Vorwort 16/N/680

zum Vorläufigen Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS 1933 - 1945

Internationaler Suchdienst, Arolsen

(In englischer Sprache) 1969

Provisional Catalogue of Concentration Camps and their Outlying Commandos as well as Other Detention Places under the Command of the RF-SS in Germany and German Occupied Territories (1939-1945)

INTRODUCTION

Preliminary remarks

From what has just been seen, this catalogue had to be put together in a very short time ; it was therefore not possible to include all the camps and detention places mentioned in the "Catalogue of Camps and Prisons in Germany and German Occupied Territories (1939-1945)" +. As a result, the following categories of detention places are not listed in the present catalogue :

- Places of detention of the State Secret Police (geheime Staatspolizei = Gestapo) and of the Order Police (Ordnungspolizei = Orpo), with the exception of labour reformatory camps (Arbeitserziehungslager = AEL)

- Places of detention and punishment camps under the jurisdiction of the judicial authorities, with the

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+ This catalogue was published in English. The first volume appeared in 1949, the second one in 1950 and the supplement in 1951 ; this edition is now out of print.

exception of the Emsland camps

- Places of detention of the German forces (Wehrmacht)
- Ghettos, with the exception of those of Litzmannstadt and Theresienstadt,
- Camps for Jewish "half breeds" and Jewish spouses of mixed marriages
- Internment camps in North Africa, Hungary, Italy, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, which were not subject to Third Reich Authorities
- Camps for non-German civil workers.

ATTEMPT TO RECONSTRUCT THE ORGANIZATIONAL SET-UP OF THE DIFFERENT DETENTION PLACES

Because [part 2, paragraph 42] of the Federal Indemnification Law (Bundesentschädigungsgesetz) of September 14, 1965 refers expressly to the camp hierarchy, the International Tracing Service decided to reconstruct the organizational set-up of the different places of detention under the SS Reich Chief's command (Reichsführer-SS = RF-SS).

The aim was thus to elucidate as well as pos ible the organization of the different departments under the SS Reich chief's authority (Reichsführer-SS = RF-SS) and to try to define the sphere of authority of each of these departments. The reader will note that this attempt at reconstructing an organizational set-up of the different places of detention is at best tentative, for the documentation at hand is incomplete. Moreover, as one proceeds, it becomes evident that what had been assumed to be a system is often found to be a confused

overlapping of chains of command, sometimes opposed, sometimes super-imposed.

It had always been the SS Reich chief's aim (Reichsführer-SS = RF-SS) to create a state within the State. His ordinances should therefore be taken with the greatest caution, since they may be a distorting mirror of facts. Departments deprived of their powers to the SS Reich chief's benefit (Reichsführer-SS = RF-SS) tried more or less successfully to resist this 'toeing the line' +. The Litzmannstadt ghetto can be cited as an example of this : it was placed at the lowest level of control under the State police (Staatspolizei = Stapo), but always remained independant of the SS main office for administrative and economic affairs (SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltunghauptamt = SS-WVHA).

The present scheme shows the subordination of the different groups of detention places to the SS Reich chief (Reichsführer-SS = RF-SS) ; the particular character of each group of detention places was set aside in this classification, which only takes into account the order of dependency of the camps ; the camps all came under the SS Reich chief (Reichsführer-SS = RF-SS), whether placed under the control of the state police (Staatspolizei = Stapo), the security police (Sicherungspolizei = Sipo) or the members of the SS "death's head" formations (SS-Totenkopfverbände).++

Determining the position of the higher SS and police chief (höherer SS-und Polizeiführer) calls for careful study and emphasizes the arbitrary character of any classification which, in the end, is only appropriate to a chosen subject.

+ It was a general feature of the national-socialist times that traditional authorities were progressively taken over by those of the newly established order. This has sometimes been called 'Gleichschaltung' : 'toeing the line'.

++ So called because their badges represented a skull and cross-bones.

overlapping of zones of command, sometimes opposed, sometimes super-imposed.

It had always been the SS Reich chief's aim (Reichsführer-SS = RF-SS) to create a state within the State. His ordinances should therefore be put on a par with the President's decrees, since they may be a distortion of, or at least, departures deprived of their powers to the SS Reich chief's benefit (Reichsführer-SS = RF-SS) tried moreover [illegible] this (toeing the line). The Ditzenbach [illegible] as an example of this : it was [illegible] lowest level of control under the State police (Geheime Staats-Polizei), but always remained independent of [illegible] administrative and economic affairs (SS-Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungshauptamt = SS-WVHA).

The present scheme shows the [illegible] of the different groups of detention places in the SS Reich chief (Reichsführer-SS = RF-SS) ; the Reichsführer commanded each group of detention places [illegible] a very clear division, which only takes into account the order of subsidiarity of the camps ; the camps [illegible] the SS Reich chief (Reichsführer-SS = RF-SS), which [illegible] the control of the state police (Geheimpolizei = Gestapo), the security police (Sicherheitspolizei = Sipo) on the [illegible] the SS "death's head" formations (SS-Totenkopfverbände).++

Ascertaining the position of the Reichsführer SS and police chief (Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer) calls for careful study and emphasizes the arbitrary character of any classification which, in the end, is only appropriate to a given subject.

+ It was a general feature of the National-Socialist [illegible] traditional authorities were progressively taken over by the [illegible] of the newly established order. This has sometimes been called "Gleichschaltung" : 'toeing the line'.

++ So called because their uniforms represented a skull and cross-bones.

The HSSPF was in fact the/RF-SS's personal representative ; his sphere of authority coincided with the armed forces districts (Wehrkreise). At first , the HSSPF, as head of all the Waffen-SS + and police units within his armed forces district, was supposed to coordinate their actions in case of mobilization He actually had a number of other functions and was in particular the highest court authority for the concentration camps in his district.

His overall powers were not clearly defined and were sometimes determined only through decisions in particular cases. The failure to define properly relative spheres of authority led to the fact that the HSSPF's influence depended very much on his personal standing, on his relationship with the Gauleiters (chiefs of Gaus++) and on his position within the hierarchy of the Party, in a word, on his personality in reference to national-socialist tenets.

+ At first, before 1925, the Party armed guard (Stabswache) and later, in 1933, Adolf Hitler's personal guard (Leibstandarte SS Adolf Hitler).

++ The Gau, a rather large area, gets its name from a former provincial district. It was, as it were, an administrative unit of the national-socialist party. The Gau chiefs were appointed by the Führer and responsible to him for the territories under their authority. The Gauleiters' responsibilities were mainly on a political level : they established the Party's authority in the Gau, coordinated its various activities and helped to extend its influence over the population. The military and economic difficulties brought about by the war led to the enlargement of the Gauleiters' powers and they eventually took over purely administrative work. The party Gaus became defence districts (Verteidigungsbezirke) of the Reich and the Gauleiters were appointed commissioners for

Through the HSSPF, the RF-SS could give instructions and orders without following the official channels : it lay for instance within the HSSPF's powers to give instructions to the Inspector of the Security Police (Sicherheitspolizei = Sipo) and Security Department(Sicherheitsdienst = SD).

THE DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF DETENTION PLACES

GENERAL REMARKS

The places of detention are dealt with according to their particular features and in the order given in the table of contents (p. 1)

The camp catalogue (vol. I p. 1 to 522)

Reasons for the classification of each detention place within the individual categories of camps will be given in their respective comments.

This classification entails placing camps into several categories, even though they may have been ~~xxxxxx~~ lying in the same geographical area. This is also the case for concentration camp outlying commandos that were temporarily attached to one or the other main camps. The respective references to these camps and commandos are given in the index; here is an example of the way the different headings are arranged in the index :

MOSCHENDORF	Kdo KL Da	3.9.44 - 30.9.44	Seite 70 +
	Kdo KL Flo	30.9.44 6 14.4.45	Seite 98

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the defence of the Reich (Reichsverteidigungskommissar) (cf. decree of the Reich defence cabinet of 16.11.1942 RGBL (law gazette) 1942, part I p. 649)

the defence of the Reich (Reichsverteidigungsgesetz) (cf. ordinance of the Reich defence cabinet of 16.11.1942 RGBl. (law gazette) 1942, part I p. 616)

BLECHHAMMER ZAL für Juden Mitte 41 - 1.4.44 Seite 279 ++
Kdo KL Flo 1.4.41 -21.1.45 Seite 12
AEL 30.1.44 - Juni 44 Seite 486

Information concerning the detention places
Their designation

Detention places were usually named after the place the camp or commando was situated in. In large cities, however, street and firm names were used. Commandos outside urban centers or villages could be named after the local designation of the place. They often had secret or code names, which the catalogue mentions if they were not exclusively employed by the internal camp administration. The Ohrdruf commando of the Buchenwald concentration camp was, for instance, also called S III.

The German name of the detention places is placed as a title in spaced capital letters and followed by the geographical designation of the epoch; for more accuracy, the name of the place is given below in the vernacular of the country, as well as the highest administrative district (province etc.) it belonged to and the name of the country according to the geographical situation in 1937.

+ MOSCHENDORF Commando of the Dachau concentration camp page 70
MOSCHENDORF Commando of the Flossenbürg concentration camp page 98

++ BLECHHAMMER forced labour camp for Jews middle 41 - 1.4.44 page278
BLECHHAMMER Commando of the Auschwitz concentration camp 1.4.44 - 21.1.45 page 12
BLECHHAMMER labour reformatory camp 30.1.44 - June 44 page 486

Examples : D A C H A U
Bayern (Bavaria)
Deutsches Reich (German Reich)

or A U S C H W I T Z
1939 - 1945
Schlesien (Silesia)
Deutsches Reich

Oswięcim
Krakow
Poland

Lower administrative districts are mentioned only if they help to determine a place of detention, and in particular for the two following cases :

- When two places in the same administrative district (province etc.) have the same name,

- when a commando has a specific local designation.

Example : A L T E N H A M M E R
Gemeinde Flossenbürg (municipality of Flossenbürg)
Deutsches Reich (German Reich).

The reader should refer to the "preliminary remarks to the alphabetical index", vol. I p. 523 before looking up a place name and especially a place name in the vernacular of a country in the alphabetical ~~xxxxxx~~ index.

The titles in the catalogue of the camps give a general idea of what the text will deal with. The following remarks are nevertheless relevant :

Establishment of a detention place

The mention of the date the prisoners of a concentration camp commando were transferred back to their main camp is often the only indication of the existence of a commando. In this event, the International Tracing Service cannot give the exact date of the establishment of such commandos.

Evacuation of a detention place

In many cases, sick prisoners remained in a detention place, even though its evacuation can be accounted for from reliable sources.

Employer and kind of work

These particulars are given in the catalogue only if they facilitate the identification of concentration camp commandos. Former prisoners may have forgotten the exact designation of their commandos, but they usually remember the name of the firms they were employed in, or the kind of work they had to do. The names of the firms are mentioned in the index. They have generally been taken from depositions made by former prisoners. A checking of the spelling of these names was possible only in a few cases and mistakes could therefore not be avoided.

On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that the kind of work performed in forced labour camps for Jews (Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden = ZAL) changed after these camps were taken over by the concentration camps.

Establishment of a detention place

The mention of the name the prisoners of a concentration camp commandant were [illegible] back to their [illegible] is often the only indication [illegible] of a camp also. In this event, the information [illegible] cannot give the exact date of the establishment [illegible] commandant.

Evacuation of a detention place

In many cases, [illegible] and in detention place, even though its existence [illegible] reliable sources.

Prisoners and kind of work

There [illegible] only [illegible] the kind of concentration camp [illegible]. Some prisoners [illegible] exact establishment [illegible], but they [illegible] the name of the [illegible] they were [illegible] to go. The [illegible] the kind of work [illegible] the inmates. They have [illegible] been taken from [illegible] by interrogation. A concentration of the available [illegible] was possible only in a few cases; therefore [illegible] could therefore not be avoided.

On the other hand, it must be [illegible] in mind that the kind of work performed in forced labour camps for Jews (Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden)* ZAL) changed after these camps were taken over by concentration camps.

No mention of employer or labour will be found under main concentration camps (Buchenwald, Dachau etc.), for it is assumed that these camps are well known for other reasons.

The Prisoners'quarters

The place where the prisoners were quartered is mentioned only if it is not identical with their detention place.

Size of the camps

Outlying concentration camp commandos were of varying sizes : some numbered hundreds and even thousands of prisoners, others, only a few. In order to facilitate the immediate location of particularly small commandos, rubric 3) "Quarters and other remarks" (Unterbringung bzw. andere Bemerkungen) handles only outlying commandos of 20 prisoners or less.

Sources

The catalogue mentions only documentary material referring to data concerning the opening or closing dates of the different detention places.

Preference is always given to official war-time sources over post-war sources. If the existence of a detention place can be proved by war-time documents, but if these do not mention the opening and closing dates of this detention place, a mention such as

'existence proved by concentration camp records'
(Existenz durch KL-Akten belegt)

will be placed under its name, in addition to the dates established through post-war documents.

The following documentary material was used :

War-time documents

These documents are referred to by an abbreviation of the name(s) of their author(s). Concentration camp records comprise all documentary evidence relating to the prisoners' registration and to general orders and reports of the camp Kommandantur (local headquarters, in fact the commander's office).

Documents originating from other services are mainly orders, decrees and reports.

Civil documents will provide, for instance, a prisoner's death certificate issued by a normal registry office located outside the camp, or by a special registry office established in the concentration camp itself.

Post-war documents

Official report (amtl. Bericht)	: Investigations from the first post-war period by national tracing services, occupation authorities or local authorities such as mayors, registry offices etc.
Witnesses' depositions (Zeugenbericht)	: Information given by former prisoners and gathered by associations of former prisoners.
Prisoners'statements (Häftlingsaussage)	: Statements and affidavits from post-war trials, or information given to the International Tracing Service by former prisoners, when applying for incarceration certificates. Nearly all these state-

ments were made during the 1949 -1951 period and are thus prior to the Federal Indemnification Law (Bundesentschädigungsgesetz).

Deposition given by the camp commander, etc. (Aussage des Lagerführer etc.) : Evidence originating almost exclusively from post-war proceedings taken against the camp personnel.

Sources concerning forced labour camps for Jews (ZAL f J) in Eastern Europe

Werner — Report on the archives kept in the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine in Paris, concerning the persecution of Jews in Poland and the bordering territories.
This report was established by Mr. Werner, from the indemnification division of the Stuttgart district court (Entschädigungskammer des Landesgerichts Stuttgart), advisor attached to the district court (Landesgerichtsrat), on instructions from the Ministry of Justice in Stuttgart.
It was published in May 1952.

Ungerer — Catalogue of ghettos, forced labour camps and concentration camps.
This catalogue was established by Dr. A. Ungerer, senior government councillor (Oberregierungsrat) of the Munich Board of Finance (Oberfinanzdirektion München) and general representative of the provincial interests in Bavaria (allgemeiner Vertreter des Landesinteresses in Bayern) ; it was compiled on instructions from the highest indemnification authorities

and restitution courts of Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria and Hesse. It is based on authentic documents and court decisions.
It was published in August 1953.

Ettinger Catalogue of the places of Jewish persecution in Poland, relevant to indemnification proceedings.
This catalogue was established by Dr. Ignacy Ettinger, barrister, on instructions from the URO (United Restitution Organization, Frankfurt/Main).
It is based chiefly on Polish publications put out by the Jewish History Institute in Warsaw and its predecessors.
It was published in October 1955.

Biuletyn Report of the central commission for the investigation of hitlerian crimes in Poland (written in Polish).
The report is based on investigations carried out from 1945 on by Polish courts in cooperation with mayors and police authorities, on instructions from the Polish Ministry of Justice ; these inquiries were designed to gather documentary material and witnesses' statements. Information about forced labour camps for Jews (ZAL f J) was taken from this catalogue, but it was not possible to take into account further information concerning camps for civil workers and labourers told off for earthworks, as well disciplinary camps under the jurisdiction of judicial and police authorities.
This report was published in 1946.

The spelling of the names of certain places quoted in the Ungerer, Werner, Ettinger and Biuletyn catalogues has been changed after consulting official catalogues and dictionaries of place names ; the reader should therefore not be surprised

to find place names, the spelling of which differs from those used in the original catalogues.

Texts taken from original documents and expressions peculiar to the language of the SS are put in quotation marks.

THE DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF DETENTION PLACES

A. Concentration camps of the first period before their take-over by a central office

By the "ordinance of the Reich President for the protection of the people and the State" (Verordnung des Reichspräsidenten zum Schutz von Volk und Staat") of February 28, 1933 published in the Reich law gazette (Reichsgesetzblatt) no. 17 part I, 1933, a number of fundamental rights, including the right to individual liberty were abrogated ; the practice of "protective custody"+ (Schutzhaft) was thus legally founded.

Prisons could not handle the large number of persons taken into "protective custody" (Schutzhaft), and additional places of detention were created by the local SA (Sturmabteilung = SA, storm section), SS (Schutzstaffel = SS) and police authorities, as well as by order of the ministries.

Some of these detention places were under guard of storm sections (SA).

The Dachau concentration camp was the only camp which, since its opening, came under the control of the Bavarian political police. It was guarded by members of the SS.

+ Literally 'Schutzhaft' means protective detention, or arrest, but this term should be understood as the detention of political opponents of the regime. Common law protective custody was usually called Vorbeugungshaft.

Many of these camps were soon closed ; those which remained were taken over by the provincial administration in 1934 at the latest, and were officially called "state concentration camps" (staatliche Konzentrationslager). From December lo, 1934 onwards they were placed under the command of the inspector of the concentration camps and chief of the SS "death's head" formations (Inspekteur der Konzentrationslager und Führer der SS-Totenkopfverbände). These camps were intended almost exclusively for political prisoners.

It should be mentioned that because of the numerous gaps in the documentary material, the list of these camps is quite incomplete.

The camps are listed in alphabetical order, outlying commandos appearing also in alphabetical order below the camps they depended on (vol. I p. 1 to 7).

B. Concentration camps under the command of the concentration camp inspector.

POSITION OF THE CONCENTRATION CAMP INSPECTOR WITHIN THE SS HIERARCHY

On December 10, 1934, the existing concentration camps were put under the command of the concentration camp inspector. His departments were incorporated into the SS Main Office (SS-Hauptamt), itself transformed on August 15, 1940 into the SS commanders' main office (SS-Führungshauptamt). On March 3, 1942, the inspection of the concentration camps became department group D (Amtsgruppe D) of the newly created SS main office for administrative and economic affairs (SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt = SS-WVHA).

The inspector was commissioned to supervise the concentration camps. It is known that SS-Gruppenführer Eicke (rank corresponding to) + was the first concentration camp inspector. Together with this new duty, he continued his activity as commander of the Dachau concentration camp and was concurrently appointed inspector of the SS

+ The German SS rank is generally followed by its usual equivalent inserted between brackets :

Reichsführer-SS und Chef der deutschen Polizei: SS Reich chief and chief of the German police.

Oberstgruppenführer	
Obergruppenführer	
Gruppenführer	
Brigadeführer	= brigadier-general
Oberführer	
Standartenführer	= colonel
Obersturmbannführer	= lieutenant-colonel
Sturmbannführer	= major
Hauptsturmführer	= captain
Obersturmführer	= lieutenant
Untersturmführer	= second-lieutenant

"death's head" formations (SS-Totenkopfverbände), from which the supervising staff of the concentration camps was recruited.

At the time he was commander of the Dachau concentration camp, from the end of June 1933 to 1935, Eicke had already instituted a policy of severe treatment for the prisoners and laid the foundations of camp organization and administration.

These regulations concerning the organization of the camps and the punishment prescriptions were to remain in force until the end of the war. The Dachau concentration camp was taken as a model for all the other concentration camps and a large part of the ruling camp personnel was trained at the Dachau concentration camp.

INCARCERATION AND RELEASE OF PRISONERS

The incarceration and release of the prisoners in "protective custody" (Schutzhaft) always remained within the powers of the State Secret Police (Gestapo). The local departments or local main departments of the state police (örtliche Stapo(leit)stelle) brought the request of incarceration before the State secret police departments (the Gestapa = Gestapoamt +), which, on September 27,1939 became a branch of the Main Office for Reich Security (Reichssicherheitshauptamt = RSHA). After a superficial survey, this office would agree to the requests for incarceration.

