that reason we maintained order.”

Gazinski remembers the food at Ford as being particularly poor. He said that it was even worse than at Buchenwald. In the morning, there was coffee and 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread; in the evening, spinach and three potatoes or soup from the leaves of white beets. The best food that he could recall was lentil soup. During the 15-minute break at lunchtime, the prisoners were not fed, and there were no extra rations for particular occasions.

Four prisoners were able to escape from the Ford camp.⁷ Nine new prisoners from Buchenwald and 2 from the Cologne city camp were transferred so that, for a period, there were 60

KÖLN-NIEHL (KÖLN-“FORD”)

The Ford Factory (Ford-Werke AG), located since 1931 at 1 Henry Ford Strasse, Köln-Niehl, was the German headquarters of the American Ford Motor Company. During the Nazi era, it was one of the most important truck suppliers for the Wehrmacht. The subcamp was constructed in Cologne after Albert Speer at the beginning of July 1944 discussed with Adolf Hitler and Heinrich Himmler an increase in the production of trucks. Himmler promised 12,000 workers. “For this purpose,” according to Speer, “one or more truck factories must be quickly converted into concentration camp operations.”¹

On August 12, 1944, 50 prisoners were transferred from the Buchenwald concentration camp to Ford. This number remained relatively static. The 35 Soviet citizens, 10 Czechs,

prisoners at work. One of them died for reasons unknown, and 5, again for unknown reasons, were taken to Buchenwald.⁸ On February 27, 1945, when production ceased at Ford, the detachment was dissolved, and 48 prisoners were returned to Buchenwald.⁹ Three prisoners remained at Ford. On March 6, 1945, when American troops entered, they left. The remaining 2 were taken to the subcamp at the Westwaggon factory on the eastern side of the Rhine.¹⁰

The existence of the small subcamp was quickly forgotten after the war. A survey by Cologne in October 1949 resulted in vague references to Ford factory, such as: "There are no documents available for the time in question and one has to rely on the employees. Supposedly for three months between forty and fifty people worked on the factory grounds and it is suspected that they were concentration camp prisoners from Buchenwald."¹¹ Investigations by the Cologne state prosecutors in 1966 did not result in evidence that justified prosecutions.¹²

SOURCES Hanns-Peter Rosellen published a history of the factory for the years 1903 to 1945: "*Und trotzdem vorwärts*": *Die dramatische Entwicklung von Ford in Deutschland 1903 bis 1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Zyklam, 1986). The concentration camp prisoners are not mentioned, and the forced laborers, both male and female, are only mentioned and then in a favorable light (pp. 32–35). It was only on the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II that a study on the American military government in Cologne revealed for the first time the role of the Cologne Ford factory during the war. See Reinhold Billstein and Eberhard Illner, *You Are Now in Köln, Compliments: Köln 1945 in den Augen der Sieger; Hundert Tage unter amerikanischer Kontrolle* (Cologne: Emons, 1995), pp. 181–188. The first mention of the subcamp was made in a documentary report titled "Forced Labor at Ford," in *Zwangsarbeit bei Ford*, ed. Projektgruppe Messelager (Cologne: Betrieb Rode-Stankowski, 1996), pp. 32–35. Simultaneously, further results were published in a study on the SS-Construction Brigade III: Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln: Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne: Emons, 1996), pp. 152–154. The book *Working for the Enemy: Ford, General Motors and Forced Labor in Germany during the Second World War*, ed. Reinhold Billstein, Karola Fings, Anita Kugler, and Nicholas Levis (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000) did not reveal any new insights on the concentration camp but did on the company's policies.

The sources are scarce. According to the Ford factory, it does not maintain its own archive. There is no reference to the subcamp in the reports, which describe the Ford factory under administration from 1942 by the Reich Trustee for Alien Property ("Reichstreuhänder für die Behandlung feindlichen Vermögens") and which are held in the BA (R 87/6205, 6206). There is merely a transport list and few other documents in the NWHStA-(D) (Court Rept. 118/1179) and in the THStA-W (NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a, 136b). Survivors' reports cannot fill the gaps, as they are not directly related to the subcamp but to other subcamps in Cologne from which workers were allocated to Ford or by forced laborers who had seen the prisoners at Ford. A few of these reports are held by the NS-Dok (Z 10.530, Interview Wladimir Lebedew;

Z 10.662, Interview Mareno Mannucci; Z 10.584, Interview Marian Gazinski; Collection Project Group Trade Fair Center, Report by Michel van Ausloos).

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1. Cited by Willi A. Boelke, *Deutschlands Rüstung im Zweiten Weltkrieg: Hitlers Konferenzen mit Speer 1942–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Akademische Verlagsanstalt, 1969), p. 396.
2. "Transport Köln (Ford)," August 12, 1944, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1179.
3. Report by Michel van Ausloos, NS-Dok, Slg. Project Group Trade Fair Center, and Interview Wladimir Lebedew, NS-Dok, Z 10.530.
4. Interview Mareno Mannucci, NS-Dok, Z 10.662, and Interview Kazimierz Tarnawski, NS-Dok, Z 10.614.
5. Report on the work by the detachments at Köln-Ford, August 20, 1944, ZSL-L (BA-L), IV 406 AR 85/67, p. 18.
6. BA-B, BDC, RS.
7. Movement reports, September 14, 1944, November 14, 1944, November 28, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a.
8. Numbers, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a, pp. 117–146; and NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136b, pp. 2–42.
9. Movement Reports, March 6, 1945, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136b, p. 42.
10. Ibid., p. 45; and Interview Marian Gazinski, in NS-Dok, Z 10.584.
11. Cologne City Office to the Arolsen City Office, October 26, 1949, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1179.
12. NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1174–1190 and 118/1338–1349.

KÖLN-STADT

On August 15, 1944, the Buchenwald concentration camp sent 300 male, mostly Soviet, prisoners to the Rhine metropolis as "Kommando Köln-Stadt." They were accompanied by 17 SS men as guards.¹ The detachment was to fill the labor gap that occurred after the SS-Construction Brigade III had been withdrawn in May 1944. It was urgently needed to remove rubble from the heavily damaged city. The idea to use prisoners originated with Cologne Gauleiter Josef Grohé, who had personally intervened with Heinrich Himmler and requested the further use of prisoners.²

Grohé's action was supported by the Cologne city administration, especially by Robert Brandes who as the lord mayor had plenipotentiary powers at this time. The building administration, which reported to him, negotiated with the work allocation leader Schwartz at the Buchenwald concentration camp in August 1944 on the conditions for the use of the prisoners. One of the difficult negotiating points was the deployment of guards, which in part were to come from the city. While the city wanted to use factory security guards or other auxiliary police, the concentration camp administration insisted that the

guards be Waffen-SS, police, Wehrmacht, or Luftwaffe members.³ According to a survivor's statement, members of the Wlassow Army were supposed to supplement the SS guards.⁴

The subcamp was on the grounds of the Cologne Trade Fair Center, where—from the beginning of the war—there had been a number of different camps. The two subbarracks, which comprised the subcamp, stood directly on the Rhine, scarcely 100 meters (109 yards) from the Cologne Cathedral, on the other side of the river.⁵ The camp was fenced, but the prisoners could make contact through the windows with the eastern workers (*Ostarbeiter*), who were in the western buildings of the Trade Fair Center.⁶

Several prisoner work detachments were assigned by the Cologne city administration to remove rubble from the city. The majority of the prisoners were divided into two groups. In 12-hour shifts a large group of prisoners worked day and night on a military airport, which could have been the "Butzweiler Hof" in Köln-Longerich. The prisoners were taken to the airport by truck. Some had to load aircraft with bombs, and others had to repair the bomb damage on the runways.⁷ Another group was allocated by the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) West to Luftwaffe bomb disposal squads. The bomb disposal squads had the life-threatening job of retrieving unexploded bombs.⁸ The detachment was reinforced with 50 prisoners from the Düsseldorf camp at the German Earth and Stone Works (DESt).⁹

Within a few weeks the camp had around 260 prisoners. There are no recorded deaths in the camp. The decimation of the prisoner numbers is due in large part to the high number of escapes. By the beginning of October 1944, 37 prisoners had escaped; 2 were transferred to Buchenwald because they were sick; while another 3 were returned to the main camp for punishment.¹⁰ One of them was Iwan Kutuzow. He was handed over to the political department of the camp on September 2, 1944, accused of "mutinous talk."¹¹ Kutuzow was held for one month under arrest in a cell. On October 5, 1944, he stated while being questioned that during work at the "Kommando Flughafen" he answered a police officer's question. He was believed, and on the same day, the political department transferred him to the prison camp.

That October, the city of Cologne was beginning to fragment under pressure from the bombing raids and the Allies approaching from the West. Several air raids had destroyed a large part of the still-intact transport routes, apartment blocks, and industry and resulted in a mass flight of the population from the city.¹² The prisoners used the opportunities given by the attacks and the piles of rubble to escape. Finally the barracks camp was destroyed in the middle of October 1944 during a bombing raid on that part of Cologne on the right side of the Rhine. It would seem that none of the prisoners were killed. As there was no longer any suitable accommodation, the subcamp was dissolved. In the relevant monthly report, the Waffen-SS base doctor stated, "The subcamp Köln-Stadt was dissolved and on 25.10.1944, 224 men returned to the Buchenwald concentration camp."¹³

A group of 34 prisoners of the subcamp Köln-Stadt remained in Cologne, as they were recorded in the "strength reports" of the subcamp Köln-Ford on November 20, 1944.¹⁴ Almost all of these prisoners managed to escape, with the result that on November 23 the remaining prisoners were officially transferred to the Ford camp.¹⁵

The subcamp Köln-Stadt existed for just two months. With the withdrawal of the camp, the importance of prisoner labor for the city became apparent. The police president, who as Air Defense leader coordinated the recovery of unexploded bombs, wrote on October 31, 1944, to the Cologne government president: "Now that the concentration camp prisoners who removed unexploded ordinance have been withdrawn to the main camps the removal of unexploded ordinance has almost completely stopped."¹⁶

An investigation by the Cologne state prosecutors in 1966 on the conditions in the Buchenwald camps in the city of Cologne uncovered little about the "Detachment Köln-Stadt."¹⁷ It was also not possible to locate the responsible commander, and there were no indications of homicides committed in the camp.

SOURCES The subcamp Köln-Stadt has until now only been considered in connection with the SS-Construction Brigade III. See Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln: Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne: Emons 1996), pp. 149–151. There are a few original documents scattered in a number of archives: THStA-W (Collection NS 4 Buchenwald; KZ Buchenwald and Haftanstalten [Prisoners]) and in the court reports of the NWHStA-(D) (Court Rept. 118/1174–1190 and 118/1338–1349). There are only a few memoirs: an interview with Franciszek Wójcikowski, in NS-Dok, Z 10.559; and a letter from Edward Zdun, in NS-Dok Collection, Project Group Trade Fair Center.

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NOTES

1. Transport Lists, August 15, 1944, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1179; and Statement, undated, on Doctors and Carers in subcamps, AG-B, 51-9-13/2.

2. Telegram from Grohé to Himmler, dated May 2, 1944, BA, NS 19/14, p. 46.

3. Telegram from Schwartz to the Lord Mayor Cologne, Office 89, dated August 28, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 210.

4. Statement by Edmund K., BA-L, IV 429 AR 1304/67, pp. 82–83.

5. Letter from Edward Zdun, NS-Dok Collection Project Group Trade Fair.

6. Interview with Franciszek Wójcikowski, NS-Dok, Z 10.559.

7. Ibid; and letter by Edward Zdun, NS-Dok Collection Project Group Trade Fair.

8. BA-L, IV 429 AR 1304/67, Bl. 82.

9. Telegram from the Work Leader Schw. to Amtsgruppe D Oranienburg, dated September 29, 1944, AG-B, 56-3-10.

10. Prisoner Numbers, September 30, 1944, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald und Haftanstalten Nr. 10, p. 145. Other numbers in THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a, pp. 107–123.

11. Record of interview of the Political Department Buchenwald, dated October 5, 1944, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald und Haftanstalten Nr. 15, p. 81.

12. See Review of attacks in October 1944, in Peter Simon, "Köln im Luftkrieg 1939–1945," SMSK 9, Heft 2 (1954): 106–110.

13. Garrison Doctor Waffen-SS Weimar, Monthly Report on the Medical Service in Buchenwald Concentration Camp, October 31, 1944, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald und Haftanstalten Nr. 10, p. 116.

14. See the strength reports, AG-B, 61-0-14-2.

15. THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a, p. 142.

16. Police President Cologne to the Cologne Government President, dated October 31, 1944, HStA-D, BR 1131/119.

17. HStA-D, Court Rept. 118/1174–1190 and 118/1338–1349.

KRANICHFELD

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Kranichfeld (Thüringen) near Weimar in late 1941 to restore one of two castles in the town, the Oberschloss Kranichfeld. Kranichfeld was named a Nazi model city (*Mustergemeinde*) in 1940 when the SS took over the castle. At least 50 inmates were deported to the area from Buchenwald and were deployed to work at the castle and in other kinds of manual labor in possibly two distinct subcamps in the city.

Restoration of the Oberschloss Kranichfeld fell under the auspices of the Society for the Promotion and Care of German Cultural Monuments (*Gesellschaft zur Förderung und Pflege deutscher Kulturdenkmäler*). The Society came under Oswald Pohl's Office Group W8 of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which was focused on Special Tasks (*Sonderaufgaben*) and charitable organizations. Although the Society was allegedly a nonprofit organization focused on restoring German cultural heritage in architectural form, such as the Wewelsburg castle, according to historian Michael Thad Allen, much of the capital generated for the Society was funneled into questionable SS business ventures.

Discrepancy surrounds the exact dates of the work details (Kommando[s]) sent to Kranichfeld. Correspondence between the administration of the Buchenwald camp and the Office for Special Tasks shows an early exchange (May 1941) regarding the condition of the Kranichfeld castle as well as a recommendation for sending 50 inmates to work there. The letter details 4 skilled workers (including a carpenter, bricklayer, and a metalworker), as well as 46 unskilled workers, to be hired out at a cost of 0.30 Reichsmark (RM) per day per prisoner for prisoners who worked over four hours and 0.15 RM per day per prisoner for prisoners who worked under four hours.¹ The head of Aussenstelle I/5 in Buchenwald authorized inmates to Kranichfeld as of May 24, 1941. They were to be housed in a large storeroom. The food was to be provided by the Buchenwald camp and prepared in an existing

kitchen. The Buchenwald camp would provide the guard staff (members of the SS), who were to be housed in a large building near the castle. The Kommando was to be inspected weekly, and its administration was to have weekly consultations with the head of construction, believed to be a Mr. Wohlgast. The camp's duration was "indefinite," although the memo notes that the operation would last "probably until fall."²

According to another memo dated June 19, 1942, to the SS-Bauleitung Oberschloss Kranichfeld (Construction Office of the Kranichfeld castle) from the mayor of Kranichfeld, a request made by phone to shift the inmate Kommando used for the city of Kranichfeld until June 15, 1942, to the construction of the Oberschloss Kranichfeld, starting June 16, 1942, could not be granted. Two SS men are mentioned in the heading of the memo, including SS-Untersturmführer Bangert and SS-Oberscharführer Gutsell.³ Instead, the date of the shift was June 18, 1942. This suggests that if there was a second Kommando set up in Kranichfeld, it was first used for clearing rubble and other kinds of labor for the city of Kranichfeld and was then shifted to construction activity at the castle.

Other materials from the administration of Buchenwald include claim certificates for "inmate labor for the Kranichfeld city administration." One claim, dated May 1942, notes that there were 20 unskilled laborers allotted to Kranichfeld for May 1 and 2 and then 40 unskilled laborers from May 4 to May 30, 1942 (total of 2,880 RM). A claim for April 1942 was submitted for 30 days of work for a total of 20 unskilled workers (total of 60 RM). Another claim for inmate labor was submitted in June 1942, for 17 days of work by 40 unskilled workers (total 1,800 RM). These claim certificates suggest that either the initial Kommando of 50 inmates deployed in May 1941 remained in Kranichfeld for over a year or there was a second Kommando created there in April 1942.⁴ (The International Tracing Service [ITS] catalog, as noted in Martin Weinmann, dates the camp in 1943 for a period of eight months, although there is no supporting evidence in the Bundesarchiv files or ITS transfer lists.)

There is little surviving information about the Kommando(s) set up at the Kranichfeld castle. A surviving (undated, but most likely from 1941) transfer list notes 51 inmates who were transferred from Buchenwald to Kranichfeld.⁵ The inmates appear to represent various nationalities, especially Poles and Germans.

SOURCES There are no secondary and few primary sources on the Kranichfeld subcamp of Buchenwald. This entry derives from the outline of basic information (opening and closing dates, location, etc.) provided 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). For brief information on the Gesellschaft zur Förderung und Pflege deutscher Kulturdenkmäler, see Michael Thad Allen, *The Business of Genocide: The SS, Slave Labor, and the Concentration Camps* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

Primary documentation on the Kranichfeld subcamp is scanty. For the undated list of prisoners in the camp, see USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, which constitutes a collection copied from AN-MACVG and originating from ITS. Likewise, the BA (NS 4, Band 205), reproduced at the USHMMA in RG-14.023M, contains relevant administrative data on the camp.

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NOTES

1. "Der Reichsführer-SS, Amt für Sonderaufgaben, Berlin-Lichterfeld-West, Geranienstr. 5," May 24, 1941, BA (NS-4), Band 205, as reproduced in USHMMA, RG-14.023M.

2. Ibid.

3. "Verrechnung Häftl-Kds. der Stadt Kranichfeld u. Bauleitung Oberschloss, Kranichfeld," June 19, 1945, BA (NS-4), Band 205, USHMMA, RG-14.023M.

4. "Forderungsnachweise," April 1942, May 1942, June 1942.

5. "Kommando Kranichfeld" (n.d.) (BU43), AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).

LANGENSALZA ("LANGENWERKE AG")

Langensalza (from 1956, Bad Langensalza) lies in the Thuringian District of Unstrut-Hainich, about 40 kilometers (25 miles) to the northwest of Erfurt. Until 1945, it was part of the Prussian province of Saxony.

At the end of 1943, the city was to be used as a transfer destination for parts of the Dessau Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke's production facilities. The buildings of the Kammgarnwerke Eupen AG and, from March 1944, buildings of the Buntweberei Gräfers Witwe und Sohn were emptied and handed over to Junkers.

As with the Niederorschel subcamp, which was connected organizationally to the Langensalza subcamp, the Langensalza subcamp had the code name "Langenwerke AG." In both camps, wings were assembled for the Junkers (Ju) 88 and later in particular the (Fw) 190. The prisoners were accommodated in two different sites: around 200 prisoners were quartered on the factory grounds and the others in a barracks camp, which was erected opposite the production site.

Prisoners of war were initially allocated to the "Langenwerke AG," but from the late summer of 1944, the use of concentration camp prisoners was envisaged. The first contingent of 100 prisoners arrived in Langensalza on October 21, 1944. However, according to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the camp is first referred to on October 20. A second transport followed on October 26 with 50 people, and on October 29, a third transport with 182 prisoners arrived. From November 1944, the subcamp was given a special task: it became the central punishment camp for prisoners who had escaped from concentration camps and had been recaptured. These prisoners' clothing was marked with a red dot (the so-called *Fluchtpunkt* or Escape Dot) on the front and back, a sort of target for the guards, should the prisoners try to escape

again. Langensalza took prisoners from at least nine concentration camps throughout the whole of the Reich. The first transport of 40 Fluchtpunkt prisoners arrived from Sachsenhausen on November 9, 1944. Another transport followed within a few days. Altogether there were in Langensalza 48 Fluchtpunkt prisoners from Sachsenhausen, 33 from Flossenbürg, 218 from Neuengamme, 88 from Natzweiler, 181 from Dachau, 93 from Mauthausen, 22 from Gross-Rosen, 18 from Auschwitz, and 27 (males) from Ravensbrück.

On January 2, 1945, there were 1,458 inmates in the camp, the maximum number that was probably reached. Although two transports of 200 prisoners each were sent on to Dora-Mittelbau in January and February, it is likely that the number of prisoners did not fall below 1,200. This was also partly the result of the low death rate: it would appear that even though Langensalza was a punishment camp for prisoners who had committed a crime, the skills that they had acquired in armaments production increased their chances of survival. Two prisoners died in December 1944; in January 1945, 16; and in February and March 1945, again 2 in each month. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that prisoners no longer capable of working at the Langensalza subcamp were repeatedly transferred back to Buchenwald—from mid-November to mid-December alone, 11 prisoners were sent back.

The relocation of the prisoners back to Buchenwald was planned at the end of March following the cessation of production and the approach of Allied troops. The transfer of 1,240 prisoners back to Buchenwald began on April 3, 1945 (according to ITS: April 10–11). The few camp inmates who remained in Langensalza, 59 according to a strength report dated April 11, 1945, were probably liberated at Langensalza by Allied troops.

SOURCES The earliest work on the Langensalza subcamp was by the ILKB in May 1945. For a reproduction of the report, see *Bericht des Internationalen Lagerkomitees des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald* (Offenbach: Verlag Olga Benario und Herbert Baum, 1997), esp. p. 105. A detailed description of the camp by Frank Baranowski is in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 484–486. Baranowski is the author of two other works pertaining to the subcamp: *Geheime Rüstungsprojekte in Südniedersachsen und Thüringen während der NS-Zeit* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 1995); and *Rüstungsproduktion in Mitteldeutschland* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 2006). The camp is also mentioned in Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992); Nationale Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, ed., *Konzentrationslager Buchenwald, Ausstellungskatalog* (West Berlin, 1990), p. 104; Emil Carlebach, Eilly Schmidt, and Ulrich Schneider, *Buchenwald: Ein Konzentrationslager* (Bonn: Pahl-Rugenstein, 2000), p. 139; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:48; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI.* (1977) Teil I, p. 1819.

There are numerous sources, both published and unpublished, on the history of the Langensalza subcamp. In addition to documents in the AG-B, the following collections are of interest: LASA-DO, Bestand Junkers-Werke, numbers 1063 and 1072, as well as an interim report on the Langenwerke AG, which refers to the planned use of concentration camp prisoners; in the Zeitgeschichtliche Sammlung of the ASt-BL, Best. Sa 3/105-1 (for the cremation of prisoners of the Langensalza subcamp and of Ostarbeiter, 1944–1945), Sa 3/105-3 (on the prisoners employed and deceased in the Langensalza subcamp), Sa 3/105-7 (on the erection of a memorial for the prisoners' death march, 1984), and Sa 3/105-8 (on a special exhibit in the Langensalza Heimatmuseum [local museum] in 1995 on the subcamp in the Kammgarnwerke Eupen AG). NARA, RG 242, Film 25, p. 15975, contains the Langensalza subcamp Veränderungsmeldungen.

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LAUENBURG IN POMMERN

The Lauenburg subcamp attached to Buchenwald was established on November 11, 1941, in Lauenburg, Pomerania. Inmates deported from the Buchenwald main camp to Lauenburg were assigned to work in construction and repair work in an SS-Unterführerschule (Officers' School) in the town. There is no information about the original number of prisoners transported to the Lauenburg satellite camp in November 1941.

A general overview of the demographics of the camp population can be gleaned from a transport list of inmates who left Buchenwald for Lauenburg on March 23, 1942.¹ All of the inmates in Lauenburg, including those deported to the camp on this transport, were men. Most of the inmates on the March 23 transport were Poles (40); followed by "asocials" from the German Reich, both Germany and Austria (33); political prisoners (22); "professional criminals" (*Berufsverbrecher*) (16); and inmates declared "unworthy" of Wehrmacht service, "Wehrunw." or "W.U." (2). (One inmate, number 2939, had an unknown classification of "W.A.") The ages of these 114 prisoners ranged from 18 to 54 years.

The camp was in operation from November 1941 until February or March 1945. However, in April 1942, the administration of the Lauenburg camp shifted from Buchenwald to Stutthof. An order issued by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) on March 28, 1942, noted that, effective April 1, the Lauenburg camp would be transferred to and administered as a satellite camp of Stutthof. The Stutthof subcamp was established with the prisoners of the March 23 transport, and the inmates performed similar kinds of labor at the SS-Unterführerschule. (See Stutthof/Lauenburg [aka SS-Unterführerschule Lauenburg].)

SOURCES Little information about the Lauenburg subcamp of Buchenwald can be found in either secondary or primary sources. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, employer, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Lauenburg in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-*

SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussen-kommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979). For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung; Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983).

Primary documentation on the Lauenburg subcamp and other satellites of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. See in particular a collection of transport lists to the Lauenburg camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from the ITS), USHMM, 1998.A.0045, especially Reels 5 and 7. See also the BA, NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, especially volumes 176–185, 191–196, 200, 211, 213–230. These volumes contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp population. The BA NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the USHMM, RG-14.023M. Duplicates of transport lists, as well as "strength reports" for various satellites, can be found in the USHMM, 1996.A.0342 (originally copied from the NARA, A3355), Reels 146–180 (especially 171). Further analysis of these reports may yield additional detailed information about the exact daily arrivals to and departures from the satellite camps of Buchenwald. Registration cards and prisoner questionnaires that provide information about individual inmates can be found in NARA, RG 242. Finally, see Stutthof/Lauenburg for additional primary and secondary sources on the camp during its operation as a subcamp of Stutthof. Additional resources include the AMS and the AK-IPN Gd.

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NOTE

1. "Nummerliste des Kommandos Lauenburg," March 23, 1942 (BU 4/16 and BU 8/5), AN (ITS Arolsen), as reproduced in USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reels 5 and 7, respectively.

LEIPZIG-SCHÖNAU (ATG)

Schönaue is located in Saxony, about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) to the west of the city of Leipzig. A Buchenwald subcamp was established in Schönaue at the end of August 1944. While it is likely that the camp already existed on August 20, 1944, the first transport only arrived on August 22. There were around 500 Hungarian Jewish women, who had been brought from Stutthof for work at the Allgemeine Transportanlagen GmbH (ATG) Maschinenbau. The headquarters of the company was located at Leipzig-Schönaue W 32, Schönaue Strasse 32.

The subcamp was situated close to the "Werk 1," the ATG's main factory, at Schönaue Strasse 101, between Lindenallee and Schönaue Strasse, to the north of what later was Robert-Koch-Klinik. The barracks and infirmary were surrounded with barbed wire. There were two guard towers. The guards were SS men under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Rudolf Eisenacher. At the end of 1944, there were 24 SS men and 28 female overseers.

Many of the imprisoned women were young—the average age was 20. Many women had been through an odyssey since their initial internment in Hungary—they had been through a number of concentration camps including Auschwitz, Stutthof, and Riga. The women at the Leipzig-Schönau ATG subcamp were employed in aircraft production. The ATG was one of the most important German bomber manufacturers, producing above all the Ju 52 and the Ju 88 as well as Junkers aircraft engines. Its main factory, or *Stammwerk*, assembled the two half shells of the fuselage that had been manufactured elsewhere. The women worked in this production process. They worked two shifts each of 10.5 hours broken by a 30-minute break. In August 1944 the prisoners worked 49,500 hours, and in September 1944, 138,504 hours. Work in the armaments industry was difficult, which is confirmed by the transports of women returned to Buchenwald who could no longer work. Pregnant women or women who had given birth in the camp were also removed from the camp. On November 17, 1944, two women who could no longer work were transferred, and on January 27, 1945, it was four women. In this last transport, there were two women who had given birth shortly before the transport. They were transported with their babies, one of whom died on the way to Bergen-Belsen. The second infant died with its mother in the Bergen-Belsen camp. A girl, born stillborn in the camp on January 11, 1945, was cremated a few days later in the Leipzig Südfriedhof (Southern Cemetery) crematorium.

Camp survivors unanimously describe the work as difficult, but the living conditions were more bearable than what they had previously experienced. This is largely due to the relatively humane treatment of the prisoners and the adequate food supply. There was a bonus system for prisoners who excelled at work, which offered rewards in the form of small items from the prisoners' canteen (which often were unusable by the women in their situation).

There were on average 500 women in the camp until the middle of February 1945. On February 19, 180 women were transferred to the Plömnitz ("Leopard") subcamp, where a women's camp had been established adjacent to the men's camp.

The women who remained in Leipzig-Schönau continued to work until March 31, 1945. There were 315 women in the camp on this date. A few days later conditions in the camp worsened considerably with the arrival of a transport of women evacuated from Hessisch-Lichtenau. Two days later these women were taken to Leipzig-Thekla, leaving the women of Leipzig-Schönau still in the subcamp.

The subcamp was dissolved on April 13, 1945. There are different versions on the evacuation. Klaus Hesse states that about 200 women were taken in the direction of Bernburg/Ballberge, with the remainder being taken eastward to an unknown destination. The International Tracing Service (ITS) simply states that the prisoners were liberated in April 1945 in Wurzen/Sachsen. This statement agrees with what is stated in an article by historian Irmgard Seidel, where the women were driven by foot via Wurzen, Oschatz, and Strehla in the direction of the Elbe. Women who were too weak to

continue the march were shot by the SS. According to this source, the prisoners were liberated by the U.S. Army on April 25, 1945, at Strehla, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) to the northeast of Oschatz.

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) investigated crimes at Buchenwald's three Leipzig subcamps between 1966 and 1971. The investigations ceased at the beginning of the 1970s without result.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel wrote about the subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 493–495. Background information on the ATG and its subcamps can be obtained from the following publications: Klaus Hesse, *1933–1945: Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Self-published, 2000, 2001), Teil 1, *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe, ihre militärische Bedeutung, über Gewinne, Gewinner und Verlierer*, pp. 96–102; Teil 2, *Eine Dokumentation über "Arbeitsbeschaffung" durch Rüstung und Dienstverpflichtete, über Zwangsarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene und KZ-Außenlager, über gesübte und ungesübte Verbrechen, Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 111–112. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:48; and in the "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Außenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI.* (1977) Teil I, p. 1820.

Documents on the ATG Maschinenbau GmbH and its subcamp at Leipzig-Schönau are held in the ASt-L, in Bestand GesA [Gesundheitsamt] Nr. 893, which includes information on the transfer of the concentration camp prisoners from the east to Leipzig. For a detailed review of the ATG files and its subcamp in the Leipzig archives, see Thomas Fickenwirt, Birgit Horn, Christian Kurzweg, *Fremd- und Zwangsarbeit im Raum Leipzig: Archivalisches Spezialinventar* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsbuchhandlung, 2004). The cremation of the still-born girl on January 11, 1945, is recorded in the Leipzig City Einäscherungsbuch (Register of Cremations). Further archival documents are held in the Best. NS 4 BU (BA-K, THStA-W, including 189, 221) in the AG-B (at BwA 46-1-14). The investigations by the ZdL (now BA-L) are recorded under file number IV 429 AR-Z 22/74. Judith Magyar Isaacson has written about the conditions in the subcamp after the arrival of the evacuee transport from Hessisch-Lichtenau in *Befreiung in Leipzig: Erinnerungen einer ungarischen Jüdin* (Witzenhausen: Ekopan-Verlag, 1990), pp. 154–162.

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LEIPZIG-SCHÖNEFELD (HASAG) (MEN)

Schönefeld is a suburb of Leipzig in Saxony. A subcamp for women was established at the Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) factory, Leipzig-Schönefeld O29, Hugo-Schneider-Strasse, in the autumn of 1944. A subcamp for men was opened at the same location at the end of November 1944. Some 130 prisoners were planned for the men's camp and were carefully chosen in Buchenwald according to their professional and trade

skills. This applied especially to precision mechanics, carpenters, transport workers, watchmakers, plumbers, and roofers. At the same time, in Buchenwald prisoners were chosen for administrative functions. All the men of the transport were Hungarian and Polish Jews and either spoke fluent or broken German. A second transport arrived on November 24, 1944, with 150 prisoners. Another transport arrived on December 2, 1944, with 400 men. In the last transports there were mostly Italian and French prisoners, but there were also prisoners from other countries. The 680 inmates of the camp for men were accommodated either in part of the HASAG camp for women, which had been cut off from the rest of that camp, according to historian Wolfgang Knospe, or, according to other sources, such as Klaus Hesse, in their own camp between Bautzen and Torgau Strassen.

As with the women in the Leipzig-Schönefeld HASAG subcamp, the men were mostly used in the production of *Panzerfäuste* (antitank weapons). The HASAG, described after the war by the chief of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Obergruppenführer Pohl, as one of the largest employers of concentration camp labor, employed at the end of 1944 and the beginning of 1945 more than 10,000 prisoners in its camps at Leipzig-Schönefeld, Altenburg, Colditz, Flössberg, Herzberg, Meuselwitz, Schlieben, and Taucha. In December 1944, it was probably more than 16,000. Already long before 1933, HASAG managing director (and SS-Sturmführer) Paul Budin had developed close connections with the SS and the Nazi Party. During the war, he negotiated personally on a number of occasions with Pohl on the use of prisoners in the HASAG factories in the General Government and the German Reich. As special commissioner (Sonderbeauftragter) for the Speer Ministry for the Production of Panzerfäuste, Budin had all means at his disposal to brutally exploit the concentration camp prisoners so as to produce the new miracle weapon: 6,800 units were produced in August 1943 for the first time. By December 1944, the production rate of Panzerfäuste had increased to 1,296,000. Budin, together with the commandant of Buchenwald, Hermann Pister, and the Buchenwald Standortarzt, Gerhard Schiedlausky, had inspected the site of the Leipzig camp in June 1944 as part of their plan to ensure seamless cooperation and production. In October 1944, when the HASAG subcamp was in the process of being built, Budin thanked the WVHA for the use of more than 10,000 prisoners in HASAG enterprises in Germany. In November 1944, Budin supplied the SS with more than 300,000 Panzerfäuste as a gesture of gratitude to the supplier of cheap labor that could be ruthlessly exploited.

That the male prisoners in the subcamp were massively exploited is confirmed by the fact that prisoners who could not work were selected and replaced by prisoners from the main camp (on December 15, 1944, four prisoners and on December 16, 1944, five prisoners were transferred back to Buchenwald).

On February 24, 1945, the SS transferred 100 prisoners from Leipzig-Schönefeld HASAG to Flössberg, about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) to the south of Leipzig. Within a few weeks, construction on a new Buchenwald subcamp was begun, which

would be the last HASAG subcamp. The numbers in the camp at Leipzig-Schönefeld sank: on January 31, 1945, there were 221 men in the camp; on March 26, 1945, only 83. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the camp was liberated on April 18–19, 1945.

SOURCES Wolfgang Knospe contributed the article on the Leipzig-Schönefeld (men) subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 501–502. For further information on the role of HASAG in the development and production of the Panzerfaust, see the essay by Martin Schellenberg, “Die ‘Schnellaktion Panzerfaust’: Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG,” *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271; and Klaus Hesse, *1933–1945: Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Self-published, 2000, 2001), Teil 1, *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe, ihre militärische Bedeutung, über Gewinne, Gewinner und Verlierer*, esp. pp. 29–63, and Teil 2, *Eine Dokumentation über “Arbeitsbeschaffung” durch Rüstung und Dienstverpflichtete, über Zwangsarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene und KZ-Aussenlager, über gesübnte und ungesübnte Verbrechen, Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 99–108. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 49.

For a detailed review of the HASAG files including those of its Leipzig-Schönefeld subcamp in the Leipzig archives, see Thomas Fickenwirt, Birgit Horn, and Christian Kurzweg, *Fremd- und Zwangsarbeit im Raum Leipzig: Archivalisches Spezialinventar* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsbuchhandlung, 2004). Other archival sources on the Leipzig-Schönefeld (men) subcamp are held in the AG-B, Best. NS 4 Bu of the BA-K and the THStA-W, as well as ITS Buchenwald-Best.

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LEIPZIG-SCHÖNEFELD (HASAG) (WOMEN)

The subcamp at Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) in Leipzig-Schönefeld was established in June 1944 under the administrative control of the Ravensbrück concentration camp. Its labor allocation was controlled by the Buchenwald camp, which assumed administrative control of the subcamp on September 1, 1944. Eight hundred women from Majdanek arrived at the camp on June 9, 1944, of whom 566 were Poles; 109 were of other nationalities; and 39 were Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) who had refused to work in armaments production.

On June 26, 1944, 151 women arrived from Ravensbrück. Initially, there were temporary accommodations in a nearby field. This was replaced by a camp on Bautzen Strasse about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the factory. The camp was surrounded by an electrified fence and guard towers. The women were accommodated in a former factory building that was divided with separation walls into “blocks.” Several hundred women were assigned to each block. The blocks were equipped with multitiered wooden bunk beds, tables, and benches. In the

cellar of the central main building there were two large washrooms with hot and cold showers and, according to survivor Pauline Buchenholz, flushing toilets but without doors or toilet paper. On the ground floor was the kitchen, canteen, and office. The infirmary was on the first floor. In the final phase of the camp, additional accommodation barracks were made available.

Buchenholz stated that initially the prisoners' food was adequate: "[T]he bread and the soup were delicious. For one week we got a different soup every day, then the procedure was repeated."¹ During the first month the HASAG provided rations for armaments workers, but after that, the prisoners' diet consisted of poor-quality SS food.

According to a survivor, Felicja Karay, the HASAG, based on experiences in Poland, made sure that there was good hygiene in the camp and made allowances for what the female prisoners regarded as the most important conditions: there was conspicuous cleanliness; most of the prisoners were given new clothing (a prison dress, striped jacket, and underwear), and often they were allowed to keep their own clothing. However, the HASAG policy must be seen pragmatically: the camp lay in the city, infectious diseases would easily have spread to the German civilian population and the HASAG clearly wanted to keep its skilled workforce which would be hard to replace. The prisoners were kept clean and given medical care, while at the same time the HASAG worked them to death and let them starve.

On July 12, 1944, another transport from Ravensbrück arrived with about 2,000 prisoners. With this transport, Leipzig-Schönefeld became the largest Buchenwald female subcamp. Soviet citizens (1,208) and Poles (1,089) formed the largest prisoner groups. In addition, there were 361 French women, 110 Belgians, 60 Greeks, 25 Czechs, 24 Yugoslavs, 13 Italians, as well as a few Spanish, Serbian, Dutch, Estonian, Romanian, Croatian, Portuguese, Swiss, Argentinean, British, Lithuanian, Luxemburger, and stateless citizens. On August 4, a transport of 1,273 Jewish women arrived from the former HASAG camp in Skarzysko-Kamienna. By the end of August, 24 children from this transport, aged between 4 and 17, were sent to Auschwitz with their mothers to be gassed. The mother and sister of Stefan Jerzy Zweig, the "Buchenwald Child," were included in the transport to Auschwitz. Selections took place in the camp until its final days, and more than 99 women were sent to Bergen-Belsen.

On July 22, 1944, 2,100 women arrived at the camp including Czechoslovakians, Ukrainians, Germans, Hungarians, and Sinti and Roma (Gypsies). Another 250 women arrived at the camp at the beginning of September 1944—700 Poles, victims of the August 1944 Warsaw Uprising. A final transport of around 500 women arrived on December 3, 1944, that included both Jewish and non-Jewish women. At the end of January 1945, Leipzig-Schönefeld held 5,067 women.

The camp commandant was Untersturmführer Wolfgang Plaul, previously Schutzhaftlagerführer in Buchenwald and in the Dora subcamp. Plaul, who was in command of all other HASAG camps for women, seldom appeared inside the camp but was often present at the roll calls and at the camp gate. A few survivors have described him as a "beneficent commandant," but others say that he repeatedly had referred to the prisoners as a "pack of swine." Plaul put the prisoner administration exclusively in the hands of Polish non-Jews, which resulted in the planned tensions between the female groups. Pole Joanna Szumańska was the camp elder, a name synonymous with brutality. Her deputy was another Pole, Zinaida Braginska (Zina), who was liked by everybody because of her friendly personality. Poles held positions of block elders and room elders and controlled the camp office, food stores, canteen, infirmary, and camp security.² Non-Poles worked in the kitchen, including the 39 Soviet POWs.

Records show that there were 41 female SS on September 23, 1944, and 59 on March 1945. The female overseer (Oberaufseherin) until the beginning of 1945 was Käthe Heber. She was most likely succeeded by First Wardress Else Noatzsch. Compared to other camps, Leipzig-Schönefeld was not so horrendous a camp: the women's hair was only shorn when there were lice in their hair, and within the camp they could move about relatively freely. Unsuccessful escape attempts were not punished with death. Eight women died in the camp. Nevertheless, there was an extensive system of roll calls and beatings (the women were sent to Buchenwald for the infamous 25 blows), and the SS used dogs to intimidate the prisoners.

The women began to work on July 12, 1944. They worked mostly in the Nordwerk and in Factory Building F, where they assembled grenade parts, stamped the production dates on the shell casings, inserted detonators, and monitored the screwing-on of shell tips for a range of different bombs. Many of the workplaces were hot, filled with metal dust, and lacked fresh air, which resulted in health problems.

Survivors have described an ambivalent relationship with the German labor force. The SS had described the women as whores, criminals, and thieves with the result that many Germans at first kept their distance or were openly hostile. Karay stated that the relationship slowly improved: German foremen helped when the prisoners were sick or had accidents; they brought bread, underwear, or stockings for the prisoners. Several survivors have attested to the fact that German foremen looked after pregnant women, giving them double rations or assigning them to light work. There were several children born in the camp, but only two survived, as they were born when the camp was being evacuated. On the other hand, there are other witness testimonies that stated that there was no assistance and support from the Germans.

The cultural activities in the camp are an interesting part of its history. Many women learned foreign languages and wrote and recited poetry. There was cultural competitiveness between the different nationalities. For example, the French in the autumn of 1944 put on a "Hat Parade," a collection of head wear made out of rags and rubbish. The "Bunkerkommando," a cultural group of up to 70 Poles, celebrated Polish Independence Day in November 1944 with a concert of folk songs and dances. The New Years' Eve concert put on by the Jewish women was lavish—there were jazz, waltzes, chansons, and a drama titled "Die Abenteuer des Sokrates im Konzentrationslager" ("The Adventures of Socrates in a

Concentration Camp"). Plaul and the SS women were invited to the festivities and took part.