+ The Gestapa should not be mistaken for the Gestapo : the Gestapo was the state secret police, and the Gestapa, the state secret police department. These were two different organizations : the Gestapa was the system under Heydrich's control and the Gestapo, the authority with Himmler at its head.

A similar procedure was adopted by the criminal police department of the Reich (Reichskriminalpolizeiamt) with respect to prisoners in protective custody (Vorbeugungshäftlinge).

An inspection was to be held every second month if the term of detention had not been settled. The office in charge and the camp commander were then to decide on the extension of the detention. The commanders' reports were usually predominantly negative, except sometimes, when the main office for Reich security (RSHA) gave to understand that the release of a prisoner was being considered. However, there were a few cases of releases ordered by the main office for Reich security (RSHA) despite negative reports of camp commanders.

Shortly after the beginning of the war, this procedure was considerably simplified in pursuance of a letter of October 24, 1939 and prisoners were released only in exceptional cases.

The first paragraph of the aforementioned letter (actually a special delivery "Schnellbrief") can be quoted in support of this assertion :

"Re : "protective custody" (Schutzhaft)

As a general rule, the release of prisoners in "protective custody" (Schutzhaft) does not take place during the war. This rule applies particularly to the release of civil servants and prisoners who have been particularly "active" ("besonders aktiv", in the sense of a political activity opposed to the Party), public enemies already severely sentenced for common law offences, and notoriously "anti-

social elements" (asoziale Elemente). If, in an individual case, a release seems absolutely necessary for some special reason, an overall account of the grounds for this release must be given ; thereby, serious consideration should be given to the question whether the release of the prisoner will not imperil the security of the people and the State, also considering that there will be fewer possibilities of surveillance".

LABOUR ASSIGNMENT

Apart from a few exceptions, until the beginning of the war, there were only main concentration camps, usually sited near quarries and brickfields.

Minor camps were first created outside the existing concentration camps when Reich Minister for Armaments ans Ammunitions (Reichsminister für Bewaffnung und Munition) Speer ordered the total mobilization of the civil sector (within his sphere of influence, the SS Reich Chief commissioned the SS Main Office for Administrative and Economic Affairs (SS-WVHA) with this task). These smaller camps were called outlying commandos (AUSSENKOMMANDOS) by the concentration camp administration, but the official name they were given by the SS Main Office for Administrative and Economic Affairs (SS-WVHA) was 'labour camp' (Arbeitslager) or 'SS labour camp' (SS-Arbeitslager), all of which led to confusion with the camps for civil workers. The concentration camp Inspector and the chief of department group D of the SS Main Office for Administrative and Economic Affairs (Amtsgruppe D des SS-WVHA) were then commissioned to control these outlying commandos.

Outlying commandos were usually established near existing armament manufactures ; sometimes factories were erected in their neighbourhood. Based on a minimum of 500 prisoners, the commandos actually numbered from one to several thousand prisoners.

By means of its outlying commandos, each concentration camp had to supply a certain geographical district with labourers in particular told off for work in factories owned by the SS. Such districts corresponded neither to the civil nor to the military districts ; there were even cases of overlap, the number of outlying commandos increasing constantly. Subsidiary commandos (Unterkommandos) were attached to larger commandos.

CONSTRUCTION BRIGADES

The SS construction brigades (SS-Baubrigaden) and SS railway brigades (SS-Eisenbahnbrigaden) were somewhat apart from the other brigades: they were mobile work-units which carried out urgent repair work, especially after air-raids. They therefore constantly changed quarters and were successively attached to different concentration camps.

The International Tracing Service chose a special form of description which takes the particular character of these brigades into account. They are gathered in a special group and classed by numerical order (cf. vol. I p. 246). The different quarters of the brigades are mentioned in chronological order, as well as the main concentration camps they were successively attached to.

Main concentration camps are classed alphabetically and followed by their outlying commandos also in alphabetical order, these followed in turn by their subsidiary commandos (vol. I p. 1 to 259).

Geographical considerations were left out of account in this classification.

C. Detention places in the Reich territory similar to concentration camps, the administrative dependance of which could not be determined.

The camps belonging to this group are comparable in character to concentration camps, but it has not been possible to determine the main concentration camps they depended on as outlying commandos.

The International Tracing Service has been able to prove the existence of these detention places through a careful study of its archives, some documents recording the transfer of a prisoner from a concentration camp to this kind of detention place, or from such a place of detention to a concentration camp.

The following camps in Germany belong to this category.

	Mention in the files	Men/women
BERLIN-SPANDAU		
German Reich	December 1944 - Beginning of April 1945	women
BOMLITZ		
Province of Hannover	3.9.1944 - 15.10.1944	women
GLASAU		
Province of Schleswig-Holstein	-.9.1944 - -.3.1945	men

GUBEN

Province of Brandenburg	-.9.1944 - -.2.1945	women

ROHRIGSHOF

Province of Hessen-Nassau	11.11.1944 - -.3.1945	men

SCHNARCHENREUTH

Bavaria	14.3.1945 - 12.4.1945	men

UNTERLUSS

Province of Hannover	middle of August 1944 - end of March/April 1945	women

VENNEBECK

Province of Westphalia	8.3.1945 - 2.4.1945	women

These places of detention are not listed again in the first volume of the catalogue of detention places, but they are entered in the index.

D. Special camps for Hungarian Jews in the Czechoslovak and Hungarian border regions of Austria

From summer 1944 on, Hungarian Jews were assigned to forced labour in the Czechoslovak and Hungarian border regions of Austria. Two groups were sent there : the first group left Hungary around June and July 1944 and the second group from November 1944 onwards.

One of the reasons for this deportation, which was to bring those Jews from Hungary to precisely this area, can be inferred from the letter SS-Brigadeführer (SS brigadier-general) Blaschke, mayor of Vienna, addressed to the chief of the security police and security department (der Chef der Sipo und des SD) in Berlin on June 7, 1944. The International Tracing Service does not have this letter but possesses the reply that was made to it on June 30, 1944. Here are the terms of this reply :

"Re : Allotment of labourers for work of strategic importance in Vienna

Reference : your letter dated 7.5.1944

Dear Blaschke,

For the special reasons you gave me - incidentally, SS-Brigadeführer Dr. Dellbruegge has written to me on the same topic - I have since then given orders to dispatch several evacuation convoys to Vienna/ Strasshof.

These are first of all 4 convoys of about 12,000 Jews, which will arrive in Vienna in the next few days.

From our previous experience, we know that approximatly 30 % of the Jews in these transports (in the present case about 3,600) are fit for work. They may be put to the work in question, provided they can be withdrawn at any time. It is obvious that only well-guarded, separate work-units, and quarters in a secure place serving as a camp can be considered. The Jews will be at your disposal only on the basis of the express condition.

Their wives and children unable to work are to stay under supervision in the camp during the day too. They are all intended for a Sonderaktion (literally "special action") and will therfore be withdrawn again one day (eines Tages wieder abgezogen).

Will you please discuss further details with the state police main department (Staatspolizeileitstelle) in Vienna, SS-Obersturmbannführer Dr. Ebner (SS lieutenant colonel) and SS-Obersturmbannführer Krumey of the Sonder-einsatzkommando (special operation commando) in Hungary, who is at present in Vienna.

I hope these convoys will help you to carry out your urgent work projects..."

This letter leaves little doubt about the fate awaiting these Hungarian Jews assigned to forced labour and their accompanying families.

The convoys concerned belong to the six convoys that left Szeged, Debrecen, Kecskemet, Györ and Komaron for the "priority camp of Strasshof near Vienna" (Vorzugslager Strasshof

bei Wien) around the end of June 1944 ; these convoys were sent to Austria at the time of the mass transports from Hungary to the Auschwitz concentration camp ; SS-Obersturmbannführer (SS major) Eichmann said of them :

"Over there, they're in cold storage" +

In the above letter, the Chief of the Security Police and Security department (der Chef der Sipo und des SD) of Berlin also calls these transports a "Sonderaktion" (special operation)

Some information concerning the equipment and provisionning of these preferential convoys (Vorzugstransporte) can be found in the following letter, addressed on August 3, 1944 by the Reich Minister of Economy (Reichswirtschaftsminister) to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs :

"Re : Provisionment of Hungarian Jews

The department of national economy (Landeswirt,sic) of Vienna informs me that the 14,700 Hungarian Jews now at work in the districts (Gau) of Vienna and of the Lower Danube arrived almost without any equipment. According to information given by the department of national economy, their equipment of household utensils, clothes, covers etc., was initially sufficient, but the greater part was seized by the Hungarian Gendarmerie."

+ In German : "Sie sind dort aufs Eis gelegt" literally, laid on ice, i.e. paralysed, with no possibility to act, therefore left to Eichmann's power.

The following is found in a letter of the Reich administrator for labour (Reichstreuhänder der Arbeit) and President of the provincial labour office of the Lower Danube :

"Moreover, endeavours are being made to have the Jews bring along their work clothes, shoes and, as far as possible, mattresses and covers, as well as additional food from Hungary."

"From what I hear, you are negociating with the Hungarian authorities in charge of the affair about the confiscation of the Jews' equipment by the Hungarian Gendarmerie. I would appreciate being informed of the state of these negociations."

The second group of convoys of Hungarian Jews started from Budapest in October 1944. There were over 30,000 men and women, most of whom were marched to the Austrian border, to work there on the defence works of the "Südostwall" (wall of the South-East) for the Honved labour service + or for

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+ A Hungarian military organization created in 1848, Honved means defender of the fatherland. This term was employed again in 1857 with the establishment of compulsory military service and refers to the Hungarian territorial army.

the organization called OT (OT = Organisation Todt) +

The following text concerning Jews deported from the former German Reich is taken from a memorandum of the Royal Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on the resolutions passed by the "leader of the Nation" (Chef der Nation, then Ferenc Szalasy) on November 17, 1944 which concerned "the final settlement of the Jewish question in Hungary" ("betreffend die endgültige Regelung der ungarländischen Judenfrage").

+ This organization was created in 1933, as work on the German highway started. It bears the name of Dr. Fritz Todt, general inspector of the highways department, who was directing work at that time. From 1937 on, the Todt organization was engaged strategic works. In May 1940, it was entrusted with various works connected with the war. Labour units were created, with workers skilled in building operations being attached to various military work. The managment of these labour units, called until then "Westwallbauleitung" (managment of the West wall constructions) was named "Frontbauleitung" (managment of the front line constructions). Each army headquarter (Armeeoberkommando) was given a "Frontbauleitung". OT operation groups (OT-Einsatzgruppen) were attached to the different army sections on the Eastern front. The OT was controlled by the OT central office (OT-Zentrale) in Berlin, which came under the General Inspector of the highways department's authority. The OT was taken over by Reich Minister Speer (then Reich Minister for Armaments and War Production) on February 15, 1942. By decree of September 2, 1943, published in the RGBL (law gazette) part I p. 530, Speer attached the Todt organization to his ministry.

"1/ Jews with papers stating foreign guardianship
(Juden mit ausländischem Schutzpass)

These Jews are to be concentrated (konzentriert) at the latest on November 27, 1944 at 4 p.m. in the premises called "Palatinus-Häuser", chosen for this purpose by the Royal Hungarian Home Office. Notice will be given every day in the Hungarian daily press. These Jews are to stay in the premises determined by the Home Office until their departure. They may walk in the grounds of these houses every day from 8 a.m. to 9 a.m. The departure of these Jews depends on one hand on the situation of the diplomatic relations between the Hungarian government and the Government of the interested State, and on the other, on the circulation agreements passed between the interested State and the German government. It is not possible to extend the quota of Jews with papers stating foreign guardianship (Schutzpass), which is subject to an agreement between the Hungarian government and the interested governments.

2/ Jews lent to the German government

These are Jews fit for work that the German government agrees to employ in the interest of the joint war effort. These Jews perform their labour service for the benefit of the Hungarian nation. They will be handed over to the German government individually, and their names will be mentioned each time ; the Royal Hungarian Home Office will delegate a permanent Hungarian commission to Germany to defend their interests ; one of the members of this commission will be the delegate of the International Red Cross and of the interested missions. The task of this commission will be to "attest the presence" (in Evidenz halten) of Hungarian Jews performing their labour service in Germany after October 15, 1944 and for this purpose, the commission will maintain contact with the German and Hungarian governments.

"1\ Jews with papers against foreign guarantees
(Juden mit ausländischen Schutzpässen)

These Jews are to be concentrated (konzentriert) at the latest on November 27, 1944 at 4 p.m. in the premises called "Teleki-tanac-Huszar". A room for this purpose by the Royal Hungarian Home Office. Notice will be given every day in the Hungarian daily press. These Jews are to stay in the ghetto determined by the Home Office until their departure. They may walk in the grounds of ghetto houses every day from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. The departure of these Jews depends on one hand on the situation of the diplomatic relations between the Hungarian Government and the Government of the interested state, and on the other hand, on the circulation agreements too on between the interested State and the German Government. It is not possible to extend the quota of Jews with papers stating foreign guarantees (Schutzpass), which is subject to agreement between the Hungarian Government and the interested Government.

2\ Jews lent to the German Government

These are Jews fit for work that the German Government agrees to employ in the interest of the joint war effort. These Jews performing labour service for the benefit of the Hungarian nation. They will be handed over to the German Government individually, and their names will be mentioned soon time ; the Royal Hungarian Home Office will delegate a permanent Hungarian commission to Germany to defend their interests ; one of the members of this commission will be the delegate of the International Red Cross and of the interested missions. The task of this commission will be to "attend the presence" (zu Erfüllung halten) of Hungarian Jews performing their labour service in Germany after October 15, 1944 and for this purpose, the commission will maintain contacts with the German and Hungarian Governments.

Jews are compelled to work for the Hungarian Nation. The Hungarian State, in the interest of the Nation and in agreement with the German Government, has work performed abroad. The condition of the Jews performing their compulsory labour service abroad for Hungary will be settled by the Hungarian State at the end of the war in the course of the general settlement of the Jewish question in Europe and in accordance with the European standpoints. Until then, their treatment will depend upon their behaviour."

Nothing is known about the Hungarian commission mentioned in the memorandum, which included a delegate of the International Red Cross and was commissioned to "attest the presence" (in Evidenz halten) of Hungarian Jews performing their compulsory labour service abroad.

The QU 2 (Ost) letter from the headquarters of the High Command of the German Forces (Oberkommando der Wehrmacht = OKW Wehrmachtsführungsstab) dated November 23, 1944 addressed to the SS Reich Chief and Chief of the German Police, Main Office for Reich Security (RF-SS und Chef der deutschen Polizei, Reichssicherheitshauptamt = RSHA), written in telegraphic style says :

"General Plenipotentiary of the Wehrmacht in Hungary reports on situation of 21.11.44 :

On 30.10.44, the Hungarian Government gave full powers to a Gendarmerie colonel to settle the Jewish question. When the latter was appointed, the State Government (Staatsführung) agreed to have all the Jews still on Hungarian territory placed at the disposal of the Reich and assigned to various work. According to reports received here, most of these Jews are assigned to fortification work on the German border positions, but on Hungarian territory. The Governement urgently requests to employ the Jews

only on German territory, in order to remove them for good from Hungary. For construction work, it suggests the civil population of the Hungarian border area.

The Jewish labour groups until now on the front are being marched westwards, together with the civil Jews of both sexes who were working on the Budapest bridge-head, i.e. approximatly 2,400 persons. All the other Jews still in Budapest who are able to march are dispatched daily in groups of 3,000. Age limit for men : 16 to 60, for women: 16 to 40. Guard secured by the Honved. The Swiss legation is as usual preventing in a large measure this "Jewish operation" (Judenaktion) by distributing protective letters (Schutzpässe).

Please convey your intentions."

The SS Reich Chief's reply (RF-SS) to the headquarters of the High Command of the German Forces (Wehrmachtsführungsstab des OKW) is not known to the International Tracing Service. These two groups of Hungarian Jews were partly sent to concentration camps on the Reich territory or in Austria. Other convoys to concentration camps had been intended, but were prevented by war events.

The reply of the Chief of the Security Police and Security Department (der Chef der Sipo und des SD) from Berlin to his friend Blaschke, mayor of Vienna and SS-Brigadeführer (SS brigadier-general) clearly shows that these convoys of Hungarian Jews, about whom Eichmann said that they were "in cold storage" (aufs Eis gelegt) would, despite their designation as "special convoys" (Sondertransporte), "special operation" (Sonderaktion) or "preferential convoys' (Vorzugstransporte) have the same fate as that awaiting the transports sent directly from Hungary to the Auschwitz concentration camp. The question whether

Eichmann ever thought of exchanging Hungarian Jews for allied trucks bears no immediate importance here. The negociations conducted for this purpose by Joel Brandt with the Allies in Instambul, Alleppo and Cairo had already collapsed in summer 1944. The fact that the transports did not all reach concentration camps must be attributed exclusively to the rapid evolution of war events. The difference between these "special operations" (Sonderaktion) and the outlying commandos is a purely administrative question of hierarchy. Persons taken into "special operations" benefitted from no preferential treatment if compared to that of the concentration camp prisoners.

According to the report of the Jewish rescue committee of Budapest, 1942 to 1945 (Bericht des jüdischen Rettungskommitees aus Budapest 1942 bis 1945), (submitted by Dr. Rezsö Kasstner), which describes the measures taken to rescue Hungarian Jews and especially Jews from Budapest, these camps were under the control of the Higher SS and Police Chief (HSSPF) in Hungary, special operation group (Sondereinsatzkommando), Vienna outlyingcommando(Aussenkommando).

The camps are listed in alphabetical order (see vol. I p. 260).

Remarks concerning categories E to G

The International Tracing Service, taking into consideration the great number of persons compelled to forced labour, had already listed in its "Catalogue of Camps and Prisons in Germany" quite a large number of forced labour camps (Zwangsarbeitslager = ZAL). But no general document was then available that could help and situate the place of forced labour camps for Jews within the hierarchy of the complex penitentiary system or define their special function and regime.

In the meantime, the International Tracing Service has acquired a number of reports and decrees from the war which have made it possible to define to some extent the distinctive features of forced labour camps for Jews (ZAL f J). The contents of these reports and decrees are given in the comments in chapters E to G.

Apart from a few documents on the Galician forced labour camps (ZAL), there are practically no original documents on forced labour camps for Jewish prisoners.

In concentration camp records concerning former labour camp prisoners -- the prisoners concerned being those who were transferred to a concentration camp in 1943 or 1944 -- a prisoner's former detention in a forced labour camp can often be proved only from the indication of the place his convoy came from, or from notes made in the registration records. But there was no single method of registration in a given concentration camp, or even within a single convoy.

The lack of detailed documents is, no doubt, the reason why forced labour camps for Jews have generally escaped attention. Many of these camps may also have been mistaken for the concentration camps they were later turned into. As for Jewish persecution, it must be emphasized that the fate of the Jews in the concentration camps of the same districts, or the fate prepa-

red for them by the operation commandos (Einsatzkommandos) relegated to the background the fate of the prisoners from this category of camps.

There is no special mention of forced labour camps for Jews in the federal indemnification law (Bundesentschädigungsgesetz = BEG) itself ; yet detention endured in those camps was also indemnified. Thus the particular category of forced labour camps for Jews as such was again left out.

A clause of the federal indemnification law of 14.9.1965 (paragraph 42, part 2) made it necessary to adopt a more definite position towards this special category of detention places. As will be shown in the following chapters, the SS Reich Chief (RF-SS) made year long endeavours to subordinate these camps to department group D (Amtsgruppe D) of the SS Main Office for Administrative and Economic Affairs (SS-WVHA), but never quite succeeded in overcoming the opposition he encountered at a higher level, from the SS and Police Chiefs (SS und Polizeiführer = SSPF) and those under them.

In the absence of relevant documents, it is not possible to ascertain the grounds for this resistance, but there is reason to believe that they were of a purely economic and financial nature. It is clear that this opposition should not be considered as an endeavour to protect the Jews from the "final solution" (Endlösung), since those who were unable to work had been continually transferred to extermination camps since 1942. Moreover, the systematic extermination of the Jews (Judenvernichtung) from the Generalgouvernement (general government)+ was suspended before

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+ As to the meaning of the term Generalgouvernement (general government) : by decree of October 8, 1939 (RGBl -law gazette - 1939, part I p. 2 042), the four Western provinces of Poland were annexed to the Reich territory ("eingegliederte Ostgebiete" : Eastern territories annexed to the Reich). The rest

the SS Reich chief (RF-SS) succeeded in overcoming, if not totally, at least in large part, the resistance he met concerning the subordination of forced labour camps for Jews to department group D of the SS main office for administrative and economic affairs (SS-WVHA - Amtsgruppe D).

First of all, a fact should be pointed out, that discloses the difference between the prisoners of these categories of camps and those of concentration camps as a whole.

The planning and execution of the measures against the Jews were settled at the Wannsee conference + on the 20th of January 1942. From that time on, at the latest, all the Jewish prisoners without exception came under sentence of death, their execution, however, being postponed until they became unfit for work. The general mobilization of all available labour in 1943 (Generalmobilisierung aller Arbeitskräfte) does not seem to have changed this situation, but, as a result, a larger number of Jews was sent to these camps instead of being exterminated on the spot.

Most of the other concentration camp prisoners were not systematically doomed to extermination, even if many did not survive.

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of Poland was constituted "Generalgouvernement" by Hitler's decree of 12.10.1939. Hans Frank was appointed General Governor and his nominated substitute was Seyss-Inquart. (RGBl - law gazette - 1939 part I p. 2 077).

+ The Wannsee conference was held in Berlin on January 20, 1942 at nr. 56-58 am Grossen Wannsee Avenue. Leaders from the security police (Sipo), the security department (SD), the Party and various other Reich departments took part in this conference ; its subject was the organization of the final solution of the Jewish question in Europe, as well as the technical and material consequences thereof.

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First of all, a fact should be pointed out, what widens the difference between the prisons - or those categories of camps and those of concentration camps as a whole.

The planning and execution of the measures against the Jews were settled at the Wannsee conference † on the 20th of January 1942. From that time on, at the latest, all the Jewish prisoners without exception were under threats of death; their execution, however, being postponed until they became unfit for work. The general mobilisation of all available labour in 1943 (Generalmobilisierung aller Arbeitskräfte) does not seem to have changed this situation, and as a result, a larger number of Jews was sent to Auschwitz instead of being exterminated on the spot.

Most of the other concentration camp prisoners were not quite seriously doomed to extermination, even if many did not survive.

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† The Wannsee conference was held in Berlin on January 20, 1942 at nr. 56-58 am Grossen Wannsee Avenue. Besides from the security police (Gipo), the security department (SD), the Party and various other Reich departments took part in this conference; its subject was the organization of the final solution of the Jewish question in Europe as well as the technical and material consequences thereof.

The fate of the prisoners who could no longer work and were continually "evacuated" (ausgesiedelt) from the forced labour camps did not long remain unknown to the prisoners fit for work who stayed in the camps. It is doubtful whether the camp administration tried to conceal the fate of the "evacuated" persons at all. The constant fear of being "evacuated" certainly had a more powerful effect upon forced labour camp prisoners than executions and other terror measures performed on the roll-call places of concentration camps before the assembled prisoners.

Sick prisoners or prisoners unfit for work were actually seldom evacuated to extermination camps ; they were often shot in the camp itself or near by. Such "selections" + took place in almost every forced labour camp for Jews of the "Generalgouvernement".

Prisoners in forced labour camps for Jews were not only constantly threatened with "selection" ; psychological stress on them was aggravated in spring 1943, when the total disbandment of a large number of forced labour camps, and in particular of the Galician camps, became imminent. This disbandment, which involved the extermination of all or the majority of the prisoners, was carried out in summer and autumn 1943.

The prisoners in these camps were, to a much higher degree than those in concentration camps, left to the arbitrariness of the SS guards or camp administration. The statement made by the court of Moschbach/Baden in proceedings entered against the commander of three small labour camps near Cracow applies to any other labour camp for Jews in the Generalgouvernement :

> "There were no administrative directions or camp regulations whatsoever. Apart from his superiors' orders, the wishes and arbitrariness of the defendant were the only things that carried

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+ In the SS terminology, selection meant choice for extermination.

The fate of the prisoners who could no longer work was sometimes "evacuated" (transported) from the forced labour camps. Did not long remain unknown to the prisoners fit for work who stayed in the camps. It is doubtful whether the camp administration tried to conceal the fate of the "evacuated" persons at all. The consequent fear of being "evacuated" certainly had a more powerful effect on forced labour camp prisoners than executions and other terror measures performed on the spot, call placers, concentration camps before the massacres.

Sick prisoners of prisoners unfit for work were not always evacuated to extermination camps ; they were often killed in the camp itself or near by. Such "liquidations" + took place in almost every forced labour camp for lack of the "Sicherheitsverwahrhaftung".

Prisoners in forced labour camps for Jews were not only constantly threatened with "selection" ; psychological stress on them was aggravated in spring 1943, when the total liquidation of a large number of forced labour camps, and in particular of the Majdanek extermination camp, became imminent. This liquidation, which involved the extermination of all or the majority of the prisoners, was carried out in summer and autumn 1943.

The prisoners in these camps were, to a much higher degree than those in concentration camps, left to the arbitrariness of the SS guards or camp administration. The statement made by the court of Frankfurt/Main in proceedings against a former commander of three small labour camps near Cracow applies to any other labour camp for Jews in the Generalgouvernement :

"There were no administrative directions or case regulations whatsoever. Apart from his superiors' orders, the weapon and arbitrariness of the defendant were the only things that carried

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+ In the SS terminology, selection means choice for extermination.

weight in the camp. The prisoners in this camp were in every respect without protection, defence and rights."

The criteria according to which the Jewish prisoners were sent to forced labour camps for Jews should be pointed out, since they sharply differ from those adopted for prisoners detained in concentration camps. Race was the only ground for the detention of the former in forced labour camps for Jews. Jews identified as resisters or saboteurs were not incarcerated in these camps. Apart from the common law criminals, who, of course created a specific problem, the concentration camp inmates were chiefly younger and often educated men who were potential opponents of the regime. They confronted the commanders' office (Kommandantur) of the different concentration camps with security problems that were not found in forced labour camps for Jews, where ordinary security measures would do (watch during work and guards outside the camps).

Documents bear no evidence of better food rations, better health conditions and care of the sick in these camps than in the concentration camps and their outlying commandos. On the contrary, one finds statements according to which conditions in forced labour camps for Jews considerably improved once these were taken over by the concentration camps.

The documentary material kept by the International Tracing Service on the transformation of forced labour camps for Jews into concentration camps is fragmentary. The real character of these camps only came to light through the administrative subordination of a few forced labour camps for Jews in the Generalgouvernement to the SS Main office for administrative and economic affairs (SS-WVHA) in 1943.

These camps were studied by the authors of the reports listed on p. in the bibliography of sources for forced labour

camps for Jews. It will be noticed that the sex of the prisoners from this category is not mentioned in these catalogues.

Apart from these sources, the only available documentary material consists of concentration camp files and statements and affidavits made by former prisoners, and for this reason the list of forced labour camps for Jews is not as detailed for example, as the list of concentration camps and their outlying commandos.

E. The Theresienstadt ghetto

For disciplinary matters, the Theresienstadt ghetto was under the control of the commander of the security police and security department in Prague (der Befehlshaber der Sipo und des SD) ; all other matters pertained to department IV B 4 (under Eichmann's responsibility) of the main office for Reich security (RSHA), which acted in cooperation with the local authority, the central office for the settlement of the Jewish question in Bohemia and Moravia (Zentralamt für die Regelung der Judenfrage in Böhmen und Mähren).

The expression ghetto was deliberately chosen for the detention place for Jews of Theresienstadt in order to camouflage the deportation of the Jews to extermination camps settled further east. Moreover, the deportation of privileged groups to the Theresienstadt ghetto was supposed to put an end to intercessions in their favour.

The Theresienstadt ghetto was intended for the following groups of persons :

1) Jews from the Bohemia and Moravia protectorate ; approximatly 90 % were deported to Theresienstadt.

2) Some categories of Jews from the Reich territory ; in this particular case, Theresienstadt was to be a ghetto for the aged, in pursuance of the regulations made by the chief of the security police and security department (der Chef der Sipo und des SD) at the Wannsee conference, on January 20, 1942 (discussion about the "final solution" (End-

E. The Theresienstadt ghetto

For disciplinary measures, the Theresienstadt ghetto was under the control of the commander of the security police and security department in Prague (der Befehlshaber der Sipo und des SD) ; all other matters remained in department IV B 4 (under Eichmann's command) of the Reichs main office for security (RSHA), which acted in cooperation with the local authority, the central office for the settlement of the Jewish question in Bohemia and Moravia (Zentralamt für die Regelung der Judenfrage in Böhmen und Mähren).

The extermination ghetto was deliberately chosen for the detention place for Jews of Theresienstadt in order to camouflage the violation of the laws to extermination camps of settled Jews from Czech. Moreover, the deportation of privileged groups to the extermination ghetto was supposed to put an end to interceding on their behalf.

The Czech protectorate was used for the following means of persons :

1) Jews from the Bohemia and Moravia protectorate : approximately 40% were deported to Theresienstadt.

2) Some categories of Jews from the Reich territory ; in this particular case, Theresienstadt was to be used ghetto for the aged, in pursuance of and regulations made by the chief of the security police and security department (der Chef der Sipo und des SD) at the Wannsee conference, on January 20, 1942 (discussion about the "final solution" (end-

lösung) of the Jewish question).

According to an ordinance addressed on July 3, 1942 by the main office for Reich security (RSHA) to the state secret police (Gestapo) in Düsseldorf, the following groups of persons were to be evacuated to Theresienstadt :

- Jews over 65 or invalid Jews over 55 together with their wives (if they did not form a German-Jewish mixed marriage) and children under 14,

- Jews awarded the medal of the wounded
  Jews awarded important war-medals
  together with their wives (if they did not form a German-Jewish mixed marriage) and children under 14,

- Jewish spouses from annuled German-Jewish mixed marriages who, according to paragraph 3, chapter a) of the police ordinance of September 1, 1941 concerning the wearing of a prescribed mark by the Jews, were exempted from wearing this mark, if they had no children under 14 living with them ("half-breeds" - Mischlinge- of the first grade who, under the provisions of the law, were not regarded as Jews.

- Single "half-breeds" (Mischlinge), regarded as Jews according to the provisions of the law.

3) Some groups of Jews from Denmark under special protection ; these groups arrived between the 5th and the 14th of October 1943 ; a few persons belonging to this category arrived later : eight on the 13th of January and two on the 25th of April 1944 ; altogether they formed a group of only 466 persons.

4) Jews from the Westerbork assembly camp (Netherlands), also regarded as "favoured" persons (Bevorzugte") ; more than half of them were nevertheless deported to Auschwitz.

At first, the following groups were not intended for the Theresienstadt ghetto ; they were sent there because of the changing war situation, especially on the Eastern front

5) From December 1944 on, Jews from assembly camps in Hungary, who could no longer be deported to the Eastern camps,

6) From April 21, 1945 on, evacuation transports from concentration camps, which could no longer be routed to other concentration camps ; there were approximatly 14,000 prisoners in this group, which included non-Jews.

At a time when the other West-European Jews were directly deported to the East, the Jews sent to the Theresienstadt ghetto wrongly believed this to be their final destination.

About 57 % of them were actually deported to extermination camps between January 1942 and October 1944 and 23 % died at the Theresienstadt ghetto (i.e. 80 % of the Jews in this ghetto died).

The following are statistics on the Theresienstadt ghetto prisoners :

- Deported to extermination camps	86,934	
- Deceased in the Theresienstadt ghetto	33,913	
- Taken away by the Gestapo	336	= 121,183

4) Jews from the Westerbork assembly camp (Nederlands), also regarded as "invoured" persons (Beveiligde") ; more than half of them were moved/deported to Auschwitz.

At first, the following groups were not interned in the Theresienstadt ghetto ; they were sent there because of the changing war situation, especially on the Eastern front.

5) From December 1943 on, Jews from assembly camps in Hungary, who could no longer be deported to the Eastern camps.

6) From April 21, 1945 on, evacuation transports from concentration camps, which could no longer be routed to other concentration camps ; there were approximately 14,000 prisoners in this group, which included non-Jews.

At a time when the other West-European Jews were directly deported to the East, the Jews sent to the Theresienstadt ghetto wrongly believed this to be their final destination.

About 87 % of them were either deported to extermination camps between January 1942 and October 1944 and 23 % died at the Theresienstadt ghetto (i.e. 0.5 % of the Jews in the ghetto died).

The following are statistics on the Theresienstadt ghetto prisoners :

- Deported to extermination camps 86,934
- Deceased in the Theresienstadt ghetto 15,835
- Taken away by the Gestapo 1,336 = 121,105

- released from the ghetto	5	
- Jews sent to Switzerland on 5.2.1945	1,210	
- Danish Jews sent to Sweden on 15.4.1945	413	
- Jews having escaped up to 9.5.1945	701	
- Persons freed at the Theresienstadt ghetto		
. Inmates of the ghetto	16,832	
. Concentration camp prisoners who arrived after 21.4.1945	12,448 =	31,649
	total	152,832

Besides maintenance work, the prisoners also had to perform production work ; it did not reach the extent of the work done at the Litzmannstadt ghetto, for example, but some branches of production, such as glimmer-splitting (Mica firm), were nevertheless quite important.

This was a case of real forced labour that the prisoners, irrespective of their age (there were many children, aged, invalids and sick in the ghetto) had to perform together with the regular camp work.

In Theresienstadt, as in concentration camps, but to a lesser extent, executions and corporal punishments were also carried out.

The Theresienstadt ghetto was mentioned for the first time on November 24, 1941 and liberated by the Soviet troops on May 7, 1945.

It should be mentioned that apart from the ghetto, there was in Theresienstadt a commando of the Flossenbürg concentration camp (see vol. I p. 105) and a prison of the State secret police (Gestapo) located in a place called "the small fortress" (kleine Festung). This prison belongs to a category of detention places which is not included in the present catalogue.

F. The Litzmannstadt ghetto (Lodz)

Like the Theresienstadt ghetto, the Litzmannstadt ghetto had a particular position, though in very different respects. The supervision of the ghetto was shared by the Mayor (Oberbürgermeister), the police president (Polizei-Präsident) and the state secret police (Gestapo), but their respective spheres of authority were never clearly worked out.

It must be emphasized that, apart from a few smaller ghettos which generally existed for a short period only, the Litzmannstadt ghetto was the only one which lay within the former territory of the German Reich, in the Warthegau (Wartheland), for a significant period of time (from April 1940 to January 1945).

For the sake of comparison, it should be mentioned that the ghettos in the "Generalgouvernement" housed the local Jews and sometimes those from smaller places in the surroundings too ; as a general rule, the ghetto population increased more rapidly in big towns. These ghettos were closed at the latest on October 15, 1941 and their inhabitants disposed of (liquidiert) from the summer of 1942 on : those who were not able to work were exterminated, and the others sent to forced labour camps for Jews (ZAL f J) or concentration camps.

The closing of the Litzmannstadt ghetto, however, was ordered by the Police President as soon as April 8, 1940 i.e. approximatly 18 months before the official closing of the Generalgouvernement ghettos. This early closing was probably due to the fact that the ghetto was located on the Reich territory ; the ghetto also derived its name of Gaughetto (provincial ghetto) from its geographical position.

On May 10, 1940, the police president published "special regulations concerning the communications with the ghetto" (Sonderanweisung für den Verkehr mit dem Ghetto) i.e. the Litzmannstadt ghetto. These regulations committed the external guard of the camp to the protective police (Schutzpolizei) and criminal police (Kriminalpolizei) detachments and in the case of an attempted escape, fire-arms were to be used immediatly.

There were two main groups in the Litzmannstadt ghetto after it was shut :

- a) Persons deported to the ghetto
- b) Persons evacuated to extermination camps (Vernichtungslager) or concentration camps.

a) Persons deported to the Litzmannstadt ghetto

Two different measures concerned these persons :

1) Deportation to the ghetto of persons from the Warthegau

The International Tracing Service has only incomplete information about this measure ; the various indications were taken mainly from Dr. Ettinger's catalogue, from which it appears that Jews from many places in the Warthegau were deported to Litzmannstadt. Here are some of the most important figures :

September/October 1941	3,000 persons from the Leslau district (Wloclavek) (Kreis Leslau)
September 24, 1941	2,900 persons from Leslau

March 18,1942	4,000 persons from Löwenstadt (Brzeziny)
May 1942	8,168 persons from Pabianitz (Pabianice) and Löwenstadt.
June/August 1942	1,000 persons from Lask
August 1942	6,167 persons from Pabianitz, Lask and Belchatow.

2) Deportation to the ghetto of persons from the Reich territory, the Bohemia and Moravia Protectorate and Luxemburg

According to a police report of November 13, 1941, 19,837 Jews were deported from the former Reich territory("Altreich") to the Litzmannstadt ghetto between the 16th of October and the 4th of November 1941 inclusive. They were grouped in the following way :

5	convoys from	Vienna	with	5,000 Jews
5	" "	Prague	"	5,000 "
4	" "	Berlin	"	4,187 "
2	" "	Cologne	"	2,007 "
1	" "	Luxemburg	"	512 "
1	" "	Frankfurt/ Main	"	1,113 "
1	" "	Hamburg	"	1,034 "
1	" "	Düsseldorf	"	984 "
		Total		19,937 "

According to a report from the Litzmannstadt council of Jewish Elders (Ältestenrat), 19,953 persons arrived at the ghetto between October and November.

The International Tracing Service has only some of these deportation lists, which were kept according to districts :

1,125	persons	from	Frankfurt/Main
446	"	"	Cologne
975	"	"	Hamburg
1,011	"	"	Düsseldorf
1,002	"	"	Berlin
5,792	"	"	Vienna

b) Persons evacuated from the Litzmannstadt ghetto

There are two such groups :

1) Transfers to the Kulmhof-Chelmo extermination camp

1st period : 16 to 29.1.1942	14 convoys with altogether 10,003 persons
2nd period : 22.2 to 2.4.1942	40 convoys with altogether 34,073 persons
3rd period : 4 to 13.5.1942	12 convoys with altogether 10,914 persons
4th period : September 1942	Number of convoys unknown, with altogether 15,700 persons
Total :	70,690 persons

2) Transfers to the Auschwitz concentration camp in summer 1944

Over 60,000 inmates of the ghetto were deported to the Auschwitz concentration camp, where many were exterminated. The "Kalendarium" (chronology of the camp) published by the State Museum of Auschwitz (Pánstwowe Muzeum Oświęcim - Brzezinka) mentions the arrival of 15 convoys between the 15th of August and the 18th of September 1944. This document does not mention the number of persons taken in these convoys, but some 2,636 were incarcerated in the camp.

Other information shows the German administration's effort to get rid of persons unfit for work, while it kept those fit for work as long as possible and tried to get new labour.

The following indications show this clearly :

In a situation report of June 9, 1942 of the Litzmannstadt state police department (Staatspolizeistelle), the following details are found :

"As to the Jews (das Judentum +), the action of the State Police was devoted to the provincial ghetto (Gaughetto) which was being created at Litzmannstadt, in pursuance of the Gauleiter's (chief of a province) directions.

In compliance with the Gauleiter's directions, all the Jews unfit for work should be evacuated and the Jews

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+ Das Judentum is a collective term applied to the Jews from a sociological as well as from a moral and religious point of view.

fit for work gathered in the Litzmannstadt ghetto from the whole area of the Gau. From there, large numbers of Jews should be detailed for various tasks on the Gau territory (railway and road construction) and brought back to the ghetto when the work is over.

Jews remaining in the ghetto will all be put to work without exception. As the Gaughetto (provincial ghetto) was being created, it became imperative to make room for the arriving Jews. For this purpose, a rather large number of Jews unfit for work was removed from the ghetto and handed over to the Sonderkommando (special commando)"...

This refers to the deportation to Kulmhof-Chelmo, already mentioned. It is further stated in this situation report that the main office for Reich security (RSHA) required the hardest measures against the Jews and that the SS Reich Chief (RF-SS) had ordered several executions of Jews.

In a notice dated September 12, 1942, from the German ghett administration - which was under the control of the town mayor (Oberbürgermeister) - the following is found :

REOPENING
of all the workshops and manufactures
effective Monday 14.IX.1942

The evacuation (Aussiedlung) having finished yesterday,
ALL THE WORKSHOPS
OF THE GHETTO WITHOUT EXCEPTION WILL RESUME
THEIR ACTIVITIES

Each group leader, worker or employee shoud be at his work place punctually, if he wants to avoid serious trouble. From now on, authorized workers are bound to fulfill their duties with the utmost application and to make every effort in order to work

off the backlog caused by the interruption of work.