Work in the camp came gradually to a halt from the middle of February 1945. Prisoners died during an air raid in the middle of March. At the beginning of April, around 1,000 Jews of different nationalities as well as Soviet women and Poles arrived from Ravensbrück. A staged evacuation of the camp began on April 13, 1945. Beginning with the Jewish women, around 4,000 inmates were sent on a death march on April 13, and another with 800 prisoners being evacuated on April 14. The ill, the Soviet POWs, and a 200-strong "Clean-Up Kommando" (Reinigungskommando) were left behind. They followed the other women on April 15. The deputy camp elder, Braginska, took over supervision of the women left behind. A few days later, U.S. troops reached the camp and with a large media presence rescued the only American prisoner in the camp (the wife of a general on Charles de Gaulle's staff) before the other women were sent to various hospitals.

The women who were evacuated marched via Wurzen and Riesa along the Elbe. There were executions during the march. Plaul ordered that the women be divided into groups of 200 to 300 people. According to Karay, up to a third of the women died in many of these groups. Close to Strehla on the Elbe the survivors were liberated by the Red Army. What happened to Plaul is unknown: historian Irmgard Seidel states that he fled, whereas Karay believes that he fell into the hands of the Soviet Army and was subsequently released after some women interceded on his behalf.

Budin blew up the HASAG administrative buildings at the end of the war. In 1945, former guard Elfriede Kaltoven was tried in Poland. Arrest warrants were issued against other SS women: their outcome is unknown. Szumańska was arrested in Poland after Jewish prisoners denounced her and was later tried. She was acquitted for lack of evidence and then resettled in France, where she was again arrested and released without conviction. Later, she immigrated to the United States. Former guard Ingeburg Schulz was sentenced by a French military court in Reutlingen to five years in prison, which she served.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) into the events at the Leipzig-Schönefeld camp ceased in 1976 without conclusive results.

SOURCES The most important source on the Leipzig-Schönefeld subcamp is Felicja Karay's monograph *Wir lebten zwischen Granaten und Gedichten: Das Frauenlager der Rüstungsfabrik HASAG im Dritten Reich*, trans. from the Hebrew by Susanne Plietzsch (Cologne: Böhlau, 2001) and published in English as *Hasag-Leipzig Slave Labour Camp for Women: The Struggle for Survival, Told by Women and Their Poetry*, trans. Sara Kitao (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2002). Irmgard Seidel described the camp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 495–500. Background information on HASAG and its subcamps has been taken from the following publications: Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern

des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271; Klaus Hesse, 1933–1945: *Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Self-published, 2000, 2001), Teil 1, *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe, ihre militärische Bedeutung, über Gewinne, Gewinner und Verlierer*, pp. 29–64, Teil 2, *Eine Dokumentation über "Arbeitsbeschaffung" durch Rüstung und Dienstverpflichtete, über Zwangsarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene uns KZ-Aussenlager, über gesübnte und ungesübnte Verbrechen, Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 99–109. Extensive information on the Leipzig-Schönefeld subcamp is to be found in Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris), ed., *Les femmes oubliées de Buchenwald: 22 avril–30 octobre 2005* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), with a description of the camp (pp. 28–32), biographies of Paul Budin (p. 49) and Wolfgang Plaul (p. 51) as well as of former prisoners Lise London (p. 63), Suzanne Orts (pp. 66–68), Danuta Brzosko-Medryk (pp. 69–71), Sybilla Jęczyńska (pp. 77–78), Małylda Wolinińska, a member of the "Bunkierkommando" (pp. 79–81), Felicja Karay (pp. 106–108), and Helena and Sylvia Zweig (Stefan Jerzy Zweig's mother and sister, pp. 121–123); ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 49; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI.* (1977) Teil 1, p. 1848.

The USHMM holds statements by several survivors of the camp: Edith Pick Lowy (RG 10.333); Pauline Buchenholz, "As I remember: Memoirs from the war and concentration camps" (RG-02.107); and Sara Getzler, "The story of two sisters" (RG-02.168). In the Wanda Rotbart collection (Acc. 2002.78.1) there is a poem written by a former prisoner during the camp's existence on the rear side of a HASAG form. Luna Kaufman, a survivor, took part in 1983 in an oral history interview (RG-50.002*0010). Other archives hold numerous sources on the subcamp including the BA-B (Best. NS 4 Bu); AG-B; YVA, which holds statements by more than 80 former prisoners; IPN; and AŻIH. Investigations by the ZdL in the 1970s are held under reference IV 429 AT-Z 22/74 at the BA-L. Some of the camp survivors from Leipzig-Schönefeld have written their autobiographies: *Asher sakbarnu lessaper* (Tel Aviv, 1988); Rut Kornblum-Rosenberg, *Nedder: Sikbront* (Tel Aviv, 1986); Halina Nelken, *Pamiętnik z getta w Krakowie* (Toronto, 1987); and Towa Zilberberg, *Ima, bakasbakeb nitkabra* (Bnei Brak, 1994).

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NOTES

1. Pauline Buchenholz, "As I remember: Memoirs from the war and concentration camps" (unpub. MSS), USHMM, RG-02.107, p. 48.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 50. According to Buchenholz, the Lager-schutz was infamous for its brutality. Buchenholz also describes the Lagerälteste: "As soon as [the manager] appeared in the hall, she started to beat the women about their faces" (p. 40).

LEIPZIG-THEKLA

("EMIL," "E," "ENGELSDORF")

In the spring of 1943, a subcamp of Buchenwald was created 1.6 kilometers (1.0 mile) northeast of Leipzig in the suburb of Thekla to provide labor to the aircraft manufacturer Erla-Werke on Theklär Engelsdorferstrasse. The work detail (Kommando) was code-named "Emil" or "E" in Buchenwald administrative records, and beginning in July 1944, the name "Engelsdorf" was also associated with the camp. Like other firms that exploited prisoner labor to meet increasing armaments needs, Erla-Werke hired out inmates from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day. As of December 1944, Erla employed 2,445 skilled workers and 21,246 unskilled workers.¹ However, the subcamp inmates were not compensated for their labor.

Beginning in March and April 1943, inmates were transported to the Leipzig camp from the Buchenwald main camp.² As noted in telegrams dated March 12, 1943, 65 prisoners were put to work constructing the barracks for the subcamp in Thekla. Sixteen members of the SS were also sent to guard the camp. By May 1943, the strength of the Thekla camp rose to 213 prisoners and 34 guards. Some 174 of the prisoners were deployed to the Erla-Werke, while the rest were used in the construction of the camp.³

Most of the inmates arriving on these initial transports into Leipzig-Thekla were political prisoners, all male, and predominantly Russian and Polish. By June 1943, smaller numbers of "asocial" prisoners were also transferred to the camp. Other national and prisoner classification groups represented in the prisoner population throughout the camp's nearly two-year operation included Czech, Lithuanian, French, Italian, Belgian, Greek, and Yugoslavian political prisoners, so-called work-shy

(*Arbeitscheu*) inmates, and beginning in May 1944, "asocial Gypsies" (*ASR Zigeuner*). In addition to transports from Buchenwald, transfers of prisoners arrived in Thekla from Gross-Rosen (September 10, 1943; this convoy was originally destined for the subcamp "Laura" in Saalfeld but was directed to Leipzig-Thekla instead) and Sachsenhausen (July 7, 1944).⁴ By August 8, 1944, the number of inmates recorded in the Leipzig camp was 1,456.⁵ The average strength of the camp was 1,050 inmates, and by the time of the camp's dissolution in April 1945, there were at least 1,400 inmates imprisoned in Leipzig-Thekla.

Little information about working and living conditions in the camp has survived. The inmates in the Emil Kommando at Erla-Werke were most likely employed in factory work, assembling parts for engines. Work assignments in the factory were generally harsh and driven by prisoner-functionaries called Kapos. At various intervals, inmates were transferred back to the Buchenwald main camp due to illness and incapacity for work and exchanged for relatively healthier inmates. In Buchenwald, they were sent to the infirmary where they generally perished. The frequent exchange of prisoners, beginning in the fall of 1943, testifies to the presumably difficult conditions within the camp and its work site.⁶

Inmates were also transferred from the Leipzig-Thekla camp to other work sites. For example, on November 30, 1943, at least 100 prisoners were deported from Leipzig to the Flossenbürg work Kommando Johanngeorgenstadt.⁷ Beginning in January 1944, they were also transferred to the Flossenbürg subcamps in Mülsen St. Micheln (where another branch of Erla-Werke was located) and Flöha.⁸

There is little information available about the guard staff of the camp. According to a report filed by the SS-Standortarzt Schiedlausky, who oversaw medical treatment in the Buchenwald camps and who assisted in selecting prisoners for work assignments, 134 guards were assigned to the



U.S. troops accompany local German civilians inside the liberated Leipzig-Thekla subcamp of Buchenwald, April 19–22, 1945.
USHMM WS # 12070, COURTESY OF MAX ESPER

camp as of January 31, 1945.⁹ The same report notes that the SS doctor for the Leipzig-Thekla camp was named Luz, and the SS medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad, SDG) was Hanschel. A police report dated April 29, 1945, and attached to the War Crimes Investigations Unit 6822 collection lists some of the more prominent guards as of April 18, 1945: SS-Hauptscharführer Goetze, SS-Unterscharführer Hans Badstuebner, SS-Unterscharführer Taenzer, and SS-Sturmmann Baumbach.¹⁰ Telegrams sent to the commandant's office in Buchenwald in the early months of the camp's operation were signed by various SS-officers, including SS-Obersturmbannführer Borell, SS-Hauptscharführer Kenn, SS-Oberscharführer Knauf, and SS-Unterscharführer Jacob. These latter may have been Lagerführer or officers in charge.

Upon learning of the advance of American troops, the commandant of the Leipzig-Thekla camp received orders to evacuate. The evacuation of the camp began on April 15, 1945, when more than 1,200 inmates were rounded up and taken to an unknown destination in several trucks. Those who were too ill or weak to be transported remained behind in the camp. The following day, the approximately 300 remaining inmates were herded into barracks number five, where they were provided food rations.¹¹ After having locked the doors and sealing the windows, the SS set fire to the barracks. Some inmates burst out of the barracks but were immediately shot by the SS. Others were impaled by or gunned down near the electrical wire fencing. Some escaped to an adjacent field, where they were caught by a Hitler Youth squad and executed. The U.S. War Crimes Investigating Team 6822 estimated that at least 90 prisoners, including several Russian, Polish, French, and Czech inmates, died in the fire or were shot. One surviving French inmate made contact with Lieutenant Daniel Camous, a French officer attached to the U.S. First Army, and reported the atrocities.

The 69th Infantry Division of the U.S. Army arrived at Leipzig-Thekla on April 19, 1945. Days later, the U.S. Army Signal Corps documented and photographed the remains of the massacre. According to a report by a U.S. Army Protestant chaplain filed on April 28, 1945, a similar operation planned for a nearby camp with over 250 women prisoners was averted by the advance of the 69th Division. On April 24, the U.S. Army arranged a multifaith funeral and buried the bodies in the southern cemetery (*Sudfriedhof*) in Leipzig; prominent members of the Leipzig community were also present.¹²

At least one of the guards of the Leipzig-Thekla camp, Walter Karl Heinrich, was sentenced to five years in prison for the murder of a French inmate during the evacuation march from Leipzig-Thekla.¹³

SOURCES Much of the secondary literature on the Leipzig-Thekla subcamp derives from reports on the ruins of the atrocities found at the liberation of the camp. See especially Robert Abzug, *Inside the Vicious Heart: Americans and the Liberation of Nazi Concentration Camps* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985). The film produced by the U.S. War Department at the end of the war, *Death Mills (Die Todesmühlen)* (produced in 1945 by the Signal Corps, Army Air Forces, and U.S. Navy, and re-

released by International Historic Films, Chicago, 1997), documents the opening of several camps, including the remains of the massacre at Thekla. For a brief description of the Leipzig-Thekla camp, such as opening and closing dates, kind of work, and so on, 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). Peter Kohl and Peter Bessel's *Auto Union und Junkers: Geschichte der Mitteldeutschen Motorenwerke GmbH Taucha 1935–1945* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2003) chronicles the history of the Junkers factories in the Leipzig-Taucha region, with brief references to Erla-Werke. An unpublished manuscript by Holger Dieckhoff, "Die Entwicklung der Erla-Werke GmbH" (Diplomarbeit, Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig, 1989), stored at the StA-Lg, describes the history of Erla-Werke. Trial information is available on the *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* Web site at www1.jur.uva.nl/junsv, including information on the trial of Walter Karl Heinrich, which will be published in a forthcoming volume.

Several archives contain relevant primary resources on the Leipzig-Thekla camp, but most focus on the last days and liberation of the camp and derive from immediate postwar investigation processes. A series of photographs taken at the liberation of the camp and documenting the investigation of atrocities committed during the evacuation can be found in USHMMA, series designation 13.925 (Collections: 1991.170.002). Testimony about the liberation of the camp is also found in the USHMMA, J. Milner Roberts interview, RG-50.030*0191. See also AG-B and AG-MD for relevant transport lists and other administrative records associated with the camp, as well as AAC-C and AN. Copies of some of these administrative records are located in USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, in a collection copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from ITS (see especially BU 108, BU 48, and BU 50). Within this collection, there are also lists of French and Belgian prisoners drawn up from infirmary (*Revier*) lists in the Leipzig subcamp. Copies of transport lists and documentation of arrivals to and from Buchenwald are also found in NARA, A3355 Buchenwald Daily Strength Reports (USHMMA, RG 1996 A0342, Reels 146–180). For those pertaining to Leipzig, see especially Reel 171. These reports may be useful for a more thorough statistical analysis of the demographics of and increases and decreases in the camp population. The BA NS 4: Buchenwald Camp Records (reproduced in USHMMA, RG-14.023M) also contains relevant administrative files on the camp. Other documentation may be found in the StA-Lg.

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NOTES

1. Extracts of report for December 1944 of the Chief of Labor Allocation, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, dated 6 January 1945, Document NI-4185, *TWC*, 6: 759–767.
2. "Transport Leipzig," March [illegible date] (55 inmates); April 11, 1943 (100 inmates) (BU 48), AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 17.
3. "An den Lagerkommandanten des KL Buchenwald," various dates, March–July 1943, BA NS 4 Buchenwald, Band 150, Fiche 1: Correspondence Conc. Buchenwald Sub-camps, as reproduced in USHMMA, RG.14023M.

4. "Transport Laura," September 10, 1943; "Nachweisung, vom KL Sachsenhausen nach Leipzig überstellten Häftlinge," July 10, 1944 (BU 48), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 18.

5. "Buchenwald, États d'effectifs par Kommando," August 14, 1944 (BU 5/3), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 6.

6. See, for example, transfer lists dated December 30, 1943 (10 inmates); January 28, 1944 (5 inmates); February 29, 1944 (21 inmates); and so on (BU 48), collection USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 18.

7. "Transportliste für Johanngeorgestadt [sic]," November 30, 1943 (BU 48), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 18.

8. "Anlage 1 zum Schreiben der Verwaltung des Konz.-Lagers Buchenwald . . .," January 27, 1944 (BU 8/2), USHMMA, Acc. A.0045 (Reel 6).

9. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, 31 Januar 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 253.

10. "War Crimes Investigating Team Number 6822, Subject: Murder of Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War at Camp Thekla, near Leipzig, Germany," May 1, 1945 (BU 108), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 18. Original Repts. located in NARA, RG 338, Records of ETOUSA, USFET, JAG.

11. "War Crimes Investigating Team Number 6822, Subject: Murder of Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War at Camp Thekla, near Leipzig, Germany," May 1, 1945 (BU 108), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 18.

12. J. Milnor Roberts, oral history interview, USHMMA, RG-50.030*0191.

13. Fritz Bauer, ed., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: University Press of Amsterdam) vol. 34 (2005), Lfd. Nr. 862.

LEOPOLDSHALL ("JU," "LH")

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Leopoldshall (in the Kreis Bernburg district), about 80 kilometers (50 miles) northwest of Leipzig, in December 1944. Code-named "Ju" or "Lh," the subcamp was created to supply prisoner labor to the Junkers Aircraft and Engine Co. (Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke AG, Zweigwerk Schönebeck). As was the case in other satellite camps created later in the war, inmates were "rented" from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) by private firms, such as the Junkers firm, which paid 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled worker per day and 4 RM per unskilled worker per day.¹

Production at the Leopoldshall Junkers factory began in 1934, manufacturing engine parts and tails for the Junkers aircraft models Ju 52, Ju 86, Ju 87, Ju 88, and Ju 188. The Junkers factory was located on Industrie Strasse in Leopoldshall, although there is no information about how close the subcamp was to the firm.

Inmates were transferred from the main Buchenwald camp to Leopoldshall beginning December 28, 1944. One hundred prisoners were transferred on the initial transport.² Although there is no breakdown by nationality on the transport list, the inmates appear to have been French, Polish, and Russian.

Another transport list has survived, dated February 13, 1945, that details the transfer of 158 inmates to Leopoldshall from Buchenwald, including Russian and French inmates.³ On March 8, 1945, 8 inmates—3 French political prisoners and 5 Russian political prisoners—were transferred from the Buchenwald subcamp Schönebeck, where another branch of the Junkers factory was located.⁴ A report filed by the garrison doctor of the Buchenwald camps, SS-Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky, in January 1945, lists Leopoldshall as a Jewish outlying commando (Jüdische Aussenkommando); however, the existing transfer lists do not indicate the type of inmates who were imprisoned in Leopoldshall or whether or not they were Jews.⁵

There is little evidence about living conditions in the Leopoldshall camp or working conditions at the Junkers factory. On March 12, 1945, three inmates were transferred back to the Buchenwald infirmary, presumably to be exchanged for healthier inmates.⁶ The reason for their return is noted as "Tbc" or tuberculosis; therefore, conditions in the camp were most likely difficult and unsanitary. Moreover, there may have been additional transfers and exchanges of prisoners to the Buchenwald main camp, and information about them may not have survived.

There is little information about the commandant or guard staff of the Leopoldshall subcamp. Memos regarding transfers of inmates and exchanges of ill inmates are undersigned by the head of the Leopoldshall commando, SS-Obersturmführer "Sorell" or "Forell."⁷ The January report filed by garrison doctor Schiedlausky does not include any additional information about the number of guards or medical staff in the Leopoldshall subcamp.⁸

The camp was evacuated on or around April 10, 1945, due to the advancement of Allied troops. At least one inmate, French prisoner Pierre Freudenreich, died in the town of Gross Pankow during or shortly after the evacuation.⁹

SOURCES The Leopoldshall subcamp is scarcely noted in secondary or primary sources. For a brief description of the camp, such as opening and closing dates, kind of work, and so on, see Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). Both David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995), and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), provide overviews of and documents pertaining to the Buchenwald camp system.

Likewise, there are few primary sources on the Leopoldshall subcamp. See the archives of the AG-B und AG-MD for relevant transport lists and other administrative records associated with the camp, as well as the AAC-C and the AN (Paris). Copies of some of these administrative records are located in USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, in a collection copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS; see especially BU 41/2 and BU 8/13. Copies of transport lists and documentation of arrivals to and from Buchenwald are also found in the NARA, A3355 Buchenwald Daily Strength Reports (USHMMA, RG 1996 A0342, Reels 146–180). These

reports may be useful for a more thorough statistical analysis of the demographics of and increases and decreases in the camp population. The BA NS 4: Buchenwald Camp Records (reproduced in USHMMA, RG-14.023M) also contains relevant administrative files on the satellite camps; an analysis of demographics and “strength” of prisoners in the subcamps may be derived from more thorough research of this collection.

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NOTES

1. Extracts of a report for December 1944 of the Chief of Labor Allocation, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, dated 6 January 1945, Document NI-4185; *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law no. 10* (New York: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1997), 6: 759–767.

2. “Transport Leopoldshall,” December 28, 1944 (BU 41/2), AN, Secretariat D’État aux Anciens Combattants, as reproduced in the USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.

3. “Überführung von Häftlingen nach Kdo Leopoldshall,” February 13, 1945 (BU 41/2), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.

4. “Überführung von Häftlingen nach Kdo Leopoldshall,” March 8, 1945 (BU 8/13), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 7.

5. “KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt,” Weimar-Buchenwald, 31 January 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 253.

6. “Überführung von kranken Häftlingen,” March 12, 1943 (BU 41/2), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.

7. See transfer lists, BU 41/2 and BU 8/13, USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

8. “KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt,” in Bartel, *Buchenwald*, p. 253.

9. “Buchenwald—Kdo ‘LH’—Leopoldshall,” list of French and Belgian prisoners compiled presumably by ITS (BU 40), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.

LICHTENBURG

A subcamp of Buchenwald was established in Lichtenburg in September 1940 for a temporary two-week duration. Due to the camp’s short operation period, there is extremely little information about this subcamp, for example, about its location, inmates, or commander. The camp was opened on either September 11 or 12, 1940. According to documentation on daily work statistics in records kept by the Buchenwald main camp administration, there were 35 inmates stationed at the Lichtenburg subcamp.¹ The camp also had two guards posted as watch troops. However, unlike other satellite camps created at this time (such as Tonndorf, Berlstedt, and so on), there is no sentry commander (Postentruppführer) listed for Lichtenburg.

The Lichtenburg subcamp is documented in the Buchenwald records as an external commando (Aussenkommando), as opposed to a work commando deployed from Buchenwald, and therefore prisoners were transported from Buchenwald to the work site at Lichtenburg, where they stayed for two

weeks. However, the exact location of the Lichtenburg subcamp and work site is indeterminable. A series of camps (including pre-1937 early camps, a subcamp of Ravensbrück, and a subcamp of Sachsenhausen) were established at the fourteenth-century Lichtenburg castle in Prettin (Saxony-Anhalt). [See Sachsenhausen/Prettin (Lichtenburg).] However, various secondary sources on the Lichtenburg camps make no mention of a Buchenwald subcamp established there. It is also possible that the Buchenwald Lichtenburg camp was created in a town called Lichtenburg (Saxony), although the exact location is unknown.

The Buchenwald Lichtenburg subcamp is last mentioned in the work statistics for September 28, 1940.² The number of prisoners and guards in the camp did not fluctuate during its period of operation.

SOURCES There is virtually no mention of the Lichtenburg subcamp in secondary literature. Both David A. Hackett’s *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO, 1995) and Walter Bartel’s *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main, 1983) provide overviews of the Buchenwald camp system but no information on Lichtenburg. Similarly, the Lichtenburg camp appears only rarely in primary documentation. It does not appear in transport lists collected by the ITS, copies of which are located in the USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, in a collection copied from the AN-MACVG. The BA Buchenwald collection (NS 4) has brief information about the dates of operation and number of prisoners in the camp but nothing further (see BA, Band 156, Fiche 1–4). The AG-B and AG-MD may have other information.

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NOTES

1. “Arbeitsstatistik, Aufstellung der Täglichen Arbeitskommandos, 1940,” September 11–27, 1940, pp. 79–93, BA, NS 4 (Buchenwald), Band 156, as copied at USHMMA, RG 14.0423M.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

LIPPSTADT (LIPPSTÄDTER

EISEN- UND METALLWERKE)

[AKA LEM, SS-KOMMANDO LIPPSTADT I]

Lippstadt was part of the Prussian province of Westfalen until 1945. It is about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) to the south of Gütersloh. According to Buchenwald files, a subcamp for female prisoners was established in Lippstadt on July 31, 1944, when 530 Hungarian Jewish women from Auschwitz arrived. The average age of the women was 27. On September 1, another 2 women from Auschwitz arrived, and on November 23, another 300 women including 139 from Slovakia, 92 from Poland, 41 from Hungary, 10 from France, 9 from Germany, 4 from Holland, 4 from Italy, and 1 Czech. These women were also aged mostly between 20 and 30, with the youngest aged 15. The women from this transport were given Buchenwald prisoner numbers between 25001 and 27000.

The camp was on the site of the Lippstadt Eisen- und Metallwerke (LEM), Cappeler Landstrasse 32. LEM was an armaments enterprise founded in 1935 that produced various kinds of ammunition, among others, hand grenades and aircraft parts. The prisoners were accommodated on the northeastern edge of the site (to the south of the Graf-Adolf and Walldorf Strasse intersection). There were several preexisting barracks that were cordoned off. The guards consisted of 10 to 12 SS men, according to Burkhard Beyers, or 27 men, according to *Die Kindergräber von Gütersloh*. They were under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Alfred Bieneck. There were also about 15 female overseers, former employees of various armaments firms who had undergone a three-week training course in Ravensbrück and were deployed for service in the subcamp.

The camp, with an area of around 10,000 square meters (12,000 square yards), consisted of five barracks. Four had dimensions of about 15 × 50 meters (50 × 164 feet) and were chosen to house the prisoners. These barracks were divided along a central corridor into rooms, each holding 30 to 40 women who slept in multitiered bunk beds. Each woman had her own bed and blanket. At the end of the corridor were the toilet block and the washroom. The barracks were heated. The fifth barrack, which was 28 × 50 meters (92 × 164 feet), functioned as the prisoners' infirmary. According to survivors' statements, two female prisoner doctors were active, Elsa Oblat-Pick, a Jew who probably held a doctoral degree in medicine, and a Polish doctor, Kristina Klemanska-Estreicher. They probably answered to a German nurse. The prisoners had primitive protection from air raids in a slit trench. It took about 5 to 10 minutes to walk from the camp to work.

The food was extremely limited and as a rule consisted of a drink in the morning, a little soup for lunch, and bread for dinner. Prisoners who worked the night shift received neither food nor drink during their shift. Despite this, many of the women in the Lippstadt camp, most of whom had spent a short time in Auschwitz, found the conditions less rigid than in Auschwitz. However, prisoners reported frequent persecution by the female SS—for example, if a prisoner was suspected of theft, she was usually forced to strip naked, and the usual punishment for less serious disciplinary breaches was to kneel in the snow with bare legs. There are reports of the women being subjected to beatings. Numerous survivor statements refer to a special humiliation: the women on their arrival in the camp were given new civilian clothes. So that these clothes could be recognized as prisoners' clothes, the sleeves were removed from the shirts and replaced with sleeves made of a different color and material. There are repeated survivors' reports that they felt like "clowns" dressed in these clothes, that they felt offended in their dignity and self-esteem. Nevertheless, the women attempted to maintain their dignity: at Christmas 1944, for example, they decorated a Christmas tree and exchanged small gifts that they had cobbled together from waste metal and smuggled out of the factory under the threat of death.

For their employment in the factory, LEM supplied winter coats to the women, which were marked in the back with a bright cross of yellow oil paint. LEM also provided work

overalls for the women. The regulations required the women to work in separate areas under the supervision of German foremen and skilled tradesmen. The women worked in two shifts, each of 12 hours (with two breaks totaling 45 minutes). Weekly they alternated between day and night shifts.

Only a few women, working in specially chosen areas with other laborers, worked in three shifts each of eight hours. Survivors report physically demanding work such as carrying heavy parts to the machines and putting the heavy and unwieldy parts into the machines. Magda Müller, a survivor, stated that each day she had to insert screw threads into 1,000 hand grenades.¹ There are reports that the German foremen and tradesmen insulted and emotionally mistreated the women. But there are also reports that they were sometimes given food by them.

The work and living conditions in the camp must be described as very poor. Medical care was completely inadequate, particularly after the outbreak of a typhoid epidemic in December, and worsened as the end of the war got closer. In March 1945, the SS-Kommando Lippstadt reported to the Standortarzt in Buchenwald that 30 prisoners were bedridden in the infirmary and 85 were being treated as outpatients. One woman was suffering from tuberculosis, 4 from diphtheria, and in the course of the last month there had been 20 work injuries. There are seven recorded deaths at the Lippstadt subcamp. The women, together with one deceased baby that had been born in the camp, were buried at the nearby Jewish cemetery. All the women died from cholera and dysentery as a result of the exhausting work and living conditions and not as an immediate result of physical violence.

Most probably more women in the Lippstadt subcamp died in the camp than appear in the statistics, as those too weak or ill to work were selected and sent to Auschwitz or Bergen-Belsen. There are at least three such recorded transports: a transport that included all the pregnant women left for Auschwitz on August 1, 1944 (this was probably the result of a birth in the camp), and there was a transport of 3 pregnant women to Bergen-Belsen on January 8, 1945. Both transports were accompanied by the Jewish doctor—as the SS, until the last minute, tried to maintain the illusion that she would look after the prisoners in her care. A final transport departed Lippstadt on February 9, 1945. It included 3 women and their babies as well as 69 women who were either sick or no longer capable of working. According to a former prisoner, quoted in the publication *Die Kindergräber von Gütersloh*, on this transport one baby was trodden to death by an SS man. Whether this was intentional remains unclear, but according to the witness, there was no apology. It is likely that shortly before the camp's dissolution there was one further transport of 25 sick prisoners to Bergen-Belsen: while on February 25, there were still 750 women in the camp, there were only 725 when the camp ceased to exist: the difference could be explained by one further transport of women no longer capable of working.

From the beginning of 1945, work in the LEM was constantly interrupted by supply problems and raw material shortages. Statements as to when the camp was evacuated differ between March 29 and 31, 1945. Accompanied by the SS

and, according to survivors, also Wehrmacht soldiers, the women moved in a northeasterly direction toward Bergen-Belsen. The SS only allowed night marches, fearing low-flying Allied air attacks. When the Allied troops got closer, Commandant Bieneck threatened to shoot the women. On the morning of April 1, 1945, Easter Sunday, the guards abandoned the women close to the village of Kaunitz, about 14 kilometers (9 miles) to the northeast of Lippstadt. A few hours later the women were liberated by soldiers of the U.S. Army. The dates stated by the International Tracing Service (ITS) for the evacuation (April 2, 1945) and liberation (ca. April 4, 1945) are clearly too late.

In the 1970s, the Bielefeld state prosecutor investigated events in the subcamp and collected statements from 97 women who had been in the subcamp. The investigations ceased in 1974 with the conclusion that mistreatment was not an everyday occurrence in the Lippstadt LEM subcamp. However, many survivors suffered for the rest of their lives from the physical and psychological effects of the camp.

SOURCES The camp is described by Burkhard Beyer in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 507–511. The same author has written *Zum Arbeitseinsatz nach Lippstadt: Die jüdischen Frauen in den KZ-Aussenkommandos Lippstadt 1944 und 1945* (Lippstadt: Heimatbund Lippstadt e.V., 1993); and the essay “Die Buchenwald-Aussenlager in Lippstadt,” in *Konzentrationslager im Rheinland und in Westfalen 1933–1945: Zentrale Steuerung und regionale Initiative*, ed. Jan Erik Schulte (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schoeningh GmbH, 2004). Another description of the subcamp is by Karin Epkenhans, *Lippstadt, 1933–1945: Darstellung und Dokumentation zur Geschichte der Stadt Lippstadt im Nationalsozialismus* (Lippstadt: Archiv und Museumsamt, Stadt Lippstadt, 1995), esp. pp. 181–189. Extensive details on the subcamp are to be found in Anne-Frank-Schule, ed., *Die Kindergräber von Gütersloh* (Gütersloh: Stadt Gütersloh, 1993), which is based on statements by 13 former prisoners—Ruchla Krengiel Kupersmidt, Sarah Barr, Halina Zauder, Fryda Duczyminer, Edith Vodny, Ibolya Welisch Friedmann and Eszter Eilon Friedmann, Dr. Aniko Manfeld Oppenheim, J. Warech, Miriam Navon, Alice Cimber, Magda Müller, Gisela Freiberg, and Elena Levy. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 50; and “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBI.* (1977) Teil 1, p. 1822.

Archival details on the Lippstadt LEM subcamp are found in the Buchenwald collections of the BA-K, NS 4 Bu, in the ASt-Lip, which include aerial photographs of the LEM factory site and the camp in March 1945, in the AG-B, and ITS. The USHMM holds the statement by survivor Irene Hass Shapiro (Acc.1996.A.0179). Survivors have also written about the camp, such as Rudnoy Tewrez’s autobiographical work *Szabadulo Asszonyok* (The path to freedom) (N.p., 1947); and Olga Szekulesz in “Alomhajon [Upon the ship of dreams],” *Htv* (August 1964), which describes her attempts to maintain

the prisoners’ hopes for freedom by telling them stories about her prewar life.

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NOTE

1. Statement by Magda Müller in Anne-Frank-Schule, ed., *Die Kindergräber von Gütersloh* (Gütersloh: Stadt Gütersloh, 1993), p. 57.

LIPPSTADT (WESTFÄLISCHE METALLINDUSTRIE) [AKA WMI, SS-KOMMANDO LIPPSTADT II]

Lippstadt, which until 1945 was part of the Prussian province of Westfalen, is about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) south of Gütersloh. At the end of July 1944, a subcamp was opened at the Lippstadt Eisen- und Metallwerke (LEM). On November 20, 1944, another Buchenwald subcamp was opened at a branch of the Westfälische Metallindustrie (WMI) in Hospitalstrasse 46. Two hundred and fifty Hungarian Jewish women from Ravensbrück arrived at the camp on November 20, and on December 23, 65 women from Bergen-Belsen followed. The women from this transport were from Hungary and other Eastern European countries. The last transport arrived on February 15, 1945, with 20 mostly Hungarian Jews, again from Bergen-Belsen.

The subcamp was located in the center of the city, situated between apartment blocks and secured with fences and walls. The women’s accommodation as well as their job site was located inside the camp, so they never left the camp. The camp was guarded by six SS men under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Hermann Fügmann. He was assisted by a few SS women who had been recruited from local industries and had gone through a short training course at Ravensbrück.

During the war, WMI specialized in supplying the armaments industry. Prisoners from the subcamp manufactured parts for the aircraft industry including altimeters. As in many camps, the prisoners worked in two shifts, each of 12 hours, with one break of 45 minutes. Their task required precision and concentration and was less physically strenuous than the work in many other subcamps. This possibly explains why there are no recorded deaths in the Lippstadt WMI subcamp. According to the records, there was only one transfer from this camp, which sent four pregnant or breast-feeding mothers to Bergen-Belsen. It is also possible that the camp’s location, in the middle of a residential area, caused the SS to provide at least a minimum of hygienic standards so as to prevent an outbreak of disease spreading to the surrounding area. Nevertheless, the prisoners’ medical care, delivered by a few prisoner nurses, as well as the food supply remained woefully inadequate.

Most likely the women from this subcamp were evacuated on March 31, 1945, in an easterly direction following the heaviest air raid on Lippstadt during the war on March 10, 1945. As a result of the air raid, work inside the subcamp had almost completely stopped. On April 1, 1945, the U.S. Army

closed the so-called Ruhr Pocket (Ruhrkessel). By this time the women were already at Kreiensen. From there, they were evacuated by rail to Leipzig. Here, they were initially held in the Leipzig-Schönefeld (HASAG) subcamp. A few days later, they set off on a march with the women of this camp. Most of the prisoners from this evacuation march were liberated by Soviet troops near Pirna on the Elbe.

SOURCES Burkhard Beyer describes the Lippstadt (WMI) subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 507–511. Beyer has also published *Zum Arbeitseinsatz nach Lippstadt: Die jüdischen Frauen in den KZ-Aussenkommandos Lippstadt 1944 und 1945* (Lippstadt: Heimatbund Lippstadt e.V., 1993); and the essay "Die Buchenwald-Aussenlager in Lippstadt," in *Konzentrationslager im Rheinland und in Westfalen 1933–1945: Zentrale Steuerung und regionale Initiative*, ed. Jan Erik Schulte (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schoeningh GmbH, 2004). Another description of the subcamp is by Karin Epkenhans, *Lippstadt, 1933–1945: Darstellung und Dokumentation zur Geschichte der Stadt Lippstadt im Nationalsozialismus* (Lippstadt: Archiv und Museumsamt, Stadt Lippstadt, 1995), esp. pp. 181–189. The Lippstadt WMI subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 50; "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL* (1977) Teil 1, p. 1822.

Archival references to the Lippstadt WMI subcamp are held in the Buchenwald collections of the BA-K (NS 4 Bu), the ASt-Lip, AG-B, and ITS. The USHMMA holds a statement by camp survivor Irene Hass Shapiro (Acc.1996.A.0179).

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LÜTZKENDORF ("LD")

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Lützkendorf (in the Querfurt district), about one mile north of the village of Krumpa bei Merseburg and two miles northwest of Braunsbedra, in July 1944. Code-named "Ld," the camp was established near the synthetic oil refinery Wintershall Oil Company (Wintershall AG Mineralölwerk, Lützkendorf), later renamed Mineralöl GmbH Addinol, to supply concentration camp inmates for reconstruction work after destructive Allied bombing of the refinery in July 1944. The Wintershall factory "rented" concentration camp inmates from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a rate of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per unskilled worker per day.¹

There is no information about the exact location of the Lützkendorf subcamp, nor are there descriptions of its size. The Wintershall Oil Company also used slave laborers to work in its factory; presumably, a forced labor camp (*Zwangsarbeiterlager*) was also constructed on or near the factory grounds. Nine hundred inmates were transported from Buchenwald to Lützkendorf on July 14, 1944.² Although there is no demographic breakdown on this transport list in particular (even in its duplicated forms), the inmates appear to have been

Polish, Russian, and Czech, with smaller numbers of French and German prisoners. Smaller transports of inmates from Buchenwald to Lützkendorf arrived over the following months: 9 French inmates were transferred on August 15; 3 inmates on August 16; 3 on September 5; 80 on September 9, 1944;³ 4 on September 14; and 3 on September 19. Some of the inmates were civilian workers (*Zivilarbeiter*) or so-called professional criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*).⁴

There is no information about living or working conditions in the Lützkendorf camp. As in other satellite camps, presumably prisoners who were too ill to work were "exchanged" for healthier inmates from the main Buchenwald camp at various intervals. On November 5, 1944, 100 inmates were sent to Block 59 in Buchenwald.⁵ There may have been at least one woman on this transport, Marian Klysz. At least one "change of status" report (*Veränderungsmeldung*) dated November 25, 1944, notes that 13 inmates in the Lützkendorf subcamp "departed" or presumably died, although no date of "departure" is given with their names.⁶ The inmates on this report were predominantly Russian civilian conscript laborers and political prisoners, as well as 1 Polish prisoner.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the camp was closed on January 18, 1945, with 370 inmates remaining. There is no information about the guards or commandant of the Lützkendorf camp. Moreover, the camp does not appear on a surviving report from garrison doctor SS-Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky dated January 31, 1945, because the camp was closed by this time. On January 23, 1945, about 357 inmates were transferred from Lützkendorf to Mittelbau.⁷

SOURCES The Lützkendorf subcamp is scarcely noted in secondary or primary sources. For a brief description of the Lützkendorf camp, including information from ITS, such as opening and closing dates, kind of work, and so on, see Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). Both David A. Hackett's *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995) and Walter Bartel's *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983) provide overviews of the Buchenwald camp system, including pertinent documents.

There are also few primary sources on the Lützkendorf subcamp. See the AG-B and AG-MD for relevant transport lists and other administrative records associated with the camp, as well as the AAC-C and the AN (Paris). Copies of some of these administrative records are located in the USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, in a collection copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS (see especially BU 5/5, BU 8/18, BU 4/32, BU 8/11, and BU 48). Copies of transport lists and documentation of arrivals to and departures from Buchenwald are also found in the NARA, A3355 Buchenwald Daily Strength Reports (USHMMA, RG 1996 A0342, Reels 146–180). These reports may be useful for a more thorough statistical analysis of the demographics of and increases and decreases in the camp population. The BA NS 4: Buchenwald Camp Records (reproduced in USHMMA,

RG-14.023M) also contains relevant administrative files on the satellite camps; an analysis of demographics and numbers of prisoners in the subcamps may be derived from a more thorough research of this collection.

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NOTES

1. Extracts of report for December 1944 of the Chief of Labor Allocation, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, dated January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185; *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law no. 10* (New York: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1997), 6: 759–767.

2. “Transport Lützkendorf [sic],” July 14, 1944 (BU 48), AN, Secretariat D’État aux Anciens Combattants, as reproduced in the USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.

3. “Transport Lützkendorf,” September 9, 1944 (BU 8/19), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 7.

4. “Veränderungsmeldungen,” dated August 16, August 17, September 6, September 15, and September 29, 1944 (BU 5/5), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 6.

5. “Von Kommando Lützkendorf nach Block 59,” Arbeitsstatistik KL Buchenwald, November 5, 1944 (BU 8/12), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 7.

6. “Veränderungsmeldung,” November 25, 1944 (BU 5/5), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 6.

7. “Von Kommando Lützkendorf nach KL Mittelbau überstellt,” January 23, 1945 (BU 4/34), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 5. Another transport list dated January 3, 1945, also survives, in which 373 inmates were transferred either to Lützkendorf or, as is more likely, to Buchenwald. The title of the transport is illegible, however. See “Transportliste [?],” January 3, 1945 (BU 48), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.

MAGDEBURG (POLTE OHG) (MEN)

Magdeburg is located on the Elbe River and until 1945 was part of the Prussian province of Saxony. In 1885, Eugen Polte founded the Polte company, which during World War II operated as Polte OHG (General Business Partnership) Magdeburg. During the war, the company became an important manufacturer of munitions. In June 1944, a subcamp for women was opened at Polte. On November 3, 1944, a transport of 500 men from the Stutthof concentration camp arrived at the Polte main factory in Magdeburg at 65–91 Poltestrasse; 300 women were also in this transport.

The men had been selected in Stutthof because of their professional qualifications. When they arrived in Magdeburg, they were held in quarantine for 10 days because a typhus epidemic had broken out in Stutthof after their departure. After the 10 days, they were divided among different production areas, replacing Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The prisoners were held in the empty Soviet POW camp, in Poltestrasse (later Karl Liebknecht Strasse) directly opposite the factory and next to the women’s camp. The 500 men were held in two barracks; in addition, there was an infirmary and a roll-call square. The camp was fenced in with a high barbed-wire fence.