I shall have severe checks carried out to make sure the order I have given is thoroughly obeyed."

Another letter concerning the ghetto malnutrition, which the ghetto administration sent to the mayor (Oberbürgermeister) on April 19, 1943 specifies that because of labour shortage, shifts were increased to 12 hours in the workshops and factories (day and night shifts). It also mentions that although all sick and infirm Jews had been deported (ausgesiedelt) during the last evacuation (Evakuierung) in September 1942, a high death rate ~~nevertheless~~ prevailed because of malnutrition.

The following statement can be found in a progress report of the state police department (Staatspolizeistelle) in Litzmannstadt, dated October 3, 1942 about the allotment of labour :

> "The greater part of the Jewish labour is engaged in the carrying out of army orders (Wehrmacht), whereas a smaller number is employed to carry out private orders. These come from rather important textile and shoe factories of the former Reich."

As in the case of the forced labour camps for Jews of the Generalgouvernement, the SS Reich Chief obviously tried to put the Litzmannstadt ghetto - and consequently its workshops - under the control of the SS Main Office for Administrative and Economic Affairs (SS-WVHA). This appears clearly in the following letter from the Chief of the SS Main Office for Administrative and Economic Affairs (der Chef des SS-WVHA) to the SS Reich Chief (RF-SS), dated February 9, 1944 :

"On 3.12.1943, you ordered me before SS-Obergruppenführer (SS) Kaltenbrunner to turn the Litzmannstadt ghetto into a concentration c mp and not to transfer the workshops to Lublin. Reichsstatthalter (Reich governor) Greiser, however, has not been informed of your decision. He is only in possession of your letter of June 19, 1943 in which you ordered the transformation of the Litzmannstadt ghetto into a concentration camp (KL), and of a later letter of September, last year, in which you agreed to the transfer of the ghetto workshops to Lublin.

In order to enable me to turn the ghetto into a concentration camp this month still, since for technical and political reasons too, a transfer to Lublin is now absolutely out of question, I beg you to communicate your decision to Gauleiter Greiser."

Several meetings concerning the future position of the ghetto had been held with the interested parties (the Main Office for Reich Security - RSHA -, the SS Main Office for Administrative and Economic Affairs - SS-WVHA - and the Office of the Reich Governor - Amt des Reichsstatthalterei -) before this letter was written.

The Reich governor of the Warthe, however, managed to win over the SS Reich Chief (RF-SS) to his view, as shows the letter he sent to the SS Main Office for Admnistrative and Economic Affairs (SS-WVHA) on February 14, 1944. Because of its significance, the text of this letter is quoted in full :

"The SS Reich chief's visit (RF-SS) in Posen these two last days has given me the opportunity to discuss and clarify the following two questions concerning your activities. The first point is the following :

The Litzmannstadt ghetto is not to be turned into a concentration camp as SS-Oberführer (SS) Beier and SS-Hauptsturmführer (SS captain) Dr. Volk, whom your office sent to my Gau stressed (betont) during the discussion they had with the authorities under control of my Reichsstatthalterei (office of the Reich governor) in Posen. The Reichsführer's decree (SS Reich chief) of June 11, 1943 will therefore not be applied. I have agreed with the Reichsführer on the following points :

a) The size of the ghetto will be reduced to the strict minimun and the number of Jews kept will correspond exactly to the war economy need.

b) The ghetto thus remains a Gau ghetto (provincial ghetto) of the Reichsgau Wartheland.

c) The reduction of the number of inmates will be carried out by SS Hauptsturmführer (SS captain) Bothmann's Sonderkommando (special commando), which has already operated in the Gau. The Reichsführer (SS Reich chief) will order the transfer of SS-Hauptsturmführer Bothmann and his special commando, now in operation in Croatia, and put them back at the disposal of the Wartheland Gau.

d) It remains the prerogative of the Wartheland Reichsgau to make use of and realize (Verwertung) the stock remaining in the ghetto.

e) After the removal of all the Jews from the ghetto and the breaking up of the latter, the entire ghetto property will belong to the town of Litzmannstadt. The Reichsführer-SS will then give appropriate instructions to the central fiduciary department for the East (Haupttreuhandstelle).

Please inform me immediatly of your suggestions concerning this subject."

In a letter dated 18.[illegible]8.1944, the Head of the ghetto administration informed the Reich Governor's office in the Warthe province (Amt des Reichsstatthalters im Warthegau) of the deportation of 1,500 Jews from the ghetto to the "Generalgouvernement". This deportation was certainly a consequence of the reduction of the size of the ghetto, and the Jews were probably sent to armament factories (forced labour camps for Jews : ZAL f J) in Skarzyko-Kamienna and Częstochowa.

In compliance with the SS Reich Chief's above mentioned directions of February 14, 1944, the Litzmannstadt ghetto was evacuated between the 23rd of June and the end of August 1944 and most of its inhabitants were transferred to the Auschwitz concentration camp. The size of the ghetto was again reduced and only a very small group of Jews was left ; 870 Jews from this group were liberated by the Russian troops on the 19th of January 1945.

The SS Reich chief had made every endeavour to transform the Litzmannstadt ghetto into a concentration camp ; by putting it under the administrative management of the SS Main Office for Administrative and Economic Affairs (SS-WVHA), he would have secured t the economic benefit of the ghetto equipment and man-power for his SS. Under such circumstances, it is astonishing that the Gauleiter succeeded in keeping the Litzmannstadt ghetto and equipment for his Gau. But there is no evidence that this benefitted the prisoners in any way.

The ghetto was administered by the town of Litzmannstadt, itself controlled by the administration of the Gau ; this is the only point in which this ghetto differred from a concentration camp, and for this reason, it should be classified among forced labour camps.for Jews.

The Litzmannstadt ghetto was first mentioned on February 8, 1940 and closed on April 30, 1940 ; Litzmannstadt was occupied by the Soviet Army on January 19, 1945.

G. Forced labour camps for Jews

The most significant information about forced labour camps for Jews (ZALf J) has already been given in the chapter "remarks concerning categories E to G".

The International Tracing Service also has extensive information about Silesia and the so-called "Generalgouvernement", i.e. the area where the largest number of forced labour camps for Jews (ZALf J) was created. These data will now be dealt with in detail.

a) Silesia (Lower and Upper Silesia)

Forced labour camps for Jews under the command of the SS Reich chief's special commissioner for the employment of foreign labour in Upper Silesia (Sonderbeauftragter des RF-SS für fremdvölkischen Arbeitseinsatz in Oberschlesien).

One might believe that the area the special commissioner in Upper Silesia was responsible for corresponded to the words "Upper Silesia", which are part of his title ; but the situation of the different detention places shows that his jurisdiction actually extended all over Silesia. The International Tracing Service has no war-time lists of these camps, but it has gathered all the camps of this nature it has come to know of under the same heading.

The following details are taken from post-war notes written by SS-Obersturmbannführer (lieutenant-colonel SS) Höss, former commander of the Auschwitz concentration camp.

After the incorporation ("Einverleibung") of Eastern Upper Silesia into the Reich, SS-Brigadeführer (Brigadier-general SS)

Schmelt was commissioned by the SS Reich chief (RF-SS) to create jobs in the armament and repair workshops of the German Forces (Wehrmacht) and fill these positions with unemployed foreign workers, especially Jews. Small labour camps or workshops were set up all over Upper Silesia. After work, the persons employed in the workshops went back to their homes or to the ghetto. This probably lasted a rather short time. Altogether 50,000 Jews may have worked under these conditions.

Höss obviously failed to remember correctly when he wrote that these facts took place "after the incorporation of Eastern Upper Silesia" i.e. in Autumn 1939 : according to a circular from the Kattowitz Secret State Police (Gestapo), the contents of which, however, is unknown, the appointment of SS-Brigadeführer Schmelt to the post of special commissioner was first announced on the 31st of October 1940. A letter of the Higher SS and Police chief (HSSPF) in Upper Silesia to the SS Reich chief (RF-SS) dated April 20, 1942 confirms Schmelt's appointment in October 1940.

According to Höss's notes, from summer 1941 on, the "Schmelt office" was also entrusted with the dissolution of the labour camps and workshops and the transfer of the Jews working there to the Auschwitz concentration camp. It seems, however, that the special commissioner carried out these orders very hesitatingly.

In a telegram from the Main Office for Reich Security (RSHA), department IV B/4a, dated May 21, 1943, the following order is found :

> "The question of the evacuation of the workers employed by the Schmelt organization at the Litzmannstadt ghetto, i.e. the evacuation of the Jews, will be discussed on the spot by my deputy, SS-Obersturmbannführer (SS lieutenant-colonel) Eichmann."

Nevertheless, the liquidation of forced labour camps for Jews (ZALfJ) or their take-over by the Auschwitz and Cross-Rosen concentration camps lasted until mid-1944.

The resistance of the departments responsible for the administration of the forced labour camps for Jews against the subordination of the camps to the SS Main Office for Administrative and Economic Affairs, department group D (SS-WVHA), appears more clearly in the records of the Litzmannstadt ghetto. These documents, as we have already seen, clearly show that the measures taken at the Litzmannstadt ghetto gave it the character of a concentration camp.

It follows from the above mentioned letter, addressed by the Higher chief of the SS and police (HSSPF) to the SS Reich chief (RF-SS) on April 20, 1942 that there were at that time over 40 forced labour camps for Jews (ZAL f J) numbering altogether 6,500 workers.

Obviously, it had been planned at first to employ only foreign workers in Upper Silesia, but labourers evacuated from other places in the Generalgouvernement were soon sent there too. A fundamental change took place between 1942 and 1943 when convoys of Jews leaving the assembly camps of Drancy, Malines and Westerbork for the Auschwitz concentration camp were "pre-sorted" ("vorsortiert") by the "Schmelt service" at Cosel. Prisoners fit for work were sent to hard labour in forced labour camps for Jews (ZAL f J) in Upper Silesia, whereas only those who were considered unable to work were sent directly to the Auschwitz concentration camp.

In his notes previously mentioned, Höss writes about this period in the following terms :

"At the urgent request of the Armaments Ministry, Schmelt obtained from the SS Reich chief (RF-SS) in summer 1942 the authorization to withdraw 10,000 Jews from the Western

convoys, in order to fill up the gaps in the labour camps working on the most important armament projects. The selection was made at Cosel (Upper Silesia) by a member of D II office + responsible for the allotment of labour (Arbeitseinsatzführer) and by Schmelt's representatives. Later on, Schmellt's representatives constantly stopped convoys in Upper Silesia on their own, without notifying me and without the consent of the Main Office for Reich Security and exchanged persons unable to work, and even often dead people for healthy Jews fit for work. This resulted in considerable difficulties, delays in railway traffic, escapes, etc. until the Higher Police and SS Chief, Gruppenunterführer Schmauser satisfied my claims and at last put an end to these goings-on."

As a general rule, the tasks of the "Schmelt service" followed the changes in the employment of the workers. Only small workshops and camps were initially planned, but the construction of the Reich highway (Reichsautobahn) led to a larger mobilization of man-power. Already before 1942, forced labourers were employed in factories of strategic importance, as for example the Hydrierwerk (hydrogenation plant) in Blechhammer or the Russfabrik ( ) in Gleiwitz. They were also put to work on railway constructions.

Between the 25th of November 1942 and June 1943, a "camp for the sick" ("Krankenlager") was set up in the forced labour camp for Jews of Annaberg; it was also used for the sick of the neighbouring forced labour camps for Jews. After that time, Jews unable to work were sent to the Auschwitz concentration

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+ Department D II can be found in an organizational plan of the SS Main Office for administrative and Economic Affairs of 3.3.1942 under the heading "labour assignment of the prisoners" (Einsatz der Häftlinge). It is not clear from these records whether the representative of D II was delegated by the Auschwitz concentration camp or by the SS Main Office for Administrative and Economic Affairs.

camp.

Forced labour camps for Jews (ZAL f J) were not under the administrative control of the Auschwitz concentration camp, despite the fact that many [illegible] were located near the camp and later transformed into its outlying commandos.

The conditions in forced labour camps for Jews were in many respects comparable to those in concentration camps :

- Forced labourers, like concentration camp prisoners, were put at the disposal of firms, which sent their pays settled by contract to the camp administration,

- Comparable camp organization, with Jewish Elders (Judenältesten), column Elders (Kolonnenältesten) and column leaders (Kolonnenführer) and an internal administration run by the forced labourers themselves,

- Identical number of daily roll-calls at the same period,

- Shifts up to 12 hours, on Sundays as well ; night shifts too.

- Non-observation of the legal provisions determining the rates of salaries,

- 24-hour guard [illegible] in the camps and [illegible] places where labour was carried out.

The International Tracing Service has no documents ~~xxfx~~ referring to forced labour camps for Jews (ZAL f J) and can therefore give no information about the living conditions or mortality in these camps. For this reason, it seems important to quote two

camp.

paragraphs of a letter addressed on April 4, 1967 by the scientific advisor of the Netherlands State Institute for War documentation in Amsterdam to the Federal Minister of Finances in Bonn :

"According to accounts given by survivors, the conditions in these camps were generally so bad that many (prisoners) died. This is best demonstrated by the fact that, when forced labour camps for Jews were incorporated into the concentration camp system in 1944, according to the same reports, a considerable improvement generally took place. A prisoner who was then in Blechammer for example, reports that when the SS took over the camp at the beginning of 1944 and he was tatooed with the Auschwitz number, he felt to his great surprise he "was going from hell to heaven".

There must have been connections between concentration camps and forced labour camps before the latter were taken into the concentration camp system. Several survivors speak of evacuations of sick prisoners sent to Auschwitz to be gassed".

It is not possible to determine from the archives kept by the International Tracing Service to what extent the special commissioner, who was under the SS Reich chief's (RF-SS) command, had an independant position, nor is it possible to determine where, within the hierarchy, the exact responsibility lay for the economic control of the labour supply. It can be assumed, however, that the special commissioner had a rather independant position, since the SS Reich chief needed over a year to confer to forced labour camps for Jews (ZAL f J) the status of outlying commandos of the Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen concentration camps.

Only in a few cases are the exact closing dates of the camps, or the dates of their take-over by concentration camps known. The last mention of a forced labour camp for Jews and its first mention as a concentration camp are simply incidental

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pieces of information in the records and may consequently appear at very distant moments.

b) The Generalgouvernement (occupied territories of Poland)

I Forced labour camps for Jews (ZAL fJ) under the command of the Police and SS chiefs (SS- und Polizeiführer = SSPF)

The camps of the territory called ''Generalgouvernement' after October 12, 1939, i.e. the camps of the Cracow, Lublin, Radom and Warsaw districts are dealt with in the catalogue. The Galician district was added to the Generalgouvernement on August 1, 1941.

The aim of gathering the Jewish labour force clearly appears from the minutes of a meeting held on August 6, 1940 by the "labour" section (Arbeit) of the Generalgouvernement administration, where forced labour for Jews was discussed. A person from this section later gave

> "a general survey of the shift in the employment of the Jewish labour, from subsidiary work carried out for official authorities and other branches, to massive utilization in building projects of political importance for the State".

Here are mentioned, among other things, the very large requirements of man-power for frontier defensive works in the Lublin district.

A former member of the headquarters of the Lublin police and SS chief declared before a public prosecutor in 1962 that he had been appointed camp leader (Lagerleiter) in various forced labour camps for Jews assigned to river regulation work, woodwork and marsh-clearing. It should therefore be assumed

that in summer 1940, these camps were already controlled by the Police and SS chief (SSPF).

By decree of May 7, 1942, Hitler appointed the police and SS chief of the Generalgouvernement Secretary of State for security (Staatssekretär für das Sicherheitswesen). Jewish affairs were concurrently allocated to the security police department (Sipo) and the responsibility for the employment of Jewish labour thus shifted from the "labour" branches to the security police departments.

By the SS Reich Chief's order to the higher police ans SS chief (HSSPF) of the Generalgouvernement of July 19, 1942, the evacuation of the entire Jewish population of the Generalgouvernement was to be "carried out and finished" ("durchgeführt und beendet") by December 21, 1942. After that time, Jews were only allowed in the assembly camps of Warsaw, Cracow, Częstochowa, Radom and Lublin.

It is further ordered that :

"Any other work involving Jewish labour is to be ended at that time, or, if it should prove impossible, transferred to one of the assembly camps."

This tendency to gather Jewish labour in assembly camps also appears in a letter addressed on 18.9.1942 by the commander of the military district of the Generalgouvernement to the High Command of the German Forces (Oberkommando der Wehrmacht). The following orders concerning the Generalgouvernement are found in this letter :

"1) Jewish workers will replace Polish and Ukrainian workers so that the latter may be available for work in the Reich territory ; to that end, Jewish camps will be established near manufactures.

2) In order to employ Jewish labour in war industries, firms or departments will be created with Jewish workers exclusively.

This letter is chiefly a warning against a further "transfer" (Aussiedlung) of the Jews, since they often represented 100 % of the skilled workers and their "transfer" (Aussiedlung) seriously imperilled production. The conclusion of the letter follows thus :

"If the carrying out of strategic work is not to be jeopardized, the Jews will only be let out (die Juden ... freigegeben) when workers have been trained to replace them, i.e. gradually. This task can only be carried out locally, but it has to be directed by a single + department in cooperation with the higher police and SS chief (HSSPF).

We therefore ask permission to carry out the decree in this manner ; the policy is one of eliminating the Jews as quickly as possible without impairing the strategic works".

Commenting on this letter, the SS Reich chief declared that by October 9, 1942,

"all the so-called armament workers, who actually work in tailor, shoe or fur workshops"

should be gathered where they are, i.e. in Warsaw and Lublin in concentration camps, whereas those who work in real armament factories i.e. in arm or automobile workshops etc... should be gradually replaced : they will be gathered first in separate workshops, and later in closed factories. The SS Reich chief summarized his position in the following terms :

+ "... von einer Stelle..." : the word is underlined in the text.

"3) We will then try to replace these Jewish workers with Poles and transform most of these Jewish concentration factories (jüdische KL-Betriebe) into a small number of large Jewish concentration factories located, as much as possible, in the Eastern part of the Generalgouvernement.
Nevertheless, here also, the Jews are to disappear some day, in compliance with the Führer's wish ("Jedoch auch dort sollen eines Tages, dem Wunsche des Führers entsprechend die Juden verschwinden")

Despite the SS Reich chief's obvious efforts to take over forced labour camps for Jews (ZAL f J) and transform them into concentration camps (see below under b) II : forced labour camps for Jews under the command of the police and SS chiefs (SSPF), whose take-over by department group D of the SS Main Office for Administrative and Economic Affairs (SS-WVHA - Amtsgruppe D) was ordered on October 22, 1943), several large forced labour camps for Jews, like the Hasag camps in Skarzysko-Kamienna and Częstochowa, existed until the arrival of the Soviet Army.

According to a letter of October 23, 1942 from the police and SS chief (SSPF) in Galicia to an armament detachment of the Reich Minister for Armaments and Ammunitions in Lemberg, Jewish workers were basically to be placed in barracks and controlled in their camps by the police and SS Chief (SSPF) or the police departments entrusted by him with this control.

Furthermore, after November 1, 1942 Jewish workers were no longer paid. Their employers had to remit the amount of their salaries to the Police and SS chief; the SS Main Office for Administrative and Economic Affairs (SS-WVHA) received the salaries of concentration camp prisoners in a similar way.

After the forced labour camps for Jews were partly dissolved at the beginning of 1944, the prisoners of these camps were massively evacuated to concentration camps in the Reich.

The documentation on these camps being very sketchy, it is not possible to state how complete the list of these camps is.

The exact time these camps were shut ("Schliessung") - through the execution of all the prisoners, the actual "closing off" of the camps, or their take-over by concentration camps - is only rarely known. The exact time of their "take-over" cannot be determined from their last mention as forced labour camps for Jews and their first mention as concentration camps.

II Forced labour camps for Jews under the command of the police and SS chiefs (SSPF) and whose take-over by department group D of the SS Main Office for Administrative and Economic Affairs (SS-WVHA - Amstgruppe D) was ordered on October 22, 1943.

These camps are mentioned in a report called 'Economic part of the Reinhardt action' ('wirtschaftlicher Teil der Aktion Reinhardt') written by the police and SS chief (SSPF) of the Lublin district ; this report is not dated and Globocnik 's enclosed letter is wrongly dated 5.1.1943 instead of 5.1. 1944.

It simply mentions 10 camps of the Lublin district transformed into outlying commandos of the Lublin concentration camp on 14.9.1943 and other camps of the Generalgouvernement, the very number of which is unknown.

The camps mentioned in the report by name are the following:

1) Former Lublin aeroport (alter Flughafen Lublin)	Lublin voivode
2) Trawniki SS labour camp (SS-Arbeitslager Trawniki)	" "
3) Poniatowa SS labour camp (SS-Arbeitslager Poniatowa)	" "
4) Forced labour camps and SS workshops in Radom (Zwangsarbeitslager und SS-Werkstätten in Radom)	Kielce voivode
5) Forced labour camps and SS workshops in Budzyn (Zwangsarbeitslager und SS-Werkstätten in Budzyn)	Lublin voivode
6) Cracow-Plaszow main camp (Hauptlager Krakau-Plaszow)	Cracow voivode
7) Lublin German equipment factories (Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke, Lublin)	Lublin voivode
8) Armament camp in Lemberg (Rüstungslager in Lemberg)	Lwov voivode

These camps belonged to the category of 'forced labour camps for Jews under the command of the police and SS chiefs (SSPF)', until they were taken over by the admnistration of the SS Main Office for Administrative and Economic Affairs

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4) Forced labour camps and SS workshops in Radom (Zwangsarbeitslager und SS-Werkstätten in Radom) — Kielce voivode

5) Forced labour camps and SS workshops in Budzyn (Zwangsarbeitslager und SS-Werkstätten in Budzyn) — Lublin voivode

6) Cracow-Plaszow main camp (Hauptlager Krakau-Plaszow) — Cracow voivode

7) Lublin German equipment factories (Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke, Lublin) — Lublin voivode

8) Arrangement camp in Lemberg (Sammellager in Lemberg) — Lwov voivode

These camps belonged to the category of 'forced labour camps for Jews under the command of the police and SS orders (SSPF), until they were taken over by the administration of the SS Main Office for Administrative and Economic Affairs

(SS-WVHA). The International Tracing Service has further information on the above-mentioned labour camps for Jews (ZAL f J) they are therefore entered a second time in the list of forced labour camps for Jews (ZAL f J) in the following sequence, according to their geographical position :

1) Reich territory and annexed territories administered by the Reich after 1939 — Vol. I p. 268

2) Generalgouvernement (occupied territories of Poland) — Vol. I p. 367

3) USSR and the Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) — Vol. I p. 446

H. Police detention camps under the control of security police commanders (Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei = BdS) in occupied and annexed (eingegliedert +) territories

In Germany, the legal capacity of the SS Reich chief's departments (RF-SS) to order detention was uniformely regulated; these regulations covered all kinds of detentions, from the limited police detention, within the jurisdiction of (main) state police departments (Stapo(leit)stellen), to the concentration camp detention ordered by the Main Office for Reich Security with a warrant of "protective custody" (Schutzhaftbefehl).

Position of the security police commander (BdS) in relation to the powers of the armed forces commander (Militärbefehlshaber)

Detention conditions in occupied territories under the jurisdiction of security police commanders are not very well known to the International Tracing Service because it has no relevant decrees or other documents. The few extant documents, however, allow an outline of these conditions.

First of all, the very position of the security police commander (BdS) in relation to the armed forces commander or the Reich commissioner (Reichskommissar) varied according to the country. On one hand, the political conditions of occupation differred according to the territory and, on the other, the

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Position of the security police commander (BdS) in relation to the powers of the armed forces commander (Militärbefehlshaber)

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military commanders' and Reich commissioners' opinions about the SS Reich chief's (RF-SS) departments diverged considerably : some opposed the activity of the security police commander, others let him do what he wanted.

Thus the future security police commander (BdS) entered Paris on the same day as the German Forces, by this was unofficial and the military command opposed with a long and resolute resistance any independant activity on his part. Other security police commanders arrived quite officially at the place of their future activity as chiefs of operation commandos (Einsatzkommandos = EK) and were named security police commanders when a military administration was set up as , for example, in Serbia. As far as can be gathered, security police commanders kept their field services under the control of the security police officer in command (Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei = KdS) ; there was in Greece a security police commander (BdS), but the secret field police of the German Forces (geheime Feldpolizei der Wehrmacht) was invested with the powers of the security police officer in command. It is not possible to determine from the archives kept by the International Tracing Service whether this was a purely formal difference, or whether the Security police commander had no influence over the secret field police commandos in charge of the detention camps ; this last hypothesis seems however highly improbable.

As to the conditions of detention, it should be mentioned that the sphere of authority of the departments of the German Forces and of the SS Reich chief often coincided. Thus the war prisons of the German Forces (Kriegswehrmachtsgefängnis) in Oslo were also used as transit camps for the Jews to be deported later on to extermination camps. In occupied France, the field gendarmerie (Feldgendarmerie), which did not object in 1942 to arresting Jews in Cherbourg and sending them to Drancy, refused to take part in their arrest in spring 1944, on the grounds of an alledged order from higher authorities. The complex nature

of the relationship between the different departments appears particularly clearly in a post-war deposition of the former security police commander in Belgrade :

"When I arrived in Belgrade (in February 1942), the Semlin camp, located on Croatian territory, was under the control of the security police commander. It was in the premises of the former Belgrade World exhibition. Economically, this camp came under the Belgrade police president ; the order police commander (Befehlshaber der Ordnungspolizei) was in charge of the guard and, in my quality of commander of the security police, I was responsible for its management. The inmates (Gefangene)there were prisoners from the security police as well as from my departments, the order police, the German Forces and even the Croatians. The German army however resorted to Semlin only after large-scale operations and when it did not know where to put its prisoners. Communists, insurgents (Aufständische) and Cetniks+were in particular arrested by my departments..."

The higher police and SS chief's position (HSSPF) was in many places higher than the security police commander's (BdS), but this subject will not be entered upon here.

Designation of the camps

There was apparently no uniform designation for the camps. Several names, usually referring to the different purposes of a camp, were often used concurrently or successively for the

+ Members of a Jugoslav resistance organization, with General Mihaïlovitch (1893-1945) at its head.

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same camp. Here are the different names found in documents :

Camp (Lager), arrest camp (Anhaltelager), police detention camp (Polizeihaftlager), police prisoner camp (polizeigefangenenlager), enlarged police prisoner camp (erweitertes Polizeigefangenenlager).

Impoundment camp (Auffanglager), assembly camp (Sammellager) police transit camp and (polizeiliches-und-Polizei durchgangslager).

Camps for Jews (Judenlager), camp for foreign Jews (Lager für ausländischen Juden), impoundment camp for Jews (Judenauffanglager), transit camp for Jews (Durchgangslager für Juden).

Hostage camp (Geisellager), reprisal camp (Sühnengefangenen lager).

In the court martial records of the German Forces in Greece and Jugoslavia, these camps are, not without reason, called concentration camps.

Detention of hostages

Executions of hostages took place in all the occupied territories and should be mentioned here since they came within the security police commanders' (BdS) activities. The so-called retaliations were ordered by the military commandant, but he usually left the selection of hostages to the lower departments of the security police commander. Hostages were then imprisoned in police detention camps until their executions; names as

"hostage camp" (Geisellager) (e.g. Zajfcar, Jugoslavia) or "reprisal camp" (e.g. Cacak, Jugoslavia) refer to these facts. But it also happened that hostages were incarcerated in camps bearing other names (e.g. the Romainville fort near Paris).

The deposition made by the security police commander in Belgrade gives a summary account of the way these matters were handled :

"...On general principle, no member of my department carried out executions himself. When the German Army (Wehrmacht) lacked prisoners to execute in retaliation, it had them come from other camps.

When the camps under my command received prisoners, they were first of all checked by my staff. According to their degree of participation in the rebellion, they were considered hostages (Sühnengefangene = expiatory prisoner) made available for work in Germany or released.

Thus if hostages were required by the German army (Wehrmacht), they were put at its disposal by my department, which chose them from among those who had been selected for retaliation during the control."

Yet the "degree of participation in the rebellion" ("Grad der Beteiligung an dem Aufstand") does not seem to be the only criterion which determined the choice of the subordinates of the security police commander in Belgrade, as is shown in the following note dated 23.12 (probably 1942) with the letter head "Semlin arrest camp" (Anhaltelager Semlin), presumably addressed by the camp leader to the security police commander in Belgrade :

"When retaliation is carried out, I require you to execute prisoner ...+... who arrived on 18:9:1942. During his work here, he has come to know the conditions in this camp

too well. I fear that ...+..., when he is later put to work elsewhere, or if he is released, might inform the outside of the conditions he observed in the camp at his time, despite the fact that he is bound to secrecy.

Signed
SS-Hauptsturmführer
(captain)

The way hostages were treated can be inferred from an order of the officer in command of the security police (KdS) in Paris to his department II/Pol. dated February 25, 1943. It stipulates that 31 hostages imprisoned in the Romainville Fort (a police detention camp near Paris (Polizeihaftlager)) should be immediatly subjected to the 3rd degree (Stufe III) treatment for concentration camp prisoners. This treatment, introduced on January 2, 1941 in the Mauthausen concentration camp only, was the hardest treatment for concentration camp prisoners.

Assembly camps for deportation

Police detention camps used as assembly camps for Jews (Drancy etc.) before their deportation to Eastern extermination camps are particularly well known. Other camps, such as Compiègne were used mainly as assembly camps for political prisoners before their transfer to concentration camps.

The length of detention in assembly camps depended on circumstances over which the security police commander (BdS) had no influence, and could last from a few days to several months.

Extermination camps

From the deposition of the former security police commander in Belgrade, it can be seen that the police detention camps under his control were used temporarily as extermination camps for the Jews :

"...First of all, I should like to stress the fact that I did not know the orders given before I took up my duties (February 1942). My subordinates told me that all the Jewish males had been executed. Their wives and children were still in the Semlin camp."

The former security police commander preferred not to say that these women and children were also executed in summer 1942 in gas-vans (Gaswagen)+ sent for this very purpose from Berlin to the Semlin camp. But he goes on :

"...In the camps called camps for the Jews in the military communiqués, not only Jews, but also hostages, prisoners for reprisal and other prisoners were gathered (konzentriert). The Jews, however, were kept apart from the other prisoners."

This remark shows that the correlation between the camp designations and the different categories of prisoners in the camps was rather loose.

General regulations concerning the security police commanders' powers

Lacking relevant documents, the International Tracing Service is not able to determine whether the management of the camps and the other measures within the powers of the security police commanders (BdS) were [illegible] settled with nicety; but from the two following documents, it appears that security police commanders (BdS) rarely observed the orders they were given :

1º Letter of the SS Reich chief ((RF-SS) dispatched from his field command station to the chiefs of the SS Main Office for Administrative and Economic Affairs (SS-WVHA) and of the Main Office for Reich Security (RSHA)

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The former security police commander preferred not to say that these women and children were also executed in summer 1942 in gas-vans (Gaswagen) sent for this very purpose from Berlin to Semlin camp but he goes on :

"...In the camps called Zwangsarbeitslager the Jews in the military communiqués, not only Jews, but also hostages, prisoners for reprisal and other prisoners were gathered (konzentriert). The Jews, however, were kept apart from the other prisoners."

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1. Letter of the SS Reich chief (RF-SS) dispatched from his field command station to the chiefs of the SS Main Office for Administrative and Economic Affairs (SS-WVHA) and of the Main Office for Reich Security (RSHA)

(~~Translation~~)

The SS Reich chief's personal staff
(persönlicher. Stab-Reichsführer SS)

Administration of files (Schriftverwaltung)

Document (Akt) nr. geh.III/10 (secret)

The SS Reich chief/Field command station, May 18, 1943
(Feldkommandostelle)

Tgb. Nr. (journal Nr.)
RF/V SECRET

1) SS-Obergruppenführer ( )Pohl
2) SS-Gruppenführer (SS lieutenant general) Dr. Kaltenbrunner

One of our labour reformatory camps (Arbeitserziehungslager) is located in Salapitz, in the East. For all practical purposes, this camp is a concentration camp, but it comes under the security police commander (Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei = KdS). Latvian, Estonian and Lithuanian protection troops, as well as volunteers ~~working for~~ the SS and the police serve their sentences there. Work carried out in the camp is peat-cutting, mining, quarrying, lime work, cement production etc...

Under no circumstances do I want a concentration camp to be created here as a private concentration camp of any higher section (Oberabschnitt). I will only accept the Salapitz concentration camp under these two explicit conditions :

1) If this concentration camp is put under the control of the chief of the Main Office for Administrative and Economic Affairs,

(Translation)

Personal staff of the SS Reich chief
(persönlicher Stab-ReichsführerSS)

Administration of files (Schriftverwaltung)

Document (Akt) nr. Gen.III\10 (secret)

The SS Reich chief/Field command station, May 16, 1943
(Feldkommandostelle)

Tgb. Nr. (Journal Nr.)
RF\V SECRET

1) SS-Obergruppenführer ( )Pohl
2) SS-Gruppenführer (Lieutenant General SS) Dr. Karten-brunner

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1) If this concentration camp is put under the control of the chief of the Main Office for Administrative and Economic Affairs,

2) if there is a real and significant armament workshop in the camp. Work in cement plants, peat cutting, etc... is indeed very nice (es ist zwar sehr schön), but this is being carried out only in order to keep the camp inmates busy. We cannot afford this during the war.

Let me know your suggestions.
H.H.
(Heinrich Himmler)

The Salapitz labour reformatory camp (Arbeitserziehungslager = AEL) came under the security police commander (BdS) in Riga and was intended for non-German prisoners, members of the protection troops or volunteers trained by the SS and the police, sentenced to labour reformatory detentions (Arbeitserziehungshaft). This camp did have some of the characteristics of police detention camps, which made Himmler say that it was "for all practical purposes a concentration camp". Salapitz was also used as an assembly camp for prisoners to be deported later on to concentration camps in Germany.

2) Dispatch from the Main Office for Reich Security (RSHA) of 18.12.1942 ; letter addressed by the RSHA (Dr. Kaltenbrunner) on February 3, 1943 (Az. : IV C 2 Allg. Nr. 42 160) to the security police commander (BdS) in Belgrade ; letter Az. IV A/3-Br./Ti-1931 42 B. Nr. 16232/42 of the Bds in Belgrade to the Main Office for Reich Security dated 14.1.1943.

According to these three documents, 10 sick prisoners were withdrawn form a transport of Serbian prisoners from Serbia to Norway, and brought to the infirmary of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.

The Main Office for Reich Security (RSHA) later required from the security police commander in Belgrade "protective custody" application forms (Schutzhaftanträge)for these prisoners . Instead of the required application forms for "protective custody" (Schutzhaftanträge), the Main Office for Reich Security (RSHA) was sent by mistake - as the security police commander asserted, trying to get out of the difficulty - printed warrants of "protective custody" (Schutzhaftbefehle) from the operation unit of the security police and security department (Einsatzgruppe der Sipo und des SD) which, allegedly, were no longer used.

This shows that -at a certain time at least - the chief of the operation unit, while being a subordinate of the Security police commander, could order "protective custody" (Schutzhaft).

Difficulty in the identification of police detention camps

As was mentioned in the introduction, police prisons are not entered in the catalogue. The following example shows how difficult it sometimes is to distinguish an external police prison camp from a police detention camp with the characteristics of a concentration camp.

The only thing that was known about the Birkenhof-Dombrovice "camp" ("Lager") was that , administratively only, it came under the Lublin prison.

The following facts, recently discovered, show that it probably was some kind of police detention camp.

The Main Office for Reich Security (RSHA) later required from the security police commander in Belgrade "protective custody" application forms (Schutzhaftanträge) for three prisoners. Instead of the required application form for "protective custody" (Schutzhaftantrag), the Main Office for Reich Security (RSHA) was sent by mistake - as the security police commander asserted, trying to get out of the difficulty - printed warrants of "protective custody" (Schutzhaftbefehle) from the operation unit of the security police and security department (Einsatzgruppe der Sipo und des SD) which, allegedly, were no longer used.

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The following facts, recently discovered, show that it probably was some kind of police detention camp.

Concentration camp prisoners from Germany were first transferred there as "Funktionshäftlinge" +. Later on, prisoners in "protective custody" (Schutzhäftlinge) were sent to this camp with the usual warrants of "protective custody" (Schutzhaft) issued by the Main Office for Reich Security (RSHA) ; these warrants were otherwise only used for sentences of "protective custody" (Schutzhaft) served in concentration camps. No doubt, sentences of longer 'protective custody' (Schutzhaft) as for example the unlimited "protective custody" (Schutzhaft) appearing on the warrants of "protective custody" (Schutzhaft) of the Main Office for Reich Security (RSHA) were not served in prisons or in the outlying camps of these prisons.

The documentary material being insufficient, the International Tracing Service can point out only some of the characteristics of this category of camps and their list does not claim to be complete.

The police detention camps are listed alphabetically, according to countries in the following order :

Belgium	Vol. I p. 463	Italy	Vol. I p. 471
Denmark	Vol. I p. 464	Jugoslavia	Vol. I p. 475
France	Vol. I p. 465	Luxemburg	Vol. I p. 476
Greece	Vol. I p. 468	Netherlands	Vol. I p. 476
		Norway	Vol. I p. 478

+ Prisoners in charge of various duties in the camp administration.

I. Places of detention in the Eastern territories used predominantly as extermination camps for the Jews

This category includes the camps in the Generalgouvernement, the Wartheland Gau and the camps near Riga and Minsk ; they were all under the jurisdiction of the respective police and SS chiefs in these territories.

These camps were partly used as extermination camps for the Jews from definite territories : the Jews from the Wartheland Gau were thus sent to Kulmhof-Chelmno, whereas the Jews from the Generalgouvernement, the Protectorate, the Reich and the occupied territories were exterminated in other camps.

There are few survivors of these camps, if we leave aside those of the Auschwitz and Lublin concentration camps, which were extermination camps as well as labour camps (see chapter B : concentration camps under the command of the concentration camp Inspector).

These camps are listed in the following order, according to countries:

Latvia	Vol. I p. 482
Poland	Vol. I p. 482-483
USSR	Vol. I p. 483

J. Labour reformatory camps +
(Arbeitserziehungslager = AEL)

It seems appropriate, at the beginning of this chapter, to examine briefly the fundamental problem of the legal definition of labour reformatory detention (AE-Haft) and to situate it among the other kinds of detention.

The contempt in which the National-Socialist regime held the constitutional principles of the State did not prevent its officials from trying to give coercive measures an appearance of legality, as far as this did not hamper their aims. Two kinds of detention were created for the security police beyond the regular penal law :

A) Protective custody (Vorbeugungshaft)++ for the criminal police (Kriminalpolizei)

+ The traditional translation of "Arbeitserziehungslager" as labour reformatory camp is kept here. The literal translation would be "camp for labour education". This translation clearly shows what the camps were intended as, i.e. camps to 'educate people reluctant to work', according to the norms of the National-socialist order.

++ This is the criminal law protective custody : "vorbeugen" means to prevent, and appears in composed words such as Vorbeugungsmittel : preventive, prophylactic (in medecine) ; see footnote p. XI/XII

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B) Protective custody (Schutzhaft) + for the state secret police (geheime Staatspolizei = Gestapo).

The principles of the fundamental decree on the preventive struggle ++ of the police against crime of December 14, 1937 and those of the protective custody decree (Schutzhaft) of January 21, 1938 - the enforcement of which was to prove decisive - are based on the Reich President's ordinance for the protection of the people and the State of February 28, 1933 (RGBl.-official law gazette of the Reich-part I p.83)

The state secret police could order detention outside the regular penal law only by means of protective custody (Schutzhaft) which, according to paragraph 2, section 1 of the protective custody decree (Schutzhaft) of January 25, 1939 lay exclusively within the powers of the state secret police department (geheime Staatspolizei-Amt) ; this department was later to become department IV of the Main Office for Reich Security (RSHA). Any kind of detention introduced by the state secret police (Gestapo) had therefore to be compatible with the admissibility and authorization provisions of the protective custody decree (Schutzhaft), or at all events, to be brought into the lines of the decree. Thus an endeavour was made to legalize the three main types of state secret police detention, which were :

+ The usual translation of "Schutzhaft" is "protective custody" The expression "protective custody" for Vorbeugungshaft shows the inaccuracy of the translation. The fact that "Sicherheitsverwahrung", meaning "security custody or detention" is often translated by "protective custody" adds again to the confusion. In order to make things clear, in this introduction the term "protective custody" will always be followed by the respective German word put between brackets.