The guards were 59 SS men who were based outside the camp and commanded by Kommandoführer Hoffmann. Prior to this position, Hoffmann had been a member of the command staff at the Kaiserwald concentration camp near Riga, where he had already supervised some of the prisoners who had been sent from Stutthof to Magdeburg.

The majority of the prisoners in the first transport were Jews from Latvia. There were also Jews from Poland, Lithuania, and Germany in the transport. A second transport arrived on December 2, 1944, from Bergen-Belsen. As with the first transport, there was a group of 300 women on the transport who were sent to the women’s subcamp. The prisoners in this transport were mostly Hungarian and Polish Jews. The average number of prisoners in the men’s subcamp was somewhere between 500 and 600.

The camp inmates worked at the Polte firm in alternating 12-hour shifts. Sundays were rest days, either in whole or in part. The Polte firm ensured that because of their skilled status the prisoners had living conditions rarely seen in concentration camps: the barracks were heated, and in the washrooms there was running warm and cold water. Each prisoner had his own bed (on a two-tiered bunk bed) and a blanket. Each barracks had sleeping and eating quarters. Boris Kacel, a survivor, stated that when the prisoners arrived, the barracks were clean and neat. However, there was no kitchen in the camp, and the prisoners’ food had to be brought from the outside.

There were two Jewish doctors in the infirmary. Beside work injuries, the cases they dealt with were primarily exhaustion, colds, and hunger edemas, an indication of the poor nutrition, clothing, and general working and living conditions of the prisoners. These conditions were made worse by the rigid SS and prisoner administration punishment system, which in part was in the hands of violent, criminal prisoners. Kacel stated that the camp elder was David Kagand, and the barrack elders were Harry Kussman and Max Finkelstein. Among the prisoners, the so-called Inner Service (*Innendienst*) under an inmate named Nachke was notorious for its brutality. The number of prisoners who died in the men’s Polte subcamp can only be estimated. It is thought that a few dozen prisoners died in the camp or, because they were no longer capable of working, were selected and sent back to the main camp. At this late stage of the war, selection and return to the main Buchenwald camp meant certain death for a prisoner, because the prisoners were sent to the Kleine Lager in Buchenwald, where there was scarcely any chance of survival.

A third transport of 130 prisoners reached the camp on March 19, 1945. It originated in the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge subcamp. The transport consisted mostly of prisoners of Polish and Hungarian nationality. By this time production in the Polte factories had mostly come to a stop because of supply difficulties, so that the prisoners were not used in armaments production but in cleaning up Magdeburg after bombing raids. Kacel stated that in the final stage of the camp around 30 prisoners were used in cleanup work, while the other prisoners were used to construct defense fortifica-

tions in and around Magdeburg. While doing this work the prisoners were at times shot at by Allied aircraft or troops.

On April 11, 1945, three weeks after the arrival of the last transport, the SS guards fled the approaching U.S. troops. Fearing possible outrages by the prisoners who were left to their own devices as well as being held responsible by the Allied troops for the conditions in the camp, Volkssturm (German home guard) men were put in charge. They drove the prisoners, both male and female, who had not managed to escape in the previous two days to the other side of the Elbe on April 13, 1945. While resting at the Neue Welt sports stadium the completely exhausted prisoners came under U.S. artillery fire. While trying to escape the fire and seeking cover, they were shot at by the Volkssturm and SS troops. Many were killed or injured. Under SS guard, the prisoners were then sent on a death march to Sachsenhausen, with countless other prisoners falling victim along the way.

In 1951, three members of the Volkssturm were sentenced in a trial in Magdeburg to long periods of imprisonment for their roles in the massacre at the Neue Welt sports stadium. The following years the sentence was quashed, as it could not be conclusively proved that the three were involved in the massacre. Since then there have been no further investigations into the men's camp or the evacuation march. Investigations in the 1970s by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) on the men's Polte subcamp ceased without any result.

SOURCES Pascal Bergrich contributed the article on the men's Polte subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 518–520. Pascal Bergrich is also the author of “Die Polte OHG und das Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald Polte-Magdeburg” (unpub. Magisterarbeit, Magdeburg, 2003). Information on the Polte OHG is in Frank Baranowski, *Der Duderstädter Rüstungsbetrieb Polte von 1938 bis 1945* (Göttingen: Cuvillier-Verlag, 1993). The subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:51; and in “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBI.* (1977) Teil 1, p. 1823.

The USHMMA holds the memoirs of Joseph Kiman, “A Witness to History” (RG-02.176) as well as oral history interviews with another survivor, Henry Bermanis (RG-50.030*0341). Under WS#83415 to 83421, the USHMMA holds photographs of the Polte-Werke immediately after its liberation, among others, a portrait of a former prisoner and the reconstruction of an event where a Jewish prisoner is thought to have been shot by a German foreman on April 11, 1945. Other archival material on the subcamp can be found in collection NS 4 Bu (THStA-W, BA-K), as well as ITS. A list of the skilled workers at the subcamp is in the YVA, call number Bu 44. The files on the preliminary investigations by the Magdeburg state prosecutor into the members of the Volkssturm in 1951–1952 are held in: BStU, Aussenstelle Magdeburg, BV Magdeburg, Allg. S 2/81, vol. 12, and S4/81, vol. 2. Boris Kacel, a camp survivor, has published his memoirs in *From Hell to Redemption* (Niwtot: University Press of Colorado, 1998). Axel Deutsch, who arrived at Magdeburg (Polte)

in March 1945, published his memoirs as “Ich habe Auschwitz überlebt”; see <http://www.lpm.uni-sb.de/lpb/DeutschAlex/auschwitz.htm>.

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MAGDEBURG (POLTE OHG) (WOMEN)

Until 1945, Magdeburg was part of the Prussian province of Saxony and the site of heavy industry. A concentration camp for women was established on June 14, 1944, in the Polte OHG (General Business Partnership) factory at 65–91 Poltestrasse. It was administered by the Ravensbrück concentration camp, although it answered to the Buchenwald concentration camp on labor matters.

The camp was fenced in with barbed wire and was located directly opposite the factory in Poltestrasse. The prisoners lived in primitive wooden barracks. There was no glass in the windows, and the barracks were not heated. The barracks were ridden with vermin and held at least 100 women in each. The living conditions in the women's camp were markedly different from those in the male camp, which opened a few months later. The difference in the living conditions can be explained—the men were chosen because of their professional qualifications and were regarded as “valuable” skilled workers, whereas the women were seen as cheap auxiliary labor.

On September 1, 1944, the camp came under the complete control of the Buchenwald concentration camp. At that time, there were 1,815 women in the camp. Around 60 percent of them were Soviet civilian laborers, who had been sent by the Gestapo to the Ravensbrück concentration camp when their attempts to escape had failed. From there they were sent on to the Polte-Werke. There was no doubt that these women had been concentrated in the Magdeburg camp on purpose—a practice that was followed in a few other subcamps. That the women did not give up their desire for freedom is shown by the large number of escape attempts: 19 were registered in the subcamp by the end of 1944, 18 of which were by Soviet women. Also in the camp were political prisoners from Poland, mostly victims of the suppression of the August 1944 Warsaw Uprising—6 Italians, 5 French women, a Czechoslovak, 3 Yugoslavs, a Lithuanian, a German, and 1 stateless woman.

On November 1, 1944, there were 2,427 women in the camp. At the end of December 1944, two further transports with 300 Hungarian Jews from Stutthof and 300 Polish Jews from Bergen-Belsen arrived at the camp. The women worked under difficult conditions: in two 12-hours shifts, broken only with an hour's break, working with highly dangerous chemicals without any protection at all. The women worked in different sections of the factory, in the pickling area (*Beizerei*), drilling area (*Bohrerei*), and the lacquer area (*Lackerei*), cleaning munitions and pressing the shell casings. The difficult work conditions for the inexperienced and malnourished women resulted in many work accidents, some of which resulted in death. In addition to the difficult work conditions the women had a completely inadequate supply of

clothing: as a rule they were not given either underwear or shoes. Many women suffered from colds, breathing difficulties, tuberculosis, and skin diseases, which were caused by the chemicals, general exhaustion, and malnutrition. Until the camp was dissolved in April 1945, there were 18 recorded deaths of prisoners. Many more women were transferred back to the main camp because they were too weak to work or they were pregnant: 24 women in January and 58 at the end of March 1945. In March 1945, a child was born in the camp, which at this time was the second largest Buchenwald subcamp.

The camp was guarded by 87 SS men and 42 female guards. SS-Hauptsturmführer Kramer was in charge of the camp until November 1944. He was then replaced by SS-Oberscharführer Andreas Hochwarth. Both camp commanders were strict, subjecting the women to punishment including penal labor, special roll calls, food deprivation, and bunker confinement. Especially feared was a punishment known as the *Prügelstrafe*, where the women received 25 blows with a stick. It is likely that in the spring of 1945 a woman was executed because of suspected sabotage (according to survivor Boris Kacel: a Ukrainian; according to historian Irmgard Seidel, a Soviet citizen). The hanging was undertaken by an execution squad from Buchenwald that traveled to the camp with a portable gallows. Kacel stated that the women, who at this time were held in the men's camp, were given a day off work so that they could witness the hanging. As a means of deterring further sabotage attempts, the body remained hanging from the gallows for 24 hours. The increasing intensity of the bombing raids on Magdeburg resulted, no later than March 1945, in increasing disruption and suspension of production in the Polte-Werke. As Kacel describes for the men's camp, most likely also the inmates of the women's camp were increasingly used to construct fortifications and dig ditches. The SS attempted to evacuate the camp forcibly on April 11, 1945, but were unsuccessful when the women panicked. Instead of evacuating the camp, the guards fled. Two days later, the inmates of the men's and women's camps, who had been left to themselves, were driven across to the eastern bank of the Elbe by Volkssturm (German homeguard) units, where they came under fire from U.S. artillery. The SS and the Volksturm began shooting the prisoners in the Neue Welt stadium who were trying to take cover. There were a large number of dead and wounded. The surviving women were forced to march via Oranienburg and Brandenburg to Ravensbrück, where it is suspected they arrived six days later, on April 19, 1945.

In 1951, three members of the Volkssturm were sentenced in a trial in Magdeburg to long periods of imprisonment for their roles in the massacre at the Neue Welt sports stadium. The following year the sentence was quashed, as it could not be conclusively proved that the three were involved in the massacre. Since then there have been no further investigations into the women's camp or the evacuation march. Investigations in the 1970s by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) on the women's subcamp ceased without any conclusive results.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel contributed the article on the women's subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der*

Ort des Terrors, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 515–517. Frank Baranowski's *Der Duderstädter Rüstungsbetrieb Polte von 1938 bis 1945* (Göttingen: Cuvillier-Verlag, 1993) contains information on the Polte OHG. The subcamp is described in *Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris*, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris), ed., *Les femmes oubliées de Buchenwald: 22 avril–30 octobre 2005* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), pp. 42–47. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:51; and in “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBI.* (1977) Teil 1, p. 1823.

Documents on the subcamp are held in the collections of the USHMM, including a tape of an interview with a survivor of the camp, Bella Mischinsky (RG-50.549.020017), as well as two oral history interviews with survivors (Bella Mischinsky, RG-50.030*0340, and Sonja Gottlieb Ludsin, RG-50.030*0262). The ZdL investigations are documented under File 4 429 AR-Z 45/75 at BA-L. Boris Kacel in his autobiography *From Hell to Redemption* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1998) refers a number of times to the women's camp. The execution of the Ukrainian woman is described at p. 203.

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MAGDEBURG-ROTHENSEE (BRABAG)

[AKA MAGDA]

Fritz Kranefuss, spokesman for the board of directors of the company Braunkohle-Benzin AG (Brown Coal-Gasoline, or Brabag), had tried unsuccessfully since 1943 to obtain concentration camp prisoners to work at his fuel production company. In May 1944, when Allied squadrons bombed and damaged the Brabag factories, and the SS was simultaneously deporting Hungarian Jews, the situation changed. Kranefuss, who had excellent connections within Heinrich Himmler's Personal Staff and was the executive officer of the Friends of Himmler (Freudeskreis Himmler), was able to secure concentration camp prisoners to remove rubble and to construct air-raid bunkers. In quick succession, Brabag established subcamps at its factories in Tröglitz/Rehmsdorf, near Zeitz, in Magdeburg-Rothensee, in Schwarzheide, and in Böhlen near Leipzig, as well as its underground storage sites in Königstein near Dresden, and Berga/Elster. In 1944–1945, Brabag used more than 13,100 concentration camp prisoners specifically for construction work.

On June 17 and July 23, 1944, a total of 2,127 mostly Hungarian Jews were transferred from Buchenwald to Magdeburg-Rothensee.¹ The boys and the men had been selected in Buchenwald and Auschwitz. They were between 14 and 65 years old, and because the entire Jewish population of whole townships had been deported, they included students, teachers, fathers, and sons. Not all were of Hungarian origin. Many were Ukrainians or Serbs. In addition, 45 non-Jewish prisoners, mostly of German, Czech, Polish, French, and Belgian

origin, were deported to Magdeburg-Rothensee and were the prisoner-functionaries.

The subcamp, named "Magda" by the SS, was located on the edge of a housing settlement and an industrial area. The citizens of Rothensee could observe what was happening in the camp through the barbed wire. They had daily contact with the prisoners, for example, on the street as the prisoners marched by or at the construction sites. The emaciated and mistreated prisoners were part of everyday life for the civilian population and the Brabag workforce.

The prisoners were used as an auxiliary construction force at the destroyed Brabag factory and for the building of the bunkers.² They laid a system of pipes and cables, repaired rail tracks and roads, cleaned bricks, dug pits, and transported gravel. The work was marked by severe time constraints; by a systematic underutilization of technology; and by constant physical burdens placed on the prisoners, who did not receive adequate food, clothing, or medical attention. The conditions wore down the prisoners, who quickly lost their physical health and died. During the cold times of the year the death rate quickly soared: 130 died in October 1944 and 140 died in November.

Violent abuse became more and more prevalent. Some of the prisoners were killed by one of the SS guard dogs and torn to pieces. The daily violence included mistreatment and humiliation at the construction sites and the camp. The brutality of several guards and Kapos remains in the memories of many survivors and many Magdeburg civilians.

The SS guard detachment numbered 142 men, 112 of whom are known by name. Of these men 82 percent were Wehrmacht soldiers who in 1944 had either volunteered to leave their army and Luftwaffe units and join the SS or who were forcibly transferred to the SS. Theofried Alter, one of the SS camp leaders, had been a noncommissioned officer in the Luftwaffe. At times, an additional 35 policemen were requisitioned as guards. Many soldiers had suffered war injuries, and two-thirds were over 35. A significant percentage of the men did not match the image of a typical SS man, either due to their age, physical condition, or dress. They had not gone through the SS drill at the "Dachau School," although some had experience in guarding Russian prisoners of war (POWs). They either adapted to or tolerated SS violence in the Magda subcamp.³

Engineers and foremen from the Brabag factory, the Organisation Todt (OT), and several other construction companies organized the work and directed the prisoners. Brabag was part of the Geilenberg Program, which had been established by Hitler and Albert Speer on May 30, 1944, to secure the production of fuel. Under this program, the Reich reimbursed Brabag for all of the costs incurred in the feeding of the prisoners and in the paying of fees for the prisoners levied by the SS. Edmund Geilenberg, founder of the program and its head, gave his local factory delegates, most of whom were senior engineers at the factories, extensive powers to undertake the construction program and coordinate the use of the prisoners. The engineers in turn were subject to directives from the SS. The plant representative of Brabag Magdeburg, the factory management, and the local OT Construction Unit

determined the working conditions and the places where the prisoners worked. Thus, the group of people who presided over the life and death of the prisoners was not limited to the SS guards; it also included civilian industrial representatives.⁴

Sick prisoners were transported back to Buchenwald. On September 27, 1944, alone, 525 prisoners were sent back. Of these, the SS selected 388 prisoners and transported them on October 3, 1944, to Auschwitz II-Birkenau, where they were murdered. On December 29, 1944, following a decision by the plant representative, 401 prisoners were sent to Bergen-Belsen, where it is likely that almost all of them died. The Magda subcamp was dissolved on February 9, 1945, and the remaining 465 prisoners reached Buchenwald on February 16.⁵

At least 550 prisoners (30.4 percent) died in Magdeburg-Rothensee. Two-thirds of those who died were aged between 40 and 65. The fate of 100 prisoners remains unclear, but most likely they died or were killed in Magdeburg. The SS cremated the corpses in the city crematorium of the Magdeburg West Cemetery. Before cremation, the Brabag company doctor issued death certificates that were checked by the Magdeburg district medical officer. The death certificates were written so that the cause of death corresponded with the condition of the corpse. The notes of the Magdeburg district medical officer have survived and are an important source for the camp's history.⁶ Another 789 Jews died due to appalling living conditions and the selections that took place in Magdeburg. If one counts these people, the death rate in the Magda subcamp was 66.7 percent.

Among the more unusual events in the history of the camp was the care that prisoners injured during a bombing raid received in a Magdeburg public hospital. Also, the camp elder (Lagerältester), Walter Duda, escaped in November 1944. The guards had given him a key to the camp gate so that he could go to the SS barracks and play cards.

State investigations of the guards after 1945, as well as attempts by former prisoners to receive compensation from Brabag in the courts, remained unsuccessful.⁷ Only SS-Private Otto Krause was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment by a U.S. military court in Dachau in 1947. Those Brabag employees responsible for the use of prisoners, such as the factory director Dr. Erich Würzner, who continued to head the factory until into the 1970s, were not called to account.

SOURCES The basis for this essay is Franka Bindernagel and Tobias Bütow's book *Ein KZ in der Nachbarschaft: Das Magdeburger Aussenlager der Brabag und der "Freundeskreis Himmler"* (Cologne, 2004). Benjamin B. Ferencz has documented the statements of survivors in proceedings against Brabag for compensation in *Less Than Slaves. Jewish Forced Labor and the Quest for Compensation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002). The records of the trial were destroyed by the West Berlin judicial authorities. Additional information on Brabag camps may be found in Rainer Fröbe, "Arbeit für die Mineralölindustrie: Das Konzentrationslager Misburg," in *Konzentrationslager in Hannover*, by Rainer Fröbe et al. (Hildesheim, 1985), 1:131–275; and Dietrich Eichholtz et al., *Geschichte der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft 1939–1945*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1996). On Wehrmacht guards in the camps, see Bertrand Perz, "Wehrmacht

und KZ-Bewachung (Wehrmacht und Concentration Camp Security),” *Mittelweg* 4:36 (1995): 69–82.

Files and other material on the camp history are to be found in the appropriate archives such as AG-B and YV, ZdL (now BA-L), BA, as well as the Deutsche Dienststelle (German Services Office) in Berlin (the former Wehrmachtsauskunftsstelle, WAsT). A few documents are kept in the archives of the Magdeburg Jewish community as well as Brabag-K, from which the most important collection on the Magdeburg factory has disappeared. The former prisoner Ivan Ivanji wrote his memoirs in the form of a novel, *Schattenspringen* (Wien, 1993). John Weiner, also a prisoner, published an extract from his memoirs in an article titled “Todesmarsch,” *DaHe* 17 (2001): 162–170.

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NOTES

1. Transport lists, YVA, Microfilm, Bu 16, Bu 44, Bu 45.
2. Various survivor repts., YVA, AG-B, AG-D, Magdeburg Jewish Community Private Archives.
3. Statements by former guards, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 45/75, Bd. 1 u. 2, passim; WAsT; Bertrand Perz, “Wehrmacht und KZ-Bewachung (Wehrmacht und Concentration Camp Security),” *Mittelweg* 4:36 (1995): 69–82.
4. LHSA-Me: Bunawerk-Schkopau, Nr. 745; Dietrich Eichholtz et al., *Geschichte der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft 1939–1945* (Berlin, 1996), 3:32; Rainer Fröbe, “Arbeit für die Mineralöl-industrie: Das Konzentrationslager Misburg,” in *Konzentrationslager in Hannover*, by Rainer Fröbe et al. (Hildesheim, 1985), 1:141.
5. Transport lists, YVA: Microfilm, BB1, Bu 8, Bu 19, Bu 44; BA, R 50I/Film 80089, 349:125.
6. Death reports July/August 1944, Westfriedhof (Western Cemetery) Magdeburg, Jewish Community Archive Magdeburg, Crematorium Magdeburg, YVA: 0.51.
7. BA-L, 429 AR-Z 45/75, vol. 1 u. 2, passim; LA-B: Rep. 39, Nr. 27/1, 2, 3; Benjamin B. Ferencz: *Less Than Slaves. Jewish Forced Labor and the Quest for Compensation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002).

MARKKLEEBERG

Markkleeberg lies on the southern edge of Leipzig. An engine factory was located here, which from the end of 1943 was used by the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company, JFM) as a branch factory for the production of small aircraft parts for its aircraft. The head office was located at 1 Stöhrstrasse Markkleeberg. According to the Leipzig building files, the unused factory buildings of the cotton mill Kammgarnspinnerei Stöhr in Marleeberg-West had been leased to Junkers in 1940. In December 1943, a new production facility was established on that site. There is no doubt that the establishment of Junkers facilities in Markkleeberg was connected with the damage caused by Allied bombing raids in which the traditional Junkers production facilities concentrated around the Mockau airport fell victim.

Drafted German workers and foreign forced laborers worked in the new factory. A barracks camp with seven wooden bar-

racks was constructed at Equipagenweg for them. According to Klaus Hesse, in 1943 projections were planned for a barracks to hold 768 men—the building plans, the original of which are held by the Markkleeberg archive, even contemplated a camp for 1,248 men. The camp was largely destroyed during an air raid in February 1944 and replaced with new brick barracks. Surrounded by a barbed-wire fence and guard towers, it was now planned to hold concentration camp prisoners.

The first transport of female prisoners, 500 Hungarian Jews from Auschwitz, arrived on August 31, 1944. With this arrival, the camp had officially opened. Included among the prisoners were two 14-year-old sisters, Erzsebet and Katalin Szasz, who survived the selection by giving false ages.

Another 200 Hungarian Jewish women arrived on October 10, 1944, from Auschwitz II-Birkenau. On October 23 and December 6, 1944, 300 Hungarian Jews arrived on each date from Bergen-Belsen. With these transports the camp consisted of 1,300 female inmates, all of whom were Jewish.

The camp commander was Alois Knittel. He was in command of 18 SS men who secured the outside of the camp and 25 female guards responsible for internal camp supervision. Knittel was feared by the prisoners for his brutality. He meted out beatings as punishment as well as dark cell confinement (*Dunkelarrest*) and once commanded the women to spend the night kneeling in the snow as punishment for suspected sabotage. During this punishment three women died. His subordinates were just as brutal: survivors stated that the SS men entered the camp to watch the women, humiliate them, and persecute them and that the female overseers beat the women with their hands, cudgels, and whips.

The women were primarily used to produce parts for the construction of aircraft engines, a physically demanding work. There were cases of understanding between the German foremen and the skilled workers, on one hand, and the prisoners, on the other. A German foreman, for example, assigned one of the 14-year-old sisters to an easier workstation as it was impossible for her to operate the heavy machines. With that he saved her from a transport back and almost certain death.

In February 1945, two transports each with 125 female French political prisoners arrived from the Buchenwald Abteroda subcamp. The women were sent to Markkleeberg as punishment for suspected sabotage, and Knittel punished them by assigning them to the most physically demanding work in a construction detachment. The French women, who were isolated from the other prisoners in their own barracks, were forced to clear forests, construct roads, and do loading work without any tools.

Survivors describe the camp living conditions as harsh. The barracks were overcrowded. Toward the end of the camp's existence, in March 1945, the number of prisoners rose above 1,500, with the women sleeping in shifts. There were insufficient washing facilities. The prisoners' light clothing, completely inadequate for winter, helped in causing many illnesses. As in other camps, women who could no longer work were selected and taken to Bergen-Belsen. The same fate awaited pregnant women. Nevertheless, there are survivor reports of

children being born in the camp. The fate of one child is known: he died three days after his birth and was cremated and buried at the Leipzig Südfriedhof (Southern Cemetery).

The camp was evacuated on April 13, 1945. The goal was Theresienstadt. About 40 women were able to hide during the evacuation and escape the death march. They remained in the camp, which was liberated by U.S. troops on April 17–18, 1945. Some 1,539 women were forced to march via Wurzen, Oschatz, Meissen, Niederau, and Pirna in the direction of Königstein. The sick and those who could no longer march were put on hand carts, which were pulled by the other women. Women who collapsed during the death march were shot by the SS. Many women were able to escape in the area around Königstein and during the last days of the march when they were close to Theresienstadt; escape was made easier by the close proximity of the Red Army.

The convoy of women, which had broken up into many small groups, reached Theresienstadt between April 30 and May 4, 1945; 703 women from Markkleeberg arrived at Theresienstadt. More than half the women had either successfully escaped or died on the death march. Many women were so affected by the march that they remained for several weeks under medical care.

In the mid-1960s, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) commenced preliminary investigations that were later continued by the Hof Landgericht (regional court). The investigations ceased in 1971 as former Lagerführer Knittel had died and other perpetrators could not be found.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel contributed the article on the Markkleeberg subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 520–523. In *Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris*, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris), ed., *Les femmes oubliées de Buchenwald: 22 avril–30 octobre 2005* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), pp. 118–120, the stories of the two 14-year-old Hungarian sisters who survived the camp are given: Zahava Stessel (Katalin Szasz) and Cheva Ginsburg (Erszebet Szasz). The camp is described at pp. 38–42. Background information on the camp can be found in the following materials: Klaus Hesse, *1933–1945: Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Self-published, 2000, 2001), Teil 1, *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe, ihre militärische Bedeutung, über Gewinne, Gewinner und Verlierer*, pp. 102–105, and Teil 2, *Eine Dokumentation über "Arbeitsbeschaffung" durch Rüstung und Dienstverpflichtete, über Zwangsarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene und KZ-Aussenlager, über gesübnte und ungesübnte Verbrechen, Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 109–111. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:51; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI.* (1977) Teil 1, p. 1823.

The USHMM holds a handwritten poem (Acc. 1993.97) written by a prisoner and handed to the survivor Elizabeth Mermel. The poem is accompanied by a pencil drawing show-

ing 12 prisoners. Other archival documents on the camp are held in collection NS 4 Bu (THStA-W, BA-K); the ASt-L, *Einäscherungsbuch* (on the baby that died in the spring of 1945 and who was cremated); and the AG-B. The ASt-L, Signatur Nr. 3413, holds details on events leading to the lease of the land owned by the cotton mill Kammgarnspinnerei Stöhr & Co. in 1940. Other archival documents are held in the ASt-Mkg, including building details dated July 15, 1943, relating to the construction of the barrack camps originally planned for Epiphanienweg. Investigations by the ZdL are held under File 4 AR-Z 89/1971 und 2 Js 669/71 at BA-L. Miriam Powat, a camp survivor, has published her memoirs under the title *Le-lo shibru: Zikhronotai mi-tekufat ha-Shoah* (Tel Aviv: Eked kelali, 1982).

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MEUSELWITZ

In October 1944, the company Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) established one of its seven concentration subcamps in Germany in the small Thüringen town of Meuselwitz. There were at peak times in this subcamp, which lay 30 kilometers (19 miles) to the south of the HASAG Leipzig main factory, 334 Jewish men and 1,500 mostly non-Jewish women. They were forced laborers in an armaments factory. The women's camp was established on October 5, 1944, and the men's camp on November 3, 1944.¹ The SS dissolved both camps in the middle of April 1945 when it removed the prisoners by rail.

The Leipzig light company, HASAG, in order to profit from the National Socialist armaments program, had converted its factory to the manufacture of munitions and grenades. The Meuselwitz factory had come into the company's possession as part of this expansion process in 1936. The conversion of the Meuselwitz porcelain factory into an armaments factory was initially financed by the company's own bank. In the first year of the war, the Army High Command (OKH) supported this process with the injection of large amounts of capital. In the summer of 1944, as a result of German losses in the war, HASAG relocated machines and labor from Polish factories it obtained during the war to a number of places including Meuselwitz. At the same time, the company increased its production of the *Panzerfaust*, an important antitank weapon. In September 1944 the director of the company, Paul Budin, received, in return, a special power of attorney (*Sondervollmacht*) from the Reich Ministry for Armaments and Production. In February 1944, the Meuselwitz factory employed 3,270 people including at least 2,000 civilian "foreign workers" (*Fremdarbeiter*).

Meuselwitz was opened on October 5, 1944, as the fifth and last of the HASAG camps for women. It held 1,500 women. On November 3, 1944, the company opened a camp for men parallel to the existing camp, just as it had done in Schlieben and Taucha. Both barracks camps lay on both sides of a street in the northwest of an industrial area. The camps were separated from the surrounding area by a simple barbed-wire

fence. It was not electrified. The concentration camp prisoners were used in armaments production in Meuselwitz. In a number of different factory buildings the prisoners had to work on lathes or on production lines and worked mostly with sheet metal and other metals, producing munitions, shells, and Panzerfäuste. The prisoners worked on weeklong shifts rotating between day and night. Each shift was of 12 hours with breaks. During their spare time the men were often forced to do additional work, for example, unloading railway wagons or being forced by the SS to do cleaning-up work. On Sundays during their free time the prisoners were forced by the SS to clean their barracks. Former prisoner Fred Schwarz states that his civilian HASAG foreman was furious with the camp administration when the prisoners were disturbed while working because then they could not reach their quotas: "Today there's another stink. A Wehrmacht officer comes up to the foreman. He needs two big and two small [prisoners], but the foreman says that this is not possible. But a few minutes later we are under [the officer] nevertheless [on a bomb-disposal detail]."² As in other factories, there was tension between the interests of the company and the camp security.

The Buchenwald Camp Statistics records the Meuselwitz camp for men as a "Jewish Detachment." Leaving aside the prisoner-functionaries, the male Meuselwitz prisoners were Jews from Poland, Hungary, Holland, and Czechoslovakia. In the middle of December 1944, the camp reached a strength of 300 prisoners with three transports from Buchenwald and Auschwitz.³ According to the Buchenwald weekly medical reports, seven male prisoners in toto died in the camp.⁴ On January 6, 1945, eight prisoners were transported back to Buchenwald. Three prisoners managed to escape. One of those was captured and beaten to death in front of his fellow prisoners by the camp commander, Bergmaier.

The Meuselwitz camp for women, unlike the camp for men, is recorded in the statistics as a "mixed detachment," even though there were only 18 Jewish women in the mix. The majority of the 1,500 women were Poles.⁵ Many of them were female civilians who had been arrested following the August 1944 Warsaw Uprising, registered in the concentration camps as political prisoners, and transported to Meuselwitz via Auschwitz and Ravensbrück. Until their evacuation, numbers in the camp for women remained constant at around 1,350 prisoners. Sick women were transferred from Meuselwitz back to Ravensbrück. According to the Buchenwald medical reports, 8 women died in the camp. This total does not include women killed in Allied bombing raids.⁶

There were two large air raids on the HASAG factory in Meuselwitz. The first, on November 30, 1944, destroyed large parts of the women's camp. Thirty-eight prisoners and an SS warden died. Sixty-six women were seriously injured. On a second air raid on the old factory, the Allied reconnaissance aircraft dropped red flares on the prisoners' camp, protecting it from the bombardment. The production facilities in the camp were partly destroyed.

Compared to other HASAG subcamps, prisoner conditions were comparatively good. The prisoners had their own beds in the barracks. Each bed had a straw mattress filled with old paper, a blanket, and a towel. At the windows there were tables and chairs. In a shed there was coal with which the stoves in the rooms were heated. On Sundays, the prisoners in the men's camp organized lectures on a variety of subjects. The prisoners' food consisted of coffee, a slice of bread, and a little cheese or sausage before work. After work there was soup. The main building, which included a kitchen, was located in the camp for women. For this reason the male prisoner orderlies had to collect their food in the morning and evening at the fence. The camp had a heated washroom with toilet. There was no toilet paper, so the prisoners used old company forms. There were no showers in the camp for men. The prisoners, however, were allowed every second day after the end of their shifts to shower in the factory washroom, located next to the air-raid shelter. They showered under supervision. Instead of soap, the prisoners filled a piece of paper with a "white greasy liquid" from the machine room. As a result, many prisoners suffered from skin complaints. The prisoners had hardly any medicine.

The camp leader was the 31-year-old dairy manager and SS-Oberscharführer Heinz Blume. In the middle of December, SS-Untersturmführer Bergmaier took over Blume's post. Under him the prisoner regime became much harder. He encouraged his subordinates to mistreat the prisoners. During their work the prisoners were guarded in the factory buildings not only by SS men and Wehrmacht soldiers but also by men from the German Home Guard (Volkssturm).

In addition to the guards, there was a layer of non-Jewish prisoner-functionaries from Buchenwald. Fred Schwarz reported on an event that highlights their role. Meuselwitz citizens often saw the following events through the fence: "Yesterday we were standing at roll call. One of us could not stand straight and one of the fence visitors yelled: 'Hey, you are standing in the wrong direction!' Whereupon Lody, in the front row, yelled back 'Not us, you are going in the wrong direction.'"⁷ Schwarz commented on the cheek of the prisoner-functionary Lody as follows: "The medical orderly cannot permit this. We are going to get a terrible beating."

According to reports on the day between April 12 and April 14, 1945, all prisoners from the Meuselwitz camp were deported by train via Chemnitz to Graslitz.⁸ Before their departure, the prisoners had to empty the open flat rail wagons of coal. In Altenburg the female prisoners from that HASAG subcamp joined them. In Graslitz a number of prisoners were able to escape as a Wehrmacht train, coming from the opposite direction, was attacked from the air.

The highest-ranking SS man from a HASAG camp brought to justice after the war was the first Meuselwitz camp commandant, Heinz Blume. In a successor trial to the U.S. Army's Buchenwald trial in Dachau, Blume was sentenced to death by hanging on October 24, 1946. In 1946–1947 there were two independent but inconclusive investigations in Ludwigsburg and Prague into the role of two SS wardresses.

After liberation, the HASAG group attempted to keep control of its property as shown by reports on looting in Meuselwitz, Altenburg, and Leipzig.

SOURCES The HASAG subcamp for men is referred to in Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271. The Meuselwitz subcamp for women is mentioned in Irmgard Seidel, "Weibliche Häftlinge des KZ Buchenwald in der deutschen Rüstungsindustrie (1 & 2)," *ISKDW* 25:54 (2001): 16–23; 27:55 (2002): 23–29.

Material on the Meuselwitz subcamp is held in a number of archives. SS HASAG documents have not survived. In YV there are a few reports by surviving prisoners (Collections M.21.1, M.68 and O.3). In AG-R there is an unpublished report by the survivor Maria Kosk. The trial files on the Meuselwitz camp commander Heinz Blume are located in the NARA, RG 153, Records of the Army Judge Advocate General, *U.S. v. Josias Prince zu Waldeck et al.* The HASAG building plans and a plan of the Meuselwitz site are held in the ASt-Me. There are two published reports by survivors: Miloš Pick: *Verstehen und nicht vergessen: Durch Theresienstadt, Auschwitz und Buchenwald-Meuselwitz. Jüdische Schicksale in Böhmen 1938–1945* (Heimsheim, 2000); and especially extensive is Fred Schwarz, *Züge auf falschem Gleis* (Wien, 1996). Schwarz prepared a sketch plan of the camp for his memoirs (p. 263).

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. AG-B, HKW, Film 15; NARA, RG 242, Film 25, Bl. 0015739.
2. Fred Schwarz, *Züge auf falschem Gleis* (Wien, 1996), p. 291.
3. NARA, RG 242, Film 25, Bl. 0015739–45.
4. THStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 10, Bl. 1–105.
5. AG-B, HKW, Film 15.
6. THStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 10, Bl. 1–105.
7. Schwarz, *Züge auf falschem Gleis*, p. 287.
8. NARA, RG 153, *U.S. v. Josias Prince zu Waldeck et al.*; Schwarz, *Züge auf falschem Gleis*, p. 299.

MÜHLHAUSEN (GERÄTEBAU GMBH) ("MARTHA II") [AKA SS-KOMMANDO GERÄTEBAU]

The Mühlhausen Gerätebau subcamp was located in the Prussian province of Saxony, present-day Thuringia, north of the Thüringer Wald on the River Unstrut. The prisoners worked for Gerätebau GmbH, a subsidiary of the clockmaker Thiel, Ruhla, which manufactured timers and precision instruments. The Thiel company, which also supplied the Reichswehr in the Weimar Republic, had acquired the site in Mühlhausen in 1934 and commenced production in 1937 under the name Gerätebau GmbH. The production buildings were, in part, camouflaged by planted concrete roofs and were fenced in with a 2-meter-high (6.5-feet-high) concrete steel wall.

From the beginning of the war, there were difficulties in supplying the company with an adequate labor supply, with the result that as early as 1940, at the instigation of the local labor office, consideration was given to the use of Jews from concentration camps.¹ But instead Polish workers were recruited as forced laborers first. They were accommodated in the so-called B Camp, which was about 2.5 kilometers (1.6 miles) away from the factory, on the edge of the Mühlhausen city forest.

The supply of foreign labor became inadequate in time. Therefore, following a private discussion between a representative of Gerätebau, Oberingenieur Braun, and the commandant of the Buchenwald concentration camp, SS-Oberführer Hermann Pister, the establishment of a subcamp for 500 female inmates was agreed upon. Gerätebau undertook all the necessary preparations, including the selection of 23 women from the company's staff for training as guards at the Ravensbrück concentration camp in August and September 1944. The camp's opening was accordingly delayed. An advance detachment of guards from Buchenwald under the command of SS-Sturmführer Otto Baus arrived in Mühlhausen on August 15, the administrative personnel on August 27, and 12 guards on August 30, recruited from the SS and Wehrmacht. The first mention of the Mühlhausen Gerätebau subcamp is on September 2, 1944. On September 3, 300 Hungarian Jews from the Litzmannstadt (Łódź) ghetto arrived in Mühlhausen. The first 8 female guards followed on September 6, with the remainder arriving from Ravensbrück on September 16.² The female overseer (Oberaufseherin) was the transport leader, Bässler. On October 30, 200 (some sources say 144) Hungarian and Polish, mostly very young, Jewish women, who had been sent to Auschwitz from different ghettos, arrived at the Mühlhausen Gerätebau camp. With these women, the camp had reached its planned prisoner strength.³ At the end of November, the women were given Buchenwald prisoner numbers between 48001 and 48463. There were minor variations in prisoners held here as women no longer capable of working or pregnant were sent back: for example, in the autumn of 1944, 4 pregnant women were sent to Auschwitz, and at the end of January 1945, 2 were sent to Bergen-Belsen. From Bergen-Belsen, 6 Jewish women were sent to the subcamp as replacement laborers.

The women walked each day from their barracks in the so-called B camp to the place where they worked. They worked in three shifts: from 5:15 A.M. to 5:00 P.M., from 7:15 A.M. to 6:00 P.M., and from 5:00 P.M. to 5:00 A.M. In addition to their long hours of work, the prisoners had to withstand the daily walk, catastrophic hygiene conditions in the camp, and the elements (with completely inadequate clothing). Even the camp leader, Baus, complained to Buchenwald that the women in winter could not work efficiently without shoes and underwear. There were 40 seriously ill women in the infirmary on November 14, 1944, where they were cared for by an SS medical orderly who was also responsible for the Mühlhausen male camp. [See Buchenwald (*Mühlenwerke AG/Junkers*) ("Julius M," "Martha I").] He was assisted by three female prisoner nurses. At least 3 women died in the

subcamp—according to the official death notices, 1 died of pneumonia and 2 died of tuberculosis. They were cremated and their remains buried at the Mühlhausen cemetery.

Just about all the women worked in the Gerätebau factory buildings for the munitions manufacturer Thiel, Ruhla, and the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke AG (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company, Inc., JFM), which operated the Mühlhausen Mühlenwerke AG/Junkers camp (also known as “Julius M” and “Martha I”). They produced detonators and precision instruments that were primarily used in aircraft. Only a few women worked in the camp: the camp elder, Sara Feldman, and 2 women who were in charge of the food, another 1 in the storeroom, 3 in the SS kitchen, 2 in the office, 11 in the prisoners’ kitchen, and 8 women in each barracks as *Stubendienste* (room leaders) who were in charge of cleaning the barracks. In addition, there were the three nurses who, as already mentioned, worked in the infirmary.

The camp was most probably dissolved because of the difficulties in maintaining supplies. There are different dates given for its dissolution: Frank Baranowski puts the date at the end of February 1945; Carsten Liesenberg, as March 1; the International Tracing Service (ITS), as March 3; while others cite the closing date as March 8, 1945. The women were evacuated by train to Celle. From there they walked the 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) to Bergen-Belsen. This camp, where all order had broken down and which no longer received supplies, was to be the death place for many of the women evacuated from Mühlhausen. Orna Birnbaum, one of the women who worked at Gerätebau, stated that by the time Bergen-Belsen was liberated on April 15, 1945, 80 percent of the 698 women who had been evacuated from Mühlhausen were dead.⁴

SOURCES There are a number of detailed descriptions of the subcamp including Frank Baranowski, *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 2000), pp. 81; Rolf Barthel, *Wider das Vergessen: Faschistische Verbrechen auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen* (Jena: Thüringer Forum für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 2004), pp. 87–96; and Carsten Liesenberg, *Zur Geschichte der Juden in Mühlhausen und Nordthüringen* (Mühlhausen: Mühlhauser Museen, 1998), pp. 97–99. Franziska Jahn describes the subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), p. 530. An early description of the Mühlhausen Gerätebau camp is by Renate Ragwitz, “Frauenaussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald,” BuH 15 (1982). In this essay, Ragwitz examines the Buchenwald subcamps and women with a specific analysis of the Mühlhausen camp on p. 27. Rolf Barthel has contributed a two-part description of the subcamp in the *EfHb* 1 (1984): 32–35; and 2 (1984): 127–131. The subcamp is mentioned 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), p. 854; Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, “Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)” (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992); as well as Günther Gotta,

“Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Auswertung städtischer Quellen zur Faschismusforschung—Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des KZ Buchenwald und seiner Aussenlager,” AuGF-MHL (1985): 6–12. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:52.

There are numerous primary sources on the Mühlhausen Gerätebau camp. Detailed information is to be found in the THStA-W, especially the collections 269/X, Buchenwald, and survivors’ reports, as well as Uhrenwerke Ruhla, especially references 197, 449, 450, 453, 456, 520, and 1010. Most relevant are the collections of AG-B, the microfilm collections of IPN, as well as the documents on the subcamp including a list from November 20, 1944 (eight pages, unsigned) and Best. Bu63–27–1, which includes the planned use of concentration camp prisoners in 1940. The AST-Mühlh under reference 86/253 has information on the subcamp; the Friedhofsverwaltung Mühlhausen has a collection titled “Jüdische KZ-Häftlinge.” Also relevant are the BA-K collections 41356 and the Allg. Proz. ZNI, No. 4 171–4270 (Forderungsnachweise der SS für Häftlingsarbeit).

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NOTES

1. THStA-W, Uhrenwerke Ruhla, Signatur 450.

2. According to Rolf Barthel in *Wider das Vergessen: Faschistische Verbrechen auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen* (Jena: Thüringer Forum für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 2004), p. 94, another four female guards from the Gerätebau GmbH were trained at the end of January 1945.

3. For detailed information on the age and professional qualifications of the prisoners, see *ibid.*, p. 89.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

MÜHLHAUSEN (MÜHLENWERKE AG/JUNKERS) (“JULIUS M,” “MARTHA I”)

The Mühlhausen Mühlenwerke subcamp was located in the Thuringian city of Mühlhausen in the former Prussian province of Saxony. The city lies to the north of the Thüringen Wald on the River Unstrut, northwest of Erfurt and to the southeast of Göttingen. Initially the official name of the camp was Mühlenwerke AG, Betrieb Mühlhausen/Thüringen, Mackensenstrasse 90, later Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM), Zweigwerk Schönebeck, Einsatz Mühlhausen. The “Mühlenwerke AG” was used as a code name as were the two names “Julius M” and later “Martha I.”¹ As indicated by the name, the subcamp arose from the decentralization of aircraft production by the Junkers-Werke, which was caused by the increasing Allied air raids on Germany. The decision to create new production facilities for Junkers, which were to cover 15,000 square meters (161,459 square feet), and the decision to establish a new subcamp called Martha II were made almost simultaneously, on April 20, 1944.

The camp was located on the grounds of the Thuringia-Spinnerei on the Wendenwehr at Mackensenstrasse 90 (later Friedrich-Naumann-Strasse). The Thuringia-Spinnerei, which manufactured worsted yarn, had ceased production during the war and leased its production facilities to Junkers. The prisoners' work areas were located in the northern section of the mill. They slept in wooden bunk beds in a factory building, which was separated from a storage area by partitions.

There were not only concentration camp prisoners working on the site but also forced laborers and foreign laborers. The prisoners of the subcamp manufactured aircraft and engine parts for Ju 188, Ju 288, and Ju 200 aircraft. The Mühlhausen Mühlenwerke was 1 of 13 Buchenwald subcamps where prisoners worked for Junkers. Junkers had relocated various production areas from Schönebeck to Mühlhausen. They built an oven facility with three toploader kilns and a muffle kiln.² The prisoners worked in two shifts each of 12 hours. In February and March 1945, when production came to a standstill, the camp inmates were sent to Mühlhausen to clean up after bombing raids. Prisoners who were no longer capable of working were sent back from Mühlhausen Mühlenwerke to Buchenwald. In addition, there was an ongoing exchange of small detachments with other subcamps.

The number of prisoners was between 570 and 800. The first time the camp is mentioned, there were 69 prisoners registered in the camp. In July 1944, the numbers increased to over 400, and in November, there were almost 700 prisoners in the camp. Later, the camp strength was around 550. The International Tracing Service (ITS) records show that the number peaked at 800. The prisoners came mostly from the Soviet Union and Poland, with some from France and Czechoslovakia. There were a few Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) among the prisoners as well as a few Jews—for example, the German Jew Jochanan Zeewi (Karl Paul Wolff) whose Jewish identity was not known in the camp where he was considered a "Dutch political." Several prisoners had arrived at Mühlhausen via Auschwitz, and at least 1 was a foreign worker who had been involved in an illegal relationship with an underage German girl, for which he was sent to the concentration camp.³ The camp elder was named Müller.

The camp commandant was an SS-Obersturmführer named Dietrich, in charge of 24 Luftwaffe members who were no longer capable of active service. Historian Rolf Barthel stated that the guards consisted of a few SS men and 4 *Wachschutz* (uniformed factory guards).

Toward the end of the war, probably around April 3 or 4, 1945, the prisoners were evacuated to Buchenwald in front of the approaching enemy forces. They were driven on foot to Buchenwald, spending two days in the nearby Gustloff factory before they were sent to the main camp. The travails of some of the Mühlhausen prisoners were not at an end: they were forced in the following days to join other prisoners who were driven on death marches out of Buchenwald.

SOURCES Frank Baranowski has described the camp in *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit*

in *Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 2000), p. 113; Rolf Barthel, *Wider das Vergessen: Faschistische Verbrechen auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen* (Jena: Thüringer Forum für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 2004), pp. 83–87; Carsten Liesenberg, *Zur Geschichte der Juden in Mühlhausen und Nordthüringen* (Mühlhausen, 1998), pp. 96–97; and Franziska Jahn's article in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 531–532. Earlier descriptions of the camp are by Rolf Barthel, "Faschistische Verbrechen in Niederorschel und Mühlhausen," *EfHb* 4 (1986): 117–122, esp. p. 117; Barthel, "Der Schwur von Buchenwald wurde bei uns verwirklicht," *EfHb* 4 (1986): 291–294, esp. 291; and Barthel's two-part article "Neue Forschungsergebnisse zu den Verbrechen des deutschen Faschismus auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen," *EfHb* 1 (1987): 24–30, and 3 (1987): 217–223, esp. p. 218; and Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992). The fate of the Mühlhausen prisoner Marian Gawronski is described in Bettina Klingel et al., *Fremdarbeiter und Deutsche: Der Schicksal der Erna Brehm aus Calw* (Bad Liebenzell, 1984). This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 52; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1825.

Unpublished documents on the Mühlhausen Mühlenwerke AG subcamp are held in the collections of the THStA-W (collections 269/X, Buchenwald, and survivors' reports from Buchenwald), and in BA-K, NS 4/ Bu 219 (Übersichten über Anzahl und Einsatz der Häftlinge, 1943–1944). In the collections of the LASA-DO, there is information on the Mühlhausen Mühlenwerke camp, in the collection on the Junkers-Werke, reference numbers 165, 299, 407, 626, 913, 1375, and 1646, as well as number 1-1369 (407). Information can also be obtained in the following collections: AG-B (among others, No. 3781, Häftlingsverzeichnis Lfd. Nr. 3781–3810). The microfilm collections of IPN, BA-BL, R 4603/112 (Übersicht über Fertigungs- und Verlagerungsstätten der deutschen Rüstungsindustrie, Stand Januar/Februar 1945), and YVA, reference numbers 03/5 292, 015E/E 281, and 017/16, also hold information.

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NOTES

1. Frank Baranowski, *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 2000), p. 113.

2. Rolf Barthel, *Wider das Vergessen: Faschistische Verbrechen auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen* (Jena: Thüringer Forum für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 2004), p. 84.

3. For the fate of this prisoner, Marian Gawronski, see Barthel, *Wider das Vergessen*, p. 85; and Bettina Klingel et al., *Fremdarbeiter und Deutsche: Der Schicksal der Erna Brehm aus Calw* (Bad Liebenzell, 1984).

NEUSTADT BEI COBURG [AKA KALAG]

Siemens-Schuckert Werke AG (Siemens Schuckert Works, Inc., SSW) wanted new production facilities with a low-cost labor force and as a result established the Cable and Wire Works, Inc. (Kabel- und Leitungswerke AG, KALAG). By this means, it could negate the effects of labor shortages caused by competition in the armaments industry.

By the turn of the year 1943–1944, the labor situation was so desolate—because of the war—that management’s hoped-for increase in production proved impossible to achieve. To counter this situation, a two-pronged strategy was proposed in the middle of March 1944: first, the pressure on the workers was increased by increased cooperation with such National Socialist organizations as the Gestapo. This resulted in the exemplary punishment of two employees and the threatened withdrawal of special ration cards. Second, Hans Joachim Schulz, head of the Neustadt cable factory, informed his superiors from Berlin that it was possible to take on “500 people, of whom 200 would be Germans.” After the war, Schulz suggested that the initiative to use prisoners came from the head office in Berlin.¹ In considerations of those responsible, the numerous instances in which Siemens had already used prisoners successfully must have played a role. The best known of these was the model project “Fertigungsstelle Ravensbrück,” which began in 1942.² It was probably in August 1944 that female employees of KALAG were sent to the Ravensbrück concentration camp for training as “supervisors.”³ They returned on September 7, 1944, with 398 mostly Hungarian Jewish women but also some from Yugoslavia, Poland, and France and a few Germans. They were sent to the “barracks camp,” which was on or next to the KALAG grounds. One can assume that the prisoners had been selected in the Ravensbrück concentration camp by company representatives according to suitability and knowledge of German or because they were relatively healthy: the women were mostly young, aged 16 to 45; more than half were under the age of 30.⁴

The prisoners began working in the Cable and Wire Factory as early as September 10.⁵ “[Four hundred] concentration camp prisoners (Hungarian Jewesses) . . . are employed in quality control, preparation of conduit wire and repair of field telephone cables. They are currently being trained by staff employees.” The company prepared itself for the eventuality that “training would cause a temporary reduction in the output of marine, field telephone, and long distance military cables.”⁶ The work was described after the war as heavy work, actually men’s work. The prisoners worked under the supervision and command of KALAG employees. They were separated from the other workers and worked in day and night shifts from 6.30 A.M. to 6.30 P.M. and from 6.30 P.M. to 6.30 A.M. Each shift had a 40-minute break. The prisoners constituted about 20 percent of the employees. Noteworthy, 46 women were categorized as “prisoner apprentices.” Probably, they were women who on the basis of their experience were not as productive as others and for whom KALAG had to pay less than the 4 Reichsmark (RM) per day fee for “prisoner workers.”

The commander of the subcamp was SS-Oberscharführer Maronowski. He was in charge of 13 SS men and initially 22, but later 24, female SS wardens. They guarded the prisoners while they worked. After the war, survivors accused Maronowski, a few female SS, and a tradesman named Stein—in stark contrast to the statements by the SS and firm employees—of mistreating prisoners for trivial reasons and of reserving food for the guards and only allowing the smallest portion to reach the prisoners. For supposedly unsatisfactory performance at work, prisoners stated that they had to stand for hours-long punishment roll calls in the cold.

In contrast, the SS female wardens and the KALAG employees stated that they treated the prisoners “humanely” and secretly gave them food. A newspaper article from 1966 refers to an unnamed Israeli couple who attempted to visit and thank the former foreman, Renz, for his help and assistance.⁷ If there is at least some evidence that supports those reports, it comes in the form of existing statements of former SS personnel and also of KALAG supervisor Schulz, which they made in the course of postwar hearings and investigations and in which they were speaking as the accused. There is little meaning in those statements; the attempts at self-exculpation are too obvious. When considering the conditions, one must keep in mind that before the overwhelmingly Jewish female forced laborers arrived in Neustadt, they had gone through a number of selections and so could have perceived the absence of an Auschwitz-like immediate threat to life as an improvement, if only in relative terms. Correspondingly, the investigation could not prove any deaths or killings for the Neustadt subcamp. The health and nutrition of the prisoners who arrived in Neustadt are unanimously described as poor; the prisoners had to be first clothed and “fattened up.” Food was cooked for the prisoners in a camp kitchen, which was supervised by one of the SS female wardens.

The level of sickness in the camp offers information about the actual supply situation and the effects of prisoner treatment. In this connection, a particular event should be mentioned: probably on November 5, 1944, an outbreak of smallpox was spotted among the prisoners of the subcamp. As a result, the SS female wardens and the factory personnel who came in contact with the prisoners and also the prisoners themselves were inoculated against smallpox! The background to this strange event—the inoculation and treatment of the prisoners—was surely the result of the extraordinary danger represented by the highly infectious viral disease. An effective inoculation had been in existence for some time. The firm’s internal reports state that the prisoners lost only one and one-half days of work because of disinfections and inoculations. They reveal that there were on average 20 sick prisoners (the highest number was 36) up until November 1944.⁸ Occasionally, the night or day shift could not work, and sometimes fewer than half of the female prisoners turned up to work. The sick did not have to work. They were treated in the infirmary by Polish doctor Maria Pruszyńska, who was transferred to Neustadt, with two other prisoners, at the end of September; further, the KALAG doctor, Dr. Alfred Karcher, is supposed to have treated prisoners.⁹

Without having details about the sick rate for the following months, one can still assume that the transfer of 5 prisoners to Bergen-Belsen on February 28, 1945, was connected with their health and ability to work, because at this time Bergen-Belsen already operated as a reception and death camp for prisoners who could no longer work. Moreover, in March, 5 prisoners were transferred from Bergen-Belsen to Neustadt as replacements. In an undated statement, a female SS warden noted the transfer of a prisoner with tuberculosis back to Buchenwald. There were still 32 sick on March 23, 1945, and 4 prisoners were “spared” by being allowed to work in the offices. The supply situation and the living and work conditions in the subcamp at KALAG were probably not much better than those in other factories: priority was given to production; terror that was not aimed at increasing production and that endangered the investment of training had no place. If any prisoner’s production declined, they were transferred back into the SS camp system, which supplied replacements.

With the approach of the end of the war and the increasing difficulties in supplying raw material and energy, the firm’s management sought to get rid of the subcamp, which would appear quite compromising when the Allied troops arrived. KALAG’s management pressed the local National Socialist leadership and the armaments inspectorate to take back the responsibility for the prisoners. They were even prepared to supply food for the return and vehicles for prisoners who were no longer capable of walking. Finally, the head of the works, Schulz, gave the camp commander Maronowski his “marching orders.” The camp was dissolved on April 6, and the prisoners marched with the SS men via Kronach, Münchberg, and Paulusbrunn to Eger, which is presently in the Czech Republic. The prisoners were freed in Domažlice.

On the basis of a now-missing statement by a former French prisoner, Anne-Marie de la Marlais, the American occupation authorities as well as the Hungarian government launched investigations against the camp personnel. As a result, the Hungarians reserved the right to seek the extradition of former guards for crimes committed in the camp, should any of the guards be apprehended.¹⁰ It obviously did not come to that; instead, the former female SS wardens of the subcamp at Neustadt bei Coburg were the subject of denazification proceedings in 1947. These proceedings are found today mostly in the BA-K.¹¹

In 1966 the state prosecutor at the Coburg State Court (Landgericht Coburg) commenced a murder investigation.¹² There were no prosecutions. The proceedings ceased in 1967. In 1966 the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) commenced an investigation that included the statements and results of the investigation undertaken by the Coburg state prosecutor and the denazification proceedings.¹³

SOURCES In addition to the already mentioned sources, the most important collection on the subcamp at Neustadt is the AS-M. Regrettably, the most useful sources cannot be accessed by independent historians as they form part of the uncataloged documents in Siemens’ “Temporary Archive”

(Zwischenarchiv). Two sources, which are connected with the use of the prisoners in the cable factory at Neustadt, have recently been released and have been quoted in this article. Collection NS4 in THStA-W is of importance and includes microfiche from the BA and AG-B. It is possible that there are survivors’ reports in the YVA.

The author is not aware of any publications on the subcamp KALAG at Neustadt bei Coburg. In the local history sources, the camp is either seldom mentioned or is presented in a favorable light. This is also the case with unpublished sources. In addition to the press articles from 1947 and 1966 (sources mentioned above), there is an article titled “Kleiner Lichtblick in dunkelster Zeit—Von 1944 bis 1945 befand sich in Neustadt ein Aussenkommando des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald mit 400 Häftlingen,” *NPC*, December 5, 1995, that contains blatant errors, painting a rosy picture of conditions in the subcamp.

Rolf Schmolling
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. See StA-C, Akten der Spruchkammer Amtsgericht Neustadt/Cbg. T18, p. 18; letter by Hans Joachim Schulz (Werks- und kaufmännischer Leiter), dated June 11, 1947. I am grateful to Mr. Rainer Axmann, Weitramsdorf, for this reference.

2. See the entry Ravensbrück/Siemenslager Ravensbrück, this volume.

3. See the statement by [SS-Warden] Martha S., born. L., dated November 15, 1976, in Bergen-Enkheim, BA-L, IV410AR-Z60/67, Bl. 1571.

4. See Politische Abteilung Buchenwald, October 22, 1944, AG-B, NS 4 Bu 268 MF 0007744.

5. See Wochenbericht der auswärtigen SKG-Werke (Schumann) for the weekly wage week 51, 10.-6.9.1944 (n.d.), SKG Wochenberichte, SAA 4947, n.p.

6. See Helmut Scheurich, *Geschichte der Stadt Neustadt bei Coburg im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert*, vol. 2 (Neustadt bei Coburg, 1993), p. 305.

7. See “Hilfsbereitschaft sollte anerkannt werden—Missverständnisse vereiteln leider einen Besuch bei Meister Renz,” *NT*, August 12, 1966.

8. See Wochenbericht der auswärtigen SKG-Werke (Schumann) for wage week 7.5.-11.11.44 (n.d.), SAA 4947; KL Neustadt b. Coburg, Arbeitseinsatz, [SS-OSchF Maronowski] Kabel- u. Leitungswerke v. 5.11.1944 bis 14.11.1944 in Neustadt b. Coburg, THStA-W, NS 4 BU268, n.p.

9. See Politische Abteilung Buchenwald, v. 12.10.1944, AG-B (THStA-W, NS 4 Bu 268 fol. 0007743); and StA LG-Co an Generalstaatsanwalt Oberlandesgericht Bamberg betr: NL Neustadt bei Coburg KL Buchenwald, v. 3.4.1967, BA-L a.a.O.

10. See verbal note of Hungarian Foreign Ministry to the Legacy of the United States of America [War Crimes in C.C. Neustadt Coburg] v. 25.8.1947, in Budapest with 7 “Records of Testimonies” of former prisoners of the subcamp, NARA, Cases not tried, RG 549-000-50-30 Neustadt C.C. Box 529 o.Pag.

11. StA-C, Akten der Spruchkammer Amtsgericht Neustadt/Cbg. Einzelfallakten T 18.

12. StA-C, Staatsanwaltschaft Coburg, 5Js 802/66.

13. BA-L, 4 429AR1928/66.

NIEDERORSCHEL ("LANGENWERKE AG")

The Niederorschel subcamp was located in the Prussian province of Saxony in Obereichsfeld, not far from the city of Worbis in the northwest of Thuringia. The use of the code name "Langenwerke AG" indicates the close organizational connection with the subcamp in Langensalza about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) away, which also was named "Langenwerke AG."

Files from the Buchenwald concentration camp mention the Niederorschel subcamp for the first time on September 4, 1944. A transport of 100 prisoners was sent from the main camp, arriving at Niederorschel on September 6, 1944. Two hundred Jewish prisoners arrived from Buchenwald on October 8 and another 282 prisoners from Auschwitz on October 30, 1944, who had been directly selected in Auschwitz by leading employees of the "Langenwerke." One prisoner was shot on the journey from Auschwitz via Görlitz, Dresden, Leipzig, Halle, Sangerhausen, and Nordhausen.¹ Another 150 Jewish prisoners arrived from Buchenwald in Niederorschel on December 14; the camp now had 693 inmates, its highest number. Historian Wolfgang Grosse states that altogether 734 prisoners from 15 countries were held in Niederorschel, most of them from Slovakia, Hungary, the Netherlands, France, and Germany.

The Junkers-Werke, for whom the prisoners worked, had already begun to relocate parts of its production process to Niederorschel as part of the "Fighter Staff Program" (Jägerstab-Programm) and with the permission of the Reich Air Ministry (RLM). In Niederorschel the Junkers-Werke had acquired the confiscated plywood factory (*Sperrholzwerk*) of Hermann Becher, which until then had used forced laborers from Poland, Italy, and the Soviet Union to produce plywood boxes to hold grenades. Under the auspices of the Junkers-Werke, parts for the wings and undercarriage for the Focke-Wulf 190 were produced on the site. In order to take over the production site, Junkers, according to historian Frank Baranowski, who has conducted detailed research of the camp, had to pay monthly rent to the RLM. Niederorschel was 1 of 13 Buchenwald subcamps in which prisoners worked for the Junkers-Werke.

The Niederorschel subcamp, with an area of 502,000 square meters (about 600,000 square yards), was relatively small. The prisoners were accommodated in the rooms of the former mechanical spinning mill Vereinigte Textilfabrik AG and slept in three-tiered wooden bunk beds. There was a kitchen and an infirmary that was under the control of the French prison doctor Charles Odic.² The accommodations and the roll-call square were surrounded by a barbed-wire fence with three guard towers. Barbed-wire fences formed a corridor through which the prisoners were led to the plywood factory about 200 meters (656 feet) away. The two factory buildings in which the prisoners worked were also fenced in with barbed wire.

Oberingenieur Scheunemann was the operations manager of the Langenwerke AG.³ The camp was commanded by SS-Oberscharführer Hans Masorsky, who, like his deputy SS-Oberscharführer Adam, had previously been posted in Majdanek. The camp was guarded by up to 40 SS men.

The prisoners cut duralumin surfaces for the wings, riveted them, put in cables in the wings for takeoff and landing mechanisms, and installed the undercarriages. Former Jewish prisoner Somcha Bunem Unsorfer, who in the autumn of 1944 was brought from Auschwitz to Niederorschel, gave a moving description of the work and living conditions in the camp in his memoirs *The Yellow Star*. The difficult work conditions were marked by 12-hour shifts, working with heavy work tools and machines, the constant noise of presses, riveting, and drilling, but also the metal dust, which was damaging to the health. Unsorfer details the completely inadequate food as well as the poor hygienic conditions in the camp and mentions an incident in which six prisoners were punished because of supposed sabotage.⁴

Nevertheless, Niederorschel is described by many prisoners as a bearable camp, especially when compared to Auschwitz. The SS only entered the camp for roll call, and the civilian labor force that supervised the work was regarded as bearable. Grosse stated that between October 19, 1944, and February 19, 1945, there were only 19 deaths in the Niederorschel camp, all from typhus, diphtheria, and dysentery. These prisoners were taken to the Buchenwald Mühlhausen subcamp that was administratively connected to Niederorschel and cremated in the city crematorium at Mühlhausen. Grosse gives several reasons for the relatively low death rate: Communist Lagerkapo Otto Herrmann repeatedly intervened with the camp command for decent treatment of the prisoners who were a specialized labor force; in addition, the civilian population helped the prisoners on numerous occasions. For example, the owner of the plywood factory, Herrmann Becher, repeatedly gave buckets of a cold glue made from potatoes that was intended for armaments productions and instead was used to improve the prisoners' nutrition. Civilian laborers and the village population also repeatedly supplied the prisoners with food. The local master locksmith, Johannes Drössler, took 11 (according to other sources, 12) prisoners who had escaped from the camp and hid them for two months in a barn until the end of the war. Altogether around 30 prisoners were hidden and cared for by the Niederorschel villagers after their escape.

From the spring of 1945, there were increasing production and supply difficulties in the camp. The wings produced by the prisoners were no longer taken away; the prisoners were increasingly used for other labor in Niederorschel and its surroundings, as, for example, clearing forests. On February 18, 1945, a group of 16 prisoners (according to other sources, 135 prisoners, most no longer capable of working) were taken to Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge, to work on the construction of a subterranean production facility with the code name "Malachit."

The evacuation of the camp occurred on the night of April 1–2, 1945: 527 prisoners were sent to the main camp by foot via Berstedt, where they spent three nights. Probably at least 10 prisoners died on the evacuation march, and about 100 were able to escape. Some 425 prisoners reached the Buchenwald concentration camp on April 10, 1945, which was liberated on April 11.

The camp commander, Masorsky, was tried in 1947 and sentenced to eight years in prison. Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) brought no results and were stopped in 1971.

SOURCES Frank Baranowski prepared an exhaustive first sketch of the Niederorschel subcamp in *Rüstungsprojekte in der Region Nordhausen, Worbis und Heiligenstadt während der NS-Zeit: Der Grosseinsatz von Fremdarbeitern, Kriegsgefangenen und KZ-Häftlingen in der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft unter Berücksichtigung der Untertageverlagerung in der Endphase des NS-Regimes* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 1998), pp. 74–76. This sketch was expanded in *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 2000), pp. 117–122. Rolf Barthel describes the camp in *Wider das Vergessen: Faschistische Verbrechen auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen* (Jena: Thüringer Forum für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 2004), pp. 77–81. Wolfgang Grosse presents the most recent research on this subcamp in his essay in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 534–536. An early but error-filled description of the subcamp, based upon witness and local newspaper reports from the 1960s, is by Hubert Hoppmann, "Die Geschichte des Nebenlagers Niederorschel des KZ Buchenwald 1944–1945," *EfHb*, (1. Teil) 2 (1973): 155–161; and (2. Teil) 3 (1973): 223–226. Also in the *EfHb* 24 (1984): 23–41, is an essay by Rolf Barthel, "Zur Geschichte der Aussenkommandos des faschistischen Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald in Niederorschel, Mühlhausen, Duderstadt." Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke mention the camp in their "Aktuellen Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992).

Documents on the Niederorschel subcamp are held in the LASA-DO, in the Junkers-Werke collection reference numbers 269 and 626. The AG-Nie's collection "Aussenkommando Niederorschel" gives an insight into detailed issues on the camp. In the THStA-W in the collection Weimar, Amt zum Schutze des Volkseigentums (LK 241), there are documents on the camp collected mostly after World War II. The BA documents on Niederorschel are in BA-K collections NS 4/Bu vorl. 136a (Arbeitseinsatz, Überstellungen und Rücküberstellungen von und zu Aussenkommandos, 30.5.1951 bis 5.12.1944); and NS 4/Bu 229 (Arbeitseinsatz von Häftlingen in verschiedenen Aussenkommandos, 1943–1945); and in BA-BL, All. Pro. 2, NIE-4185 (Abrechnung des Stundenlohns der Häftlinge bei der SS). The transport of prisoners from Auschwitz to Niederorschel is listed in APMO, Zu- und Abgangslisten von Häftlingen. The StFvMHL holds a file called "Jüdische KZ-Häftlinge," which probably dates from April 27, 1964, and lists the Niederorschel prisoners cremated in Mühlhausen. Also see the investigations by the ZdL kept under file IV 429 AR-Z 142/1971 at BA-L; the BA-L, reference number 24 Js 24/71 (Z), also holds files relative to the investigation. Two former prisoners from the Niederorschel subcamp have written about it in their memoirs: Somcha Bunem Unschorfer, *The Yellow Star* (1961; repr., New York: Feldheim Publishers, 1983); and former camp doctor Charles Odic published *Demain Buchenwald* (Paris: Buchet/Chastel, 1972). Isaac Leo Kram, another prisoner from Niederorschel, was cited in "Liberation in Buchenwald," in *Muted Voices*, ed. Gertrude

Schneider (New York: Philosophical Library, 1987), pp. 238–253. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:53; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1829.

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NOTES

1. Statement of former prisoner Dr. Leopold Fiala (Fischer) in Frank Baranowski, *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 2000), p. 119.

2. Unschorfer, a prisoner in Niederorschel, mentions in his memoirs *The Yellow Star* (1961, repr., New York: Feldheim Publishers, 1983) that there was a Hungarian doctor in the prisoners' infirmary.

3. Rolf Barthel, *Wider das Vergessen: Faschistische Verbrechen auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen* (Jena: Thüringer Forum für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 2004), p. 81.

4. Unschorfer, *The Yellow Star*, p. 161.

NORDHAUSEN

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Nordhausen in late August 1943 to provide labor to an immense project that aimed to convert tunnels in the Harz Mountains to sites for V-2 production. Code-named "Dora," the camp was redesigned the Mittelbau main camp on October 28, 1944. See the entry Mittelbau Main Camp [aka Dora].

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

OBERNDORF ("MUNA," "MS," "MU")

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Oberndorf at the Luftmunitionsanstalt 5/IV (Aerial Munitions Institute 5/IV), Post Hermsdorf (Thüringen), in November 1944. Inmates were hired out to the military station at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day, payable to the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA).¹ The prisoner strength of the Oberndorf camp was between 100 and 200 inmates. It was code-named "Muna," "Ms," or "Mu" in related documentation.

One of the first transports of inmates left Buchenwald to Oberndorf on November 16, 1944, and included 100 inmates.² Although there is no breakdown by nationality on the transport lists, the inmates appear to have been Russian, Polish, German, and French. Additional smaller transports of 5 to 10 inmates each arrived in Oberndorf throughout the following months, and another relatively large transport left Buchenwald for Oberndorf on December 19, 1944.³

The inmates were brought to the Hermsdorf Luftwaffe post to perform various kinds of labor at the Luftmunitionsanstalt

5/IV, including transferring, transporting, and stacking bombs.

There is little information about the commandant or guards of the Oberndorf subcamp. According to a report filed by the SS garrison doctor SS-Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky on January 31, 1945, the Oberndorf camp had an SS doctor in charge of the infirmary named Schreiter, and 43 guards were stationed in the camp. The camp population was 195 at this time, according to this report.⁴

The Oberndorf subcamp last appears in related documentation in February or early March 1945 with about 100 inmates.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Oberndorf subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Oberndorf 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), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, “Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)” (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald). For a broader history of German Luftwaffe artillery, see Horst-Adalbert Koch, *Flak. Die Geschichte der deutschen Flakartillerie und der Einsatz der Luftwaffenbelfer* (Bad Nauheim: Podzun, 1965).

Surviving primary documentation on the Oberndorf subcamp is also limited. See a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Oberndorf camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 48.

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NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

2. “Transport Muna,” November 16, 1944 (BU 48), AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

3. “Transport Muna,” December 19, 1944 (BU 48), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

4. “K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt,” January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung: Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg, 1960) p. 251.

OHRDRUF (“SIII”)

A Buchenwald subcamp was opened in northern Ohrdruf, south of Gotha and about 48 kilometers (30 miles) from Buchenwald, in November 1944. The camp was established to provide labor to a planned construction project for an immense communications center inside the basement of the Mühlberg castle in Ohrdruf, near a military training facility. The prisoners were assigned to work to connect the castle to

the main railroad line and to dig tunnels in the nearby mountains, which would be used as emergency shelter for the train that contained the *Führerbauptquartier* (Hitler’s headquarters). The center was to serve as a shelter for members of the highest command in the event of a retreat from Berlin. Code-named “SIII,” the camp population grew rapidly: by the end of November it reached 2,500; in December 1944, it was 4,500; and by March 29, 1945, it climbed to 11,700.

The camp population, mostly prisoners transferred from Buchenwald but also from Sachsenhausen, Flossenbürg, Stutthof, Plaszow, Dachau, and Auschwitz II-Birkenau (including many Hungarian Jews), represented many nationalities. There were French, Belgian, German, Hungarian, Czech, Latvian, Italian, Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, and Yugoslavian prisoners. There were political prisoners, so-called asocials, *Berufsverbrecher* (professional criminals), common-law prisoners, homosexuals, and Jews. According to the postwar testimony of Buchenwald labor allocation chief SS-Hauptsturmführer Albert Schwartz, Office Group D of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) issued an order that Russian prisoners of war (POWs) would be appropriated to Ohrdruf in late 1944.¹

Prisoners in Ohrdruf were assigned primarily to dig large caverns inside the mountains to house the communications center. The caverns also later served as one of the secret storage areas for looted art and other valuable objects from across Nazi-occupied Europe. Beginning the day at 5:00 A.M., and following a roll call and distribution of meager rations, prisoners deemed healthy enough were sent to the caverns from the camp to assist in the blasting process; local civilians performed the dynamiting, and prisoners followed close behind to dig, pick up rocks, and other related tasks. They had no protective equipment with which to work; thus they suffered serious accidents, injuries, mutilation, and often death. Former prisoner Rolf Baumann recalled that “the pace of the work was tremendous. Prisoners were often beaten by the supervisory personnel, the SS, Tenos [*Technische Nothilfe*, technical emergency helpers], as well as civilian personnel.”²



A view of the barracks, fence, and watchtower at the Ohrdruf subcamp of Buchenwald, April 6, 1945.

USHMM WS # 85351, COURTESY OF NANCY AND MICHAEL KRZYANOWSKI

Survivor accounts describe instances of sabotage or of deliberately slowed working, when possible.

The inmates were also assigned to various kinds of work within the camp itself, such as in the kitchen barracks, in storage areas to sort prisoner clothing and other belongings, as well as among the prisoner staff of the camp (such as camp elder, Kapos, and so on). Another former Ohrdruf prisoner, Jérôme Scorin, was assigned with another prisoner to pull carts full of corpses from the work sites and camp to mass graves. "Every time that I lifted one of the [bodies], it was like I was manipulating a frozen puppet," Scorin remembered. "Often the wide-open eyes which fixated on me and the unarticulated skeletal bodies made me want to turn my head. I wanted to avoid the glance of Death."³

Those who were too ill to work or who were injured were transported back to the Buchenwald main camp's *Revier* (infirmary), after languishing in the Ohrdruf "hospital" barracks. Abram Korn, a survivor of Ohrdruf, recalled the deplorable conditions upon his arrival in the camp. Because of his swollen, injured foot that was wrapped only in rags, he was sent immediately to the so-called infirmary, which had no facilities to treat the dying and wounded. The barracks were converted horse stables, with "no windows and no beds. We didn't even have shelves to sleep on as we had at Buchenwald. We slept on dirty straw on the floor, with only one blanket per person. . . . The other prisoners with me did not even have the strength or the desire to communicate with each other. They were simply waiting to die. . . . Whenever one of the prisoners died, someone else would take his blanket and any food that he might have."⁴

According to a listing of 100 prisoners who had died, dated February 28, 1945, and submitted to the political department in Buchenwald, the various reasons for death include (but are not limited to) colitis, bronchial influenza, tuberculosis, pneumonia, and typhus.⁵ A memo from SS garrison doctor Schiedlausky to the commandant of Buchenwald described an overview of the health status of the inmates as of March 31, 1945.⁶ Out of the reported 10,249 inmates in the camp (including Crawinkel and the tent camp), some 1,993 inmates were recorded as ill in the north camp's infirmary. A further 187 inmates were reported as invalids.

Prisoners were housed in former POW camps located on the grounds of the troop training facility in Ohrdruf: the north and south camps. On December 24, 1944, the north camp held some 4,800 prisoners, the south camp just over 5,700. One estimate claims the camp reached over 13,000 inmates by the end of March 1945.⁷ The camps were surrounded by electrified fencing and barbed wire and flanked by watchtowers.

The camp administration in Ohrdruf consisted of SS officers, and the guards included Volksdeutsche, or ethnic Germans, from Ukraine and the Baltic states. There were also older German Wehrmacht veterans assigned to guard the camp, who were unfit for the front and who were said to have treated the prisoners relatively better than their SS counterparts. Baumann reported that "Deputy Commandant Stiwitz and SS Sergeant Müller behaved especially brutally, handing out punishments of

twenty-five or more lashes with a cane for the slightest reasons."⁸ Other prisoners recount the torture of inmates who were hung on hooks and left to suffocate, were beaten to death, or hung from gallows.

Despite the continual transfer of prisoners to Ohrdruf, the completion of the railroad connection to the communication center was never accomplished due to the rapid approach of the Allies in late March and April 1945. Between 8,000 and 9,000 prisoners were evacuated on foot and in lorries to Buchenwald and toward Regensburg in early April 1945. Prior to their departure, hundreds of inmates who were too feeble or sick to walk were executed by the SS: some were shot, while others, according to some witness testimony, were locked in the kitchen barracks, which was then dynamited.⁹

Ohrdruf and the inmates who survived in the camp were liberated by members of the U.S. 602nd Tank Destroyers' Battalion, along with Combat Command B of the 4th Armored Division and the 89th Infantry Division on April 4 or 6 of 1945. The first occupied concentration camp that American soldiers came across in the European Theater, the encounter represented an immense break with the common rules of warfare under which the soldiers had previously operated. Because of this horrific encounter, due to visits to the camp days later by Generals Dwight D. Eisenhower and George S. Patton, as well as the numerous photographic accounts and film footage taken of the Ohrdruf liberation, the opening of the camp and days immediately following liberation are well documented. The troops encountered the decomposing remains of hundreds of executed inmates, some covered in lime, others half burned on pyres, and wandering, starving prisoners. Liberator testimony of the encounter is plentiful and graphically describes the horrors found in the abandoned camp: Major Donald Luby, in a letter given to Army Nurse Selma Faver on April



U.S. generals Dwight D. Eisenhower (center), Omar Bradley (to Eisenhower's left, arms akimbo), and George S. Patton (behind Eisenhower's right) lead an entourage inspecting the Ohrdruf subcamp of Buchenwald shortly after liberation, April 12, 1945. In front of Patton, with his head bent taking notes, is *Stars and Stripes* correspondent Jules Grad.

USHMM WS # 21700, COURTESY OF NARA

18, 1945, wrote that a Russian prisoner led him and other troops to a barracks where nude bodies were stacked halfway to the roof: "From where I stood," he wrote, "I could see the bruises on the skin of some of the bodies, and the blood still clotted around the holes crushed in skulls. These bodies too were emaciated, the thighs of the dead being no larger than the wrist of an average sized man."¹⁰ Local residents were forced to view the camp, a practice that was later copied in other liberated camps.

SOURCES There are numerous secondary source publications on the Buchenwald subcamp of Ohrdruf; however, most focus on the liberation of the camp. To cite some few examples, see Robert Abzug, *Inside the Vicious Heart* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Bernard Weinstein, "The Liberation of Ohrdruf: A Paradigm of Liberator Testimony," in *What Have We Learned? Telling the Story and Teaching the Lessons of the Holocaust: Papers of the 20th Anniversary Scholars' Conference*, ed. Franklin H. Littell et al. (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1993); Captain Kenneth Koyen, *The Fourth Armored Division: From the Beach to Bavaria* (Munich: Herder Druck, 1946); Charles B. MacDonald, *The Last Offensive* (Washington, DC: Office of Chief of Military History, U.S. Army, 1973); Eugen Kogon, *The Theory and Practice of Hell* (New York: Berkley Books, 1980); and Barbie Zelizer, *Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Memory through the Camera's Eye* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998). See also Dieter Zeigert's *Hitlers letztes Refugium? Das Projekt eines Führerbauptquartiers in Thüringen 1944/45* (Munich: Utz, 2003) for analysis of the planned project to shelter Hitler's command center near Ohrdruf. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entries for Buchenwald/Ohrdruf 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), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald). See also Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, ed., *Konzentrationslager Buchenwald 1937–1945: Begleitband zur ständigen historischen Ausstellung* (Göttingen, 1999).

There are also many primary sources related to the Ohrdruf subcamp, mostly consisting of testimony of both survivors of the camp and liberators of the camp. The USHMMA is a repository for both kinds of testimony. See, for example, the testimony of former inmate Bernard Pasternak, USHMMA, RG-50.030*0177, as well as that of Abram Korn, USHMMA, RG-02.191. See also Rolf Baumann's piece in David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report* (Boulder, CO.: Westview, 1995), and other published survivor testimonies such as Schraga Golani, *Brennendes Leben: Von Pabianice und Piotrków in Polen durch die Lager Skarzysko Kamienia, Blizyn, Auschwitz-Birkenau, Ohrdruf bis zur Befreiung in Buchenwald* (Konstanz: Erhard Roy Wiehn, Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 2004); Jérôme Scorin, *L'itinéraire d'un adolescent juif de 1939 à 1945* (Paris: Imprimerie Christmann, 1994); and Marcel Lanoiselle, *Ohrdruf, le camp oublié de Buchen-*

wald: Un survivant témoigne (Paris: Picollec, 2005). Liberator accounts, including photos, letters written to families in the States about what they witnessed, memoirs, and so on, also abound in the USHMMA. Too numerous to list here, they include Andy Murray Coffey's collection (staff sergeant in the 89th Infantry Division), RG-09.040; Gideon Kantor, Acc. 1997.A.0360; Al Sommer Jr.'s letters to his family, Acc. 1995.A.034; Fred Diamond's letters to family, RG-04.055; and Irving Levin's photos, Acc. 1989.194. Testimony from former inmates can also be found in numerous other archives and repositories; one such important resource is the MZML, which contains thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by the relief agency DEGOB; see especially protocols 1232, 1313, 1436, 1686, 1782, and 2492, among dozens of others. There are numerous photos regarding the liberation of Ohrdruf; a significant collection is stored at the USHMMA; see, for example, Acc. 1998.A.0154, Acc. 1996.A.0293, Acc. 1995.A.515, Acc. 1995.A.127, and Acc. 1995.A.417, in addition to many photographic records in the USHMMPA. Films of the liberation are also stored at the USHMMA and NARA. Transport lists to and from the Ohrdruf camp are also found at the USHMM and would yield a more accurate statistical analysis of the demographics of the camp population and prisoner strength at different times of the camp's operation: they are copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), Acc. 1998.A.0045, BU 95, Reel 18 (SIII transport lists); see also 36/4, BU 39. Administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp can be found in the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, especially BA Band 133, 209.