++ This struggle is preventive in the sense of "vorbeugend" : it is a precautionary measure.

a) Actual protective custody (Schutzhaft), ordered by the secret state police department (geheimes Staatspolizeiamt = Gestapa) (department IV of the Main Office for Reich Security - Amt IV RSHA) for an unspecified time and served in concentration camps. The real object of the protective custody (Schutzhaft) decree was to give full powers precisely in this sense.

b) Police detention of the state secret police (Polizeihaft der Gestapo), ordered by the main and branch departments of the state secret police and served in its buildings and prisons ; this included prohibition to work. The right for this was derived from paragraph 3 of the protective custody decree (Schutzhaft), according to which, besides the state secret police, (main) state police departments (Stapo(leit)stellen) were enentitled to order the "temporary arrest" ("vorläufige Festnahme") of a person within the framework of the protective custody (Schutzhaft) procedures, and were only to release this person after 10 days, if the state secret police department had not ordered "protective custody" (Schutzhaft) in the meantime. As early as October 4, 1939 a decree increased the term of "temporary arrest or "temporary protective custody" (vorläufiger Schutzhaft) to 21 days. Later on , in order to underline clearly the originality on that point of the external services, temporary protective custody (vorläufiger Schutzhaft), ordered by (main) state police departments in pursuance of their own powers, was called "police detention" (Polizeihaft). A 21-day imprisonment was the longest term for this kind of detention, which did not imply an actual further protective custody (Schutzhaft). When applied to work-reluctant people, this police detention was also called short-term reformatory detention (kurzfristige Erziehungshaft+),

+ See footnote on p. . The literal translation would be short term educational detention.

It appears from the documents of a main state police department that this measure was in fact understood as protective custody (Schutzhaft) in the sense of the protective custody (Schutzhaft) decree, for in these documents, the 21-day detention ordered by this department for absenteeism from work, for example, is openly called "protective custody" (Schutzhaft).

c) Labour reformatory detention ordered by(main) state police departments, and served in their own labour reformatory camps (AEL). This right was also derived, with a new manipulation of the text, from the third paragraph of the protective custody (Schutzhaft) decree and is formulated as follows in a decree of the security police inspector in Düsseldorf (Inspekteur der Sicherheitspolizei = IdS) dated 22.8.1940.

> "Normally, the internment term in the camp is of six weeks ; these six weeks of imprisonment correspond to a three week protective custody (Schutzhaft), so that main state police departments are entitled to order commitments to labour reformatory camps (AEL) through their own authority"

Already by the middle of 1941, labour reformatory detention could be ordered for a period of 56 days and was thus assimilated to temporary arrest, which could last up to 21 days. The rights of the (main) state police departments were derived from the following combination : a 21-day "protective custody (Schutzhaft)/temporary arrest" is equal to a 21-day state police detention or to a 56-day labour reformatory detention.

This underevaluation of labour reformatory detention was only counterbalanced when a decree of August 31 (presumably 1944) increased the term of temporary arrest to 56 days.

(Main) state police departments considered that this arbitrary equivalence between labour reformatory detention and temporary arrest entitled them to order labour reformatory detention ; this equivalence also explains why the Main Office for Reich Security (RSHA) several times stressed the fact that the maximum term of detention in a labour reformatory camp was 56 days from the day of arrest, irrespective of the actual commitment to the labour reformatory camp. The decree IV C 2 Allg. nº 42275 of the Main Office for Reich Security (RSHA) dated 27.8.1942 also shows that (main) state police departments derived their power to order imprisonments in labour reformatory camps from the protective custody decree (Schutzhafterlass) :the 27.8.1942 decree specifies that, according to imperative prescriptions, only persons who refused to work (Arbeitsverweigerer) or who sabotaged work (Arbeitssaboteure) could be incarcerated in labour reformatory camps and that "apart from this" ("darüber hinaus"), according to the 25.11.1939 protective custody decree (Schutzhafterlass), "basically, detention was to be served exclusively in concentration camps".

The International Tracing Service has very little material on labour reformatory camps : usually their location is known, sometimes their opening and closing dates, but hardly ever their sizes.Here the International Tracing Service does not have prisoners' records anywhere comparable to those of concentration camps, from which very valuable information was derived.

Depositions of former prisoners are scarce too, because the inmates did not know the real designation of their camps: they often call "hard labour camp" (Strafarbeitslager) or "forced labour camp" (Zwangsarbeitslager) camps identified by the International Tracing Service as labour reformatory camps. These designations being used in the immediate postwar period for very different kinds of camps, the particular problem of labour reformatory camps was not closely examined at the time.

Post-war legal proceedings taken against two former labour reformatory camp leaders first revealed the harshness of detention in these camps. A letter of May 1944 from SS-Obergruppenführer (SS) Kaltenbrunner shows that conditions there were by no means an exception. A paragraph of this letter, communicated to the International Tracing Service by the Netherlands State Institute for war documentation in Amsterdam, is quoted below:

"... At first, I should like to state that detention in a security police labour reformatory camp has nothing to do with a rest cure. The prisoners' living and working conditions are, as a general rule, worse that in concentration camps. This is necessary to obtain the intended aim and realizable, since prisoners in protective custody are usually incarcerated for only a few weeks, or at most, a few months."

Kaltenbrunner's opinion about the harshness of the detention conditions certainly closely reflected the real situation. The expression 'prisoner in protective custody', which appears in this letter, also shows that the existence of labour reformatory camps was based on the right of the state secret police to order protective custody (Schutzhaft). It shows too that the concept of protective custody (Schutzhaft) did not have such a narrow acception for the supreme authorities of the Main Office for Reich Security (RSHA) as one might think when reading their orders and decrees.

It is often difficult to follow the development of institutions established at the SS Reich Chief's initiative from their initial form to the ultimate form known to the public : this should be ascribed not only to the fact that the ITS lacks the first decrees, but also to the fact that the SS Reich chief ordered measures that he had neither thoroughly examined, nor consulted other departments on.

This is clearly demonstrated by the IV D 2382/40 dispatch of 8.3.1940 addressed by the chief of the Reich SS and of the German police to the (main) state police departments ; the subject of this letter, in which the term 'labour reformatory camp' appears for the first time, is "the treatment of Polish workers, men and women, assigned to work in the Reich".

In this letter, the following is prescribed :

"In order to fight insubordination and carelessness in work, in every district (of the state police) where some cases of disobedience and reluctance to work have appeared, arrangements should be made at once for the immediate deportation of the Polish workers concerned (Polnisches Volkstum) to a labour reformatory camp for several years".

This is actually a deterrent, for it could hardly be the result of a so-called 'disobedience' etc. of the Polish workers in the Reich, who did not number very many at the time. This order is actually part of the SS Reich chief's terror measures planned for the campaign of Poland and widely applied to the Polish people (Polnisches Volkstum), allegedly in order to fight the enemy (Feindbekämpfung).

Although in March 1940, there were no real labour reformatory camps, state police main and branch departments nevertheless sentenced Germans who would not, for instance, go to work, to short term reformatory detentions ('kurzfristige Erziehungshaft')(see p.) ; at that time, such sentences were served in five police detention camps within and in the surroundings of the Hinzert SS special camp (SS-Sonderlager Hinzert). Polish workers were, however, not incarcerated in these camps which lay in the area of the West Wall (Westwall), for, by his letter of 8.4.1940, Field Marshall (Generalfeldmarshall) Göring had forbidden putting them to work in the Western border territories.

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The SS Reich chief goes on :

"The treatment of prisoners in labour reformatory camps will depend upon the gravity of their offences. Persons obstinately unwilling to work (hartnäckige Arbeitsunlustige) will be put to work in the Mauthausen quarries for example. By a special decree to the SS death's head unit and concentration camp leaders, I have given instructions concerning the treatment of prisoners in protective custody in concentration camps".

This special decree to the SS death's head unit and concentration camp leaders is not known by the International Tracing Service. Mauthausen was the only camp with the third degree (Stufe III) treatment, the hardest , mainly applied from 1938 on to so-called habitual criminals (Berufsverbrecher) and later on to an ever growing number of political prisoners. It has never been possible to prove that labour reformatory prisoners were incarcerated in Mauthausen, even when this could be ascertained for other camps.

Labour reformatory camps must have already existed three months after the SS Reich chief's letter was sent, for in an application of 1942 to one of these camps, reference is made to a decree issued by the SS Reich chief, dated 14.6.1940, and to another decree of 5.7.1940 from the inspector of the security police and security department in Düsseldorf. The texts of these decrees are unknown, but they certainly contained instructions about commitments to labour reformatory camps.

The earliest extant circular about labour reformatory camps is dated 25.5.1941, and was replaced by another version as soon as 12.12.1942. It can be inferred from the great number of prescriptions it contained, that former ordinances were not explicit enough and that fundamental regulations were needed.

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Some of the most important points about labour reformatory detention (Arbeitserziehungshaft) are dealt with below, and the most significant texts are quoted ; basically, they do not differ from the above-mentioned decrees, but they may have been issued later.

LABOUR REFORMATORY DETENTION FOR NON-GERMANS AS WELL

It could be inferred from the SS Reich chief's above-mentioned dispatch of 8.3.1940 that labour reformatory detention was intented only for Polish civil workers, which has already been refuted. As a matter of fact, this inference is corrected by the SS Reich chief's S IV 479/42 circular of 15.12.1942 :

"1. Principles.

(1) The obligation for foreign labourers to work follows from work-contracts and other relevant provisions, which may, among others, provide for the prolongation of the said contracts (labour conscription).

(2) Apart from a few exceptions (as for example the workers from the Eastern areas - Ostarbeiter -), foreign labourers will be hired on a basis of equality of treatment with the corresponding German workers ; they will therefore, like native workers, be subject to any relevant German regulations and will consequently have to answer for possible infractions of the labour conscription. The fact that, in accordance with the quoted decree, control of the state secret police over foreign workers is much stricter than over German workers when breaking their work-contracts, is not a fundamental deviation from the principle of equality of treatment between German and foreign workers, but a procedure particular to German internal politics, justified by the special risk arising from the employment of a foreign labour force.

(3)...

The fundamental decrees concerning labour reformatory camps provided for identical measures of detention for Germans and foreigners, and it has indeed been proved that prisoners from all the states at war with Germany and also from Germany and the so-called friendly nations were incarcerated in labour reformatory camps.

PUNISHMENT FOR THE SO-CALLED BREACH OF WORK CONTRACT

Both the choice and the enforcement of punishments lay concomitantly in the power of the state police.

This question is dealt with in the second chapter of the same decree.

"2. Measures.

In individual cases, the selection of the appropriate measures belongs fundamentally to (main) state police departments.

(a) Cases will be brought up to the Reich administrator for labour (Reichstreuhänder der Arbeit) or to his representatives as far as particular questions about labour law are concerned, or if disciplinary penalties should be preferred to state police measures. The judicial punishment of a foreign worker on grounds of breach of work-contract is, as a general rule, inappropriate; if necessary, it will be resorted to through the channel of the Reich administrator for labour only in connection with other offences.

Cases concerning the Eastern workforce ('Arbeitskräfte aus dem Osten') mentioned in the S IV D № 208/42 (ausl. Arb. foreign work.) decree of 20.2.1942 should never be submitted to the Reich administrator for labour

The different punishments

The 'ordinary state police measures' ('die üblichen Staatspolizeilichen Massnahmen) to be taken when a breach of work contract by a foreigner is referred to the state police are listed in the next paragraph b). These are in particular :

- warning
- short-term reformatory detention (kurzfristige Erziehungshaft) ; the prisoner is not compelled to work, but his punishment can be intensified in accordance with the 1.4.1941 decree (police detention- Polizeihaft).
- Bail (fine), if it is deemed expedient, and as an additional measure only.
- commitment to a labour reformatory camp.

Commitments to concentration camps were to be ordered in severe cases only, so that the foreigner might return as soon as possible to his work in the free economy.

In the case of citizens from allied nations, consideration was to be taken as to whether their commitments to labour reformatory camps and their subsequent expulsions to their respective countries were not more appropriate than their commitments to concentration camps, as far as this measure was at all allowed in their cases.

PLACE OF LABOUR REFORMATORY CAMPS IN THE HIERARCHY

Labour reformatory camps were under the direct control of the (main) state police departments in charge. Camp leaders and also their deputies, if possible, were to be members of the state police.

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The next paragraph (b) enumerates the legal state police measures' ('die Ublichen Strafpolizeilichen Massnahmen) to be taken when a breach of work contract by a foreigner is referred to the state police. These are in particular: paragraph b). These are in particular :

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DETENTION TERM IN LABOUR REFORMATORY CAMPS

The SS Reich chief's afore-mentioned circular of 12.12. 1942 already gives complete information on this topic :

"(Main) state police departments ordering a commitment are to state in weeks or days the term of detention and its date of termination. Detention starts from the time of temporary arrest. When a prisoner is released, a notice of release shouldbe sent to the office which ordered the commitment. The camp leader is held responsible for the prompt release of the prisoner.

The longest term of detention is 56 days for German as for foreign prisoners ('Poles, Czechs etc.). The department in charge thereby has the possibility of grading punishments according to the offence and personality of its perpetrator, and can, if necessary, increase the penalty by ordering repeated commitments.

If after eight weeks, the purpose of detention (Haftzweck) is not attained, application for protective custody (Schutzhaft) and commitment to a concentration camp should be made to the Main Office for Reich Security (Reichssicherheitshauptamt), off. IV C 2...

If a prisoner misconducts himself, the camp leader should report it in due time to the (main) state police department in charge, before his detention expires. This department will then decide whether the prisoner should be released or kept further under arrest. A camp leader is not entitled to keep a prisoner in a camp after his term of detention is over".

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OFFENCES IMPLYING LABOUR REFORMATORY DETENTION

A description of the offences implying labour reformatory detention can be found in the aforementioned circular. This detention should be applied to "persons refusing to work and work-reluctant elements whose attitude would amount to sabotage work".

Similar definitions appear in later decrees, but they are never very precise. Thus state police departments had full discretion in determining the kind and term of punishments.

OTHER PRISONERS TO BE EXCLUDED FROM LABOUR REFORMATORY CAMPS

It was stipulated in the same circular that other prisoners and in particular 'political prisoners in protective custody' (politische Schutzhäflinge) belonged to categories of persons not to be committed to labour reformatory camps.

One can only conjecture about the grounds for this measure. On one hand, commitments to labour reformatory camps were supposed to have only an 'educational purpose' ('Erziehungszweck') and were not considered as penalties ; as such, they were not to be recorded as convictions. Kaltenbrunner's expert advice quoted at the beginning of this chapter shows that this 'educational purpose' was accomplished by still harder methods than those in concentration camps. On the other hand, main state police departments could only dispose of prisoners in protective custody (Schutzhäflinge) in the framework of the 21-day (later 56-day) temporary arrest.

Various letters show that the provisions excluding particular categories of prisoners from labour reformatory camps were later not observed for concentration camp prisoners. The following instructions can be read in a letter of the Düsseldorf main state police department, dated 19.3.1941 :

"In war-time, an official confirmation of 'protective custody' (Schutzhaft) or instructions concerning transfers to concentration camps may require a rather long time; arrested Polish civil workers (and former Polish war prisoners) for whom an application for 'protective custody' (Schutzhaft) has been made should therefore be sent to the Hunswinkel labour and reformatory camp (Arbeits-und Erziehungslager) until the decision of the main office for Reich security arrives".

It follows from the letter of the main office for Reich security (RSHA) dated 27.8.1942 that this was not an isolated case in a local main state police department ;

"The repeated applications of main state police departments to department IV C 2 of the main office for Reich security to obtain the authorization to keep political prisoners (politische Häftlinge) in labour reformatory camps or to commit them to these camps induce me once again to point out the fundamental regulations concerning the creation of labour reformatory camps".

Documents kept by the International Tracing Service and minutes of post-war trials prove that from summer 1944 on, political prisoners were incarcerated in labour reformatory camps instead of concentration camps. It was not possible, however, to establish whether the main office for Reich security (RSHA) consented to this or not.

This measure was probably resorted to at a time when concentration camps were overcrowded or difficult to reach and the detention places of the state police departments no longer sufficed.

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PUNISHMENTS IN LABOUR REFORMATORY CAMPS

In his aforementioned decree of 12.12.1941, the chief of the security police and security department (der Chef der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD) planned the following punishments :

- warning
- deprivation of bed and warm food
- special work (Sonderarbeit)
- arrest.

Corporal punishments (Prügelstrafe : flogging) customary in concentration camps, are not mentioned here. One camp leader however, stated in his deposition at a post-war trial that he was entitled to punish a prisoner with five cudgel strokes.

REGISTRATION OF LABOUR REFORMATORY PRISONERS

Labour reformatory prisoners were registred in several books, in a way comparable to the registration in judicial penal institutions. It has already been mentioned that the International Tracing Service has no such documents.

According to a decree of 16.9.1941 (II - AZ 44 /41) from the main office for Reich security, the release of labour reformatory prisoners was to be reported to department IV C 1 of the main office for Reich security (RSHA referant IV C 1) on a record card established for this purpose. This department was transferred to the Theresienstadt ghetto in summer 1943 and the card index destroyed there before the end of the war.

SENTENCES OF LABOUR REFORMATORY DETENTION SERVED IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS

Here, we are only concerned with the actual labour reformatory detention of 21 to 56 days. In one case, it was established that the 56- day detention was undergone four times before the prisoner was released. Other labour reformatory prisoners whose registration records were examined were sometimes released with a few days' delay.

Since decrees regulating labour reformatory detention served in concentration camps are unknown, the only available documents are the concentration camp prisoners' records, which show the length of detention but give no information about the treatment of labour reformatory prisoners, their work or separation from the actual concentration camp inmates.

Taking into account the division of powers and functions, the presence of labour reformatory prisoners in concentration camps can be ascribed to a certain extent to the following facts, according to statements made by former members of the state secret police (Gestapo).

According to general directions of the Main office for Reich security (RSHA) about the creation of labour reformatory camps, security police inspectors (Inspekteure der Sicherheitspolizei = IdS) and main state police departments (Stapo(leit) stellen) were entitled to establish these camps. Several (main) state police departments however, lacking either staff or interest, did not create their own camps. This was, for example, the case of the Ratisbon state police department, which asserted that its "work-saboteurs" (Arbeitssaboteure) were punished with a 21-day police labour reformatory detention (AE-Polizeihaft) or that protective custody was required for them from the main office for Reich security (RSHA). The Kiel state police department first created the Nordmark labour reformatory camp in May 1944. Labour reformatory sentences ordered by this department

before that time were served at the Wattenstedt labour reformatory camp, because the former chief of the Kiel state police department was not interested in a labour reformatory camp of his own and was reluctant to incur the expense. Other (main) state police departments near concentration camps most likely renounced the creation of labour reformatory camps for the same reasons and sent their labour reformatory prisoners to the neighbouring concentration camps. This was only possible under special authorizations delivered by the Main Office for Reich Security(RSHA), but none is known. There is reason to believe that the (main) state police departments which ordered labour reformatory sentences served in the nearest concentration camps did this because they lacked initiative or because it was the best solution, since no principle existed whereby labour reformatory prisoners and prisoners in protective custody (Schutzhäftlinge) should be put on the same par. In such cases the concentration camp administration was probably instructed to establish the labour reformatory camp in a special way and to separate it from the actual protective custody camp (Schutzhaftlager). But it is another problem to find out whether these orders were followed or not, and this does not appear in the extant records.

It has been possible to establish the presence of labour reformatory prisoners in five concentration camps, but this could not be proved for other concentration camps, since the prisoners' records are incomplete, except for Mauthausen. It can be inferred from recently acquired documents that no female labour reformatory prisoners were incarcerated in Ravensbrück.