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NOTES

1. Deposition of Albert Schwartz, Trial IV, Doc. NO-2125, reprinted in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung: Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg, 1960), pp. 285–286.
2. Rolf Baumann, "The Hell of Ohrdruf," in David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report* (Boulder, CO.: Westview, 1995), p. 192.
3. Jérôme Scorin, *L'itinéraire d'un adolescent juif de 1939 à 1945* (Paris: Imprimerie Christmann, 1994), p. 156.
4. Abram Korn, "Fate: One Man's Journey through the Holocaust," USHMMA, RG-02.191, pp. 129–130.
5. "Verstorbene Häftlinge im Aussenkommando SIII," Buchenwald, February 28, 1945, AN-MACVG, reproduced in the archives of the USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (BU 36/4).
6. "Gesundheitszustand der Häftlinge in S III," Schiedlausky, March 31, 1945, published in Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, p. 280.
7. See Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald).
8. Baumann, "The Hell of Ohrdruf," p. 192. Indeed, photographic coverage of the liberation of the camp documents newly freed prisoners demonstrating the whipping blocks in Ohrdruf to American troops, including Eisenhower and Patton; see, for example, USHMMPA, 10281 and 63511 (courtesy National Archives).

9. Scorin, *L'itinéraire d'un adolescent juif*, p. 160.

10. Donald Luby, "Apr. 18, 1945, Report and Photographs Relating to Post-Liberation Buchenwald, 1945," USHMMA, RG-04.039*01.

OHRDRUF/CRAWINKEL

A satellite camp attached to the Ohrdruf subcamp of Buchenwald was opened in Crawinkel (Thüringen) in 1944; it was first mentioned in related documentation in December 1944. An average of 3,000 inmates from Ohrdruf were sent to the Crawinkel camp, which provided labor to quarry excavation and tunnel construction for railroad tracks, a project that fell under the administration of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Office Group C (Building).

The camp seemed to have been set up separately from the Ohrdruf subcamp to bring prisoners closer to the work sites. Postwar testimony of a former inmate in the Ohrdruf and Crawinkel camps, Rolf Baumann, noted that

gun emplacements and tunnels were later built adjacent to the troop training area, an area that had been set aside as a Führer headquarters. . . . But the work sites were too far from the camp at Ohrdruf (at first we rode the 8 miles [13 kilometers] there every day in buses). Because of the shortage of gasoline, two new branch camps were created at Crawinkel and at the so-called tent camp. There the general conditions were still more unfavorable [than at the Ohrdruf main camp]. Food was scarce and the men starved because of the heavy work demanded of them. Many of the sick were transferred to the hospital in Ohrdruf, which was a hell. The hospital lacked doctors, as well as medication, heating fuel, and more. From time to time prisoners went from this hospital to Belsen on the so-called invalid transports.¹

Inmates were sent to the work sites from the camp. One former inmate remembered that they reported to the work sites on foot, walking in snow so deep that even vehicles could not pass.² Another, who had been imprisoned in Auschwitz, Oranienburg, Sachsenhausen, Ohrdruf, Buchenwald, and Flossenbürg, noted, "Crawinkel was perhaps the most terrible place during the entire deportation. We lived underground and had to work very hard."³

The majority of the inmates sent to the Crawinkel subcamp of Ohrdruf were Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) and Jews, including many Hungarian Jews who had been deported from Auschwitz II-Birkenau to Buchenwald. The inmates were housed in a tent camp and in the unheated bunkers of a munitions factory. The prisoners not only endured the hardships of intense physical labor, subsisting on meager rations, but also the cruelty and maltreatment of the guards. Some inmates attempted to escape and were immediately punished if caught. Baumann recalled that "in Cra-

winkel there was a special cellblock, Cellblock 2, that the Security Service used for recaptured escapee prisoners. There, only a half ration of food was given out every three days. Light and air were nonexistent. I remember an incident where one evening five comrades were hanged because of escape attempts. Among them was a fifteen-year-old Polish comrade who cried in despair, 'Mother, Mother, I am still so young, I don't want to die yet!'"⁴ Another inmate reported the constant abuse they suffered from the guards: "'You swine, dogs, accursed Jews, you Bolsheviks!' were the usual nicknames."⁵

Due to the closing in of the front, the camp was evacuated at the end of March 1945 or early April 1945. Baumann reported that the inmates "walked the 42 miles [68 kilometers] to Buchenwald by a circuitous route. The last 1,000 prisoners received no more food. We were under way for three full days and arrived worn out and depressed. The ill and the weak who could no longer keep up on the way were liquidated with a shot in the base of the skull. It is worth mentioning that on the way some members of the SS already took off their insignias in order to pass themselves off as Wehrmacht members."⁶

SOURCES There are few resources on the Crawinkel subcamp of Buchenwald/Ohrdruf. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Ohrdruf/Crawinkel 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), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald).

Likewise, there are few primary sources on the Crawinkel subcamp. For additional testimony from a former prisoner in the camp, see the interview with Allen Moskowitz stored in USHMMA, RG-50.002*0020. Testimony from former inmates can also be found in numerous other archives and repositories; one such important resource is the MZML, which contains thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by DEGOB; see especially protocols 387, 1232, 2077, 2100, 2241, 2319, 2760, 3237, and 3510. Transports to and from the Ohrdruf camp are also found at USHMMA and could yield a more detailed statistical analysis of the demographics of the camp population and prisoner strength at different times of the camp's operation, as well as transports to and from the Crawinkel subcamp: see those files copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), Acc. 1998 A.0045, BU 95, Reel 18 (SIII transport lists); see also 36/4, BU 39. Additional administrative documentation regarding Ohrdruf is found in the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), the BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, especially BA Band 133, 209.

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NOTES

1. Rolf Baumann, "The Hell of Ohrdruf," in *The Buchenwald Report*, ed. David A. Hackett (Boulder, CO.: Westview, 1995) p. 192.
2. MZML, DEGOB Protocol 1232 (B.F.).
3. DEGOB Protocol, 3510 (A.L.).
4. Baumann, "The Hell of Ohrdruf," p. 192.
5. DEGOB Protocol 1232 (B.F.).
6. Baumann, "The Hell of Ohrdruf," p. 193.

OHRDRUF/ESPENFELD

A subcamp of the Ohrdruf subcamp of Buchenwald was created closer to the work sites near Ohrdruf in August 1944. Espenfeld, a tent camp, was one of two camps set up to house prisoners closer to the quarries and construction tunnels. Inmates in the tent camp of Espenfeld were transported from Ohrdruf. As former inmate Rolf Baumann has noted, "Because of the shortage of gasoline, two new branch camps were created at Crawinkel and at the so-called tent camp (Esenfeld). There, the general conditions were still more unfavorable (than at Ohrdruf main camp). Food was scarce and the men starved because of the heavy work demanded of them. Many of the sick were transferred to the hospital in Ohrdruf, which was a hell. The hospital lacked doctors, as well as medication, heating fuel, and more. From time to time prisoners went from this hospital to Belsen on the so-called invalid transports."¹

The Espenfeld camp may have held up to 7,000 Ohrdruf prisoners, mostly Russian, Polish, and Czech. They were employed in tunnel construction in Jonastal. Espenfeld was evacuated at the end of March 1945 as the front got closer. According to Baumann, the inmates were evacuated on foot to Buchen-

wald, which was some 64 kilometers (40 miles) away. Those who were unable to walk were shot and left behind by the SS.

SOURCES There are few resources on the Espenfeld subcamp of Buchenwald/Ohrdruf. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Ohrdruf/Espenfeld 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), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald), which is the source of much of the information for this entry.

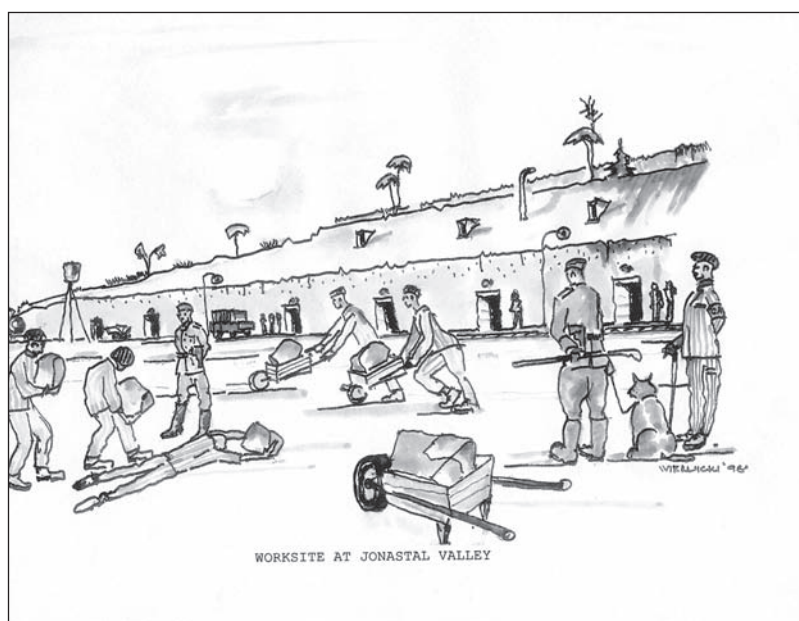
Likewise, there are few primary sources on the Espenfeld subcamp. Transports to and from the Ohrdruf camp are also found at the USHMMA and may yield a more accurate statistical analysis of the demographics of the camp population and prisoner strength at different times of the camp's operation, as well as transports to and from the Espenfeld satellite: see those files copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), Acc. 1998 A.0045, BU 95, Reel 18 (SIH transport lists); see also 36/4, BU 39. Additional administrative documentation regarding Ohrdruf is found in the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), the BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, especially BA Band 133, 209.

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NOTE

1. Rolf Baumann, "The Hell of Ohrdruf," in *The Buchenwald Report*, ed. David A. Hackett (Boulder, CO.: Westview, 1995) p. 192.

A postwar drawing by Holocaust survivor John Wiernicki, "Worksite at Jonastal Valley."
USHMM WS # 33671, COURTESY OF JOHN WIERNICKI



PENIG

Penig is located in Saxony near Rochlitz, about 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) to the northwest of Chemnitz. In January 1945, a Buchenwald subcamp was established for females in the local Max-Gehrt-Werke, a supplier to the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerken AG (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM). On January 10, 1945, 700 Hungarian Jews arrived at a barracks camp established in an unused gravel pit on the road between Penig and Langenleuba-Oberhain. They came from Ravensbrück where they had been most likely selected by employees from the Gehrt firm. The prisoners at the Penig subcamp were mainly Jews who had fallen into German hands only during the last phase of the war. They were forced to march for several weeks to Germany from Budapest, where they had been held in very cramped quarters. When they arrived on December 7, 1944, in Ravensbrück, the camp had already been overcrowded with evacuation transports from the east. For these women, in the middle of winter, there were no other quarters than primitive, emergency tents as shelter without heating or toilet facilities.

Conditions were not that much better at their new destination, the Penig subcamp. It is true that the women were housed in barracks now, but the only medical care provided was a female dentist and thus completely inadequate. Only at the end of the war, in March, a prisoner doctor began to practice there. Washing facilities for the hundreds of women were not completed for a long time. There was no chance for the women to change or wash their clothes. They were not given shoes. The camp, which appeared to be built in a hurry, had no kitchen; the women did not receive food inside the camp but only at the beginning and end of each shift. Survivors speak of the poor-quality food, of which there was too little, and in any case, it was completely inadequate to nourish the women working in difficult conditions in winter. The Max-Gehrt-Werke had fenced in the camp with barbed wire so that escape was just about impossible. The guards, 26 SS men and 18 SS women, were under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Josef Ebenhöf, who had previously been stationed at the Langensalza subcamp.

According to Buchenwald files, the subcamp opened on January 15, 1945. The women worked without breaks and on Sundays in three shifts of eight hours each. Evidence for the ruthless exploitation of the women and the inhuman conditions in the camp is the massive increase in the number of inmates reporting sick. During January, an average of 36 women reported sick each day. In February, the number was 59, and in March, 96. The women suffered from illnesses caused by the work conditions and living conditions—typhus, tuberculosis, lung inflammations, gangrene, and furunculosis. As a result, a “cripples barracks” (*Krüppelbaracke*) was added on the edge of the camp where those hopelessly ill were put—an indication that selections and transfers of sick prisoners back to Buchenwald or Bergen-Belsen had now become impossible. At least 10 women died in the three months that the Penig subcamp existed. At the end of March 1945, 15 to

20 percent of the women were so weak that they could neither work nor be part of the evacuation march.

At the beginning of April the camp, in which frightful conditions already prevailed, had to take in a transport of 100 women evacuated from the Abteroda subcamp. The camp's evacuation most likely occurred on April 13, 1945, with the goal of heading to Theresienstadt. The women were taken in the direction of Mittweida and Chemnitz and from there in the direction of Leitmeritz (after World War II in the Czech Republic). On this part of the march the majority of the guards disappeared. Most of the women from the disintegrating group were liberated by the U.S. Army, but 34 completely exhausted women arrived on April 20, 1945, in Theresienstadt.

The 70 to 80 women who could not march remained in the camp. The women suffered from life-endangering malnutrition, typhus, diphtheria, and tuberculosis and were squeezed into the cripples barracks. Two days after the evacuation of the camp, they were liberated by the U.S. 6th Armored Division on April 15, 1945. Their situation, medical treatment, and evacuation were recorded in a series of photographs by David E. Scherman and Sam Gilbert of the U.S. Army Signal Corps. The women who died in the camp were buried in the local cemetery in 1945.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) that took place between 1966 and 1973 were stopped without result as neither the camp leader, Ebenhöf, nor the guards could be located.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel has described the camp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 544–546. The fate of Rosa Deutsch, a survivor, is described in Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris), ed., *Les femmes oubliées de Buchenwald: 22 avril–30 octobre 2005* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), pp. 103–105. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:54; and “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1832.

The series of photographs on the camp's survivors is held in the AG-B and USHMPA (WS # 09775, 129730975, and 39850–893). Other archival sources on the subcamp are the collection NS 4 Bu (BA-K, THStA-W), also listed in the AG-B. Investigations by the ZdL were recorded under file IV 429 AR-Z 109/1971 at BA-L.

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PLÖMNITZ ("LEOPARD") [AKA LEAU] (MEN)

Plömnitz is in Sachsen-Anhalt between Bernburg and Köthen. The Buchenwald subcamp established here in the summer of 1944 was connected to the Jägerstab (Fighter Staff), which had been founded in March 1944 and whose aim was to increase the production of fighter aircraft. To achieve this goal,

armaments production was to be relocated underground. The prisoners of the Plömnitz subcamp were used in the unused mine shafts of the Solvay-Werke, Salzvertriebs-GmbH Bernburg, shafts Plömnitz I and II as well as Peissen. Under the command of the Organisation Todt Bauleitung Bernburg (OT Building Administration Bernburg), the construction management section through the Schlemm engineering firm, and the supervision of the Allgemeine Transportanlagen GmbH (ATG), Maschinenbau, the prisoners were distributed to several large construction companies such as the Berlin firm Heinrich Butzer and the Bautzen firm Walter Jakob.

Seven large halls were to be established in the mine shafts for use as production sites. The prisoners worked in 12-hour shifts. Initially, they only had the most primitive tools, using in part their bare hands to remove the salt from the shafts, loading it on to tip carts, and pushing them to the unloading shaft. After completing this task, concrete could be laid, a preliminary step to the use of the shafts for armaments production.

Although the International Tracing Service (ITS) gives August 22, 1944, as the date that the subcamp was established, it is likely that prisoners had been working in the shaft already since March 1944. At this time, around 500 prisoners arrived by rail at the “Antoinette” mine in Plömnitz, where they were accommodated in a tent in a gravel pit to the west of the shaft. By August 1944, around another 1,000 prisoners had arrived at Plömnitz. A barracks camp in nearby Leau was prepared to hold them. Until it was ready, the prisoners were held underground. With the completion of the barracks camp, as confirmed in ITS, the camp was also mentioned under the alternative name Leau from October 29, 1944, on.

There were mostly Polish and French prisoners in Plömnitz, as well as smaller groups from other countries. According to former prisoner Willi Fuhrmann, prisoners from 16 countries worked in the shafts. At the end of October 1944, there were 1,486 prisoners working underground. Furthermore, there were smaller contingents of other prisoners (48 French prisoners of war, 10 Belgian civilian workers, and 16 prisoners from penitentiaries) as well as 50 miners, 150 company employees, 100 OT members, and 58 guards.

The camp consisted of six barracks, a kitchen, and a wash block that was erected at the beginning of 1945. The camp leader in Plömnitz was SS-Oberscharführer Hans Schmidt. The work conditions for the prisoners were extraordinarily tough: the walk to work and back again took an hour each way. In addition, the prisoners had to cover another two kilometers (1.2 miles) underground. The high salt concentration in the air caused many skin and breathing problems. There was a lack of ventilation in the shafts, made worse by the use of a diesel locomotive moving in and out of the shaft. The difficult work and the poor nutrition resulted in the high death rate of almost 40 percent of the camp inmates. According to Fuhrmann, there were up to 600 dead in Plömnitz. Fuhrmann also stated that prisoners who could not work were not selected and taken back to the main camp but were beaten to



Exhumed bodies in a mass grave at the Plömnitz (“Leau”) subcamp of Buchenwald, 1945.

USHMM WS # 01973, COURTESY OF NARA

death by the SS in the shafts. He claims that on one occasion 200 prisoners were killed in this manner. The dead were hastily buried by a “burial detachment” in an abandoned open coal mine in Preusslitz. After the end of the war, when the area was under American occupation, these 600 corpses were exhumed and buried in the Leau cemetery. In 1947, the Soviet military administration exhumed them again and reinterred them in the Soviet memorial in Bernburg.

Around 700 prisoners were evacuated on April 11, 1945, in a three-day death march via Bernburg, Köthen, Dessau, and Wulfen. On the March, 300 prisoners were shot by the SS, and the survivors were liberated by Allied troops on April 14, 1945. Around 100 prisoners who were kept in the camp by the camp command for vital war work were liberated by the U.S. Army on April 11, 1945.

SOURCES Christian Wussow describes the Plömnitz subcamp (without distinguishing between the male and female camps) in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 546–549. The results of the research done by Willi Fuhrmann can be read in his “Nazi-Verbrechen in Leau: Aus den Nachforschungen des Parteiveteranen Willi Fuhrmann,” *F*, September 2, 1989. An older reference to the camp is to be found in “Ermittlungen in Leau und Neu-Stassfurt,” *DVZ*, February 18, 1966. The Plömnitz subcamp is also described by Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, “Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)” (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992). This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:54; and in “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1833.

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PLÖMNITZ ("LEOPARD")

[AKA LEAU] (WOMEN)

Plömnitz lies in Sachsen-Anhalt between the cities of Bernburg and Köthen. A Buchenwald subcamp for male prisoners had been established here in March 1944. Around 1,500 men were used to prepare underground facilities for armaments production in the caverns near Plömnitz. During the summer of 1944, close to the village of Leau, accommodation barracks were erected for the prisoners.

The female transport that arrived on February 21, 1945, in Plömnitz consisted of 180 Hungarian Jews from the Leipzig-Schönau (ATG) subcamp. They were held in a separate area of the male camp in barracks surrounded by barbed wire and were guarded by female guards. It is likely that the prisoners had a support role in the male camp such as working in the kitchens, washing, and the like.

The women's camp was dissolved at the end of March 1945, two weeks before the male camp. The International Tracing Service (ITS) shows the last date the camp was mentioned as March 28, 1945.

SOURCES Christian Wussow describes the camp at Plömnitz (without distinguishing between the male and female camps) in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 546–549. Two articles that deal with the history of the camp are "Ermittlungen in Leau und Neu-Stassfurt," *DVZ*, February 18, 1966; and Willi Fuhrmann, "Nazi-Verbrechen in Leau: Aus den Nachforschungen des Parteiveteranen Willi Fuhrmann," *F*, September 2, 1989.

The Plömnitz subcamp is also described in Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992). This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:54.

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QUEDLINBURG

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Quedlinburg (Saxony), north of the Harz Mountains, on April 20, 1942, with 60 inmates transferred from Buchenwald. The camp was created to provide labor to the Fliegerhorst Quedlinburg (Quedlinburg air base) and is last mentioned in Buchenwald-related records on January 6, 1943, with 45 inmates.

According to work statistics reports compiled by the labor allocation office in Buchenwald, there were 60 inmates in the Quedlinburg subcamp in April and June 1942; 5 were considered laborers (gardeners), while the remaining 55 were unskilled workers.¹ Another subcamp was created in Quedlinburg in September 1944, but this was attached to Mittelbau (see Mittelbau/Quedlinburg).

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Quedlinburg subcamp of Buchenwald are lacking. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, 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), which derives from ITS records.

Primary documentation on the Quedlinburg subcamp is also scarce. For administrative documentation mentioning the Quedlinburg subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), the BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 206, Fiche 1. Other documentation may be found in AG-B.

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NOTE

1. "Einsatz der Berufe im Lager Buchenwald," Stand am 30 April 1942, June 29, 1942, BA NS-4, USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 206, Fiche 1.

RAGUHN

Raguhn is located in Anhalt, about 13 kilometers (8 miles) to the southwest of Wittenberg and about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) to the northwest of the city of Wolfen, not far from the Mulde River. The local Heerbrandt-Werke (Heerbrandt factory) was a supplier to the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerken (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM). Toward the end of the war, it was dragged into the increasingly desperate attempts of the Third Reich to manufacture aircraft. As part of the process, one of the last Buchenwald subcamps for women was established. The camp consisted of a compound, separated from a previously existing camp for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), which consisted of three barracks.

On February 7, 1945, a transport of women and girls arrived in Raguhn. They were to be the camp's inmates. With the arrival of these prisoners, the camp officially appeared in the documents. The numbers of women in the camp vary between 500 (according to historian Irmgard Seidel and the Web site Deutschland—ein Denkmal) and a maximum of 700.

From the age and social structure of the women, one can conclude that those brought to this camp were the "last reserves" of female prisoners who could work: there were many older women and women with a long history in camps. For example, Seidel mentions Gertrud Adler who at the age of 18 was arrested in Libyan Benghazi and spent time in a number of Italian POW camps before she was sent to Auschwitz and later to Bergen-Belsen. Adler is typical of the widespread geographical origins of the women who were French, Dutch, Italian, Polish, Hungarian, and German, as well as women from the Reich Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. There was also a Turk and an American. While some women had been sent from Auschwitz to Bergen-Belsen, others had been interned in Theresienstadt and taken from there to Auschwitz.

Just about all the women, except for an Italian resistance fighter and a Hungarian “political,” were Jewish. The large number of married women suggests that women had long been able to avoid arrest because they were married to “Aryans”; 29 women in the camp were classified as “Jewish Mischlinge First Degree.”

The women started work on February 12, 1945, at the Heerbandt factory. In the factory building II they assembled parts for aircraft production. However, their work was not efficient—the war was coming to an end, and there were constant delays in the delivery of supplies. The camp existed for only eight weeks. The high rate of illness—around 10 percent of the women were ill or incapable of working—is evidence of the harsh work and living conditions, lack of food, and poor hygiene, as well as the damage the women had suffered in earlier camps. Nine women died in the camp. The causes of death are given as pneumonia, weakness of the heart, intestinal illnesses, brain embolisms, and brain fever.

On March 1, 1945, there were 25 SS men and 20 SS women providing security in the camp. The camp leaders were SS-Oberscharführer Dieckmann and SS-Obersturmführer Hermann Grossmann.

The evacuation of the camp probably began on April 9, 1945, as the enemy was close. The women were loaded into cattle cars and shipped to Theresienstadt. More than 60 women died along the way (probably more than 10 percent of the transport) from hunger, cold, and exhaustion. Some 429 of the prisoners arrived on April 20, 1945 (according to the International Tracing Service [ITS], April 22, 1945) in Theresienstadt, with another 15 dying in the following days from the trials of the journey.

In 1948, the camp leader Grossmann was sentenced to death by a U.S. court in Bavaria. He was executed in 1948 in Landsberg am Lech. Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) on events in the camp and the camp evacuation were commenced in 1966 but ceased in the 1970s without any results.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel describes Raguhn in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 551–552. As early as 1946, the survivor Suzanne Birnbaum published her experiences as a concentration camp prisoner. Her memoirs were reissued in 2003 as *Une française juive est revenue: Auschwitz, Belsen, Raguhn* (1946; repr. Paris: Amicale des déportés d'Auschwitz et des camps de Haute-Silésie, 2003). Earlier versions were published under the same title in 1946 by Editions du Livre Français (Paris) and in 1989 by Hérault-Éditions (Maulévrier). Pages 117–128 of her book are dedicated to her time as a prisoner in Raguhn. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 55; and in “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1834.

Under reference RG-50.002*0059 at the USHMMA, there is an oral history interview by another survivor, Gitla Gryn-

wald, about the camp and the transport to Theresienstadt. Other archival documents on the Raguhn subcamp are in the AG-B, collection NS 4 Bu at THStA-W, BA-K, and in AG-T. The latter holds a list of the prisoners who arrived at Raguhn. Investigations by ZdL are kept under file IV 429 AR-Z 1921/66 at BA-L.

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ROTHENBURG

About 97 kilometers (60 miles) southwest of Nürnberg, a subcamp of Buchenwald was created in the medieval, walled city of Rothenburg in October 1944 to provide labor to Christian Mansfeld GmbH. Like other satellite camps that were established in the later years of the war, the camp inmates were hired out to the Mansfeld firm and other armaments industries from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a cost of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per unskilled laborer per day (payable to the SS). In December 1944, the Rothenburg Mansfeld firm was scheduled to pay the SS 8,760 RM for 2,190 worker days.¹

On October 24, 1944, 80 inmates were transferred from the main Buchenwald camp to Rothenburg. Most of the inmates on this list appear to be Russian and Polish; all were male.² Smaller numbers of French and German inmates may have arrived later. The population of the Rothenburg camp does not appear to have fluctuated greatly during its nearly six-month period of operation. At various intervals, inmates were transferred out of the camp due to illnesses, such as tuberculosis, and replaced with other inmates. For example, on November 15, 1944, 2 inmates were transferred to Buchenwald due to illness and joint problems; a request was made for substitutes.³ Another inmate was transferred to Buchenwald on January 2, 1945, and Standortarzt der Waffen-SS Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky ordered the return of the inmate nurse from Rothenburg to Buchenwald on March 15, 1945. No reason was given.⁴ Smaller transports of 2 to 5 relatively healthier prisoners arrived in Rothenburg to replace the inmates.

There is little information about the kind of work the inmates performed for the Christian Mansfeld company or about the living and working conditions within the camp. The prisoners may have been employed in mechanical work as well as in the construction of a sluice on the Saale River.

Scant information about the guards of the Rothenburg subcamp could be found. According to a report filed by SS-Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky on January 31, 1945, the strength of the guard troops was 13. There was one inmate nurse and 79 inmates listed in the camp at this time.⁵ Names of SS guards appear on the transfer memos, although not all are legible, and their terms of service are unknown. According to the transfer memo dated November 11, 1944, the Kommandoführer on duty at this time was SS-Hauptscharführer Wieland.⁶ Another memo dated March 15, 1945, lists the Kommandoführer as SS-Hauptscharführer Krüsken.⁷

The Rothenburg camp was evacuated on April 5, 1945, with 76 inmates.

SOURCES There are few secondary sources that describe conditions and circumstances at the Rothenburg subcamp of Buchenwald. For brief information on Rothenburg, such as opening and closing dates, kind of work, and so on, 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).

Likewise, primary documents generated on the Rothenburg subcamp are scarce. For transport lists and other administrative records, see USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, for a collection of documents copied from AN-MACVG and originating from ITS (see especially BU 49). Additional records on the subcamps of Buchenwald may be found at AG-B and AG-MD.

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NOTES

1. Labor allocation report, Buchenwald concentration camp, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 142, *TWC*, 6: 759–767.

2. "Transport Rothenburg," October 24, 1944 (BU 49), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.

3. "Überstellung," November 15, 1944 (BU 49), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.

4. "An K.L. Bu. Arbeitseinsatzführer Buchenwald," January 2, 1945 (BU 49); "An des K.L. . ." March 15, 1945 (BU 49), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.

5. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, January 31, 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung: Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg, 1960), p. 253.

6. "Überstellung," November 15, 1944 (BU 49), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.

7. "An des K.L. . ." March 15, 1945 (BU 49), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.

SAALFELD ("LAURA")

[AKA SS-ARBEITSLAGER SAALFELD, LA]

The Saalfeld or "Laura" subcamp of Buchenwald was established in the vicinity of Schmiedebach and Lehesten (Thuringia) on September 21, 1943. Connected to the Buchenwald and Mittelbau-Dora camps by rail, it was created to provide inmate labor for the manufacture of parts for the V-2 rocket. Code-named "Laura" and in administrative correspondence frequently referred to as "SS-Arbeitslager Saalfeld" or simply "La," the camp supplied laborers to Vorwerk Mitte and Firma Oertel to manufacture and test rocket engines. Facilities were located near a slate mine, the underground tunnels of which were used to mask production from Allied air raids. Increased Allied bombing raids over German territories in 1943 and 1944 necessitated the relocation of armaments and aircraft production factories underground. Thus similar to the circumstances surrounding the creation of the Dora camp, the Laura subcamp was established in the

context of the decentralization and subterranean mass transfer of armaments production facilities.

The first transport of 100 inmates to the Saalfeld camp left Buchenwald on September 20, 1943.¹ Two days later, another transport took place with 100 prisoners.² At first the inmates were housed in a former miners' hut, which was typically unheated and had few sanitary facilities and windows without glass panes. After the number of inmates increased, they were moved to the camp proper, a complex of buildings that had already stood near the mine and that had been evacuated. The main housing unit for the inmates was Block 1, a 1929-constructed barn, and a smaller, older barn was used as the inmates' kitchen. Block 2 was the prisoner canteen and kitchen and also housed smaller, specialized work details (Kommandos), such as electricians and joiners. Block 3 was delegated for Italian military internees as well as a punishment block, from October 1943. Across from Block 1 stood the roll-call area and another newly constructed wooden barracks, Block 4. A triple-layer fence and barbed wire surrounded the camp, which was flanked by six watchtowers. The SS living quarters were located just outside the perimeter.

Over 10 nationalities were represented by the inmates in the Laura subcamp: Germans, Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, French, Belgians, Dutch, Italians, Czechs, and Yugoslavs; a small number of Lithuanians, Luxemburgers, and Spaniards; and one American inmate of Italian descent. German prisoners were classified as so-called professional criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*) or "asocial." There were also political prisoners, Jews, as well as Italian military internees, but this latter group was recorded separately in camp statistics and wore different uniforms.

The camp reached its highest number in mid-December 1943, with just over 1,200 inmates. In March 1944, prisoners who were no longer able to work were deported to Bergen-Belsen, and additional contingents of inmates from Buchenwald arrived.³ Other transports of inmates were sent from Laura to Dora in May 1944; additional ill inmates were transported to Bergen-Belsen.⁴

Inmates in the Laura camp were used in various capacities to support rocket production and were split into several work Kommandos. Most were used in the construction of underground factory installations and the proving grounds for the V-2 engines. The largest and most dreaded Kommando was the pit Kommando (Grubenkommando), in which inmates had to dig in the tunnels with primitive tools (or sometimes none at all) in terrible conditions: with smothering dust, little air or water, no breaks, and a grueling work pace. Accidental deaths due to lack of proper equipment or protective clothing were frequent; inmates were often crushed under falling rock or got infected cuts on their hands due to the sharp slate and lack of hygiene. Other large Kommandos had difficult tasks such as constructing railway lines. Thus smaller Kommandos were coveted—for example, those that involved short-term work such as painting or electrical work.

Living conditions within the camp were overcrowded and dreadful. Rations were small; invariably, former inmates reported

a persistent hunger in the camp. At the end of 1943, certain national groups of prisoners (French, Poles, Belgians, and Czechs) were permitted to receive mail and packages, the contents of which were used to barter for additional rations. From the summer of 1944, rations improved slightly, and a canteen was created where goods could be bought. Hygienic conditions were terrible, and medical care at the camp's infirmary was hardly effective in treating the increasing illnesses and injuries, especially as the inmates' physical deterioration worsened as the months of grueling work wore on. In November 1943, 40 deaths were recorded; in December, over 125. With few exceptions, inmates' corpses were transported back to Buchenwald to be cremated; others were taken to the corpse cellar within the Laura camp's infirmary. The most deaths were reported in April and May 1944, when increasing numbers of prisoners were forced to assist in the testing of the engines.

In addition to the generally abysmal circumstances in the camp and work Kommandos, the inmates regularly faced the cruelty of the guards and overseers. The first commandant of the Laura camp was SS-Obersturmführer Wolfgang Plaul, who served in Laura until the fall of 1944 when he was transferred to the women's subcamp of Leipzig-Schönefeld (HASAG). He had been a deputy commandant in Buchenwald prior to commanding the Laura subcamp. The camp leader (Lagerführer) in the Laura subcamp, SS-Oberscharführer Karl Schmidt, was notoriously cruel and sought arbitrary reasons for punishment, which generally began with 25 lashes with a whip or rubber truncheon. From November 1943 to May 1944, there were about 150 SS guards who patrolled the camp, including many young ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche): Romanians, Yugoslavians, and Hungarians. In addition to the Lagerführer and the guard staff, about 15 other SS-Untersführer who directed other elements of the camp's administration (e.g., Rapportführer, Arbeitseinsatzführer, Blockführer, and Kommandoführer) were also stationed in the camp.

Supplementing the camp administration provided by the SS were several inmates selected to serve as prisoner-functionaries. These included the professional criminal Alfons "Ali" Kunikowski, who was appointed camp elder (Lagerältester), and other block elders and Kapos. These prisoners generally received some privileges and were treated marginally better than other inmates. In the summer of 1944, there was a transition in the camp guard staff, in which Lagerältester Kunikowski was sent to punishment in a pit Kommando. Plaul was replaced by SS-Sturmscharführer Leible as commandant, and many of the guards were replaced by convalescing Luftwaffe soldiers.

Despite the horrendous conditions in the camp, some inmates found means to cope, and a few even managed to escape. Those who were caught were executed. Other inmates devised ways of slightly lessening their workload when Kapos or guards were not looking, and still others forged communal bonds with prisoners who spoke the same language.

The Laura camp was hastily evacuated on April 13, 1945, two days after the Buchenwald main camp was liberated and on the same day that American troops reached nearby Schmiede-

bach. Between 600 and 650 inmates were evacuated from the camp in a forced march toward Wurzbach. Those who could not keep up or who attempted to escape were shot by SS guards who drove the march, although some did flee successfully. In Wurzbach, the prisoners were loaded onto a freight train headed for the Allach subcamp of Dachau, a trip that lasted six days. It is unknown how many Laura inmates reached Allach, which was overflowing with prisoners in catastrophic conditions. Allach was liberated by U.S. troops on April 30, 1945.

Postwar investigations and trials were conducted against few of the guards of the Laura camp. Wolfgang Plaul's whereabouts after the war were unknown; however, he was accused in absentia for the deaths of many inmates, predominantly in the forced death march of women from the Leipzig-Schönefeld (HASAG) camp, where he was the commandant from the fall of 1944. The proceedings against him were dropped in 1972. The Köln Zentralstelle (Cologne Central Office) attempted to bring charges against Schmidt, based on numerous witness testimonies of his cruelty in Laura. However, due to the commonness of his surname and the fact that he, too, was missing after the war, the process ceased in 1962. Former camp guard SS-Rottenführer Ewald Pöckelmann was arrested at the end of 1947 and accused and brought to trial in 1948 by Oberstaatsanwaltschaft Rudolstadt. However, he was released from custody, went missing, and was accused in absentia in 1951. He was sentenced to a 15-year prison term; however, his whereabouts remained unknown, and he did not serve the sentence.

Two trials related to the Laura subcamp ended with the implementation of the sentence reached: the Buchenwald trials against SS dog handler August Giese and against Kunikowski. In March 1948, Giese was sentenced to a four-year prison term, having been found guilty of the murder of a Polish inmate and the brutal maltreatment of other inmates. His prison term began on May 10, 1945, when he was incarcerated in the Dachau camp by American troops. Kunikowski was deemed guilty of the murder of a French inmate and the maltreatment of other inmates. Sentenced to seven years of imprisonment, his term was lessened to five years due to his incarceration on December 9, 1946.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the thorough analysis of and research on the Laura subcamp by Dorit Gropp in *Aussenkommando Laura und Vorwerk Mitte Lebesten—Testbetrieb für V2-Triebwerke* (Berlin: Westkreuz-Verlag, 1999). In addition to a systematic use of many archival collections, Gropp incorporated two detailed memoirs of former inmates of the Laura camp, which also serve as an important resource on the camp: Ryszard Kessler, *Die Hölle im Schieferberg: Erinnerungen an Laura* (Saalfeld, 1998), and Aimé Bonifas "Verichtungs-kommando Laura," in *Stimmen aus Buchenwald: Ein Lesebuch*, eds. Holm Kirsten and Wolf Kirsten (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2002). For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald-Laura-Saalfeld in *Das nationalsozialistische Lager-system (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), which derives from ITS records.

Primary documentation on the Laura subcamp and other satellites of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. See in particular a collection of transport lists to and from the Laura camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 49, Reel 17. As Gropp's book has noted, trial documentation can be found in several archives, including the ZdL (now BA-L) and BA-DH (formerly BDC), ZM 1345 and ZA 7743; these latter are also copied in the archives of the USHMMA, RG-14.050M. See Gropp's text for photographs, an extensive list of archival resources, and a bibliography pertaining to the Laura subcamp and its postwar history.

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NOTES

1. "Transport Laura," September 20, 1943, Buchenwald (BU 49), AN-MACVG as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 17).

2. "Transport Laura," September 22, 1943 (BU 49), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

3. "Transport Laura von 25. Mars 1944," Weimar-Buchenwald (BU 49), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

4. "Aufstellung der 200 Häftlinge, von Kdo- Laura nach kdo-Dora überstellt sind," May 30, 1944, Weimar-Buchenwald (BU 49), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

SCHLIEBEN

The company Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) established one of its seven German subcamps in the small Brandenburg city of Schlieben in July 1944. It would last until the end of the war. Initially opened as a camp for women 80 kilometers (50 miles) to the northwest of the main HASAG factory in Leipzig, it developed into one of the largest Buchenwald subcamps for men, with more than 2,000 male Jewish prisoners. The camp, which initially held 998 women, was reduced in size within a month of the establishment of the camp for men.

Since 1934, HASAG, a Leipzig lamp manufacturer, had been primarily involved in armaments manufactures. In the summer of 1944, following German war losses, it relocated its Polish factories to existing and new production facilities in Saxony and Thüringen. The company decided during this period to expand its facilities in Schlieben. It acquired those facilities in 1940 and in 1943 had production barracks installed in an expanded shooting range in a forest. Buchenwald camp commandant Hermann Pister, together with Standortarzt Gerhard Schiedlausky and Verwaltungsleiter Otto Barnewald, inspected the Schlieben site on June 21, 1944, to consider the deployment of concentration camp prisoners for use by HASAG. It was initially planned to deploy 1,000 women in Schlieben in the middle of July 1944 and in the long term to increase that number to 2,000. Schlieben, together with Leipzig and Altenburg, was one of the first three HASAG camps for women. On August 31, 1944, the Inspectorate of

Concentration Camps (IKL) transferred administration of the Schlieben camp from Ravensbrück to Buchenwald.

The subcamp commenced operations on July 19, 1944, with the arrival of a transport of 998 women, many of whom were Sinteza [that is, female Sinti (Gypsies)].¹ The number of women in Schlieben was reduced to 147 when, on August 14, 1944, a camp for men with 1,387 Buchenwald prisoners was established.² Most of the women who first arrived in the camp were deported to the HASAG camps in Altenburg and Tautcha. Later, another 100 women arrived at the camp, and almost all of them were to remain until the camp was evacuated. Buchenwald camp statistics describe the camp for men as a "Jewish work detachment." It was the first of seven HASAG camps for men and was by any means the largest. Other than the non-Jewish prisoner-functionaries, most of the prisoners came from Poland or Hungary. In the first two months of the camp's existence, the number of prisoners increased to 2,020. In December, it temporarily increased to 2,515.³ Later, the number of prisoners in the camp declined. Between the beginning of January and the middle of February 1945, there were three large transfers of mostly sick and weakened prisoners back to Buchenwald. In addition, in February, there were several prisoner deportations from Schlieben to the HASAG subcamp at Flössberg—the largest on February 17, 1945, with 540 prisoners being transferred. The number of prisoners in Schlieben dropped for the first time to under 1,500 and remained, as shown by the last documented strength report (*Bestandsmeldung*) on April 7, 1945, at a similar level.

The prisoners were used as forced labor in all areas of the company. The area to the north of Schlieben was divided into a fenced-in prisoner camp with factory facilities and weapons' testing areas. When the camp was established, there was already in the prisoner area a few brick barracks, sanitary facilities, a laundry, and a kitchen. This was because HASAG employees, members of the Wehrmacht, and prisoners of war (POWs) had lived in succession on the site. Later, wooden barracks were to be erected on the site of a large cleared area on the edge of the forest. The area was bordered by an electrified fence, and the camp was visible from the road. The factory buildings in the forest produced chemicals for shells and antitank weapons (*Panzerfäuste*) and assembled metal tubes, filled with explosives, delivered to the site. They formed the basis for the *Panzerfäuste*. The prisoners worked in the factory buildings under the supervision of HASAG's German foremen. As in the HASAG Factory "C" Skarżysko-Kamienna, which supplied many Polish prisoners for Schlieben, the rest of the camp avoided the prisoners in this area because their bodies and clothes were marked by poisons, and they smelled of chemicals. Women were forced to work in the foundries. Maria Peter stated the following: "I stood with two women at a large drum in which a liquid was boiling. It burnt our eyes and we looked as if we had jaundice. The burning eyes and the feeling of wanting to vomit made the work hell. We were given no protective clothing and were helplessly exposed to the liquid."⁴ The prisoners had to assemble the *Panzerfäuste* in the larger production departments. They had to stand at tables and work

benches. As former prisoners stated, they had to work in 12-hour shifts, day and night. The work demanded concentration to make sure that the production line did not stop. Menasze Hollender stated: "The German foremen and the Kapos ran back and forth screaming at and beating the prisoners. The workers often collapsed because of exhaustion, hunger, and the torture."⁵ The foremen were given bonuses for achieving increased production, which caused them to drive the prisoners on mercilessly. On the HASAG weapons testing area in Schlieben, Panzerfäuste were developed and tested, as were munitions. Work in the construction and maintenance area of the Schlieben factory was seen as more bearable by the prisoners, compared to conditions in the production facilities.

There was a large explosion in the factory on October 12, 1944, which killed 96 male prisoners. The factory was totally destroyed. On October 14, 1944, Buchenwald sent 226 skilled construction workers to construct a temporary building. Just about all were sent back on November 6, 1944. Paul Budin, the HASAG managing director, immediately thanked the Reichsführer-SS for the "special assistance."⁶

In addition to the 96 victims of the explosion, at least another 99 prisoners died in the camp.⁷ Altogether 195 prisoners died during the seven and a half months of the camp's existence to the beginning of April 1945.⁸ Some 738 prisoners were transferred back to Buchenwald during the camp's existence, most to the sick bay.

SS-Untersturmführer Kempe was the camp commander in Schlieben. He remains in the memories of the prisoners as being particularly brutal. SS, Wehrmacht soldiers, and Ukrainian guards guarded the camp.

The prisoners, in an attempt to get around the inadequate food supply, traded with the Italian forced laborers who worked in the camp. They lived in the local area and had the opportunity, according to Hollender, to bring food into the factory. In return, they were given industrial products, which the prisoners had secretly manufactured, such as rings, tin boxes, lamps, and cutlery. Prisoners who worked on the railway facilities outside the camp smuggled food into the camp. It is also known that a few prisoners in the camp celebrated Jewish festivals so far as conditions allowed. Elyahu Winkler stated: "On Channuka we lit the Channuka candles in the window. . . . They weren't really candles. Someone used cooking oil from the kitchen."⁹ With the help of the oil, they put together lights. The prisoners put their "candles" in the windows even though they had been ordered to turn off all lights due to the repeated Allied bombing raids.

There are different statements regarding the evacuation of the camp. What is certain is that the SS, shortly before the occupation of Schlieben by the Soviet Army, evacuated the camp. Hollender stated that the camp was evacuated in stages.¹⁰ The first stage was on April 14, 1945, when a transport of 700 "prisoners who could not work" were taken out of the camp. Other statements refer to April 20, 1945, as the evacuation day and April 21, 1945, as the day that the Red Army occupied the town.

Panzerfäuste were produced for the Red Army from what was left of the supplies in the camp for six weeks after the libera-

tion of Schlieben. In 1947 a mass grave of 107 corpses was found near the camp. They were reinterred in a Schlieben cemetery. A square stone has rested on the communal grave since 1952. As part of the so-called Tschenstochau (Częstochowa) trial in Leipzig in 1948–1949, Wehrmacht officer Richard Müller was sentenced to six months' prison; former auxiliary laborer and factory security guard Gustav Erich Graichen was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment; and former shift foreman in the foundry Viktor Lamkewitz received life imprisonment.

SOURCES The Schlieben subcamp for men is referred to in an essay about the HASAG camps: Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271. The Schlieben subcamp for women is mentioned in Irmgard Seidel, "Weibliche Häftlinge des KZ Buchenwald in der deutschen Rüstungsindustrie (1 & 2)," *ISKDW* 25:54 (2001): 16–23; 27:55 (2002): 23–29. A local publication has 15 pages of source material on Schlieben, but the commentary is incorrect: *NS-Lager in Finsterwalde und Orte in der Region Südbrandenburg 1939–1945* (Finsterwalde, 2001).

Archival documents on the Schlieben subcamp are scattered in several archives, some in the THStA-W, Bestände KZu-HaftaBu and NS4Bu; in AG-B, Bestände 62–63–2, NS4Bu; and in AS-Stlb. In YV, there are many accounts by surviving prisoners in Yiddish, Hebrew, Polish, and Hungarian, some of which have been used here (for example, from the collections M.21.3, M.49, and O.3). BA-DH holds the Leipzig state prosecutor's trial files from 1948–1949, which related to investigations into individual perpetrators from HASAG.

Martin Schellenberg
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. THStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 10, Bl. 13a.
2. NARA, RG 242, Film 25, Bl. 0015701.
3. NARA, RG 242, Film 25, Bl. 0015656–723.
4. Rept. Maria Peter, cited in Irmgard Seidel, "Weibliche Häftlinge des KZ Buchenwald in der deutschen Rüstungsindustrie," *ISKDW* 27:55 (2002): 27.
5. Rept. Menasze Hollender (translation from the Polish), YVA, O.3/1012.
6. BA-DH, SSO, Budin, Paul, 4.12.92.
7. THStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 10, Bl. 116–7.
8. THStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 10, Bl. 1–166.
9. Interview with Elyahu Winkler (in Hebrew), YVA, O.3/10707.
10. Rept. Menasze Hollender, p. 44.

SCHÖNEBECK (JUNKERS-FLUGZEUG-UND MOTORENWERKE AG) ("J," "SCH," "JULIUS") (WITH "SIEGFRIED")

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Schönebeck in March 1943 to provide labor to the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke AG (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM), Zweigwerk Schönebeck. The use of concentration camp prisoner labor at the Junkers Schönebeck stemmed from

an agreement between the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the firm, which "rented" inmates from the SS at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day.¹ Located on what was later named Barbyer Strasse in Schönebeck, the Junkers Zweigwerk had opened in 1936 to operate a metal shop for press works for Ju 88 production. The Schönebeck subcamp was referred to in corresponding documentation as "J" and "Sch." The camp itself, located in the immediate vicinity of the Junkers firm, was called "Julius." A second Kommando, code-named "Siegfried," was also created at the Schönebeck camp in March 1945 to provide labor to the Nationale Radiatoren AG (NARAG).

The first transport of 100 inmates from Buchenwald arrived in Schönebeck on March 19, 1943.² According to French former inmate Marcel Lorin, an engineer from Junkers came to Buchenwald to select those inmates who could be considered skilled laborers. A "professions list" (possibly dated May 1943) shows that many inmates were noted as locksmiths, drill operators, mechanics, milling cutters, and so on.³ Inmates in Schönebeck represented several different nations, including Russia, Poland, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Czechoslovakia. Smaller numbers of prisoners came from Yugoslavia, Spain, Hungary, Croatia, Italy, and the German Reich; these latter were often appointed members of the prisoner administration such as Lagerältester (camp elder) and medics. Imprisoned in the camp were political prisoners, so-called asocials, *Arbeitscheu* (work-shy), Gypsies, *Berufsverbrecher* (professional criminals) and Jews.

Transports to and from the Schönebeck camp were frequent. The average strength of the camp population was about 1,200 inmates, although at the time of the evacuation in April 1945, there were just over 1,500 inmates in the camp. Most of the larger transports of prisoners (between 100 and 150) arrived in Schönebeck from Buchenwald, but there were also transfers from Dachau (August 1944) and possibly Sachsenhausen. In addition to transfers of prisoners back to Buchenwald due to illness (see below), there were also transfers to other camps that exploited prisoner labor for rearmaments efforts, such as Mühlhausen ("Martha"), beginning in the spring of 1944; Aschersleben in August 1944; Westeregeln ("Maulwurf") in November 1944; Mittelbau in December 1944; and Leopoldshall in February 1945.⁴

The Julius camp in Schönebeck consisted of nine unheated wooden barracks for the prisoners' living quarters, a kitchen, a small infirmary, an administrative barracks, and a roll-call area. Prisoners slept on trilevel bunks, which were shared by the inmates and exchanged between shifts. In some instances, two or three prisoners slept on one bunk, sharing the allotted one soiled coverlet per person to gain warmth. The camp was surrounded by 3-meter-high (9.8-foot-high) fencing and another layer of barbed-wire mesh fencing and flanked by two watchtowers.

A typical day in the Schönebeck camp began at 4:30 in the morning. The inmates endured long roll calls several times a day. Standing outside in terrible weather conditions with thin

clothing exacerbated the frail inmates' illnesses, such as pleurisy, angina, bronchial pneumonia, and tuberculosis. Inmates who were deemed "unfit for work" were transferred back to the Buchenwald main camp infirmary. Corpses of those who died in the camp were either buried or, as noted in a memo by SS physician Dr. Waldemar Hoven, transferred to Dr. Imfried Eberl in Bernburg, where they were cremated with no recorded death certificates.⁵ Food rations were sparse, and Lorin recalled that even with the occasional "organizing" of extra food, the inmates were starving.

The inmates worked in 12-hour shifts in the Junkers firm, finishing parts for the Ju 88 aircraft; by the end of 1944, work shifts had been reduced to 9 hours. The inmates were divided into work in four production halls: a finishing hall for supports for wing cross struts and fuselage; a press works where paneling for the fuselage, cockpit, and wings was finished; a foundry; and lastly, a thermal treatment workshop. The halls where camp inmates worked were separated from the rest of the plant by barbed-wire fencing, and interaction between the camp inmates and other workers was prohibited. From March 3, 1945, another large work Kommando was created at the Schönebeck camp to provide labor to NARAG. (However, a transport list of 15 inmates to "Siegfried," dated September 10, 1943, suggests that this Kommando may have been created earlier than 1945.)⁶ Some 400 inmates were used in the manufacture of electrical parts for the V-2 rocket. Inmates were also assigned to various work Kommandos around the camp (such as in the kitchen or infirmary) as well as clearing rubble after air raids in Magdeburg and digging trenches along the Elbe.

In addition to suffering from malnutrition, exhaustion, and maltreatment meted out by the Kapos and guards, the inmates often faced dangerous work conditions in the factory. Lorin reported that those assigned to the foundry had no protective equipment and were exposed to combustible gas. Evidence of work-related accidents abounds in the administrative documentation generated with the transfer of ill or wounded inmates to the Buchenwald infirmary. For example, two inmates were transferred to Buchenwald from Schönebeck on February 3, 1945; the reason for their transfer is cited as "Unfall—Amputation" (Accident—Amputation).⁷ This kind of report was issued frequently over the camp's two-year operation.

SS-Obersturmführer Gustav Borell was the commandant of the camp. Prior to leading the Schönebeck subcamp, he served in Sonderlager Hinzert from 1940 to 1942; in Ravensbrück in 1942; and Majdanek from 1942 to 1943. Until June 1944, the SS who served as guards in the camp consisted mainly of Volksdeutsche, or ethnic Germans. After June 1944, there were also members of the Luftwaffe assigned to guard the camp. German civilian foremen and supervisors watched over the inmates' work in the Junkers factory and reported any suspected acts of sabotage or prisoners deemed unfit for their assigned tasks to the SS or to the Kapos. Inmates were often punished by being forced to stand along the low wall that surrounded the SS garbage pit, with arms raised or hands behind their heads for several hours.

Despite the inmates' general poor physical condition and the guards' strict supervision, some inmates did manage to escape. Lorin recalled that one prisoner managed to obtain false documentation that registered him as a civilian foreign worker, thus enabling him to return to France. Other inmates attempted to scale the barbed-wire fencing, especially during air-raid alerts or other moments of disorder. Acts of sabotage were also frequently organized by a group of prisoners in the factory. Lorin also noted that solidarity was forged along national and linguistic lines; for example, those who spoke French gathered and shared songs, poems, and memories of life at home. When food packages were distributed among some groups of more privileged political prisoners (such as the French; Russian inmates could not receive any packages), some inmates pooled the contents of their packages and redistributed them to weaker inmates.

The camp was dissolved on April 11, 1945, as American troops were 60 kilometers (37 miles) from Schönebeck. The inmates were evacuated on foot in several groups. Some inmates remained behind, hidden in the camp, while others evaded the march. About 400 inmates marched for 23 days in columns until they were liberated by American troops near Friedrichsmoor.⁸

SOURCES There are several useful secondary sources on the Schönebeck camp. This entry builds upon the extensive memoir of daily life in the Schönebeck camp by Marcel Lorin, *Schönebeck, un kommando de Buchenwald: Du sabotage des avions Nazis à l'ouvante d'une marche de la mort* (Glangeaud: Amicale des anciens déportés de Schönebeck, Mühlhausen, Buchenwald, 1993). Another piece detailing current research efforts and former prisoner experiences in Schönebeck is an article by Katharina Strass, "Dunkles Kapitel während des Zweiten Weltkrieges in Schönebeck: Fünftgrößtes KZ-Aussenlager Buchenwald mit etwa 1800 Häftlingen ist heute fast vergessen," *V*, February 12, 2005. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entries for Buchenwald/Schönebeck 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), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald).

There is also relatively abundant primary documentation on the Schönebeck subcamp. Administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp is found in the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, especially BA Band 133, 210, 213, 55. See also a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Schönebeck camp and various other reports, including Veränderungsmeldungen, copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 5/2, 5/4, 5/5, 8/10, 40, and 41/3. Testimony from former inmates can be found in the MZML, which contain thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken

in 1945 and 1946 by the relief agency DEGOB; see especially protocols 2475, 2920, and 3158. NARA Microfilm Publication A 3343, Records of SS Officers from the BDC, SSO-091, has personnel information about Gustav Borell.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, *TWC*, vol. 6.
2. "Transport Schönebeck," K.L. Buchenwald, March 19, 1943, AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 41/3).
3. "Berufs-Liste für Transport Schönebeck," K.L. Buchenwald, date illegible, USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 41/3).
4. Numerous transport lists to and from the Schönebeck camp can be found in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 41/3 and BU 8/10).
5. "Aus einem Bericht des SS-Arztes Dr. Waldemar Hoven über eine Dienstreise in das Aussenkommando Schönebeck vom 19. März 1943," reprinted in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung: Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg, 1960), p. 279.
6. "Transport Siegfried," Buchenwald, September 10, 1943, USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 41/3).
7. "Überführung von kranken Häftlingen nach K.L. Bu," Schönebeck, February 3, 1945, USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 41/3).
8. A detailed description of the complex evacuation, including diagrams, can be found in Marcel Lorin, *Schönebeck, un kommando de Buchenwald: Du sabotage des avions Nazis à l'ouvante d'une marche de la mort* (Glangeaud: Amicale des anciens déportés de Schönebeck, Mühlhausen, Buchenwald, 1993).

SCHÖNEBECK

(NATIONALE RADIATOREN)

The subcamp Schönebeck (Nationale Radiatoren) was part of a complex of three concentration camps that existed from March 10, 1943, to April 11, 1945, in Schönebeck an der Elbe. It was located on the Elbe River outside of Magdeburg, an industrial strongpoint in central Germany. The camps were subcamps of Buchenwald under the authority of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). They provided slave labor for the aircraft industry; for the Schönebeck branch of the Dessau-based Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM); and Nationale Radiatoren AG (NARAG), a subsidiary of Volkswagen industries.

Although the Schönebeck camps existed for more than two years and had a total prisoner population of 1,563 prisoners (on April 11, 1945), information on the camp is scarce. It is not clear if they were separate, autonomous camps or subentities of one administrative unit and, if they had separate camp compounds.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) *Häftstättenverzeichnis* (1979), the Nationale Radiatoren camp

was established on March 3, 1945, but the accuracy of the information is questionable. An earlier date seems more likely.

Nationale Radiatoren was taken over in early 1944 by Volkswagen, at that time in charge of the series production of the Fi-103 (V-1) cruise missile. The excess capacities of the low-priority radiator factory were intended to replace facilities at the Volkswagen main factory, which was to be decentralized in order to diminish the risk of air-raid damage. Volkswagen kept the Nationale Radiatoren name for camouflage reasons while converting the production facilities to the manufacturing of V-1 parts. The production area was expanded as spacious cellar vaults below the nearby Kaiserbrauerei Allendorff beer brewery were rented. Even after Volkswagen lost its role as coordinator of V-1 production to the SS-owned Mittelwerke in October 1944, the Schönebeck facility—eventually incorporated into another Volkswagen subsidiary, the Minette GmbH, as an SS takeover attempt was fended off in January 1945—continued to produce V-1 parts that were delivered to the Mittelwerke and also engaged in the manufacturing of airplane parts for Junkers and Messerschmitt.

Production continued until a few days before the area was liberated by U.S. troops on April 12, 1945. A decision by Volkswagen personnel manager Georg Tyrolt (a nephew of Ferdinand Porsche, the inventor of the “people’s car,” who was the leading chief executive officer [CEO]) on March 21 to transfer 200 prisoners from the Nationale Radiatoren camp to “Stein” in Eschershausen, another Buchenwald subcamp providing manpower to Volkswagen, was thwarted by the Allied advance. Instead, 400 Nationale Radiatoren prisoners were evacuated on April 11 to occupied Czechoslovakia where Volkswagen possessed additional production facilities. The company decision had provided for prisoners suffering from tuberculosis to be transferred to the Volkswagen main factory in what was later named Wolfsburg, but the ill prisoners never arrived there.

In November 1944, SS-Hauptscharführer Arthur Schmiele, an engineer who had been in charge of the selection of prisoners in Auschwitz for Volkswagen, and the CEO of a Minette factory in Dernau that was run by means of concentration camp prisoners, was appointed CEO of the Schönebeck facility. The exploitation of prisoners at the Nationale Radiatoren may have started shortly afterward by prisoners from the Schönebeck Junkers camps being assigned to the Nationale Radiatoren. Since that company’s total employment never expanded beyond 1,000, most of whom were foreign forced laborers from the Soviet territories and Italy, it seems likely that the number of concentration camp prisoners never exceeded the 200 to 400 registered in March 1945.

According to one Buchenwald strength list, by September 5, 1944, SS personnel in the Schönebeck camps counted one officer who probably served as the camp commandant, two noncommissioned officers (NCOs), and one enlisted man, whereas guards seem to have been ordinary army soldiers.

SOURCES This description of the Schönebeck (Nationale Radiatoren) camp is based on research by Therkel Straede and Manfred Grieger for Hans Mommsen et al., *Das Volkswa-*

genwerk und seine Arbeiter im Dritten Reich (Düsseldorf, 1996). Preliminary data may be found 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).

Archival material on the Nationale Radiatoren camp in Schönebeck is scarce. The VWA holds the note of March 21, 1945, and other documents, as well as copies of documents from the AG-B, YVA, Beit Lohamei Haghetat near Acco, Israel, and BA-B. Brief details on the Nationale Radiatoren factory have been published by Cesare Pilei, an Italian military internee (IMI), in ANEI, ed., *Resistenza senz’armi* (Firenze, 1984) p. 270.

Therkel Straede

SCHWERTE-OST

By the middle of the 1930s, the Reich Railways Repair Works (Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk, RAW) in Schwerte-Ost, which had opened in 1922, had over 2,000 employees and had risen to become the most modern and efficient locomotive repair shop in the German Reich. It was located about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) east of the center of Schwerte in the direction of Schwerte-Geisecke. A 2-meter-high (6.6-foot-high) stone wall still borders the former factory premises. Beginning in 1944, a small part of this wall was used to delimit the grounds of the subcamp.¹ The task of the RAW was to repair locomotives damaged in the war in order to preserve this war-critical method of transportation. During World War II, the RAW was thus a “war-critical” operation that, with the increasing duration of the war, could no longer meet its labor requirements, as many male employees were called to the front. The National Socialists attempted to compensate for this deficit with prisoners of war (POWs) and slave laborers, which ultimately led to a subcamp of the Buchenwald concentration camp being set up on the factory premises.

From April 6, 1944, until January 29, 1945, up to 710 concentration camp prisoners were kept at Schwerte-Ost in wooden barracks.² Although lists of transfers to and from the outside detail at Schwerte-Ost exist in the Buchenwald archive in Weimar, it is not possible to determine exact numbers. Various preserved documents make clear that primarily potential concentration camp victims were transferred back from Schwerte-Ost to Buchenwald. These were usually people who violated rules or who undertook escape attempts. There exists, among others, a list “Transport Schwerte, Weimar-Buchenwald” from June 23, 1944, that contains 150 names with prisoner numbers.³ It is certain that the first 100 prisoners were sent to the camp on April 6, 1944. On August 7, 1944, the number of forced laborers was 425, all of whom were designated “auxiliary laborers.” Documents from the Buchenwald archive show that on September 8, 1944, a transport with 265 prisoners with the numbers 84271 to 84535 came to Schwerte-Ost from Sachsenhausen.⁴ The biggest verifiable

number, with the above-mentioned 710 prisoners, is entered for September 29, 1944.⁵

The strength of the SS guard personnel amounted to 40 men on April 15, 1944. The prisoners' work assignments were identical with those of the German regular workforce. The entire camp originally consisted of at least 12 barracks in which not only prisoners from Buchenwald were housed but also POWs and slave laborers. The Buchenwald prisoners were, however, rigidly separated from the other prisoners. How awful the fate of the concentration camp prisoners must have been is documented by the fact that every month a fifth of the population either died or was returned to the main camp for extermination, due to their inability to work. According to contemporary witness reports, it can be stated that the factory management at Schwerte-Ost was not organized for human extermination like the Nazi camp leadership was at Buchenwald. Evidence of the shooting of prisoners, described with the remark "shot while trying to flee," has survived, however.⁶

On the other hand, the Reichsbahn was known for its business sense and, for example, was paid by the SS the third-class fare for transporting Jews in cattle cars. The income, though, that the SS took in from hiring out prisoners was enormous and amounted to over 6 million Reichsmark (RM) for the male prisoners at Buchenwald in January 1945 alone.⁷ According to a report from former Schwerter and political prisoner Joseph Arturjanz (Buchenwald number 84275; Sachsenhausen number 22917), he arrived at Schwerte-Ost in October 1944.⁸ Of the 500 prisoners that he registered, which included French and Belgians, in addition to Soviet Russians, 250 men worked per shift on damaged locomotives. Female prisoners were not among these workers. Provisions were reportedly worse than at Buchenwald so that in June 1944 it was arranged for the kitchen operation to be newly organized.

In December 1944, as Allied troops continued their march toward the Ruhr area, the prisoner detail was called back to the main camp. Contemporary witnesses also attributed the relatively early closing of the camp to the high number of escapes. According to Joseph Arturjanz, four cattle cars made available for approximately 500 prisoners arrived at the Buchenwald main camp. A document from the Buchenwald archive dated January 25, 1945, shows that at least 10 prisoners, all of them from the Soviet Union, managed to escape on the way back to Buchenwald. A few days later the prisoners were again loaded on to a transport and arrived at Dorndorf on December 24, 1944. On the other side, it was reported that a last prisoner transport from Schwerte-Ost arrived at Buchenwald around January 15, 1945.

SOURCES Marita Riese's publication "*Und es soll kein Gras darüber wachsen*": *Die Geschichte des Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald im Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk Schwerte-Ost* (Schwerte: Denkmalbehörde/Kulturamt der Stadt Schwerte, 1989) formed the basis for this entry. Unfortunately, this work is hard to find and now out of print. Additional information may be found in H. Körner and P. Gurriss,

Das Leben der Eisenbahner in Schwerte-Ost 1923–2000 (Münster, 2000). Walter Bartel's *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983) also provides more information on Buchenwald subcamps.

On the history of the Buchenwald external detail at the RAW in Schwerte-Ost, transport lists of prisoners as well as documents on the "working detail Schwerte" are accounted for in AG-B.

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NOTES

1. Marita Riese, "*Und es soll kein Gras darüber wachsen*": *Die Geschichte des Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald im Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk Schwerte-Ost* (Schwerte: Denkmalbehörde/Kulturamt der Stadt Schwerte, 1989), p. 25.
2. H. Körner and P. Gurriss, *Das Leben der Eisenbahner in Schwerte-Ost 1923–2000* (Münster, 2000), pp. 73–74.
3. Riese, "*Und es soll kein Gras darüber wachsen*," p. 33.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 65. For May 31, 1944, 8:45 AM, the "political" Russian Sewastjan Pantschenko (born 1898) is mentioned.
7. Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 240.
8. Joseph Arturjanz quoted in Riese, "*Und es soll kein Gras darüber wachsen*," pp. 55–59.

SENNELAGER

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created on November 26, 1944, in Augustdorf near Paderborn to provide inmate labor to the SS-Panzer-Ausbildungs und Ersatz-Regiment (tank training and replacement regiment) in the Sennelager training complex. Code-named "Sennelager," there were 10 inmates stationed at the camp for the first month of its five-month operation, until January 1945, when 37 additional inmates were transferred there from Auschwitz II-Birkenau. They were housed in the north camp (*Nordlager*) of the Sennelager complex. Inmates were hired out at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per laborer per day, payable to the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA).¹

The first transport of 10 inmates to Sennelager left Buchenwald on November 26, 1944.² Four inmates were transferred back to Buchenwald due to illness on December 15, 1944, and were replaced by 4 different inmates on December 20, 1944.³ Three inmates were sent back to Buchenwald on January 3, 1945, presumably also due to illness or "incapacity for work." On January 17, 1945, 37 inmates from Birkenau were transferred to Sennelager. Most of the inmates were Polish political prisoners or Polish Jews, with a smaller number of Slovak political prisoners and Slovak Jews. There was one Polish "work-shy" inmate.⁴ There is no information available about the exact kind of work the smaller contingent of prison-

ers performed, but the transport document lists some of the duties of the inmates. Most were designated as bricklayers, with smaller numbers of concrete workers, 2 civil engineers, and a painter. Two inmates from this transport were transferred to Buchenwald on January 25, 1945, due to illness.⁵

The camp was evacuated to Buchenwald, and the prisoners arrived there on April 5, 1945.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Sennelager subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Sennelager 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), which derives from ITS records.

Surviving primary documentation on the Sennelager subcamp is also limited. See a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Sennelager camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 49. Additional documentation may be found in AG-B.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

2. “Transport Sennelager,” KL Buchenwald, November 26, 1944 (BU 49) AN-MACVG as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

3. “An die Kommandatur K.L.—Bu. Abt. III,” Augustdorf, December 15, 1944; “Transport Sennelager,” Buchenwald, December 20, 1944, (BU 49), USHMMA Acc. 1998 A.0045.

4. “Neuzugänge vom 17. Januar 1945,” Weimar-Buchenwald, January 17, 1945 (BU 49), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

5. To K.L. Buchenwald, Senne, January 25, 1945 (BU 49), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

SÖMMERDA

Sömmerda is located to the north of Erfurt in the district known today as Weissensee. Until 1945, it was part of the Prussian province of Saxony. A Buchenwald subcamp was established there in the autumn of 1944 where the prisoners worked at the Rheinmetall-Borsig AG, Werk Sömmerda, on Dreyse-Platz. Already months before, the Rheinmetall-Borsig AG had requisitioned 1,100 female laborers: 650 were to work in the detonation factory and 450 in the test factory (*Laborierwerk*).

The camp was located 20 minutes away by foot in the Pestalozzistrasse close to the Erfurt-Nordhausen railway line. It was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence with guard towers and consisted of six barracks. The guards' accommodation was outside the camp. The camp was under the command of

SS-Oberscharführer Eugen Dietrich, who was in charge of 16 SS men and 22 female guards. The wardresses were staff from Rheinmetall-Borsig who had been trained in Ravensbrück. Originally, the company had even offered larger numbers of women to the Buchenwald concentration camp to be trained as guards.

On September 19, 1944, 1,216 Hungarian Jewish women arrived at Sömmerda and began working the next day. They were severely traumatized. They had lived through a bombing raid in their former camp at Gelsenkirchen-Horst. As a result the Gelsenkirchen-Horst camp was dissolved with 84 injured women remaining in hospitals in Gelsenkirchen and its surrounding area. They were sent in separate transports to Sömmerda up until the beginning of April 1945. On March 1, 1945, the Sömmerda camp had 1,293 women, reaching its maximum capacity.

Under the control of German skilled tradesmen and foremen, the women manufactured ammunition, working on a large number of machines such as drills, milling machines, and precision revolving lathes. Although not many details of the work and living conditions are known, the high rate of illness at around 10 percent is indicative of the difficult work and living conditions. Many women suffered from illnesses arising from the cold including bronchitis, lung diseases, and stomach and bowel problems, as well as general weakness and malnutrition. According to official records, nine women died in the Sömmerda subcamp. The statistics do not record the number of babies born in the prisoners' infirmary. According to a survivor, there were several births in the camp. The newborns were removed from their mothers and killed.

Sömmerda is one of the few subcamps where there are records of the women's cultural activities. There was a camp paper, and the women wrote and performed new lyrics to popular couplets and chansons in which they described their fate as prisoners. It was possible for religious Jews, albeit secretly, to maintain their prayers and fasting.

The factory was closed in the middle of March due to production difficulties. On April 4, 1945, the women were taken from the camp by foot in an easterly direction. The women incapable of marching were taken by rail to Altenburg. The women marched via Mühlhausen, Bad Kösen, Naumburg, and Zeitz. On April 10, 1945, they were split into two groups: one group moved via Zitzendorf to Meuselwitz, where they continued their death march with the prisoners of that camp. The second group, after a two-day stop in Albenburg, was driven to Glauchau. Here some of the women, thanks to an American tank attack, were able to escape and were rescued. The remainder of the women marched in a southeasterly direction; most likely they were to be taken to Theresienstadt, but before they arrived there, they were liberated by Soviet troops on May 9, 1945, in the vicinity of Cheb (Eger).

The camp commander, Eugen Dietrich, was interned by U.S. troops for a short time but was not tried. He died in 1955.

Between 1966 and 1971 the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) investigated the Sömmerda subcamp. The investigations ceased in 1971 without any results.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel contributed the article on the Sömmerda subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 575–577. The fate of two Sömmerda survivors, Romanian Jew Judith Rosenthal and Hungarian Jew Sarah Udi, is described in *Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris*, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris), ed., *Les femmes oubliées de Buchenwald: 22 avril–30 octobre 2005* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), pp. 112–127. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:58; and in “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1841.

The USHMMA has the following archival material on the Sömmerda subcamp: Lilly Isaacs papers, Acc. 1995.88, consisting of two diaries written by Isaacs while she was a prisoner in Sömmerda; and an oral history interview with Rose Lazarus about her experiences as a prisoner in Gelsenkirchen and Sömmerda, RG-50.002*0083. Other sources on the Sömmerda subcamp are located in the collections of the AG-B and collection NS 4 Bu (for example, reference 221), at BA-K. Investigations by the ZdL in the late 1960s and the early 1970s are in file 429 AR-Z 1927/66 and 130/1970, which is held at BA-L.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

SONNEBERG-WEST (“SONNEBERG,” “SG”)

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Sonneberg-West (Thüringen) in September 1944 to provide labor to the Firma G.E. Reinhardt Zahnradfabrik (gear factory). Its code name in related documentation was “Sonneberg” or “Sg.” Like other armaments manufacturing firms that exploited prisoner labor during the war, the G.E. Reinhardt firm hired out inmates from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a cost of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per unskilled laborer per day.¹ The average strength of the prisoner population was about 400 inmates during its six-month operation.

The first transport to Sonneberg-West left Buchenwald on September 14, 1944, with 260 inmates.² However, evidence of a possible earlier transport is suggested in a surviving telegram from the SS (presumably the Labor Allocation Office) to the G.E. Reinhardt firm, dated August 27, 1944.³ The telegram states that the transport from Częstochowa (Tschenstochau) arrived (to what exact location is unclear) and that the SS officer who sent it should be informed by the firm when the accommodations and security apparatuses are ready for the incoming inmates. According to the telegram, this group of prisoners was scheduled to be transferred to the G.E. Reinhardt firm in Sonneberg-West, located at Hallestrasse 39, on September 1 or 2.

Inmates were brought to a camp, the barracks of which were most likely located on the grounds of the firm itself. They may have also been accommodated in sand pits in the immediate vicinity of the Reinhardt firm. The inmates were

used for labor in the manufacture of aircraft parts for Ju 52 transport planes, as well as other gear mechanisms for tanks and other weapons.

The inmates were transported to the Sonneberg camp from the main Buchenwald camp and possibly from elsewhere (such as Częstochowa and Gross-Rosen). After the transport of 260 prisoners on September 14, additional transports arrived in Sonneberg (among other possible dates) on October 5 (4 inmates), October 12 (20), November 14 (1), November 17 (150), and February 15 (50). The inmates were Jewish males, and many were from Poland and Hungary. One Hungarian Jewish former inmate reported that the food and treatment in the Sonneberg camp were better than what he had received in Buchenwald. However, he recalled that “it did not take long; the SS sergeants came and they spoiled it. The German workers behaved quite normally, they did not beat us too much, but the SS did . . . it was terrible.”⁴ Another former inmate recalled nothing else but being provided little to no food or drink and receiving constant beatings.⁵

In several instances, inmates were transferred back to the Buchenwald main camp due to illness or incapacity for work. At least one inmate was returned due to a knee injury; therefore, it can be deduced that working conditions in the camp were difficult and even dangerous.⁶ One trace of a recorded death survives: a Polish Jew named Friedman Eliass, transported to Sonneberg on November 4, 1944, died February 6, 1945, due to pleuropneumonia.⁷

Scarce details remain about the guards or commandant of the Sonneberg camp. In a report by the garrison doctor of the Waffen-SS, dated January 31, 1945, the camp is listed under “Jewish external details” (Jüdische Aussenkommandos) with the SS medic as Eger and 33 guards assigned.⁸ At this time, the camp held 423 prisoners.

The Sonneberg camp was evacuated at the end of March or early April 1945, and the prisoners were marched toward Lehesten. However, some sources note that the prisoners were brought back to the camp, where they stayed one night before they were evacuated again to the Sudetenland (see Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke). According to one survivor, the camp was evacuated on April 3, and the prisoners were marched on foot. “After a week we returned to Sonneberg, [and] then we spent a day there and then we were taken again, this time to the opposite direction. We kept on marching until the eighth of May. For the whole trip we got two kilograms [4.4 pounds] of bread, ten decagrams [3.5 ounces] of margarine, and two spoonfuls of sour cream. . . . The mortality rate was twenty-five percent. Twenty-one were shot. Those unable to walk were shot.”⁹ They were liberated in the vicinity of Luditz on May 7 or 8, 1945, by American troops.

Two postwar proceedings were conducted against former guards in the Sonneberg camp. The accused, Ottomar Böh. and Josef Brü. (full surnames classified), were brought to trial in Marburg for the killing of prisoners during the evacuation of Sonneberg and the subsequent march into the Sudetenland. Proceedings against them were suspended, and they were both acquitted in December 1970.¹⁰

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Sonneberg subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Sonneberg 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), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald).

Surviving primary documentation on the Sonneberg subcamp is also limited. For administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), the BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 210. See also a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Sonneberg camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 50, Reel 17. Testimony from former inmates can also be found in other archives and repositories; for example, MZML contains thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by the relief agency DEGOB; see especially protocols 636 and 744.

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NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

2. "Transport Sonneberg," Weimar-Buchenwald, September 14, 1944 (BU 50), AN-MACVG as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

3. "Diensttelegramm: G.E. Reinhardt," August 27, 1944, BA NS-4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 210.

4. MZML, DEGOB, Protocol, no. 636, P.S. [translation by Gábor Kádár].

5. MZML, DEGOB, Protocol, no. 1782, M.K. According to this transcript, M.K. arrived at Sonneberg from the Gross-Rosen camp.

6. "Transport Buchenwald" from Sonneberg, November 8, 1944 (two inmates); "Transport Buchenwald" from Sonneberg, November 12, 1944 (two to three inmates); "Transport Buchenwald" from Sonneberg, November 29, 1944 (one inmate, knee injury); "Transport Buchenwald" from Sonneberg, January 18, 1945 (BU 50), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

7. Reports on deaths in the Aussenkommandos, Weimar-Buchenwald, February 13, 1945 (BU 36/4), Document 213, p. 3, USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

8. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 253.

9. MZML, DEGOB, Protocol, no. 636, P.S.

10. Case Nr. 744, NS Crimes in Detainment Centers,

Final Phase Crimes in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* ed. Fritz Bauer (Amsterdam: Univ. Press Amsterdam, 1968) vol. 34.

STASSFURT ("REH")

[AKA NEU-STASSFURT, STASSFURT I]

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in September 1944 in Stassfurt (Saxony province) to provide labor for underground construction in the armaments industry. The use of concentration camp labor stemmed from an agreement between the Ingenieurbüro Schlempp (Schlempp Engineering Office) and the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which hired out inmates to the firm at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day.¹ The Stassfurt subcamp, also indicated on reports as the "Neu-Stassfurt" or "Stassfurt I" camp, was code-named "Reh," and its average prisoner strength was about 450 inmates. A second subcamp, known as Stassfurt (Wälzer & Co.), was established nearby with prisoners from the Stassfurt I subcamp in January 1945.

The first transport of inmates to Stassfurt left the Buchenwald main camp on September 13, 1944. This initial transport consisted of 500 inmates, all male and predominantly French political prisoners.² The inmates were initially employed to work in subterranean construction projects for the Schlempp engineering firm in two salt mines: shaft four and shaft six. Schlempp was leading the effort to construct underground installations for the Siemens-Schuckert Werke AG (Siemens-Schuckert Works, SSW) and Kabel- und Leitungswerke AG (Cable and Wire Works, Inc., KALAG). Construction continued until January 1945, when production at the KALAG firm began, also employing prisoner labor. At this time, about 200 prisoners were siphoned to the Georg Wälzer & Co. firm, also in Stassfurt. On November 13, 1944, 20 skilled inmates were assigned to work as electricians at Siemens-Schuckert in shaft six.³

The Stassfurt camp was said to have been located between Löderburg-Lust and Atzendorf and consisted of four wooden barracks surrounded by a double tier of barbed-wire fencing. Outside the fencing there were two barracks for the SS guard staff. The camp had been newly constructed by Italian military internees who had also been incarcerated in Stassfurt prior to the French camp inmates' arrival. The camp population remained relatively constant (between 450 and 500 inmates) until January 1945, when additional transports of inmates (including Russians and Polish Jews) were transported to Stassfurt for work in the KALAG firm and for Wälzer.⁴

The working conditions for inmates in the Stassfurt camp were terrible. For those on the day shifts in the mines, the day began at 4:30 A.M., when the inmates received small rations of ersatz coffee and bread. By 6:00 A.M., the prisoners departed for work in the mines, which lasted up until 7:00 P.M., with a half-hour break at midday. At the end of the day, the prisoners endured the nightly roll call, after having been distributed soup rations. Former inmates recall a constant hunger and obsession with finding food, as well as the brutal

maltreatment from the guards and Kapos, or prisoner work overseers. Memoranda exchanged between the Stassfurt camp administration and the Buchenwald main camp detail some of the illnesses that befell the inmates in Stassfurt, such as influenza, typhus, and conditions that made them otherwise incapable of work (*arbeitsunfähig*).⁵

Little is known about the guard staff of the Stassfurt camp. The commandant was SS-Sturmscharführer Wagner, and the camp elder (Lagerältester) was Bernard Baur, a German prisoner. The prisoners generally referred to the guards and Kapos by first or nicknames; therefore, little information about their identities can be discerned. According to a report filed by the SS garrison doctor for Buchenwald, Hauptsturmführer Schiedlauskay, on January 31, 1945, there were 49 guards in the Stassfurt camp at this time and 494 inmates (not including those used for work at the Wälzer & Co.). The SS doctor in charge of the infirmary in the Stassfurt camp was named Reins, and the SS medic, Grosser.⁶

The Stassfurt camp complex was evacuated on or around April 10, 1945, in face of the approaching front. The inmates were driven on a deadly march toward Czechoslovakia, during which hundreds more perished. Those who survived the foot march were liberated in the region of Annaburg.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Stassfurt subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Stassfurt 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), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, “Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)” (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald). Additional information can be found through the Amicale des Anciens Déportés de Neu-Stassfurt, which has created a Web site and published brochures and testimony of former inmates (see excerpts at www.pierre-henin.com).

Surviving primary documentation on the Stassfurt subcamp is also limited. For administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, including a collection of prisoner lists to and from the camp, as well as other documentation related to postwar reconstruction of the fate of French inmates, see the files copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 48, BU 107, and BU 100.

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NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

2. “Transport Reh,” Buchenwald, September 13, 1944 (BU 48), AN-MACVG as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

3. “Folgende 20 Häftlinge . . .,” November 13, 1944 (BU 48), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

4. See transport lists, and a reconstruction of the movement of prisoners to Reh, in BU 48, USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

5. “An die Rapportführer KL BU,” SS AbKdo, Reh, Schacht VI, September 27, 1944 (BU 48), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

6. “K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt,” January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel: *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 251.

STASSFURT (WÄLZER & CO.)

[AKA STASSFURT II]

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in January 1945 in Stassfurt (Saxony province) to provide camp inmate labor to the Wälzer & Co. firm. The use of concentration camp labor in Stassfurt stemmed originally from an agreement forged in the late summer of 1944 between the Ingenieurbüro Schlempp (Schlempp Engineering Office) and the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which hired out inmates to the firm at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day.¹ The Stassfurt subcamp, also indicated in reports as “Stassfurt II,” was established with inmates that had been transported to the Stassfurt I subcamp and who were deployed in January 1945 to work for Wälzer & Co.

The Wälzer camp population remained relatively constant at about 200 prisoners. Like the Stassfurt I camp, the Stassfurt II camp was last mentioned on April 10, 1945, when the inmates were sent on a death march in the direction of Annaburg. There is no concrete information about whether this work detail (Kommando) had living quarters separate from the Stassfurt I camp.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Stassfurt subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Stassfurt 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), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, “Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)” (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald). Additional information can be found through the Amicale des Anciens Déportés de Neu-Stassfurt, which has created a Web site and published brochures and testimony of former inmates (see excerpts on www.pierre-henin.com).

Surviving primary documentation on the Stassfurt subcamp is also limited. For administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, including a collection of prisoner lists

to and from the camp, as well as other documentation related to postwar reconstruction of the fate of French inmates, see the files copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 48, BU 107, and BU 100.

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NOTE

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

SUHL

In July 1943, a subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Suhl (Thüringen) about 80 kilometers (50 miles) southwest of Weimar, attached to the munitions factory Gustloff-Werke. Before it was appropriated by Gauleiter of Thüringen and engineer Fritz Sauckel in 1935, the Gustloff-Werke firm was originally known as the Suhler Waffen- und Fahrzeugwerk (Suhler Weapons and Vehicle Works), founded by Jewish brothers Löb and Moses Simson in 1856. The Simsons' firm had been the only Jewish-owned firm to receive contracts from the German army after the Treaty of Versailles. After having the firm's owners arrested by 1935, the firm was "aryanized." Sauckel renamed the company after Wilhelm Gustloff, a Swiss Nazi who was shot in Bern in February 1936 by a Jewish student named David Frankfurter.