The prisoners' records of the concentration camps below provide the following details :

AUSCHWITZ CONCENTRATION CAMP

Over 10,000 male labour reformatory prisoners were incarcerated in the camp ; 1,134 (11 %) prisoners were committed to

the camp between July 16, 1941 and January 31, 1942. After February 2, 1942, labour reformatory prisoners received characterizing numbers from 1 on. Altogether 9,196 numbers were assigned. The time the last number was assigned is unknown.

Approximately 2,000 female labour reformatory prisoners were incarcerated in Birkenau, a branch camp of Auschwitz. These are the only female labour reformatory prisoners whose presence in concentration camps has been established since, as was mentioned before, no female prisoners were incarcerated in Ravensbrück.

BUCHENWALD CONCENTRATION CAMP

The first labour reformatory prisoner was registered on May 3, 1941. It is not possible to determine the number of prisoners of this category who arrived between May 1941 and February 1942. 948 labour reformatory prisoners were incarcerated in the camp between March 5, 1942 and November 29, 1942, and 583 in 1943. It is not possible to determine the number of prisoners who arrived from 1944 on.

DACHAU CONCENTRATION CAMP

The first labour reformatory prisoners were registered in 1944 and the last ones in April 1945. Since there was no special registration for them, it is impossible to determine their number.

GROSS-ROSEN CONCENTRATION CAMP

From the opening of the camp in May 1941 to December 1, 1943 only 247 labour reformatory prisoners were incarcerated in this camp, whereas between December 1943 and November 1944, the camp received 4,178 prisoners from this category.

STUTTHOF CONCENTRATION CAMP

The only documentation of the International Tracing Service on this concentration camp consists of the prisoners' individual records. Because of their large number -- about 100,000 -- it has not been possible to determine who, among the inmates, were labour reformatory prisoners. A spot check was made for prisoners whose family names began with D, with the following result :

For a total number of 1,534 prisoners, there were 157 labour reformatory prisoners (i.e. 10 %), grouped in the following way :

1 % incarcerated in 1941
53 % incarcerated in 1942
35 % incarcerated in 1943
11 % incarcerated in 1944
No incarceration in 1945

PUNISHMENT CAMPS IN FIRMS

At the request of state police departments, punishment camps (Straflager) were created in larger firms to punish minor offences. These camps are not dealt with in the present catalogue but the historical branch of the International Tracing Service has made a list of the existing relevant documentation.

The labour reformatory camps are listed alphabetically and the outlying commandos appear respectively under their main camps (p. 484 to 505).

K. THE HINZERT SS SPECIAL CAMP

The Hinzert SS special camp (SS-Sonderlager Hinzert) and the police detention camps attached to it were created in October 1939 for condemned German workers from the OT, under martial law (Kriegsgesetz) since the beginning of the war. These workers were employed in the construction of the Western fortifications (Westwall).

Except where otherwise stated, the following data about the creation and organization of the camps are taken from a report addressed to the chief of the SS main office (der Chef des SS Hauptamptes) on July 25, 1940 by the first camp commander, a reserve SS-Sturmbannführer (SS major).

The commander reports that before the creation of the camps which came under him, OT German workers served their sentences in the following way :

> The security staffs (Sicherungsstäbe) attached to the higher departments of the OT construction works (OT-Oberbauleitungen) were entitled to inflict police detention punishments up to 21 days for minor offences. Because of the overcrowding of the local prisons, these sentences were often served together with criminals in emergency imprisonment premises (Not-Arrestlokale) of the state secret police (Gestapo).

Major offences and crimes were tried by field courts and courts martial.

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Major offences and crimes were tried by field courts and courts martial.

It is not possible to establish who of the OT or the SS Reich chief (RF-SS) was responsible for the introduction of these new regulations concerning the execution of sentences by OT workers. However, the general inspector of the German civil engineering department, e.g. the Todt organization, must have met all the staff and furniture costs of the new camps, which were mostly established in vacant camps of the German labour front (deutsche Arbeitsfront).+

The newly appointed commander first had the Hinzert SS special camp erected and later six further police detention camps, also under his jurisdiction ; one of these camps was within the SS special camp itself.

Each police detention camp was at the disposal of one or several of the higher departments of the OT construction works (OT Oberbauleitungen), which could send there workers condemned by the security staffs in charge (Sicherungsstab) to police detention sentences up to 21 days.

The report goes on :

"Recidivists among German nationals (Volksgenosse ++), workers liable to be condemned by courts-martial to longer imprisonment sentences, or to be considered habitual drunkards or notorious idlers will be incarcerated for a longer time in the Hinzert SS special camp".

The distinctive characteristics of this complex of camps are the following :

+

++ a national-socialist term (cf. Parteigenosse).

"Education ("Erziehung") connected with the detention

The new commander combines detention with "an education towards productivity and orderliness, which includes cleanliness, order in the camp and military education (i.e. Strafdrill, a word composed of a German and an English element, meaning 'punishment drill').

"...Since the inmates are neither prisoners (Häftlinge) nor convicts (Strafgefangene)", he (the camp commander) calls them "pupils" ("Zöglinge") and their detention "accomodation time" ("Unterbringungszeit"). The way inmates were treated in police detention camps, or, as the rapporter says, their "education" ("Erziehung") was supposed to be the same as in the SS special camp (SS-Sonderlager). In addition to this "education" (Erziehung) came a "training" ("Schulung") by a "coach" ("Schulungsleiter") called "head educator" ("Haupterzieher") in a staff chart of the SS special camp of June 1941 ; this "head educator" was assisted by five further "educators" ("Erzieher").
"Culturally" ("Kulturell"), the pupils (Zöglinge) were taken charge of by the "Strength through Joy " (Kraft durch Freude) organization of the German Labour Front (Deutsche Arbeitsfront = DAF).

Internment

State secret police (Gestapo) officials from security staffs (Sicherungsstab) attached to the higher departments of the OT construction works were entitled to pass police detention sentences, but only the inspector of the security police and security department, in his quality of chief of the security staffs for the general inspector of the German civil engineering department in Wiesbaden, could order commitments to the SS special camp.

"Education ("Erziehung") connected with the detention

The new commandant combined detention with "the education towards productivity and orderliness, which included cleanliness order in the camp and military education (i.e. Stubenrein, a word composed of a German and an English element, meaning 'punishment drill').

"...Since the inmates are neither prisoners (Häftlinge) nor convicts (Strafgefangene)", he (the camp commandant) calls them "pupils" ("Zöglinge") and their detention "accomodation time" ("Unterbringungszeit"). The way inmates were treated in police detention camps, or as the rapporteur says, their "education" ("Erziehung") was supposed to be the same as in the SS special camp (SS-Konzentrationslager). In addition to this "education" (Erziehung) came a "training" ("Schulung") by a "coach" ("Schulungsleiter") called "head educator" ("Haupterzieher") in a strict court of the SS special camp of June 1941 ; this "head educator" was assisted by five further "educators" ("Erzieher"). Cultu "Culturally" ("Kulturell"), the pupils (Zöglinge) were taken charge of by the "Strength through Joy" (Kraft durch Freude) organization of the German Labour Front (Deutsche Arbeitsfront = DAF).

Internment

State secret police (Gestapo) officials of security state (Staatspolizeiamt) attached to the Hanover department of the construction works were entitled to case police detention sentences, but only the inspector of the security police and security department, as chief of the security state for the general inspector of the German civil engineering department in Wiesbaden, could order commitments to the SS special camp.

Detention period

A 21-day incarceration was the longest detention term in police detention camps.

The shortest "accomodation time" ("Unterbringungszeit") in the SS special camp was three months. If the term of detention had not been set by the authority in charge, it was decided by the camp commander "on the basis of the offences mentioned in the prisoner's record".

Punishment company in the SS special camp (Strafkompanie im SS-Sonderlager)

"Accomodated pupils" (die untergebrachten Zöglinge) (military courts generally postponed the execution of sentences until the end of the war), as well as "notorious idlers, previously convicted persons, antisocial persons and habitual drunkards" ("notorische Faulenzer, mehrfach vorbestrafte und asoziale Menschen und Gewohnheitstrinker") were sent to a special punishment company, where they had to carry out hard work (schwere Arbeiten), indeed the most painstaking labour. Moreover, after work, they were daily "further (military) educated" (militärisch weitererzogen).

Hierarchical position of the camps

As chief of the security staff attached to the OT, the inspector of the security police and security department must have had jurisdiction over these camps until the end of June 1940.

By order of the SS Reich chief, the Hinzert SS special camp and the "Western camps attached to it", i.e. the police detention camps (Polizeihaftlager) were put under the jurisdiction of the concentration camp inspector on July 1, 1940. At the same time, the camp guard was incorporated into the SS

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"death's head" formations (SS-Totenkopfverbände) of the Waffen-SS.

In January 1945, the SS special camp was placed as an outlying camp (Aussenlager) under the administration of the Buchenwald concentration camp. A letter to "dear friend Brandt" ("seinen lieben Kameraden Brandt"), an SS-Standartenführer (SS colonel) from the SS Reich chief's personal staff, suggests the reasons for this change : non-commissioned officers and men fit for active military service as well as the camp commander were moved at the same time, the latter to the Buchenwald concentration camp to be a leader of an outlying commando. The letter ends with the following remark :

"Further anonymous letters about Hinzert would now be irrelevant".

New characteristics of the camp complex after it was put under the jurisdiction of the concentration camp inspector on July 1, 1940.

We relied until now on the first camp commander's report of July 1940. Data concerning the next period are taken from the incomplete collection of the prisoners' records and other documents kept by the International Tracing Service.

Police detention camps

After the transfer of the higher departments of the OT construction works from the Reich territory to occupied France, police detention camps established for the use of these departments were broken up. The date of dissolution is unknown, except for the camp of Vicht, the elimination of which had been planned for the 10th of October 1940, according to a letter of the Düsseldorf state police.

The SS Special camp and its outlying commandos.

These camps existed until their respective areas were occupied by the allied troops. The Hinzert area was occupied at the beginning of March 1945 ; outlying commandos located on the right bank of the Rhine existed a little longer.

"Pupils" appear in the incomplete collection of the prisoners' records until the middle of November 1940 ; no further commitment can be ascertained after that time ; one is therefore entitled to believe that until the arrival of prisoners in protective custody (Schutzhäftlinge) (see the following paragraph) the only camp inmates were the "pupils" incarcerated for the duration of the war.

New categories of prisoners.

- Prisoners in protective custody (Schutzhäftlinge)
  At the end of April-beginning of May 1941, the series of the pupils' roll- numbers was either completed or replaced by a new one. The first numbers were given to prisoners in protective custody (Schutzhäftlinge) from the state police (Stapo) of Treves, incarcerated in the court prison of this town and transferred to Hinzert at the above-mentioned time. They were Italian prisoners and later Luxemburgers.

- Labour reformatory prisoners (Arbeitserziehungshäftlinge)
  A labour reformatory camp (AEL) was created at the Hinzert SS special camp at an unknown period. Labour reformatory prisoners appear in the records from July 1941 on.

- Foreign legionaries.
  Legionaries of German nationality were transferred from France to the SS special camp after July 1941. The reason for this transfer does not appear in the documents, but it must have been a matter of special control, since most of the

The SS Special camp and its military commander.

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prisoners were transferred to the towns of Kislau, Karlsruhe, Rastatt and Sandweiler after a certain time. It seems there were some transports to judicial penal institutions.

Department for persons fit for germanization (Eindeutschungsfähige)

This department was created at the SS special camp according to the terms of a letter sent on February 20, 1943 by the Reich commissioner for the consolidation of the German national character (der Reichskommissar für die Festigung des deutschen Volkstums +) to the higher SS and police chiefs (HSSPF). The Reich commissioner for the consolidation of the German national character was directly attached to the SS Reich chief (RF-SS). Polish workers who had had intercourse with German women were incarcerated "for examination" ("zur Überprüfung") in this department for six months. The term of imprisonment could be increased in special cases : a case of a two-year detention, for example, has been ascertained. In his reports on the conduct of the prisoners, the commander of the special camp was to give his opinion about the question of germanization. He seems to have made highly arbitrary, but mainly positive judgements.

Temporary incarceration of prisoners transferred from France

From 1943 on, two categories of prisoners transferred from France were temporarily incarcerated in the SS special camp :

- The NN prisoners (Nacht und Nebel)= night and fog +), later evacuated to Silesia (letter of July 27, 1944 from the senior prosecutor in Breslau to the prosecutor general of the same town).

+ cf. footnote on p....

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Department for persons fit for germanization (Nieuwstrzonnge-ïdnige)

This department was created as the 3d special camp according to the terms of a letter sent on February 20, 1943 by the Reich commissioner for the consolidation of the German national character (der Reichskommissar für die Festigung des deutschen Volkstums +) to the higher SS and police chiefs(SSPF)++). The Reich commissioner for the consolidation of the German national character was directly attached to the SS Reich chief (RF-SS). Polish workers who had had intercourse with German women were incarcerated "for examination" ("zur Überprüfung") in this department for six months. The term of imprisonment could be increased in special cases: a case of a two-year detention, for example, has been ascertained. In his report on the conduct of the prisoners, the commandant of the special camp was to give his opinion about the question of germanization. He seems to have made highly arbitrary, but mainly positive judgements.

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From 1943 on, two categories of prisoners transferred from France were temporarily incarcerated in the 3d special camp :

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The names of these prisoners could not be found in the documents kept by the International Tracing Service.

- Arrested persons having broken their work contracts. Despite the fact that they were liable to a subsequent incarceration in a concentration camp, they were first to be committe to a labour reformatory camp, and especially to Hinzert (circular of the SS Reich chief of November 30, 1943).

The names of these prisoners appear in the registration records of the concentration camps on the Reich territory.

List of the camps p. 506 to 510 (vol. I)

L. The Vorbruck-Schirmeck security camp

The Vorbruck-Schirmeck camp was under the jurisdiction of the commander of the security police and security department (der Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD) for Alsace in Strasburg. It is mentioned in documents from July 19, 1940 to November 22, 1944 (see p. 511 and 512)

In his letter of July 2, 1940 to the commanders (Kommandeure) of operation commando 1 (Einsatzkommando) in Strasburg and operation commando 2 in Mulhouse about the creation of a concentration camp and transit camps in Alsace, the commander of the security police and security department does not mention the security camp (Sicherungslager) which, however, existed 12 days later.

The following is stated in this letter :

"The necessity of removing undesirable elements from the territories occupied by operation groups (Einsatzgruppen) requires the establishment of 2 transit camps (Durchgangslager) and 1 concentration camp (Konzentrationslager)".

It is further stated in this letter about the purpose of these camps that :

"The transit camps should only be used for the temporary detention of persons to be deported as soon as possible after their arrest to the unoccupied French territory.

The concentration camp, on the other hand, should take persons who will presumably stay a longer time in the camp".

The following is stated about the commitments to the concentration camp :

"Will be taken in the concentration camp :

a) Persons of German origin who fought for communist Spain (Rotspanienkämpfer)

b) Persons who, by their attitude, would presumably disturb the German reconstruction work in this area.

c) Persons who, by their acts, committed offences against German troops or German nationals."

The following statement is taken from a letter addressed on January 27, 1942 by the SS Reich chief to the chief of the civil administration in Alsace :

"I thoroughly agree with you about the prisoners in Alsace; young Alsatians who want to join de Gaulle should be put (untergebracht) in a camp like Schirmeck and treated differently from communists and habitual criminals (Berufsverbrecher). I must however ask you to take steps for the evacuation of all severe cases to the former Reich (Alt-Reich), thereby giving the Schirmeck camp only a temporary existence (und dadurch das Lager Schirmeck nur eine zeitweilige Erscheinung sein kann")".

In another letter concerning the purpose of labour reformatory camps (AEL), which the chief of the civil administration in Alsace sent to the chief of department IV of the Main office for Reich security (Amt IV des RSHA) on 21.4.1944 , the following is stated about the Vorbruck camp :

"It (the camp) should assume the task of imparting the correct attitude towards work , and the political order of the Greater German Reich (Grossdeutsches Reich) to elements from Alsace difficult to educate (schwer erziehbare Elemente".

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In another letter concerning the purposes of labour reformatory camps (AEB), which the chief of the civil administration in Alsace sent to the chief of department IV of the Main office for Reich security (Amt IV des RSHA) on 22.4.1944 , the following is stated about the Vorbruck camp :

"It (the camp) should serve the task of imparting the correct attitude towards works, and the political order of the Greater German Reich (Grossdeutsches Reich) to elements from Alsace difficult to educate (schwer erziehbare Elemente)".

It is further stated :

"Because of the French democracy, the people of Alsace have adopted an attitude towards work and life in general that differs considerably from ours. Therefore, in Alsace, a special education of the people was necessary from the very beginning. This education was undertaken by the Party But it was furthermore necessary to support the educational activity of the Party through special measures of the state security police ; education at the Vorbruck camp is part of these measures."

The following details can be read in the same letter :

"We proceeded with the conviction that the elements to educate were not in the least, or not necessarily, anti-social (asoziale Elemente).
The Alsatians' customary weakness is not, as a general rule, to be ascribed to inborn tendencies, but to their lack of education. It was therefore necessary, in our opinion, to keep elements difficult to educate (schwer erziehbare Elemente) at Vorbruck as long as deemed necessary".

Actually, persons from the annexed Lorraine were also incarcerated in the camp.

This lack of education, that the chief of the civil administration thought existed, was overcome in the security camp (Sicherungslager) by the same educational methods as those in concentration and labour reformatory camps (KL und AEL).

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M. Camps for the protection of youth
(Jugendschutzlager)

These camps were under the control of the main office for Reich security (RSHA) and, within the RSHA, under the control of department V of the Reich criminal police (Reichskriminalpolizeiamt). In his V3 - Ref. : 47 A/1.42 letter of January 16, 1942 the concentration camp inspector called the Moringen camp for the protection of youth an "SS-special camp" (SS-Sonderlager).

The first camp for the protection of youth was established in Moringen in 1940 by order of the council for the defence of the Reich (Reichsverteidigungsrat) ; it was meant for "anti-social and deeply involved criminals" ("asozial und kriminell schwerstens belastete Menschen"). It housed in the first instance boys under age who, in spite of their criminal or anti-social behaviour (trotz ihres kriminellen oder asozialen Verhaltens) could not be put into or kept in reformatories, either because this was thought to have no result, or because they were too old. Dangerous or criminally imperilled juvenile delinquents, for whom protective watch and stays in reformatories had failed, were also sent there.

It had been foreseen to confine girls under age at Uckermark (Mecklenburg) after the 1st of June 1942.

Commitments were decided by department V of the Main office for Reich security (criminal police department) (Amt V des RSHA (RKPA)), central administration of the Reich (Reichszentrale) for the struggle against juvenile delinquency. The camps were mainly intented for youths from 16 to 19 ; this limit was later changed to 21. With the exception of a few particular

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Moringen had been forerunner of similar camps, the last of which was established after the 1st of June 1942.

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cases, the lower age limit was maintained.

The "Litzmannstadt Polish youth detention camp" (Polen-Jugendverwahrlager Litzmannstadt) also belonged to the category of camps for the protection of youth. Children from the 8 to 16 year age-group were to be committed to this camp, but for practical reasons, mainly young boys of 12 to 16 were incarcerated there.

It appears from the books of entries of the Moringen camp, preserved for the period between the 20th of July 1941 and the 13th of February 1945, that pupils (Zöglinge) were transferred directly from this camp to concentration camps. From the middle of 1943, and on a larger scale from spring 1944 on, young state police prisoners were committed to this camp ; they stayed there for a longer period or were evacuated to other places. For a number of them, no notice of evacuation or release can be found; one is therefore entitled to believe that they stayed in the camp until its dissolution.

The camps are listed in alphabetical order (vol. I p. 513 and 514).

N. The Emsland disciplinary camps
(Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland)

In 1923, in the course of marsh-clearing, disciplinary camps were created in Emsland by the Prussian judiciary administration and classified as "penitentiaries" (Zuchthaus). Prisoners were to work outside the camps in the swamps.

Albeit not under the SS Reich chief's jurisdiction, these camps are nevertheless dealt with in the catalogue for the following reasons :

- some were temporarily used as concentration camps (... als KL, see p. 1,3, 187) and others, after the outbreak of the war, as prisoner-of-war camps.

- after 1933, prisoners in these camps, which were actually under the control of the judiciary administration, were treated in a manner in no way comparable to the treatment of prisoners in other penal institutions of the time.