The Suhl subcamp existed for a relatively brief period, from July 15, 1943, to October 2, 1943, when the between 80 and 100 inmates were deported to Mittelbau. The inmates were used for the construction of barracks for a slave labor camp. Only two transport records could be located, the first of which shows the transfer of 1 prisoner, a Russian political prisoner, from Buchenwald to Suhl in July 1943.¹ Another report, dated either September or October 1943, shows the transfer of a Polish prisoner to Suhl.²

SOURCES There are few resources, either secondary or primary, on the Buchenwald subcamp in Suhl. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Suhl 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), which derives from ITS records. For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983). See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald).

Surviving primary documentation on the Suhl subcamp is also scarce. See a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Buchenwald subcamps copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, BU 50 and BU 8/17.

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NOTES

1. "Transportliste Suhl," Buchenwald, ca. July 19, 1943, AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 50).

2. "Nach Aussenkommandos gingen," [Buchenwald], dates illegible, USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 8/17).

TANNENWALD

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in the vicinity of Usingen (Hessen-Nassau province, Prussia), most likely in Dornholzhäusen, on December 7, 1944, to supply labor for special projects attached to the "Adlerhorst" and "Tannenwald" SS center of operations. Adlerhorst was set up in the Kransberg castle after it had been confiscated by the Nazis in September 1939. From 1941, together with the Ziegenberg castle, parts of the castle served as a military convalescent home and as a Luftwaffe main headquarters for Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring. The castle was renovated to accommodate its expanding role. At the beginning of 1944, the seat of the Nazi Party Province Administration (Gauleitung) Hessen-Nassau was located there. In 1944 and 1945, Kransberg also served as Himmler's and Göring's "Tannenwald" headquarters (Feldpost No. 14.441).

In order to increase structural security around the location, an effort that was led by the Bauinspektion "Rhein-West" Waffen-SS und Polizei (Construction Inspectorate "Rhine-West" Waffen-SS and Police) of Wiesbaden and planned by the Organisation Todt (OT), a prisoner construction work detail (Kommando) was ordered from Buchenwald to work on the construction of an underground tunnel and bunker system. Originally, the camp was planned to receive inmates from Natzweiler but was changed to the administrative responsibility of Buchenwald.¹ On December 7, 1944, 10 inmates were transported from the Buchenwald main camp to the Kransberg castle.² Their first assignment was to construct the Tannenwald subcamp itself, which was most likely located between the old castle walls and the cemetery. After the construction of the barracks, which were built to hold up to 100 inmates, as well as an administrative and supplies structure, the prisoners were assigned to work on the proposed tunneling project. The main goal of their labor was to construct an escape tunnel underground from the SS bunker in the castle to the street.

The inmates were forced to build a tunnel into the mountainside. Because the prisoners lacked equipment for the terribly difficult work, as well as proper protective clothing in the harsh winter, working conditions in the Tannenwald camp were miserable. The broken stones, which were excavated by hand, were carted in trucks away from the construction area

and dumped elsewhere. Constantly hungry and exhausted, the prisoners also endured maltreatment from the guards and work overseers. According to a report by the chief of labor allocation in Buchenwald dated January 6, 1945, unskilled workers who were apportioned to Tannenwald were hired out from the SS at a cost of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per laborer per day.³

The prisoners in the Tannenwald camp were all men, and at most, the camp held between 42 and 44 prisoners during its nearly four-month existence (although on average it only held about 30). According to a Buchenwald work statistical report, it was supposed to be allotted up to 100 inmates.⁴ Most of the inmates were from the Soviet Union and Poland, with smaller numbers of German, Czech, Italian, and French prisoners making up the camp population. The number of inmates remained relatively constant. Periodically, inmates were transferred back to Buchenwald due to their being deemed incapable of work (*arbeitsunfähig*). For example, on January 5, 1945, the commandant of the Tannenwald camp signed a memo to the Rapportführer in Buchenwald, stating that prisoner Nikolay Spuskaw was to be transferred back to Buchenwald in exchange for another inmate due to his incapacity for work.⁵ On an itemized list of inmates in the camp, dated March 23, 1945, 12 inmates are listed along with their "professions": 1 shoemaker, 2 blacksmiths, 2 bricklayers, 2 locksmiths, an electrician, and so forth.⁶

Transport lists signed by the commandant are illegible, though his rank can be determined as SS-Unterscharführer.⁷

Likewise, there is no further information about living conditions, escape attempts, or resistance within the camp. According to the research of local historian Bernd Vorlaeufer-Germer, some local youths were able to sneak extra food to some of the prisoners on occasion, thereby somewhat easing the inmates' situation.

Due to the fast-changing front, the prisoners were unable to finish the efforts begun on the underground tunneling. At the end of March 1945, they were evacuated back to the Buchenwald main camp and received there on March 31, 1945. The first leg of their trip back to Buchenwald was by forced march on foot, before they were loaded onto a train in the area of Weimar and taken to the camp. The Kransberg castle and surrounding areas were liberated by American troops in June 1945.

SOURCES There are few secondary sources on the Tannenwald subcamp of Buchenwald. An article by Bernd Vorlaeufer-Germer, "Häftlinge bauten einen Tunnel für Himmler," *FR*, April 12, 2005, provides a short overview of the camp, and much of this entry builds upon this information. Another article by Torsten Weigelt, "Tunnelbau für Himmler and Göring," *FR*, May 11, 2004, also briefly mentions the Tannenwald subcamp as well as the ongoing research efforts of Vorlaeufer-Germer and the Arbeitsgemeinschaft für politische Bildung im Hochtaunuskreis (www.arbeit-und-leben-hochtaunus.de). For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Tannenwald 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), which derives from ITS records. For similar information, see also the Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand, ed., *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945, Hessen I, Regierungsbezirk Darmstadt* (Frankfurt-Bockenheim, 1995).

Primary documentation on the Tannenwald subcamp and other satellites of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections including AG-B. See in particular a collection of transport lists to and from the Tannenwald camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 50, Reel 17. For administrative documentation mentioning the Tannenwald subcamp (a report on prisoner number 769, a skilled worker allocated to Tannenwald but working for the DAW, and work statistic information dated December 1944), see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 210, Fiche 1, and BA Band 8: "Einsatz von Häftlingen zu kriegswichtigen Arbeiten und in kriegswichtigen Betrieben, 1944–1945."

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NOTES

1. "Kommando Tannenwald, An die Abteilung I, II, III, IV, V . . .," Arbeitseinsatz, KZ Buchenwald, December 10, 1944, BA NS-4, USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 8, p. 13.

2. "Transport Tannenwald," December 7, 1944, Buchenwald (BU 50) AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 17).

3. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

4. "Kommando Tannenwald, An die Abteilung I, II, III, IV, V . . .," Arbeitseinsatz, KZ Buchenwald, December 10, 1944, BA NS-4, USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 8, p. 13.

5. An den I. Rapportführer des K.L. Buchenwald, January 5, 1945 (BU 50), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 17).

6. "Personalaufstellung der zum Konzentrationslager Buchenwald überstellten Häftlinge vom Arb. Kdo., Feldp. Nr. 14441," March 23, 1945 (BU 50), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 17).

7. An den I. Rapportführer des K.L. Buchenwald, January 5, 1945 (BU 50), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 17). The document is signed by "SS-UScha. U. Kdo. Führer," but the signature is largely illegible.

TANNRODA

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Tannroda (Thüringen) in 1942 to provide labor to the Mitteldeutsche Papierwerke company in Tannroda. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the camp was first mentioned in Buchenwald-related records on June 12, 1942, and last mentioned on November 4, 1942. However, a report on the use of labor in Buchenwald dated October 25, 1941, notes that there were 15 unskilled laborers in Tannroda; therefore, the camp

(or an outlying work detail from Buchenwald) may have existed already in 1941.¹

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Tannroda subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Tannroda 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), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, “Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)” (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald).

Surviving primary documentation on the Tannroda subcamp is also scarce. For administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), the BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 206. The AG-B and AG-MD may contain other relevant documentation.

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NOTE

1. “Einsatz der Berufe im Lager Buchenwald,” October 25, 1941, BA NS-4, USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 206, Fiche 4.

TAUCHA (MEN)

Taucha lies about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) to the east of Leipzig. In the autumn of 1944, the Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) established a male subcamp in Factory II, Freiherr-vom-Stein-Strasse 3a, a few days after a subcamp for women had been opened.

The camp is mentioned for the first time on October, 10, 1944, when around 100 prisoners from Auschwitz II-Birkenau arrived in Taucha. Most of the prisoners in this transport came from Theresienstadt, with a few from Hungary. The men arrived at the same time as a transport of Jewish women. They were held in the camp complex on Wurzner Strasse 33, which was separated from the women’s camp with barbed wire. Both the male and female subcamps were about a 30-minute walk from the HASAG factories, where the prisoners worked. The detachment leader of the male camp was SS-Scharführer Schmidt; the Arbeitseinsatzführer was SS-Hauptscharführer Martin. SS-Unterscharführer Langner was also involved in the camp’s administration.

Later around 100 prisoners of other nationalities were brought to the camp, including French, Italians, Yugoslavs, Latvians, Poles, Germans, Russians, Swedes, and Slovaks. At the end of October or the beginning of November 1944, the camp reached 700 inmates (the highest number that would be reached) after 500 Danish policemen arrived at the camp. The policemen were used for a short time to construct a railway embankment close to the HASAG, and at the beginning of November, they

were returned to the main Buchenwald camp. The loss of labor was compensated for in mid-November with the admission of new prisoners so that the camp strength reached at this time around 400 prisoners. This number would remain largely unchanged until the end of the camp—on March 29, 1945, there were 460 prisoners in the subcamp.

The prisoners worked in Factory III at HASAG where, among other things, they assembled antitank weapons (*Panzerfäuste*) and grenades. The working and living conditions were difficult, a fact supported by the number of illnesses the prisoners suffered, many of which resulted in death. They included tuberculosis, diphtheria, pneumonia, and heart attacks. The subcamp had an infirmary with SS medical orderlies and prisoner doctors and nurses. In the event of serious accidents, HASAG used the factory doctor and a doctor under contract. This suggests that HASAG and the SS, at least to a certain extent, wanted to maintain the valuable, trained workforce but were not interested in a basic, humane use of the prisoners’ labor and an improvement in their work and living conditions.

Although contact was not envisaged between the male and female camps, it was tolerated by the camp command. Inmates from both camps could rehearse a New Year’s performance and perform several times before the inmates of both camps.

The evacuation of the camp began on April 6, 1945. The prisoners were driven by foot in the direction of Teplitz-Schönau. According to survivors, their treatment along the way by the SS, under the command of SS-Scharführer Trautman, was brutal.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) commenced in 1966 to investigate events in the camp and on the death march. In 1974, the investigations were transferred to the Cologne Central Office, which ceased investigating in 1975 due to a lack of evidence.

SOURCES Charles-Claude Biedermann contributed the article on the Taucha subcamp (male) in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 585–586. Martin Schellenberg in “Die ‘Schnellaktion Panzerfaust’: Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG,” *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271, provides basic information on the role of HASAG in the development and production of the Panzerfaust and on selected HASAG subcamps in the Leipzig region. Klaus Hesse investigated the Third Reich’s armaments program during World War II in *1933–1945: Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Self-published, 2000, 2001), Teil 1, *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe, ihre militärische Bedeutung, über Gewinne, Gewinner und Verlierer*, pp. 29–63, and Teil 2, *Eine Dokumentation über “Arbeitsbeschaffung” durch Rüstung und Dienstverpflichtete, über Zwangsarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene und KZ-Aussenlager, über gesübte und ungeübte Verbrechen, Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 99–108. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:59; and in “Verzeichnis der

Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1844.

Archival documents on the Taucha subcamp are to be found in the AG-B, Bestand NS 4 Bu of the BA-K, as well as in the ITS Buchenwald-Bestand. The ZdL investigated the camp under file IV 429 AR-Z 13/74 at BA-L.

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TAUCHA (WOMEN)

Since 1939 the Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) had had a factory in Taucha, about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) to the east of Leipzig. In 1939, the company had acquired in Taucha 33 storage buildings in Wurznar Strasse and converted the buildings into a factory for the production of cartridge shells and grenades. Production began in 1940. In the following years German and foreign forced laborers worked in Taucha, as in many other HASAG factories. Klaus Hesse, who has analyzed the armaments industry in the Leipzig region between 1933 and 1945, has connected the imposing increase in the number of HASAG “workforce members” (*Gefolgschaftsmitglieder*) with the increase in armaments production in the Third Reich: during “normal times” the HASAG had 2,000 *Gefolgschaftsmitgliedern* (according to the chairman of the HASAG supervisory board in a letter from 1943 to the Reich Trustee for Labor for the Saxon Business Region, or Reichstreuhänder für Arbeit für das Wirtschaftsgebiet Sachsen). By the end of 1939 the HASAG had 29,056; by the end of 1941, 43,468; in June 1943, 53,740; and in March 1944, around 64,000. Sixty percent of these workers were foreigners, and many of the forced laborers who slaved for the HASAG—at the end of 1944 it was more than 10,000—were not included in the statistics.

The forced laborers were accommodated mostly in barracks camps. At the beginning of September 1944, another barracks camp was established in the Freiherr-vom-Stein-Strasse in Taucha, which was fenced in with barbed wire and had guard towers. It was planned to hold more than 1,000 female concentration camp prisoners who were to work for the HASAG. After Leipzig-Schönefeld, Schlieben, and Altenburg, Taucha became the fourth female HASAG subcamp. The camp is mentioned for the first time in the Buchenwald files on September 7, 1944, when 500 Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) arrived in the camp. They had originally come from Auschwitz and had ended up in Taucha after traveling via Ravensbrück and the HASAG camps in Schlieben and Altenburg. More female Sinti and Roma were concentrated in Taucha than in any other Buchenwald subcamp. Many of the women worked with poisonous substances, as evidenced by the burns and discolorations on their skin and hair.

At the beginning of September 1944, the new camp leader, SS-Scharführer Schmidt from Buchenwald, arrived in Taucha. Schmidt, whom the women soon began to fear because of his brutality, was in command of 50 SS men and 14 female guards.

Other transports arrived on September 16 and October 6, each with 300 women from Ravensbrück. Just about all of the

women were political prisoners from many nations: Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Italy, Yugoslavia, Croatia, Lithuania, Poland, Serbia, Bohemia, Moravia, and the United States. On October 10, 400 Jewish women arrived from Auschwitz. They were accompanied by a transport of 100 men, for whose quarters one of the barracks in the women’s camp was fenced off with barbed wire.

On October 13, 1944, the commander of the subcamp reported that the camp held 1,371 female and male prisoners including 335 female Gypsies, 400 female Jews, and 536 female “Aryans.”

Jews and Sinti and Roma had to work in the most dangerous areas, where they quickly succumbed to the appalling work conditions. Within a month of the camp being founded, 168 women who could no longer work were sent back to Auschwitz, including 149 Sinti and Roma and 19 Jews. There the women were given new prisoner numbers and transferred back to Ravensbrück.

The women in the subcamp had inadequate clothing, and there was an almost complete lack of hygiene. For example, until the end of 1944 there was no washing facility for the women; it was only from December that the women were able to wash themselves and sometimes take a warm shower. It was only in November 1944 that the female prisoner doctor in the camp took up her practice. In these three months, 3 prisoners died and many of them suffered from typhus, diphtheria, tuberculosis, and other illnesses caused by consumption, exhaustion, and malnutrition. In the autumn of 1944, on average 4.5 women were ill each day and confined to quarters, with 177 receiving outpatient treatment. The numbers of women confined to quarters from illness on January 20, 1945, had increased to 177.

In January 1945, the subcamp was placed under new command: SS-Unterscharführer Martin Wagner replaced the camp leader, SS-Scharführer Schmidt. Supported by SS-Untersturmführer Wolfgang Plaul, who was in command of all HASAG subcamps, Wagner demanded that Buchenwald SS-Standortarzt Gerhard Schiedlausky immediately improve the women’s medical care. In the following period, there was in fact a small improvement, but the SS was incapable of fundamentally improving the conditions of the women in the last few months of the war due to the general conditions in Germany and the general disinterest of the SS in the prisoners’ situation. Toward the end of the camp’s existence, 70 women who could no longer work were taken back to Ravensbrück. They were replaced by internal transfers from the HASAG complex of subcamps. Some 100 women arrived in Taucha from Leipzig-Schönefeld on February 28, 1945. A final transport of severely ill women left Taucha a few days before the subcamp was evacuated. 150 women were taken to Bergen-Belsen including 67 Sinti and Roma.

On April 6, 1945, according to the International Tracing Service (ITS), or April 14, 1945, according to historian Irmgard Seidel, the evacuation of the approximately 1,200 women in the camp began. As with prisoners generally in the Leipzig region, the women from Taucha were led in an easterly direction until they reached the Elbe River near Riesa. From there

they marched south in the direction of Teplice. Many women were able to escape along the way, and many were shot by the SS when they could no longer march. The women were finally liberated by Soviet and U.S. troops when the troops entered the Sudetenland.

Eighty seriously ill women and a few nursing staff remained in the Taucha subcamp. After the SS left the camp, they were guarded by the German Home Guard (Volkssturm) men. The prisoners were liberated a few days later by the U.S. Army.

In 1966 the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) investigated the subcamp and the death march. In 1974, the preliminary results of the investigation were sent to the Central Office in Cologne. Investigations ceased in 1975 due to a lack of evidence.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel contributed the article on the Taucha subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 582–585. Information on the HASAG and its use of prisoners can be found in Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271; as well as in Klaus Hesse, *1933–1945: Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig* 2 vols. (Leipzig: Self-published, 2000, 2001), Teil 1, *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe, ihre militärische Bedeutung, über Gewinne, Gewinner und Verlierer*, pp. 29–64; Teil 2, *Eine Dokumentation über "Arbeitsbeschaffung" durch Rüstung und Dienstverpflichtete, über Zwangsarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene und KZ-Aussenlager, über gesübte und ungesübte Verbrechen, Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 99–109.

There are several witness accounts of the Taucha subcamp. Ruth Elias, a survivor who with her future husband, one of the prisoners at the male camp who rehearsed and performed at the New Years' event, published her memoirs under the title *Die Hoffnung hielt mich am Leben* (Munich: VERLAG, 1988). The fate of survivor Nina Schalagina is described in *Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris*, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris), ed., *Les femmes oubliées de Buchenwald: 22 avril–30 octobre 2005* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), pp. 85–87. Jeanne Levy-Rosenberg, another survivor, describes her evacuation in the spring of 1945 to Taucha and her one-week stay in the camp before the death march continued in *Durch die Hölle. Von Hoannd durch Auschwitz-Birkenau, Ravensbrück, Malchow, Taucha, zurück und nach Israel. Jüdische Schicksale 1944–1949*, ed. Erhard Roy Wiehn (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre-Verlag, 2000), p. 116. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:59; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," BGBl. (1977), Teil 1, p. 1844.

The collections of the USHMMA hold several witness documents including oral history interviews with the survivors Ruth Elias [Eliasz] (RG 50–120*0036) and Erna Elerat (RG-50.120*0035). Other archival documents on the subcamp can be seen in the AG-B, collection NS 4 Bu (BA-K),

as well as IPN, sygn. 4. Investigations by the ZdL were conducted under reference file IV 429 AR-Z 13/74 and are held at BA-L.

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TONNDORF ("T")

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Tonndorf with an initial 6 inmates, possibly as early as August 1941. Sources on the exact opening dates of the camp vary, while some surviving documentation indicates that the camp (or even an outlying work detail [Kommando] from Buchenwald with the same name) existed already in 1938. The Tonndorf camp's code name in related documentation is "T," and the average strength of the subcamp's prisoner population in the years 1944–1945 was about 45 inmates. Located about 5.5 kilometers (3.4 miles) from Bad Berka, the Tonndorf subcamp was created to supply laborers to the Bauleitung der Waffen-SS (Waffen-SS Construction Directorate) B II.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) records, the camp opened either on August 30, 1941, with 5 Buchenwald inmates, or September 27, 1943, with 6 Buchenwald inmates. Correspondence from the SS-Obersturmführer and chief of Bauleitung II to the Buchenwald "protective custody" camp chief (Schutzhaftlagerführer), dated October 3, 1945, details instructions for bringing in food for the "six inmates of the Tonndorf Kommando."¹ By January 13, 1945, there were at least 44 inmates in the camp, and by March 29, 1945, 112, according to ITS. One transport of 40 inmates may have arrived in Berka in mid-March 1945 from the Buchenwald subcamp Abteroda (Thüringen).²

The discrepancy in dates may be related to the kind of work the prisoners were assigned to do upon their arrival in Tonndorf. The earlier Kommando (1941) was said to have worked for the Steinbruch Merkel (Merkel quarry), while later work assignments (Kommando numbers 121 and 91) were divided between the Bad Berka-Martynwerke and the Blankenhain Sandgruben (sand pits). The inmates were all male and appear to have been Polish, German, Russian, Czech, and French and/or Belgian.

Some information can be gathered about the earlier Kommando (or possibly subcamp) that was created in 1938, but it is difficult to ascertain whether this group of prisoners was the same as that assigned to the Bauleitung II in 1943. According to work statistics reports on expected labor assignments submitted in September and December 1938, and designated as "outlying work gangs" (*Kolonnen ausserhalb der Postenkette*), a Kommando was sent to Tonndorf to construct a camp in the vicinity of Tonndorf, near Bad Berka, as well as to perform excavation for future irrigation.³ It is possible that this labor was begun by movable or temporary work Kommandos from Buchenwald and later continued, in part, by the inmates in the more permanent Tonndorf subcamp.

Moreover, according to ITS records, there was a subcamp or Kommando of Tonndorf called Bad Berka. It is noted

briefly in March 1945 that there were two transports from Buchenwald to Berka, the second of which also saw inmates transferred to Blankenhain (and one of which may have originated from the subcamp in Abteroda).⁴

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Tonndorf subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Tonndorf 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), which derives from ITS records.

Surviving primary documentation on the Tonndorf subcamp is also limited. For administrative documentation mentioning the Tonndorf subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 170, 209. See also a collection of prisoner lists in the Tonndorf camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 50, Reel 17. Other documentation may be found in the AG-B.

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NOTES

1. “Verpflegung für Häftlinge Kommando Tonndorf,” Weimar-Buchenwald, October 3, 1943, BANS-4, USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 209.

2. “Transport Berka,” Buchenwald, March 17, 1945 (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

3. “Bericht der Arbeitsstatistik über: Voraussichtliche Arbeitsplätze der beweglichen Kolonnen am 3. September 1938” and “Bericht der Arbeitsstatistik über: Voraussichtliche Arbeitsplätze der beweglichen Kolonnen am 9. September 1938,” Buchenwald, BANS-4, USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 170.

4. “Transport Berka,” KL Buchenwald, March 17, 1945 (40 inmates) (BU 50), AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 17). See also “Transport Tonndorf,” KL Buchenwald, ca. March 2, 1945 (25 inmates to Bad Berka) (BU 50), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 17).

TORGAU

The city of Torgau is on the Elbe River to the northeast of Leipzig. Until 1945, it was part of the Prussian province of Saxony. A Buchenwald subcamp was established in Torgau with the arrival of a transport of 500 prisoners from Ravensbrück on September 4, 1944. The women were mostly French political prisoners—according to a survivor, two-thirds of them were members of the French resistance. There were also in the transport 3 Americans, 3 Britons, 3 Swiss, 2 Italians, 2 stateless persons, a Belgian, a Dane, a Pole, and a Russian, all of whom had been arrested in France. Most of the women wore their civilian clothes, which had been marked with a large cross sewn on in a conspicuous color so as to clearly identify the women as prisoners.

The prisoners worked in the army ammunitions facility or Heeresmunitionsanstalt (Heeresmuna) Torgau, which reported to the Heeresfeldzeugkommando Kassel. This structure might explain why the camp leader, Karl Weinhold, Stabsfeldwebel of the Wehrmacht, was transferred to Torgau where he became an SS-Oberscharführer. As part of his new assignment, Weinhold became a member of the Waffen-SS; prior to this, he had been a member of neither the SS nor the Nazi Party. Prisoners describe Weinhold as a “humane” camp leader. Under his command, the prisoners were not beaten, and there were no draconian punishments. Survivor Rachel Kaufmann, on the other hand, has described how after an escape attempt by a female inmate all the prisoners had their rations temporarily reduced to one-third as punishment. In light of the weakened condition of the prisoners, this must be seen as a draconian punishment. Twenty-five female overseers arrived with the prisoners. They had worked in local industries and had been sent to Ravensbrück for a short training course.

The camp was surrounded by an electrified barbed-wire fence. It consisted of a brick building and several wooden barracks in which the prisoners were accommodated as well as an infirmary, kitchen barracks, tailor, and a wash building, which only had cold water. The camp was connected to the Heeresmunitionsanstalt by a path through a field.

The women worked in two shifts. They produced bombs and grenades as well and cleaned unexploded ordnance. The last of these activities was extremely dangerous: the prisoners had to scratch residue from the inside of the ordnance and then clean it in an acidic bath. While the women were given rubber aprons, their hands and faces were not protected, with the result that the chemicals damaged their skin and lungs. Already in September 1944, two prisoners died and several fell ill from tuberculosis. The camp was dissolved after one month, with one-half of the women being transported to the Abteroda subcamp on October 2, 1944, and the other half being returned on October 5, 1944, to Ravensbrück. Only eight French women remained in the camp and were given the Buchenwald prisoner numbers 37668 to 37675.

The second phase of the camp’s history began on November 18, 1944, with the arrival of 250 Hungarian Jews. Most of these women came from Carpatho-Ukraine and Siebenbürgen and had been living in ghettos and camps from May–June 1944. They were taken finally to Germany via Auschwitz. Many of the women were related. Kaufmann, who was taken to Torgau with a transport from Bergen-Belsen, described in her memoirs that she and her fellow prisoners could not work for two weeks: they were so undernourished that they first had to be fed before they could work. They received daily bread, margarine, jam, sometimes sausage, and twice daily soup. According to Kaufmann, the prisoners were surprised by the clean accommodations (each block had its own canteen and dormitory), by their being allowed to sing and organize cultural events, and by the friendly and cooperative approach of the block elders.

Other prisoners have described the working and living conditions as more debilitating: the barracks swarmed with lice and other bugs; there was only warm water once a week;

and as soon as the women began to work, the food diminished in quantity: the women were given soup only while they worked and bread once a week. The women wore dark green overalls (other sources say dark blue) and wooden clogs while working in the munitions factory. They worked in day and night shifts and, according to Kaufmann, were assigned tasks on the basis of their hand sizes: women with large hands transported munitions by pulling and pushing wagons between the individual factory buildings; women with smaller hands assembled munitions and did precision work with a variety of munitions that were produced in Torgau. Relations with the German workers can only be described as complex: officially there was a ban on contact, and it seems that many workers did in fact ignore the prisoners. Kaufmann, however, relates cases of contact and support but also of shift foremen who screamed at the prisoners and beat them.

From March 1945, as a result of the lack of supplies and the approach of the Allied troops, work ceased in individual departments. Some women were now used to drag boxes of dynamite into underground bunkers in the forests around Torgau. Food became even more scarce.

There are two accounts of the end of the Torgau subcamp: historian Irmgard Seidel states that at the beginning of April the guards and female overseers disappeared, and the commander left the women to themselves. While the women remained at night in the camp, during the day they searched for food in the vicinity of the camp and thus were discovered by U.S. troops. This probably happened after April 10, 1945 (ITS puts the date for the camp's liberation as April 26, 1945). The camp leader Weinhold was arrested. The women then set off for Leipzig, where U.S. medical units cared for them, while others made their way home.

Kaufmann, on the other hand, states that the women were evacuated at the beginning of April in goods wagons. The women were given bread but no water. Along the way, the train was attacked by Allied bombers, killing prisoners. Kaufmann and five other female prisoners were able to get through to Berlin but cannot recall when and how the accompanying soldiers disappeared.

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) commenced the investigation into acts of violence in the camp in 1966. No brutal acts could be proven, and as the former camp leader, Weinhold, had died in 1966, the investigations ceased.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel contributed the entry on the Torgau subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 590–592. Statements by the survivor Rachel Kaufmann are to be found in Gerda and Manfred Struck and Christina Mulolli, eds., *Rachels Erinnerungen: Ghetto Lodz—Auschwitz—Bergen-Belsen—Torgau* (Bonn: Gegen Vergessen—Für Demokratie e.V., 2002). This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:60; and “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1845.

Investigations by the ZdL are filed under file IV 429 AR-Z 1941/66 at BA-L.

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TRÖGLITZ [ALSO REHMSDORF, GLEINA] [AKA WILLE]

The Allies bombed the Braunkohle-Benzin AG (Brabag) oil refineries on May 12 and 28, 1944, including the refinery at Tröglitz near Zeitz, where petroleum was derived from brown coal. The removal of the damage was slow, with the result that the Brabag commenced negotiations with the SS to use prisoners for this work. On June 4, the Buchenwald concentration camp transported the first prisoners to Tröglitz—an advanced detachment of 200 Dutch prisoners. They were accommodated in an inn at Gleina.

Until the dissolution of the camp at the beginning of April 1945, the prisoners were accommodated in three locations within the village district so that the camp is known under different names.¹ At the beginning, the prisoners lived in the village of Gleina; later, in a tent camp in Tröglitz near the Brabag factory; and from January 1, 1945, in a brick barracks camp in Rehmsdorf. The improvised camps at Gleina and Tröglitz existed simultaneously until the Gleina camp was dissolved in November 1944. All three locations were to the east of the small city of Zeitz, which later was in Sachsen-Anhalt, and to the south of Halle-an-der-Salle. The camps were initially constructed by Brabag and later by the Organisation Todt (OT), but with such haste that they remained incomplete so that the prisoners suffered from an acute shortage of space. There was a lack of toilets, washing facilities had not been properly thought through or were lacking, and there was no drainage system. Buchenwald SS-Standortarzt Gerhard Schiedlausky determined that there was a high risk of infection in the camp at Tröglitz and demanded that Brabag improve the prisoners' living conditions. The demand was prompted by economic considerations alone. The prisoners were sent to a public hospital in Zeitz for delousing before some of them, on their own initiative at the beginning of 1945, began the construction of a disinfection facility.

The SS named the camp after the cooperative Brabag factory manager, “Wille.” It was the first Buchenwald subcamp that held Jewish prisoners. In comparison with other Buchenwald subcamps, it also held the largest number of Jewish prisoners. Characteristic of the camp was the murderous construction work that the prisoners had to perform, the high death rate, and the large fluctuation in prisoner numbers. Between Buchenwald and Tröglitz there developed a regular commuter traffic: sick and dying prisoners were exchanged for new prisoners; individual prisoner-functionaries traveled regularly back and forth to the main camp.

Between June 11 and September 8, 1944, the SS transported another 5,197 prisoners to the camp, mostly Hungarian Jews. There were also a few Czechs, Poles, Ukrainians,

Rumanians, Belgians, French, Latvians, and Germans in the camp. The Jews, who included the writer Imre Kertész, had been deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau in May 1944 and then had been chosen for forced labor within Germany. From here they were transferred to Germany. The Brabag, which owned three other factories in Böhlen near Leipzig, Magdeburg/Rothensee, and Schwarzheide, used the prisoners exclusively for building and clearing work. The prisoners had to unload building materials, repair roads and railways, dig out damaged pipe and cable networks, and disarm unexploded ordnance. In so doing, German technicians could quickly rebuild the complicated chemical factory. The heavy building work and a mixture of violence and killings caused the prisoners to be completely exhausted within a few weeks. If a prisoner died on the Brabag site, they were often disposed of with the building rubble.²

The German war machine was heavily reliant on its own production of petroleum. Albert Speer, the minister for armaments, secured the production of petroleum as a result of the Allied bombardment. With Hitler's permission he instigated on May 30, 1944, the Geilenberg Program. Edmund Geilenberg, one of his most capable staff members, was put in charge of the program. Brabag was classified as an extremely important war industry and from no later than July 1944 worked closely with the Geilenberg staff. As a result, Brabag gained easier access to prisoners. The Armaments Ministry financed the reconstruction costs and the costs of the prisoners. Geilenberg and leading Brabag managers ruthlessly drove the construction work and with great urgency so that the prisoners' situation deteriorated.

In the summer of 1944, weakened and injured prisoners were transported several times from the subcamp to Buchenwald; on September 23 there was a transport of 996 prisoners. The majority were selected in Buchenwald and on October 3, 1944, transported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau, where they were murdered. On November 23, 1,000 prisoners were transported to Buchenwald, 2 of whom died on the way. Five hundred prisoners were transported on November 27 to the Berga-Elster subcamp (code name "Schwalbe V"), where they had to excavate caverns for the proposed subterranean relocation of the Tröglitz factory. Fifty prisoners were immediately selected by the SS command in Berga and transported on to Buchenwald, because they were no longer capable of working. On February 6, 1945, the SS filled the gap and deported 1,175 prisoners from Buchenwald to the subcamp, which in the meantime had been relocated to Rehmsdorf. The prisoners were mostly Poles, who probably had been sent from Auschwitz to Buchenwald between January 20 and 23. On the same day, the Rehmsdorf camp SS selected 618 exhausted prisoners and transported them back to the main camp. The prisoners were killed in the following days in Block 59 by injections. On March 9, 1945, another 554 exhausted prisoners were selected in Rehmsdorf and sent to the Bergen-Belsen camp.

According to available information, there were a total of 6,641 prisoners in Tröglitz/Rehmsdorf who were forced to work.³ Some 3,974 were selected and transported to other

camps, of whom 2,000 were sent to death camps. According to SS administration files, at least 733 prisoners died in the subcamp. Of these, the SS had 658 cremated in the city crematoria in Gera, Altenburg, and Weissenfels. Indications that the Rehmsdorf prisoners were buried in mass graves at nearby Mumsdorf remain unconfirmed. Another 788 prisoners died on various transports or shortly after their arrival in Buchenwald in Block 59. The death march, which the remaining prisoners were driven on in April 1945, resulted in at least 934 deaths. In Reitzenhain on the German/Czech border, there was a massacre when low-flying Allied fighters attacked the prisoners' train. The survivors fled into a nearby forest where they were hunted and seized by SS units, members of the local Nazi Party, SA, Hitler Youth, and local Reitzenhain citizens. There was a bloodbath as the armed hunters killed 388 prisoners. The survivors reached Theresienstadt on April 21, 1945. Less than a quarter of the Rehmsdorf prisoners survived the Holocaust in Rehmsdorf and the other murder sites.

Rudolf Kenn, a long-serving member of the Buchenwald camp SS, was in charge of the SS guards at the subcamp. Seventy-seven percent of the guards were Wehrmacht soldiers who had been transferred in 1944 from the army and the Luftwaffe to the SS.⁴ None of them were called to account after the war for crimes committed in the Wille subcamp. Only a prisoner, the camp elder Hans Wolf, was sentenced to death in 1946 in the U.S. Army's Dachau trial for his brutality.

Contact between the prisoners and the local population was ambivalent. To be sure the local Nazi Party advised the villagers of the establishment of the camp and prohibited any contact with the prisoners. Nevertheless, there were many areas of contact. Prisoners worked on the construction sites with German tradesmen and Brabag employees. Prisoners also repaired private houses in the surrounding villages that had been damaged by air raids. Sick and wounded prisoners were taken to the Brabag clinic and treated by a doctor from Zeitz. The prisoners' corpses were examined by a local doctor. In addition, the state authorities were also occupied with the camp: the Merseburg Regierungspräsident was informed about all construction activity, and the registry office and the Gera cemetery argued with the SS about the correct method to register and cremate dead prisoners.

The Brabag engineers who were in charge of the construction work were put in charge by the camp SS and were extremely well informed. Even a member of the board, Heinrich Bütefisch, inspected the prisoners' work. After the end of the war, Brabag denied any responsibility for the prisoners and rejected all claims for compensation by former prisoners.⁵ After Bütefisch had been convicted in the IG Farben trial, he was awarded the Federal German Service Cross (Bundesverdienstkreuz) in 1964 by Federal President Heinrich Lübke. After public protests, Lübke had to recall the award.

SOURCES This article is based on Franka Bindernagel and Tobias Bütow's book *Ein KZ in der Nachbarschaft: Das Magdeburger Aussenlager der Brabag und der "Freundeskreis Himmler,"* 2nd ed. (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004). The camp was researched

for the first time by the East Berlin Colloquium under Professor Walter Bartel. The resulting article, which was never published, is to be found at YV. Also important is the work by Lothar Czossek, *Vernichtung, Auftrag und Vollendung. Dokumentation über das Aussenlager Rehmsdorf des KZ Buchenwald* (Rehmsdorf: Heimatverein, 1997).

Primary documentation for this camp can be found in AG-B, YVA, and the Nuremberg Trials. Additional information on the camp staff may be found in BA-L, 429 AR-Z 156/71. On Brabag's compensation cases, see LA-B, Rep. 39/ Nr. 27/1-3. Imre Kertész published his memoirs in *Roman eines Schicksallosen*, 6th ed. (Berlin: Rowohlt, 2002); as did survivor Michael Rozenek in *Wie wird es einmal enden?* (Weimar: Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, 1990). Other survivors' reports are to be found in the local museum at Rehmsdorf, Lothar Czossek, as well as in YV. For details on the Geilenberg Program, see the Franka Bindernagel and Tobias Bütow essay "Ingenieure als Täter, Die 'Geilenberg-Lager' und die Delegation von Macht," in *Lagersystem und Repräsentation: Interdisziplinäre Studien zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager*, ed. Ralph Gabriel et al., (Tübingen: Edition Diskord, 2004).

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NOTES

1. There are various accounts on the date the camp was dissolved: Lothar Czossek puts the date as April 6 and 7, Walter Bartel, April 12 and 13. The SS Buchenwald documents cease from April 1 and do not mention the dissolution of the camp.

2. Report by Kurt Lenzner, 1979, AG-B, 62-54-1, AL Brabag/Zeit.

3. All the dates on the prisoner transport and the number of dead have been gathered from the AG-B and YVA. The numbers that Lothar Czossek derived from prisoner reports have not all been confirmed. AG-B, NS 4 Bu/ 136b und 230; 4-46-1-18/ Stärkemeldungen; NS 4/136a; Filme Nr. 18a und 26; Häftlingsnummernkartei.

4. BA-L (formerly ZdL), 429 AR-Z 156/ 71.

5. LA-B, Rep. 39/ Nr. 27/1-3.

UNNA

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Unna (Westfalen province) in July 1943 to provide inmate labor to the 5th SS-Korps-Nachrichten-Abteilung, which was stationed in Unna. They were assigned to work for the Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei (Construction Directorate of the Waffen-SS and Police).

The camp's population did not fluctuate greatly during its seven-month operation. The first transport of 50 inmates was deported to Unna on July 24 or 26, 1943.¹ Most of the inmates on this transport were Poles, with a smaller number of "asocial" prisoners. All of the inmates were men. Additional transports from Buchenwald were sent to the Unna subcamp in the following months: on August 9, 8 inmates; September 22, 5 inmates; October 13, 5 inmates; and December 2, 2 or 3 inmates.² The inmates were most likely housed in an old brick factory near the SS barracks on Iserlohner Strasse.

The Unna subcamp was last noted in related records on February 29, 1944, with 50 prisoners. The camp may have been closed and evacuated on March 3, 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Unna subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald / Unna 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), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (Unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald). See also K.-G. Klietmann's *Die Waffen-SS: Eine Dokumentation* (Osnabrück: Verlag "Der Freiwillige" GmbH, [1965]) for brief description and breakdowns of the structure and locations of SS units. [Note that this Order of Battle was published by the Waffen-SS veterans organization.]

Surviving primary documentation on the Unna subcamp is also limited. See a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Unna camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 50, Reel 17.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. "Transport Unna," K.L. Buchenwald, July 24/26, 1943 [exact date illegible] (BU 50), AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

2. See transport lists to Unna, K.L. Buchenwald, August 9, 1943; September 22, 1943; October 13, 1943; and December 2, 1943; (BU 50), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

WANSLEBEN ("MF," "WILHELM," "BIBER II") [AKA MANSFELD]

During the course of the war, the production facilities in the Third Reich were increasingly affected by growing Allied air superiority. The ability to preserve the manufacturing capabilities for important war products became increasingly difficult. Allied air raids became more and more precise and were directed at the most important industrial facilities, such as aircraft manufacturers, which could scarcely sustain any more damage. At the beginning of 1944, Hitler decided that the most important factories should go underground. Disused mines with their kilometer-long (0.6-mile-long) tunnels were ideal for this purpose. However, there were not as many mines as were needed. In order to meet the demands of the Führer, additional bomb-safe facilities had to be created. They either had to be located in underground facilities, which had not been used before, or in above-ground buildings, which had to be built. These building and production plans demanded an enormous labor supply.

The subcamp Wansleben, which opened in January 1944, was a small part in this ambitious, urgent plan. It was located not far from Buchenwald.¹ The SS chose this location for male prisoners using the requisite guidelines. It was an unused potassium mine, Einsatz Kalliwerk Georgi in Wansleben am See, for which an underground Junkers factory was planned. The underground facilities were code-named "Wilhelm" and "Biber II." Other names associated with the camp included "MF" and Mansfeld. Documents held by the International Tracing Service (ITS) mention the camp for the first time on March 13, 1944, in a transport document from Buchenwald, which lists a transport of 50 male inmates from Buchenwald to Wilhelm.² These inmates were predominantly political Polish and Russian inmates. A handwritten notation "A VI" indicates with the letter *A* the planning proposal and with the number *VI* the order in which the project would be realized. It signifies that this operation fell under the program of the SS-Leadership Staff (Führungsstab) A6. The SS command, responsible for the use of prisoners in the subcamp in the development of the mine, was known as "A VI." From the beginning of April, the detachment was known by several names. On March 15, 1944, the first reference to the use of 300 prisoners appears.³ Until February 1945, there is documentary evidence to support the use of labor by this subcamp. The highest number of prisoners, 844, is recorded in December 1944.

There are other names that appear in the documents and refer to the use of prisoners in the production process. On July 26 1944, the company Christian Mansfeld GmbH ("Georgi-Mine") is mentioned with 50 prisoners. Prisoners transferred from here on August 24, 1944, and November 13, 1944, are recorded as working for the "Arbeitsgemeinschaft Biber II." Other firms to use this name were:

- The Kali-Werk Georgi (only for the duration of the war); the firm Christian Mansfeld GmbH Leipzig was the sole shareholder. Prisoners were used until March 1945. On January 15, 1945, there were 1,140 prisoners. This was the highest number.
- The company M. Wagner, which from November 1, 1944, used 281 prisoners. A further reference to the use of labor from March 1945 is still available. On November 27, 1944, there were 306 prisoners, the highest number for this company.

A letter dated June 11, 1944, from the work detachment "A 6 Wansleben am See" to the labor head at the main camp with reference to the exchange of prisoners shows the importance of the use of prisoner labor. The use of every prisoner was vital. For this reason, there had to be an exchange of sick for healthy prisoners. In certain cases, prisoners were put in the infirmary.⁴ There were even measures taken against flies and fleas so as to preserve hygiene.

Former inmate Pierre Bourlier has recorded some details about the living and working conditions within the Wansleben subcamp.⁵ Deported to the camp in October 1944, he re-

ported that the inmates experienced constant hunger. "The work was nothing, the beatings nothing major, the lack of sleep nothing, the discomfort nothing, the vermin an accident, but the hunger never failed to remind us of our condition." Hunger reached obsessive proportions, and with the arrival of more and more prisoners at Wansleben, rations diminished increasingly.

According to Bourlier, the workday began at 4:00 A.M. for the inmates, who were wakened brutally by the block leader (Blockführer). Prior to being sent to work, roll calls lasted for hours, and according to Bourlier, the commandant himself delivered blows to the assembled inmates. Work in the underground factory was harsh due to the high temperatures, artificial blinding light, and thick dust. Shifts left for the underground factory every 12 hours, and inmates were used to transport and install machinery. Once these were installed, they were assigned to more "skilled" labor in production. Bourlier has noted that there were attempts by the controllers to pass through defective parts to production; however, this was difficult as the assembly process was monitored closely. One chemical engineer, a Hungarian prisoner, was beaten and humiliated in front of the Kommando for accepting 200 unusable pieces. According to Bourlier, these kinds of punishments were not rare.⁶

From the transport and admission lists, it is possible to determine the nationalities of the prisoners. There were Albanians, Belgians, Danes, Germans, French, Greeks, Italians, Yugoslavians, Croats, Latvians, Lithuanians, Dutch, Poles, Portuguese, Russians, Serbs, Spaniards, Czechs, Hungarians, and stateless prisoners. It is also possible to ascertain their last places of detention before Wansleben. They were Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Flossenbürg, Gross-Rosen, Neuengamme, and Sachsenhausen.

SS-Obersturmführer Kurt Mathesius was the first commander of the camp; he was followed by SS-Sturmscharführer (Christian name, Hermann?) Helbig. Public executions took place in Wansleben in a factory hall, which was next to the salt factory. The prisoners, under the threat of being beaten, were forced to watch the executions.⁷ On April 6, 1945, a few days before the camp was evacuated, SS-Untersturmführer Göbecke, commander of the SS-Staff A VI, sent a courier to Buchenwald to ascertain what was to be done when the enemy appeared.

The Wansleben detachment was evacuated on April 11–12, 1945.⁸ On April 14, 1945, the American army occupied the village of Hinsdorf and freed the detachment. Soon after liberation, the Hinsdorf villagers reported details of the evacuation transport. The evacuation transport is said to have gone through Angersdorf, Zöberitz, Nienberg, Weissandt-Gölzau, Arensdorf, Köthen, and Quellendorf. According to contemporary statements, the victims of the evacuation are buried with respect in the cemetery in Köthen. The number is not known.

SOURCES Documents from the time of the subcamp were most useful. The documents are prisoner lists, employer requests, strength reports of the detachments, and documents

that enable the chronology of the detachment to be determined. These documents also form a record group in the USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045, a collection copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS (see especially BU 50 for files pertaining to Wansleben).

The article is also based on information in secondary sources. See, for example, Thomas Fickenwirth et al., *Fremd- und Zwangsarbeit im Raum Leipzig 1939–1945: Archivalisches Spezialinventar* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2004). Both David A. Hackett's *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995) and Walter Bartel's *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983) provide overviews of the Buchenwald camp system.

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NOTES

1. Stefanie Endlich et al., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Thüringen (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999), p. 595.

2. ITS, Bad Arolsen (Collection: Buchenwald 318 [4–9]).

3. ITS, Bad Arolsen (Collection: Buchenwald 52 [382 R]).

4. ITS, Bad Arolsen (Collection: Buchenwald 338 [4]).

5. Pierre Bourlier, "Buchenwald Matricule 76888," unpub. paper, available at http://eisenbei.club.fr/buchenwald_matricule_76888.html.

6. Ibid.

7. "Transcripts 22. Januar 1946–4. Februar 1946," in *Der Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem Internationalen Militärgerichtshof, Nürnberg 14. November 1945–1. Oktober 1946*, (Munich: Deppin Verlag, 1984) 6: 278.

8. Bourlier also describes extensively one account of the evacuation march and liberation en route by American troops.

WEFERLINGEN ("GAZELLE")

The Weferlingen subcamp (code name "Gazelle"), located in today's Gardelegen district not far from Helmstedt, is first mentioned in the files of the Buchenwald concentration camp on August 22, 1944. At this time, 505 male prisoners were sent in the direction of Weferlingen, located in the Prussian province of Saxony, to prepare underground caverns for the relocation of armaments facilities. In the "Gerhard" mine near Walsbeck, whose site office was located in Weferlingen, Brüßing Nutzkraftwagen AG and its suppliers had already begun to relocate their production facilities by early 1944. At first the prisoners were housed in tents near the mine, on the Buchberg. Later, some of them were accommodated in barracks in Gralsleben (other sources say in nearby Walsbeck near Helmstedt). The remainder of the subcamp prisoners worked underground and were accommodated there: the prisoners slept in bunk beds that were located in the mine's tunnels.

The prisoners were used to extend the caverns, to prepare them for the installation of the machines, and to transport the machines. The construction project company Gerhard, Weferlingen, the infrastructure development company Dallmann (Westfalen), Büßing AG, and Niedersächsische Motorenwerke are named by the International Tracing Service (ITS) as employers of the prisoners. The prisoners have described the working conditions as extraordinarily difficult. Almost weekly the sick, exhausted, and those incapable of working were returned to Buchenwald to be replaced by healthier Buchenwald prisoners. In this way the total number of prisoners in the subcamp remained constant, between 440 and 460; a strength report (*Stärkemeldung*) dated October 28, 1944, lists 472 laborers for the Weferlingen subcamp, and one dated April 11, 1945, puts the number at 449. As Frank Baranowski in his essay on the Weferlingen subcamp states, the subcamp prisoners comprised around two-thirds of the approximately 650 laborers working at the construction site.

Despite the harsh exploitation of the camp inmates' labor, the construction did not proceed as quickly as planned. It was only at the end of January 1945 that the first production sites commenced operation. Most likely, concentration camp inmates were used here for the production of engines for submarines, aircraft, and high-speed boats.

Weferlingen was one of the Buchenwald subcamps that was not evacuated. Baranowski thinks that this probably had something to do with a decision of the camp's commandant who refused to obey an order from the Buchenwald main camp to evacuate the camp. According to Baranowski, the camp was liberated by Allied troops on April 12, 1945. On the other hand, the ITS gives April 14, 1945, as the date the camp was liberated. This date is based on a statement given by a prisoner.

SOURCES A detailed description of the Weferlingen subcamp by Frank Baranowski is in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 599–602. References to the Weferlingen subcamp are to be found in the exhibition catalog Nationale Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, ed., *Konzentrationslager Buchenwald* (Berlin [West], 1990), p. 104; in Emil Carlebach, Willy Schmidt, and Ulrich Schneider, *Buchenwald: Ein Konzentrationslager* (Bonn: Pahl-Rugenstein, 2000), p. 139; as well as in Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992). This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:61; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1848.

References to the Weferlingen subcamp are to be found in a variety of original documents. Transport and transfer lists of the Gazelle camp are to be found in NARA, RG 242, Film 26, pp. 16848–16855, 16860. The subcamp's Bestandsliste and Stärkemeldungen are located in the AG-B, collections 46–1–18 and 46–1–20. SS Forderungsnachweise for prisoners in Weferlingen are held in the BA-B, Bestand All. Proz. 2/Nie

4185 (n.p.). Documents relating to the underground work are held in AOCZ, Bestand VS85-III (n.p.).

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WEIMAR (GUSTLOFF WERKE I AND II)

Although numerous outlying prisoner and forced labor work Commandos hired out for SS and private firms dotted the landscape of Weimar and its vicinity during World War II, the firm that exploited the most inmate labor was the Gustloff-Werke I (the so-called Fritz-Sauckel-Werk, or FSW, also known as Gustloff Weimar), for which a work Kommando was established on February 16, 1942, to produce carbines. The exact location of the Kommando or subcamp for Gustloff I could not be determined; it may have been a separate camp in or around Suhl, or production may have been issued from a barracks within Buchenwald itself prior to the construction of Gustloff II.

After lengthy negotiations between the SS and Gustloff, a second Gustloff factory (Gustloff-Werke II or Gustloff II Buchenwald) was established in the eastern part of the Buchenwald camp in March 1943, after about a year and a half of construction, which also used inmate labor from Buchenwald. Construction on Gustloff II was slated to begin on July 13, 1942, by Hans Kammler's SS-Building Brigades, according to correspondence between Oswald Pohl and Heinrich Himmler in the spring of that year.¹ Technical planning for Gustloff II was left to the responsibility of the Gustloff firm, including design of the factory space. The Gustloff firm owned the machinery and supervised its installation. Production in Gustloff II soon lagged behind the envisioned target goal of 75,000 carbine pieces due to construction delays and labor allocation errors. In time, the Gustloff firm in Buchenwald would be transformed to produce machine guns and other automatic assault weapons, a technical shift that slowed production even further and caused Himmler great dissatisfaction.

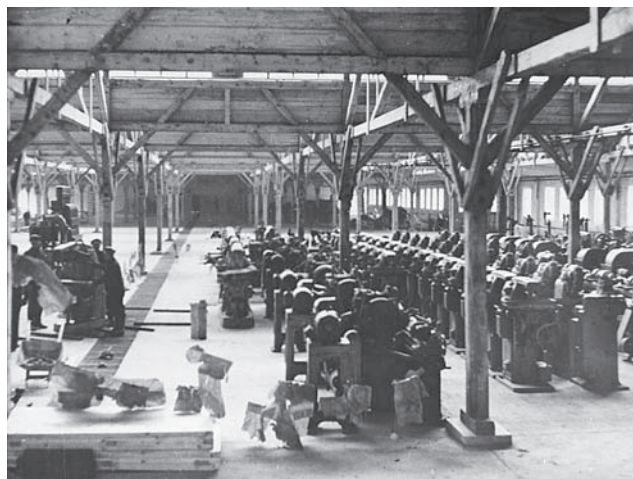
Before it was appropriated by Gauleiter of Thüringen and engineer Fritz Sauckel in 1935, the Gustloff-Werke firm was originally known as the Suhler Waffen- und Fahrzeugwerk (Suhler Weapons and Vehicle Works), founded by Jewish brothers Löb and Moses Simson in 1856. The Simson's firm had been the only Jewish-owned firm to receive contracts from the German army after the Treaty of Versailles. After having the firm's owners arrested by 1935, the firm was "aryanized." Sauckel renamed the company after Wilhelm Gustloff, a Swiss Nazi who was shot in Bern in February 1936 by a Jewish student named David Frankfurter. The director of Gustloff was Fritz Walther.

One of the Armaments Ministry's pilot projects to incorporate industry into the concentration camps, the use of concentration camp inmate labor from Buchenwald in Gustloff I stemmed from an agreement between the SS and the directorship of Gustloff. Inmates were "rented" at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per day per skilled laborer and 4 RM per day per unskilled laborer.² Likewise, the cost of inmate labor in Gustloff II was the same.³ The inmates were to be used in

the production of infantry vehicles, gun barrels, carbines, tools, and other munitions. According to transport lists to and from the Gustloff Weimar camp, there were several national groups represented by the prisoners: Russians, Poles, Czechs, French, Dutch, and Germans. The camp held political prisoners, so-called asocials, *Berufsverbrecher* (professional criminals), and Jews—all were male.⁴

In July 1942, construction on Gustloff II began, and the complex would consist of 13 plant halls in the immediate vicinity of the camp. Eleven halls were to be used for armaments production for Gustloff, and 2 halls would be assigned to "Mittelbau," which would produce control modules for V-2 (vengeance) weaponry. The SS described the construction efforts as Project X, and in a Kommando of the same name, inmates were assigned to build the halls. Until construction was completed, carbine production for Gustloff already set up in barracks (the exact location of which is unknown—it may have been within the Buchenwald camp itself) was continued. In the spring of 1943, after the completion of the first 8 work halls, Gustloff II began to absorb some production capability. In addition to carbines, automatic assault weapons and parts were to be manufactured; accordingly, the number of inmates assigned increased. In March 1942, 163 inmates worked in the Gustloff I barracks, and in June 1943, the number amounted to 1,088 in Gustloff II.⁵ By July 1944 the number of people assigned to Gustloff I and II climbed to 4,824 inmates, plus 2,268 foreign slave laborers and 1,074 German workers and staff.

Work in Gustloff I and II was very difficult for the inmates. Shifts lasted between 10 and 12 hours and were divided between day and night. Work was performed from Monday to Saturday. Inmates faced strict disciplinary measures and supervision. According to guidelines issued by the commandant of Buchenwald, Hermann Pister, in November 1943, and enforced by the directors of the factory, each prisoner was to be judged according to his efficiency in terms of his output as a worker. Anyone who did



Prisoners work at the Gustloff-Werke munitions plant near Buchenwald concentration camp, 1943.

USHMM WS # 85867, COURTESY OF AG-B

not reach his assigned quota by the end of the week was to be punished or suffer from a withdrawal of rations. Conversation at the work area was not allowed, and anyone found not working according to the described guidelines was to be severely punished.⁶ Mieczysław Makowski, who was assigned to work at Gustloff-Werke, recalled his days in Gustloff and working in the Kommandos: "A blur of mud and dirt, oil flowing from the broken machinery in the bombed plant which we were supposed to clean up, incessant shouts of the *Kapos* and the enraged SS, the swooshing sounds of the whips, and sporadic pistol shots or machine gun burst from the watch towers remind me that the end could be near indeed, and perhaps not in the way I would like."⁷

Contact between the prisoners and the German and other workers within the factory was strictly prohibited, although there were interactions. Generally the civilian workers were ambivalent toward the inmates; however, there were some examples of individual assistance provided to the inmates. For example, one worker named Karl Werner intervened on behalf of four inmates who were slated to be transferred to Dora. Other workers went out of their way to report inmates of suspected sabotage or idleness, which resulted in their immediate punishment. Inmates also recall being beaten by the German masters and foremen. Former prisoner Heinz Gross reported that acts of sabotage, either through organized poor construction in certain stages of the manufacture process, using the wrong material to produce certain tools, or through sheer underproduction, were frequent at Gustloff-Werke. According to Gross, sabotage was possible due to the lack of technical knowledge of the civilian masters, engineers, and other supervisory personnel in the factory.⁸

Transports of inmates to the Gustloff subcamp from Buchenwald were frequent. Inmates who were too ill or physically exhausted to work were sent to the infirmary (*Revier*) of Buchenwald, where they generally perished. The frequency and number of inmates transferred to the Buchenwald infirmary over the camp's three-year operation are evidence of the terrible living and working conditions within the camp.⁹

The commandant of the Gustloff camp was SS-Oberscharführer Peter Merker. From a report dated January 31, 1945, by the SS garrison doctor Schiedlausky, there were 2,350 inmates in Gustloff I. The SS medic assigned to the camp was named Wilhelm, and there were 49 guard troops in the camp, according to the report.¹⁰ Prisoner reports on the brutal treatment and arbitrary murder by the SS are plentiful. Max Pabst reported that he observed SS Sergeant Schmidt's sadistic treatment of prisoners: shooting prisoners at point-blank range due to his irritation with them, drowning another inmate in a water-filled container, and torturing a young Russian prisoner who he caught eating tree bark out of desperate hunger.¹¹

On August 24, 1944, the installations at Gustloff II were almost completely destroyed during an intense Allied bombing.¹² Inmates were forced to remain at their assigned workplaces during the 15-minute bombardment. At least 315 inmates died, 525 were severely wounded, and at least 900 others injured less severely. Armaments production in Gustloff II was handicapped considerably. Gustloff I was also bombed on February 9, 1945, also hindering production. In this attack, 91



Prisoners clearing damage at the Gustloff-Werke II munitions plant near Buchenwald, following the August 24, 1944, U.S. bombing raid. USHMM WS # 85869, COURTESY OF AG-B

German workers and 93 slave laborers and Ostarbeiter (Eastern European workers) were killed, as well as 300 inmates, with at least as many wounded.

Most likely inmates working for the Gustloff complex were absorbed into the Buchenwald main camp by April 1945 and were either evacuated earlier or liberated on April 11, 1945.

One guard from the Weimar subcamp, Bernhard Rakers, was tried in Osnabrück in connection with his maltreatment of prisoners in Gustloff and elsewhere. He received a life sentence plus 15 years.¹³

SOURCES Several secondary sources provide information about the Weimar subcamp of Buchenwald. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Weimar 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), which derives from ITS records. A useful study of camps in Weimar, and which forms the basis of this entry, was written by Jens Schley, *Nachbar Buchenwald: Die Stadt Weimar und ihr Konzentrationslager, 1937–1945* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1999). See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald). Discussion of the administrative conflicts surrounding the creation of the Gustloff satellite can be found in Michael Thad Allen, *The Business of Genocide: The SS, Slave Labor, and the Concentration Camps* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), pp. 190–198.

Surviving primary documentation on the Weimar subcamp can be found in various archives. See a collection of prisoner lists to and from the camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 112/2. For administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4),

BA, as copied in USHMMA, RG 14.023M, especially BA Band 205, 206, 133, and 119. Testimony from former Weimar inmate Alexander Agafonow is published in *Stimmen aus Buchenwald: Ein Lesebuch*, ed. Holm Kirsten and Wulf Kirsten (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2002). See also USHMMA, RG-02.075*01, for the testimony of Mieczysław Makowski, another former inmate of the camp. The official SHAEF report on Buchenwald (1945) also contains pertinent information; see USHMMA, RG-04.015*01. See also the USHMMPA for aerial shots of the destruction of the Gustloff II factory as well as of prisoners working on the assembly line in Gustloff II (WS 85867). For the Rakers case, see *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 10 (Amsterdam: University Press Amsterdam, 1973).

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NOTES

1. "Behelfsmässigen Bau einer Gewehrfabrik in Weimar-Buchenwald in Verbindung mit den Gustloff-Werken," published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 238.

2. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, 6:765.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 765.

4. See Weimar/Buchenwald transport lists collection, AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 112/2).

5. See "Einsatz der Berufe im Lager Buchenwald (various, 1942)," BA NS-4 Buchenwald, USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 206, Fiche 1. Gustloff lists are broken down by "Gustloff-W. Tag" (day shift), "Nacht" (night shift), "Lager" (camp area), and "Barackenbau" (barracks construction) as well as by skilled and unskilled labor.

6. Published in David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995), p. 303.

7. Mieczysław Makowski, "A digest of memoirs of a Polish Holocaust survivor, 1992," USHMMA, RG-02.075*01.

8. Heinz Gross, "Sabotage in the Buchenwald Gustloff Works," in Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report*, pp. 311–312.

9. See the USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 112/2), for further detailed information.

10. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt" Weimar-Buchenwald, January 31, 1945, as published in Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, p. 251.

11. Max Pabst, "Murders in Building the Gustloff Works," in Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report*, p. 303.

12. See USHMMPA, WS 04756, 04757, 04758, 04759, 85885 (courtesy of NARA and USAFHRA) for aerial photographs of the targeted areas and subsequent destruction.

13. Case 340 in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 10 (Amsterdam: University Press Amsterdam, 1973).

WERNIGERODE ("RICHARD")

The Wernigerode subcamp was located in the Prussian province of Saxony on the northern edge of the Harz Mountains. It was attached to the Rautal-Werke GmbH, which in the 1930s manufactured cylinders and engine housings for a range of aircraft, cars, and speed boats. Even before the outbreak of World War II, the factory had been converted, at the instigation of the Reich Air Ministry, into the most modern of German light metal foundries. It was prepared for war production and was to supply the Junkers factory in Dessau and the Volkswagen factory in Wolfsburg.

During the war, the Rautal factory was constantly plagued by workforce shortages. As early as 1941, around 300 forced and foreign laborers from France and Belgium were used in the factory, being accommodated in a camp on Veckenstedter Weg on the edge of the camp. From 1942, male prisoners from the Buchenwald concentration camp were also used in the Rautal factories. At the end of their daily shifts, they returned to the main camp, which was about 80 kilometers (50 miles) away. In 1943, the decision was made to accommodate the concentration camp prisoners where they worked, most likely because of the long route they had to travel. The forced labor camp on Veckenstedter Weg, probably because of its isolated but close location to the factory, was chosen to accommodate the prisoners from Buchenwald.

The camp is mentioned for the first time on March 25, 1943. An advance detachment of 95 prisoners arrived at the camp, which now had the code name "Richard." There were already three wooden barracks there. To these four were added: five of the barracks were for prisoner accommodations, one for the Kapos, and one functioned as a kitchen and washroom. The camp was fenced in with a double, 3.5-meter-high (11.5-foot-high) barbed-wire fence with three guard towers. The inner fence was electrified. Barracks for the SS and a bunker were located outside the camp.

The camp was under the command of SS-Obersturmführer Grossmann. Under his command, 56 SS men guarded the prisoners who mostly came from Poland, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia. There were only a few prisoners from Germany or other European countries. The number of prisoners in 1944 was around 800; a strength report (*Stärkemeldung*), dated October 28, 1944, puts the number of prisoners in Richard at 789; a *Stärkemeldung* of April 11, 1945, lists 802 prisoners. Kurt Wabbel was the camp elder and Kapo.

The prisoners not only expanded the camp; they worked in the Rautal factories processing metal, in the foundry, in the coring section, in the fettling shop, and in departments dealing with quality control and dispatch. The prisoners also worked at nearby Galgenberg hill, where under the code name "Mergel" they prepared underground production sites. None of them were ready by the end of the war. Other prisoners laid railway tracks, especially as part of the relocation of the Richard camp in November 1944 to Hasserode at a site at Steinerne Renne. Around 500 prisoners had been transferred to this camp by

December 1944. The remaining prisoners were taken to the Schönebeck and Westeregeln subcamps, and the camp at Veckenstedten Weg was dissolved. As with the old camp, the new Hasserode camp was surrounded by a double electrified fence enclosing four accommodation barracks, two large factory buildings, a kitchen, and three barracks for the SS. There was a rail connection that led directly to the production buildings. There were 49 SS guards who were substituted with Luftwaffe members and uniformed Romanians, Hungarians, and Croats. In the new camp, the prisoners continued to work in armament production, producing parts for the V-2.

Within a short period of time, the prisoners were either sick or incapable of working. The reasons for this were the exhausting work conditions, the inadequate nutrition, and the lack of cleanliness in the camp. During the camp's existence, there were at least 50 transfers of groups of invalid and exhausted prisoners back to the Buchenwald main camp. At least 11 prisoners are known to have died in the camp. Estimates put the number of deaths in the camp at 18 at least.¹ An indication of the difficult work conditions in the Wernigerode camp was the high number of escapes: at least 7 prisoners whose escape attempts did not succeed were executed in the subcamp, 6 of them Poles.

The Wernigerode subcamp evacuation march began on April 10, 1945. Around 500 prisoners left the camp, but only 57 arrived 16 days later at Leitmeritz (present-day Litomerice in the Czech Republic).

In 1947, the detachment leader of the camp, SS-Obersturmführer Grossmann, was sentenced to death and executed.

SOURCES There are several descriptions of the Wernigerode subcamp. A comprehensive description of the camp, written by Franziska Jahn, is to be found in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 606–609. Today there is a memorial on the camp site on Veckenstedten Weg that can also be seen on the Internet: www.wernigerode.de/WRPortal/Landkreis/Kultur_und_Kunst/Mahn-+und+Gedenkstaette/. Another description of the Wernigerode camp is to be found in the brochure Landkreis Wernigerode, ed., *Arbeitslager und Aussenkommandos der KZ in Wernigerode* (Wernigerode, n.d.). The subcamp is also referred to in *Niemals Vergessen! Gedenkort für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus und Stätten der Unmenschlichkeit des NS-Regimes* (Magdeburg: Verein zur Förderung von Kultur, Wissenschaft und politischer Bildung in Sachsen-Anhalt e.V., 2005); and the documents 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). The camp is also mentioned in Emil Carlebach, Willy Schmidt, and Ulrich Schneider, *Buchenwald: Ein Konzentrationslager* (Bonn: Pahl-Rugenstein-Verlag, 2000), p. 139, where the Stärkemeldung of April 11, 1945, is mentioned. The English exhibition catalog *Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, ed., Buchenwald Concentration Camp, 1937–1945: A Guide to the Permanent Historical Exhibi-*

tion (Frankfurt am Main: Wallstein-Verlag, 2004), p. 177, shows the Wernigerode camp in a map of Buchenwald subcamps. This subcamp is also listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:62; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1849.

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. See Landkreis Wernigerode, *Arbeitslager und Aussenkommandos der KZ in Wernigerode* (Wernigerode, n.d.), p. 24.

WESTEREGELN ("MAULWURF," "TARTHUN," "MW")

A subcamp of Buchenwald was established in Westeregeln (Saxony) in October 1944. Inmates were deported to the Westeregeln subcamp, code-named "Maulwurf," "Tarthun," or "Mw," to provide labor for construction projects that would enable fighter jet production to go underground to shelter it from Allied bombardments, which had increased since 1943. The Westeregeln inmates were assigned to construct an underground facility for the Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company (Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke, JFM), Zweigwerke Schönebeck. Like other armaments manufacturing firms that exploited prisoner labor during the war, the JFM hired out inmates from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a cost of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per unskilled laborer per day.¹

Contradictory information provides only elusive indication about the exact location of the Westeregeln subcamp itself. Secondary sources state that the inmates were housed initially in the Hadmersleben subcamp, where Buchenwald prisoners were used for work on construction and the manufacture of aircraft parts in two different work details (Kommandos): "Hans" and "Ago." The inmates were then brought to work in the Westeregeln mines. At some point during the camp's nearly five-month operation, the inmates were moved to barracks near shaft III of the Kaliwerke mines (also known as the Salzwerk Westeregeln GmbH, Werk 7), northwest of Westeregeln. There may have also been a subcamp located near shaft IV/VI in Tarthun, but it is unclear if this is the same as that which housed the Westeregeln inmates or is a separate barracks within the same camp complex. Marcel Lorin, a former inmate of Schönebeck, noted that the Westeregeln subcamp was located in the western part of the village of Egel, about 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) south of Schönebeck.

The first transport of inmates to the Westeregeln subcamp left Buchenwald on October 31, 1944, and was composed of 50 inmates.² A transport from Buchenwald left on January 29, 1945, and included 238 inmates.³ Inmates were also transferred from the Schönebeck subcamp of Buchenwald in several

instances: November 28, 1944 (50 inmates); December 26 (148 inmates); January 31, 1945 (1 inmate); February 2 (12 inmates); February 6, 1945 (8 inmates); February 9 and 19 (12 inmates each); and March 10, 1945 (1 inmate).⁴

The inmates were all male and appear to be mainly Polish, Russian, and French. According to a report on the conditions of medical attention in the Buchenwald subcamps, submitted by SS garrison doctor Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky on January 31, 1945, the SS medic in charge in Westeregeln was Naumann. At this time, there were 27 guards assigned to the camp, which held 564 prisoners.⁵

A Belgian former inmate who was transferred from Schönebeck to Westeregeln in December 1944, Léon Humblet, recalled that the camp consisted of a few wooden barracks 500 meters (547 yards) from the salt mine. The inmates worked in the assembly and finishing of parts for the He (Heinkel) 162. In March 1945, the rate of production was doubly accelerated. Working underground, the inmates suffered in terrible heat but emerged to below-zero temperatures above ground. Hygienic conditions in Westeregeln were also dismal, and water was not provided to the camp until three weeks before the evacuation.

The camp was last mentioned in Buchenwald records on April 4, 1945, and it was most likely evacuated on April 11. The inmates were assembled and evacuated on foot in groups of 100. After about 30 kilometers (18.6 miles), the SS abandoned the columns, and the inmates dispersed in the region of Magdeburg the following day.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Westeregeln subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Westeregeln in *Das nationalsozialistische Lager-system (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), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, “Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)” (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald).

Surviving primary documentation on the Westeregeln subcamp is also limited. See a collection of prisoner lists to and from the camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 11/2. Copies of transport lists and documentation of arrivals to and from Buchenwald are also found in the NARA, A3355 Buchenwald Daily Strength Reports (USHMMA, RG 1996 A0342, Reels 146–180). These reports may be useful for a more thorough statistical analysis of the demographics of and increases and decreases in the camp population. Other documents may be found at AG-B. A former inmate of the Schönebeck subcamp of Buchenwald, Marcel Lorin, has written a brief passage on Westeregeln based on survivor testimony in his book *Schönebeck, un commando de Buchenwald: Du sabotage des avions Nazis à l'ouvante d'une marche de la mort* (Glangeaud: Amicale des anciens déportés de Schönebeck, Mühlhausen, Buchenwald, 1993).

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NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

2. “Transport Maulwurf,” October 31, 1944 (BU 11/2), AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

3. “Transport Maulwurf,” K.L. Buchenwald, January 29, 1945 (BU 11/2), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

4. See transport lists collected in BU 11/2, USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045. See also additional transport lists to Schönebeck collected in BU 8/12 and BU 41/3.

5. “KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt,” Weimar-Buchenwald, January 31, 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 253.

WITTEN-ANNEN (“AGW”)

The Buchenwald subcamp in Witten-Annen was created in September 1944 to supply prisoner labor to the Ruhrstahl Annener Gusstahlwerk (code-named “AGW”) in support of increased German rearmament efforts in the last year of the war. Like other subcamps attached to the Buchenwald main camp and within the camp system more generally, the supply of prisoner labor to the AGW, a steel factory, followed from an agreement between the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the administration of the factory. Inmates were hired out from the WVHA by the firm at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day.

AGW was founded in 1865. One of the leading producers of steel casting, it boasted a long tradition of armaments production. In 1930, the AGW firm combined with other steel manufacturers in Hattingen and Witten to form the Ruhrstahl AG. During World War II, foreign workers, especially Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) and other slave laborers, filled the gaps in Ruhrstahl’s labor supply. The workers, which came to include Italian military internees as well, were housed in provisional accommodations near the factory, and living conditions were primitive. But by late summer 1944, due to increased production goals and waning successes in the German war effort, additional workers were still needed. In August 1944, the administrative leaders of the Ruhr iron and steel industrial complexes announced that concentration camp inmates would be used as workers in the factories.

On September 16, 1944, 700 inmates were rounded up in the Buchenwald main camp and were slated for deportation to the Witten-Annen subcamp. Among the first transport to the new subcamp were over 200 declared skilled workers, including locksmiths, metalworkers, electricians, and engineers. Not all inmates deported there were considered skilled laborers, however. The inmates were crowded onto closed freight cars, and the transport to Witten-Annen lasted several days. Upon arrival at the local train station, the accompanying Kommando from Buchenwald took leave of the inmates, who were handed

over to a contingent of SS guards. The prisoners were marched to the camp, in full view of the local population.

The inmates arrived to a newly constructed, nearly completed, camp complex. The subcamp consisted of four barracks within the inmate section of the camp, which housed 150 prisoners each, a roll-call area (*Appellplatz*), a makeshift infirmary (*Revier*), and other functional buildings, as well as living quarters for the SS guard staff. The inner inmate camp was surrounded by a double row of barbed-wire fencing, and the camp was flanked by watchtowers. From the beginning of 1945, SS troops patrolled outside the fenced-in area with guard dogs. The camp was located near the Dortmund-Witten train line.

Because the camp was relatively new, the inmates initially perceived the living conditions in Witten as an improvement to those they had experienced in Buchenwald. Some of the typical problems associated with camp life were missing, at least initially. No vermin infested the newly built barracks, and each prisoner had his own bunk with two woolen coverlets. Some inmates reported that the barracks were heated, at least until the end of 1944.

The original transport included only male inmates. They were predominantly French and Russian, with smaller numbers of Italian, Czech, Polish, Belgian, and German prisoners. Some of the French prisoners had been deported to Buchenwald via Toulouse in August 1944; others, from Paris or Compiègne. Most of the inmates had spent at least a short time in Buchenwald prior to their arrival in Witten-Annen. The prisoners were predominantly political prisoners, and some were imprisoned for resistance or sabotage activities or flight from previous captivity. A small number (five) were classified as "asocial," two were homosexual, and five men were categorized as mixed bloods (*Mischlinge*). Many of the German inmates were so-called professional criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*)—these were often appointed as prisoner-functionaries. The average age of the prisoners was under 30; one-fifth were under 20. The youngest prisoner was 16 years old, and the oldest, a Polish engineer, was 63 years old.

The inmate population remained at 700 at least until the end of September 1944, when a series of escape attempts reduced the number to 685. Prisoners who were caught were summarily executed. By November, the number of inmates was reduced to 670 due to deaths from various illnesses and other escapes. On December 11, 1944, 58 ill prisoners were transported back to Buchenwald, where they were placed in the infirmary. Although there were additional transports to Witten-Annen after January 1945, the camp population at the time of liberation was about 600.

The inmates were marched daily to the steel factory, located 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) away, to work 12-hour shifts in Hall A7. The day and night shifts were exchanged weekly. While at work, the inmates were closely monitored at all times by the camp elder (*Lagerältester*), Kapos, and German civilian foremen and supervisors. Poor work performance or mistakes (perceived as sabotage) were punished frequently, and some prisoners witnessed near-death beatings of fellow inmates. The inmates were not allowed to leave their workstations and endured long roll calls before and after work.

Living conditions within the camp itself were also terrible. Survivors of the camp recall most frequently the constant hun-

ger they experienced daily. Food rations were small. According to one French former inmate, Robert Maréchal, the inmates were provided first with 300 grams (10.6 ounces), then 450 grams (15.9 ounces), and by December 1944, 500 grams (17.6 ounces) of bread, with small amounts of margarine. The inmates were also given cabbage soup. Food supplies gradually decreased from January 1945. In addition to persistent hunger, the inmates were perpetually cold, as they had no proper clothing to withstand the particularly harsh winter of 1944–1945. Some inmates attempted to create extra warmth by stuffing their clothing with newspaper, straw, or cardboard; if discovered, they faced severe punishment. The camp infirmary had little capability of handling the many illnesses that resulted from the poor nutrition, inclement weather conditions, and strenuous work experienced by the inmates. The severely ill or wounded were transported back to the main Buchenwald camp.

The Witten-Annen inmates also suffered from the ill treatment of the guards. Approximately 30 SS troops guarded this subcamp. A system of supervision was also instituted in which "functionary inmates," such as the camp elder and Kapos, held authority over their fellow prisoners. Lagerältester Alfred Spillner was remembered for his particular cruelty toward the inmates, as were the Kapos, whom many inmates remembered as being more brutal than the SS. The first commandant of the camp was SS-Oberscharführer Ernst Zorbach, a member of the Nazi Party since 1931, who was said to be brutal and sadistic. Due to the frequent escape attempts made by the prisoners, he was relieved of his post in November 1944 and replaced by SS-Hauptscharführer Hermann Schleef, who had been a guard in the Papenburg and Sachsenhausen camps. Schleef was also the commander of a subcamp attached to the Kaunas camp prior to his post in Witten-Annen.

On March 27, 1945, the SS made an announcement that the camp would be evacuated in face of the advancing Allied troops. The following night, the 613 inmates were marched in columns in a northeastern direction. Several inmates attempted to escape the march, and many succumbed to exhaustion en route. By March 31, the inmates had reached Lippstadt. The SS guards abandoned the prisoners, who were liberated by American troops. On April 11, 1945, the U.S. Army occupied Witten.

SOURCES Most of the information for this entry builds upon the thorough analysis and research of the Witten-Annen subcamp by Manfred Grieger and Klaus Völkel, *Das Aussenlager "Annener Gusstahlwerk" (AGW) des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald, September 1944–April 1945* (Essen: Klartext, 1997). For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald / Witten-Annen in *Das nationalsozialistische Lager-system (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), which derives from ITS records.

Primary documentation on the Witten-Annen subcamp and other satellites of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. See in particular a collection of transport lists to and from the Witten-Annen camp copied from

AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at the USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 40 and BU 51, Reel 17. Many of these documents and others, including work statistics reports, administrative documentation from the Annener Gusstahlwerk, and transport lists from the ASt-Wi, BA, and THStA-W, are published in Grieger and Völkel. See this text for photographs, an extensive list of archival resources, and bibliography pertaining to the Witten-Annen camp and its postwar history.

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WOLFEN

The city of Wolfen in Sachsen-Anhalt is located to the south of Dessau on the Elbe River. From May 1943, there was a subcamp for women at the IG Farbenindustrie AG Filmfabrik Wolfen. Prior to this, the factory had used foreign forced laborers, among others, in the production of synthetic fibers. From the beginning of 1943, consideration was given to the use of concentration camp prisoners to increase production, to supply the demand of the German population and, above all, the Wehrmacht.

In April 1943, the subcamp was established on Thalheim Strasse close to the factory. The so-called Russian camp (*Russenlager*) and a camp for female eastern laborers (*Ostarbeiterinnen*) who were also working in the Filmfabrik Wolfen were already located there. Aleksandra Lawrik, a survivor, described the camp positively in comparison with her previous experiences: the barracks were relatively clean and heated, each woman had her own bed and cupboard, and there were even showers with hot water.

SS-Obersturmführer Bräuning was the camp leader. He arrived at the camp in the middle of May 1943, four days before the arrival of the first transport from Ravensbrück. On May 17, 1943, 250 young women and girls were brought from Ravensbrück to Wolfen. All the women came from the Soviet Union and Poland and were accompanied by female overseers who had been supplied from Ravensbrück, as there were not enough women in Wolfen who had applied to be trained as guards.

In the factory, the women worked in the rayon, Vistra, and artificial silk departments. The work in producing synthetic fabric was extraordinarily damaging to the prisoners' health as often corrosive chemicals were used in the process. Many women suffered burns to the skin and to their air passages, which also resulted in illnesses such as tuberculosis. Two women died in the camp; others who had become too ill to work any more were returned to the main camp.

The company management was excited about the cheap labor force and within a few weeks of the camp's opening was requesting additional prisoners, while at the same time demanding that the female overseers exercise greater discipline and increase the prisoners' production. But it was not until December 1, 1943, that additional prisoners were sent from Ravensbrück. The transport included 125 women. As before, most of them were Soviet citizens: Ukrainians who had been arrested for resisting the occupation forces or Ostarbeiterinnen who had been sent to

concentration camps by the Gestapo for leaving the places of work assigned to them. Probably at the beginning of 1944, another 50 women arrived in Wolfen from Ravensbrück.

Starting in June 1944, the camp's administration was gradually transferred from Ravensbrück to Buchenwald, so that by September 1, 1944, Buchenwald finally took over the camp. The new camp leader was SS-Oberscharführer Grämlich, a Wehrmacht invalid. The prisoners have described the camp leader as patient and many of the female overseers as strict, brutal, and affronting. A list of prisoners at the subcamp prepared at this time lists 425 female inmates, including 316 Russian civilian workers and 109 political prisoners: 100 Poles, a Czech, 7 Yugoslavs, and a German from Breslau. The camp was guarded by five SS men. There were 17 female wardens. In September 1944, a female French prisoner doctor was brought to Wolfen and took over the medical care of the women.

At the beginning of 1945, the lack of raw materials and supply difficulties resulted in the first cessation of production. The camp administration planned to relocate 250 women in the direction of the Sudetenland, but nothing came of this due to the lack of transport at the end of the war. The 250 women were therefore evacuated to Bergen-Belsen on February 18, 1945.

On April 17, 1945, the Wolfen subcamp was evacuated in a southerly direction, with the probable goal being Theresienstadt. The women were at first taken in goods wagons with a group of other women who most likely a few days before had arrived from the Duderstadt (Polte) subcamp, in the direction of Dresden-Pirna. On the march in the direction of Teplitz (present-day Teplice, Czech Republic), a few women were able to flee, and the guards, including the camp leader Grämlich, also disappeared. The remaining women were liberated by Soviet troops.

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) began preliminary investigation in 1956, and the results were handed to the general federal prosecutor in Karlsruhe in 1971. Shortly thereafter the investigations ceased due to a lack of evidence.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel has written the contribution on the Wolfen subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, ed., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 618–621. Another description of the subcamp is to be found in Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris), ed., *Les femmes oubliées de Buchenwald. 22 avril–30 octobre 2005* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), pp. 89–91, where the experiences of a survivor, Aleksandra Pawlowna Lawrik, are recounted. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:63; and “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1850.

Information on the Wolfen subcamp is to be found in the AG-B and BA-K, Bestand NS 4 Bu (Signatur 221). The investigations by ZdL, held at BA-L, were done under files IV 429 AR-Z 121/1971 and 1965/66 (B).

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