The only sources available to the International Tracing Service on this camp complex are the records of the post-war proceedings taken by the British and German authorities against the camp personnel, and the orders and decrees quoted in them.

GUARD

The first distinctive feature of this camp complex is that its guard and administration were taken over by the Emsland SA Standarte (protection force of the storm sections) in 1934.

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The commander (Kommandeur) of the disciplinary camps, who took up his duties in 1934, was at the same time appointed leader of this SA unit. The guard of the camps was in the hands of the Emsland SA-Standarte until the end of the war.

PLACE OF THE EMSLAND CAMPS IN THE HIERARCHY

The disciplinary camps, which came, as was usually the case, under the jurisdiction of the competent prosecutor general (Generalstaatsanwalt) were placed under the direct control of the Reich minister of justice in 1934. This fact stands alone in the annals of the judicial authorities of the time.

It has just been mentioned that a commander was placed at the head of these camps in 1934. For reasons that will be explained subsequently, a delegate (Beauftragter) of the Reich minister of justice was also assigned to the camp complex in 1938. His office was in Berlin and his position was maintained until the end of the war. He appointed deputies who worked at the central administration of the camps in Papenburg.

THE COMMANDER'S (KOMMANDEUR) NEW METHODS

The commander (Kommandeur) appointed in 1934 was the former "major of the first SA concentration camp of the SA-Standarte (unit of the storm section ; see footnote on p...) 208 Berlin-Niederbarnim"(Kommandant des ersten SA-Konzentrationslager der SA-Standarte, 208 Berlin-Niederbarnim) in Orianienburg. This concentration camp had been closed shortly before because of its deplorable condition.

Six further "old storm-section leaders" ("alte SA-Führer") were placed at the head of the camps together with the commander ; like him, they had not been trained as officials of law

The commander (Kommandeur) of the disciplinary camps, who took up his duties in 1934 was at the same time appointed leader of this SA unit. The guard of the camps was in the hands of the Prussian SA-Standarte until the end of the war.

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II. METHODS OF THE COMMANDEUR'S METHODS

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Six further "old storm-section leaders" ("alte SA-Führer") were placed at the head of the camps together with the commander ; like him, they had not been trained as officials of law

enforcement agencies. The commander's attitude is characterized in the following indictment drawn up against him :

"...as the defendant had, from the very beginning, been relieved of any purely administrative work requiring some knowledge of penal law, after the camps were established, his task consisted mainly in directing the telling off of prisoners for the clearing work, controlling the guard troops in their work and especially in their watch over and treatment of the prisoners, and inflicting punishments for severe violations of camp regulations..."

The following is reported in the same document, about the former commander's responsibility for the maltreatment of prisoners ;

"...but implies that from the very beginning, his aim was to introduce a system which déviated from all the principles of penal law and could only be compared to concentration camp methods..."

The following statement is taken from an assize court decision :

"...the fact that by their acts, they (the defendants) aggravated the severity of the already cruel sentences served in the Emsland camps and, in so doing, brought discredit upon the juridical system in terms of the execution of sentences, was a reason for an increase of penalty. If to-day, the Emsland camps are mentioned right after concentration camps, this throws light upon the deplorable conditions that prevailed there and which the defendants contributed to. Every day, they could see the awful fate of the prisoners, many of whom were condemned on the sole ground of their political opinions. They knew that the prisoners were virtually in their hands, deprived of any rights..."

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The following statement is taken from an earlier court di- dec, ion :

"...the fact that by their acts, they (the defendants) aggravated the severity of the already cruel sentences served in the Russian camps and, in so doing, brought discredit upon the juridical system in terms of the execution of sentences, was a reason for an increase of penalty. If to-day, the Russian people are mobilized right after concentration camps, this throws light upon the deplorable conditions that prevailed there and which the defendants contributed to. Every day, they could see the awful fate of the prisoners, many of whom were condemned on the sole ground of their political opinions. They knew that the prisoners were virtually in their hands, deprived of any rights..."

The commander's (Kommandeur) fundamental attitude is characterized in the deposition of a government councillor (Regierungsrat), once subordinate to him : according to this witness, when the commander's attention was drawn to the regulations concerning his duty as well as the execution of sentences and/which regulated the treatment of the prisoners, he replied that he had not studied them and had no intention of doing so. His actual words are reported to have been : "...the only legislator in Emsland is me.".

This attitude led to measures against the commander, who was suspended in January 1938 on the basis of a report on the arbitrary conditions in the "marsh camps" (Moorlager) addressed by an assistant judge (Gerichtsassessor) to the Reich minister of justice ; formal proceedings were then taken against the commander.

He was charged with having used money contrary to instructions and with improper use of official cars ; he was also accused of having

- modified on his own authority prescriptions issued by the Reich minister of justice,
- failed to supervise the camps to the required extent, so that it was impossible to undertake immediate investigations and take action on offences committed in the camps, namely the maltreatment of prisoners, large-scale deprivations of food etc...

Owing to political pressure, the commander got off with a small summary punishment and recovered his position at the end of November 1938. During his suspension, his position was held by the delegate of the Reich minister of justice, who appointed a deputy on the spot. Hierarchically, the latter

was subordinate to the commander (Kommandeur) (a senior government councillor (Oberregierungsrat), then a government executive (Reigierungsdirektor)) and had little latitude of action against him, since his [illegible] and sphere of responsibility were not clearly defined. The local deputy of the Reich minister of justice replaced the commander when he was called into the army for unknown reasons on February 25, 1942.

ORGANIZATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL CAMPS

The disciplinary camps were put under the control of the commander as soon as he was appointed ; as an official and a storm section leader (SA-Führer), he was in charge of the execution of all the sentences and Standartenführer (SA-colonel) of the Emsland SA-Standarte, entrusted with the guard and supervision..

The individual camps were run by so-called "wardens" ("Vorsteher"), who controlled prison officials and especially the local chiefs (Platzmeister), responsible for the [illegible] discipline of the prisoners.

From 1934 to 1938, the individual camps were run by guard detail leaders (Einheitsführer des Wachkommandos) i.e. "old storm section leaders" ("alte SA-Führer").

In 1938, when the commander was suspended, the Reich Minister of justice ordered the highest officials in charge of the execution of sentences to take over the position of warden (Lagervorsteher) in each camp. At the same time, professional prison warders were again commissioned with the camp administration.

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But these measures had little effect, for the commander (Kommandeur) managed to have the judicial administration take on storm section members without the required training as prison warders. Thus both the guard of the camps and the guard of the prisoners working outside the camps remained within the province of storm sections.

INTERNAL SELF-ADMINISTRATION OF THE PRISONERS

When he took up his duties, the commander (Kommandeur) introduced the system of the prisoners' self-administration into the Emsland camps, a system he had seen at work in concentration camps ; this is another unprecedented case in penal justice.

Here are some of the duties allotted to the prisoners : first came the barrack elders (Barackenälteste), responsible in particular for cleanliness and order in the barracks, as well as for waking up the prisoners and distributing food. Then came the barrack-room elders, the hall and table elders (Stuben-Saal-, Tischälteste) and the prisoners commissioned with the telling off for fatigues.

The "prisoners in charge" (Funktionsgefangene) were led to impose an iron discipline out of sheer fear of being replaced and sent back to the swamps. According to an investigation report, the local chiefs (Platzmeister) preferred choosing prisoners known for their brutality. Theoretically, they had no disciplinary power, but they exerted real terror on their fellow-prisoners.

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The following text concerning barrack elders is taken from a court decision :

"When the different groups of prisoners were formed, it appeared that these positions were often held by despicable elements which ruthlessly took advantage of their position and, through violence and vexations, made life harder to the prisoners than it already was at the Börgermoor camp."

We know from a camp leader's deposition that the central administration had forbidden to give any responsibility to political prisoners ; consequently, only common law criminals were available for these positions.

EXTENT OF THE CAMPS

There were four camps in 1934 ; their number increased after 1935 and there were fifteen of them at the time they were broken up. Convicts were however not the only prisoners incarcerated in these camps. In 1939, the Reich minister of justice planned to have a total number of 12,000 prisoners.

CATEGORIES OF PRISONERS

Until 1940, only civil German convicts were sent to the Emsland camps , classified as penitentiaries (Zuchthaus) in 1923.

The decree of the Reich Minister of justice of July 5, 1937 "concerning the handing-over of prison inmates (Gefängnisgefangene) to the disciplinary camp of Papenburg (Ems)" suggests the way the prisoners were selected.

They should be from 21 to 50 years of age, 55 if thoroughly physically fit. Prisoners with certain diseases or physical disabilities were excluded, as well as the following categories of persons :

The following text concerning Dachau camp is taken from a court decision :

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- Persons sentenced for high treason (Landesverrat) and betrayal of military secrets, or persons previously convicted on the same ground.

- Persons sentenced for high treason (Hochverrat) or premeditation of high treason, with the exception of their "mere accomplices" ("blosse Mitläufer").

-Condemned persons subject to a subsequent security detention.

- Persons particularly suspected of intending to escape

-Foreigners

- Jews.

The subject of the decree specifies that it concerned exclusively prison inmates (Gefängnisgefangene) ; the only mention about penitentiary prisoners (Zuchthausgefangene) is that monthly reports could be ordered about them. No such text is known.

SECURITY PRISONERS (Sicherungsverwahrte)+

In pursuance of the Reich minister of Justice 's decree of March 21, 1939, a section was opened for "security prisoners", a category of prisoners which had been excluded from these

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camps in 1937. On the 1st of October 1940, however, the Reich minister decided "to have all security prisoners ("Sicherungsverwahrte) evacuated from Emsland and replaced by other prisoners".

In a letter to his delegate, the Reich minister of justice specifies the number and categories of prisoners to be incarcerated in these camps ; he repeats that foreigners and Jews should be excluded :

- Security prisoners (Sicherungsverwahrte)	2,200	(excluded again after 1.10.1940)
- Penitentiary inmates (Zuchthausgefangene)	6,800	
- Prison inmates (Gefängnisgefangene)	3,000	
	12,000	

From 1940 on, former members of the Wehrmacht were transferred to the camps in constantly increasing numbers, and made up to 60 % of the camp inmates ; they were sentenced by German military courts and generally declared unworthy of serving in the armed forces. The actual execution of sentence was meant to begin only after the end of the war.

The comparison between the different categories of camp inmates in January 1941 and January 1944 clearly shows the changes which occured during that period :

	January 1941	January 44
1) Offences of political nature: listening to enemy broadcasting sabotage, undermining of troops, violation of racial laws, premeditation of high treason, activity as a Jehova's witness	6 %	12.3 %

2) Desertion, refusal of military service, absence without official leave, guard duty offence, non-compliance with orders, self-mutilation	2.4 %	51.3 %
3) General offences of civil nature	91.6 %	36.4 %

FOREIGNERS

As already stated, foreigners were excluded from the camps until the beginning of the war. Later, mainly Poles were committed there, whether "ethnic Germans" (Volksdeutsche)+ drafted into the German armed forces and declared missing, or prisoners from Polish prisons. Later still, Belgians, French and Dutch sentenced for violations of the regulations established by the occupation forces were occasionally transferred to these camps.

JEWS

The 1937 and 1939 decrees excluding the Jews from the Emsland camps have already been mentioned. However, the former commander of the Emsland camps stated after the war, that approximatly 30 Jews were incarcerated in the camps and that the last four were transferred to prisons or concentration camps in 1944.

PUNISHMENTS IN THE EMSLAND CAMPS

The documentary evidence shows a large range of minutely graded punishments, listed below according to their severity ;

- Warning
- Special roll-calls
- Scouring and mending, occasionally also at night

- Disciplinary drill or sport up to 60 minutes
- Reformatory barrack (Erziehungsbaracke) up to 14 days ; this was a kind of mitigated confinement : the prisoner was under solitary confinement and had to perform additional work. It is certain that a "reformatory barrack" (Erziehungsbaracke) of this kind existed in camp I (Börgermoor camp), but no decisive evidence is available for the other camps.
- Confinement from 1 to 28 days with food allotment of water and bread to be alternated normally with regular food rations; deprivation of mattress and prohibition of reading and corresponding.
- Harsh confinement from 7 to 14 days with uninterrupted food curtailment.
- Dark confinement up to 28 days : confinement in dark cells to be interrupted every third day ; complete food curtailment until the 14th day, then normal rations every third day.
- Punishment company (Strafkompanie) : in pursuance of the commander's order of 13.10.1939, the most severe punishment, to be applied up to three months : deprivation of mattress, hard work, occasionally beyond normal working hours. Loss of all advantages, but no food curtailment.

Prisoners were usually sent to punishment companies after a confinement sentence. Those who had attempted to escape were thus transferred to a punishment company after having served a 28-day dark confinement sentence.

Punishment companies existed in all the camps, but by the end of the war, because of the lack of personnel, the only punishment company left was in Commando X - West (Kommando X - West) (p. 522)

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Among all these punishments, the penal code mentioned only confinement and harsh confinement ; the other measures, as well as the system of the "prisoners in charge" (Funktionsgefangene) were brought in by the commander (Kommandeur), when he took up his duties in 1934.

The Regulations concerning the medical control of the prisoners before and during their confinement sentences and the power of inflicting punishments will not be handled here, since they were obviously not observed. Furthermore, the commander's prescriptions seem to have been formulated in such a manner that all kinds of interpretations were possible.

The terror exerted by some of the "prisoners in charge" (Funktionsgefangene) over their fellow-prisoners seems to have had particularly disastrous effects in the reformatory barrack (Erziehungsbaracke) of camp I.

In addition to the usual punishments, prisoners were continuously beaten with rubber truncheons, particularly by storm section (SA) guards. These rubber truncheons were no longer distributed after 1934, but substitutes were soon found.

Furthermore, by his decree of May 8, 1940 the commander (Kommandeur) sanctioned the beating of prisoners as a means of "breaking passive resistance through immediate coercion" ("auch das Brechen des passiven Widerstandes durch unmittelbaren Zwang"). He justified this on the grounds that the distance between the camps and the work places made it impossible to send the prisoners back to the camps during work in order to apply them this "immediate coercion" ("unmittelbarer Zwang").

The Reich Ministry of justice knew about the commander's arbitrary decisions at the latest in 1934, when [illegible] proceedings were taken against him [illegible]. The Reich ministry

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The Reich Ministry of Justice knew about the commander's arbitrary decisions as the latest in 1934, were disciplinary proceedings were taken against the latter. The Reich ministry

probably received further complaints, for its officials gave the commander special instructions in their report of March 8, 1943 and in a smooth tone called his attention to the abuses in the camps. The commander was advised to resort only "sparingly" ("sparsam") to dark confinement, a punishment officially unknown to the justice, but tolerated as an exception only in the Emsland camps. Finally, it was hoped that these instructions would make it possible to avoid further "infringing and arbitrary acts by individuals" (Ubergriffe und Willkürakten Einzelner).

The following judgement of a German court discloses the actual conditions in the camps :

> "...Cases of acts of violence by the guard personnel against the prisoners were more and more frequent, whether the guards had real or alleged difficulties in dealing with the prisoners. The guards also allowed themselves arbitrary or violent acts, being either stupefied by the dull work in the marshes and acting so out of natural propensity or simply following their superiors' example".

It has already been mentioned that the commander (Kommandeur) was called into the army in 1942 and replaced by the local representative of the Reich Ministry of Justice. This change, however, does not seem to have improved the prisoners' condition, as a report from a camp physician addressed to the Reich Minister of Justice at the beginning of 1944 indicates : the physician reports the following about prisoners whom he had to examine before their transfer to "Kommando Nord" in Norway :

- approximatly one fourth of the examined prisoners bore the marks of maltreatment and in particular of blows on the back.
- prisoners were ill-treated by barrack-elders (Barackenälteste) as well as by group leaders (Gruppenführer).
- the summoned barrack-elders gave to understand that they were covered by officials
- the usual punishments were not carried out in accordance with the regulations. Harsh confinement punishments were inflicted three times consecutively, with an interruption of 2 or 3 days only. Prisoners who got only bread and water were put to hard labour for periods of six weeks. They became so weak that they were no longer able to work.

COMMANDOS OUTSIDE GERMANY

1) Commando X (Kommando X) also called Special Operation Group (Sondereinsatz) or Group West (Gruppe West)

After October 1943, the Todt organization (OT) sent this commando to hard labour in France and in the British Channel Islands. The number and situation of the camps, as well as their sizes is unknown. In September 1944, the commando was sent back to Germany ; it was in Lendringsen, Westphalia, at the end of September-beginning of October 1944, and was transformed into an independant disciplinary camp on the 1st of February 1945.

2) Commando North (Kommando Nord)

This commando was set up in 1942 by the operation group Wiking from the Todt organization (OT) in Northern Norway. At first, the commando administration was in Alta, Province

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2) Commando Nord (Kommando Nord)

This commando was set up in 1943 by the operation group Wiking from the Todt organization (OT) in Northern Norway. At first, the commando headquarter was in Alta, Proviince

Finnmarken, Norway. These labour camps, the number and exact geographical location of which are unknown, were all situated north of the Arctic circle. The only available figures are the following :

Size of the commando on	25.4.1944	: 1,404
	9.3.1945	: 1,019

All the prisoners were transferred to Germany before the end of the war, and the first 395 left the Lofoten Islands on March 9, 1945.

In his letter of March 7, 1945 to the High command of the German Armed Forces - legal department (Oberkommando der Wehrmacht - Wehrmachtrechtsabteilung), the Reich minister of Justice required the return of the commando and wrote the following about its work :

"The prisoners were assigned to construction work of military importance for the Todt Organization (OT) and to conveyance work, under circumstances unparably harsher than those in the penitentiaries of the Reich territory".

EVACUATION AND LIBERATION OF THE EMSLAND CAMPS

From March 1945 until the liberation of the camps by the allied troops on April 20, 1945, the prisoners of definite camps were transferred from place to place for security reasons in order to prevent their liberation.

CONCLUSION

The only available documentation consists of a few decrees orders and intructions, as well as the post-war legal proceedings against the commander (Kommandeur) and some of his higher sub-

Finmarken, Norway. These labour camps, the number and exact geographical location of which are unknown, were all situated north of the Arctic circle. The only available figures are the following :

Size of the commando on 25.4.1944 : 1,400
9.7.1944 : 1,100

All the prisoners were transferred to Germany before the end of the war, and the first 300 left the Lofoten Islands on March 9, 1945.

In his letter of March 7, 1945, to the Main command of the German Armed Forces - Legal department (Oberkommando der Wehrmacht - Wehrmachtrechtsabteilung), the Reich minister of Justice requested the return of the commando and stated the following about its work :

"The prisoners were assigned to construction work of military importance for the Todt organization (OT) and to auxiliary work, under circumstances considerably harsher than those in penitentiaries of the Reich territory".

EVACUATION AND LIBERATION OF THE PRISONER CAMPS

From March 1945 until the liberation of the camps by the allied troops on April 25, 1945, the prisoners of various labour camps were transferred from place to place for security reasons in order to prevent their liberation.

CONCLUSION

The only available documentary evidence of a few isolated orders and instructions, as well as post-war investigations against the commander (Kommandant) and some of his higher subordinates

ordinates. No information about the prisoners' physical condition, mortality, food supply etc. can be found in these documents. There is, for example, only one incidental mention of bad medical treatment and care. It is therefore not possible to give as detailed a picture of the conditions of detention in these camps, as that of the concentration camps, which is largely known.

It is however clear that when the Reich minister placed the commander at the head of the camps, he knew his background perfectly well and was thus aware of the way the camps would be administered. Their deplorable condition and the arbitrary acts which took place there were known already in Berlin by 1938, and brought about the action against the commander (Kommandeur). The special instructions of 8.3.1941 from the responsible advisor of the Reich minister were briefly mentioned here and show that the Ministry was perfectly informed of the development of abuses in the camps. It is also clear from the physician's report addressed to the Reich ministry at the beginning of 1944 that the commander's departure brought no improvement. It should be emphasized that the criminals committed to these camps made up 91.6 % of the inmates in January 1941 and only 36.4 % in January 1944. It can therefore be assumed that a transfer to the Emsland camps meant a deliberate worsening of the detention conditions and for this reason, the International Tracing Service believes that the Emsland camps should be included in the present catalogue (vol. I p. 512 to 522).